

99214

OFFICIAL REPORT

OF THE

DEBATES

99214

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS

OF THE

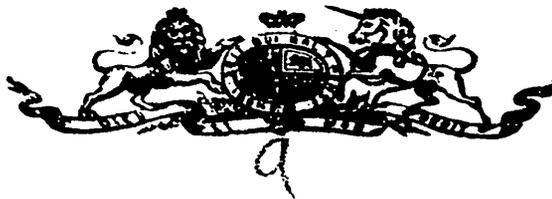
DOMINION OF CANADA

FOURTH SESSION—SEVENTH PARLIAMENT

57-58 VICTORIA, 1894

VOL. XXXVII.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM THE FIFTEENTH DAY OF MARCH TO THE
TWENTY-THIRD DAY OF MAY, INCLUSIVE



OTTAWA

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EXCELLENT MAJESTY

1894

MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT

OF THE

HON. SIR JOHN SPARROW DAVID THOMPSON, K.C.M.G., Q.C.

AT THE OPENING OF THE

FOURTH SESSION OF THE SEVENTH PARLIAMENT

1894

| | | |
|----------------------------------|---------|---|
| Minister of Justice (Premier) | - - - - | Hon. Sir JOHN S. D. THOMPSON, K.C.M.G., Q.C. |
| Minister of Trade and Commerce | - - - - | Hon. MACKENZIE BOWELL. |
| Postmaster General | - - - - | Hon. Sir ADOLPHE P. CARON, K.C.M.G., Q.C. |
| Without Portfolio | - - - - | Hon. Sir JOHN CARLING. |
| Secretary of State | - - - - | Hon. JOHN COSTIGAN, K.C.M.G. |
| Without Portfolio | - - - - | Hon. Sir FRANK SMITH, K.C.M.G. |
| Minister of Finance | - - - - | Hon. GEORGE EULAS FOSTER. |
| Minister of Marine and Fisheries | - - - - | Hon. Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER, K.C.M.G., Q.C. |
| Minister of Railways and Canals | - - - - | Hon. JOHN HAGGART. |
| Minister of Public Works | - - - - | Hon. J. ALDRIC OUMET, LL.B., Q.C. |
| Minister of Militia and Defence | - - - - | Hon. JAMES COLEBROOKE PATTERSON. |
| Minister of the Interior | - - - - | Hon. THOMAS MAYNE DALY. |
| Minister of Agriculture | - - - - | Hon. AUGUSTE RÉAL ANGERS. |
| President of the Council | - - - - | Hon. WILLIAM BULLOCK IVES. |

[The above form the Cabinet.]

| | | |
|------------------------------|---------|--------------------------|
| Solicitor General | - - - - | Hon. JOHN JOSEPH CURRAN. |
| Controller of Customs | - - - - | Hon. N. CLARKE WALLACE. |
| Controller of Inland Revenue | - - - - | Hon. JOHN FISHER WOOD. |

Clerk of the Privy Council - - - - JOHN JOSEPH MCGEE, Esq.

OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS :

| | | |
|---------------------------------|---------|------------------------|
| Hon. PETER WHITE | - - - - | <i>Speaker.</i> |
| JOSEPH G. H. BERGERON, M.P. | - - - - | <i>Deputy Speaker.</i> |
| JOHN G. BOURINOT, Esq. | - - - - | Clerk of the House. |
| FRANÇOIS FORTUNAT ROULEAU, Esq. | - - - - | Clerk Assistant. |
| Lieut.-Col. HENRY ROBERT SMITH | - - - - | Serjeant-at-Arms. |

OFFICIAL REPORTERS :

| | | |
|---------------------|---------|--------------------------------|
| GEORGE B. BRADLEY | - - - - | Chief Reporter. |
| STEPHEN A. ABBOTT | - - - - | } Reporters. |
| E. JOSEPH DUGGAN | - - - - | |
| ALBERT HORTON | - - - - | |
| J. O. MARCEAU | - - - - | |
| THOS. P. OWENS | - - - - | |
| ALPHONSE DESJARDINS | - - - - | |
| A. C. CAMPBELL | - - - - | } Assistant to Chief Reporter. |
| JOHN CHAS. BOYCE | - - - - | |

ALPHABETICAL LIST

OF THE

CONSTITUENCIES AND MEMBERS

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS

FOURTH SESSION OF THE SEVENTH PARLIAMENT OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA

1894

| | |
|--|---|
| ADDINGTON —George W. W. Dawson. | CORNWALL AND STORMONT —Darby Bergin. |
| ALBERT —Richard Chapman Weldon. | CUMBERLAND —Arthur R. Dickey. |
| ALBERTA —Donald Watson Davis. | DIGBY —Edward Charles Bowers. |
| ALGOMA —George Hugh Macdonell. | DORCHESTER —Cyrille Emile Vaillancourt. |
| ANNAPOLIS —John B. Mills. | DRUMMOND AND ARTHABASKA —Joseph Lavergne. |
| ANTIGONISH —Rt. Hon. Sir John S. D. Thompson, K.C.M.G. | DUNDAS —Hugo H. Ross. |
| ARGENTEUIL —Thomas Christie. | DURHAM, E. Riding —Thomas Dixon Craig. |
| ASSINIBOIA, East —Walter William McDonald. | DURHAM, W. Riding —Robert Beith. |
| ASSINIBOIA, West —Nicholas Flood Davin. | ELGIN, E. Riding —Andrew B. Ingram. |
| BAGOT —Flavien Dupont. | ELGIN, W. Riding —George Elliott Casey. |
| BEAUCE —Joseph Godbout. | ESSEX, N. Riding —William McGregor. |
| BEAUHARNOIS —Joseph Gédéon Horace Bergeron. | ESSEX, S. Riding —Henry W. Allan. |
| BELLECHASE —Guillaume Amyot. | FRONTENAC —Hiram A. Calvin. |
| BERTHIER —Cléophas Beausoleil. | GASPÉ —Louis Zéphirin Joncas. |
| BONAVENTURE —William Le Boutillier Fauvel. | GLENGARRY —Roderick R. McLennan. |
| BOTHWELL —Hon. David Mills. | GLOUCESTER —{ Kennedy F. Burns.* Théotime Blanchard.† |
| BRANT, N. Riding —James Somerville. | GRENVILLE, S. Riding —John Dowsley Reid. |
| BRANT, S. Riding —William Paterson. | GREY, E. Riding —Thomas S. Sproule. |
| BROCKVILLE —Hon. John Fisher Wood. | GREY, N. Riding —James Masson. |
| BROME —Eugene A. Dyer. | GREY, S. Riding —George Landerkin. |
| BRUCE, E. Riding —Henry Cargill. | GUYSBOROUGH —Duncan C. Fraser. |
| BRUCE, N. Riding —Alexander McNeill. | HALDIMAND —Walter Humphries Montague. |
| BRUCE, W. Riding —James Rowand. | HALIFAX —{ Thomas E. Kenny. John Fitz-William Stairs. |
| CAPE BRETON —{ Hector F. McDougall. David McKeen. | HALTON —David Henderson. |
| CARDWELL —Robert Smeaton White. | HAMILTON —{ Alexander McKay. Samuel R. Ryckman. |
| CARLETON (N.B.) —Newton Ramsay Colter. | HANTS —Alfred Putnam. |
| CARLETON (O.) —William T. Hodgins. | HASTINGS, E. Riding —William B. Northrup. |
| CARIBOO —Frank S. Barnard. | HASTINGS, N. Riding —A. W. Carscallen. |
| CHAMBLY —Raymond Préfontaine. | HASTINGS, W. Riding —Henry Corby.‡ |
| CHAMPLAIN —Onésime Carignan. | HOCHELAGA —Séverin Lachapelle. |
| CHARLEVOIX —Henry Simard. | HUNTINGDON —Julius Scriver. |
| CHARLOTTE —Arthur Hill Gilmour. | HURON, E. Riding —Peter Macdonald. |
| CHATEAUGUAY —James Pollock Brown. | HURON, S. Riding —John McMillan. |
| CHICOUTIMI AND SAGUENAY —Louis de Gonzague Belley. | HURON, W. Riding —Hon. James Colebrooke Patter- son. |
| COLCHESTER —William A. Patterson. | |
| COMPTON —Rufus Henry Pope. | |

* Appointed to Senate. † Elected; took seat 28th May. ‡ Resigned 22nd June. Re-elected; took seat 5th July.

- IBERVILLE—François Béchard.
 INVERNESS—Hugh Cameron.
- JACQUES-CARTIER—Désiré Girouard.
 JOLIETTE—Urbain Lippé.
- KAMOURASKA—Henry George Carroll.
 KENT (N.B.)—George V. McInerney.
 KENT (O.)—Archibald Campbell.
 KING'S (N.B.)—Hon. George Eulas Foster.
 KING'S (N.S.)—Frederick W. Borden.
 KING'S (P.E.I.)— { Augustine Colin Macdonald.
 { John McLean.
 KINGSTON—James Henry Metcalfe.
- LAMBTON, E. Riding—George Moncreiff.
 LAMBTON, W. Riding—James Frederick Lister.
 LANARK, N. Riding—Bennett Rosamond.
 LANARK, S. Riding—Hon. John Graham Haggart.
 LAPRAIRIE—Louis Conrad Pelletier.
 L'ASSOMPTION—Hormisdas Jeannotte.
 LAVAL—Hon. Joseph Aldric Ouimet.
 LEEDS AND GRENVILLE, N. Riding—Charles Frederick Ferguson.
 LEEDS, S. Riding—George Taylor.
 LENNOX—Uriah Wilson.
 LÉVIS—Pierre Malcolm Guay.
 LINCOLN AND NIAGARA—William Gibson.
 LISGAR—Arthur Wellington Ross.
 L'ISLET—J. Israël Tarte.
 LONDON—Hon. Sir John Carling, K.C.M.G.
 LOTBINIÈRE—Côme Isaïe Rinfret.
 LUNENBURG—Charles Edwin Kaulbach.
- MARQUETTE—Nathaniel Boyd.
 MASKINONGÉ—Joseph Hormisdas Legris.
 MEGANTIC—Louis J. Côté, *alias* Fréchette.
 MIDDLESEX, E. Riding—Joseph Henry Marshall.
 MIDDLESEX, N. Riding—William H. Hutchins.
 MIDDLESEX, S. Riding—Robert Boston.
 MIDDLESEX, W. Riding—William Frederick Roome.
 MISSISQUOI—George Barnard Baker.
 MONCK—Arthur Boyle.
 MONTCALM—Louis E. Dugas.
 MONTMAGNY—Philippe A. Choquette.
 MONTMORENCY—Arthur J. Turcotte.
 MONTREAL, Centre—Hon. John Joseph Curran.
 MONTREAL, East—Alphonse Téléphore Lépine.
 MONTREAL, West—Sir Donald Smith, K.C.M.G.
 MUSKOKA—William Edward O'Brien.
- NAPIERVILLE—Dominique Monet.
 NEW WESTMINSTER—Gordon E. Corbould.
 NICOLET—Joseph Hector Leduc.
 NORFOLK, N. Riding—John Charlton.
 NORFOLK, S. Riding—David Tisdale.
 NORTHUMBERLAND (N.B.)—Michael Adams.
 NORTHUMBERLAND (O.) E. R.—Edward Cochrane.
 NORTHUMBERLAND (O.) W. R.—George Guillet.
- ONTARIO, N. Riding—Frank Madill.
 ONTARIO, S. Riding—William Smith.
 ONTARIO, W. Riding—James David Edgar.
- OTTAWA City— { Sir James A. Grant, K.C.M.G.
 { Honoré Robillard.
 OTTAWA County—Charles Ramsay Devlin.
 OXFORD, N. Riding—James Sutherland.
 OXFORD, S. Riding—Hon. Sir Richard Cartwright,
 K.C.M.G.
- PREL—Joseph Featherston.
 PERTH, N. Riding—James Nicol Grieve.
 PERTH, S. Riding—William Pridham.
 PETERBOROUGH, E. Riding—John Burnham.
 PETERBOROUGH, W. Riding—James Stevenson.
 PICTOU— { Hon. Sir Charles H. Tupper, K.C.M.G.
 { John McDougald.
 PONTIAC—John Bryson.
 PORTNEUF—Arthur Delisle.
 PRESCOTT—Isidore Proulx.
 PRINCE (P.E.I.)— { Stanislas F. Perry.
 { John Yeo.
 PRINCE EDWARD—Archibald Campbell Miller.
 PROVENCHER—Alphonse A. C. LaRivière.
- QUEBEC, Centre—François Langelier.
 QUEBEC, East—Hon. Wilfred Laurier.
 QUEBEC, West—John Hearn.*
 QUEBEC County—Jules J. T. Frémont.
 QUEEN'S (N.B.)—George Frederic Baird.
 QUEEN'S (N.S.)—Francis Gordon Forbes.
 QUEEN'S (P.E.I.)— { Louis Henry Davies.
 { William Welsh.
- RENFREW, N. Riding—Hon. Peter White.
 RENFREW, S. Riding—John Ferguson.
 RESTIGOUCHE—John McAlister.
 RICHELIEU—Arthur Aimé Bruneau.
 RICHMOND (N.S.)—Joseph A. Gillies.
 RICHMOND AND WOLFE (Q.)—Clarence C. Cleveland.
 RIMOUSKI—Hon. Sir Adolphe Caron, K.C.M.G.
 ROUVILLE—Louis Philippe Brodeur.
 RUSSELL—William Cameron Edwards.
- ST. HYACINTHE—Michel E. Bernier.
 ST. JOHN (N.B.) City—Ezekiel McLeod.
 ST. JOHN (N.B.) City and County { J. Douglas Hazen.
 { John A. Chesley.
 ST. JOHNS (Q.)—François Bourassa.
 ST. MAURICE—François Sévère L. Desaulniers.
 SASKATCHEWAN—Day Hart Macdowell.
 SELKIRK—Hon. Thomas Mayne Daly.
 SHEFFORD—John Robbins Sanborn.
 SHELBURNE—Nathaniel W. White.
 SHERBROOKE—Hon. William Bullock Ives.
 SIMCOE, E. Riding—William H. Bennett.
 SIMCOE, N. Riding—Dalton McCarthy.
 SIMCOE, S. Riding—Richard Tyrwhitt.
 SOULANGES—James William Bain.
 STANSTEAD—Timothy Byron Rider.
 SUNBURY—Robert Duncan Wilmot.
 TEMISCOUATA—Paul Etienne Grandbois.
 TERREBONNE—Pierre Leclair.
 THREE RIVERS—Hon. Sir Hector Langevin, K.C.M.G.

* Died on or about 17th May.

| | |
|---|--|
| TORONTO, Centre —George Ralph R. Cockburn. | WELLAND —James A. Lowell. |
| TORONTO, East —Emerson Coatsworth, jun. | WELLINGTON, Centre Riding —Andrew Semple. |
| TORONTO, West —Frederick Charles Denison, C.M.G. | WELLINGTON, N. Riding —James McMullen. |
| TWO MOUNTAINS —Joseph Girouard. | WELLINGTON, S. Riding —James Innes. |
| VANCOUVER ISLAND —Andrew Haslam. | WENTWORTH, N. Riding —Thomas Bain. |
| VAUDREUIL —Henry Stanislaus Harwood. | WENTWORTH, S. Riding —Franklin M. Carpenter. |
| VERCHÈRES —Hon. Felix Geoffrion. | WESTMORELAND —Josiah Wood. |
| VICTORIA (B.C.) — (Edward Gawler Prior. Thomas Earle. | WINNIPEG —Joseph Martin. |
| VICTORIA (N.B.) —Hon. John Costigan. | YALE —John Andrew Mara. |
| VICTORIA (N.S.) —John Archibald McDonald. | YAMASKA —Roch Moïse Samuel Mignault. |
| VICTORIA (O.) N. Riding —Samuel Hughes. | YARMOUTH —Thomas Barnard Flint. |
| VICTORIA (O.) S. Riding —Charles Fairbairn. | YORK (N.B.) —Thomas Temple. |
| WATERLOO, N. Riding —Isaac Erb Bowman. | YORK (O.) E. Riding —William Findlay Maclean. |
| WATERLOO, S. Riding —James Livingston. | YORK (O.) N. Riding —William Mulock. |
| | YORK (O.) W. Riding —Hon. N. Clarke Wallace. |

**SELECT COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO SUPERVISE THE PUBLICATION OF THE
OFFICIAL REPORTS OF THE DEBATES OF THE HOUSE.**

| | |
|---|---|
| BEAUSOLEIL, Mr. Cléophas (<i>Berthier</i>). | LÉPINE, Mr. Alphonse Téléphore (<i>East Montreal</i>). |
| BÉCHARD, Mr. François (<i>Iberville</i>). | PRIOR, Mr. Edward Gawler (<i>Victoria, B.C.</i>). |
| CAMERON, Mr. Hugh (<i>Inverness</i>). | SCRIVER, Mr. Julius (<i>Huntingdon</i>). |
| CHARLTON, Mr. John (<i>North Norfolk</i>). | SOMERVILLE, Mr. James (<i>North Brant</i>). |
| DAVIN, Mr. Nicholas Flood (<i>West Assiniboia</i>). | TAYLOR, Mr. George (<i>South Leeds</i>). |
| HAZEN, Mr. J. Douglas (<i>St. John City and County</i>). | WELDON, Mr. R. Chapman (<i>Albert</i>). |
| INNES, Mr. James (<i>South Wellington</i>). | WHITE, Mr. Robert Smeaton (<i>Cardwell</i>). |
| LARIVIÈRE, Mr. Alphonse A. C. (<i>Provencher</i>). | |

Chairman :—**MR. ALPHONSE A. C. LARIVIÈRE** (*Provencher*).

House of Commons Debates

FOURTH SESSION—SEVENTH PARLIAMENT

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, 15th March, 1894.

The Parliament, which had been prorogued from time to time, was now commanded to assemble on the 15th day of March, 1894, for the despatch of business.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at fifteen minutes before Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

A Message was delivered by René Edouard Kimber, Esquire, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod :

Mr. SPEAKER,

His Excellency the Governor General desires the immediate attendance of this Honourable House in the Senate Chamber.

Accordingly, the House went up to the Senate Chamber.

and the House being returned,

CONTROVERTED ELECTIONS.

Mr. SPEAKER informed the House that he had received from the Judges selected for the trial of Election Petitions, pursuant to the Dominion Controverted Elections Act, certificates and reports relating to the elections for the Electoral District of Soulanges, for the Electoral District of L'Islet, and for the Electoral District of Vaudreuil, wherein the said petitions were severally dismissed and the sitting members declared duly elected.

VACANCIES.

Mr. SPEAKER informed the House that during the recess he had received notification of vacancies which have occurred in the representation, as follows :—

Of DAVID WILLIAM GORDON, Esq., Member for the Electoral District of Vancouver, by decease.

Of HUGH JOHN MACDONALD, Esq., Member for the Electoral District of Winnipeg, by resignation.

Of CHARLES HERBERT MACKINTOSH, Esq., Member for the Electoral District of the City of Ottawa, by the acceptance of an office of emolument under the Crown.

He also informed the House that he had issued his several warrants to the Clerk of

the Crown in Chancery to make out new writs of election for the said electoral districts respectively.

NEW MEMBERS.

Mr. SPEAKER informed the House that the Clerk of the House had received from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery certificates of the election and return of the following members :—

Of ANDREW HASLAM, Esq., for the Electoral District of Vancouver.

Of HENRY STANISLAUS HARWOOD, Esq., for the Electoral District of Soulanges.

Of JOSEPH MARTIN, Esq., for the Electoral District of Winnipeg.

Of Sir JAMES A. GRANT, K.C.M.G., for the Electoral District of Ottawa City.

MEMBERS INTRODUCED.

Sir JAMES A. GRANT, K.C.M.G., Member for the Electoral District of Ottawa City, introduced by Sir John Thompson and Mr. Robillard.

HENRY STANISLAUS HARWOOD, Esq., Member for the Electoral District of Vaudreuil, introduced by Mr. Laurier and Mr. Tarte.

JOSEPH MARTIN, Esq., Member for the Electoral District of Winnipeg, introduced by Mr. Laurier and Mr. Davies (P.E.I.)

ANDREW HASLAM, Esq., Member for the Electoral District of Vancouver, introduced by Sir John Thompson and Mr. Mara.

FIRST READING.

Bill (No. 1) respecting the Administration of Oaths of Office.—(Sir John Thompson.)

SPEECH FROM THE THRONE.

Mr. SPEAKER laid on the Table a copy of the speech delivered by His Excellency the Governor General to both Houses of Parliament in the Senate Chamber this day, which is as follows :—

Honourable Gentlemen of the Senate :

Gentlemen of the House of Commons :

In the Queen's name I greet you, for the first time since assuming the high functions intrusted to me by Her Majesty ; and it is with feelings of the liveliest satisfaction that I thus meet you assembled for the labours of another session of Parliament.

This feeling of satisfaction is enhanced by the opportunities which I have already enjoyed of visiting, and in my official capacity renewing acquaintance with, several of the chief centres of the enterprise and activity of this Dominion; nor need I refrain from assuring you that I have been deeply impressed by the heartiness of the reception accorded to me as Her Majesty's Viceroy and Representative, a reception which has once more manifested the loyalty, the cordiality and the public spirit of the Canadian people.

My predecessor was able to express gratification to you last year on an increase in trade and on the continued progress of the Dominion. It is gratifying to me to observe that the expectation which was then formed—that the volume of trade during the then current year would exceed that of any year in the history of the Dominion—has been fully realized, and that Canada's progress continues with every mark of stability and permanence.

It may be observed with satisfaction that a large proportion of this increase is shown to have been due to an extension of our commerce with Great Britain.

It is a cause of thankfulness that our people have been spared in a very great degree from the sufferings which have visited the populations of some other countries during many months past, and that while the commercial depression prevailing abroad could not but affect the activity of business in the Dominion, we have been free from any extensive financial disaster or widespread distress.

The revenues of the year have been ample for the services which you provided for, and have met the expectations on which the appropriations of last year were based.

The peaceful conclusion, by the award of the arbitrators at Paris, of the controversy which had prevailed so long, with respect to the Seal Fisheries in the Pacific Ocean and the rights of British subjects in Behring Sea, has removed the only source of contention which existed between Great Britain and the United States with regard to Canada. There is every reason to believe that Her Majesty's Government will obtain redress for those Canadian subjects of Her Majesty who were deprived of their property and liberty without just cause while the controversy was in progress.

At an early date a measure will be laid before you having for its object a revision of the Duties of Customs with a view to meet the changes which time has effected in business operations of all kinds throughout the Dominion. While my Ministers do not propose to change the principles on which the existing enactments on this subject are based,

MR. SPEAKER.

the amendments which will be offered for your consideration are designed to simplify the operation of the tariff and to lessen, as far as can be done, consistently with those principles and with the requirements of the Treasury, the imposts which are now in force.

There will also be laid before you a measure on the subject of Bankruptcy and Insolvency which will, it is hoped, make more adequate provision than now exists on that subject for the increasing trade and commerce of the country and for the greatly expanded trade between the several provinces of Canada.

Measures will also be submitted to you making more effective provisions for our lines of steam communication on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, for improving the law with regard to Dominion Lands and with regard to the management of Indian Affairs; also a Bill respecting Joint Stock Companies, another with respect to the Fisheries, and several less important measures which experience has suggested with regard to various matters under your control.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons:

The Public Accounts will be submitted to you at an early date and also the Estimates of the expenditure which has been considered necessary for the ensuing year.

Honourable Gentlemen of the Senate:

Gentlemen of the House of Commons:

While it is hoped that the public measures which will demand your attention will not be very numerous some of them will be of great weight and importance, and it is my earnest hope and prayer that the care and zeal which you will apply to the deliberations of the session may be aided by the abundant blessing of the Almighty.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved:

That the Address with which His Excellency has been pleased to open the Session be taken into consideration to-morrow.

Motion agreed to.

SELECT STANDING COMMITTEES.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved:

That Select Standing Committees of this House for the present session be appointed for the following purposes.—1. On Privileges and Elections.—2. On Expiring Laws.—3. On Railways, Canals and Telegraph Lines.—4. On Miscellaneous Private Bills.—5. On Standing Orders.—6. On Printing.—7. On Public Accounts.—8. On Banking and Commerce.—9. On Agriculture and Colonization;—which said Committees shall severally be empowered to examine and inquire into all such matters and

things as may be referred to them by the House; and to report from time to time their observations and opinions thereon; with power to send for persons, papers and records.

Motion agreed to.

OFFICIAL DEBATES COMMITTEE.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved :

That a Select Committee be appointed to supervise the Official Report of the Debates in this House during the present session with power to report from time to time, to be composed of: Messrs. Beausoleil, Béchard, Cameron, Charlton, Davin, Hazen, Innes, LaRivière, Lépine, Prior, Scriver, Somerville, Taylor, Weldon, and White (Cardwell).

Mr. LAURIER. Is it the same committee as last year?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The same committee.

Motion agreed to.

REPORT OF LIBRARIANS.

The Joint Report of the Librarians of Parliament was laid on the Table of the House.—(Mr. Speaker.)

ADJOURNMENT — THE NEW BRUNSWICK JUDICIARY.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Mr. Speaker, before the House adjourns I would invite the right hon. gentleman, the Minister of Justice, to make a statement respecting certain changes that have taken place in the judiciary of the Province of New Brunswick. Under ordinary circumstances I would not, so early in the session, bring this matter to the attention of Parliament, but the right hon. gentleman is aware, and the House and the country are aware, that the changes which have just taken place—or one change at least which has taken place—has been attended and surrounded by circumstances of an extremely grave and serious character. In this country, Sir, we have been accustomed heretofore to boast that, whatever charges may have been made or bandied about by politicians from one political party to another as to political malversation in office, yet, so far as the bench of the country is concerned, it was, at any rate, pure and above suspicion. The hon. Minister of Justice will recollect that some months ago—I think it is six months ago—one of the leading newspapers of St. John in a doubled lead editorial preferred charges of a very grave and serious character against one of the hon. judges of the Supreme Court of that province, charges so grave and so serious that if they were true, of course all further confidence must cease in the administration of justice by that gen-

tleman. The public awaited in breathless silence and suspense the action that would be taken with respect to these charges. The charges were not made in an indirect way; they were direct, positive charges of malversation, and the bar of the different provinces—I speak more especially of the Maritime Provinces—listened from day to day to hear the action that would be taken to remove the cloud which hung over, for the first time, one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the province. No action was taken. It is well known that the judges of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick at least had not been averse in the past to maintain what they imagined was their dignity, by taking proceedings in the nature of attachments for alleged contempt. It was believed that possibly that course might be resorted to in the instance I have referred to. No course of that kind was taken. After some period of time had elapsed the press generally challenged the action of those implicated who maintained this extraordinary silence, and it was asked whether, if proceedings were not to be instituted for contempt, at least proceedings would not be taken in the nature of a libel suit, in which the truth or falsity of those very grave and serious charges might be proven. It was felt and known, Mr. Speaker, that silence was impossible to be maintained very long. It was known that it was impossible that this House, this Inquest of the Nation, could meet and prorogue without this matter, or this charge, or this alleged blot on the fair escutcheon of our judges being removed or explained away. It has been lately announced in the press that the judge so charged has tendered to the Government of the day his resignation of his judicial position. It is stated, Sir, that the Government have accepted that resignation. I rise to ask for information on these points. I am told, on what I conceive to be fair authority—the right hon. gentleman will correct me if my information is wrong—that the Minister of Justice had this matter specially brought to his attention, not only brought to his attention, I may say, in a public form by reading the press, or having his attention called to the article, but that the incriminated judge also communicated to him with respect to it. I am informed that the whole matter was brought to the right hon. gentleman's attention. I know the jealousy with which the Minister of Justice views the integrity of the bench. I have confidence in him in that respect, however little confidence I may have in him politically—

Mr. FOSTER. Just saved himself.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I did not save myself "just." I saved myself wholly. I desire to say that this matter is not a mere political squib. I am not speaking for political effect; I am speaking of a matter which every hon. member in this House, on both sides, will recognize as exceedingly

grave. I am speaking of a matter which would be rendered still more grave if an improper silence were maintained by the representatives of the people in this House. I feel quite sure, Mr. Speaker, that if the hon. Minister of Justice were charged with receiving a bribe in the administration of his duties, the matter would properly and promptly be brought to the attention of the House and discussed. I feel quite sure, that if he were similarly charged, a day would not go by without the accusation being properly challenged and investigated, and I see no reason why the same prompt and energetic action should not be taken with respect to a charge which surrounds and attacks the integrity of one of the judges of the Maritime Provinces. When I passed through St. John the other day, I understood the hon. judge was still discharging his official duties on the ground that his resignation had not been accepted. I rise to know, Sir, whether this judge has resigned, whether his resignation was accepted, whether the charges preferred against him some months ago in the columns of the St. John 'Globe' were brought to the notice of the Minister of Justice, and whether the Government have voluntarily accepted a resignation which entitles him to superannuation, without their taking any steps to make an investigation into these charges?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Mr. Speaker, the hon. gentleman has brought to the notice of the House, on the motion to adjourn, a question of undoubted importance, and one which perhaps it would be more satisfactory to the House to consider when the papers on the subject are on the Table of the House, in order that members might be more fully aware of the considerations involved in the case; and in order, that even speaking for myself and my own department, I should have greater accuracy in the explanation which I should give to the House, than if I relied upon memory. But, answering the hon. member's questions in the way in which they are put, and relying upon my memory entirely for the material with which to answer the hon. gentleman, I would say that the comments of the St. John 'Globe'—I think that was the paper the hon. gentleman mentioned—were brought to my notice by a copy of the paper being sent to me, where I then was, outside of this country. I am unable to recollect any instance in which they were called to my notice or attention in any other way than by the perusal of the paper. But communication was made to me, not directly, but indirectly, by the judge who was so charged in the press; and the statement which was made to me, indirectly and orally, on his behalf, as I was given to understand, was one which absolutely denied the truth of the statements involved, and made explanations with regard to the details of the transactions which justified me in believing that the judge impugned intended to vindicate his judicial and per-

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sonal character if any attempts should be made to follow up those charges in the regular way. I say in the regular way, because it has always been the practice of the Department of Justice, and I think is in every other country, to take no official cognizance of charges made in the press merely. The practice always has been, in my experience—and I am informed, in the experience of my predecessors—that when a communication is made impugning the administration of justice, or the personal character of any judge, I require the person making the complaint, before it shall be noticed, to send that complaint to me in a way in which it can be communicated to the judge himself, and on the personal responsibility, at least, of the person who makes the charges. So far as I can recollect, there was no personal responsibility assumed by the writer of the article attacking Judge Palmer. If my memory serves me right, the charges were made in an editorial, or a communication, I forget which.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) An editorial.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Of course, the publisher of the paper was amenable to justice, if he were slandering the judge, by proceedings for libel, or attachment, or other proceedings for contempt; but as to personal responsibility for the allegations therein made, personal responsibility, I mean, as to the knowledge of the writer of the truth of the charges so preferred, there was none. I say, Sir, that my own practice has been that when such charges have been preferred in regard to any judge, whether a county judge or a judge of a superior court, I communicate the charge which has been thus made to the judge against whom it has been preferred. If the judge whose conduct is so impugned makes a denial, or what appears upon its face to be a satisfactory explanation of the charges which are thus preferred, the course has invariably been to inform the author of the complaint that any further proceedings on that subject must be taken before Parliament, because, by our constitution, as members are well aware, steps for the removal of a judge can only be taken by way of an Address from both Houses of Parliament to His Excellency to cause the judge to be removed. I am speaking, of course, now in this particular case, of an imputation against the conduct of a judge of a superior court. In the case of judges of county courts, there is a statutory provision under which it is my duty to inform the person who makes the charge against a county judge, assuming, of course, that the charges are such as to justify an inquiry, that if he thinks proper to pursue the inquiry further, a commission will be issued appointing a judge of a superior court to investigate the cause under the statute with a view to the exercise by the executive of the power of removal of the county judge, if the circumstances should justify his removal. I wish the House, there-

fore, to understand from this explanation that there was no communication addressed to me of that kind, no communication other than that which appeared in the newspaper which the hon. gentleman has referred to, and that the explanations, therefore, which were placed before me on the part of the learned judge himself, were placed before me on his own motion and instance, and not as the result of any communication from myself. The next question which is asked is whether the learned judge has tendered his resignation. The judge in question has tendered his resignation, and that resignation has been accepted. The circumstances under which it was accepted are these: The judge has reached the age of 74 years; he has been within a very few months of 15 years on the bench as judge in Equity of the Province of New Brunswick. The medical certificates which were laid before us are as strong as any that in my experience have ever been presented by a judge retired from the bench on the ground of incapacity for duty. Those certificates state that the judge, by advanced age and infirmity, had been deprived entirely of the sight of one eye, and therefore relied solely, in reading or writing, upon the other eye, which had been blind for a number of years before, but the sight of which had been eventually restored by medical treatment. Under these circumstances, and especially in consideration of his advanced age, I think we were justified in accepting his resignation.

Mr. LAURIER. The hon. gentleman has not stated, but perhaps he can say now, when the resignation was accepted, and when communicated to the judge.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It was recently, I think, about two weeks ago, or ten days. I will ascertain the date.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Has it been communicated to the judge by letter?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I think so, though I cannot say positively, because my department is not the department that makes such communication. I will ascertain, and inform the House to-morrow.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I understand from the right hon. gentleman's statement that he did not call the judge's attention to the article, and ask him with regard to the matters therein set out.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No.

THE COMMISSION ON THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Mr. LANDERKIN. Before you leave the Chair, I would like to inquire of the Government when the report of the Royal Commission on the question of prohibition, will be submitted to the House.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It is not customary to lay reports on the Table until the Speech is considered. I hope the report will be ready for submission very soon afterwards.

COPYRIGHT.

Mr. EDGAR. Before you leave the Chair, let me say that I think the First Minister will agree with me that the time has arrived for the consideration by Parliament of the copyright dispute between Canada and England. I do not want to discuss it until the papers are brought down showing the latest phase that it has assumed; and I would ask the Minister if he will lay before the House at the very earliest day, all the papers that are in the possession of the Government and that he can produce, since the last occasion on which returns were laid before the House, which was in 1891. I think on this question there should be no difference of opinion in this House, because I am sure that those who have sent us here will expect us all to maintain firmly what we consider to be the rights of self-government of Canada; and unless I am very much astray, an important right of self-government is involved in this decision.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I agree with what the hon. gentleman has said, and if he will move for the production of the papers I will endeavour to have them ready by the time the motion is carried.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 4.05 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, 16th March, 1894.

The Speaker took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL'S INSTRUCTIONS.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to call the attention of the Prime Minister to a paragraph in the Speech from the Throne in which His Excellency is designated the Viceroy and Queen's representative. I should like to ask the hon. gentleman whether any change has been made in the terms of the Governor's Commission, and if so, whether he is prepared to lay the document on the Table of the House? The hon. gentleman knows that the Governor is not a Viceroy, unless Her Ma-

jesty has extended to him all the prerogatives and powers which belong to Her Majesty under which she acts.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Her Majesty has not changed the provisions of the Commission under which Governors General have been appointed in recent years.

THE NEW BRUNSWICK JUDICIARY.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I desire to ask the Prime Minister whether I understood the hon. gentleman correctly, that in the conversation across the floor yesterday he expressed the intention to bring down the papers to which I referred, without a formal motion being made? I have not placed on the paper a motion, because I gathered from the hon. gentleman's remarks that he would bring down the papers at an early period, without the necessity of a formal motion being passed.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I did not say I would bring them down without a motion being passed, and we came to the conclusion that it is more convenient to have a motion submitted in every case, but I will waive the motion in this instance.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HIS EXCELLENCY'S SPEECH.

The House proceeded to the consideration of His Excellency's Speech delivered at the opening of the session.

Sir JAMES GRANT. Mr. Speaker, within the year that has just passed two very important events have transpired. We have parted with one representative of Her Majesty, and we have received the nobleman who recently arrived amongst us and is the present representative of Her Majesty in this Dominion. During the sojourn of Lord Derby and Lady Derby in this country they endeared themselves to the people, and he, by his wise judgment and discretion, by his long practical experience as a legislator and his occupancy of important positions in the Government of Great Britain, so discharged the serious responsibility of presiding over the destinies of this great Dominion as to reflect great credit on himself and to carry back to England the warmest possible regards of the people of this country. As for Lady Derby, she endeared herself to everyone with whom she came in contact. She took an active interest in our people, in our institutions, in everything that tended to the welfare of our people, and in leaving Canada she left behind her tangible proof of the work she was desirous of accomplishing, the establishment of an institution in the capital of the Dominion known as the "Stanley Institute," which is a credit to her name and her reputation. The wish of the people of this country is that in leaving Canada they may be long spared to enjoy the ease and affluence which have recently descended to them, and in doing so I feel satis-

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

fied that throughout the length and breadth of Canada there is but one wish that they may be long spared to undertake works of practical usefulness which await them in the great centres of England. We have also received here within a very short time a nobleman and lady, Lord and Lady Aberdeen, whose names went before them, inasmuch as they lived in Canada for a short time, and although that period itself was extremely short, still they endeared themselves to the people with whom they came specially in contact in that Garden of Eden, as I might call it, Hamilton, one of the cities of Ontario, so that when they left Canada there was a unanimous wish felt among the people throughout the country that we might be so extremely fortunate as to have them here as representing Her Majesty. "The Grand Old Man," whom I am sorry to say is now languishing from sickness, and has been obliged to leave the leadership of that great party over which he presided, in his judgment and discretion selected to come to Canada a nobleman who was Viceroy of Ireland, and who so distinguished himself in that position as to endear himself to every Irishman in that grand old emerald isle, where to-day the shamrock grows so sweetly and luxuriantly. We rely upon it that not only will the representatives of that Ireland, which we all delight to honour, but all the people of Canada will receive at his hands that degree of justice which is bound to flow from any representatives sent to Canada by Her Majesty, as on every occasion she selects the best man possible to preside over the destinies of this important and conspicuous portion of her domain. As for Lady Aberdeen, we know her well. She takes, also, a deep interest in our people, in our institutions, and in everything that appertains to the welfare of the country. I am sure that when, in the ordinary course of events, the time arrives for Their Excellencies to leave Canada, our people will heartily say, God-speed to the Governor General and his lady, who have so largely contributed towards the happiness, the comfort, and the prosperity of the Dominion. Mr. Speaker, I rise with no ordinary degree of pleasure to move the address in response to the Speech from the Throne. Although twenty years have elapsed since I before had the honour of occupying a seat in this Chamber, I still undertake this duty with a considerable degree of hesitancy, inasmuch as I am fully aware that within that time there have been extraordinary advances made in every line of thought, and particularly in the great department of political economy. As one of the representatives of the capital of the Dominion of Canada, I feel satisfied that the compliment that has been paid me is more to the people whom I have the honour to represent, than to myself, personally. Permit me to say, Sir, that, in making this response to the address, I wish

to crave the indulgence of the hon. members of this House. Time is an important factor in estimating the development and progress of a country, and certainly the people of Canada have reason to feel proud of what has been accomplished within the past twenty years. If we look around us, in almost every direction we see tangible proof of that advancement. I would ask any sane man who looks into the various lines of thought and development, if he does not observe in this the full and thorough determination of the people of Canada (notwithstanding the difficulties they have had to contend against) to maintain the spirit of independence and reliance on themselves. It all convinces me that our people are rapidly attaining the point of the maintenance of the true spirit of national development. I know of nothing that has tended more to bring our people together than the grand principles of confederation. It has cemented the various provinces, it has developed interprovincial trade and commerce, and it has caused us to know their legislators, who have been brought up here from time to time, and who have taken so active and so energetic a part in the affairs of this House that—as the Hon. Sir Hibbert Tupper pointed out in Hamilton a few days ago in his admirable address on “Canadian Footprints”—we look to the Maritime Provinces as a nursery of great men. These provinces have contributed to our public life a class of men who have always taken an active and energetic part in the advancement of this country. Before the principles of confederation were thoroughly carried out, the Maritime Provinces traded with Boston and New York, and the contiguous portions of the United States; but since confederation what do we find? That we in this part of Canada are taking their coal, that they are taking our flour, that in every way trade and commerce has sprung up between us, and that by our interchange of ideas we are daily becoming more closely allied to each other. The hon. members of this House need not be told what the Canadian Pacific Railway has accomplished in the progress of our great country. I might say, Sir, that I hold in my hand to-day the bill presented to me by the late Sir John Abbott when he was taking an active part on the floor of this House, who then expressed his wish to me that I should introduce the Canadian Pacific Railway Bill. He formulated the principles of it, and I had the pleasure of introducing it on the 20th day of April, 1872, and of addressing the House on the importance of that great highway. We are to-day realizing the importance of the construction of that railway in every sense of the term. We find that trade and commerce have developed to an extraordinary degree. In the present state of depression that railway has no doubt difficulties to contend against, as almost any railway on this side of the Atlantic has, but not-

withstanding that, I am satisfied that it will be able to stem the current, to float on as for years past, and to assist very materially in the further development of the resources of Canada. I may say that I know perfectly well the sentiments expressed by individuals who have considered the subject, and they are, that the shortest route across from the Atlantic to the Pacific would ultimately command the commercial supremacy of this North American continent. We find also that the Government are now inaugurating a system of rapid steam communication between Great Britain and Canada, a policy which will also assist very materially in advancing our position as a country. Twenty years ago, we had only one line of steamers—the Allans—and to them is due a great deal of credit for what they have done in the earlier stages of Canada. We know that if it had not been for the Allans the trade of Canada would be in a backward condition compared to what it is to-day. There are now five lines of steamers sailing from Montreal to European ports, and we will yet have another line in order to enable us to compete with the great Republic to the south of us. We have also those magnificent steamers, sailing from Vancouver to Japan, China, India and Australia, and they will undoubtedly bring about in time increasing trade with these countries. I read the speech of the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce regarding his mission to Australia the other day, and what a regret came to my mind when I thought that had the Grand Old Chieftain been living he would have clapped him on the shoulder and said: Well done, thou good and faithful servant. Mr. Speaker, I look forward to the time when we shall have a large and important trade with Australia. At the present time the trade of that great country is just what the trade of Great Britain was when Her Majesty ascended the Throne. Is not that an evidence in itself of what Australia has done by the public spirit and self-reliance of its people? And, when we look at our products that are now being exported there, and the manner in which our Canadian mowers and reapers and other agricultural implements are attracting the attention of the farmers in Australia, we see another evidence that the products of Canada, by their superior construction, will command a market no matter where they go. I believe that it is the intention shortly to establish a Canadian depot in Australia. That is a practical idea, and the people of that continent will then know,—as they are shortly going to know in England by the establishment of a depot of a similar character—what are Canadian products and what are not. We know how often spurious articles are put in the market and said to be Canadian when they are truly something else. It is right and proper that our public men should so direct the current of trade with reference to these depots that the products of Canada, no matter where they go, shall be amply and care-

fully protected from spurious imitations. I am glad to know that a conference is shortly to take place in Ottawa—I believe on the 21st of June—when we shall receive emissaries from Australia who are coming to exchange ideas with the leading men of this country, and to see what means can be adopted for establishing a more extended trade with these provinces. I look forward to the day, not far distant, when the various Australian provinces will be confederated as are the Canadian provinces; and when that takes place, it will not only stimulate the people there to perfect their internal government, but also assist them in promoting their foreign trade. When an individual wants to accomplish anything, he has first to know himself, and then he knows how to deal with others. So it is with the people of a colony. They require to know themselves, to adopt the principles which have been found useful in other colonies, and then they can prosper; and when the various provinces of Australia shall be joined together like the various provinces of Canada, it will stimulate them very materially in carrying out those principles of trade which we have in contemplation. I hope also that the day is not far distant when we shall have an electric cable laid between this country and Australia. We know that an electric cable is the trade pulse of the world. When the price of a product rises or falls, the fact is at once telegraphed to the various centres of the world. We in Canada need to be up and doing in this matter if we are to hold our own; and I have been very much pleased indeed to find that Mr. Sandford Fleming, a gentleman very well known in this country for his energy and enterprise, especially in connection with the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, should have gone to Australia on his own personal account, and so stimulated the interest of the Australians in the matter that, with reasonable assistance from Canada and Great Britain, I feel satisfied that an Australian cable will before very long be an accomplished fact. A great increase has also taken place in the volume of our trade with the West Indies. This trade was greatly stimulated by the Jamaica exhibition; and chiefly owing to the visit of the Finance Minister and the Canadian Commissioner to that exhibition, Mr. Adam Brown, of Hamilton, we have thus a large source of revenue from those islands. Our products have been successful there for the same reason that they have been successful in the great Chicago exhibition. We know how many prizes have been awarded to us; and they have not come to us from mere chance or accident, but as a result of the energy of our farmers and mechanics; and I am satisfied that the products of this country when placed in competition with the products of any other country in the world, will always be able to stand the test and maintain an equally high

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standard. We have also had the enormous steamers of the Canadian Pacific Railway ploughing our western lakes, and developing a line of trade there of very great importance. I merely advert to these subjects as indicating the great progress of the country, because they were scarcely known twenty years ago when I formerly occupied a seat on the floor of this House. There are pessimists who say that Canada is going to the dogs, that we hardly amount to anything, that our position is so infinitesimal that we are hardly noticed. But when we look at the resources of this country, at the energy of our people, at the wonderful development of the country in the last twenty years, it is perfectly marvellous how much Canada has to be thankful for, and we can see that a great future is in store for our people. We know perfectly well, Sir, that within the last twelve months an extraordinary financial depression has existed almost throughout the entire world; scarcely any country has escaped from it; the great centres of trade and commerce have been very materially disturbed. But thanks to the energy and perseverance of the various peoples in the world, times are now gradually improving, and I hope the day is not far distant when the general trade of the world will march forward again with the same progress and advancement that we have seen in the years that are past. Of the various sections of the world, I do not know any where this trade depression has been felt more severely than in Australia. Nearly every bank in Australia—I believe all with the exception of three—went to the wall; and even those three were tested to the utmost capacity. The influence of such a depression was widespread, and was felt in the great financial centres of the world, particularly in England, and why? Because the monetary men of England were induced to invest their capital in the form of deposits in the various Australian banks, and the collapse came when they least expected it. They were induced to put their money there like many other capitalists, by the prospect of high interest; and high interest is never a safe investment. The consequence was that the far-reaching effects of that collapse were experienced in England. Succeeding that almost immediately, an extraordinary cyclone passed over the financial institutions of the United States. They were shaken to their very foundations; and notwithstanding the collapses that we have witnessed in every direction we have never for one moment felt that the people of that great country, whom we admire and respect, whose institutions we have seen grow up almost at our doors, would long fail to revive. We have seen how they paid off the great debt of the American War, when everybody said that it could not be done; we believe they are able to pay everything they owe, and will soon be as prosperous again as ever; yet we saw no less than 158 of their national banks go to the wall, because those banks

were not established on the same sound basis as our Canadian banks. They did not possess the same elasticity, and there was not the same opportunity of getting money in a hurry. Thanks to the wisdom and foresight of the public men of this country, our banking arrangements are entirely different; and, as a consequence, the financial institutions of our country have been saved from disaster and have shown the solid and substantial basis on which they rest. We find that to-day the bonds of Canada stand as high in the English market and in other money markets as any other securities; and this we owe largely to the manner in which the monetary institutions of this country have been managed. Again, it is a remarkable fact that in a period of stagnation the associated banks of New York should have accumulated \$236,000,000, while, owing to a want of confidence in the country and a feeling of nervousness on the part of the men who held the purse-strings in the monetary centres, only \$11,000,000 were placed in general circulation from the 19th of August to the 13th of September. This is proof positive of the want of confidence they had in themselves. When large sums of silver were being thrown on the market, those who held gold locked it up in their vaults, so that this gold, which would have been, under ordinary circumstances, in circulation, was doing no good whatever to the country. Again, it is a remarkable fact that no less than seventy-six railways in the United States passed into the hands of receivers during the past year. Why? Because the railway companies, although they had the securities to cover their indebtedness, were unable to raise money, owing to this lack of confidence and of elasticity in the American banking system, and had to pass into the hands of receivers. And this despite the likelihood of their being able to pay in the near future. If we turn to England, what do we find? England is looked upon, and with reason, as the great centre of the financial world. It is the Mecca to which everyone goes who seeks to float a scheme and raise money. Well, in England we find that the capital created and issued in 1893, was less than one-fourth of what it was in 1889. Does not that show stringency in the money market? Most assuredly it does. But I am glad to know that in the month of February past the trade and commerce between England and Canada has very materially improved, and is to-day more than it has been for some time, which is proof positive that we are gradually and surely working again into a more successful trade than we have experienced for some time past. I may seem, Mr. Speaker, to be drawing a rather dark picture, but I feel assured it is but right that we should consider all these matters, because they afford us tangible proof, if such be required, of the remarkable way in which Canada has stood the crisis. And how proud we ought to be that this country of ours is now hope-

fully looked forward to by every individual who wishes to build up a home for himself in the New World where he will have some prospect of obtaining an adequate return for his labour and investment. In view of certain reports which have been put in circulation concerning the great North-west, and which may tend to retard the current of emigration there, it may be well that I should allude to certain facts respecting that country. Much of the depression in the province of Manitoba, and particularly in the North-west, is due to the low price of wheat. We know perfectly well that wheat throughout the world is now in a depressed condition. A large quantity is grown in India, Russia, the United States, and various other portions of the world. In some places it is grown so very cheaply that competition by us has become extremely difficult. I am sure, however, that the time is not very far distant when our farmers will be able to so diversify their farming operations as to overcome this difficulty. The following table will show the fluctuations in the value of wheat growing since 1890, in various states:—In the state of Illinois, the average value per acre in 1890, was \$11.22. In 1891 it was \$15.00; in 1892 it was \$11.91; and in 1893, \$5.61. In Missouri, in 1890, the value of wheat per acre was \$18.71. In 1891 it was \$14.05; in 1892 it was \$8.04; and in 1893 it was \$4.07. In Minnesota, wheat was worth, in 1890, \$10.29 per acre. In 1891 it was worth \$15.52 per acre; in 1892, \$7.44; and in 1893, \$4.50. In Northern Dakota, the value of an acre of wheat in 1890 was \$4.83. In 1891 it was \$15.25. In 1892 it was \$7.45; and in 1893 it was \$4.30. In our North-west Territories, it was raised from \$6.75 to \$11 per acre. As regards the cultivation of land, the average increase in area of cultivable land in the United States has been as follows:—

| | |
|------------------------|--------------|
| 1871 to 1875 | 32 per cent. |
| 1875 to 1880 | 34 do |
| 1880 to 1885 | 19 do |
| 1885 to 1890 | 7 do |

or only 1¼ per cent per year between 1885 and 1890, showing that the limit has been reached, and that the pioneers of farming industry must turn their attention to Canada. A great deal has been said about our farmers leaving their lands and going elsewhere, but it is well to remember that in many parts of Minnesota, homesteads were granted to farmers no less than five times, yet to-day that state is one of the most prosperous in the Union. We find to-day that hundreds of American farmers are settling in this country. All along the North-west, up about Edmonton, they are coming in quietly and steadily, and taking an active part in the development of the country. Hundreds are turning their attention to mixed farming, because they find that growing wheat alone will not pay; and I find, from statistics that I have recently obtained from the North-west Government, that the production of the farms is as follows:—

| No. of Farmers. | Produced bushels of Wheat. | Cattle. | Pigs. |
|-----------------|----------------------------|---------|-------|
| 34..... | 29,675 | 246 | 152 |
| 26..... | 21,163 | 255 | 111 |
| 34..... | 18,681 | 413 | 198 |
| 8..... | 3,863 | 106 | 61 |
| 13..... | 6,543 | 444 | 77 |
| 4..... | 690 | 9 | 9 |

These statistics, which were gathered at various points in the North-west, prove beyond doubt the great agricultural development which is taking place in that country, and show that the time is not very far distant when farming will be carried on there as it is now in our eastern country, and the people will not give their attention entirely to the cultivation of wheat. The report of Mr. Crawford of Indian Head, which has been sent down recently, shows the following as regards Assiniboia. Thirty-three farmers had the following acres under crop : 5,512 acres.

| | |
|---------------------|---------------|
| Wheat produced..... | 134,406 bush. |
| Oats do..... | 28,258 do |
| Horses do..... | 378 |
| Cattle do..... | 386 |
| Sheep..... | 448 |
| Pigs..... | 4,615 |

The same men have 6,485 acres ready for 1894. It is all very fine for people to disparage our country, but let them look at these facts and consider the matter quietly, and I am sure that they will unite in saying there is a great future before the North-west, and I hope the day is not far distant when we will have even a greater tide of immigration flowing into that country than we are now experiencing. We know perfectly well that there are great territories that have scarcely been opened up at all. There is the great Athabasca country. Thanks to the Minister of Interior, we have had recently a splendid report by Dr. McConnell upon that country, which report shows that there is there an area of over 200 miles in length, which has lying under it an enormous basin of petroleum. Consider how, when this is developed, it will add to the material resources of this country, it seems, at first thought, remarkable that it should have remained so long untouched. But it could hardly have been otherwise, because there was no railway construction to Edmonton until recently. We know what Pennsylvania has done in a financial way for the benefit of the United States, and we may rest assured that, as the Athabasca country is developed, it will do as much for Canada. Mr. Bowell, in his address at Toronto, said that Australia took no less than a million and a quarter dollars worth of coal oil last year. How gratifying if we, the people of Canada, could command the trade in this respect, not only of Australia, but also of China, Japan and India, where, up to the present time, nothing like petroleum has been discovered. We have an additional stimulus to the development of

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our country in the resources of the North-west. We want to develop every productive industry in our country. We require money to keep us going, and, rely upon it, with the resources behind us, we have no reason to fear that the finances of this country will be in any other than a prosperous condition in the future, as they are at the present time. As regards the United States, permit me to say before leaving that point that in reading *The Forum*, only a short time ago, I was very much impressed with an observation made by one of the leading men, who is also known as a statistician of the highest repute, with reference to Canada. Mr. David A. Wells refers to Canada in these terms :

In the Dominion of Canada separated territorially from us on the north by an imaginary line, there has been no panic, no unusual demand for money, no stoppage of industries, no restriction of trade, no increased rate of interest ; in short, nothing beyond the ordinary course of events, except so far as these events may have been influenced by contiguity to what may be termed a financial cyclone whose pathway of destruction was contiguous but not within its own territory.

Mr. Speaker, that expression of opinion with reference to Canada and the people of Canada, and the future prospects of this country, from so able a statistician as Mr. Wells must be extremely encouraging. It is in this way that the best men of the neighbouring republic regard us to-day. They are taking lessons from our institutions, they are imbibing at our fountains of learning, and they estimate the value of our institutions by the prosperity of our people. I trust the day is not far distant when they will arrange their tariff so as not only to meet their own requirements, and develop their own resources, but also to co-operate with us in advancing the great principle of trade on the North American continent. With reference to the great arbitration which has just been held, before concluding, permit me to say that it should be a source of entire gratification and satisfaction to the people of this country to observe its results. There is no doubt the matter has been arranged most satisfactorily to the people of Canada. We had great pride in the plenipotentiaries who went from this country, and we know that the manner in which they discussed all the questions that came before them, the skill and ability they displayed won for them distinction, not only from the people, but from Her Majesty as well. The great question above all others in this conference was that of peace, and that has been accomplished : peace has been secured, and a striking evidence given of the progress of civilization. We have now pelagic sealing ; we have no *mare clausum*. We know that in 1885-86 there were some half-dozen vessels fishing in these waters which caught seals only to the value of about \$100,000, whereas during the conference some fifty vessels were engaged, and that trade had

advanced to about \$500,000. The Asiatic and American shores, and to within sixty miles of the Pribyloff Islands are free to us, so that the energy and ability of the gentlemen who had this subject in charge have afforded our hardy fishermen an opportunity of not only materially advancing their own interests, but also helping on the resources of our entire Dominion. I feel that this question has been decided in a manner which the people of Canada may regard with a high degree of pride and satisfaction. As regards the tariff, we know that it is a very vexed question, and how it is to be determined this House will soon know. I have not shared the secrets of any member of the Government, but I think the people of Canada, living on the border of a highly protected and industrially developed country, such as the United States, must consider the whole question of the tariff fully, calmly, and dispassionately. It is not a question that can be settled in a day. We must have a revenue to meet our expenditure. If the principles of free trade were introduced, where should we be? We should be in the same position as they are now in England, and should be obliged to levy taxes upon our people. In that country they have an income tax; no man can shoot a bird, or even take a feather from its tail, without being subject to a tax; no man can catch a fish in any small stream without being taxed. But to-day, in Canada, we are free in these particulars. And why are we free? Because thirteen years ago the principles of protection, moderate protection to meet the requirements of our people, and to carry on the affairs of our country, protection so arranged as not to press unduly upon a community, not to thwart the efforts of manufacturers, but to broadly subserve the best interests of this country, and advance its material prosperity, were recognized. And I feel sure that when the tariff is brought down, the men of common sense in the Dominion of Canada will acquiesce in the sentiments which emanate from those who have authority, and that the tariff for this country will be of such a discriminating character, will have so much power in its principles, will so tend to advance the material interests of our people, as to give entire satisfaction to all classes. In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, let me say that the Dominion of Canada is a noble heritage which has descended to us from the achievements of the various nationalities which make up our people. We have a prosperous country, we have an energetic, pushing, and self-reliant population, and, judging from the traditions which our ancestors have left us, I think our own people are fully able to work out their own destiny. Density of population or extent of country are not everything. If we look back over the pages of history, what do we find? India,

with a population of two hundred millions, controlled by a few Anglo-Saxons, China with as many millions of people as there are days in the year—what influence do they exert on the progress of civilization, on the advancement of society, or in the councils of the nations? Brazil and Mexico, with even a greater population than Canada—where are they to-day so far as regards their influence in the world? When we consider little Canada, as we are called, with our five millions of people, what do we find? We find that a few days ago our plenipotentiaries distinguished themselves at the seat of learning in Paris, where they met those other great counsellors, and they came back here having established for themselves a name and a reputation which lead us to believe, and which lead the people of the world generally to acknowledge, that in Canada we have a class of men who are well able to guard our interests and to protect us in the widest and most comprehensive sense of the term. It is a grand thing to live in the spring time of a nation; it is a great thing to be at the fountain head of the great stream of national existence, flowing on with every season and gaining momentum with the lapse of time. Little events sometimes disturb nations; we know perfectly well that expression of opinions sometimes interfere with the prosperity of a country; and for that reason, no matter what side of the House we occupy, be we Reformer or be we Conservative, we owe it to our country to protect its interests and its people; we owe it to our country to utter nothing that will be detrimental to its interests, we owe it to our country to guard it in every particular, both at home and abroad. With these ideas before us we may rely upon it that the young oak of Canadian nationality, planted but as yesterday, will spread out until it extends from one end of the Dominion to the other. Let us hope that the dew-drop on the very leaf of the acorn will never generate the sap of religious antagonism, bigotry or sectionalism, will never develop racial differences, will never develop anything but what will tend to advance the best interests of Canada; and in that way, and in no other way, we will become bound together as one people. When I look around this Chamber to-day and observe the seats that were once occupied by great men whose voices are now hushed, it seems to me that a phonetic power emanates from these walls to-day that binds us together as one. When I think of a Macdonald, a Cartier, a Mackenzie, and a Dorion, the quadruple powers of intellect, activity, intelligence, and perseverance; when I think what these men did for this country in years past, how they formed by their energy and ability the very warp and woof of that structure upon which to-day rests the civil and religious liberties of this country, I feel constrained to ask, have we not reason to feel proud of what has been accomplished? Let us look for-

ward now to a unity of effort and a unity of design, and irrespective of political considerations, with no other object in view but the advancement of the material interests of our country, let us perpetuate the fair name of Canada, let us endeavour to continue it as a colony of which the Government of Great Britain has reason to feel proud; because I feel assured that among the territorial dominions of Her Majesty there is not one that occupies a higher position than Canada. Sir, I wish its people the greatest possible degree of prosperity, and God-speed.

Mr. LACHAPELLE. (Translation.) Mr. Speaker, previous to seconding the Address in answer to the Speech from the Throne delivered yesterday by His Excellency the Governor General. I deem it my duty to pay to His Excellency the respects of this House and to convey to him the feeling of gratification with which the Dominion at large received his appointment as its Viceroy. When, last summer, Lady Aberdeen was selected as the head of the Women's Association in Chicago, when she organized that congenial work, that affectionate work in the shape of an Irish village, Lord Aberdeen was given us as our new Governor. I fancy, Mr. Speaker, that it must have been somewhat of a pain for His Excellency to break the bonds that tied him to the old land, for I am aware that His Excellency was a favourite with the English, Scotch, and especially Irish people. Well, let His Excellency be pleased to bear in mind that he will find in the Dominion the same affectionate feelings, and, moreover, the affection of the French people, which, in their behalf, I have the honour to tender him. Mr. Speaker, the first section of the Speech from the Throne seems to be permeated with one single concern. It looks like a wish of the heart, the reading of this section seems to give voice to a joyous exclamation. His Excellency states therein a feeling of gratification resulting from the financial and commercial condition of the Dominion. His predecessor had ventured to hope that our trade would go on increasing and that the financial working of the last year would realize the happy anticipations which he chose to make. His Excellency appreciates this fact, and we share his delight in this respect. The fact is, the prosperity of Canada shines out more forcibly from day to day. We have but to consider the various elements on which we must rely to prove this proposition, and we find that we are right in feeling proud of this general prosperity. I will not venture, Mr. Speaker, to read aloud the trade returns nor the banks' financial statements, nor the other returns of the same kind on which one must exclusively rely when stating that the present condition of our country realizes what the founders of confederation had prophesied. I only beg to be allowed to call your attention to a fact which happened during last

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year, a most momentous fact, which, to my mind, affords the proof of the statement which I ventured to make when speaking of our prosperity: I refer to the great Chicago Fair. Well, what is the lesson that comes out of this fact as regards our country? All the visitors to the exposition came back satisfied that, although the United States apparently held a higher position than ours in the political world, the Dominion held along with the United States an enviable position, a position which is indeed considered by us all as much advantageous, if not superior, to that of our neighbours. At this exposition, where we had an earnest organization, for which the Government really deserves the thanks of the country, our Canadian exhibitors, in the most important departments of industry, carried the largest number of the prizes granted. They came back, so to say, the breast covered with medals, their hearts overflowed with a new patriotism. Why should we feel so proud? Why is it that we are feeling this pleasant sensation, this deliverance of contentment which we are pleased to make repeatedly outside of this House and even here to-day? It is because this prosperity is the natural result of the National Policy brought about in 1878. We are happy, Mr. Speaker, to find that it is the natural result of the great policy that the Conservative party introduced in our country. It is a natural consequence of the policy in which we, the Conservatives, believed, and which has led to the prosperity and the greatness of our country. Mr. Speaker, the most important point of the speech delivered by His Excellency, the Address to which I have the honour to second, the material part of that speech is that which regards the tariff, the revision of the tariff. We must feel that this is a momentous question, requiring the whole attention of this honourable House, and one which must truly be granted every consideration in the preliminary researches which it involves. But it is well to bear in mind in the meantime that the protection principle was the safeguard of our trade, that this principle is the one that made the Dominion what it is now. So that, should the Government deem proper to amend the tariff, it must be understood that the underlying principle of this tariff must remain unchanged. We must remember, also, Mr. Speaker, that the regulating of a tariff, the fixing of the duties to be raised, form, so to say, a contract in which are, to a large extent, certainly, interested the foreign manufacturers, the importers and our own manufacturers. Well, if, according to my contention, there is a contract in that, the Government, when establishing and making a new tariff, are bound to preserve the protection principle which has prevailed for a number of years in our country. Mr. Speaker, must we not understand, as any one does, as for that, that when it comes to changing a contract, it does not go without thorough, earnest studies, without pre-

paratory labours, without preliminary researches, which must necessarily lead to fruitful results. I repeat that we must be governed by the protective principle in the preliminary studies which we are called to make with respect to the changing of the tariff. It is the principle by which the Government also must be governed in their fiscal policy. I know, Mr. Speaker, that these statements will not agree to all of us, but it must be understood—and I beg to be allowed to emphasize my sentiment by repeating the same idea—that we, Ministerial members, or rather, members who sit on the Government side, feeling, as we do, that the protective policy is necessary, it must be understood that the policy of the country must be essentially protective, that is to say, a policy aiming to make in the future the fortune of the country as it has done in the past. I am aware, Mr. Speaker, that this policy was, and is still, charged with making the fortune of a few and being an injury to the many. This was said in various circumstances, and it was stated again at the time of the great Liberal convention held in this town, last summer. As I understand it, this policy, defined in this way, is hardly defensible. But we know that by contending for the protection principle, we rely on the experience of the past, on the financial prosperity of our institutions, and we are in a position to state, by the returns which they furnish us, that this policy must be continued. We in the meantime assert that the protective principle does not make the fortune of only a few, but the good of all. Mr. Speaker, one section of the Speech from the Throne is devoted to the settlement of the troubles arising out of the fishing in the Behring Sea. On that point we are bound to congratulate the Government and to acknowledge that that was a happy event for us, for the country at large, for all the British subjects. That question, which was pending for many years, was a menace for our tranquillity and our interests. That difficulty was settled in a friendly way. When considering the settlement of that question, we ought to congratulate ourselves in so far as the principle was acknowledged that the British subjects have a right to fish in the Behring Sea, a right which the Government of the United States was disputing to them. We must acknowledge, Mr. Speaker, that the grievance, which was kept standing for so many years, being thus settled in a friendly way, we have a good ground to hope that in the future all these difficulties will be settled in the same way, and that, consequently, we will always be in a position to guard against the innumerable calamities of a war. Reference is made, in another section of the Speech from the Throne, to a new improvement: I mean the establishment of a line of fast steamers between England and the Dominion. It is a most important question, and one which will certainly deserve the attention of the Gov-

ernment and of this honourable House. But, Mr. Speaker, I may be allowed to make the following suggestion, namely, that it is a matter in which the whole Dominion is concerned, and that private interests could not be taken into consideration in settling the conditions of such a considerable enterprise, which ought to be excessively advantageous, but which will also require enormous sacrifices from our country. That question will have to be considered in the best way possible and with regard to its importance. Various other matters are brought to the attention of this House, but as to which we have no sufficient data to be well informed. I beg, however, to observe that, during the labours of the present session, we ought to bear in mind that protection should be granted, in the fullest way, to our farming community. No doubt, comfort is not as general as we would wish it to be, although there are no further hardships. Nevertheless, it is our duty to extend a helping hand to our farmers as far as possible; they surely are worthy of the attention of the Government, and I feel satisfied that the latter intend to protect the farming community. How far can that assistance go? I am not called upon to come down to details just now, but I hope the Government will give the matter their very earnest consideration and that the farmers, seeing how much the Government cares for them, will acknowledge, as much as the people in the cities, that the protective policy is decidedly the proper policy for the whole of our people. The Speech from the Throne concludes, Mr. Speaker, by a prayer offered by His Excellency to the Almighty. I beg to recall, before concluding, a remembrance of mine. In 1854, Lord Elgin, after many years of endeavours, had it granted by the Imperial Government that the Montmorency Laval school should be converted into a university. Her Majesty likewise granted to the Laval University all the privileges conferred to the highest universities in the United Kingdom. We then saw, in 1854, the highest personification of the English Church granting to the province of Quebec a Catholic university and conferring to it the same teaching rights as held by universities in the United Kingdom. Well, Mr. Speaker, we then saw the Pope, the highest personification of the Catholic Church, thanking Her Majesty the Queen Victoria for the immense favour granted. Is not the recalling of this remembrance proper, Mr. Speaker, and should we not say over again that, when Her Majesty the Queen Victoria and the Pope Pius the Ninth are seen exchanging relations of intimacy and congratulation on the occasion of such an important event, we ought to remember that both these examples should be followed and that we ought to work for the good understanding, the increase of the public wealth and the prevalence of peace amongst all our people. Let it be remembered, especially, that the love of labour must predominate and silence

all dissensions, all jealousies. Let it be remembered that should we continue the carrying on of this policy of general interest, and should order and peace continue amongst us, the Dominion will continue to see days of prosperity and greatness.

Mr. LAURIER. Mr. Speaker. I am sure I am voicing the sentiment of this side of the House, and, perhaps, also, for once, the sentiment of the other side, when I express to the hon. member for the City of Ottawa (Sir James Grant) and to the hon. member for Hochelaga (Mr. Lachapelle) the high sense of appreciation which we all entertain for the creditable efforts with which they have gratified the House. The duty which had been assumed by the mover and second of the Address is under all circumstances, as I know, a difficult one; and on this occasion having to create something out of nothing, having to evolve ideas out of few words, their task was particularly trying, and I am bound to say, in all conscience, that with the exception of a few flights of fancy to which I could not concur, they have come very well out of the ordeal. My hon. friend from the City of Ottawa particularly charmed me in one passage of his speech, where he referred to the Maritime Provinces as a nest of great men, and when he said that the Maritime Provinces always appreciated their great men, I could not but think of the event which only took place yesterday as evidence that in uttering this sentiment he spoke truly, and that Nova Scotia, at least, appreciates the great man who now conducts her provincial affairs. My hon. friend from the City of Ottawa, in the latter part of his speech, also referred in touching terms to names and memories which must forever be dear to all Canadian hearts; he lifted a cloud from the horizon which we once saw full of the splendour of their glory, although their forms are now for ever enshrouded in the silent shadow of death. My hon. friend had once the privilege of sitting in this House at a time when perhaps there was congregated on the floor a galaxy of men which has never been equalled since. Casting a glance around him, he was impressed, painfully impressed, with facts with which he was already familiar, but perhaps which had never impressed him so heavily before. He was impressed with the fact that the ranks of those who were guiding the destinies of this country some twenty years ago had been suddenly thinned by the hand of death. Well, time flies, and we are carried in its flight. This is nothing new, it is a very old and admitted truth; yet old as it may be, it is always new, and its painfulness always carries a new bitterness with it. To one who, like my hon. friend, comes into this House after a lapse of several years, perhaps to him the painfulness of that truth is more conscious than to us, who have been sitting continuously for these many years in this House, and who have seen the gradual

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disappearance one by one of all those whose absence from the floor he deploras, and whose memory he reveres. Yet after all we know this is the old and supreme law, and since it is, it should be, and inevitably must be, the part of wisdom, as my hon. friend said, to apply ourselves to fulfil to the best of our ability the task left to us by those whom we no longer see amongst us, but whose example I believe will ever remain. The hon. mover of the address was most felicitous in the remarks he made in regard to the cordial welcome which has been extended by all classes of the Canadian people to the distinguished nobleman who represents Her Majesty the Queen in this Dominion of Canada. All classes of people have been particularly satisfied with the selection which had been made by the Imperial authorities of the person of the Earl of Aberdeen to fill the position which has become perhaps one of the most important in the British Empire. In this democratic country we would deem it beneath our dignity to offer to anyone, however high in station, anything which would resemble fulsome flattery; yet it is no flattery whatever, but the sober truth, to say that Canada has been eminently fortunate in the character and gifts of all those who up to the present time have occupied the distinguished position of Governor General of Canada—I will not say Viceroy, as stated in this address—but simply use the regular term, Governor General of Canada. It is certainly no flattery to say that of all those eminent men who have occupied the position, no one came to the discharge of these important duties with a prouder name and prouder record than the present incumbent of that office. In one sense the name of Aberdeen came most fittingly after the name of Derby. The name of Aberdeen, like the name of Derby, is a name which, while it has been made famous by a long line of ancestors, has never shone more conspicuously than during the present reign. I re-echo every word that was spoken by the hon. member for Ottawa (Sir James Grant) with respect to the late illustrious incumbent of the office of Governor General. When Lord Derby left our shores he carried with him, as well as his distinguished consort, the entire sympathy and respect of the whole Canadian people, who had learned to appreciate their unobtrusive and genuine qualities. The reputation of the successor of Lord Derby had preceded him here, a reputation won by eminent services to the State, a reputation characterized by the most marvellous success which marked the administration of the Earl of Aberdeen as Viceroy of Ireland, a success which I say was nothing short of marvellous, when we remember that Lord Aberdeen came as Viceroy of Ireland to Dublin Castle in the midst of great agitation, in the midst of solid distrust, and left the castle six months after amidst the sobs and tears of a people quick to respond to kindness and generosity of a people whose tender heart and

quick intelligence had discerned and discovered in that scion of a proud aristocracy one who understood all the phases of modern democracy more than anyone of his class, unless in that respect the palm be given to the noble lady who also bears the name of Aberdeen. The hon. member for Hochelaga (Mr. Lachapelle) referred at some length to the success of Canada at the World's Fair. Well, in that respect, I re-echo every word that was said by my hon. friend. The success of Canada at the World's Fair was such as to cheer all Canadian hearts, especially of those who believe that agriculture is the art of arts and the science of all sciences, for, had it not been for the agricultural exhibits, I am not aware that Canada would have had any special cause for enthusiasm in regard to successes won there. The farmers took the lion's share of all the awards carried away by Canada, and the World's Fair has shown that, though the farmers of Canada are not a pampered class and have received nothing from the Government, but, on the contrary, are burdened and hampered by the Government, still it is to the farmers of Canada we must look for the development of this Dominion. My hon. friend from Hochelaga (Mr. Lachapelle) said he was sure that this time the Government would do something for the protection of our farmers. Why, Mr. Speaker, I was under the impression that the Government have always pretended that they have done a good deal for the farmers of Canada. My hon. friend is not satisfied: he hopes and believes, however, that the Government will do something now. Well, he has more hope and faith in the Government than I have. But, Sir, having gone that far with my hon. friend from Ottawa, (Sir James Grant) and with my hon. friend from Hochelaga (Mr. Lachapelle) I am sorry to say to them that I can go no further. Already, in this discussion, we have come to the parting of the waves, and it is with regret I see them following in the errors of their ways. I regret it all the more, I am sure, because I cannot take my share of the flowers, though they were flowers of rhetoric, with which the hon. member for Ottawa strewed the ground on which he was treading. My hon. friend is endowed with a good deal of enthusiasm, for without it he would not have been able to produce such a profusion of blossoms as he obtained from the sandy, rocky and barren ground to be found within the four corners of the Speech from the Throne. He is endowed with a good deal of enthusiasm, I say. In all the range of Canadian politics, he has not seen anything which did not afford matter for admiration and commendation. If there was anything in the policy of the Government which did not altogether meet with his approval, he kept it concealed in his breast. For instance, the hon. gentleman has not said a word, nor did the hon. member for Hochelaga, as to the late and

inconvenient season at which Parliament has been called. I am sure that this is a matter which the hon. gentleman cannot approve. It has been the unwritten law of Canada for a great many years past, that Parliament should be summoned at an early period in the year, at the latest, towards the end of January. The reason is obvious. In this country we have no privileged class. All the members of this House, with scarcely an exception, are engaged in the ordinary avocations of life, and it is an object of paramount necessity that after having discharged their duties to the country, they should be able to go back to their ordinary business pursuits, about the opening of the busy season. In years past, I say, it was the unwritten law of Canada: still, this year the Government have departed from that law. They waited, and waited, and waited, until the opening of the busy season was in sight, before summoning Parliament, and as to this, not a word of explanation has been offered. Why, we might have expected, at all events, that the gods who rule over our destinies would have come down from the sphere which they occupy in majesty, and given us a word of explanation. At least, I would have expected that if they would not take us into their confidence, they would have taken into their confidence the hon. member for Ottawa, who might I submit to my hon. friend from Ottawa (Sir James Grant), as well as to his hon. friends around him, that under existing circumstances the Government have been sadly remiss in their duty in not summoning Parliament unless they can bring forth some cogent and strong reason to excuse their negligence. Unless the Government are able to bring up some reason of much convenience to themselves, to excuse the inconvenience to Parliament, I say they are remiss in their duty. Some reason there must have been, and what was it? I am told that the Government expect to rush the session. Well, Sir, no one expects to remain here for a very long time, but at all events the session must last the time necessary to carry on and discuss the business of the nation. That is the work for which we are here. There is another reason which has been hinted. It has been stated in the press that the Government were waiting to see what development would be made in the revision of the tariff on the other side. It has been stated that they were looking to Washington. But, Sir, is that possible? Why looking to Washington? How are the mighty fallen; how are the pure fallen from grace, I ask? How are the superloyal fallen down from their own high declarations of superior allegiance which they used to make in former times? I believe after all that there is some truth in that statement. I believe that was the true reason indeed that Parliament was not summoned, because they wanted to so shape events by looking to Washington to see what

progress would be made in the way of tariff revision there. I believe it, Sir, because it was my good fortune in the month of January, 1893, more than a year ago, to be present at the dinner of the Board of Trade in Toronto and there I heard those words from my right hon. friend the Prime Minister. Speaking of the changes in public opinion which had taken place in the United States he continued in this way :

It may be that changes have taken place in the public mind since, and that far greater progress in the direction of tariff reform will be made, but let us wait and see the measure which is to be the result of the great change of opinion and the great change of parties. We are not driven to seek our example and our guidance in the statesmen of that country, but I should be foolish if I did not admit that every country is bound to take lessons by the experience of its neighbours and to be controlled to some extent in the formation of its tariff and regulation of its trade by the condition of the tariff and of trade in other countries.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. LAURIER. Gentlemen opposite cheer the statement, and from that I understand that that was the reason. Then why has not the statement been openly made? Last year some reason had to be given by gentlemen opposite why the revision of the tariff was not proceeded with. The Prime Minister had occasion to speak, yet he never repeated that language before the House. He took a back seat on that occasion, and then my hon. friend the Minister of Finance came forward and stated: That indeed the tariff could not be proceeded with with regard to the revision of the same; not because it was wise to take the example from our neighbours, as had been stated by the Prime Minister in Toronto, but because he was not sure that there was a necessity for a revision of the tariff, because he did not know that there had been such an expression of opinion in the country, and he wanted to know from the people themselves what was their opinion upon that subject. He decided that he and his colleagues, during recess would go from place to place, meet the people and the various business interests, and see what was their opinion and their wish with regard to the tariff; whether it should be kept entire; whether it should be reformed, or whether it should be simply modified. That was the reason given last year, and when Parliament rose it was well understood that the Ministers were to go from place to place to interview the people and to ascertain their views with regard to the modification of the tariff. As it was natural to expect (and it is nothing extraordinary) there has been a great curiosity amongst the people to read, and to hear from the representatives of the various business interests themselves what was their opinion in regard to modifications in the tariff. Great, therefore, was the astonishment of

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the people, when on the 24th of April, at the first of these meetings in the city of Montreal, it was found that the conferences, instead of taking place in the light of day, were to take place in camera obscura. There was to be no publicity. Great was the astonishment, greater was the disappointment, and greater yet the indignation, because, Sir, in this democratic country of ours, the people have a natural aversion to, and suspicion of everything, whatever it may be, which does not come out in the light of day. The people were suspicious, and protests were loud and general; indeed the protests were so loud and so general, that my hon. friend, the Minister of Finance, could not ignore them, and had to refer to them. He had to take some notice of them and he had to do the best he could to explain his own position with regard to the same. This he did at a banquet tendered him in the city of St. John. Then, Sir, the reason he gave why these meetings were held in secret, was this: That if the meetings had been public he would have had to listen to set speeches upon free trade and protection, and by having the meetings in secret, he would get more information. Well, I am bound to say to my hon. friend that this excuse deceives no one but himself. He knows, as well as I do, that when he was having these interviews with the different business interests of the Dominion, he was not doing his own business, but he was carrying on the business of the country at large. He had to pass judgment upon his own judgment; and to tell us simply, that these meetings did not take place in the light of day because he was averse to be lectured on protection or free trade, is to tell us that which he may believe, but that perhaps others may take with a grain of salt. I do not question, however, the sincerity of my hon. friend when he made the statement that the sole reason which he had, not to meet the people in open day, was his aversion to set speeches on free trade and protection; but, Sir, if my hon. friend convinced himself on that, I may tell him that he did not know his own mind. He did not know his own mind as fully as his followers; he did not know his own mind as fully as the reporter of the Montreal 'Gazette' who gave some account, as far as he could give, of what took place at these meetings. The reporter of the Montreal 'Gazette' was at the first of these meetings at Montreal. He could not go in, but he was at the door and he saw the various persons who went in, and he informed the public through the paper that the Ministers had been interviewed by delegates from the following business interests: "Boots and shoes, leather shoe findings, tanners, wall paper manufacturers, dry goods importers, wines and liquors, spruce lumber, and pulp." The reporter could not report what was going on but still he guessed pretty accurately what was going on, as we may judge by the heading which he put on his article. And what was the heading? It was a very

suggestive one: "Feeling their Pulse." That was what was going on in the camera obscura, feeling the pulse of those delegates to ascertain whether they would submit to a reduction of their protection or whether they would kick and insist on their pound of flesh. I believe that the reporter stated exactly what was going on in the camera obscura: my hon. friend was feeling the pulse of those gentlemen on that question. Well, if such be the case, we know exactly what took place, because after all human nature is everywhere the same. At the time of the American civil war, Artemus Ward said that he also wanted to make some sacrifice to preserve the Union—he was willing to sacrifice all his wife's relations. So, when the country is suffering, and has been long suffering under a protective system, when the complaints of the people are loud and universal, then every monopolist in the land will say to you: There may be some truth in that; my own industry needs to be protected; my own trade needs to be carried on by the country, but the trade of my neighbour should be carried on by himself. Shakespeare has told us of a similar comedy which took place in secret in a tavern at Eastcheap, in the reign of Henry IV. Those engaged in it were Prince Henry, Sir John Falstaff, Bardolph Peto and Poins. Meeting one night at the tavern they determined to have a little play, the subject of which was the rebuke that the prince would be sure to have in the morning from his royal father, the king, for the bad company he was keeping. Falstaff took the part of the king, and rebuked the prince, and afterwards they exchanged their parts, the prince becoming the king, and Falstaff taking the part of the prince. Falstaff, as the prince says:

I would your grace would take me with you: whom means your grace?

PRINCE HENRY. That villainous abominable misleader of youth, Falstaff, that old white bearded Satan.

FALSTAFF. My lord, the man I know.

PRINCE HENRY. I know thou do'st.

FALSTAFF. But to say I know more harm in him than in myself, were to say more than I know. No, my good lord; banish Peto, banish Bardolph, banish Poins; but for sweet Jack Falstaff, kind Jack Falstaff, true Jack Falstaff, valiant Jack Falstaff—and therefore more valiant, being as he is, old Jack Falstaff—banish not him thy Harry's company, banish not him thy Harry's company; banish plump Jack, and banish all the world.

Well, Sir, suppose we had gone into this camera obscura at the time the representatives of some of those interests were there to interview my hon. friend. Let us suppose that the reporter had entered just at the moment when the liquor and wine men were present. There would be the king, in the person of my hon. friend the Minister of Finance, stern, with a hard look in his face, telling the wine and liquor men that the complaints of the people are so loud that

he is obliged to make a reduction of the tariff, and that he has to repeat the observations that he made in 1891, when taking the duty off sugar and increasing the duties on wine and spirits and tobacco. Then you would have heard the wine and liquor men reply: Good lord, banish boots and shoes, banish leather, banish woollen goods, banish wall paper; but good wine, valiant wine, banish not from thy Harry's presence. This might have taken place; but this is only guess on my part, because the people were not admitted; the thing was done in secret. But I think I have guessed pretty truly. Why was not the truth known? Why were not the public admitted to those meetings? I have told you the reason: my hon. friend did not want to have public meetings, because he did not want to be lectured on free trade and protection. Let me quote his language in order not to do him an injustice. These are the words my hon. friend made use of at the banquet at St. John:

Instead of revising the tariff without a knowledge of the needs of the people they had taken the business method of examining on the spot all conditions of the tariff. After becoming familiar with the conditions they will make their conclusions, he said, on the fullest possible basis. Their meetings were not open to the press, because if they were they would be subject to a series of set speeches on free trade and protection made for political effect. By holding secret meetings they were able to get fuller information.

So you see my hon. friend did not want to be lectured on free trade because he did not want to be convinced, and he did not want to be lectured on protection, because he was convinced; so he went from city to city, and held his interviews in secret. But he came to meet the farmers at last, and then the policy was entirely reversed. Up to that moment secrecy was the order of the day; but then it was changed to publicity. When the hon. gentleman met the manufacturers secrecy was the rule and reporters were given a wide range, and even if a very inquisitive member approached the Minister to get an inkling of what was going on, he found him as unwilling to give the secret as the sphinx on the sands of Egypt. But when he came to the farmers, the case was different. The meetings were open, if possible in the open air, under the roof of heaven, the press not only admitted, but invited; and what is the fact? Would you believe it? The hon. gentleman who had such horror of set speeches on free trade and protection, lectured the farmers vigorously on their duties. The farmers went there to expose their grievances; but instead of being allowed to do so, they met the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, the Minister of Agriculture, the Controller of Customs and the Controller of Inland Revenue, all armed with blue books, who proved to their own satisfaction—not the farmers' but the Ministers'—

that the farmers had no grievances whatever. Then they divided the job. The two Controllers, the Controller of Customs and the Controller of Inland Revenue, took the province of Ontario; the Minister of Agriculture took the North-west Territories; and I am bound to say for the Minister of Finance, who displayed great activity, that he took the whole Dominion for his operations. Well, the Controller of Inland Revenue and the Controller of Customs proved to the farmers of Ontario that they were blessed with prosperity. It was true, they did not see it, or feel it, or enjoy it; but it was there all the same, and they would feel it if they would have full faith in this paternal Government. As to the hon. Minister of Agriculture, when he came to the North-west, he was bound to admit that the farmers were not in a very prosperous condition, but after all he told them it was all their own fault. What if they were taxed on their lumber? What if they were taxed on their binding twine or their agricultural implements? What if they were taxed on everything they consumed? If they were taxed, it was their own fault. The panacea was not in the tariff. It was on every hand: mixed farming was the thing that would save them and lift them out of the slough in which they were struggling. I am proud of my profession when I see what a good Minister of Agriculture a lawyer can make, and how much of agriculture a lawyer knows—much more than a farmer would imagine. For instance, how was it possible that the farmers of the North-west could, of themselves, conceive that the remedy for their evils lay to such an extent in their own hands. They never could have thought of it. But as soon as a lawyer, who happens to be, at this moment, Minister of Agriculture, points out mixed farming as the remedy, they exclaim: How stupid we were not to have thought of that. But I am bound to say that the Minister of Agriculture did not act fairly towards his predecessor, the hon. gentleman who to-day represents the city of London (Mr. Carling), for that hon. gentleman said not only that mixed farming was the panacea, but also that two-rowed barley was the thing that was going to save us. Our present Minister of Agriculture forgot the two-rowed barley. Now, as regards the Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster), he went from the east to the south, and the west, and everywhere he went he proved to the farmers that they have no grievances whatever. He lectured them on the beauties and advantages of protection, and then he preached to them a great sermon on the necessity of people paying their taxes. He said it was the duty of all good Christians, and especially good Christian farmers, to submit to the evil of taxation. Why, my hon. friend was not as generous as that other Minister of Finance of whom I read a moment ago. A French Minister of Finance, after the Restoration,

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M. de Villèle, imposed frequent and heavy taxation on the people, and the people sometimes remonstrated. One of the comic papers represented the Minister armed with a long knife, and wearing the traditional white apron and cap of a chef, surrounded by a brood of chickens. He spoke to the brood in this way: Chickens, with what sauce would you prefer to be eaten? But, they said: We do not want to be eaten at all. Oh, said he, you are begging the question; I am consulting you as to the sauce you would like to be eaten with. Our Minister of Finance did not consult the chickens even on this important point, but told them that the sauce was to be protection, and allowed them no choice. Well, Mr. Speaker, after all those interviews, the Government were just as much at sea as to what they should do with regard to the tariff as they were before. When they came back to Ottawa, they apparently did not know any more than when they went forth, because as soon as they got back they were followed by long processions from the very places they had just visited, composed of the same men they had just been interviewing. The Minister had gone to feel their pulse, and now they came in their turn to feel the pulse of the Minister. They came to feel his pulse and to steady his nerves, and, above all, to exact the pound of flesh; and, judging from the words the Minister has put in the mouth of His Excellency, they have indeed obtained their pound of flesh. There is to be no reform whatever. The system is to be continued, which has prevailed for some years, of levying taxes, not to go into the public exchequer, but into private purses—of imposing duties, not with the view of raising a revenue, but with the view of taxing one portion of the community for the benefit of another. My hon. friend from Ottawa (Sir James Grant) said a moment ago that he expected that the Government would, in their wisdom, provide protection for all classes. I am sure they will. I have read the speech which my hon. friend the Prime Minister made a few days ago in this city. In that speech he proclaimed himself much more of a protectionist than I had even supposed he was. Why, he is going to protect all kinds of labour, even professional labour; he is going to protect even the lawyers and doctors. Let me read to you his words:

Now, our position is that what promotes the welfare of the industrial classes is good for all; that the prime object is to promote the labour of the country, and to see that the work which has to be done is done by Canadians. This is the goal we should endeavor to reach. Whether it is the labour of the farmer, the mechanic, the professional man, or the manufacturer, the grand aim we should keep in view is that labour is the basis of the welfare of the country.

So, if we are to have protected labour among the provisions, I denounce the First Minister

to the mover and seconder of the Address, who are both physicians. Physicians are not protected yet, but the lawyers are well taken care of. Judging by the reports of the Auditor General there are some lawyers in this country who are protected to an almost fabulous extent. But where is the need of reform in the tariff? The Speech from the Throne tells us, the hon. member for Ottawa (Sir James Grant) tells us, the hon. member for Hochelaga (Mr. Lachapelle) tells us, and every gentleman opposite, no doubt, will tell us that this is indeed a most prosperous country. I agree that Canada is blessed as few countries are. We are blessed with a cold and bracing climate; we are blessed with fertile broad acres; we are blessed with hills and valleys, with forests and prairies and lakes and rivers, the like of which the sun in its course never sees elsewhere; we are blessed with wealth along our briny shores and in our hills and rocks. Nature has done much for us, but what have we done for ourselves? We are told, and hon. gentlemen opposite profess to believe, that Canada is a prosperous country. But one million of Canadians have fled from their prosperity, and to judge of our condition we have to take some standard of comparison. No doubt, if we compare our fate with that of some nations, we may be deemed prosperous. The fellah in the valley of the Nile who brings up his scanty crop under the protection of a just Government, deems himself prosperous when he remembers that fifteen years ago everything he produced was seized upon by a swarm of petty officials, who kept him in beggary. If we come to more civilized nations, there was a time in the history of France when that most humane king, Henri IV, stated that his object was to bring about such a state of things that every peasant would be able to put a fowl in his pot every Sunday. No doubt, the French peasant who was able to put meat on his table once a week was deemed prosperous; and if we measured our prosperity by that standard, we are very well off. To-day the French peasant brings up his family on ten acres of land, and if by dint of persevering labour and continual denial he is able to add one or two acres to his original lot, he is considered prosperous; and if that measure be applied to us, we are prospering. But if we measure our prosperity by the standard which ought to rule in Canada, if we measure it by the standard which has been laid down by the hon. gentlemen themselves, to tell us we are prosperous is a mockery of common sense and an insult to the intelligence of the people. Prosperity! Why, we are told that our trade has increased with Great Britain. As I understand the Trade and Navigation returns, it has increased more with the United States. But we are told by the press of the hon. gentlemen: No, the trade with the United States has not increased, because most of the increase of that trade has been in the export

and import of coin and bullion. Therefore there has been no increase in trade whatever. So, whichever way you regard it, the Speech from the Throne is not satisfactory in this respect. But, suppose that our exports have increased, what is it we sell most of? The great bulk of our exports—we all realize the fact—is in agricultural products. This is the basis of our prosperity, and I admit that of late years our exports of agricultural products have increased. Under such circumstances there should be more prosperity amongst the farmers. There is not the prosperity among the farmers one would be led to expect from the increase of their exports. Why? Because the farmers sow and reap and sell, but they do not toil for themselves; they toil for monopolists. It is the old story—"Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes." Like the busy bees they toil, but some robber comes and takes away their profits. This is not prosperity, but, Sir, this is the condition of the country at the present time, and if hon. gentlemen talk of prosperity under such conditions I take issue directly with them. My hon. friend from Ottawa (Sir James Grant) compared our status as a nation with the status of the American nation. It is true that the Americans are not as prosperous a people to-day as they have been in the past. They have been going through a crisis. But what is the cause of this crisis? Protection. Protection is the primary factor in the present crisis in the United States. What has been the determining cause in that crisis? Is it not a fact that the determining cause in the crisis in the United States has been the silver legislation? And what was that but an application of the principle of protection in a law which compelled the American people to buy silver for circulation at a higher price than the ruling market price? That was the origin of the crisis which now prevails in the United States. Therein is a lesson for us. Our legislation is better than theirs in matters of finance, but in our fiscal policy we follow closely upon the lines of American legislation. We must take warning from what has taken place in the United States, and, if we wish to avoid the crisis which they are now passing through our duty is, at the earliest possible moment, to reverse our system and go back to more sane fiscal legislation. Now, Mr. Speaker, there is in the Speech from the Throne, apart from the legislation we are promised, a paragraph which has been commented upon at some length by my hon. friend from Ottawa (Sir James Grant) and by my hon. friend from Hochelaga (Mr. Lachapelle), the award by the Behring Sea Court of Arbitration. Both these hon. gentlemen have spoken in very glowing terms of that award. In this they have reflected. I am sure, the ideas which were set forth by the Prime Minister when he came back from Europe after the Court of Arbitration had finished its labours. The Prime Min-

ister, when he returned from Europe, spoke in terms, I will not say of extravagance, but I will say of exuberant, praise; in fact he was so exuberant in his language that—I say it without meaning any offence to the hon. gentleman—I cannot but think he said more than he really meant. I do not think that in his heart of hearts he quite considered our success so complete as he would have us believe. With regard to the hon. gentleman I am somewhat in the position of my hon. friend to my left (Mr. Davies, P.E.I.)—I am not overburdened with confidence in the Prime Minister in political matters, still I respect his opinion. But when he tells us that we have reason to be proud and to be satisfied with our success before the Court of Arbitration, I oppose to his opinion the opinion of a gentleman, who in matters judicial always commands respect—I oppose to the opinion of the Prime Minister the opinion of the Minister of Justice of Canada, who was a member of the court, and who dissented from that award in its most important particular, and, for my part in this matter, I prefer to follow the opinion of the Minister of Justice rather than the opinion of the First Minister. What was the origin of the trouble between Canada and the United States with regard to these Behring Sea fisheries? It was the danger of the extinction of seal life in the northern seas. Up to the year 1886 the Canadian sealers and the American sealers had prosecuted their labours without injuring one another. But, in 1886 the American authorities took violent, arbitrary and unwarranted proceedings against the Canadian sealers to oust them from the northern seas. The ground for this, as alleged by the American authorities, was that they had jurisdiction over Behring Sea because, as they said, in the language of international law, it was a mare clausum, that it was a sort of American lake over which the Americans had just as much authority as they have over the waters of Salt Lake in Utah. This contention was so preposterous that the negotiations between the Foreign Office and the Department at Washington were not carried far before it was practically disavowed. Then they fell back upon the contention that they owned the seals, whether found in the open sea or near the shore, because the seals were born in American territory. Then, failing in this, they fell back upon the claim that they had a right to protect the seal life and to take measures to prevent the indiscriminate slaughter of the seals. This latter proposition was really the whole bone of contention. It was known and admitted that the seals had become scarce in comparison with what they had been in former times, both those that teemed in the seas and those that rooked on the islands. The Americans carry on their operations on land, while the Canadians carry on theirs upon the waters of the open sea. The first object of the Americans was to prevent pelagic

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sealing, the taking of seals in the open sea. All nations have established domestic laws to protect certain kinds of game and fish. It is well known that when they came before the court all their legal pretensions were brushed aside by the court, in fact, so far as I have been able to read the proceedings, the whole of the contention between the American Commissioners and the British Commissioners was as to the making of these regulations for the protection of the seals, and in this I affirm that the pretensions set up by the Canadian Commissioners were altogether set aside by the award of the court. In the first place, it is a well-known fact—and this will not be denied—that the first contention of the British Commissioners was that the regulations should apply not only to pelagic sealing but also to the slaughter of the seals on land. There was much reason in this and the point was put forth with great ability and great force in the British case. This is what was said in the British case, which, I believe, was largely prepared by my hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries:

No such regulations

Says the case—

can be just or effective unless accompanied by corresponding and correlative control over the islands and over the time, method and extent of slaughter upon them by the nationals of the United States of America.

To enforce regulations which would shut out British subjects at certain seasons and from prescribed areas from the pursuit of pelagic sealing and at the same time would leave the slaughter of seals on the islands to be pursued according to the mere will of the lessees of those islands or of their Government, would be to establish regulations one-sided in their character and unjust and therefore ineffective for the object in view, namely, the preservation of seal life.

Sir, notwithstanding the cogency of this argument, the court of arbitration came to a different conclusion, establishing regulations, not for the slaughtering of seals on land, but simply for the slaughtering of seals in open water. Our pretensions, I am bound to say, were rejected against the dissent of the Canadian arbitrator, and therefore I cannot conceive why the Prime Minister should want the Canadian people to rejoice at such a reward as this. Now, there was another contention, a second contention, advanced by the Canadian commissioner, to the effect that the regulation with regard to pelagic sealing should apply simply to Behring Sea, and should not apply to any part of the Pacific Ocean south of Behring Sea, and the award, instead of accepting that contention, established that the regulations should be binding not only in the Behring Sea but in the Pacific Ocean south of the Behring Sea, as far back as the 35th degree of latitude, that is to say, as far back, I understand, as San Francisco. This award was also made,

I am bound to say, against the protest of the Canadian arbitrator, and upon this point also I prefer, for my part, the opinion of the Canadian arbitrator to the opinion of the Prime Minister. Then it was agreed on both sides that there should be a zone around the Islands, which served as rookeries to the seals. The Canadian commissioner suggested that the zone should be twenty miles around the Islands, but the court of arbitration made it three times twenty, or sixty miles around the Island. Then it was agreed also on both sides that there should be a close season within which sealing should be prohibited. The Canadian commissioner suggested that the close season should be from September 15th to May 1st, but the Court of Arbitration decided that the close season should be from May 1st to July 31st, the very reverse of what was proposed by our own commissioner. Upon this regulation also the Canadian commissioner dissented, and I am disposed to back his judgment against the opinion set forth by the Prime Minister. But, we may be told, the American commissioners also dissented from this regulation. It is true the American commissioners dissented from this regulation, and when they came back they did not brag, the American commissioners never pretended they had made a great success, on the contrary they protested against the regulation, and there was a very obvious reason why they should protest. From the very first their pretension was that they had a monopoly of those seals, that they had the right of ownership, the right of protection, and consistently with their pretension, they would not be participants in the regulation which knocked the bottom out of their pretension. But if you want to know why we should rejoice, as the member for Ottawa (Sir James Grant) said a moment ago, over that award, let us look at what took place on the other side of the continent, let us look at what took place on the British Columbia coast. Sir, I call the attention of my hon. friend from the city of Ottawa to this fact, that the effect of that award has been to kill the Canadian sealing industry completely. Canadian sealing is a thing of the past. I see that my hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries takes some exception to that; has he not seen, as we have all seen, a report that all these schooners and tackle which were employed in the seal fisheries in British Columbia have been offered for sale at auction? I do not know whether the sale took place, but I know that they were offered for sale, and the hon. gentleman will not contradict me on that point, although I do not know that they were sold. I know that the British Columbia sealers have offered all their schooners and tackle for sale at auction, saying that their industry was forever a thing of the past, and unless I am greatly mistaken—we shall see by and by—I understand that there is in the hands of the Government a petition from the owners

of schooners and tackle employed in the fisheries, asking the Government to compensate them for the great loss they have sustained by the award. Sir, I agree that on one ground we have reason to be satisfied—we have reason to be satisfied with the reference of the question to a court of arbitration, we have reason to rejoice that a dispute between Great Britain and the United States was referred to a court, instead of those two nations appealing to the supreme arbitrament of war. This is the second time within thirty years that the two great Anglo-Saxon nations have given this example to the world of settling their disputes, not as in the past, by the barbarous plan of war, but by a judicial arbitration. So, however unsatisfactory the award may be, still there is reason to be satisfied that the dispute was peacefully settled in the same manner as previous disputes had been settled. Now, there is another paragraph in the Speech from the Throne of which we have heard a good deal, a fast Atlantic service. Sir, how long ago is it since the Prime Minister told us, with a great flourish of trumpets, that Canada was to provide a fast Atlantic service on the northern route between Europe and Canada, equal to the fastest and best then plying the ocean? It must be six years ago at least, and in the following session, in consequence of that grandiloquent promise, the Parliament of Canada was induced to vote \$500,000 to whoever would establish such a service equal to the fastest and best then plying the ocean. Now, half a million is a large pile of money, but although that offer has been on the statute-book for four years, nobody has yet come forward to take possession of that sum of money. Our great Canadian lines, the Allan line, the Dominion line, and the Torrance line, who, as the hon. member for Ottawa City said a moment ago, have been the pioneers of steam navigation in the St. Lawrence, have not come forward, enterprising men as they are, to take the money, and why? Because it is well known that the conditions set forth by the Government are impossible of fulfilment; it is impossible to have on the northern route a service equal to the fastest and the best, it is impossible to have a service as fast as the services now plying between New York and Europe. Why, Sir, it is a well-known fact that the difficulties of navigation are so great in the Gulf of St. Lawrence that it would be madness to expect any company to maintain a rate of speed such as is maintained between New York and the European ports. I remember that this question was discussed a few years ago, and two gentlemen of authority in this House gave their opinion to that effect. Mr. Jones, then one of the members for Halifax, and who is an authority upon this subject, said it was madness to expect that we should maintain a rate of speed of seven-

teen or twenty knots an hour, such as is maintained on the southern route. The hon. member for Queen's, P.E.I. (Mr. Welsh) gave the same opinion. I hold in my hands now a book entitled, "The St. Lawrence Pilot, comprising Sailing Directions for the Gulf and River; originally compiled by Rear-Admiral H. W. Bayfield." On the very first page of the book I read this :

In the charts resulting from extended Admiralty surveys will be found accurate soundings, taken with Massey's patent sounding machine, which gives the depth independent of the effect of currents or drift of the vessel. The use of this instrument cannot be too strongly recommended, for correct soundings may be obtained with it in 30 fathoms of water without heaving to, if the vessel be not sailing at a rate exceeding 6 knots; and no vessel ought to be permitted to run so fast, in a thick fog or dark night, when in the vicinity of land or other danger.

Now, this is conclusive, and if these proposals—which I do not discuss at length to-day, and which will have to be discussed at a future date—are at all to be realized with any degree of success, the conditions will have to be greatly modified before they can be accepted. There is another paragraph in the Speech with respect with Australia. Well, this is also a chapter which is an old story. We have sent delegation after delegation, I do not know how many times. We have sent a delegation to the West Indies, once, twice, and perhaps three times. We have sent a delegation to Brazil and to almost every part of the world, and now even to the Antipodes. To obtain, what? That which we have at our very doors—to obtain trade which we can secure without any difficulty whatever, not by subsidizing lines of steamers, but simply by removing obstacles to trade and commerce. Sir, the Speech shines with many subjects, but many matters have been omitted that should have appeared. An hon. member yesterday called attention to the Prohibition Commission. How many years have elapsed since the hon. Finance Minister told us in a very solemn moment—

An hon. MEMBER. In a moment of weakness.

Mr. LAURIER. It was at a solemn moment when the hon. gentleman made a confession that in a moment of weakness he had formed a hasty opinion of prohibition, that he wanted more information. That incident occurred, if I remember rightly, in July or August of 1891. One year, two years, have elapsed, and still the hon. gentleman is in the same state of ignorance. By this time his trouble must have become chronic, and if continued much longer it will prove incurable. Why has he not that report at this hour? Is it not a mockery? The resolution was adopted by the House in the summer of 1891; it was not until January, 1892, that the Commission was appointed, and the

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Commission has been sitting, and I do not know whether it is sitting yet, but two years have elapsed and still there is no report. It seems to me that the hon. Finance Minister is not desirous to get rid of his ignorance on that subject. Then there is another subject to which reference should have been made in the Speech from the Throne: I mean the treaty with France. It is now more than fifteen years ago that Sir Alexander Galt was instructed by the Canadian Government to open negotiations in order to obtain, if possible, a treaty between Canada and France. Those negotiations were opened and then abandoned, they were resumed, then interrupted, then renewed again, and finally they culminated in the completion of a treaty which was signed last winter, in February, I think, and placed at once on the Table of the House. Strange to say, the Government, which had been negotiating that treaty for about fifteen years, so soon as the treaty was completed, seemed to have repented that they had entered into such a treaty. They were bound to take some action and inform Parliament at once whether they proposed to have the treaty ratified or not ratified. They did nothing. During last session it might have been unfair to press for an answer. The Prime Minister was away on other important duties; but on this occasion, a year after the treaty had been signed, we had reason to expect that reference would have been made to that important subject in the Speech from the Throne, and the Government would have announced their decision to ask Parliament to ratify the treaty. But there is no reference to the subject in the Speech. Evidently the hon. gentlemen opposite have not formed an opinion. Why? Because there are conflicting interests in that regard, and firmness and courage are required to arrive at a conclusion in respect to it. But they are bound to come to a conclusion, they are bound to come to a decision and a decision at once. There are important interests waiting to know what is going to take place in reference to the treaty. The lumbermen of New Brunswick want to know under what tariff they will send their lumber to France. That is one interest affected. The wine producers of the west want to know whether they will have to meet the competition of French wines or not. The temperance people want to know whether French wines are to be admitted on more favourable terms; and there is a class of my fellow-countrymen who are in favour of more extended relations with France, if possible, and they are entitled to obtain the opinion of the Government on the subject. These are conflicting interests; and shall we be told that in the face of so many conflicting interests the Government are discharging their duty in not expressing to the House their opinions respecting them? We must have a decision. The prime duty of a Government is to form opinions and carry out resolutions

arrived at on any question that arises in the country. This Dominion has already suffered too much from long delays in forming opinions and in dealing with important matters.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Oh.

Mr. LAURIER. The hon. gentleman is very guilty in that respect. He has dilly-dallied with many important subjects, and dilly-dallied with them so long that to-day strong passions have been aroused which would have been settled if the hon. gentleman had at once taken a firm stand. This is why I denounce the Government to-day. The opinion prevails that the Government is not composed of business men, because the first requisite of business men is to be able to form a decision and form it promptly. I arraign the Government before this country. I arraign them on that charge; I arraign them on their fiscal policy, on their many derelictions of duty, and on this new charge, that they dare not do their duty because it may involve them in many difficulties. I charge them on their own confession with being sadly deficient in the requisites of all Governments—courage, decision, and some capacity to discharge public business.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Mr. Speaker, I am gratified at the way in which the hon. gentleman who has just resumed his seat has referred to the manner in which their duty was discharged by the hon. gentlemen who moved and seconded the address. I am sure it is a matter of great gratification to us all to see among us to-day as a new member, introduced only about twenty-four hours ago, a gentleman who participated in the deliberations of this Chamber twenty years gone by, and who has come among us again to share in the labours of this Parliament, and that he greets us with the patriotic and fervid expressions which we heard from him this afternoon. I am sure my hon. friend from Hochelaga (Mr. Lachapelle), who has been with us two sessions, I believe, surprised us by the manner in which he discharged his duty, by the grace with which he spoke, by the clearance and eloquence of the language which he used. All that the hon. leader of the Opposition said with regard to those hon. gentlemen expressed appropriately the view which is held on this side of the House, as it generously and gracefully expressed the views of his friends on the other side of the House. I need not say much more as to the manner in which those hon. gentlemen discharged their duties, because the hon. leader of the Opposition paid to them what he thought was a supreme compliment when he said their task was a difficult one and a somewhat delicate one because they had to make a good deal out of nothing, and the hon. gentleman continued his address long enough to convince every hon. member of the House that he was a

master in that art himself. I agree, Sir, with all the hon. gentleman said with respect to the coming amongst us of the Earl of Aberdeen and his gracious Countess, and with all that he said with respect to those who left us when His Excellency came. It has been the good fortune in all times past in the history of Canada that when the Governors General have left us they have left us, the warmest friends of this country eager to do her service in every sphere of life and activity in which they move in the country to which they returned. And in this case, while we have the gratification of knowing that Lord Derby is among those friends of Canada who are eager, earnest and outspoken in her interests in the mother country, we have had come to us as his successor, and the successor of his consort, a nobleman and a noble woman, who come eager to do service to Canada, eager to enlist in every public enterprise and in every public charity by which the weal of this country can be promoted. We cannot, therefore, in justice to ourselves and in justice to our people, hesitate to accord them in this assembly allusions to the warm feeling which is inspired in Canadians who find coming to them a ruler full of affection and full of desire to promote their interests. Now, Mr. Speaker, there was another step which I am able to go, and most cordially, too, with the hon. the leader of the Opposition. I say so with pleasure, because the steps that we are able to take together in commenting upon this address are, I regret to say, very few indeed. But I did hear with pleasure the allusions which he made to the success of the representation of Canada at the World's Fair at Chicago, and I heard with gratification his remark that the triumphs achieved in Chicago were principally the triumphs of the Canadian farmers. No statement could be more true, and no statement could be more gratifying than that that class of our people showed their skill, showed their progress, and achieved a triumph for this country, to the disadvantage of the people of every other country with whom they were in competition. I am sure it must have been a matter of profound gratification to the hon. the leader of the Opposition himself—although that gratification was not expressed—that the class of Canadians who achieved that noble triumph for Canada was the class which he and his friends have been depicting as down-trodden and miserable tax-burdened people, who have no prosperity among them, and who are flying from the prosperity which is said to exist in this country. The hon. gentleman was willing—in view of the triumph which these men had achieved for their country and of the exhibition which they had made of the prosperity and progress of Canada—to admit graciously that this country was blessed in many respects, blessed in climate, blessed in resources, blessed in natural means of communication and facility of transportation, but cursed in many other respects. The

hon. gentleman was, however, not willing to admit that the country was prosperous; we have heard that before; but we take bold issue with him on that question, as we have done in times past, and in order that the issue may be distinct, I assert on behalf of those who agree with me, and there are many of them in this House, that the prosperity with which Canada has been blessed, in comparison with other nations, affords reason for pride to every Canadian, who does not take a purely partisan view of the matter. I assert that the prosperity of Canada is not surpassed by any country with which she can be drawn into comparison. I do not need to follow the hon. gentleman's comparison of the condition of our people, with the same classes in the older countries. I do not need to allude to the condition of the Fellaheen, but I am willing to take the standard of comparison which the hon. gentleman himself set up, and to say, that as regards the standard which should prevail on this free American continent, the condition of Canada to-day is unequalled for firmness and stability. It is not, I am sure, the hon. gentleman's desire or will to misrepresent the condition of his country, which induces him to express that denial of the real condition of the country, which is apparent to almost everybody else. The hon. gentleman is without hope for his country. The only hope with which he can look towards the future of the Dominion, the only pride with which he can survey it, is in seeing all the resources this country possesses, which he believes could be made more prolific of prosperity, and the improvement of the condition of the labouring and farming classes, if there were a change in the country—for one change is all that he asks—a change of administrators. The hon. gentleman has no hope with regard to the condition of the country—and therefore he is unwilling to admit that there is any prosperity in it—except on the single ground that by some complication of affairs, a change of administrators may take place; and the hope, which he is willing to hold out to the farmer and the artisan, that while they are now poor, down-trodden and tax-ridden, each of them shall have a chicken in the pot on Sunday, if the hon. gentlemen opposite can but get into power. Now, Sir, the condition in which the hon. gentleman really supposes this country to be, could not be expressed by greater exaggeration than that which he expressed when he spoke of the farmers toiling and sweating in exhibiting the trophies of their industry, and the trophies of their progress at the exposition of the world's industries, while sitting in miserable dens at home, with robbers depriving them of everything they earned—the wages of their toil and sweat. The hon. gentleman and I have to part company here, although it is my duty to comment upon some other of his observations. He commenced by a rebuke to the Government as to the disagreeable season of the year at which Parliament has

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been convened. I agree with the hon. gentleman that the season is somewhat inconvenient and that it would meet the wishes of members on this side of the House, and especially members of the Administration, if the session could commence in the month of January every year. There were circumstances which retarded the opening of Parliament, and I must take exception to the language which the hon. gentleman used in discussing that subject. The hon. gentleman stated that it was part of the unwritten law of Parliament that we should begin our session not later than the month of January. I have a list here of what has occurred during the last twelve sessions of Parliament, including this one, as to the date of commencement, and I find that in six of them the commencement was later than this year. It is generally considered that the period of the session at which the business interests of the people begin to be most affected by our legislation, is the period at which the Budget is brought down to this House, and, generally speaking, when complaint has been made with regard to the lateness of a session, the complaint is based upon the uneasiness of the public as to possible tariff changes which have to be made, but, Sir, if circumstances remain as they are, the Minister of Finance will be in a position to lay before the House on Wednesday of next week the Budget for the coming year; and if he shall be able to do so, he will have commenced that portion of the public business earlier than it has been commenced for seven out of the twelve sessions to which I have referred.

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Mr. Speaker, I will ask the House to bear with me for a moment or two more while I allude to the circumstances which appear to me to have justified the Government in delaying until this period of the year the opening of the present session. Let me remind the House that the statement was fully made in the course of the discussion of the Budget of last session, that before the opening of the present session there should be a careful revision of the entire tariff, and that that revision should not be made, or indeed should not be undertaken, until the Ministers who had the immediate charge of the subject had had an opportunity of conferring with the representatives of the various industries throughout the country—agricultural and industrial—industries, in fact, of every description. In accordance with that promise, the conferences took place to which the hon. leader of the Opposition has referred this afternoon. Those conferences occupied the principal portion of last year, and, indeed, a portion of the present year; and it was not until well after the opening of the present year that the Ministers were able

to sit down to the examination, the discussion, and the revision of a tariff, consisting of from nine hundred to a thousand items, and preparing the revision for submission to this House. I am glad the hon. leader of the Opposition was good enough to read to the House the statement which I made on this subject in another place—I think at the Board of Trade banquet in Toronto in the year 1892. On that occasion I made the statement that it would be proper to delay the revision of the tariff until some indication had been given of the policy which would be pursued in another country; and while hon. gentlemen opposite may make merry with the phrase about looking to Washington, and all that, we adhere still to the business principle, as we regard it, that no sensible Government would undertake to revise its own tariff, seeing that a neighbouring country was engaged in the same operation, until it had some opportunity of observing the progress of events there, knowing that the revision of the tariff there in progress will affect all the business transactions and operations of this country for the next few years at least. It may be that before we enter upon the discussion of that subject in this House, the measure will not be completed in the other country; but, Sir, we shall have done the best we could; we shall have delayed as far as possible—not to look for an example to the other country, not to look there for guidance as to the tariff we ought to make for Canada, but for information on a matter of pure and solid business which this House will shortly have to undertake. Let me remind the House further of the statement we have made in previous sessions, and have also made in discussing this matter sometimes throughout this country, that it was our desire to meet the Government of the United States and the legislature of that country, as far as we consistently could—consistently with regard to our revenue, and consistently with regard to the principles on which our tariff is based, and the preservation of those principles. We were anxious to meet with good-will any propositions which the Government of the United States would be willing to make, or which Congress might be willing to make, in favour of the enhancement of the trade between the two countries. Would it not have been a violation of that idea—a violation of that principle, a violation of that offer of good-will, which was no more cordially stated by us than pressed upon us by the Opposition—if we had undertaken to convene the House and bring down a tariff regardless altogether of what the neighbouring country might do? Surely, Sir, if we were sincere, as I can assure the House we were, in offering, by any means within our power, and consistently with the interests which I have mentioned, to take measures to increase the trade between these two countries, the least we could do was to wait to see what progress

was being made on the other side of the line, in the way of the lessening of duties, or otherwise, which might tend to increase that trade on their part, in order that we might reciprocate by similar legislation on our part. I think that no reproach could have been more fair and more unanswerable than that which would have come from the other side if we had asked the House to deal with this whole subject in ignorance of the views of Congress, and had prorogued the House to wait another year before a single step could have been made towards an enlargement of the trade between the two countries, if any such step is to be taken. I hope the hon. leader of the Opposition will not suspect me of disrespect for him, for the speech which he has delivered to the House to-day, if, in addition to taking strong issue with him as to the condition of the country at the present time, I shall venture to suggest to the House that that speech exhibited a marked tone of dissatisfaction, a note of profound discontent with the existing state of affairs, and an unwillingness to be pleased with any phase of public affairs. And more, Sir, it exhibited an unwillingness to be pleased with any phase of public affairs in this country. Why, the hon. gentleman made merry over the deliberations of the Ministers who went to a meeting in Montreal to receive a number of deputations there, and who went afterwards to the Maritime Provinces and there received deputations likewise. He made it a matter of complaint that these gentlemen should have excluded the press when these deputations were received, and afterwards, in attempting to define what was taking place in those secret councils, the hon. gentleman treated us to an extract from Shakespeare to show how absurd the whole transaction was. I do not so regard these conferences. It has been customary, ever since I knew anything of public affairs—and I am sure it was customary when hon. gentlemen opposite ruled—to receive deputations who desired to present their views, whether with regard to trade or anything else, without the proceedings being reported in the press. Such is generally the wish of gentlemen connected with business who come upon deputations relating to their affairs. It is not always, or by any means common, that the desire for reserve and to avoid publicity comes from any nefarious design upon their part, or any desire to screen themselves from public investigation and criticism because of anything they have to conceal. But it frequently does happen that gentlemen have matters to discuss in connection with their own business transactions, in connection with the profits of those business transactions, which may have been misrepresented, or with regard to the expenditure of capital involved in their enterprise, which it is not always convenient to have reported in the newspaper press. I think that even that deputation which went to the Finance Min-

ister of the Mackenzie Government (Sir Richard Cartwright) to claim that something should be done to relieve the depression of trade, and in which they received the response that they might go to the father of all evil, was not reported in the press; but it strikes me that we are indebted to the hon. Minister himself (Sir Richard Cartwright) for the very interesting report of it which was made to this House and the country. The hon. gentleman seemed to me to evince an unreasonable desire to find fault when he charged the Ministers of Finance and Trade and Commerce with a great outrage in hearing business men in the absence of the press, and when he still more seriously complained that afterwards they went out and addressed a public meeting. He was profoundly dissatisfied with the secrecy of the interview, but still more dissatisfied that an open meeting should have been held under the broad canopy of Heaven. I am not surprised that my colleagues considered that it was impossible to satisfy the hon. gentleman, and consequently not worth their while to try. But I think he might have excused the reluctance of my colleague, the Minister of Finance, to do anything which might bring down upon him another inundation of set speeches on free trade and protection. My colleague had just come out from within the walls of this Parliament, where he had listened, I am sure, to everything that could be said on both sides by hon. gentlemen opposite. I am sure there was not an argument in connection with free trade that he had not heard fifty times over, expressed in every mood and tense and phase the English language will admit of, and after having escaped by the prerogative of prorogation, I am sure my hon. friend will be excused if he desired to escape for a further brief space speeches upon those subjects to which he had already listened so long and so often. But another point of view in which it seems to me my hon. friend, the leader of the Opposition, exhibited an unreasonable desire to criticize and an unwillingness to be satisfied was in the observations he made with regard to the Minister of Agriculture. He declared that the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Angers) went to Manitoba and the North-west Territories, after leaving those conferences in the older provinces, and was guilty of making the statement to the farmers of the west that he believed that their burdens and grievances were principally due to circumstances over which the Government had no control, and with which the tariff had no connection, namely, the unusually low prices of their products, and the system of farming which had been carried on hitherto in Manitoba and the North-west Territories. If the hon. leader of the Opposition, instead of sneering at the Minister of Agriculture as being a lawyer, had stated that he told the farmers something which they had already found out by bitter experience, his criticism would have been better timed and better

placed. What the Minister of Agriculture stated to the people of the west was simply a bold and courageous statement of what he believed to be the truth as regards the condition of the country and the people whom he was addressing. He would have been a quack if he had told them that those low prices and the evils connected with farming one kind of product alone had been the result of any disease in the body politic which the Government or Parliament could cure. But when he gave to them the advice that they must seek to protect themselves in the future against the depression by resorting to mixed farming, he was proclaiming a doctrine which no sensible agriculturist, east or west, will deny. But I thought that my hon. friend was unreasonably dissatisfied in this respect, that after all this comment upon the Minister of Agriculture and his advice to the farmers of the west, the hon. gentleman still seemed profoundly moved with dissatisfaction at the idea of a lawyer being Minister of Agriculture. Why, I thought that he and I, if we could have anything in common, would be one in profound respect for the training of the profession, which those who admire and love it say fits a man for everything. I should have thought he would at least have recalled the period in which he was a worthy and eminent member of a Cabinet in this country, and when he made a not discreditable Minister of Inland Revenue, although he was and still is a lawyer. I thought that the hon. gentleman should at least have remembered another circumstance, that the Cabinet in which he sat had two Ministers of Agriculture. That Cabinet had two fine opportunities. We have had, in our short career, but one, and I think we have made an admirable choice. But that Government had two opportunities, and it chose a lawyer on each occasion. Their first Minister of Agriculture was the Hon. Luc Letellier, and their second the Hon. Senator Pelletier, the one an avocat and the other a notary. My hon. friend went a step further, and exhibited again an unreasonable desire to be dissatisfied when he made comment on that portion of the Speech which refers to the expanding and increasing trade of Canada. He took up that portion which refers with satisfaction to the circumstance that a large proportion of the expansion is due to the increase in our trade with the mother country. The hon. gentleman found fault with that, for the very extraordinary reason that a larger proportion still was due to the increase of trade with the United States. I thought if the hon. gentleman would be satisfied with anything, he would be satisfied with that circumstance; but he seemed to find more fault with us than ever, because, while our trade with Great Britain had greatly increased, there had been a still greater increase in our trade with the United States. Why, Sir, the hon. gentleman, exhibiting the same spirit of dissatisfaction, the same degree of unwillingness to be satisfied, commented, a few minutes afterwards,

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upon the improbability of a large trade with Australia and indicated that we could increase our trade with the United States by simply throwing down the wall, while he had just expressed dissatisfaction at finding that so large a proportion of our increased trade was with the United States. The hon. gentleman made a statement with regard to the condition of business in the United States, with which I think very few hon. members will agree. The hon. gentleman accounted, amidst the cheers of his friends, for the extraordinary depression in the United States by declaring that it was due altogether to protection. I should like to know by what public man in the United States, on either side of politics, that statement is endorsed. On the one side we see, banded together in a determination to change the tariff laws of the country, a set of men who say that relief is due to the masses of the people from undue protection, and, scorning the idea of free trade, struggling hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder, month after month, for the enactment of a tariff two or three stories higher than any tariff Canada ever had. We see the halls of Congress filled to overflowing with deputations from every part of the great Union protesting against the reduction of the tariff, even to that extent, and we hear of delegates from the various industries and from the workmen of that country swarming in the lobbies and halls of the Capitol at Washington, outnumbering the members of Congress two to one, and we learn that the walls and pavements ring with the sounds of the wheels bringing in petitions against a measure of that kind. We know that the industries of that country are paralyzed, not because there had been protection there, but because there is an effort to reduce that protection. I must pass on to make a few observations—and they will be but few, because the subject-matter may come up again and I hope will be discussed by some of my colleagues, perhaps this evening—with regard to what the hon. gentleman said as to the award at Paris and its effect upon this country. The hon. member, unwittingly, I am sure, represented me as having come home in a state of jubilation and triumph and brag after the sittings of the tribunal at Paris. If the hon. gentleman understood that, Sir, from anything I said in public, I should like him to read it to this House. If he understood it from any interview I gave to any representative of the press, he profoundly misunderstood my meaning and my expression. When I came back to this country, I found the subject but little understood, with a feeling of alarm prevalent as to the severity of the regulations which had been adopted. I made the statement, in the only press interviews which I remember to have given, that I thought Canadians had reason to be satisfied with the result, but I made the statement at the same time that

I had dissented from the regulations which had been adopted, because I thought them, in some respects, too severe, and, in some respects, inadequate for the purpose for which they were framed. Therefore, Sir, there was no deception on my part, there could be no reasonable misconception, no supposition on the part of the public that I was rejoicing or bragging over the result. But the view which I took of the affair, Sir, was this: That we had been brought before an international tribunal, not for the purpose of seeing what additional concession could be made to Canada, there was nothing for Canada to gain in the matter, but there was an opportunity for her to be completely shorn, at the instance of the United States, of rights which we believed she possessed, and which she had exercised for a number of years. It was satisfactory to me, above all things, that Canada had been proved to be right in the contentions which had been put forward on her behalf,—it was a matter of profound satisfaction to me, and I thought it would be to my fellow-countrymen, to learn that, while Canada had taken a position which induced the United States to seize her vessels, to imprison her seamen and send them in custody to remote shores, in escaping from which some of them met their death, these wrongs had been put a stop to, and that our rights denied in that way had been upheld by the tribunal to which an appeal for justice had been made. It was a matter of profound satisfaction to me, and I believed it would be to my countrymen, that, after we had brought this great Empire to the very verge of war, it had been proved that we were far within our rights, and that the blame of the quarrel was not upon us, but upon the other side. Now, my attitude and position with regard to the regulations was this: I believed that the regulations which I favoured in the conference of the arbitrators would have been more effectual for the preservation of seal life, and would have been somewhat less severe upon our own seal fishermen. I entertain that opinion still, but it was not for me to expect that my individual opinions upon this subject were to prevail over all others. And, Sir, I think first of all we should look to the fact that the questions referred to the tribunal, the principal questions to be decided there, were by no means the suitability of the regulations, but the questions of right. The hon. member has stated that if we look into the history of the subject we shall find that the real bone of contention was as to the right to restrict pelagic sealing. Mr. Speaker, that is precisely the contention of the United States, but it was precisely that contention which was overthrown in the proceedings of that tribunal; and why the hon. gentleman should present here the United States side of this question and not the Canadian side, I should be at a loss to understand if I had not seen parallels to it in previous debates in this

House. Does not every member of the House who has considered the subject know that, without one word of assertion of any right to protect the seals, or any right of property in them, and without an hour's notice or warning, our vessels were seized, our fishermen sent to prisons and their vessels left stranded upon the coasts of Alaska, under a statute of the United States which forbade them to enter Behring Sea. That was the condition of affairs, Sir, and when Great Britain remonstrated upon our part, it was not set up that there should be a regulation about this subject, but the bald assertion was made that the United States had acquired these waters by treaty of cession from the Emperor of Russia, that Great Britain had recognized the right of Russia to exclude from these pursuits in the Behring Sea, and that the United States had an equal right to that which Russia had assumed and which Russia had exercised. And, Sir, developed from that was the contention that the United States had an absolute property in every one of these seals because they were born on the shores of her territory, and further that she had the right to protect them by force from capture, because they were connected with an industry which was carried on upon her territory. The hon. gentleman says that the doctrine of mare clausum was given up very early in the controversy. As called by that name it was; but down to the last hour of the arbitration, not only was the assertion made, but most vigorously was it contended for by the ablest counsel the United States could send to the bar of that tribunal, that while the doctrine of mare clausum might not apply to Behring Sea, the equivalent doctrine did prevail, namely, that the Czar of Russia had for many years, more than a century ago, asserted and exercised absolute dominion over that sea to prevent the killing of seals and other fur-bearing animals; that he had exercised that authority with the consent and acquiescence of Great Britain, and that when Russia transferred her rights to the United States, she transferred all the sovereignty which she had thus acquired. So that while, under the name of mare clausum, our fishermen were not excluded from that Sea, yet they dare not fire a gun or harpoon a seal or take any fur-bearing animal because these had been protected, as the property of the Emperor of the Russias, from time immemorial, and his authority had been transferred to the United States. These were the questions of right which were involved. Brushed aside, said the hon. member (Mr. Laurier), at once by the court. Why, Sir, they have not been brushed aside, but put down by the solemn and authoritative decision only of the majority of the tribunal; and that only after listening for upwards of three months to arguments presented by the ablest men that the bar of the two countries could produce, in support and in denial of the doctrine which the hon.

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gentleman says was at once brushed away. And when we came to the deliberations of the arbitrators on that subject, one of them stands on record to-day as having affirmed, down to the last moment, all these rights his country claims to have received from Russia and to have exercised since Russia ceded them to the United States. And with regard to the right of property and the right to protect the industry by preventing the killing of seals, even when swimming in the open waters of the Pacific Ocean—even as regards those contentions, the two arbitrators of the United States stand together in dissenting from the terms of the award, and have published most elaborate opinions to the contrary. And these are the contentions which the hon. gentleman supposes to have been at once brushed away by the tribunal and hardly left in the domain of argument. The hon. gentleman was—unintentionally, I believe—unfair in criticising the regulations themselves, although he was right in saying that I was dissatisfied with them. When the hon. gentleman states that the contentions of Canada—what he believes to have been and what he supposes I believed to have been the rights of Canada—were distinctly controverted and overruled by that tribunal, he is somewhat mistaken again. The hon. gentleman was right in stating, as was put in the British case, that no effective provisions could be made to preserve the seal race until there was a restriction as to the killing on land or on the islands owned by the United States. But had he looked carefully into the terms of the reference, he would have found that the power of the tribunal to make regulations was limited by the terms of the treaty, and that the regulations could only apply outside of the territorial jurisdiction of either country. I was under the impression that regulations might have been so made as to apply only in case proper regulations were made by the United States with regard to the islands themselves, but we were met with the view of the other arbitrators that that would have been a practical evasion of the principle which confined our jurisdiction only to waters outside of the territorial jurisdiction of either country, and likewise by the strong evidence that down to the present time no special abuse had been shown with regard to the regulations which had been made by the United States as applicable to those islands. If the hon. gentleman had been under the impression—as I am sure he was when he said it—that the present regulations were an absolute denial of all the pleadings made in the interests of Canada, how can he explain the fact that they were so profoundly unsatisfactory to the United States that neither of the American arbitrators would agree to them or sign the award, for their names are put to it merely as testifying that this is the award which the tribunal made. The hon. gentleman said, as to this, that they did not

go home and brag, at any rate. Why did they not? If anything had been decided in their favour, they might well have done so. But I beg to assure the hon. gentleman again that he is mistaken in supposing that in anything I have said, there was any spirit of brag or boasting whatever. I professed satisfaction, for the reasons I have stated, and I have professed elsewhere great satisfaction at the upholding, in the most solemn way and before all the nations, of the doctrine for which we in this House have contended, for which we have contended in our correspondence with the Imperial Government, and for which no people in this country have so zealously contended as my hon. friend and those who sit beside him, namely, for the right of Canada to have a ruling voice in negotiations which affect her interests. I expressed a feeling of satisfaction that Her Majesty's Government had so fully recognized that right of Canada, of a great colony—and I suppose the same right would be conceded to any colony—that she had not only appointed one of the tribunal a Canadian Minister, but that she had given the conduct of the case to my colleague, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, and had furnished him, out of her zeal and good-will for the cause of Canada, with the ablest counsel that the bar of the mother country could furnish, to stand side by side in the struggle for our rights with one of the ablest Canadian counsel who could be brought there to present our case. I expressed satisfaction at this circumstance; but so far from indulging in any spirit of boasting on the subject, I say now once for all that nothing was further from my own view, and it would have been exceedingly ill-placed that I should have had any boasting or bragging as far as my part in the transaction was concerned. The part which I had to perform was not to fulfil the duties of a counsel or an advocate there, but to do my duty as well as I could to both the contending parties, to see that the rights of my country in so far as they could be put before a tribunal of that kind by one of its members were upheld by myself. But the great protection which Canada had was not in the circumstance that I was a member of the tribunal. It was, in the first place, in the conduct of the case by those who had the conduct of it at our bar, first amongst whom was the Minister of Marine and Fisheries; and it was in the high sense of justice which pervaded that tribunal and every member of it, whether he came from the United States or any of the other countries which were represented at that tribunal; and I merely enumerated in the interview, which seems to have given the leader of the Opposition the impression of a boasting spirit, the causes of the satisfaction which I felt, and which I undertook to express at the earliest possible opportunity after my arrival in Canada. I still think the award, taken on the whole, both on the ques-

tions of right and on the question of regulations, ought, under the circumstances, to be satisfactory to the people of Canada—not satisfactory in the sense that they cannot be improved, not in the sense that they are all one would desire, but that, under the circumstances prevailing at the time, under the great desire which was evinced by the United States for the preservation of the race, under the circumstances that the question had a great deal of novelty about it, and a great deal of obscurity, under all these circumstances of difficulty we have reason to be satisfied that this country has come so little harmed out of the contest. But when my hon. friend stated to the House what he believed to be the harm that was done, I venture to say to him that he has been entirely misinformed on that subject or I have been grossly misinformed. The hon. gentleman is under the impression that the sealing industry of Canada is a thing of the past, that the fishing schooners have been dismantled and offered for sale at auction. I am under the impression that to-night a larger fleet of Canadian sealers from British Columbia, as large a fleet at all events, as was ever engaged in the seal fishery, are out on the ocean in pursuit of the seal, and I think he will find that he has been misled by the bald statement which appeared in the press, that under a feeling of irritation at the regulations which had been enacted, owners of the fleet sought to obtain compensation from the Imperial Government to the extent of the value of all their vessels and equipments, in consequence of their claim which they then made that the sealing industry would not be as profitable as it had been in the past. An allusion was made, Sir, to the mission to Australia in terms which seemed to me to show once more a desire to be dissatisfied on the part of my hon. friend. I do not think there is anything extravagant or unreasonable in our sending the Minister of Trade and Commerce to visit our fellow-colonists in Australia for the purpose of seeing what increase of trade could be secured between the two countries. The hon. gentleman says we could have a greater trade than that by throwing down the tariff wall. He goes on the old fallacy, which we have had put forward in this country for ten years, that all we have to do is to pass a statute and we will have reciprocity with the United States. By all means, if the regulation of the trade with a foreign country is in the hands of this Parliament, let us pass a statute and have reciprocity right away; let us have the bill introduced on Monday. But if it be that there are two tariff walls, and while we let down our own we are simply letting in the products of another country to compete with our own, letting in the labourers of another country to do the work our labourers are doing here, and the products of another country to destroy the market for the products of our own

country, and the other tariff wall is higher than ours ever was, and is still to be maintained. I doubt the prudence just now of taking down that tariff wall, entirely, at all events. But my hon. friend after a moment of reflection will see. I am sure, that the proposition as to an increase of trade with Australia is not so unwise as it occurred to him at the moment when he spoke, because we find that four or five Governments interested away out on the Pacific have not treated Mr. Bowell's mission as a mere delusion and farce, but have not only received him with the cordial hand of fellowship, as warm and generous as one fellow-colonist could extend to another, but have declared in response to his invitation not only their desire to listen to our proposals, but their intention of coming to Canada to discuss them in the month of June. I venture to say that a proposition which is thus warmly received and is being acted on by four or five Governments in Australia and New Zealand is not one to be derided as unworthy of the ambition of a Government representing this country, for we can see not only that commercial interests may be developed and extended by the promotion of trade between those countries and Canada, but that we shall be doing honest yeoman service to the interests of the Empire if we draw together in closer bonds our fellow-colonists and ourselves. One word more. In conclusion the hon. gentleman gave what I thought was the 'crowning reason for confessing that he was unwilling to be satisfied on any conditions. We have been arraigned, we have been accustomed to being arraigned, by him for every offence of which public men can be guilty. May I say to him, with the greatest sincerity, that we are always glad to be arraigned by him. It is always so pleasing to listen to his accusations, and I might almost say it is so easy to answer them, that we are rather delighted than otherwise when we have new indictments prepared against us and the hon. gentleman rises to assail us. But, Sir, the offence with which he charges us to-night is a new one, and I almost hesitate to plead to it on the instant. The new charge is that because we have not announced our policy on the subject of a treaty with France within the first twenty-four hours of Parliament, we are unworthy of confidence as business men carrying on business transactions. Well, Sir, I will promise the hon. gentleman that we will submit a policy on that subject. I will promise that we will announce it, but we will not gratify him by announcing it to-night. We will bring down our policy on that subject when the measure in regard to it ought to be brought in or to be announced as not to be brought in, and the hon. gentleman may possibly be despoiled of the great delight which he sees in store from the struggle which he thinks we shall have with the various clashing interests which interfere with each other on that question. The hon.

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gentleman had a real source of satisfaction in enumerating the different interests which he thought were clashing heads together over this little French treaty. There were the prohibitionists, the wine-producing interests, the interests of the persons whom the hon. gentleman designated as desiring closer relations with France, and two or three interests besides. He will find that the clashing of interests on these subjects is not so material as he may think them. I see the hon. gentleman has not trusted to his note of dissatisfaction on this point to elicit a response as to what our policy is, but has put a question on the paper which will come up on Monday. He will find that the Government have had no unreasonable delay in arriving at a policy on this subject, and no hesitation to announce it at a proper time; but I do think that his doctrine is wrong and that he has gone very far to seek a grievance when he denounces us for any Bill that we may introduce or not introduce, not being put in the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the session of Parliament. If I thought I could convince the hon. gentleman how unreasonable he is to be dissatisfied with us, and to be dissatisfied with us so early in the session, I declare I could go on for half an hour or more, quoting proofs, which the hon. gentleman would admit to be exceedingly cogent and strong upon some of the points upon which I have addressed the House. With regard to the condition of the country, for example, I would quote to him the Speeches which Lieutenant-Governors have read from the Throne in the different provinces, and in which they have declared in plain terms what the condition of the country is, terms almost as strong as I have used to-night. In the Legislature of New Brunswick, in the Legislature of Nova Scotia even—and the hon. member referred in words of admiration to the gentleman who penned that address, on a ground which elicited warm cheers and approbation from his friends, on the ground that the premier of that province had just emerged from an electoral contest in which his majority has been cut in two.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Reduced by two is what you mean.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Not at all. That is another of the hon. gentleman's arithmetical mistakes. I do not detract at all from the accuracy of Mr. Fielding or from his credit. The hon. gentleman has stated that the Maritime Provinces was a nest of able men. It is not customary in our little nest for us to deny each other's ability, and therefore, so far from detracting from the capability of Mr. Fielding to express an opinion on the subject, I commend the hon. gentlemen opposite to the speech which Mr. Fielding put in the mouth of his Lieutenant-Governor at the opening of the last session of the Legislature of Nova Scotia. I regret, Sir, to have detained the House so long, but on this, the first opportunity that I

have had of addressing the House since I left before the close of last session. I feel it both a duty and a pleasure to express my acknowledgments and gratitude to the members of the House on both sides for their kindness in facilitating the transaction of public business at last session in such a manner as to enable me to proceed to the high duties upon which I was subsequently engaged. I recognize the fact that it might have been made almost impossible for me to have gone to the discharge of those duties, if the hon. leader of the Opposition and his friends behind him and around me, including friends on this side of the House, who were deeply interested in some public questions, had not given me those facilities. I venture to say that they showed a high sense of patriotism and public duty in affording me that opportunity, and they have conferred an obligation upon me as a public man that I feel bound to recognize this evening.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I must frankly admit that it is not often we are called upon to complain of the levity with which the hon. gentleman treats important subjects. I would rather be disposed, in a general way, to describe the hon. gentleman's style as ponderous, than the reverse, but still, when I hear the hon. gentleman speaking of the great work of the High Commissioner, Sir Charles Tupper, as the little French Treaty, the petite French Treaty, Sir, I am in the judgment of the House if I say that the hon. gentleman has not on this occasion manifested a levity much at variance, I suspect he will find, with the great gravity that underlies that subject. The right hon. gentleman, with respect to the rather important question of the time at which Parliament was summoned together, has given us, no doubt, several precedents. The hon. gentleman is great on precedents. He has established several very curious precedents in the administration of justice in this country, to which I shall allude before I sit down, but I may tell the hon. gentleman now that he has read these particular precedents decidedly amiss. He will find cases enough, I dare say, within the last dozen years, where similar errors have been committed by his predecessors and himself; but, Sir, he will find no occasion in the seven-and-twenty years which have elapsed since Confederation, in which eleven months and a half have been allowed to lapse between the termination of one session and the calling of another. The hon. gentleman has sailed very closely indeed to the law in not summoning Parliament together until the 15th of March, when Parliament was prorogued, as we all know, on the first day of April, 1893. This is the law on the subject, with which the hon. gentleman is well acquainted:

There shall be a session of the Parliament of Canada once at least in every year, so that twelve months shall not intervene between the last sitting of the Parliament in one session and the first sitting in the next session.

He has barely kept to windward of the law.

Mr. FOSTER. We got to port all right.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. You just barely kept to windward of the law. The right hon. gentleman was good enough to announce on the part of his colleague, the Finance Minister, that he hoped to deliver the Budget speech by Wednesday next, a hope I am afraid which he will find to be entirely fallacious. If the hon. gentleman did wish to facilitate the progress of public business, I could understand very well his having summoned Parliament together at a convenient time. I could understand very well his having taken the House into his confidence, having stated to them what is an undoubted truth, that the interests of Canada and the United States are so very closely intertwined together that it was important for us to know their policy. There is some reason in this proposition, which is, however, wholly and utterly inconsistent with his previous professions. There is some reason in his declaration, that it is a matter of great importance for us to know what our friends on the other side of the border intend to do. That much I admit. That, Sir, might have been a good reason perhaps for delaying the presentation of the Budget, but it was no reason at all for not calling Parliament together at a proper time and pushing the public work ahead. Will the hon. Minister of Finance allow me to make him one suggestion? I fear, with all the desire in the world on my part, and on the part of my friends beside me, to help him forward—and we do not desire to spend a day here more than the public duties imposed upon us require—I fear that it will be utterly and entirely impossible for him to introduce his Budget on Wednesday next. I would suggest that instead of Wednesday next, he should name this day fortnight, and thereby he will select, perhaps, the most appropriate day in the whole calendar for the introduction into this House of a series of tariff resolutions which, while adhering to the principles of protection, will yet restore prosperity to the farmers of Canada, seeing that if the hon. gentleman defers it until the day I have indicated, the 1st of April, will witness the introduction of the new Budget to Canada. The hon. gentleman was good enough to reprove my hon. friend beside me (Mr. Laurier) for, as he said, sneering at his Minister of Agriculture, and he went on to declare that the Minister of Agriculture would have been a quack, if he had done what? If he had declared that it was within the power of the Government to raise the prices of grain or to give prosperity to the farmer. Sir, I remember a score—nay, a score of scores—of similar quacks who made their way from one end of this Dominion to the other in 1878, who obtained power by pretensions, which the hon. gentleman has rightly designated as pretensions, which none but quacks and charlatans would ever dare to

make. Sir, on the 1st of April or thereabouts we shall probably have to hear from the mouth of the present Minister of Finance what arrant charlatans and imposters all his predecessors were in making the promises they did to the people of Canada, how utterly and gross a failure in every imaginable point and part has been this same National Policy, and how totally they have failed to redeem every pledge and promise they made. Sir, the hon. gentleman is not particularly fortunate in his allusion to the remarks made by my hon. friend on the increase of English commerce with Canada. Does the House want to know what all this flourish of trumpets is about? Well, Sir, according to the Trade and Navigation returns, which I hold in my hand, our total trade with England amounted in the year 1892 to \$106,254,000, and in the year just closed to \$107,238,000. The increase, therefore, on the total trade was rather less than one per cent. Turning to our exports, I find that we exported to England in 1892 \$64,906,000, and in the year just past \$64,080,000; in other words, our exports to England were nearly one million less last year than they were the year before. I do not think, Sir, that that is a very great increase, and I cannot think that it is worth a paragraph in the Queen's speech. However, Sir, the hon. gentleman is now convinced that my hon. friend was not quite in such error as he supposed, when he intimated that while our trade with England had increased hardly a million during the past year, our trade with the United States had increased ten millions. My hon. friend had good reason for calling the hon. gentleman's attention to the vast and enormous importance of endeavouring to develop a trade such as that with the United States, which forms very nearly the equivalent to our total trade with the whole of the rest of the world, and which is capable of being increased by a matter of ten millions in the course of one single year. Mr. Speaker, the hon. gentleman has alluded to one matter of very great importance to the people of this country—a matter which I propose to discuss at some length, because I have the misfortune of differing from him very widely indeed as to the position in which, under his guidance or under the guidance of his ministry, the people of Canada have been placed with respect to this same Behring Sea award. On one point I can and do congratulate the hon. gentleman, and that is that he has most wisely abstained from any glorification as to the position in which we find ourselves placed by the decision that was come to by the arbitrators who sat at Paris. Now, Sir, I have read that award from end to end many times. I have done more: I have read, I will not say all the speeches, but I have read a very considerable number of the speeches that were delivered by the eminent counsel to whom he alluded on that occasion, and, although I speak of course as a layman, and

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without regard to the particular legal points involved, I do pretend to understand as well as the hon. gentleman does where that award has left Canada, and what that award has done for our trade and commerce. Sir, I am bound to say that the effect produced on my mind by the perusal of that award—and that effect has been increased and deepened every time I have read it over—has been a feeling of the most profound dissatisfaction. I, for my part, Sir, take upon myself the responsibility of saying that not one of the three principal parties to that award have come out of the business with credit or with honour. In the first place, I say that every line of the award shows clearly, distinctly and conclusively, that the conduct of the United States Government in seizing our ships and imprisoning our sailors when found on the high seas at distances of sixty, seventy or a hundred miles from the nearest point of land, was to the last degree arbitrary and high-handed, was utterly unwarranted by any principle of international or maritime law, was without one shadow of justification, and was utterly and entirely at variance with all the pretensions previously advanced by the United States, whether as regards Behring Sea itself or whether as regards their claims on our fisheries on the Atlantic. But, Mr. Speaker, while I, for my part, will uphold the contention of my hon. friend, partially enforced by the hon. Minister of Justice, as to the conduct of the United States on that matter, I deeply regret to say, speaking here as a British subject, that I feel that the conduct of the British Government in the matter is open to almost equal censure. Mr. Speaker, what were the circumstances of the case? I am willing to admit that in the first instance, in the year 1886, there was a considerable excuse or reason—on grounds to which I shall more fully allude later on—for the apathy and indifference manifested by the British Government. The place was distant; the facts required to be verified; moreover, Sir, it is well known—and this has to be carefully considered and borne in mind by the House in studying this whole question—at that particular time the foolish conduct of the Canadian Government in the Atlantic seas had placed the British Government in a position of extreme difficulty, and Canada at large in a position of extreme danger in its relations with the United States. But, Sir, while I admit that for the first year, and perhaps for the second year even, there were excuses to be made for the conduct of the British Government, I am not disposed to admit, looking the whole matter through, that the British Government did their duty to their Canadian subjects in this matter of the Behring Sea difficulties. Sir, this is the year of grace 1894. Eight mortal years have elapsed since British ships—or Canadian ships sailing under the British flag, for there is a material difference—and Canadian subjects sailing under the British flag

were arbitrarily and violently seized while pursuing their legal calling on the high seas, and, Sir, to this day, not one particle of compensation has, through any remonstrance from the British Government, been granted to our people to indemnify them for the wrongs they have sustained. This is not the first time this kind of apathy has been displayed by the British Government. I am old enough to recollect when Canadians were shot down in their own land by marauders from the United States, when Canada was put to considerable expense, and when Canadian interests were seriously injured, and I am old enough to remember how those interests were put entirely aside as too insignificant for mention when Great Britain and the United States came together to adjust their differences over the Alabama claims. Sir, the present is a parallel case, and while it is well to practice patience and forbearance and to avoid as far as we honourably can aught which may prove a cause of war between two great and kindred nations, yet there are worse things than war, and there is a point where forbearance becomes cowardice. But while I neither acquit, for my part, the American Government of overbearing action towards us, nor the British Government of undue apathy and indifference in protecting the rights of Canada and of Canadian subjects, I am bound to say that if there be one thing which could excuse or justify the indifference of Great Britain, it was the perversity and wrong-headedness which marked the conduct of the present Government and their predecessors in all their dealings with the United States for the past eight years. That, Sir, is the sole and only justification which can be urged in defence of the British Government, and I deeply regret to say that they can make out far too strong a case against us in that matter to be pleasant. Now, what are the facts, even on the showing of the hon. gentleman? He and the members of his Government go before the Behring Sea Tribunal with a case which was absolutely unanswerable. What has been the result of their conduct of that case? To my mind, looking to that award, remembering their own contentions, bearing in mind the evidence that has been laid before us on this subject at various times, it appears to me beyond doubt that my hon. friend was strictly and literally correct when he stated that with an absolutely unanswerable case we had succeeded in losing everything for which we had contended. We have gained the verdict, yes, but we have lost the property and pay our own costs. Now, I have to tell the hon. gentleman that this may be a moral victory, but it is an exceedingly barren one. I have to tell the hon. gentleman more, that while I am not here in the slightest degree to defend the policy or the conduct of the United States Government towards the British Columbia sealers, in a great number of respects, what occurred at Paris

was but the fitting and natural climax of the policy of the hon. gentleman and his predecessors towards the United States during the last seven or eight years. Sir, the policy of those hon. gentlemen may be defined in these words: it was first to bluster and snarl, and then to cringe. We have, with respect to this award, three witnesses of very unequal value—we have the Minister of Justice, we have the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, and we have the award itself. As the Minister of Justice is in an arithmetical mood to-night, I may say that if I were to designate the value of these witnesses by algebraical symbols, I would be disposed to describe the value of the evidence of the Minister of Justice by the sign of zero, of my hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries by minus zero, but the award remains as a plus and positive quantity. Now, Sir, I desire to call the attention of this House for a few moments to what this award which I hold in my hand, declares. First of all, let me say to the Minister of Justice that when he gave the House to understand that the United States arbitrators declined to agree to this same award, I think he went too far. I find that five separate points were passed upon; I find that as to four of these points Mr. Justice Harlan, the United States Commissioner, concurred with the other commissioners; I find that on the fifth point alone Mr. Justice Harlan dissented. It is true that Mr. Senator Morgan, who has special political exigencies as well as the hon. gentleman, did not affix his signature to the award, but the Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, if this copy of the award which I hold be a correct one, did assent to four out of these five propositions. Now, what does that award declare? That award—and if I am in error, the hon. gentleman and his friends will correct me—that award, as I read it, and I think I can understand English quite as well as the hon. gentleman, declares, first of all, that Canadians were within their legal rights from start to finish, a position the hon. gentleman will not dare to controvert. It declares that the United States had no ground to stand upon, moral or legal, a position also he will not dare to controvert. It shows clearly and distinctly, in the facts detailed in the appendix to this award, that Canadian ships, as he said himself, were illegally seized, that Canadian subjects were illegally imprisoned, and that the trade of Canada, so far as regards one important portion thereof, was arbitrarily interfered with and stopped for no less a period than eight years. Now, what result should follow from these facts laid down by these arbitrators? Sir, I say that in all reason and conscience two results should follow most assuredly: first of all, that the United States should be ordered to make compensation for the wrong done, and next, that Canadians should be free thenceforward to follow their legal occupation. What was the result?

Why, Sir, the result was this most lame and impotent conclusion, that whereas Canada had been within her legal rights all through, that whereas the United States had been wholly without warrant for anything they did, nevertheless that from the date of that award Canadians are forbidden to hunt in Behring Sea except for a few short weeks, during the rest of the time the sea being shut up by ice; that a tract of sixty miles on either side of the Pribyloff Islands is reserved as a special reserve for the United States; and as I am informed that the Pribyloff Islands cover an area of some sixty miles by twenty or thirty, it follows that a tract of 30,000 square miles is set apart out of the Behring Sea as an exclusive reserve for the United States, within which no Canadian sealer dare to enter at any time. More than that, not merely is this reserve established in Behring Sea, but we are forbidden to hunt in the Pacific, except under restrictions which, I am informed, as well as my hon. friend will so enormously reduce the value of the sealing privileges that to all intents and purposes, as he truly said, sealing in Behring Sea by British Columbia fishermen is practically a thing of the past. It may be true, as the hon. gentleman said, that sealers are fitting out from Vancouver or from some port in British Columbia, but I apprehend, if the truth were known, it will be found that they go, not to fish in Behring Sea waters, but to fish in Japanese waters, or in some other region where the United States cannot invent a pretext for interfering with them? Now, what is the result of all this? It may be summed up in two words: Canada gets the shells and the United States gets the oyster. I do not pretend to say that correspondents of newspapers are always accurate in their report of what happens, especially at the conference in Paris, but I do recollect seeing certain statements which led me to the suspicion that during a great part of the time the conference was in progress the Minister of Justice slept, while the United States Commissioners were very wide awake. Now, as I have said, I have examined this award with care. The award is of some length. I am aware that people at large do not care to wade through several pages of legal phraseology, and therefore, for the benefit of the public, I have boiled down the award into a few lines of plain English, so that he who runs may read. Sir, condensed and translated into plain English, the award as I read it, ought rather to have been delivered as follows:—"Gentlemen of the United States: You are utterly in the wrong and you know it; you have not a shadow of a claim, morally or legally, to interfere with these Canadians. But you represent a very great power, which must be humoured. So, while we must for very shame's sake, decide against you on the legal merits of the question, we will annex such regulations as will give you everything you desire

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and we will not hurt your feelings by even hinting at compensation for your very high handed proceedings." Then turning to the unhappy representatives of Canada the officer delivering the award should have proceeded as follows:—"Now, as to you Canadians; you have all the right on your side no doubt, but you are only a dependency whose good-will or ill-will is of no sort of importance to us, and, what is more, your suzerain state has very solid reasons of her own for wishing to keep on good terms with the United States, so you will please understand that you are to have a moral victory and the United States a material one. Go home and meditate on the great truth underlying Mr. Lowell's celebrated dictum as to the position of the United States in a similar case:

We air a bigger nation, and so our rights air bigger.

"You know you have been told if a man goes to law with you for your cloak let him have your coat also—so, as the United States have claimed the Behring Sea, let them have the Pacific Ocean, too—and pay your own costs." Well, Sir, I defy any man, any plain, straightforward, honest man, to say whether my version of the award is not the true and literal one and the one that ought to have replaced the somewhat lengthy document now in my hand. Mr. Speaker, there are very important issues indeed underlying this whole question. I admit, Sir, that there is one thing gained and one thing only, by the course hon. gentlemen have taken. I admit it, Sir, and I am not disposed to undervalue it, that it is a very important gain to Canada to have subjects of dispute and difficulty between her and the United States removed from the arena of contention. But, Sir, I can tell the hon. gentleman, because I too have had some experience in the conduct of negotiations with the United States, that he and his Government committed, in my opinion, a very gross error of judgment indeed in consenting to become parties to the arbitration without securing these two conditions—first of all, Sir, that our rights on the Atlantic coast should have been considered by these arbitrators simultaneously with our rights on the Pacific Coast, and, next, that the broad outlines of the principles upon which compensation should be awarded to our people for the wrongs they had suffered should be passed upon by the arbitrators, and I tell him that had he fully appreciated the importance of the position, it would have been infinitely better for Canada not to have been represented at all on that occasion or to have conceded what the United States originally asked. Mr. Speaker, I do not arraign the hon. gentleman of purposely or dishonestly betraying the interests of this country, but I do arraign the hon. gentleman and his friends of utter lack of statesmanship in the whole conduct of this matter. There were three courses, Sir, open to the

Government of Canada, any one of which might have been adopted with great profit and advantage to this people. They might, in the first instance, have used their position, which was one of indisputable and undoubted strength, so as to have conciliated the people of the United States. They might, had they understood their business, have so used their position as to have placed the Government and people of Great Britain under a very important obligation to them, or they might, in the third place have contrived to obtain substantial compensation. Any one of these three things could have been secured by hon. gentlemen, and they might, if they had been particularly dexterous, have secured them all. What have they obtained? Sir, they have failed in all. We cannot expect, after what has passed, that the United States will entertain any gratitude, or give us thanks for concessions which we have not made, but which have been wrung from us. So far as Great Britain is concerned, we know only too well what we shall be told if we presume to found a claim upon what has passed—we shall be told: You consented to become parties to this arbitration, you were allowed to name your arbitrator and to appoint your own counsel, and, if things did not go to suit you, you have only yourselves to blame. As for substantial compensation, it is only too clear that substantial compensation for the nation at large is entirely beyond our reach. It may be, as hon. gentlemen have told us, that at some distant day—I suppose eight years from this date or about sixteen years from the commission of these outrages—at some very remote date—a few individual Canadians may possibly obtain some compensation from the United States. But, so far as the nation at large goes, we have given away our birthright and we have got absolutely nothing in return. Sir, the case is clear. The United States wished to appropriate a large slice of Behring Sea, they wished to obtain various other easements. Good. Let them give a fair equivalent, let the Government secure a fair equivalent either on the Atlantic or on the Pacific, I do not care which, and I, for one, would be far indeed from holding them to too severe account. But, otherwise, the bargain ought to be void for want of consideration. Now, Sir, the truth of the matter is this—our rights in Behring Sea have been, to all intents and purposes given away by reason of the mismanagement and folly which was displayed by hon. gentlemen opposite in their dealings, on the other side of the continent, with the people of the United States. Now Sir, I do not make that assertion, which is a grave one, without warrant. When did these difficulties commence, Sir? For years and years our sealers had prosecuted that industry without disturbance. Not until August, in the year 1886, had the United States attempted to interfere with the just rights of our sealers. It is within the recollection of this House that in August, 1886,

these gentlemen opposite, in opposition to our warnings, were carrying on a vexatious kind of persecution against the fishermen of the United States, and that they had brought things to such a pass with the United States that, early in the year 1887, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was commissioned to come to this continent with full power to do as he pleased in the matter, to reconstruct the Canadian Cabinet, and that he used his power to bring their pretensions to a very summary close. The true history of these transactions, Sir, should read as follows:—1886—Canadian sealers are illegally seized, contrary to all precedent, by the United States cruisers. British Government decline to interfere by reason of the persecutions and vexations by which the Canadian Government were at the self-same time subjecting the American fishermen on the Atlantic coast and by reason of the extreme irritation which their proceedings had produced in the minds of the people of the United States. 1887 witnessed the same state of things with this material difference, that Mr. Joseph Chamberlain had come over to tell the people of the United States that the interests of Great Britain and the United States were far too closely intertwined, and far too important to be imperilled for a few codfish. In 1888 there was a Presidential election, and, I suppose, international courtesy required that the British Government should not recklessly interfere with the time-honoured national pastime of twisting the British Lion's tail at such periods. In 1889 there was a new Government, as you will remember, installed in the United States, and it was necessary for them, before considering the question, to acquaint themselves with the details of these outrages in Behring Sea. But in 1890—and now I come to a time which the hon. gentleman and the Minister of Finance and the former Minister of Customs could tell something about—in 1890, although the outrages continued, it was not very convenient for the Canadian Government to press the matter home, because at that particular moment they were telling the electors of Canada that they were on the most friendly possible terms with the United States, and on the very verge of negotiating a most advantageous reciprocity treaty with them. I need not remark that 1891 was chiefly taken up on the part of the Canadian Government in apologizing for the fibs which political exigency had compelled them to tell upon that occasion. But in 1892, apparently, the high contracting parties had put their heads together and made preparations for practically selling these troublesome Canadians. In 1893 the bargain and sale was completed, Canada was sold but not paid for. Now, Sir, the hon. gentleman, as well as my hon. friend beside me, had something to say as to the extreme importance of allowing these matters to be referred to arbitration. I am with both of them there, that it was a great gain to humanity that disputes between two such nations as England and the

United States should not be allowed, under any circumstances, if it could possibly be avoided with honour, to come to a bloody arbitrament; but I may be excused as a Canadian in thinking that if this was so very much for the general good of humanity, it is a little hard that the expense should be borne by us solely. Nevertheless, I am not going to deny that the conduct of the British Government on this last occasion was in some important respects a material improvement on their conduct in 1887; I am not going to deny that it is more gratifying to our national self-love, that it is, on the whole, a more decorous way of doing business that we should be allowed to appoint an arbitrator and counsel than that Mr. Joseph Chamberlain or any other British potentate should be sent over here to knock the heads of Canadian Ministers together and tell them that Canada should not be allowed to embroil England and the United States for the sake of a few cod-fish. My hon. friend, before recess, alluded wittily to a certain famous scene from a certain famous French comedy, where a certain courteous cook invited his poultry to come together to consider with what sauce they would prefer to be eaten. Sir, I am going to push the parallel a little further. We were treated, I admit on this occasion a little more courteously than this most courteous cook treated his poultry, because we were allowed to send over two of the poultry themselves to assist in the composition of the sauce wherewith they were to be cooked. Now, Sir, if we have lost everything else it is a source of unfeigned pleasure to see that these two animals have been returned to us at any rate safe and sound. The elder bird, I am bound to say, looks even sleeker and snugger and more sanctimonious than of yore; while as for his pretty companion, he has come back to us with a ribbon tied around his neck to inform us of what we know pretty well without any special information from him, how thoroughly and completely the anser canadensis was first plucked and then cooked by the arbitrators, and what an excellent vehicle arbitration sauce was for assisting in its consumption. Now, Sir, let me tell the hon. gentleman that there is a right and a wrong in this matter, there is a true policy and a foolish policy for Canada to pursue. Sir, the hon. gentlemen have got to learn, and Canada has got to learn, that to bluster and to brag is not the way to ensure a triumph over a nation like the United States. Now, I have been a member of an Administration which in its time had occasion to conduct an arbitration with the United States, and the hon. gentleman would have done well to take example by the manner in which the Mackenzie Administration conducted their arbitration with the people of the United States. Has the hon. gentleman forgotten that there was such a thing as a Halifax Award? Has he forgotten the genuine success which attended the efforts of the Canadian negotiators on that occasion? I am not disposed

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to deny that we had great advantages. As I understand it, our case on that occasion was not so strong and not so unanswerable as the case which these hon. gentlemen had in the matter of the Behring Sea award. But, sir, we had great advantages, and perhaps it was not the least of these advantages that upon that occasion Canada had engaged the services of my hon. friend beside me (Mr. Davies, P.E.I.); and I remember, unless I am gravely mistaken, that the United States, on that occasion, had engaged the services of the hon. the Minister of Justice. Now, the fact of the matter was that on the occasion of the Halifax award, Canada was represented by two trained and capable statesmen, by Sir Alexander Galt and Sir Albert Smith; Canada on the last occasion was represented by—well, comparisons are odious, Mr. Speaker, and besides that, I do really not wish to say anything harsh. Moreover, I am convinced that the hon. gentlemen probably did their best, and, after all, the fault did not lay with them, but with the persons who placed them in a position for which they were not especially fitted by training and capacity. However, in deference to the prejudices of the Minister of Justice, I will apply the test to which he will not object, the arithmetical test, and the result is that in the case of the Halifax award the people of Canada came out five million dollars to the good; while in the case of this award at Paris the people of Canada will pay their own costs. Now, there is a lesson to be learned from this, and I commend it to the serious consideration, not merely of the hon. gentlemen, but of every Canadian from one end of this Dominion to the other. The lesson I deduce is this, the utter uselessness—and I say it with emphasis, I say it with knowledge—the utter uselessness on the part of the people of Canada of relying on English intervention in any shape or form. When Canada, as in the case of the Halifax award, was allowed to settle her dispute with the United States in her own way without the interference of Englishmen, Canada for the only time in the history of English negotiations with the United States, came out a substantial gainer. Sir, what we require to-day is to have the right to settle our disputes with the United States after our own fashion. We require to have our own accredited agent at Washington responsible to us alone, and reporting to us; and had we had that advantage, I tell the hon. gentleman we could not possibly have fared worse than we did in this case, and with any kind of discretion we would have come out vastly the gainer. Now, I think the hon. gentleman would do well to consider the propriety of improving this occasion in order to carry out the suggestion I was making. It is time to have a little plain speaking with Great Britain on our part. Sir, if, in any given case, the Government of Great Britain will come to us frankly and honestly and say to us: Imperial interests require a surrender

on your part, we know that we cannot adequately protect you, and therefore in your interests and in ours we require a certain surrender—I am not going to be unreasonable, if the British Government choose to make such a statement, let us accept the situation, but let us demand that the corollary be accepted also, and the corollary that I deduce from this same transaction is that while maintaining our connection with Great Britain we should have the right to demand and ought to demand a free hand to settle our difficulties with the United States, and with any other people on this continent, at least, in our own fashion and according to our own way. Sir, I know, and no man knows better, the very great value of the friendship of the United States to England. For five and twenty years I have privately and publicly from my place in Parliament and in the Cabinets of English ministers urged this view, and have never ceased to point out through good report and evil report, that no consideration under Heaven is so valuable to the people of England as to retain the friendship and good-will of the people of the United States, and as a private man and as a minister I have done my best, and I will continue to do my best to the day of my death, to bring about that most desirable end. But while I will go as far as any man to obtain the friendship of the United States for Canada and the mother country, I desire it to be done by fair and honourable means, and I tell hon. gentlemen opposite that this is not the way to win it. I repeat again that to conciliate does not mean to crouch, and that the worst possible way of seeking the friendship of the United States is to bluster and then to cringe. I know, because I have had dealings with the American people, and my hon. friends around me have also had in their time dealings with the people of the United States. I know that the Government of the United States respects fair and courteous opponents, and as a matter of fact the Administration of Mr. Mackenzie, which had made it a part of their policy by all fair and honourable means to conciliate the United States, but which at the same time never gave up one jot of the rights of Canada without receiving adequate compensation, never stood higher in the estimation of the United States Government than after showing at Halifax that while they were willing to maintain the most friendly relations with the United States, they were also determined to maintain to the uttermost the rights of Canada. I am sorry to have to say it, but the policy of the Canadian Government with respect to the United States, for the last seven years at least—I hope a better time is coming, and I take some courage after the remarks made by the hon. gentleman in hoping a better time is coming—but for the past seven years at least their policy was one long mistake. I say they were rash and intemperate in their language, and in the language permitted by them to be used by

their subsidized press, and in the expressions used to and of the Government of the United States. They were obstinate when they should have been yielding; they were weak and ill-advised in action, and what is more, and what I regret much is, that they have thrown away many golden opportunities which, had they known how to use them, might have established us in a satisfactory position in regard to the United States. More than that. They knew perfectly, and the Minister of Justice must have known, that in former times they incurred a frightful risk by their folly in dealing with the United States, and if they escaped a collision it was most assuredly rather by accident than by their own foresight. In proof of what I have said I will read an authority, which the Minister of Marine at all events will not dispute. I called attention some little time ago to the extraordinary danger in which the folly of the present Government had placed Canada from having complicated matters in connection with the Behring Sea difficulty, by reason of pursuing a mischievous policy on the other side of the continent. Here is what in this House in my presence six years ago, the present High Commissioner, Sir Charles Tupper, told the House with respect to the position the policy of the hon. gentleman opposite had placed us in the year of grace 1887. Sir Charles said:

I would like to draw the attention of the House to what has been accomplished by this treaty. I have told you what position Canada stood in with regard to the United States of America before the initiation of these proceedings. I have told you that we stood face to face with an enactment which had been put on the Statute book by a unanimous vote of Congress, ratified by the President, providing for non-intercourse between the United States and Canada. I need not tell you that that bill meant commercial war, that it meant not only the ordinary suspension of friendly feeling and intercourse between two countries, but that it involved more than that. If that bill had been brought into operation by the proclamation of the United States, I have no hesitation in saying that we stood in the relation to that great country of commercial war, and the line is very narrow which separates a commercial war between two countries from an actual war. Yesterday we stood face to face with a non-intercourse bill sustained by the united action of the Senate and House of Representatives, sustained by almost the whole press, Republican and Democratic, of the United States, sustained with few exceptions by a prejudiced, irritated, exasperated people of 60,000,000 lying on our borders.

Having said what I have said as to the British Government, I felt it right to put on record what Sir Charles Tupper had to say of the results of the policy of his colleagues towards the United States almost at the same time that these outrages of which I have spoken were being perpetrated on our sealers and ships in Behring Sea. Sir, I repeat we have had one gain, and one gain only. It is true we have removed the cause

of friction, and doubtless the process was very easy. We removed the cause of friction, and doubtless the process was very easy. We removed the cause of friction as we might remove all causes of friction, by giving up everything demanded of us, and there so far and no further, no doubt the hon. gentleman has scored a success. Now, Mr. Speaker, having spoken like my hon. friend of what the Speech does contain, I have a word to say in regard to what the Speech does not contain. The Speech does contain an allusion, not in very glowing terms, but still in terms sufficiently glowing, to the great diplomatic victory obtained abroad, but by a singular omission, for which it is difficult to account, the Speech contains no allusion to a much greater diplomatic victory which the Government obtained at home. Sir, there can be no doubt whatever that a few weeks ago the Government of Canada were in a very awkward position, to use a vulgar phrase, they were in a remarkably tight place. There can be no doubt whatever that the Government of Canada by the exercise of diplomatic skill successfully avoided a very great danger. There can be no doubt whatever that it required no trifling exercise of finesse to enable the Minister of Justice to get those injured innocents, Messrs. McGreevy and Connolly out of jail in good time before Parliament met. Had they been in durance vile when the House assembled, I shudder to think what might have been the consequences to the hon. gentlemen opposite. They might have spoken inadvisedly with their lips, they might have furnished much most curious information regarding the inner machinery to which the hon. gentleman and his colleagues owe their seats in this House. I really think the success of the hon. gentleman deserves special mention in the Speech from the Throne: I might also say that it deserved a *Te Deum Laudamus* with which generals are wont to celebrate their great victories. There is another consideration. The hon. gentleman is great in precedents; in his time he has established some remarkable precedents. He established a very remarkable precedent in showing how to deal with charges presented against members of the Cabinet. Now, the hon. gentleman has established another precedent, which will be of great use no doubt in the future, namely, how to deal with ex-M.P.'s who happen to know too much. I desire to know is the Minister of Justice prepared to apply this rule? Is the Minister of Justice prepared to declare in future that if a prisoner finds his health suffers from confinement he is prepared to discharge him after he has gone through about one quarter of the punishment the courts believed adequate to the offence? I know that the Minister of Justice is not very strong in political economy. I have not myself discovered that he is a very great adept in matters of arithmetic; but the hon. gentleman is a lawyer, the hon. gentleman is an ex-

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judge, the hon. gentleman is the author of a criminal code of more or less value—rather less than more, according to Mr. Justice Taschereau, but that is not a point I intend to dwell upon. Anyhow, the hon. gentleman is the chief executive officer of the Department of Justice, and I want to know whether he is prepared to apply this rule? I want to know whether he is going to give equal British rights to all classes of men, equally and indiscriminately? Sir, it is known to me, and probably the Minister of Justice, that there are many persons now confined in the several prisons and penitentiaries of this Dominion whose health is suffering from confinement. I am informed that the collective sums, for the theft for which those worthies are in prison, would not amount, all put together, to more than ten per cent of the sum for the embezzlement for which McGreevy and Connolly were confined, and I desire to know whether the hon. gentleman is prepared to recommend the release of these prisoners, and if not, why not? I am told on good medical authority that one hundred prisoners, or thereabouts, in Kingston penitentiary alone, were taken down with typhoid fever during the last year. Will the Minister of Justice permit the release of these patients, who undoubtedly have suffered in health by reason of this confinement. I am prepared to say—though I do not speak with authority, not having had any communication with them—that these prisoners would not be unreasonable, and if distinguished personages should be afraid that the Minister of Justice was too tender-hearted and too easily imposed upon, I am sure these prisoners would be quite ready to submit their cases to Dr. Wright, or to any other medical authority that might be suggested. Very far be it from me to criticize anything that may be suggested by a distinguished personage such as I have alluded to, but I must say that I think that it was not altogether necessary to employ the medical expert I have referred to, and for this reason: it would have been quite possible for that distinguished personage to have obtained, without going outside his own council walls, ample corroboration of the views of the Minister of Justice. Mr. McGreevy and Mr. Connolly may have much to complain about, and I dare say they have, but Messrs. McGreevy and Connolly certainly cannot say to the Cabinet at large: We were sick and in prison and ye visited us not. If I am correctly informed, there was not a week—I am not sure there was not a day—during which to their credit be it said, some member of the Cabinet, some one of His Excellency's advisers did not cause the door of the jail at Ottawa to open, in order that he may hold sweet counsel with Mr. McGreevy or Mr. Connolly. Whether that arose from pure philanthropy or from a pardonable curiosity to see what accommodation might be provided in Ottawa jail for persons who are convicted for embezzling

public money, I cannot say; but of one thing I am certain, that the members of the Cabinet aforesaid might, to quote Lord Dufferin, "On their honour as gentlemen, on their fealty as sworn advisers of the Crown" have assured His Excellency that from their own knowledge they were aware that Mr. McGreevy and Mr. Connolly were very sick from being in prison, and very angry too. I did not hear my hon. friend from Ottawa (Sir James Grant), make special allusion to it, but I have noticed in the press many congratulations, and I have no doubt very proper congratulations, on the recognition which has been extended by Her Most Gracious Majesty to the Minister of Justice. The hon. gentleman will permit me to offer my congratulations on the still better merited recognition which was extended to him recently by His Excellency in this matter of McGreevy and Connolly. He will also permit me to make a slight retraction. It is true, when starting out with my remarks, I declared that the meeting of the House had been delayed in order that the hon. gentleman might look to Washington to see what the United States authorities were doing. There is no doubt, Sir, that that was a reason and a powerful one, but, Sir, I believe that after all that that reason was a secondary one. The true reason is the last one. This Cabinet so strong in the people's love, this Cabinet so feared abroad and honoured at home, this Cabinet with so ample a majority, this combination of all the virtues and all the talents, these illustrious statesmen so confident in the consciousness of their own inner purity,—dared not meet Parliament, dared not meet their own supporters, but preferred to paralyze the business of this country, preferred to subject themselves and the whole House to the greatest possible inconvenience until such time as they had been able to make their peace with Messrs. McGreevy and Connolly.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron) moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 10.40 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, 19th March, 1894.

The Speaker took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved :

That Notices of Motion be postponed until after the consideration of the Order of the Day for

resuming the adjourned debate on the motion for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General in answer to his Speech at the opening of the session.

Motion agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT—EASTER.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Hon. members are continually inquiring at what time the adjournment for the Easter recess would be proposed, and it might therefore be convenient that we should come to an understanding about it to-day. My proposition is that when the House adjourns on Wednesday next it do stand adjourned until Tuesday, the 27th March, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and if there is no objection I will now make a motion to that effect.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Then I presume that the hon. Minister of Finance hardly contemplates delivering his Budget statement on Wednesday, as announced?

Mr. FOSTER. That scarcely follows.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I want to know before consenting to this motion.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It is impossible to say how long the debate on the Address will continue.

Mr. LAURIER. At all events, it will never do to have the Budget speech on a day that is a private members' day.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I do not quite see that. Of course, members' business will have precedence.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. If private members' business have precedence, as usual, there is not much question as to the Budget being reached. I would ask the hon. Minister of Finance, or the Controller of Customs—I do not know which has the matter in charge—whether it would be convenient to have distributed to the members of the House a certain official document showing the rates on goods imported from England, and the rates on goods imported from the United States, which I understand has been prepared, and which would be of great interest and value in the approaching discussion.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know to what document my hon. friend alludes. I suppose he has not by him a copy of it which he could give one.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I had one, but I haven't it here.

Mr. FOSTER. If there are any documents which are necessary for the understanding of the tariff question when the Budget comes before the House, we shall be very pleased to bring them down.

Mr. LAURIER. I would be loth to believe that the Government had such a document prepared, if it were not necessary. If it is necessary for the Government, I think it is necessary for the members generally.

Mr. FOSTER. That does not always follow.

Mr. LAURIER. I think it does.

Mr. LANDERKIN. The Government need it more than the members generally.

Motion agreed to.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 2) to secure the better observance of the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday.—(Mr. Charlton.)

Bill (No. 3) to repeal the Electoral Franchise Act, and to make certain provisions in place thereof.—(Mr. Charlton.)

Bill (No. 6) to disfranchise voters who have taken bribes.—(Mr. Weldon.)

Bill (No. 7) to extend the ballot to the North-west Territories.—(Mr. Martin.)

PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO ANIMALS.

Mr. COATSWORTH moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 4) to make further provision as to the prevention of cruelty to animals and to amend the Criminal Code of 1892. He said: This Bill is the one I introduced last session. The law has been found inadequate to meet the number of cases coming before the different magistrates, and the object of this Bill is to make further provision as regard the prevention of cruelty to animals, in order to meet cases of abandonment of diseased animals, and over-driving, and the use of animals as targets, the carriage of animals by rail and water, and other cases. The present provisions of the law are to be modified so that all cases of cruelty may be brought within its scope.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

N.W.T. REPRESENTATION ACT.

Mr. DALY moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 5) to amend the N.W.T. Representation Act. He said: The Bill is exactly the same as that introduced last session, but which was withdrawn by me in order to expedite the business of the House. Its object is to extend the ballot to the North-west Territories.

Mr. MARTIN. No notice has been given of the Bill. The notice reads "An Act to amend the N.W.T. Act."

Mr. DALY. I will strike the word "representation" out of the title of the Bill.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

FISHERY INSTRUCTIONS.

Mr. LEDUC (for Mr. Beausoleil) asked, Whether the Department of Marine and Fisheries has issued fresh instructions to the fishery overseers of the counties of Berthier, Maskinongé, St. Maurice, Nicolet, Richelieu and Yamaska, with reference to the fisheries,

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for the year 1894? If so, are the said instructions identical with those of last year, and do they permit the taking of soft fish during the close season for game fish? When were the said instructions forwarded to the fishery overseers of the said counties?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Yes. The instructions are identical with the exception that pickerel cannot be caught after 1st April. They permit the taking of soft fish during the close season for game fish. They were forwarded to the fishery overseers of the said counties on the 24th February, 1894.

FRENCH COMMERCIAL TREATY.

Mr. LAURIER asked, What is the policy of the Government with regard to the Commercial Treaty with France? Is the Government to ask or not to ask the ratification of the treaty?

Mr. FOSTER. I beg to say in reply to the hon. gentleman that two important delegations have asked to be heard with reference to this treaty, and the Government have therefore decided to defer giving their answer until after the Easter holidays, after these delegations have been heard.

TUBERCULOSIS.

Mr. SMITH (Ontario) asked, Whether it is the intention of the Government to introduce any legislation this session dealing with tuberculosis?

Mr. FOSTER. The department is now making studies with reference to this matter, and no definite answer can yet be given.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HIS EXCELLENCY'S SPEECH.

The House resumed the consideration of His Excellency's Speech at the opening of the session.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). In rising to make a few observations on some of the topics touched upon in the Speech from the Throne, I beg leave, in the first place, to extend my congratulations to my professional confrère, the hon. member for Ottawa (Sir James Grant), on the very able and eloquent speech he made in moving the address in answer to the Speech from the Throne. His graceful and well-timed remarks concerning the Earl and Countess of Derby, who left our shores a few months ago, after having so ably filled the Viceregal position in this country, are well deserving of compliment. His reference to the worthy and the noble Lord and Lady who have been called to preside over the destinies of this country was also exceedingly appropriate. I am sure that every member of Parliament, and every citizen of the country, will agree with these sentiments, so kindly and so eloquently expressed by the hon. member for Ottawa (Sir James Grant). Mr. Speaker, we in

this country are a loyal people. It is sometimes alleged by the Conservatives that disloyalty pervades the ranks of the Liberal party of this country, but I am happy to say that there is very little disloyalty in the country, and that we are always proud to give that allegiance to the mother country to which she is entitled. But, while we are willing to do that, we must remember that we have a country of our own deserving of our allegiance, and our patriotic efforts for her advancement, and while we love and revere the land of our fathers, we love and revere the land of our children still more. It is the sentiment of the Liberals of this country, and I have no doubt it is the sentiment of a large proportion of the Conservatives as well, that in our consideration Canada should be first, Canada should be last, Canada should be all the way between, and it is from that standpoint I have always endeavoured to discuss Canadian questions, irrespective of the interests of any other country. I desire to make some reference to our external trade. The Speech from the Throne tells us that this trade is increasing year after year. Now, Mr. Speaker, that should not surprise anybody who knows Canada, for it could not reasonably be expected that five millions of people, possessing the intelligence, the skill, the energy, the push of the Canadian people will halt in their upward progress. The cause of surprise should not be that we are as prosperous as we are, but rather that our prosperity is not still greater. In looking over the external trade of this country, one cannot but observe that the Government has failed to gain for us a number of markets which it promised to gain years ago. You will remember, Mr. Speaker, that when you were on the floor of this House and taking part in its discussions, the Government you supported promised to open larger markets to our people in which our industries would realize higher profits than before. This was particularly the case about three years ago, when the McKinley Bill had been passed, and Canadian products were prohibited from entering what I believe to be the natural market for many of those products. South America was pointed out as a market for important lines of Canadian products. Sir John Macdonald, years ago, said that the Liberal party when in power neglected to extend the trade of Canada among these countries that required so much of our produce, and grew so much that we required for consumption in this country. But, Sir, if we look at the results of the efforts made by the Government we find that they have signally failed in extending our trade with the countries of South America; indeed, the trade of Canada in these countries was greater a few years ago than it is now. The members of the Government and their supporters generally put importations and exportations together when they speak of the external trade of this country. Now, it is

well known that the measure of our success is found in our exports rather than in our imports, for what we sell is the true indication of our prosperity. This is seen in all departments of life. The labourer counts his prosperity by what he receives, not by what he pays for his living; the business man judges his progress in business by what he is able to earn, not by what he pays for the support of his family. So it is with the trade of the country, the true measure of our success and advancement is found in our exportations to foreign countries. Now, I desire to draw the attention of the Government and the country to the extent of our exportations to countries which the Government, when they established the National Policy, promised us should afford large markets for our products. Take South America, for instance. In 1889 we sent to the countries of South America products of Canada to the value of \$1,889,000, and in 1890 we sent \$1,511,000, a much less quantity than in the year before. In 1891 we sent \$1,063,000, and in 1892 \$1,027,000. Last year there was a slight increase to \$1,327,000. These figures prove that these countries, which the leaders of the Government said would afford a large and lucrative market for our exportations, have actually reduced their purchases from us within the last five years under the paternal care of that trade by the party now in power. If we look to Germany, a country with which we should carry on a large export trade, we find the same condition of affairs. In 1892 we exported to Germany goods to the value of \$943,000, but last year this export trade had fallen off to \$751,000, a reduction of about \$200,000 in one year. Now take another country. You will remember, Mr. Speaker, that efforts have been made by the Government now in power to establish trade with France; several plenipotentiaries have been sent to France within the last few years for the purpose of negotiating a treaty with that country. And you will acknowledge, and the country will acknowledge, that there is no other country on the continent of Europe with which we should have a larger trade than with France, for, as I have said before, a large proportion of our population is of French origin, their habits, customs and feelings are largely the same as those of the people of France, and it would therefore naturally be expected that between two such peoples trade would grow rapidly. But, instead of that, our export trade with France is falling off year by year, and we are losing our grip upon the trade of that country. Let me give a few figures to corroborate the statement I have made. As far back as 1873 we sent to France products of this country to the value of \$632,000. In 1883, ten years afterwards, this trade was only \$617,000, and, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Government, and notwithstanding their claims for the success of their policy, that trade last year fell off to \$264,000, or only a little more than one-third of what it

was twenty years ago. Now, Sir, this proves to my mind that, so far as the trade of these countries is concerned, the efforts of the Government have been futile. There is a group of islands lying to the south of us, and a few years ago I heard the eloquent Finance Minister of this country say that there was a likelihood of a great trade being established between Canada and these West India islands. Indeed, the hon. gentleman was sent there about two years ago at the expense of the Government to confer with the people of those islands in order to establish better trade relations between them and the people of Canada. He went there, and, as a result of his visit, or the result of something else, our trade has been falling off instead of increasing, with the West India Islands. One of the reasons of that decline is that he would not give them the same favours in the Canadian market as the United States did in their market. They said they could not continue to buy from us when we would not allow their products into our markets on as favourable terms as the United States allowed their products into their markets. Now, let us see what our trade has been with the West Indies. In 1873, long before the National Policy had any existence, our exports to those islands were \$3,989,000. In 1883, ten years afterwards, and five years after the National Policy was introduced, trade had fallen off to \$3,125,000. In 1893, still under the National Policy, and notwithstanding all the efforts that have been made to promote that trade, including the establishment of two lines of steamers running between Halifax and the West Indies, our exports had declined to \$3,146,000; this great reduction taking place notwithstanding the facilities, and notwithstanding the expenditure which the Government of this country had undertaken to establish those facilities. Now, I do not think there is any cause for satisfaction in these facts. Satisfaction has been expressed in the Address from the Throne in regard to the extension of our trade. Sir, do you see any reason for satisfaction in these facts? Do better markets and better prices prevail for those to whom better markets and better prices have been promised? Sir, I wish now to refer to another country, a country at the antipodes to our own, the Australian Colonies. It has been maintained by the Minister of Finance for the last few years that a very large trade could be established with that country in many articles that we produced; and last year the Minister of Trade and Commerce was sent by this Government on a visit to Australia, and they paid all his expenses, to ascertain if there was room for the products of Canada, and if a trade could not be profitably established. After making a full investigation, he came back, and a few weeks ago he addressed a meeting of the Manufacturers' Association in Toronto; and if he is properly reported in the newspapers, he used these words:

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Look at what the Massey-Harris Company has accomplished in the last five years. I have under my hand now figures of their operations during the last year. Five years ago, when they first sent their agent into Australia to sell reapers and mowers, they were laughed at and told to take them back to Canada. "Where is Canada?" We know nothing of Canada. We are dealing with the United States; their goods are good enough for us in that line, and we don't see why we should buy from you.

Well, certainly that shows a great deal of ignorance on the part of the people of Australia. I suppose the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce took a geography with him in order to point out on the map of the world where Canada was. Do you suppose that the people of Australia were as ignorant of Canadian industries and Canadian products as he represents them in that portion of his speech? Is it not wonderful that five years ago, when the Massey-Harris Company went there and founded this trade, the people of Australia were so ignorant of Canada that they took from this country more than double the value of the products that they take to-day, or, to be accurate, 56 per cent more? Does he mean to tell me that the people of Australia were so ignorant of the products of Canada and of our industries that twenty years ago they took more of our products than we sent them last year, notwithstanding the increased facilities for trade which have since been established? Now, figures, it is said, do not lie, and in order to establish my position, I will give you the figures of our trade with Australia. In 1889, the very year that the Minister of Trade and Commerce said that the people of Australia were so ignorant of Canada that they asked where she was, we sent \$661,000 worth of Canadian products into the Australian Colonies. Surely, they were not ignorant of Canada when they took so much from us. One year after that they were getting more ignorant, for they only took \$471,000. In 1891, still forgetting where Canada was, they only took \$589,000; and still forgetting the position she occupied on the map of the world, in 1892, they took \$437,000. Last year, when the Minister of Trade and Commerce was there, they had almost forgotten Canada and only took \$289,000 worth of our products. Is that a satisfactory showing for the exports of the products of this country to Australia? I cannot agree with those hon. gentlemen who think so. Now, I have a few more words to say in regard to the statements made by the Minister of Trade and Commerce before the Manufacturers' Association in Toronto. He asked those manufacturers why they did not send a larger amount of their product into Australia, and he is reported as saying:

In 1892 the United States sent to Australia over \$11,000,000 worth of goods and imported over \$8,500,000 worth. What were the principal goods they sent in which we can compete? I find that they were in agricultural implements, breadstuffs,

brooms and brushes, carriages and horses, patent medicines, chemical dies and medicines, cotton goods, fish, canned salmon, cordage, canned fruits, explosives, india-rubber boots and shoes; india-rubber, manufactures of; iron castings; machinery, nails, saws and tools, scales and balances, sewing machines, engines, stationary; boilers and parts, stoves, ranges, &c., wire, all other manufactures of iron, leather, boots and shoes, harness and saddles; other manufactures of leather; oil and cement, malt liquors, slate roofing, stone, manufactures of; musical instruments, organs, pianos; oil, whale and fish, kerosene, lubricating; paints and painters' colours; paper, printing and wrapping; plated wire, soap, toilet and common; tobacco, cigars, vegetables, canned; timber, manufactures of. These are the articles which the United States have been sending to Australia. Why should not the manufacturers of this country compete with them?

Now, Sir, the Minister of Trade and Commerce has given away the whole principle of protection. I ask you, Sir, and I ask the people of the country, if Canada can compete in the open and neutral markets of the world with England and the United States, in those articles here mentioned, why should the consumers of this country be burdened by a high tariff to protect them in their own country? If the manufacturers of this country can make those articles and send them six thousand miles across the sea, paying the freight, paying the agencies, paying insurance, and paying everything that is involved in sending those articles into a foreign country, and then go into the open market in competition with English cottons and English machinery, with United States cottons and United States machinery, with Canadian cottons and cottons from other countries—I ask you why it is that nine out of every ten of the people of this country should be burdened with these high duties in order to prevent these parties from having competition in the country of which they are citizens? I challenge any hon. gentleman on the other side of the House to answer that question satisfactorily to himself or satisfactorily to any reasonable man in this country. But according to the Speech from the Throne we are to have the principle of protection continued; we are to have the policy of the last fifteen years continued as a burden upon the people yet. Let me read to the House the paragraph of the Address which refers to this subject and to the continuance of the policy of protection. It is as follows:—

At an early date a measure will be laid before you having for its object a revision of the Duties of Customs with a view to meet the changes which time has effected in business operations of all kinds throughout the Dominion. While my Ministers do not propose to change the principles on which the existing enactments on this subject are based the amendments which will be offered for your consideration are designed to simplify the operation of the tariff and to lessen, as far as can be done, consistently with those principles and with the requirements of the Treasury, the imposts which are now in force.

You will notice, Mr. Speaker, there are two conditions on which this tariff revision is to be made: the first is, that care must be exercised not to touch the manufacturers and to preserve the principle of protection, and the next is, to be very careful to have sufficient revenue for the next election, not to affect the treasury of the country. Not one word is said about the interests of the consumers who have been burdened by this tariff during the last fifteen years, not one word is said about the labouring classes; tariff revision is not to be consistent with their well-being but with the principle of protection on the one hand and with having enough money in the public treasury on the other. The Government will disappoint the expectations of the people when it is seen that the object of this reduction, amendment or readjustment, if you may call it so, is to be carried out solely and entirely in the interests of the treasury, so as to have money to spend lavishly, and to furnish the same protection to the manufacturers as they have been receiving for the last fifteen years. One of the most eminent statesmen in the world, a man who has attained the extraordinary age of eighty-four years, has stated that protection is a system of legal robbery, and not one whit the more respectable because the state is the culprit. This system which has been in force for the last fifteen years has burdened nine-tenths of the people and acted as legalized robbery as regards their interests in order to place a proportion of their earnings in the hands of the favoured few who constitute one-tenth of the population of the country. You know very well, Mr. Speaker, the origin of the word "tariff." It came from *Tariffa*, the name of a great sea robber residing on the northern part of Africa on the shores of the Mediterranean, who built a city and a castle for himself, and who when the merchant ships came from the east towards the west raided and robbed them of a portion of their goods. But the merchants having been despoiled of a portion of their goods placed an additional price on the balance and made the consumers pay it. Is not that the principle of the tariff to-day? Does not the tariff levy one-third or one-fourth of the whole value, and is not an additional price placed on the balance sold to the consumers, the manufacturers and merchants thus recouping themselves from the pockets of the consumers? Very truly can it be said that the tariff is a robbery of the many for the benefit of the few. But, again, protection is a promise to shelter the manufacturers. What does the Government say to the manufacturer? It says, you go on and manufacture your goods. It is true you cannot manufacture them as cheaply as manufacturers in England, Germany and other countries. True, your skill may not be so great and your machinery not so perfect, and there may be a waste of capital; but we will see that the waste which takes place is counter-balanced by keeping you from the competition of

producers in other countries. Is not that the very sentiment expressed by those who support protection, and is it not thus the manufacturer receives an advantage? Again, protection protects the product of labour from competition, while it puts labour itself on the free list. I ask every hon. member who will look upon this subject in a reasonable and sensible light, if it can be supposed for a moment that protection is being afforded to the labouring class, or that protection ever raised the wages of the people one cent? When the labour market is fully supplied the value of labour is low, and when the labour market is stringent then the price of labour rises. When we have spent over \$3,000,000 during the last fifteen years in trying to bring labourers here from foreign countries, and have sent agents to London, Liverpool and Manchester, and to France and other countries of the world, setting forth the advantages to be obtained here in the labour market, and urging workmen to come here to compete with our labourers, is it not hard on our labourers to have to meet this competition, owing to the action and influence of the Government, while at the same time the products of foreign countries cannot come in here because our manufacturers want to make large profits out of their products. The whole system is wrong from the foundation to the last shingle on the roof, wrong east, west, north and south, the whole system has no basis on which it can be justified. Therefore, the country will regret very much that this principle is to be continued. Protection compels 90 per cent of our people to pay a bonus, a subsidy, to go into the pockets of the other one-tenth of the population, and at the same time forces the 90 per cent to sell their labour in the free markets of the world. Take the farmers of this country. It has been acknowledged by Conservatives last year, and probably it will be acknowledged by them this year, that it is impossible to protect the farmers, that so soon as there is a surplus in the country which is to be sold in the foreign market, and which comes into competition with the products of other countries in the open market, the bushel, pound or ton, which goes into that foreign market gives a price to the bushel, pound or ton of the products of a similar character that remain at home. That is an economic question on which there is no divergence of opinion. It is not possible to protect the farmer except in some small localities, special points, geographically close to the United States; but taking the broad principle, it is impossible to protect the farming interest, because it exports a surplus of products. The farmers constitute two millions and a half of our people, and when you add the labourers on the farm, and the labourers employed on works such as canals and railways, they constitute 90 per cent of the population, and therefore only about 10 per cent of the population receive direct

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benefit from the National Policy, even if they receive very much advantage. Is it right and just to take money out of the pockets of this 90 per cent of the people, whom you cannot protect, and to place it directly in the pockets of those who receive the advantage of protection? I say that it is a blunder, and it is a policy which will never develop the interests of this country as those interests should be developed. But there is another argument against protection which I think should be considered. Protection is the parent of combines, trusts and monopolies, which fleece the consumer. I am sure I need no argument to convince the hon. members of this House on that point. The Controller of Customs, a few years ago, saw that to such an extent that he asked Parliament to give him a committee to investigate into the combines of the country, and the result was that a report was presented to this House which showed that the combines and trusts and associations of that kind, had fleeced the consumers of Canada to an extraordinary degree; so much so that it was deemed advisable to bring in a Bill to prevent them carrying on their nefarious traffic. I had a little experience this summer in combines. I wanted some plate glass, and I asked for tenders from the plate glass companies of Ontario, but noticing the heading of the tenders, I found that they were all headed "Dominion Stained Glass Co.," and that there was only four or five dollars difference in the amounts which they asked me. I went to work and I found in another province a company that was not in the combine, and I purchased from them, and by so doing I saved 20 per cent on the prices asked me by the glass combine of Ontario. Does not that go to show that if I had bought from the Ontario combines, and if I had not gone out and beyond my own province, that on the little purchase of \$325 of plate glass which I made, I would have been fleeced \$75. There can hardly be a business in this country to-day that is not in the hands of a combine, where they meet and decide how much product they will put on the market, what price they will ask for it, and in which they control the independence of smaller concerns and in every instance fleece the public. What is the cause of that? Nothing else but the protective system, for if there were free trade or anything approaching it, there would be free and open competition, which would prevent the manufacturers taking this unfair advantage of the Canadian consumers who are made to pay and protect them. But, Mr. Speaker, protection enables the manufacturer to unload a glutted market at a loss, or at a lesser profit, and to recoup himself then at the expense of the consumers of Canada. Hon. gentlemen know that, whether they be Conservatives or not. You all know that the large industries of this country export and sell to outsiders, very frequently at a lower price than they ordinarily charge; and that when they come

back to this country they raise the price to the consumers of Canada, who are thus forced to recoup them for their loss or their small profit. Let me give you an instance of this. The cotton companies of this country found last year, or the year before, that the markets were glutted. They could not sell their products with a high profit because there was too much in the market, and so they concluded that something else must be done. They sent \$245,000 worth of cotton to China, and sold it in the Chinese markets in competition with the German, the Indian, the English and other cottons. Now, if they realized a sufficient living profit they do not want protection, and if they did not receive a living profit they could not afford to export it in this way. What did they do? Immediately after unloading on the Chinese market they came back to Canada and raised the price of cotton 15 per cent to the Canadian consumers. In this way the Canadian consumers not only paid the legitimate profits upon the cottons they were using, but they were made to pay as well to the cotton manufacturers the loss they sustained, or the lesser profit they obtained, by sending the goods across the sea and competing with the producers in other lands. There was a base iniquity perpetrated on the consumers of this country, and the country to-day will be very sorry to hear from the Address from the Throne that that system of iniquity is to be continued. But, Mr. Speaker, protection has another fault. Protection renders non-productive millions of the capital of Canada which might be used in other ways. Let me explain this. In the work of distributing the products of this country there are millions of capital invested. It is estimated that there are about three hundred millions worth of manufactured articles distributed to consumers through the various markets of this country. Supposing that one man undertook the business of distribution, he would require a capital of \$300,000,000, in addition to what he would require to work his business. Under free trade, he would only require \$210,000,000, or 30 per cent less to do the same work, employ the same hands to distribute the same articles, and here we would save ninety millions of money that might be invested in other industries of the country, which would give employment to about ninety thousand men. Let me give you another illustration of the loss of capital in distribution under this high tariff. We will take the article of iron. We import, in round numbers, about ten million dollars worth of iron each year, and on that we pay \$3,000,000 duty. If there were no duty, a man could undertake to distribute the whole iron used by the various consumers of this country for \$10,000,000. That would be the amount of capital he would have to put in his business, but, under the present condition he pays \$13,000,000. There are three millions more which are lost and unproductive. He does not employ more

hands by the expenditure of the thirteen millions, because he has to send it out to the same consumers, but if he invested in other manufactures that three millions which he could spare out of his distribution business, it would give employment to thirty thousand men. As another instance, take the importation of coal oil. We imported last year 5,600,000 gallons for the various consumers of Canada, and the distribution of that will employ a certain number of hands. Under the tariff, we have got to pay \$437,000 for the oil and \$430,000 duty, which comes to nearly \$900,000 altogether, which a man engaged in that business would require to distribute that amount of oil under the present conditions. But suppose we had free trade. \$437,000 would buy the oil; he would require the same number of hands to distribute the 5,600,000 gallons, he would give employment to just as many people, and have \$430,000 of his capital to invest in and develop the country in various ways. So you see, that the protective tariff is a waste of millions and millions of capital (as I have said already, nearly \$90,000,000) in the entire distribution of the country. But, Mr. Speaker, protection has another fault. Protection protects the rich and discriminates against the poor. I am prepared to prove from our own official documents that it discriminates against the poor man and favours the rich man, and I challenge any hon. gentleman upon the opposite side of the House to prove anything else, for the figures here are incontrovertible. The arguments are of such a character that they cannot be gainsaid; for, Sir, when I place before you these facts, and ask you to consider them in that light, no other conclusion can be arrived at. On the imports last year the average tariff was 30 per cent. Here are some of the tariffs paid by the farmers of Canada: mowers, reapers, ploughs, drills, 35 per cent, 5 per cent above the average. Forks (two and three-pronged), 50 per cent, 20 per cent above the average tariff. Forks (four and five and six-pronged), 46 per cent, 16 per cent above the average. Hoes, 48 per cent, 18 per cent above the average. Garden rakes, 49 per cent, 19 per cent above the average. Barbed fence wire, 54 per cent, 24 per cent above the average. Now, look at another schedule of duties which will show how the poor man is discriminated against. On checked shirting, the cheapest in the market, the duty is 48 per cent, on the dearest 22½ per cent; on gray cottons, the cheapest, 36 per cent, the dearest, 21¼ per cent; on flannels, all-wool, the cheapest, 40 per cent, the dearest, 25¼ per cent; on tweeds, the cheapest, 42 per cent, the dearest, 26 per cent; on beaver overcoatings, the cheapest, 80 per cent, the dearest, 30 per cent; on nap overcoatings, the cheapest, 75 per cent, the dearest, 33 per cent; on serge cloakings, the cheapest, 58 per cent, the dearest, 33 per cent; on blankets, the cheapest, 130 per cent, the dearest, 33 per cent. On only three of these

articles used by the rich is the duty above the average, while on those used by the poor it ranges all the way up to 100 per cent above the average. In the face of these facts and figures, taken from documents furnished by the Government itself, I ask you, Mr. Speaker, I ask the members of this House, and I ask the country, is there not discrimination against the poor and in favour of the rich? But that is not all. Let us look at the rich man's tariff: Silk fabrics, 30 per cent; silk laces, 30 per cent; precious stones, 10 per cent; oil and water colour paintings, by eminent artists to adorn the walls of the rich, free; but if the poor man wants a few steel plates or anything of that kind he has to pay 30 per cent. A member of this House bought a painting in New York for \$46,000, brought it home to Montreal to adorn his palace, and brought it in free of duty; but if I want to buy a picture in accordance with my limited capacity for buying, I have to pay 30 per cent of its value before I can bring it in. Is that not discrimination in favour of the rich? The best carpets which can be purchased in this country are charged 30 per cent; silk velvets, 30 per cent; jewellery, 20 per cent; manufactures of gold, 20 per cent; china and porcelain ware, 30 per cent; fur coats and cloaks to keep the rich warm, which the poor cannot buy, 25 per cent. In this list there is not one single article on which the duty is above the average. In the face of these figures I ask this House, and through the press, I ask the country, are they willing to retain in power a Government which thus places a burden on the poor and favours the rich? The situation is correctly described by a little triplet which I found the other day in the New York 'Daily America.' Listen to it:

"Yes, the tariff is a tax,
And the poor people get it
Where the chicken got the axe."

But, Mr. Speaker, that is not all that can be said against protection. It is such an abomination of iniquities that a person could hardly get through telling of them in a week. Protection distributes unequally the wealth of a nation, and the labouring classes, in whose favour it is said to be, have not at command at any time enough to carry them over a few months' stringency in the labour market. Twenty-five thousand people of the United States have more money and property within their grasp than the balance of the sixty-five millions. Is that a proper distribution of the wealth of the nation? I will show you that protection brings about that inequality. Three-fifths of the wealth of the United States is congested in the nine North-eastern States, the great manufacturing States of the Union. But, Mr. Speaker, I want to place before you and the House figures which go to prove my contention that protection distributes unequally the wealth of a country. In 1860 the farm

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values of the United States were \$7,989,000,000. In 1880, after twenty years' protection these values had risen to \$12,140,000,000, or an increase of 52 per cent. Now, other values amounted in 1860 to \$8,180,000,000, and in 1880, twenty years afterwards, they had risen to \$31,538,000,000, or an increase of 280 per cent. But, Sir, there are other figures which I wish to give you, taken from the compendium of the United States census of 1880, at page 926, so that any hon. member can verify them for himself. The amount invested in farm property in 1880 in the United States was \$12,104,000,000; the value of the products was \$2,790,000,000; the persons employed were 7,670,400; the product per hand was \$288. The value of farm labour at that time was \$270, so that the farmer had \$18 profit on each hand he employed. That was the farmer's side of the matter. Now take the manufacturer's side. In 1880 the amount invested in manufacturing industries in the United States was \$2,791,000,000; the value of the product was \$5,370,000,000; the cost of material was \$3,370,000,000; the value of the product, less material, was \$1,973,000,000; the persons employed numbered 2,732,000; and the product per head was \$721. Now, the average wages paid in the factories of the United States was \$325, leaving a profit to the manufacturer of nearly \$400 on every hand employed, while the farmer had a profit of only \$18 on each hand employed by him. That shows beyond any doubt that the farmer is not getting fair play under protection; and if it were possible to give similar figures in regard to this Canada of ours, they would show exactly the same results in principle. But there is another evil in protection. Protection is at least one of the causes of the depreciation of the value of farm lands. We are told every day that the farmers are getting better off. Now, it is no use talking arrant nonsense; it is no use trying to deceive the people; because they know that they are not getting better off. I will give you a few figures which will show you to a demonstration that they are not as well off as they were a few years ago. The average value of farm lands in Ontario for the ten years from 1882 to 1892, was \$632,500,000. In 1891, the value was \$621,250,000, or 11¼ millions less. Do you really suppose, Sir, that the farmers of this country in selling out their lands in 1891, and getting 11¼ millions less for their property, were equally wealthy as if they had sold at the higher rate? Worse than that, in 1892, the value of the land was \$616,000,000, or \$16,500,000 less than the average from 1882 to 1892. It is estimated that we have 250,000 farms in Ontario, so that, dividing the land equally, the value of each farm would show a reduction of \$660 in 1892, as compared with the average value during the decade. But that is not all. Let me quote this statement from the Bureau of Industry Report

for the year 1892. According to that report, the value of the following field crops, wheat, oats, rye, peas, corn, buckwheat, beans, barley, potatoes, mangel-wurtzel, carrots, turnips, hay, in 1891, was \$130,866,000, and in 1892, \$110,563,000, showing a decrease of \$20,303,000, in 1892, as compared with 1891. On 250,000 farms, that would represent an average loss to each farmer of \$812. Yet we have men in this House who will probably, before this debate is through, get up and say that the farmers are as well off now as they were years ago. Although the products of each farm yielded \$812 less in 1892 than in 1891, yet we have men in this House, sufficiently intelligent to be selected as representatives of constituencies, who will, in the face of these figures, taken from official sources, tell us that the farmers of this country are as well off this year as they ever were. My comprehension may be limited, but that certainly is one thing I cannot understand. Now, the Government may ask, how could we help all this? Supposing the farmers do not sell as much as they did, supposing their lands are cheaper in value, can we increase the prices? What can we do for the farmers? I will tell you, Sir, what the Government can do. They can leave the farmers alone; they can let them hew out their own destiny, which they would do much more effectively and satisfactorily than they are doing at present. You do not find the farmers coming to Parliament as lobbyists. You do not find them so crowding our passages here that you can hardly get through from one place to the other. You do not find them coming to ask favours and special legislation to increase their profits. All they ask, and they ask it emphatically, is to be let alone to do the best they can with their products. They ask to be allowed to sell where they can realize the most, and to buy where they will pay the least, so that if they lose in one way they will save in the other. This Parliament, however, has not acted justly by the farmers, but has placed burdens upon them, and that in the very face of the depreciation of their property and reduced prices for their products. In the Speech from the Throne, the Government have announced that these burdens shall be continued. Their raw material is taxed. On their farm implements, there are duties levied to the extent of 18 to 20 per cent, and in some cases even 60 per cent over the average duty of 30 per cent imposed on other articles. Our agriculturists say to Parliament: Gentlemen, we want you to take off the burdens you have put on; reduce the taxation on agricultural implements and on iron; reduce the duty on coal oil, barbed wire, and manufactured goods generally—woollens, the cheaper kinds of clothing, cottons, boots, and shoes. Give us a fair field, they cry, and we want no favour. We can stand on our own energy and industry.

and hew out, unaided, happy and prosperous homes for ourselves. There is another thing which the Government can do. Our farmers are, to a very large extent, shut out of their natural market, and the Government have been promising for the last few years to take steps to pull down the fence now raised so high between the two nations who ought, in trade matters, to mingle and intermingle freely with each other. The Americans produce many articles which we require, cheaper than we can produce them, and there are many things which we can produce cheaper than the Americans can, so that there is every opportunity for reciprocal trade if no barriers were raised to prevent it. We all know what honourable distinction Canada gained at the World's Fair. I was never so proud of being a Canadian as last October when I visited the Chicago exhibition and saw the high position our country took. In grain, our Canadian farmers won no less than 197 awards for their exhibits. In flour, oatmeal, &c., they took 24 awards. In honey, they carried off 17 awards. In swine, they gained 50 awards. Their cattle bore off 184 awards. Out of 352 sheep which they exhibited, 250 took awards, whereas, out of 478 sheep exhibited by the United States, only 193 took awards, so that while 71 per cent of our sheep gained prizes, only 40 per cent of the American sheep earned this distinction. Does not that prove that if we had an open market for our butter, cattle, sheep, honey, swine, &c., we could profitably dispose of them in the large centres of the United States? Our best cattle would go to the cities of Detroit and Chicago, and other western cities, where they would come into competition with the inferior beef from Texas and Mexico and the Indian Territory; and the rich customers in those western cities, who do not look so much to the price as to the quality, would certainly purchase our cattle in preference to inferior stock. The same remark applies to our sheep. Let me give you, briefly, the results which Canada achieved at that exhibition. Our cattle, horses, sheep, swine and poultry obtained 963 awards, out of an exhibit of 1,847 animals, or 51 of our animals out of every hundred took prizes. Compare this with the United States exhibit. The United States exhibited 4,005 of these animals, and obtained only 1,494 awards, so that only 37 of their animals out of every hundred came to the front. This proves that if we had an open market for these products in that country we should have a large and lucrative trade. Sir, I take up now the subject of cheese. You all know that in her cheese exhibits Canada swept the board, that neither the United States nor any other country had any place. Canada took no less than 392 awards for cheese, and in some cases the excellence of this cheese was recorded at 99½ points, 100 being perfection. Suppose we had the Am-

erican market for our cheese; suppose we had Chicago and Detroit and Buffalo and New York and Boston and other large cities to send our magnificent quality of cheese into, should we not be assured of a splendid market? Are not all the best products of every kind assured of a ready market in these cities, where there are rich people anxious to procure them, and willing to pay the price? One more department of industry: Canada stood 30 per cent higher in fruit than any other state or country. And what a magnificent market would be opened for our apples, our plums, our pears, and our peaches if freedom of trade were established, and we were able to ship our high class goods to purchasers in the United States. I must bring my remarks to a conclusion. I have given you, Mr. Speaker, twelve or thirteen reasons against the protective system; I have demonstrated that the present policy is a detriment to 90 per cent of our people, and that burdens are placed upon these in order to secure the prosperity and advancement of the few. Take the case of the Massey-Harris Company. Mr. Massey has accumulated great fortunes, which he is now giving away. I would like to ask in what business is it possible for a man in 20 years, without extraordinary profits, to amass wealth so great that he can give away fortunes right and left? It is the farmers' money that is being spent, and this money has been taken unfairly from the pockets of the farmers of the country. I am sorry the Government has not seen fit to promise us a great reduction of the tariff. I am sorry they have not promised us the wiping out of the protective principle to the extent of establishing the tariff upon a revenue basis with protection as an incident, rather than, as they are doing to-day, putting protection first with the object of revenue as merely incidental.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, before this debate closes I would like to say a few words. I can cordially endorse the sentiments of the hon. gentleman who moved the resolution with reference to the Governor General. I am glad also to congratulate him upon the manner in which he presented his case to the House, for there is no doubt he had a very hard task. In some respects he seems to have been misinformed. For instance, he stated that our trade with the West Indies had been extended through the efforts of the Government in sending delegates to that country. I cannot believe the hon. gentleman has examined into the subject, otherwise he would surely never have made such a statement. Years ago when the late Hon. John Macdonald, the great merchant of Toronto, went down to the West Indies, we received from him a glowing account of the trade that could be established with that country. So when Mr. Adam Brown, of Hamilton, was sent down to those islands, we were told there was a large field there for the

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extension of Canadian trade. Again, when the Finance Minister came back from that country after having visited it at the expense of the people, we were assured that there were splendid opportunities there for the extension of our trade. How does that matter stand to-day? Why, Sir, in 1875 we had trade with the West Indies to the amount of \$3,948,000, while in 1893 it amounted to only \$3,145,000, a reduction of \$800,000, and this notwithstanding that a large amount of money had been spent in the effort to increase the trade. We have had the Minister of Trade and Commerce lately visiting the Australian colonies. When he returned he spoke before the Board of Trade of Toronto, and gave a glowing account of what could be done in extending the trade of Canada with Australia. Let me ask what benefit it is going to be to those whose condition most needs to be improved at the present time, the farmers and workingmen of Canada, to extend our trade with the Australian colonies? Why, Sir, the Minister of Trade and Commerce himself stated that of \$8,000,000 of stuff exported from the United States to Australia agricultural products made up only \$63,000 of the amount, and the rest were the products of manufactories. Let me ask what benefit it will be to the farmers of this country to subsidize a line of steamers with a large sum of money in order to take agricultural implements from Canada to the Australian colonies? The only effect will be that, while the farmers will still have to pay the 35 per cent duty on their implements, their burdens will be increased in order that the manufacturers may be better able to place their goods upon the market in the Australian colonies. Why, Sir, I can remember when, some two or three years ago, the Finance Minister rose in his place in this House and stated that a large trade was being established in agricultural implements in the Australian colonies. He stated at that time that Mr. Massey alone had declared that he had established a trade of something like \$300,000 a year with those colonies, and when the statement was challenged he still declared it to be accurate. Is that statement shown to be accurate in the light of events? Why, Sir, the whole value of our exports to the Australian colonies is only \$208,000, and the agricultural implements sent from Canada to these colonies amounts to only something like \$86,000. Now, Sir, let me, just for a moment, examine into the wealth of Canada, or more particularly, into the wealth of the province of Ontario, as we have not the means of ascertaining the agricultural wealth of the other provinces in the same manner as we have that of Ontario through the Bureau of Industries. I find, according to the census that was taken in 1891, that there were then 175,000 farmers in Ontario, who farmed 22,646,000 acres of land. The total value of their property, farm land, agricultural implements and farm stock, was \$980,000,000. The average farm in

Ontario, therefore, is 130 acres, and the total value of that average farm, including farm stock and implements, is \$5,600. According to this census, what is the value of the property devoted to manufacturers in the province of Ontario? Sir, it is only \$176,603,000, not one-fifth of the property owned by the agriculturists of this country. The Government tell us that they are going to revise the tariff, and the First Minister told us that he would make changes that would be beneficial to all classes; but, judging from other statements we have heard, those changes are all going to be in the direction of favouring those who are already, as the Government term it, in a prosperous condition, that is, the manufacturers. No favourable changes are to be made with respect to the agriculturists or the workingmen of this country, the tariff is not going to be reduced so far as they are concerned. Now, Sir, I was amused, as a farmer, when I heard the statement made that the Minister of Agriculture had gone up to the North-west, and after examining into the condition of things and into the depression that exists in that country, he then turned round and told the farmers that their salvation laid in changing their system and going into mixed farming. Nay, I was more amused when the First Minister told us that he would give them sound advice. It reminded me of a story I heard of a clergyman in my native land. In visiting amongst his parishioners, he went to a fisherman's hut, and proceeded to put him through his catechism. The clergyman found him not so well posted as he ought to be, and reprimanded him severely for not being better acquainted with theology. The fisherman said to him: "Will you allow me to put a single question to you?" "Oh, certainly," said the minister. "Will you tell me, then, how many hooks it will take to make a twelve-fathom line?" "Oh," says the minister, "that is entirely out of my line of business." "It is also entirely out of my line of business to study theology," returned the fisherman. Now, Sir, any man who is acquainted with the condition of the farmers in the North-west, must see that when these two gentlemen undertake to advise the farmer to go into mixed farming, they are talking of something that is entirely out of their line of business. The conditions of the North-west are not similar to those of the province of Ontario or to those of the lower provinces. We know that even if they were to go into mixed farming, they could not succeed, on account of the action of this Government in causing the United States Government to impose the McKinley tariff, for I hold that it was the action of the Canadian Government, to a considerable extent, that led to the McKinley tariff being enacted against Canada; because Mr. McKinley himself, when he made his speech in the House of Representatives, stated that they could not forget the action of the Canadian Government in returning to the tariff list of 1890 those goods they had

removed under pressure in 1888. Even if the farmer of the North-west were to go into mixed farming and to raise barley, he could not get a paying price for it, because the United States market is closed to him—he can only take into the United States after paying a duty of 30 cents per bushel. We know that all the products of the North-west farmers are highly taxed before they can go into the United States. Hon. gentlemen may say that the farmers of the North-west can go into the raising of cattle. Why, Sir, let me tell you that the highest price the farmers of the North-west could get for their cattle last summer, the very best animals they could produce, was 2 cents to 2½ cents per pound, live weight. Let me tell the Minister of Agriculture, and the leader of the Government also, that the farmers of the North-west cannot go into mixed farming, as they are doing in Ontario. Although they can raise roots in abundance, they have not the facilities for handling these roots in the same manner we have; they cannot save them from frost and feed them in winter. Let me say that any individual who declared that the salvation of the North-west at present lies in a system of mixed farming, is speaking of something of which he is ignorant. I went over Manitoba and a good part of the North-west as far as Calgary, visiting Regina and Wolseley, and mingled a good deal amongst the farmers there, and although, before I left Ontario, I was of the opinion that they ought to go more into mixed farming, after going through that country, I soon found that I had been mistaken, and I became convinced that the farmers had been pursuing the best system they could possibly pursue in their own interests. Sir, the farmers in every country are, as a rule, the best judges of what system of farming they can profitably pursue. If the Minister of Agriculture, when he visited the farmers of the North-west, had told them that he was aware they were paying very large sums of money for their agricultural implements, and that he would endeavour to bring pressure to bear upon his colleagues in the Government in order to relieve them from that burden, he would have made a promise which, if fulfilled, would have been greatly to their interest. The settlers in Manitoba alone paid last year something over \$600,000 in duties on goods going into that country, while, at the same time they only got a little over \$400,000 as a subsidy from the Government. They had to pay close upon \$2,000,000 altogether in duties and in tribute to the manufacturers; that is to say, \$2 went into the pockets of the manufacturers for every dollar that went into the treasury of the country. I hold that grievous burdens are imposed upon the farmers in that country from one end of the land to the other. I was astonished at what I ascertained with respect to the trade of that country. When I went up there, I expected to find

them deriving great benefits from the Canadian Pacific Railway, as, no doubt, they have in certain localities. When I went from Calgary to Edmonton, I said to several gentlemen that they must have been greatly benefited by the continuation of the Canadian Pacific Railway to Edmonton, and a merchant answered me, with a sneer: "Benefit! benefit! Before the Canadian Pacific Railway was built, we could get our goods freighted up from Calgary for 75 cents per hundred, paying half the freight in trade, and even the whole of it. Now I have got to pay 82 cents per hundred and the whole of the money goes out of the country." Such is the condition of things that the farmers in that country are labouring under. Now, there was another statement that the Minister of Agriculture made last session in the Senate Chamber. No doubt, he gave great cheer to the manufacturers of Canada when he showed them that between 1879 and 1883 there was a total of \$8,240,000 of free goods brought into Canada. The Minister went on to say that they were continually increasing the free list to the benefit of the manufacturers; and between 1884 and 1888, \$9,560,000 worth of goods came into Canada free of duty, which were in the interest of manufacturers; from 1888 to 1892 the amount of goods on the free list had increased to \$13,167,000, all in the interest of the manufacturers of this country. He said that he had told them again and again: We have promised you that we will enlarge the free list in your favour just as rapidly as you will lay your plans before us. Now, what effect has this upon the farmers of the country? Sir, every article that is placed upon the free list, although it is entirely in the benefit of the manufacturers of this country, imposes an additional burden upon the workingmen and farmers, because the tariff must be increased and the revenue has got to be raised. The Minister of Agriculture told us that we paid \$1.50 duties more last year per head than we had done for some years past; so that, ever since the introduction of the National Policy down to the present time, every revision of the tariff has steadily increased the burdens on the workingmen and the agricultural community of Canada. The Minister of Trade and Commerce, in a speech that he delivered last fall, stated that they intended to revise the tariff, and that in reality they had been continually revising the tariff since 1879 down to the present time. We know that in 1879 25 per cent was placed upon agricultural implements, and that rate of protection has gone up until it is now 35 per cent. For instance, we know that at first cotton prints were 28 per cent, and they are now 32½ per cent; that is an illustration of the way the tariff has been revised. There is a large number of articles upon the tariff list which ought to be removed in the interest of the farmers of this country. Sir, have the Minister of Finance and the committee who are revising the tariff, carefully examined the

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list that was prepared by the North-west Council, when they memorialized the Government to put a number of articles upon the free list? Let me enumerate some of the articles: Woollen hose, 10 cents per pound, and 30 per cent. On goods costing \$4.87 per dozen, the duty is equal to 31 per cent, but on goods costing \$1.22, the duty is 50½ per cent. On gray or unbleached cotton, costing 6 cents, the duty is 31½ per cent; on that costing 3 cents, the duty is 48½ per cent. On blankets, the duty is 10 cents per pound and 30 per cent. On those costing 49 cents per pound, the duty is 40 2-5 per cent, while on those costing 16 cents per pound, it is equal to 82 per cent. That is an example of the favour and sympathy which this Government extends to the workingman and to the farmer, especially to the farmers in the North-west, where these goods are required in large quantities; and that is the manner in which the tariff imposes burden after burden on the shoulders of the working classes. Let me state with regard to the duties on iron that it would have been a blessing to the farmers if there had not been a single pound of iron ore found in Canada. Why do I make this statement? I do so because the Government have placed a duty of \$4 per ton on pig iron, and have given a bounty of \$2 per ton on all pig iron manufactured in this country. Has this action encouraged the industry? By no means. The Government have also placed \$2 per ton on scrap iron which comes here and is manufactured, thereby preventing our native iron being used to the extent which would otherwise be the case. It is clear that this system is a curse to the country, and that the farmers would have obtained their implements cheaper, and every other iron article cheaper if there had not been a superabundance of iron ore in this country; but the Government have framed a tariff, and imposed duties with the object of encouraging the iron industry, but which did not encourage it. No bonus should have been given for iron manufactured out of scrap, but only for that manufactured out of our native ores. That, however, is an example of the manner in which the Government have maintained monopolies, that is a fair sample of the way in which they are subsidizing the manufacturers. The shares of the cotton manufacturing companies are going up steadily in value, as are the shares in all other monopolies, while, at the same time, the value of farm property is steadily declining. Let me state once for all that unless the Government take active steps to relieve the people of the burdens imposed on them, their term of office will certainly not be a long one. Last session I warned hon. gentlemen opposite that a cloud was on the horizon, perhaps not bigger than a man's hand, which would overspread the heavens. That cloud has spread over the length and

breadth of Ontario. The farmers and the Patrons of Industry—and I hold I am the representative of the Patrons on the floor of this House, although I do not belong to the organization—will not support the Government unless they make tariff reductions. Further east, it will also be found, that the Government cannot obtain the support of the Patrons unless the tariff is largely reduced. Let me state what occurred in New Brunswick. At a meeting of the St. John Board of Trade, held on February 7th, a committee on the tariff, presided over by the chairman of the Conservative party in that province, reported that the tariff must be reduced. From Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and every other province, there is a similar report. I understand that the recent election in Nova Scotia was run almost entirely on the question of tariff reform. Are the people going to obtain from this Government that justice to the farming class which they demand? The hon. gentlemen opposite have no intention of granting it. When the committee representing the Government were travelling through the country, they would have allowed the farmers to have appeared before them and made plain statements, without an attempt being made to gainsay their utterances, if they had desired to extend justice to the agricultural class. Why did the members of that committee sit in secret conclave when they were hearing the manufacturers, while they heard the farmers in open meeting? It was done simply that those hon. gentlemen might be able to show how smart they were when they had a simple-hearted farmer to question regarding the working of the National Policy. I notice that certain resolutions were passed by the Manufacturers Association when they met the Minister of Trade and Commerce at Toronto. Let me quote a statement to show what they consider should be the fate of any one advocating a tariff reform measure, such as I am advocating to-day. I observe here an hon. gentleman who was at that meeting, and no doubt he concurred in the sentiment given utterance to with respect to anybody who would ask a reduction in the tariff. Mr. E. Gurney said that any man who went on the stump to advocate a change from the present policy to one which had no bottom in it, was nothing more than an anarchist, and the people would have to rise against anarchists and hang the lot. So the farmers of Ontario as a body will have to be hanged, and that will be found a difficult job, because they are all advocating tariff reduction, and not merely tariff reduction, but that this protective system shall be abolished. I heard the First Minister from his place no later than yesterday say that he had yet to hear the first statement made by any public man in the United States that the financial stringency had been at all brought about by the National Policy or the protective sys-

tem. I will quote a statement by Congressman Bryant with regard to the effect of protection in the United States. It is as follows:—

Protection violates international law, human and divine, by prohibiting trade among the families of the men, thus denying the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. It has driven industry to want, beggary and starvation; it has forced virtue, dressed in rags, to insanity; it has driven mothers with their infants at their breasts, from the cottage hearth, starving, into the winter's blast, and denied to the husband and father work necessary to support his family; it has made thousands of millionaires and millions of tramps, both a curse to society; it has filled the prisons with criminals and the churches with hypocrites; it has driven millions of honest labourers to the soup-houses, to be fed in the name of charity with the products of their own labour, out of which they were robbed; it makes merchandise of men, slaves of women, beggars of children and outcasts of all, and then retains power by bribery and fraud; it is the author of all the sweating system in the world, where women and children sweat blood to be coined into money to satisfy the greed of mammon, and it forges the promise of God into a lie, and we do see, the seed of the righteous "begging bread," the divine promise to the contrary notwithstanding.

There is no one but must admit that protection has had that effect to a great extent in this country. Will any man stand up and tell me that any Government could legislate in a manner to make rich the whole inhabitants of any country? I do not ask that any privileges should be granted to the farmers of this country, but I do ask that they shall be relieved of the burdens that have been unduly placed upon their shoulders. All that I ask is: That all classes of the community shall be placed in a position so as to reap the full rewards of their honest labour. I hold, Sir, that no farmer and no workman gets the full reward of his labour in a highly protected country such as Canada is. I hold that, to-day, the farmer for every purchase that he makes only gets \$100 of goods when he spends \$130 for them, and especially is that the case in the class of goods which is manufactured and sold to the people in this country. The Minister of Agriculture when he went to the North-west did not show to the people the true condition of affairs; but many of the people there know what that condition is, and the Government got a taste of what the North-west will do during the last election of Winnipeg, when my friend who sits behind (Mr. Martin) was returned as an opponent of theirs. That is only a sample of what the North-west will do when she gets the opportunity. She has lived on promise long enough, but she will not be fooled any longer. The farmers of the province of Ontario were fooled last election when the Government told them that they dissolved the House before the natural life of Parliament expired

so that they might go before the people of this country, and have the authorization of a fresh Parliament, not a moribund Parliament, to proceed to Washington to discuss reciprocity, as the United States Government had solicited such a conference. We all know the humility that the people of Canada felt when one individual high in office had afterwards to go to Washington, and upon his marrow-bones take back the statements spread in Canada that the United States Government had asked for reciprocity. I was astonished last summer, when at Clinton, I heard the First Minister state on the stump that when the Ministers went to Washington they offered reciprocity not only in natural products, but that they offered a list of manufactured goods as well. I had in my pocket the address of the President of the United States, sent in reply to a resolution from the Senate, to give a statement of what took place at the conference, and I took the opportunity of showing it to some of the Conservatives at that meeting, not five minutes afterwards the First Minister had made his statement. I was astonished that he would try to humbug the people and to impose on their ignorance and credulity in such a manner. That is what is being done by the Government all over the land, and the time is fast approaching when the Government will have to answer for it all. The Minister of Agriculture has told the people that the country is in a prosperous condition. The Controller of Customs and the Controller of Inland Revenue both tell us that the country is prosperous. From their standpoint, from the late augmentation of their finances annually, there is no doubt that they may feel that the country is in a prosperous condition. Five thousand dollars a year, besides their indemnity, going into his pockets, would make any man feel that a country was prosperous that could go on increasing its officials and officers and still further burdening the people with taxation. The people thought that this Government was going to be economic, and they asked me what this meant. They also asked me what was the meaning of a Bill which was brought into the House last year appointing a Civil Service Commission. They asked me if that commission was to be permanent and if there were to be any salaries? Why, Sir, they were astonished when I told them that there were two officials at \$300 a year, and one at \$1,250 a year, and his salary was to be increased until it reached \$1,500. When I was asked what the duties were I was stuck. I could not tell. I never heard it explained, and the only explanation that I could give was, that it was providing a good fat berth for some of the supporters of the Government, and that they were going to follow that up, because they were in a position that they required all the support that they could possibly get. I do not know that I am going to say a great deal more at the present time, but I do say that the

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farmers of this country begin to understand this tariff. When the National Policy was introduced in 1879, many of them believed that the tariff would be a benefit, and they believed the utterances of the then First Minister: that the agricultural industry would be improved, that the country would consume all its own surplus products, and that all those tall chimneys which we heard so graphically described, would be towering throughout the whole land. But, Sir, we find that such has not been the case. We find that the manufacturing industries have not spread to any great extent. When the people of Seaforth saw in the last census returns the number of manufacturing industries in that town, they asked me to point them out, but no one, even though he had lived in the town since the first building was erected in it, was capable of doing that until such time as the report went back with the names of the individuals and the industries. And then, what a farce to see such industries pictured as if they were really industries that had been brought into existence by the National Policy. Let me say that the farmers of this country are a class of individuals that require no favours. We have been told that the farmers want to shirk the just incidents of taxation that ought to be imposed upon their shoulders. That is not the case. As I have said, the farmers ask no favours. All they want is that the Government shall remove the burdens that they have placed unduly upon their shoulders, and that they will give such legislation as will enable the farmer and the pioneer in this new country to reap the full rewards of his own labour without providing that a large part of the profits of their toil shall go into the pockets of the manufacturers of this country, and that the earners shall derive no profit from it whatever; but that, on the contrary, they—as I heard a farmer say—are to be made the subjects of insult and injury wherever the opportunity is presented.

Mr. CHARLTON. Mr. Speaker, I do not rise to participate at any length in the debate that is now in progress. In that respect I shall imitate the example set by the Government. I am surprised, however—I cannot help expressing surprise—that the members of the Government, and the supporters of the Government, should allow the speeches that have been made on this side of the House, the arraignment that has been made of their policy, the attacks that have been made upon them, to go by default. I cannot help expressing surprise that the Government should sit meekly, and permit these assaults to be made without the slightest rejoinder. Silence is said to give consent, and certainly we may infer from the attitude of the Government that their case is a bad one, and that they have very little to say in answer to the charges made against them. I rise for the purpose of making reference to one point only; one point that has been alluded to in this debate,

a point that was brought up in the question put by the leader of the Opposition in the House this afternoon, and that point is the matter referring to the French treaty. That treaty has now been awaiting ratification from this Government for a period of more than a year, and we would like very much to know what the policy of the Government is. When we ask that question from the Government, however, we are probably asking more than they know themselves. It would seem, from their attitude, and from their conduct throughout, that this is a problem that they are incapable of grappling with. It is not a very important treaty. The Minister of Justice very happily characterized it the other night as being a "little French treaty." It is a little French treaty, involving interests of no very great importance, and yet I repeat, Sir, that the Government seem unable to give to the country the policy which they intend to pursue upon this question, and, in fact, they seem to be uncertain in their own minds as to what they shall do. I think, that for the sake of consistency and for the sake of self-respect, the Government should place themselves in a position whereby the people would know what their policy is to be on this question, and they should at once announce what they intend to do. No doubt they are surrounded by many difficulties. They have on the one hand, the opposition that evidently is an overwhelming one from the public with regard to the ratification of this treaty. On the other hand, it is intimated—I do not know with how good a foundation—that pressure has been brought to bear upon them in certain high quarters. It is asserted that the High Commissioner for Canada has taken them by the throat and demanded that this treaty be ratified; that he pins his reputation to this treaty; and that if the treaty is not ratified he will become an enemy of the Government. It is represented that a relative of the High Commissioner, an hon. gentleman who is a member of this House and a member of the Government, and who is a loyal son of the High Commissioner, has also threatened resignation, and threatened to make all the trouble that he possibly can for the Government, if the demands of his father are not acceded to, and his reputation maintained, so far as it can be, by the ratification of this treaty. Now, Sir, the country and the press are talking about these things, and in this matter the Government occupy a humiliating position. They are accused of vacillation; they are accused of indecision, of lacking the courage to come to a decision. It is said that they feel loath to ratify the treaty. Why do they not express their views and set the public mind at rest with regard to this question? Now, Mr. Speaker, the Opposition has always been generous and forbearing enough to come to the rescue of the Government when it has been necessary to do so to save the honour of Canada—and the honour of Canada

is somewhat bound up and imperilled in this matter by the action of the Government. I would therefore suggest to the Government that they take the course which they have pursued on other occasions when difficult questions have demanded solution and they have felt unable to grapple with them. They have a remedy, a remedy which they have themselves invented, and which might be applied to this case as well as to the case of prohibition and the case of the Caron charges. Let them refer the French treaty to a royal commission, and they can easily arrange the matter in such a way that the decision of that commission shall not be made this century if necessary. In that way they could bring their difficulties to an end; the French treaty question would be disposed of, and they would avoid the decision of the question which some day they will have to make unless they refer it to a royal commission. If my hon. friend, the leader of the Government, will take into consideration this proposition and appoint a royal commission to settle this difficulty, it is not likely that the question will again trouble him so long as he is in office. I think I may most unhesitatingly commend this solution of the difficulty to the hon. gentleman. He will then dispose of the threats of the High Commissioner; he will dispose of the insubordination of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries; and he will dispose of all the conflicting elements of his party, asking for and contending against the ratification of this treaty. He will then get the question set at rest, so that it will not rise like Banquo's ghost to disturb him in his slumbers as it now does.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). It is not my intention, Sir, to trouble the House but for a few moments on the subject of this Speech. I think it would have been satisfactory to the House, and would have greatly facilitated the work of the session, if the hon. gentlemen on the other side had undertaken to defend the various propositions which they have put forward in the Speech. They have in some degree challenged the Opposition to consider several propositions, which, after that challenge has been accepted, they have themselves resiled from defending. Now, Sir, the Government have told us in this Speech that the country is in a prosperous condition. It has been pointed out that that is not an accurate statement—that the country is far from being prosperous; that many classes of the population, particularly the mercantile and agricultural classes, are suffering at the present time from serious financial embarrassment; that the income of the agricultural population has largely diminished; that greatly as it had diminished during previous years, it has during the past year, since the House was in session before, diminished at least 40 per cent. Now, Sir, the Opposition were ready to consider and controvert the propositions put in the mouth

of His Excellency. But hon. gentlemen on the Treasury benches do not appear disposed to defend what they have here stated. The hon. gentlemen have told us, in a series of speeches extending over the past fifteen years, that they had altered the tariff in such a way as to contribute to the prosperity of the country; in fact, they proposed to prevent a condition of depression and distress; and now, after they have from time to time legislated with the view of correcting the mistakes which they said were in the tariff, and which it was impossible that men could avoid, however perfect their information might be, the hon. First Minister informs us that no one possessed of common sense would undertake to declare that a Government could by its legislation make the country prosperous. Why, Sir, we had a very different story told us. We had a declaration that the voices of a distressed population had come from every part of the country to a former Prime Minister, crying, "Come over and help us out of the difficulty and distress in which we are." The hon. gentleman has also put into this Speech the declaration that the land laws of the North-west require amendment; yet neither the mover nor the seconder of the Address, nor the hon. First Minister himself, has told us in what respect these laws are defective or in what respect they require amendment. The hon. gentleman has also put in His Excellency's mouth the declaration that the Indian Act is defective and requires amendment, but in what respect it requires amendment we are up to this moment left in the dark. And we are asked to vote an Address in reply to the Speech, which will echo everything contained in the Speech, though hon. gentlemen opposite have not up to the present moment given us the slightest information on these subjects. The hon. leader of the Government requires a great deal of his followers on this occasion. He requires them to affirm what he has put in this Address, while he withholds from them the information to enable them to say whether what he has put there is correct or proper in any particular. Now, Sir, it appears to me that, when the Governor General is meeting Parliament for the first time, nothing should be put in the Speech which is not in point of law accurate; and yet—and I suppose the hon. First Minister, as the Minister of Justice, is responsible for this—I find it stated here that His Excellency the Governor General is the Viceroy of Her Majesty. Now, Sir, we know right well that that is a mistake. We know that in the British empire there may be but two persons holding that position. The one is the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the other the Governor General of India. Prior to 1876, when India became an empire, and the Queen's proclamation was issued, the Governor General of India was not a Viceroy, and Lord Canning was declared by the Queen's pro-

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clamation, in November, 1858, to be the first Viceroy of England who ruled in British India. We know the origin. Every one acquainted with the history of Ireland knows that before the time of Henry VIII. Ireland was a Lordship, and that the representative of the Sovereign there was called the Lord Deputy or Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and it was not until after that period that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland became a Viceroy. This subject has frequently been before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Let me call the attention of the House to some of the cases. In the case of *Hill vs. Bigge*, Lord Brougham, who gave the decision, said:

If it is said that the Governor of a colony is quasi sovereign, the answer is that he does not even represent the sovereign generally, having only the functions delegated to him by the terms of his commission, and being only the officer to execute the specific powers with which that commission clothes him.

And so we find, in the case of *Cameron against Kyte*, where the decision of the Judicial Committee was delivered by Baron Parke, that Baron Parke said:

If a governor had, by virtue of that appointment the whole sovereignty of the colony delegated to him as a viceroy and represented the king in the government of that colony, there would be good reason to contend that an act of sovereignty done by him would be valid and obligatory upon the subject living within his government.

And so on, and then he goes on to say that that is not the position of a Governor, because a Governor derives his authority from his commission. He is not intrusted with all the powers belonging to the Sovereign, and therefore is an executive officer, whose executive duties are defined and limited by the commission which he has received, and the instructions which are from time to time given to him. I see, in the case of *Musgrove vs. Pulido*, there is exactly the same doctrine laid down by Sir Montague Smith, in which it is said:

It is apparent from these authorities that the Governor of a colony (in ordinary cases) cannot be regarded as a viceroy; nor can it be assumed that he possesses general sovereign power. His authority is derived from his commission, and limited to the powers thereby expressly or impliedly entrusted to him.

I am not going into a discussion of this question, because every one who has considered the subject knows that His Excellency is not a Viceroy. His Excellency is a Governor General. He is intrusted with the executive powers, to the extent mentioned in the Commission, which are necessarily conferred upon him in consequence of the provisions of the British North America Act. He is no more a Viceroy than a Lieutenant-Governor, and a Lieutenant-Governor represents Her Majesty. He is clothed with certain powers, as an executive officer representing Her Majesty, but he is not clothed

with all the powers that belong to a Sovereign. He is possessed of limited powers, and, that being the case, is not a Viceroy. Two things are necessary to make him such. The one is that a regular Government shall exist under his authority, and the other is that all the powers belonging to the sovereign who is at the head of that Government shall, for the time being, be intrusted to him. I merely mention this because the expression is introduced into the speech of His Excellency to Parliament for the first time, and it is just as well that no mistake should be made upon the subject. But leaving that aside altogether, what is important is to consider what are the measures of practical consequence which the Government propose to bring down. Now, the first and most important is the revision of the tariff, and yet the Government, up to this hour, have not given to the House the slightest information on the subject. Why, we have had for a long series of years the declaration, on the part of Ministers of the Crown, that the tariff was put upon a sound and proper economic basis in 1879—that all the revision the tariff required was that which experience would suggest of a minor character, and which necessarily sprung from the imperfections existing in subordinate matters with which the Ministry could not be supposed to be acquainted—but that these were from time to time corrected and the tariff more and more improved, until we find that since we were here last the Government have sent members of the ministry all over the country to inquire what was wrong with the tariff. This measure, which has been under the consideration of the Government for fifteen years, which has been revised by them, about which they have received almost every month in every year deputations pointing out defects and asking for changes—after discussing this measure in some thirteen sessions, they sent a commission all over the country, and now we are informed by His Excellency—that if this paragraph means anything—notwithstanding all these provisions and all this care, the tariff is so imperfect that now it must undergo radical changes—that the machine has been improved until it is no longer practical and workable, that the country will not have it, and says it is necessary to make it something very different. I think we are entitled to have some statement of the Minister of what the changes, in general outline, were which he intended to make. We do not call for a discussion of the changes in detail; we shall have that when the Budget comes down, but when the hon. gentleman thought proper to put a paragraph like that into the Governor's speech, we require some general exposition of what the Government meant by this paragraph, either from a Minister of the Crown or from one of the hon. gentlemen who were asked to move and second the Address. Then the Government has put in a paragraph congratulating the country on

its good fortune in the matter of the Behring Sea dispute, as disposed of by the arbitration at Paris. It seems to me that, so far as the questions of public law are concerned, there could not be very much room for very wide difference of opinion. A more untenable position than that taken by our neighbours across the border upon a public question could not well have been taken, and so if we had had a decision upon that question we would have had the declaration that our American neighbours were in the wrong, and from such decision there would naturally have flowed the rights of redress which the existence of that wrong would have suggested. But, what has happened at this Paris arbitration? Why, simply this: Our friends on the other side of the House have said to the American Government, in effect: Your contention was all wrong; you have committed trespass upon the high sea; you have violated our rights of person and property; but it is very important that this fact should be made clear and that what you have done should be hereafter made a proper and legal proceeding. Now what has been done, in effect? Formerly, when the Canadian sealer went out upon the Pacific ocean to engage in the business of seal-catching, he was within his rights, notwithstanding the violent conduct on the part of the United States. To-day, if he goes out for such a purpose, regulations having been made, and being now in force, he is a wrong-doer; and the rules which the United States undertook to enforce illegally against him, may be legally enforced against him from this time forward. We have got nothing except the barren declaration that our seal-catchers were acting within their rights. The American Government has gained this—that hereafter, if our seal catchers undertake to do what they have done before, they will be trespassers against the regulation of public law, so far as the citizens of the two countries are concerned, and will be liable to punishment for their wrong-doing. You make the conduct of the Canadians, as it has been in the past, illegal for the future; and you make the arbitrary proceedings of the United States legal and proper proceedings against those who were legitimately pursuing a legitimate calling. There is another matter. I think this House was entitled to a declaration of what the Government intended to do on the subject of the French treaty. This treaty, it is true, is a little affair. No great public interest is involved in it; but it is extremely vexatious. If it were put into operation, it would give a great deal of trouble without conferring any special advantage upon any portion of the community. Now, what do the Government propose to do with it? They have had something like twelve months to consider this question. When the House prorogued at the end of last session, the Government were not sure

what they ought to do ; in fact, they were in as great a difficulty as Lord Dundreary ever was in. But we have met again, and we thought that by this time, after the lapse of twelve months, the Government would have known what course it ought to take. But we meet them here, and we find that they are as undecided as they were when Parliament prorogued nearly a year ago. Now, Sir, I think we are entitled to know what the Government intend to do, because, after all, the Administration are but the servants of Parliament as well as the servants of the Crown. I say we are entitled to know what they intend to do with regard to a question, such as this, affecting the material well-being of the country, yet up to this moment the Government are not prepared to tell us. Why, Mr. Speaker, we had a declaration from, I think it was the Finance Minister, yesterday, that a deputation, or two deputations, were expected to come to Ottawa to present their views to the Government on this subject, and that the Government must hear these deputations before they would know what they were going to do with regard to the French treaty. Well, Sir, we thought the period for deputations on this question was over, that the time for deliberation had gone by, and the time for action had come. But, we were mistaken, and so on this very great question of the French treaty, the Government have not yet made up their mind, they have not yet solved the difficulty, and so they are unable to tell Parliament what is to happen with regard to it. Now, Mr. Speaker, I do not propose further to claim the attention of the House on these matters. But it seemed to me a subject affording good ground of complaint that we should have put before us a statement of this sort without the necessary information to make that statement intelligible, that the majority of this House should be expected to support a Speech from the Throne without having sufficient information to know whether they ought or ought not to approve of many of the matters therein referred to.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I ask the indulgence of the House, having spoken already, for the purpose of making an explanation upon one point which the hon. gentleman has touched upon, the phrase in the Speech from the Throne concerning His Excellency being "Her Majesty's Viceroy and Representative." I have simply to say, Sir, that it has been exceedingly common in this country, for the last twenty years, at least, to refer to the Governor General of Canada as Her Majesty's Viceroy, in consequence of the close analogy which exists—which, I submit, does exist, notwithstanding the hon. gentleman's contention to the contrary—between the functions discharged for Canada by the Governor General for the time being, and the functions discharged by a Viceroy. I need

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not labour the analogy at all, though I think there is a very strong analogy, because the use of that term in the past has by no means determined the accuracy of the expression. It is not necessary, in order to demonstrate this, to show that there is no substantial difference between the functions of the two officers ; I think there is no substantial difference. It is sufficient, in order to refute the exact legal accuracy of the expression, to show that the one is named by Her Majesty to be a Viceroy, and the other named to be a Governor General. But, Sir, as I said before, nothing has been more common in this country than for us to apply that mode of expression to His Excellency ; and, if the House will allow me, I will show that even from so high an authority as the Governor General, for the time being, himself, even from so high an authority as Lord Dufferin, for instance, the expression was used with reference to the Governor General on more than one occasion. For instance, on page 432 of the history of Lord Dufferin's administration in Canada, we find that Lord Dufferin made a speech to the mayor of Quebec, and others, in which he used this expression in speaking of his predecessors. He said :

Viceroy after Viceroy has appealed to your patience, your fortitude, your charity, your patriotism, and never once, whether in good fortune or ill-fortune, as your history tells us, has the appeal been made in vain.

So His Excellency went on to make an appeal for forbearance on his own behalf. Then again on page 730 of the same volume, in the course of another speech, His Excellency used this expression :

When I resign the temporary Vice-Royalty with which I have been invested, into the hands of my Sovereign, I shall be able to assure her that not a leaf has fallen from her maple chaplet, that the lustre of no jewel in her trans-Atlantic diadem has been dimmed.

On page 776 of the same, he refers to the previous administrations of Governors General, and speaks of

The semi-feudal splendours of your early Viceroy.

On page 800 of the same, His Excellency makes another appeal for forbearance, and in giving a parting advice to the people of this great country, he says :

Yet perhaps a Viceroy *in extremis* might claim exceptional indulgence.

I would suppose that all that might be well answered by the hon. gentleman's remark that while the language was metaphorical it was not legally exact as designating the particular office which His Excellency held, notwithstanding that it has been the custom of our people to refer to His Excellency as the Viceroy, and the custom of our press also. But I appeal to the hon.

gentleman that he is not in a position to tell me that the language of Lord Dufferin, which I have just quoted, was inaccurate, at least so inexact that it should not be found in a Speech from the Throne; because I turn to the speech in which His Excellency took leave of the Parliament of Canada and read language put into his mouth by the hon. member for Bothwell himself, in which these words occur:

My interest in Canada shall not cease when my mission as Her Majesty's Viceroy shall have terminated.

It being Six o'clock the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

Mr. MARTIN. Just before the House rose at Six o'clock, the First Minister conceived that he had found an answer to a point raised by the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills), and asked the special indulgence of the House that he might speak the second time upon the question, and that he might give this House an answer to that point. Are we to infer from that circumstance that hon. gentlemen on the opposite side have no answer whatever to make to the very serious arraignment made against their policy by hon. gentlemen on this side of the House? Indeed, when we come to examine the answer which seems so conclusive to the First Minister upon the point in question, it amounts to this: He admits that the point raised by the hon. member for Bothwell is perfectly correct, but his answer is, and from his own standpoint he deems it a conclusive answer, that once upon a time the Liberals made a similar mistake. Now, Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that when the Liberals come into power in this country and their policy is attacked, if by any chance it should happen to be wrong, it will be an exceedingly easy matter for them to defend themselves by similar logic, because I can fancy no error in legislation, no mistake in public policy which it would be possible for the Liberals in power to fall into, as to which they cannot find ample justification in the misdeeds of hon. gentlemen opposite. Now, Sir, previous speakers have referred to the question of the French Treaty, which the hon. the First Minister considers a very small matter. I am not sure, Mr. Speaker, that my presence in the House this evening is not in some degree, at all events, connected with this exceedingly small matter. The hon. gentleman who preceded me, as representative of the city of Winnipeg, gave his explanations to his constituents of the reasons which induced him to take the rather unusual course of resigning his seat in the House, which he did, and I fancy I am casting no reflection upon that gentleman in suggesting, that possibly, inheriting as he does some of the cunning for which his dis-

tinguished father was celebrated, he possibly has found it necessary not to give to the public all the reasons which induced him to take that course. As has been pointed out by the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), the distinguished gentleman who brought into being this exceedingly small treaty, has a representative in this House and a representative in this Government, and representatives who are exceedingly closely connected with the gentleman who preceded me as the representative of Winnipeg, and it has been more than hinted that the failure of the hon. gentlemen opposite to ratify the treaty negotiated by the High Commissioner was not agreeable to the business associates of my predecessor, and that was one of the very strong reasons which induced him to vacate his seat. I have listened with much interest to the remarks of the hon. First Minister in connection with the policy of the Government as announced in the Speech from the Throne. The hon. leader of the Opposition made the statement that it was an unwritten law of this House that Parliament should be called together in the month of January. The hon. First Minister was able to meet that statement in a conclusive manner, not by showing that the Liberals when in power had called the House in the month of March, but by showing that his Administration and that of his immediate predecessors had been guilty of great delay in convening Parliament, and that during the last twelve years six at least of the sessions had been called later than the present one, and the hon. gentleman appeared to think that was a conclusive answer and wiped away the law which the leader of the Opposition stated had become an unwritten one. It seems to me that if logic of that kind is a sufficient answer to charges of that nature and is sufficient to wipe out of existence a law which had sprung up from years of usage, the hon. gentleman can meet almost any argument in that way. We in Canada are in danger of losing many of the great principles which are supposed to underlie the legislation of this country, if those principles are to disappear merely from the bad practices of hon. gentlemen opposite. It is a principle of the constitution that members of this House shall be elected by the people of the Dominion. The hon. gentlemen opposite have endeavoured most successfully to violate that principle, to enact a law in which the members in this House will not represent the constituencies which are carved out for them in the Representation Act—I refer to the Franchise Act, which gives to the large railway corporations, that have the ability to carry large numbers of the electors from point to point, the power of electing members to this House, instead of such power being in the electors of each constituency. Again, in such respect the hon. First Minister can show by the same relentless logic that the fundamental principle which presupposes

that the House is a fair representative of the feeling of Canada, also has been to a large extent done away with by those Acts of Parliament ordinarily called Gerrymander Acts, under the operation of which the members in this House do not by any fair arithmetical calculation represent the feelings of the people of Canada. Another principle of which we are all proud, and which we all suppose was firmly implanted in our Government and in our constitution, was the pure, unsullied administration of justice in this Dominion. We have been wont to pride ourselves, when comparing Canada with the country at the south of us, upon our difference in that respect, at least from many parts of the United States. While it is possible, I am sorry to say, to cast the most serious reflections upon the administration of justice in many portions of the United States, particularly in the large cities, it has in the past been the pride of Canadians to point out that here at least justice was pure and unsullied, that no matter how much we might disagree and how bitter our conflicts might be on political questions, we were all united in upholding the purity of the Bench, and in upholding the Minister of Justice of the day in dealing out even-handed justice to the criminals of Canada. Again, the hon. gentleman can show that by the practices, not of his predecessors, but of himself and his own Government, this principle bids fair to disappear, or if not to disappear, to become materially weakened. The hon. gentleman has been able to make for himself a name as being stern as adamant when a criminal came before him and asked for pardon, and as giving to each case the most careful attention, and taking every pains to see that justice was administered sternly and that pity had very little place in dealing with those matters. In that respect the administration by the hon. gentleman of the important Department of Justice has met with the approval of the people, and I regret very much indeed that within the past few weeks the hon. gentleman's record has been so seriously broken in that respect. The hon. gentleman has shown that while he was prepared to deal with the ordinary criminal in that manner, a kind of criminal has come before him who requires different treatment and special consideration. And why? Because those criminals were of such a nature and were possessed of such information that they were dangerous to the hon. gentleman and to his Government. While the hon. gentleman was prepared to defend the people of Canada from any trouble in connection with murderers, robbers and thieves of the ordinary kind, yet when it came to a question which might endanger him in his possession of power and endanger the seats more especially of certain colleagues, he was able with that ingenuity for which he has become celebrated, to find reasons and arguments why justice in that case should be perverted and pursue a different line. And

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what, Mr. Speaker, is the argument? I have alluded to two kinds of arguments which the hon. gentleman has produced here for our consideration. One is: that if his Government is arraigned for a mistaken policy it is a sufficient answer to show that the Liberals have made a similar mistake; another is: that if his Government is arraigned for a certain policy, it is still more clearly sufficient for him to show that his Government and his predecessors in office have made the same mistake. There is a third kind of argument, a new principle of criminal law which he adduces. The hon. gentleman introduced his criminal code too soon; he should have waited until this new principle could have been incorporated therein: the principle that if imprisonment turns out to be bad for the health of an unfortunate criminal he is entitled to his release. I would remind the hon. gentleman that within the past few days another criminal, similar in nature to Mr. Connolly and Mr. McGreevy, has fallen into the toils of the law, and has been convicted of a serious crime, the crime of perjury, and I would point out that in this manner I expect for my province the same kind of justice as is administered in the province of Ontario. There is one thing that we are strong upon in Manitoba, and that is provincial rights, and if it is proper and right in the province of Ontario to release a criminal because there are other criminals behind him who should be there also, then I say that Mr. Chamberlain, who has been convicted of perjury in connection with the election in Winnipeg, would be able, if that is a correct principle, to produce superiors to him and men back of him who are really responsible for the serious crimes he has committed. Now, Mr. Speaker, after excusing the long delay in calling the session with the kind of argument to which I have alluded, the hon. First Minister tells us that he has waited thus long in order that he might know what to do with the Canadian tariff, through the action of the American people in connection with their tariff. The hon. gentleman gave us very meagre explanations of the policy of the Government in connection with this great question. Speakers on this side of the House have been urging the Government to give some more definite explanations of the reasons which have induced them to announce their adherence to the policy of protection. Having waited as they have done for so many months in order to learn what the American people were going to do with this question, the Government should be ready to tell us now what they will do. I am not sure, that it was not a natural position for them to take, because having departed in trade matters from the policy of the great nation of which we are a part, and having adopted the trade policy of the Yankees, for whom they profess so little esteem, it was natural indeed that they should look to their masters in the art of protection to know what was to

be done under the circumstances. But, Sir, while they have in years past sat at the feet of the Congress of the United States in connection with the trade question, I would ask them what advantage there has been to them, and what advantage there has been to Canada in their waiting these two or three months? Have they followed in the footsteps of their friends to the south? Have they learned any reasons from them in that respect? If they had so learned, instead of coming here to-day and announcing that they stood by the policy of protection, they would have followed the example of that great nation, and say: We have disregarded the principle of protection; we are now prepared to adopt a revenue tariff. Hon. gentlemen opposite laugh at that statement. The Democratic party went to the country upon a clear and definite issue. They said that a protective policy was a legalized robbery, a system which made the rich richer, and the poor poorer, and with the definite policy in their hand, appealing to the electorate of that great country, they were returned to power with an enormous majority. Hon. gentlemen opposite seek to screen themselves from following the American people in this connection, because Congress has failed to carry out the full mandate of the people; but if the Congress has failed to carry out the full mandate of the people, is that any reason why, if they are prepared to follow the American people in their dealing with this great question, they should not rather have followed the wishes and desires of the rank and file of the American people, the great producing classes, the farmer, the mechanic, the labourer; or is it rather better that they should follow the weakness of the Congress of the United States, and seek to still fasten upon Canada the policy of protection? The hon. the First Minister, in answer to the leader of the Opposition, stated that no public man in the United States had attempted to say that the hard times, the serious depression now afflicting that country, was attributable to the protective policy. I might delay this House at very considerable length in quoting from public men in the United States to show what was their position with regard to this question. I shall content myself with referring to two. The Hon. James B. McCreary, speaking in the House of Representatives, puts the matter in this way:

The marvellous prosperity which, according to Republican prophecy, was certain to follow the McKinley Act in 1890, proved to be a mirage full of disaster and distress. Like the apples of Sodom which turned to ashes on the lips, the fruits of the great Protection Act have been unsatisfactory, disappointing and disastrous to the people. Stagnated trade, reduced values, closed factories, failing banks, mortgaged farms, unemployed labour, suffering people and a depleted treasury, are some of the fruits of the law which we were told would be a blessing and a boon to all classes and all sections of our common country.

Again, the Hon. Claude E. Swanson, another member of Congress, refers to it in this way:

For over thirty years, under the pernicious system of a protective tariff, inaugurated and perpetuated by the Republican party, has the Government been unjustly and unfairly controlling the distribution of wealth. For the last thirty years this country has made marvellous strides in the increase of wealth. It has increased its wealth from \$16,000,000,000 in 1860 to about \$63,000,000,000 now. Never before in its history of the people have the people been more frugal, more energetic, more persevering, and more toiling. Never before has their labour produced more bountiful and abundant crops. But all this increase of wealth and production has been, not for the benefit of the great toiling masses, but for the favoured few to whom, under the operation of this pernicious tariff system, the Government has made the distributions. So flagrantly unfair and unjust has been this distribution under it that it is estimated that half of the wealth of this vast country is now owned by less than 40,000 people. Under the operation of this system stupendous fortunes have been created with a surprising rapidity. This system has created millionaires whose wealths exceed that of great and sovereign states. While it has brought abundant wealth to the few, it has brought poverty, distress, and want to the many. It has brought the farmer, labourer and mechanic to the verge of bankruptcy and despair. It has taken the earnings of the farmer and labourer and with them enriched the capitalist and manufacturer. It has reduced what the farmer has to sell far below the cost of production, and enhanced what he has to buy 50 per cent above its natural price. It has created the millionaire and the tramp. Under its disastrous effects the agricultural interest of the country over is practically paralyzed and destroyed. Imagination cannot conceive, reason cannot calculate the vast sums of money which this system has taken from the pockets of the farmer and labourer and placed into those of the manufacturer and capitalist. * *

* * * * * These dry figures tell us a story of wrong, deprivation, and robbery surpassing anything furnished by the annals of history. The great Napoleon in his wild career of victory and conquest never extorted from the vanquished nations which lay prostrate at his feet one-fifth as much as this Government through republican legislation has extorted from its own toiling citizens for the enrichment of its favourites. In these dry figures can be read the cause of the want, wretchedness, and despair of the great masses of the citizens to-day. They stand powerless and helpless under the immense and appalling burden which their own government has imposed upon them.

Mr. Speaker, if you apply these same words to Canada, they are true—not to the same extent in Canada, but why? Because Canada has not gone the full length in the line of protection that the United States has done and that has been its great safety in this matter. The hon. gentleman seemed to think that it was a conclusive proof that the Americans had not decided to do away with the pernicious principle of protection, that Congress was overwhelmed with deputations

of distressed manufacturers opposing the lowering of the tariff on the respective articles in which they were interested. I must admit, Mr. Speaker, if that is to be taken as a conclusive reason why protection, either in the United States or in Canada, should be abolished, that never at any time can we hope to abolish it, because, as has been pointed out, the manufacturers of Canada not only availed themselves of the opportunities that were given to them by the travelling inspectors of the Government, to show why the tariff should not be reduced, but came down here in hordes to prevent the Government giving, as they had given, some reason to suppose that they intended to do something to relieve the country of its burdens. In this respect, I was somewhat amused by the hon. First Minister's reference to an interview which is said to have taken place between some of those rapacious manufacturers and the hon. member for South Oxford, in which that hon. gentleman told them that they should go to the father of all evil. Well, I must say, Mr. Speaker, that those manufacturers seemed to have had a great deal of confidence in the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright); for, if we are to believe the statements of the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), in the speeches that he is making throughout the country, they seem to have at once taken the advice of the hon. member and gone to the father of all evil, as represented by the great statesman across the way, then in search of a job, and they seem to have received that consolation from the father of all evil, as represented by the hon. gentleman, which the hon. member for South Oxford refused to give them. Now, allusion has been made in this debate to the journeys which took place during the recess by the members of this Government, who in this matter seem to take this position: We have not any particular views ourselves; at one time we were free traders, we adopted—as the hon. member for North Simcoe, then in their ranks, and perhaps as well acquainted with the motives under which they acted as any of them, has told us—we adopted protection, because we were led to believe that it might result in our return to power, not because we had any particular faith in the doctrines of protection; and to-day we are quite liberal in this matter: we would be prepared, if it were necessary to our salvation, to again profess the doctrines of free trade, and give to the people of the country the relief they are asking for; provided always that we were quite sure that the result in which we are most deeply interested, of our remaining in our places, would thereby be arrived at. And for that purpose, in order to investigate thoroughly the position of affairs, hon. gentlemen sent deputations of their number throughout the country; and even the small province from which I come was not neglected, and in course of time we had a visit, a very friendly visit, from the hon.

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Minister of Finance and the hon. Minister of Agriculture. Reference has already been made to the fact that the distinguished Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Angers), and I may add his colleague, the Minister of Finance, are able, from their superior knowledge of the principles underlying the great science of agriculture, to give to the farmers of the Northwest, who are, comparatively speaking, new to the thing—who are not as yet masters of the principles of that science—very valuable information and instructions as to how they can overcome the difficulties and evils in their way. The hon. the First Minister seems to take issue somewhat with the delegation, because he tells us that there are no evils in the way but that the people of Canada are quite prosperous and contented. However, his colleagues seem to have found some evidence in contradiction of that statement when they came as far as our province; and the Minister of Agriculture told our people that if they would only engage in mixed farming all their difficulties would disappear. He seems to have been so pleased indeed with this panacea, which he discovered in his pursuit of the science of agriculture in the library adjoining this House, that when he found himself in the neighbouring province of British Columbia, addressing a meeting there in a mining camp, he said: No doubt, you are somewhat hard up; no doubt the times are depressed; but I would advise you, if you wish to improve your condition, not to ask the Government to reduce the tariff, but to go into mixed farming. And I may say that his advice to the miners of British Columbia was quite as acceptable and quite as complete a cure for them as it was to our people. I may say that we do not require in Manitoba the advice of the hon. Minister of Agriculture or any one else as to the proper way to develop that country. The speaker who preceded me said that what the people of Canada want—and I can emphatically say that what the people of Manitoba want—is to be allowed to follow their occupations without any interference from this Parliament. And the people of Manitoba will undertake that that province shall be developed in the proper way. They will undertake that, as it is found from time to time, as necessarily it must be found, that one particular system of agriculture fails, they will be prepared, as fast as circumstances will allow, to take up new ideas, to go into new lines. But they ask emphatically that the policy of the Government shall not be such as to materially hinder them from taking up these new lines—from going into mixed farming, as the Minister of Agriculture suggests. It is very easy to say, go into mixed farming. I do not know that the hon. gentleman himself exactly understands what that means. What did he intend that we should do? Are we to raise cattle? We have been engaged—I suppose he knows—largely in the raising of

wheat in that country Through causes over which we have had no control, and over which the Government repudiate any control, wheat raising has not in recent years been extremely profitable. I would like the hon. gentleman to give to this House the figures upon which he bases his idea that a departure from the growing of wheat and going into the raising of cattle would be, in the face of the prices that cattle bring in the province of Manitoba, any advantage in a monetary sense, over the growing of wheat. If then he did not intend that we should raise cattle, what did he intend? Did he intend that we should raise more of the coarse grains? Barley for instance. Barley can be grown in Manitoba with great success; but the trouble is that hon. gentlemen opposite have so mismanaged, or so managed, that the natural and only market for the barley we could grow in Manitoba and the North-west is closed to us by the high tariff wall of the Americans. If the hon. gentleman, before he again comes to Manitoba, will devise a means by which the millions of bushels of barley, which could be grown in that great country, can find their natural market down in the city of Milwaukee and the other great malt consuming centres of the United States, then his advice will be appreciated, and not only appreciated, but promptly acted upon. The hon. gentleman gave us a remedy for our difficulties on the one hand, and with the other made such arrangements that we are quite unable to take advantage of his very valuable advice. Now, the First Minister met the statement of the leader of the Opposition that the Canadian farmer and Canadians generally are labouring under distress by saying that the Canadian farmer was able to carry off a great many prizes at the World's Fair against all competitors. I have great difficulty in following the logic of the Premier in this contention. Possibly if I possessed the subtle mind which the hon. gentleman has, I could understand that the fact that the farmers of Ontario and the farmers of Manitoba were able to produce the best cheese and the finest wheat in the world was conclusive proof that these farmers were prosperous. The leader of the Opposition has said that there is no country in the world where the farmer has more natural resources at his command than the Dominion of Canada. And I will be excused perhaps if I say that in my opinion there is no part of the great Dominion more blessed in that respect than the small province from which I hail. We have there the greatest natural resources; and it seems to me that the fact that Canada was able to make so fine a show at the exhibition in Chicago was a corroboration, rather than an impugment of the statement of the leader of the Opposition that the farmer, in spite of these natural advantages, in spite of a fertile soil and fine climate, is to-day in a state, not exactly of destitution, but

of failure to reap the prosperity and the comfort which his labours and skill, and all these natural advantages should procure for him. All these advantages have been set aside. And set aside by whom? By the hon. gentlemen opposite. And, it seems to me, it will be the duty of the people of Canada, at the election which is so soon to take place, to remove from power the gentlemen who persist in upholding an exploded system, who persist in imposing upon this Dominion a policy which has set aside all these natural advantages, and which has reduced the farmer, especially in the province from which I come, to the condition in which he finds himself to-day. Why, the hon. gentlemen themselves last session, when they appeared before this House, drew attention to the large increase in immigration, especially in Manitoba and the North-west. But, in spite of the progress of which they speak, in spite of the contented condition of the country to which they refer, in spite, also, I may say, of their having a Minister of the Interior with a vigorous immigration policy—in spite of all these advantages, they have not the hardihood to allude in the Speech from the Throne to which we have just listened, to any increased immigration at this time in Manitoba or in the North-west Territories. The hon. gentleman says that all we care for, and all the leader of the Opposition is interested in is, not the welfare of the people of Canada, not a change of policy for the people of Canada, but simply a change of Administration. Well, Mr. Speaker, I consider that, apart from all other questions, apart from all considerations of policy, it would be of immeasurable advantage to the people of Canada to have a change of Administration; to substitute the hon. leader of the Opposition for the hon. the Prime Minister at this particular juncture in our history. But, in addition to that fact, it seems to me that, with the people of the country at the present time, the question is one of principle. It is not a question whether the hon. the leader of the Opposition shall control the destinies of this people, but whether the manufacturers shall continue to extract from the producing classes the tolls which have produced among those manufacturers the millionaire to whom the hon. members who spoke this afternoon alluded—men who have greater riches than they know what to do with, and who are troubled as to the disposition of those riches. It is on this question that the Opposition are appealing to the country; and, if the signs of the times count for anything, if the presence of myself at this particular time on the floor of the House is any indication of the feeling of the people, then it is plain that the people are only waiting for the chance to sweep from power the hon. gentlemen opposite, and to place in power those who are prepared, as I under-

stand it, to abolish the principle of protection from the tariff of Canada, and to give us a tariff which will extract the smallest possible amount of money from the pockets of the people, compatible with the efficient administration of public affairs—and, when that money is thus extracted, to use it for the benefit of the public at large and not for any small portion of the people. I have alluded, Mr. Speaker, to the election in Winnipeg; and it seems proper that, at this time, on the first occasion when I have the honour to address this House, I should make a few remarks in connection with that election, more especially in view of the fact that remarks have been made outside of this House referring to that election by the hon. the Prime Minister of this Dominion. Mr. Speaker, it is well known to those who are in touch with public feeling in that province that my return here is a protest by the trade centre of that country (the trade centre not only of Manitoba, but of the North-west also) against this policy of which I have been speaking. One argument which I offered for the consideration of the electors at that time was this: I know, I said to them, what your feeling is with regard to the effect of the tariff upon this portion of Canada. You are at one with me in being desirous of the abolition of the protective principle. You, as Conservatives, still have possibly (although it is difficult for me to understand it) some faith in the promises and professions of those who now sway the destinies of your party. You desire to wait that they may fulfil the promises that have been made to you, believing that they intend to give you relief from these great burdens. I would suggest to you this consideration—if my opponent, Mr. Campbell (advocating, it is true, upon the question of tariff the same principles that I advocate) is elected to represent you at Ottawa, then, in spite of anything that you may say, these gentlemen will at once contend that the great city of Winnipeg has endorsed their policy. On the other hand, if you vote for me, you will only take away one vote from a Government which has a majority of about sixty in the House. The destinies of Canada do not hang upon this election; my vote in the House will count for nothing. But, if you send me to represent you, these gentlemen will understand that you mean what you say when you ask for tariff reform; they will understand that you really desire it, and are willing to go to the length of voting against the Government now in order that the Government may be saved from their false allies, and form the strong influences that are brought to bear upon them by the manufacturers. The people of Winnipeg, the Conservatives of Winnipeg—many of them—accepted the consideration which I offered to them, and they voted for me as a protest, while still retaining their Conservative principles, and still

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anxious that the destinies of this Dominion should be controlled by gentlemen representing the great Conservative party. But I can say that these same persons, strong Conservatives though they be, brought up in that profession, if the Government pursue the policy they have announced in the Speech from the Throne, and refuse to give them that relief from their burdens which they ask for, are prepared, when the great conflict comes, to range themselves on the side of the free traders of this country, of the revenue tariff party. They are prepared once and for all to abandon their political friends and stand up for their province, for their purses, and for their pockets. The hon. First Minister, however, seems not to have had that explicit information with regard to the affairs of Manitoba and the Territories which, as Premier of this Dominion, he should have, because, as I have said, he has taken occasion to refer to that election, and while, in a very generous manner saying that with his big majority, he could well afford to give the Liberals a few seats here and there, including Winnipeg, still he seems to have been under the misapprehension that the election in Winnipeg, instead of being as it was a protest, and a very vigorous protest, against the National Policy, was rather an endorsement of myself personally as the representative of the Manitoba School Act. Now, I can say that during that contest the Manitoba School Act was never mentioned; I can say that my opponent, Mr. Colin H. Campbell, was, if possible, an even more enthusiastic opponent of the old separate school system in that province than I myself was. He took special pains to have the electors of Winnipeg understand that in voting for him they would be voting for a staunch advocate of the abolition of separate schools. I say, therefore, that if the hon. gentleman really had an idea that the election meant an endorsement of the services that I had performed in that direction, he was entirely and absolutely mistaken. I can say, and I say it with great pride, that a very large number of those who gave me, in the past, and would give me in the future, a strenuous opposition on the school question, voted for me on the tariff question. Now, the hon. gentleman, in taking this view of the election, indulged in some remarks which I have scarcely been able to understand. He seemed to think that it was very strange that I, a Protestant, should come down to this House and should be able, along with the hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte) to vote want of confidence in him and in his Government. The hon. gentleman was good enough to christen me with a new name, the hon. gentleman was good enough to refer to different colours on both sides of the coat. Now, as I say, I have had some difficulty in following the hon. gentleman, and in understanding what he was driving at. I have not had the same experience in turning my coat as the hon. gentleman has had.

While I am not ashamed of my position as a Protestant—I adhere to my position in that respect—I come here not to discuss the question of religion; I come here prepared to fight the battles of Liberalism along with every man who is prepared to take the same stand, and I shall not inquire what his religion is. The hon. gentleman seems to think that he and his party should have a monopoly in the business of blending the Green and the Orange. Well, I notice in the newspapers this evening that the hon. the Controller of Customs and the hon. the Minister of Trade and Commerce—I do not know whether they are yellow or what their colour is, I do not stop to inquire what their colour is—but I see by the newspapers that they are to speak at an Orange meeting tomorrow; and yet the First Minister, who thinks he can throw an epithet of contempt upon me, by calling me the Yellow Martin, still retains these orange birds in his Cabinet, and sends them out through the country to pick up Protestant votes, to get Protestant Orange support for him, while he himself undertakes the duty of hunting up the Catholic vote. Even in that respect, if we are to judge by the present attitude of His Grace the Archbishop of St. Boniface, the hon. the First Minister seems to have somewhat fallen from grace as the great Catholic leader of this country. I notice that the Conservative French papers of the province of Quebec consider it a mortal sin for the hon. leader of the Opposition to have done me the honour of introducing me to this House. Well, Mr. Speaker, I have been for a good many years in politics; although not in the larger arena in which I now find myself, but I can say that never, at any time in my life, have I devoted myself to politics with more heart, with more pride, and I may say with more certainty of success, than I do to-day, ranged under the banner of the hon. leader of the Opposition. The fact that that hon. gentleman differs from me in religion is to me, under the circumstances, rather a pride and a pleasure, because it gives me an opportunity of showing that when I advocated the abolition of separate schools in the province of Manitoba I did so not as a religious matter, but because I am firmly convinced that it is not part of the duty of the state to interfere in any way, shape or form with the question of religion, that it is the duty of the state to leave to the individual the right to follow his own conscience in those matters. Sir, let me say that when we have to deal with great questions of policy in this country, there is no reason why, because certain Roman Catholics in this House support him like-member, that I should not support him likewise, and on the other hand, I hope they will consider that the fact that my record upon the school question has been such as is known to you, disagreeing as they do with me upon this question, and because I happen to be a Liberal—I say I hope they will con-

sider that no reason why we should not stand shoulder to shoulder together with the hon. leader of the Opposition; I hope they will consider that no reason why they should not loyally stand by him in the great fight that we have on hand in the interests of our native country.

Motion agreed to (on a division).

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved :

That the Address be engrossed and be presented to His Excellency by such members of the House as are of the Privy Council.

Motion agreed to.

SUPPLY.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved :

That this House will on Wednesday next resolve itself into a Committee to consider of a supply to be granted to Her Majesty.

Motion agreed to.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved :

That this House will on Wednesday next resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Ways and Means for raising the supplies to be granted to Her Majesty.

Motion agreed to.

SELECT STANDING COMMITTEES.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved :

That a special committee of seven members be appointed to prepare and report with all convenient speed lists of members to compose the Select Standing Committees ordered by the House on Thursday last the 15th instant, to be composed of Sir John Thompson, Sir Adolphe Caron, Sir Richard Cartwright and Messrs. Costigan, Haggart, Laurier and Mills (Bothwell).

Motion agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT—THE NEW BRUNSWICK JUDICIARY.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. First Minister intimated the other day in conversation across the floor that he would inform the House at its next sitting whether the acceptance of Judge Palmer's resignation had been communicated to that gentleman. I should like to ask the hon. gentleman to make the statement now, and also if he will be kind enough to say when we may reasonably hope to have the papers in connection with that matter.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes. I looked at the dates. The resignation was dated the 5th; my report was on the 7th; that report was approved on the 9th, and the acceptance of the resignation was communi-

cated, I think, on the 10th. As to the papers, the hon. gentleman, I think, will remember that I suggested he should move for them informally. So far as I am concerned, I will waive any notice; but we agreed that a motion should be made in every case in order that the papers may be placed in charge of the Clerk and form part of the sessional papers. If the hon. gentleman will make a motion at any time, the papers will be brought down.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) There appears to have been a misunderstanding. I understood the hon. gentleman was willing to accept the conversation as equivalent to a formal motion.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I would willingly do so, but it was thought desirable that a motion should be made. I have the papers all ready, and they can be brought down as soon as the motion is carried.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) By consent I will make the motion to-morrow.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Certainly.

Motion agreed to, and House adjourned at 9.35 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, 20th March, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

REPORTS.

Report of the Minister of Justice as to the Penitentiaries in Canada for the year ended 30th June, 1893.—(Sir John Thompson.)

Report of the Commissioner, Dominion Police Force, for the year 1893.—(Sir John Thompson.)

Public Accounts for the fiscal year ended 30th June, 1893.—(Mr. Foster.)

Report of the Auditor General for the fiscal year ended 30th June, 1893.—(Mr. Foster.)

Report of the Inland Revenue Department for the fiscal year ended 30th June, 1893.—(Mr. Wood, Brockville.)

Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, for the year ended 31st December, 1893.—(Mr. Daly.)

Summary Report of the Geological Survey Department, for the year 1893.—(Mr. Daly.)

Sir JOHN THOMPSON.

MESSAGE FROM HIS EXCELLENCY— INTERNAL ECONOMY.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON presented a Message from His Excellency the Governor General.

Mr. SPEAKER read the Message, as follows:—

ABERDEEN.

The Governor General transmits to the House of Commons, an approved Minute of Council, appointing the Honourable George Eulas Foster, Minister of Finance, the Honourable Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, the Honourable John Graham Haggart, Minister of Railways and Canals, and the Honourable Joseph Aldric Ouimet, Minister of Public Works, to act with the Speaker of the House of Commons, as Commissioners for the purposes and under the provisions of the 13th Chapter of the Revised Statutes of Canada, intitled: "An Act respecting the House of Commons."

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

OTTAWA, 19th March, 1894.

MR. EX-JUSTICE PALMER.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) In accordance with the understanding come to yesterday, I beg to move for:

Copies of papers and correspondence relating to charges made against Mr. Justice Palmer, or to his resignation and the acceptance thereof.

Motion agreed to.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I have the honour to lay on the Table of the House the papers called for in this motion.

OCEAN FREIGHT RATES ON CATTLE.

Mr. MULOCK moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 8) respecting ocean freight rates on cattle. He said: The cattle industry is one of sufficient importance to invite the serious attention of the House, if it should happen to be in the slightest degree in danger of being prejudiced by any influences removable by the action of this House; and from representations which have been made to me, and which I believe to be well founded, there is such a danger at the present time. Looking at the growth of this industry, we find that it began about 1875, and reached its highest point, in respect of volume and return of money, in the year 1891. There have been constant mutterings with regard to some of the difficulties under which this trade labours. From its circumstances, it has practically but one point of export from Canada to Great Britain. Live cattle for the English market cannot be shipped by the United States except on

compliance with the quarantine regulations of that country. This practically rules out an American port, because it would be impracticable to comply with such regulations, involving, as I believe they do at the present time, the quarantining of Canadian cattle in American territory for ninety days before they are allowed to be shipped abroad. So that, being limited to the St. Lawrence route, economy of shipment necessitates the cattle being put on board at the head of ocean navigation. That for the present is the city of Montreal, so that Montreal is the only point from which cattle leave Canada for the United Kingdom. Several lines of vessels come to that port equipped with appliances for the trade, but in consequence of there being but one port it is extremely easy for the agents of these lines to create a monopoly in freights. I have been told by shippers that so arbitrary have the ship-owners become that now they refuse even to quote freights up to the time the cattle are put on board, so that the cattle men have to go into the country to purchase their supplies, uncertain as to what freights may be imposed upon them. I find from figures furnished me that the freight charged per head on cattle leaving Montreal fluctuates from a few shillings up to as much as 75 shillings per head, and it is no unusual thing for quotations of freights to change 10 shillings between the sailings of one vessel and another. That element of uncertainty renders it impossible for the cattle dealers to promote their trade with any degree of satisfaction to themselves or justice to the farmers. The result has been in some cases to ruin the shippers. There is scarcely a shipper to-day who has been able to survive the dangers connected with the cattle trade. I am not going to attribute all their misfortunes to the vessel-owners or those interested in the carrying trade, but we can certainly attribute part of the misfortunes to the practices to which I refer. The result has been not only disastrous to the middlemen, but to the producers of cattle. To-day if a cattle buyer desires to purchase for export to the United Kingdom, he has to bear in mind that he knows not what the freight is to be. It may be 25 shillings or 75 shillings. And, of course, being a prudent man he reckons on being charged as much as can be extorted from him. This depreciates the value of the cattle which he is buying, so that the farmer is really the sufferer under the existing system. I invite the attention of the House to the removal of this evil. It is an evil most intimately connected with the welfare of the country. I am assured by cattle men that when there is a large quantity of cattle waiting shipment at Montreal or about to arrive, the vessel-owners take advantage of the situation and put up freights to the very highest point. They also keep themselves posted on the state of the market in England, and if any improvement is shown in prices, they take advantage of the occasion

and hence the profit which ought to go to the producer and the purchaser of the cattle goes into the hands of the vessel-owners. Everything is taken advantage of by them. They have practically a combine in Canada to-day for the purpose of obtaining excessive rates. I am aware that the vessel-owners say they cannot make money at present rates. I was present at an interview between cattle dealers and the Government a year ago, and I there heard a controversy between the cattle men and the vessel-owners. The latter said they could not declare dividends out of existing rates, but the reply was made that whether they made money or not the rates were so excessive that at times the cattle men were obliged to charter vessels from the United States and bring them all round from Boston to Montreal, and in this way got rates from Montreal to Liverpool cheaper than asked by the Canadian vessels, which were in receipt of large sums from the Canadian Government. If vessels can be brought from Boston to Montreal which will take cattle to Liverpool cheaper than our own Canadian vessels, it is time for Parliament to interfere and put a stop to the evil. I am told that now freights from American ports to Liverpool are much cheaper than from Canadian ports, so that our cattle trade is hampered in the markets of Great Britain by reason of high rates here as compared with those in the United States. That state of affairs calls for our attention, and I hope will be remedied in time for the spring trade. I do not know if my Bill meets the case. I am not going to say whether it does or not. At all events it represents my idea, and I would ask that the Government either adopt the measure or press through one of their own to remedy the evil. I am told, indeed, that no cattle men will go through the country to purchase, the trade is so greatly depressed because of the embargo in Great Britain, and adding this monopoly makes trade almost impossible. I therefore earnestly beg the Government to take charge of this matter, which is of such great importance to the farming industry, and provide a solution in time for the spring business. If you will look at the Trade and Navigation Returns you will find that this industry reached its highest point some three years ago, and now appears on the decline. The number of cattle shipped in 1891 was 107,000. This has fallen off to 99,000 for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1893, and I am told that the returns for the year, which began the 30th June last, will show a further decline.

Mr. FOSTER. Did you compare the value each year ?

Mr. MULOCK. Of course, you cannot compare values from the Trade and Navigation Returns satisfactorily, because we have only the number of the cattle, and the value depends upon the weight ; but if you wish for

the amounts, I may say that in 1891 the value of the export was \$8,425,369. The value of the cattle exported in the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1893, was \$7,402,208, a falling off of about a million dollars. The number was reduced by about 8,000 head, but the weights not being given, of course we are not able to tell the value per pound. I propose by this Bill to authorize the Governor General in Council to fix a tariff of rates beyond which it shall not be lawful for these vessel-owners, or persons engaged in contracting for space, to go. The Bill contains certain provisions for giving effect to this regulation and provides penalties for its infraction.

Mr. McMILLAN. I desire, Mr. Speaker, to say a word concerning this Bill. If ever there was a period in the history of our cattle-shipping industry when some such enactment as this was required, the present is that period. During the last month a large number of cattle have been got ready by the feeders, but, contrary to all former experience, not a single buyer has been out purchasing cattle for the old country market. The first reason for this, I take it, is the schedule arrangement in the old country, and the second on account of the knowledge on the part of the cattle-buyers of the unsatisfactory condition of the freight rates. Let me say, Sir, that in some years, while we were paying as high as 70 to 75 shillings on cattle from Montreal to Glasgow, they were paying only from 30 to 35 shillings from Boston. If the schedule is not to be removed from the Canadian cattle in the old country, and if the Government cannot see their way to giving us some such relief as has been indicated by the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock), I hope they will attempt to make an arrangement with the American Government under which the Canadian cattle may be shipped in bond. I do not see why such an arrangement should not be made. Down on the Grand Trunk, American cattle are being shipped from the western to the eastern states in bond. I was down this winter, and there is a station at Lynn from which the cattle are crossing from the Canadian to the American side. The same is being done on most of the roads, but this is one of the leading roads. Seeing that the Americans are having these privileges in Canadian territory, I hope the Government will do their utmost to give us relief. It would be a great advantage if we could get our cattle sent through in bond for shipment from American ports. Before the present scheduling arrangement was imposed against Canadian cattle landing in Great Britain, some of our cattle-buyers found it profitable to send their cattle through from Montreal to Boston and ship them from Boston to British ports, even though the cattle had to be slaughtered on landing. The buyers found that, although they were obliged to accept a lower price on account of not

being allowed to send their cattle inland on the hoof, they were more than remunerated by the lower freight rates they got from Boston to Liverpool and London. Last season, the trade was very unsatisfactory; many of our cattlemen went under on account of the low prices. This is something over which the Government have no control, but if they can give us relief in any of the ways suggested, I hope they will do so; for, at the present time, one of the most important industries of the agriculturists of Canada is threatened almost with destruction. I am perfectly certain that if we do not get better prices than those realized for the first shipments during 1893, the trade of shipping cattle from the province of Ontario to the old country must be very greatly injured.

Mr. McMULLEN. I would very much like to have heard a member of the Government reply to the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock), that we might know what they intended to do with reference to this matter. This is unquestionably a most important subject, and the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) deserves credit for bringing it before the House at this early period of the session. The shipment of cattle from Canada, especially from Ontario, is a growing industry and one to which the people have turned their attention with hope, and with reasonable prospects of success, up to 1891. Since that time, owing to the scheduling arrangement in Great Britain, those engaged in this industry have suffered, but they have suffered even more from the increased rates imposed by the shipping companies from our ports to England than from the scheduling arrangement. Last year, while the price of cattle in Montreal was 5 cents a pound for shipping purposes, the same class of steers, running from thirteen to fourteen hundredweight, were selling in Buffalo market at 6 cents a pound, or virtually \$14 a head more than the Canadian price, and the animals in Buffalo, like those in Montreal, were bought for export. The difference in price was the difference in the freight rate from New York or Boston to Liverpool, as compared with the freight rates from Montreal to Liverpool. Now, with regard to quarantine arrangements between Canada and the United States, it is a matter for regret that we are deprived of the opportunity of shipping by the American route, because, with that route open, we should have competition. I am not going to find fault with the Government for the course taken that brought about the strained relations between us and the United States with regard to the interchange of horses and cattle. I believe the Government took the course it did in the first place in order to satisfy the English Government and people that we were doing everything we could to keep our cattle free from contagious diseases, and in the hope that our cattle would be relieved from the schedule in England.

Mr. MULOCK.

That arrangement has been kept in force between Canada and the United States for a considerable time. If there is no hope of the removal of the embargo placed upon our cattle in the English market, I would suggest that steps be taken at once to secure the removal of the restriction upon our cattle going into the United States. We were the first to impose these quarantine restrictions, and then the Americans meted out to us the same treatment we had measured to them. No doubt, if the Government would remove that quarantine regulation and allow American herds free access to our country, the Americans would remove their stringent regulations and would allow our cattle to go through their territory and to be shipped from their ports. I was very glad to notice that the Minister of Trade and Commerce made some reference to this matter of cattle-shipment in a recent address. I believe he stated that the Government would be justified in remonstrating with the steamboat companies that were subsidized by this Dominion for the carriage of the mails, if they did not carry our cattle from our ports to England on as reasonably fair terms as were quoted from Boston and New York. I hope that, in saying this, he was expressing the opinion of the Government. I hope they will bring their influence to bear upon these companies that are now receiving subventions for mail service, so that they may fix the rates for cattle at a point that will enable our shippers from Canada to compete reasonably with the shippers from the United States. Since the opening up of the North-west and the enormous reduction that has taken place in the value of wheat, the farmers of Ontario have been driven to the necessity of going largely into stock-raising, and one of the principal substitutes for wheat is the growing of fat cattle for shipment. Now, this industry can be encouraged. I have not the slightest doubt the Government will do everything they can to encourage it. It is one of the most important industries in the province of Ontario, and if you can secure, by the enactment of this Bill, the relief that the farmers of Ontario unquestionably stand in need of, so that they will not be hampered and subjected to extortion in the way of rates as they have been for the last two years, I believe that industry will grow to be one of the most lucrative that has yet been adopted by the farmers of that province. I can fully endorse the remarks made by my hon. friend from South Huron (Mr. McMillan). He has had an extended experience in that particular line, and is able to talk by the book when a question of that kind comes before this House, and I have not the slightest doubt that every word he has said with regard to the experience of stock exporters during the last few years, is quite true. I hope that before the Bill proceeds further, the House and the country may have some assurance from the Government that they will take

this matter up with all reasonable despatch in order that, as the mover of the Bill has truly said, it may be crystallized into law at as early a date as possible, so that favourable rates may be secured for the stock that is now being fattened in our province. I hope the Government will take this matter up before even the first reading is agreed to by this House, and that they will be prepared to announce to the House that they will take such steps as will compel the shipping companies to receive and carry the cattle of this province in order that the people may get the relief they stand so much in need of.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I can say in response to what the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) has suggested with regard to the examination of the Bill, that all attention will be given to the subject as soon as possible with a view to meet his suggestions in so far as we are able to do it. The subject to which he refers has been under consideration for some time by the Minister of Agriculture and the Minister of Trade and Commerce, and likewise the cognate subject referred to by the two hon. gentlemen who last spoke, with regard to the export of our cattle from ports in the United States. Hon. members are well aware, and those hon. gentlemen have admitted the fact, that we must give up all hopes of the scheduling of our cattle in Great Britain being removed if we take a step of that kind, because we cannot expect the United States to confer upon our traders a privilege of that character without reciprocally allowing their cattle into our ports for the purposes of export. We should not take so grave a step as that until all hopes are extinguished of the embargo upon our cattle exported to England being removed in that country, although I am aware that there are many strong advocates in this House and out of it, of the step that has been proposed. However, the whole subject will be considered as soon as possible.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Will the hon. gentleman be kind enough to say whether the Government have received any communications at all from the English authorities on the subject within the last few weeks?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes, there have been communications with regard to the condition of our cattle and the rumours of cattle disease, and these have been answered by a very full report on the part of the Minister of Agriculture. These communications have been moved for, I think, by some notice on the paper at present, and they will be brought down very soon.

Mr. EDGAR. It strikes me that the uncertainty of the freight rates that are imposed by the owners of steamships in Montreal, is one of the great grievances. If there were some fixed rates which the farmers

and buyers could rely upon, they would know where they stand. Now, this is very nearly on all-fours with the dealing by the Government by Order in Council, under the authority of Parliament, with the freight rates on the railways of the country; the same principle is largely involved. Of course, the ocean is not a monopoly, but under the circumstances of this trade the St. Lawrence route seems to be practically a monopoly; therefore, I think there is a great deal to be said in favour of an interference by Parliament in that particular. Then again we are talking here of granting \$750,000 a year for a fast steamship service across the Atlantic. There may be importance in that, but surely a matter like this which involves seven or eight millions of trade a year, in which the farmers of the country are directly interested, is quite as deserving of the attention of Parliament as that fast line service. Now, we assume jurisdiction in this Parliament to legislate against combines; possibly this may be a sort of combine; however, I do not think it could be reached by any existing law on the subject. At any rate, Parliament has dealt with combines in transportation already, and should do it again. For all these reasons I think the Government should not allow this session to pass without taking up the subject which has been introduced to-day.

Mr. IVES. I think one of the causes of the difference in rates from Boston and from Montreal last season, especially the latter part of the season, was due to the cattle men themselves. If I am not misinformed, a very large part of the space on cattle ships for the whole year was contracted for by buyers early in the season with a view to speculating on that space. Some one or more of the cattle men took practically the whole space from Montreal for the whole season, and then sold it out. It seems to me that if the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) had directed his attention to making it illegal to deal in advance with cattle space in that way, he might, perhaps, have arrived at some grievance in regard to which Parliament might interfere with less difficulty than the way he has indicated. I think that the chief difficulty last year was that the more enterprising buyers thought they would corner the rest of the buyers and get the inside track and gobble up the space.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) A Bill fixing the maximum rate would surely meet that difficulty.

Mr. FEATHERSTON. I wish to take exception to what the hon. Minister has just said. Last year the cattle men took what space they required, and they did not take any more. The year before last, and the previous year, they were in the habit of gobbling up the space, as he has said, but last year the space was regulated according to the market. In

Mr. EDGAR.

the spring the markets opened rather poorly for the steamship men, but as soon as the trade improved a little and a good number of cattle began to come forward, they increased the rates. I am in favour of the proposed Bill of the hon. member for North York. We want some legislation that will open up American ports to Canadian cattle. I do not see that we will endanger our trade with Great Britain in any way if our cattle are allowed to go through American territory to the seaboard, since American cattle are now coming through Canadian territory on their way to American ports. The great danger lies in bringing cattle through Canada from the Western States. They are passing through every day over our railways, coming from the west by the Michigan Central, the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Grand Trunk Railway, and especially the Southern branch of the Grand Trunk Railway, by way of Buffalo; and there is great danger of our cattle contracting disease from the western cattle, and, of course, there is great danger of our cattle being made to appear before the British public as being subject to disease, even more so than would occur from our cattle being sent through American territory and shipped from American ports. We have received some information from England respecting the raising of the embargo on our cattle, and the statement has been made that such embargo is likely to be raised. I have been a very long time interested in our cattle trade, having been one of the first shippers from Canada, sixteen years ago, and I am glad to find that such feeling now exists in the Agricultural Department of the British Government. Whether we will be able to realize this hope, I cannot say, but I trust the embargo will be raised in the very near future. I feel that we should make every effort to secure the shipment of our cattle by American ports. I do so for this reason: we have very many good cattle this year, and we would have more if we could ship them during spring, in the cool weather. Our greatest trouble is due to the fact that our cattle are too fat and heavy to be able to bear the hot weather at the port of Montreal during the shipping months. Last year a large number of our best cattle were lost between Montreal and Father Point, and that is where we sustain our heaviest losses. If we had access to American ports during the latter part of March, April, and the beginning of May, we could ship a large number of our cattle and realize good prices, and the returns to Canadian shippers would be very much greater than they are at present. I hope, when the Bill comes down to the House, it will be taken hold of by the Government, as dealing with a business that is for the benefit of the people, and I shall be glad to give all possible assistance in order to further the interests of the cattle trade of the country, for, when our cattle men are suffering, our farmers must be suffering likewise. Last year our cattle men suffered losses, and

they are afraid to buy a bullock this year, and although I am largely interested in the trade, I will not buy this spring.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

DUTIES OF CUSTOMS—EXPORT DUTY ON LOGS.

Mr. CHARLTON moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 9) further to amend the Acts respecting the duties of Customs. He said: The object of the Bill is to repeal certain clauses of the Customs Act relating to the imposition of export duties. The law imposing those duties was first enacted in chapter 33, section 6, of the Revised Statutes of Canada, and in schedule E of the same. Schedule E was subsequently amended by section 3 of chapter 39 of the Statutes of 1887, and in 1888, section 1 of chapter 15 gave the Governor in Council power to increase those duties to \$3, to reduce them, to repeal them, to reimpose them, and to keep the trade in a great state of uncertainty and fear as to the course that the Governor in Council might be pleased to take with respect to this very disturbing proceeding. From my own connection with the lumber trade, I am well aware that this power in the hands of the Governor in Council has had a depressing and unfavourable influence on the trade, and whatever may be the question as to the propriety of imposing export duties, the last section of this Bill, which says that no further action shall be taken by the Governor in Council, with respect to export duties, without the consent of Parliament having first been obtained, is a section which must commend itself to the good judgment of every business man. If the export duties which have been removed under the statutory provision of the McKinley Act are to be reimposed, the matter should be fully discussed, and the House should be made aware of the reasons for the imposition of those duties. There was an occasion when the Government increased the duties from \$2 to \$3 per thousand. They speedily found they had taken a step that was an imprudent one, and they receded from the position they had taken, which was an illustration of the point I desire to make, that the consideration of this important question is one which should be had in open day, should be discussed here on the floor of this House, and the reasons for the imposition of those duties should be fully canvassed and considered before action was taken. For these reasons, the Bill proposes that the clause of the Customs Act authorizing the imposition of export duties should be repealed, and that no action on this matter should in future be taken without the consent of Parliament having first been obtained.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

N. W. T.—DUAL LANGUAGE.

Mr. McCARTHY moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 10) further to amend the Act respecting the North-west Territories. He said: I may explain that this is the Bill which I introduced last year. It deals with two subjects. It proposes to repeal the clause in the North-west Territories Act by which separate schools are imposed upon the Territories, and by which no discretion is given to the Council of the North-west Territories respecting education, and in place of that clause to give the power to deal with the subject of education untrammelled and uncontrolled, and as the North-west Council may see fit. It also proposes to do away with the remnant of what is known as the dual language clause. It will be in the remembrance of members of this House who sat in the last Parliament of 1890 that a discussion took place with respect to the repeal of the clause as it then stood, and the result of the discussion was a compromise, by which a portion of the clause was repealed, or rather power was given to the Council of the North-west Territories to repeal a portion of the clause, but the remaining portion stands as it was in the original Act. The original section imposed duality in language in four matters: first, with respect to publication of the laws; second, with respect to proceedings in the courts; third, with respect to proceedings in the Council; and fourth, with respect to the printing and publishing of those proceedings. As to the proceedings in the Council, this power was given by the Act of 1891, in pursuance of the arrangement made across the floor in the preceding session; provided, however, that after the next general election for the Legislative Assembly such Assembly may, by ordinance or otherwise, regulate its proceedings in the matter of recording and publishing the same, and the said regulation shall be embodied in the proceedings which shall be forthwith published by the Lieutenant Governor, in conformity with the law, and shall afterward have full force and effect. The House will observe that the power given to the Legislative Assembly was merely with respect to its own proceedings, and the other portion of the law still remained in force: first, that proceedings in the courts might be conducted in either language, and, second, that the ordinances, passed under this provision, shall be published in both languages. As I have often said before in making this motion, or in bringing in a bill to repeal this clause, I do not do it with any feeling of hostility to my French-Canadian fellow-subjects. I believe, Sir, that the interests of this country will be best served, when the distinction between these nationalities is done away with: at all events, that so far as the North-west is concerned, we certainly should not introduce a measure which is calculated and ap-

parently designed, to perpetuate that race distinction which unhappily exists in one of the older provinces.

Mr. DEVLIN. Which one ?

Mr. McCARTHY. In the province of Quebec. If the hon. gentleman wants to know, we have no difficulty in answering that question.

Mr. DEVLIN. We will tell you about the other one by and by.

Mr. McCARTHY. With regard to the subject of education, I think that the House and the country must be satisfied just now, that an attempt to interfere with a province in the North-west, or the territories in the North-west on the subject of education, is calculated to cause a great deal of trouble. We have had the Manitoba School question up, by reason of an attempt that was made in the constitution of Manitoba, to fetter or control that province on the subject of education, and recently, I think the Government have found some little difficulty in dealing with a cognate question which came from the North-west Territories. The sooner we realize that the people of Manitoba, as well as the people of the North-west, are perfectly competent to manage their educational affairs themselves, without any control from this Parliament, the better it will be for the peace and welfare of this country. I, therefore, have pleasure in introducing to the House a Bill which will take away that limitation which the Act intends to impose, which the Act does impose, with regard to education, and which will remove the last vestige of the dual language clause so far as the North-west is concerned.

Mr. DEVLIN. Mr. Speaker, I certainly did not expect to speak upon this question at the present time, but I wish to answer one statement which was made by the hon. gentleman who has just resumed his seat (Mr. McCarthy). He says that the province of Quebec is responsible for the hard feeling that to-day exists in the Dominion of Canada; and I answer that by saying: He is the one. He is the one who is responsible for the hard feeling that exists in the Dominion of Canada. We have had that hon. gentleman here year after year since 1887; with what? With a project of law, the intention of which is to close the North-west Territories and the province of Manitoba against the Catholics of the province of Quebec; a project of law which tells them that if they wish to go to that province or to those territories, they must remember that there—if his views can be carried out—their language will be prescribed, and their rights will be trampled upon. Why, Mr. Speaker, it was only last night that there was in this city another effusion on this same subject. I do not see the Controller of Customs in his seat at this moment, and I

Mr. McCARTHY.

regret that he is not. But we are beginning to be accustomed to these insults coming from those gentlemen whose only political stock is this one theme: their hatred of their Roman Catholic fellow-citizens. What does the hon. gentleman expect to gain by all this agitation? Does he imagine for a moment that we from the province of Quebec fear him? Does he imagine for one moment that the province of Quebec is going to submit to all his dictates? His object, no doubt, is to attain to a position which, by reason of his alliance with the party with which he is so long connected, he could not attain. He wanted, no doubt, to enter the Cabinet. I believe that was his object. Now, finding that he could not enter the Cabinet, finding that he would not be taken into the Cabinet, he is trying by this other means, to attain to the position of leader of the Government in this country. He would like to form a solely Protestant population in this country. He would like to form solely, and to constitute solely, Protestant schools in this country. He would stand up in this House and tell a province which sends sixty-five representatives here, that they shall not speak the language which they learned from their parents. From the very beginning of the time in which this animosity took root in his heart, from that moment to this, every political question of any importance to the country at large has been left aside by him, simply that he might speak his hatred against the Catholics of Canada, and in particular against the French-Canadians of the province of Quebec. He has met with very little success so far. He speaks of the province of Quebec as one in which there is hatred. Let me tell him—

Mr. McCARTHY. The hon. gentleman will allow me to interrupt him. I did not at all use the expression he thinks. I never referred to the province of Quebec as having hatred.

Mr. DEVLIN. Would the hon. gentleman tell us exactly what he did say?

Mr. McCARTHY. What I said was: That I trusted we were not going to perpetuate in the North-west the racial divisions which unhappily existed in the province of Quebec. I never said "hatred" at all.

Mr. DEVLIN. Very well, then. I will immediately give the hon. gentleman an instance of some of the divisions which exist in the province of Quebec. In the counties of that province which are largely Catholic in some of such counties the representative is Protestant. I will take the county which I represent in this House. The overwhelming majority of that county is Roman Catholic, yet I am the first Catholic member that ever sat for Ottawa county in this House. A Protestant gentleman represented that county for thirty years. To give the hon. member (Mr. McCarthy) a further instance

of the same generosity, I may state that the county of Ottawa was represented in the Local House by a Protestant member for years. The warden of that county was a Protestant; for years the Mayor of the most Catholic city in the whole province of Quebec—the city of Hull—was a Protestant, and so I could name a good many other counties with a similar record. I could name the county of Lotbinière, which is almost exclusively French-Canadian and Catholic, and that county sent a Protestant representative to this House. More than that, it sent to the Quebec Parliament—a Catholic Parliament—a Protestant gentleman to represent it. I tell the hon. member that there is no spirit of intolerance in the province of Quebec; there is no bigotry in the province of Quebec. There is certainly a spirit of disgust, but that disgust is entirely due to the miserable attempt of the hon. gentleman to fasten against them this charge of bigotry. Does he claim that the French-Canadian people have no rights in this Dominion of Canada? He tells us here plainly that the object is to do away with their language. Have they not as much right to speak the French language as he has to speak the English language? What is the object of all his hostility against the French language? What is the object of all his hostility against institutions which have been established in this country, and which have been found to work successfully here? Does he mean to say that a population of nearly two millions shall have no right in the Dominion of Canada? Sir, I tell the hon. member that every time he stands up in this House to attack us as he has done to-day, there are nearly two millions of Roman Catholics in this country who mock at him, who laugh at him, who treat him with contempt; and here in this House what is his following? One lone gentleman; that is the following he has here, after all these years of agitation against the Catholics. I tell the hon. gentleman that the Catholic element in Canada has been truer, and a better friend of the Dominion than ever the hon. gentleman was. What has he done for the country? Let us examine his career from the beginning to this moment. Let us examine what he was outside the House; let us examine what he has been inside the House. What has he done after all these years to promote the prosperity of his country, or good feeling amongst our people? Nothing, nothing, but a few mean, despicable attempts at imposing a peculiar kind of legislation on this country. He spoke of the Manitoba School Act; he no doubt means to say it is a success. I would like to ask the hon. gentleman, does he mean to say that public schools or Protestant schools exist to-day in the province of Manitoba? The hon. gentleman who introduced the School Act is in this House to-day, and he is able to speak for himself on the subject. The Protestants in the pro-

vince of Manitoba, who are in a majority, abolished the Catholic schools under the pretence of establishing public schools. Are public schools in existence in the province of Manitoba to-day? No, there are no public schools in the province of Manitoba. I said so last session; I said so the session before. The schools which exist to-day in the province of Manitoba, to which we Catholics are obliged to subscribe, are purely Protestant schools.

An hon. MEMBER. No.

Mr. DEVLIN. I beg pardon, yes. The best authority on that subject is the gentleman who introduced those schools, and I will quote his own words. The hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin), speaking a short time ago, said:

He was himself not satisfied with the School Act and had never been so. He had made a strong effort to have the public schools controlled by the Government really made national schools, with religion obliterated. And he was now more convinced than ever that that was the only school which could be justified as constitutional. They said that the state had no right to interfere in the matter of religion, but he contended that they could not do the one without the other. It had been urged by satisfied supporters of the Act that none could complain of the devotional element introduced, as it was of the broadest nature, but they found that the Roman Catholics had the very greatest objection to this provision of the Act, and he was dissatisfied himself and was glad many Protestants shared his objections. It had been said that in the event of his opinions being adopted our public schools would be Godless schools, but by many staunch supporters of the School Act it had been privately admitted to him that the religious exercises practiced in the schools at that time were without value * *. The Roman Catholics had honestly stated that in their belief the two forms of education should go together. The Protestants admitted, on the other hand, that it was impossible to have religious training in schools, and only asked that it be recognized, insisting, however, on imposing their views on others in that respect. Rather than that small amount of religious training should be done away with in the schools, the Protestants said they would prefer the old state of affairs. He would leave it to his audience to determine which was the more honest stand of the two.

And, Sir, documents have recently been put into the possession of every reader in this country by the Venerable Archbishop of St. Boniface—documents which we will quote further on in the debate on this Bill—showing conclusively that the schools which exist to-day in Manitoba are not public schools, but simply and purely Protestant schools. I have quoted from the hon. gentleman who introduced this villainous School Act in the province of Manitoba to the effect that the schools there are Protestant schools. And this is your great generosity towards the Catholics of Manitoba. You wanted public schools, you said, on the broad grounds of

the young nationality growing up in that province. See the result: you have turned the strong Protestant element of that province against the poor, struggling Catholic minority. You have not succeeded even in establishing the public schools that you pretended by this Bill you were going to establish. You have established Protestant schools; you maintain them; and you wish to do the same in the North-west. Mr. Speaker, last night the hon. Controller of Customs—and I just quote this as evidence of the spirit of the Bill and the spirit of the hon. member who has introduced it—referred to our Church as the “Romish Church”; he spoke next of its efforts to obtain state recognition in the North-west; he next said that the Archbishop had been foiled in his attempt to secure ascendancy in the province of Manitoba; and, finally, he went on to speak of the loyalty of the Orangemen, leaving the inference to be drawn that the Catholics were not loyal. The hon. gentleman uttered three insults in that speech: first, against the Church, by speaking of it in an offensive way as the “Romish Church.” In the second place, against the Archbishop of Manitoba in saying what was untrue, that the Archbishop tried to secure ascendancy. The Archbishop did nothing of the kind. He simply asked for the restoration of those rights which, up to 1890, the Catholics of Manitoba enjoyed. Finally, against the loyalty of the Orangemen, and of the lack of loyalty on the part of others, I will say that he speaks the truth if he refers to their loyalty to persecution from the beginning to the end of the history of the Order. These are some of the results due to the mean spirit of hostility manifested towards the Catholics of this country by the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), by the Controller of Customs, a gentleman paid by the Catholics—

Mr. SPEAKER. Order. I think the hon. gentleman should not indulge in remarks of that kind.

Mr. DEVLIN. Perhaps I should not indulge in the truth, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think the hon. member had better take the advice of the Chair, and not indulge in the language he is using—

Mr. DEVLIN. Against the Controller?

Mr. SPEAKER—with regard to hon. members of the House.

Mr. DEVLIN. I was merely quoting the Controller's language from an organ of the Government.

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman, in saying that these hon. gentlemen were actuated by a mean spirit, is indulging in language which he, as an old member of this House, will, I think, admit is not in accordance with parliamentary usage.

Mr. DEVLIN.

Mr. DEVLIN. Very well, Mr. Speaker, when the question is up again, I will refer to the lovely spirit, the generous, broad spirit, actuating these gentlemen—the magnificent spirit which has for its object the destruction of a language and the deprivation of a people of its rights.

Mr. TARTE. (Translation.) Mr. Speaker, although we are not used, at the first reading of a Bill, to consider its worth and bearing. I cannot let this opportunity pass without registering my protest against this measure.

Hon. MEMBERS. Oh! oh!

Mr. TARTE. By the noise made, it will appear as if there were on the other side of the House, hon. members who wish to abolish the French language immediately.

Mr. TARTE. (Translation.) I have only two words to say, Mr. Speaker, and I am determined to say them in French. I was just stating, when I was interrupted, that, although it is not according to the practice followed in this House to consider at this stage the worth and bearing of a Bill, I nevertheless deem it my duty to avail myself of this opportunity to record my protest against this proposed legislation. The hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), whom I consider one of the most intelligent and enlightened members of this House, might have used, and might use in the future, his abilities and the power of his mind in a much more useful way for the general interests of the country. We will consider, later on, the merit of the arguments with which he brought before this House the child which seems so dear to him. At present, I am inclined to let his measure be introduced by simply stating: “on division,” for I think the country is enormously interested in that the stand taken by him should be well and clearly defined. If we are to continue to sit together, French and English members, in this House, it is well that we should know once for all on what ground we will stand in relation of one to another. If we are called upon to form a nation in this country, it is better for us to just now lay the grounds on which that nation will stand later on. Consequently, Mr. Speaker, I will resume my seat after recording my most solemn and energetic protest against the measure brought in by the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy).

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time (on a division).

MESSAGE FROM HIS EXCELLENCY— THE ESTIMATES.

Mr. FOSTER presented a Message from His Excellency the Governor General.

Mr. SPEAKER read the Message, as follows:—

ABERDEEN.

The Governor General transmits to the House of Commons, Estimates of sums required for the ser-

vice of the Dominion for the year ending 30th June, 1895, and in accordance with the provisions of "The British North America Act, 1867," the Governor General recommends these Estimates to the House of Commons.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE.

OTTAWA, 19th March, 1894.

Mr. FOSTER moved :

That His Excellency's Message, with the Estimates, be referred to the Committee of the Whole House in Supply.

Motion agreed to.

TAY CANAL—RECEIPTS FROM TOLLS, &c.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT asked, 1. What were the total receipts from tolls on the Tay Canal during the year from 1st January, 1893, to 1st January, 1894? 2. What was the cost of maintaining said canal during same period? 3. What was the total cost of construction of said canal to 1st January, 1894? 4. Is any further expenditure necessary?

Mr. HAGGART. In answer to the first question, \$135.76. In answer to the second question, \$2,486. In answer to the third question, \$476,128.73. No further expenditure is required for the works of construction.

I. C. R.—FREIGHT RATES.

Mr. DAVIES moved for :

Return of all rates, general or special, charged on the Intercolonial Railway on through freight from Lévis to Halifax; with the dates when such existing general or special rates came into force, and in cases where such rates have been altered, specifying the alteration.

He said: I desire to know the change that took place in these general and special rates. I want to know what the rates were and what they are now.

Motion agreed to.

RELEASE OF MCGREEVY AND CONNOLLY.

Mr. MULOCK moved for :

Copies of all petitions or communications to the Government or to any member thereof, or to His Excellency, asking for any interference with the sentence passed by his Lordship the Hon. Mr. Justice Rose on Messrs. McGreevy and Connolly; of all replies thereto and all correspondence between any member of the Government and any other person on the subject of commutation of such sentence; of all medical reports made in regard to either said McGreevy or Connolly, whilst undergoing such sentence; of all reports and recommendations on the said subject, by any member of the Government, to His Excellency, and of all replies thereto and of all Orders in Council in any wise bearing upon the subject of the commutation of said sentences.

He said: I do not propose to make any remarks on the matters mentioned in the motion, but rather to call the attention of the Government to the fact that the commutation of the sentence in question has given rise to a good deal of feeling in the country. It may be that the return, when brought down, will allay that feeling and justify the action of the Government. I desire, however, to express the hope that the Government, should this motion pass, will have the return laid upon the Table without delay.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. There shall be no unnecessary delay.

Mr. MULOCK. I think the First Minister might go a little further than that. To say that there will not be any unnecessary delay will not meet the situation, I believe. I think the matter is one of importance, of such importance as to entitle the country to extra despatch in the production of this return. I venture to say the country demands that action on the part of the Government, therefore I do not think the matter ought to be dealt with as the Minister says. Perhaps he did not mean all that his words would convey. His answer is the usual one with relation to returns which are allowed to drift and to await the pleasure of the copyists or clerks of the departments. I venture to say that this is a case which demands extra speed.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I mean exactly what I said, Mr. Speaker—that there would be no unnecessary delay in preparing this return and bringing it down. If I intended, as the hon. gentleman infers from the language I used, that the matter would be allowed to drift or to await the pleasure of copyists and clerks in the departments, I would not have been telling the truth in saying that I would allow no unnecessary delay.

Mr. MULOCK. Then I understand.

Motion agreed to.

THE DUTY ON BINDER TWINE.

Mr. MULOCK. Mr. Speaker, I beg to move the following resolution:—

That binder twine be placed upon the free list.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman has taken time by the forelock, and has got his motion in as early as it could possibly be brought in, almost before I had the opportunity—indeed, by a few hours, actually before I had the opportunity—to bring down the Budget, which would give the sentiments of the Government with reference to this and other matters before the House. I think, however, in view of the statement which was made that I would be prepared to bring down the Budget and tariff recommendations at a very early day—to-morrow, by the Grace of Her Majesty's Opposition, though their consent is not very cordially afforded me, judging by a conversation which took place

across the floor of the House—the hon. gentleman had better postpone his motion for the meantime, and allow the matured opinion and recommendations of the Government to be presented to the House. If the hon. gentleman does that, I think he will be doing right under the circumstances. If not, I will have to move, I suppose, the adjournment of this short but very interesting debate.

Mr. MULOCK. I have endeavoured on many occasions to bring this motion in at the right time, and I have never yet succeeded in hitting upon the time that would exactly please the Finance Minister.

Mr. FOSTER. Blundering, as usual.

Mr. MULOCK. I have always brought it in at the time he favoured in the previous year; but his policy, or his interests, or his views, or his convenience always lagged about a year behind his previous expression. Since he acknowledges now that he is, if I may so say, on the string, I am willing to grant his request. I assume, from what he has stated, that at last the Government, like Davy Crockett's coon, is going to come down, and therefore I gave him the opportunity without being brought down.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

BLUE-BOOKS AND DEPARTMENTAL REPORTS.

Mr. CHARLTON moved for :

Return showing the dates in each year since May 5th, 1887, when the Public Accounts, the Appropriation Accounts, and the Trade and Navigation Returns of Canada, for the next preceding fiscal year, have been published and ready for distribution; and when the said accounts and returns have been issued to the senators and members of the House of Commons of Canada in each of the years aforesaid.

He said: I desire, in connection with this motion, to ask the attention of the Government to an order of the House that was passed on the 5th May, 1887, with regard to this matter. The blue-books and different departmental reports had often been issued at a late day, and many members of the House, myself among the number, felt that it would be desirable to have such returns as the Trade and Navigation Returns, the Public Accounts, and the Auditor General's Report placed in the hands of members at the earliest possible date. We used to have these reports placed in our hands after the assembling of Parliament, and thus members were not permitted the privilege and advantage of careful study of these returns before coming here to discharge their sessional duties. The motion I referred to was moved by myself, and was as follows:—

That the rule now in force requiring the withholding of blue-books and departmental reports

Mr. FOSTER.

till the assembling of Parliament—results in the suppression, often for periods of many months, of information relating to public affairs which the public interests require should be promptly made public.

That the blue-books and departmental reports for each fiscal or calendar year should in future be made public as soon as practicable after the same are prepared, and that no unnecessary delay should be permitted to interfere with the issuing of the same.

That the Finance Department cause to be inserted in the "Canada Gazette" at the close of each month a statement of revenue and expenditure for the month, and also for the unexpired portion of the fiscal year, distinguishing between expenditure upon capital account and expenditure on account of Consolidated Fund, and giving statement of gross debt and net debt.

That the Customs Department cause to be inserted in the "Canada Gazette" at the close of each month a statement of exports, of imports, of immigration and of navigation for the month, and also for the unexpired portion of the fiscal year.

That the Department of Railways cause to be inserted in the "Canada Gazette" each week a statement showing the gross and the net earnings of each of the Government railways for the preceding week, and also for the unexpired portion of the fiscal year.

I fear, Mr. Speaker, that this mandate of the House has to some extent escaped the notice of the Government. The order contained in this resolution is a very explicit one, and the object as affirmed at the time, and as assumed by the Government to be a very good one, was to place in the hands, especially of members of the House of Commons, the information contained in these reports at the earliest possible moment. Now, Sir, this year the Trade and Navigation Returns, which perhaps are the most important of the returns issued by any of the departments of the Government, were issued more than seven months after the close of the fiscal year. Rather more promptitude was observed at first. The reports of 1889 were issued on the 18th of December of that year, those of 1890 on the 29th of December, those of 1891 on the 26th of December, and those of 1892 on the 27th of December. This year that report was not issued until the 6th February. I make this motion partly for the purpose of complaining at the unnecessary delay that characterizes the conduct of the Government in issuing these reports, partly for the purpose of calling their attention to the publication of the immigration returns and railway returns that they have not complied with, and partly for the purpose of bringing to their attention the fact that the House has required of them the discharge of a duty which they have not discharged in the spirit of the resolution passed by the House. I hope that in the future the Government will give attention to this matter, and will issue these reports more promptly, and will place them in the hands of the members of the House, and in the hands

of the members of the Senate, and before the public, at an earlier date than they have hitherto done.

Motion agreed to.

RETURNS ORDERED.

Correspondence and other papers relating to the copyright question which have not already been brought down.—(Mr. Edgar.)

Return, in the form used in the statement usually published in the "Gazette," of the exports and imports from the first day of July, 1893, to the first day of March, 1894; distinguishing the products of Canada and those of other countries; and comparative statements from the first day of July, 1892, to the first day of March, 1893.—(Sir Richard Cartwright.)

REPORTS.

Report of the Secretary of State for the year ending the 31st December, 1893.—(Mr. Costigan.)

List of the Civil Service of Canada, for the year ending 30th June, 1893.—(Mr. Costigan.)

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and House adjourned at 4.45 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, 21st March, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF DEBATES.

Mr. LaRIVIERE presented the first report of the committee appointed to supervise the Official Report of the Debates, as follows:—

1st. That Mr. Alexander Colin Campbell be appointed to fill the vacancy on the staff of the Official Reporters caused by the death of Mr. Thomas J. Richardson.

2nd. That a gratuity of \$1,000 be granted to the widow of the late Thomas J. Richardson, one of the Official Reporters of the House of Commons.

3rd. That in view of the fact of an extra allowance of fifteen days' salary having been granted last session to each of the sessional clerks, messengers and pages of the House, the same favour be extended to each of the amanuenses to the Official Reporters who were employed during the said session.

4th. That the quorum of the Committee be reduced from eight to five members.

THE MODUS VIVENDI.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, I desire to lay on the Table of the House copies of an Order in Council dated 17th of January, 1894, under the provisions of the Act respecting fishing vessels of the United States. The Order in Council brings in force the modus vivendi this year.

REPORT.

Report of the Department of Interior for the year 1893.—(Mr. Daly.)

BEHRING SEA REGULATIONS.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker. I desire to move the adjournment of the House. This is a course I do not often take. But, as there may be some discussion in consequence of the remarks I am about to make, and as it is more convenient that such a discussion should be in order, and as you, Mr. Speaker, have frequently expressed your desire that we should observe the rules in this respect, I shall conclude my remarks with the usual motion to adjourn. The point to which I wish to call the attention of the First Minister is this: As I understand it, no steps whatever have been taken, up to the present date, either by the British Government or by our own Government, to give anything like legal effect or validity to the regulations which were made at Paris affecting the Behring Sea fishery—I believe I am correct in that statement. Now, Sir, I have seen very recently certain rather remarkable statements in the American press to this effect—that it is the intention of the American Government to order a number of their cruisers to attend the annual migration of the seals on their way northward from any point above 35 degrees of north latitude to Behring Sea; and that it is further their intention, and that instructions to that effect are understood to have been issued to the commanders of these cruisers to deal with any parties trespassing against these regulations as if the regulations were absolutely valid and of legal effect. Now, I am not going at all to impugn the desirability of enforcing these regulations as they have been agreed to, but I want to call attention—as the First Minister said the other day that a large number of sealers were being fitted out from Vancouver in British Columbia—to the extreme desirability, if these regulations are to be made effective, of the British authorities, or our own, so declaring, either by proclamation or by act of Parliament—I do not know which is the proper mode—and causing all parties concerned to be notified that such regulations are to be enforced. For, it appears to me, it would be very undesirable either that the British Government should have, as they did, I believe last year, to pay a large sum of money to its own subjects by way of compensation for not exer-

cising their legal privileges, or that our flag should be subject to insult and humiliation, as has been the case in the past. I am not aware of the precise legal mode in which these regulations should be given effect to. That, no doubt, has been considered by the Minister of Justice and his colleagues. But, I think it would be a very great misfortune if a fresh crop of demands should spring up in consequence of such action as the American press intimates is intended to be taken by their cruisers. And I am sure the American Government would object to making compensation whether these regulations had legal effect or not, and, on the other hand, it would be very discreditable and humiliating for Canada or Great Britain to compensate their people under the circumstances. While I am on the subject, I may say that, if it be correct, as stated publicly by the United States press, that from this time out the United States are going to shepherd the annual migration of these seals along our coast and to take upon themselves the enforcement of these regulations, it appears to me, Sir, that there should be an intimation given to the British Government, which maintains a squadron on the Pacific, that the Yankee cruisers may be accompanied by a British force to see fair play. Also, I will take the opportunity to inquire whether any arrangement has been made, formally or informally, with the American Government whereby disputes arising through these regulations may be submitted to a joint court, which I think it would be an expedient thing to do. I think some of our friends from British Columbia might be able to tell us what the position of matters is there, or whether there is any considerable risk of British Columbia sealers being caught on the present occasion. We would like to hear from them; we have not heard anything of their views on this subject. At any rate, I would like to know from the Government what the precise position of the case is, whether these regulations have been enforced, or what steps require to be taken to enforce them, and whether it is their intention, or so far as they know, the intention of the British Government, to take action.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. In reply to the hon. gentleman's question I have to say that the regulations have no force or validity against British subjects until a statute has been passed by the Imperial Parliament. No doubt the obligation of Great Britain under the last treaty on the subject, pledges her to adopt the legislation which will be necessary to give the regulations force and effect; but the view is certainly held by Her Majesty's Government, and is held by this Government, undoubtedly, that a statutory provision is necessary by the Imperial Parliament to give the regulations any force or effect whatever over British subjects.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Statutory regulations by the British Government alone, or concurrently by ours?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. By the British Parliament alone. The contrary view was held, to some extent, on the part of the United States; how far by their Government I cannot say, but by one of the arbitrators, I see, the view has been put forward in a dissenting opinion, that the regulations have force and validity from the time of their announcement by the arbitrators. But the view is not only held by Her Majesty's Government that a statute of the Imperial Parliament would be necessary under the circumstances, but that view has been communicated to the Government at Washington; so that they are well informed that the opinion of the British Government is that the regulations are not in force and cannot be enforced without the assent of the Imperial Parliament. As regards the procedure which may be adopted, the question was discussed before the tribunal, and it was decided that that should be left to be provided by the statute which should be passed with regard to the whole subject. It would have been difficult, of course, for the international tribunal to arrive at an exact knowledge of the procedure which might be proper in order to give full effect to the regulations of the tribunal. But we have no doubt, and we have made representations to that effect, that the principles which have hitherto prevailed with regard to that subject, should prevail still.

Mr. EDGAR. The *modus vivendi*?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes, in this respect, that when the regulations are made statutory, the procedure against British subjects or vessels shall be in British courts, and the procedure against United States vessels or persons, shall be in the courts of the United States. A draft Bill has been prepared for introduction to the Parliament of Great Britain with the view of giving effect to the regulations. The Canadian Government have been consulted on the terms of that Bill, and have expressed their views with regard to it; it may be that this time it has already been introduced, because the last we heard of it was that it would be introduced very soon. I do not credit for a moment, the statement that the United States Government will attempt by a fleet of vessels or otherwise, to enforce the regulations of the Paris tribunal. I am sure that if any project is contemplated of sending out vessels, it will be for the purpose of seeing that the rights which the United States possess, irrespective of the findings of the tribunal, will be observed, and that the regulations will be enforced only when they have validity; and that if anything is contemplated on the part of the United States Government, it is the enforcement against citizens of the United States of the laws which Congress has passed or may pass, with regard to seals. We have had no intimation to that effect, but undoubtedly if,

as is foreshadowed by the observations which the hon. gentleman has read in the press, it were intended, either before or after the passage of the regulations, that gunboats of the United States, or cruisers of the United States, should accompany our fleet of sailing vessels on the Pacific Ocean, we would request that some vessel commissioned by Her Majesty should be there to see that the duty was not too zealously discharged, or oppressively discharged, with regard to any of our people or their vessels.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. May I inquire of the hon. gentleman, while he is on his feet, whether the United States on their part assented to the proposition which I understood was made by the British plenipotentiaries, that offences committed by British subjects should be tried in British courts?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes, we understand they have, and that the draft of an Act which they have prepared, contains that provision. There was no objection made to that during the conference which took place in Paris; and in fact under the *modus vivendi* which has been in force, that procedure was insisted upon, was provided for, and was carried out. One of our vessels was sent to be tried at Victoria, B.C., when an adjudication took place upon it.

Mr. EDGAR. Is the *modus vivendi* supposed to be in force still?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No, it has expired. But I may add, we have already communicated to Her Majesty's Government the impropriety of making any provision with regard to the coming season which would be applicable at all to vessels which have already sailed.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The only reason I called the attention of the hon. gentleman to the matter is this: He will notice that a very short time indeed can elapse, under article 2 of the regulations, before these provisions are supposed to come into force, and they are very positive:

The two Governments shall forbid their citizens and subjects respectively, to kill, catch or pursue, in any manner whatever, during the season extending each year from the 1st May to 31st July, both inclusive, the fur seals on the high sea in that part of the Pacific Ocean inclusive of the Behring Sea which is situated to the north of the 35th degree of north latitude.

So if the close season is to be enforced this year, there are barely five weeks now to bring it into effect.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. That prohibition can only be done by statute, and we have called attention to the position, in fact some weeks ago, before the sealers had sailed.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I suppose that the First Minister will have no objection to bringing down any correspondence that has taken place with the British Government, as soon as the measure is before the English Parliament. It seems to me that we should have, at an early day, that correspondence in our possession, so as to be better able to form an opinion on the subject. Of course, there is a difference between the treaties so far as the American Government and people are concerned, and the people of the United Kingdom. Under the constitution of the United States, a treaty is a part of the supreme law, and comes into operation without any Act of Congress ratifying it. I suppose that so far as people of the United States are concerned, the treaty is already in force, but so far as the people of the British Empire are concerned this treaty cannot come into operation until after Parliament has legislated.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. There can be no objection on our part to any paper being brought down on that subject—of course, we have to obtain the approval of Her Majesty's Government. The view with regard to the effect of the treaty in the United States undoubtedly affects the question, but there is still the question whether these regulations made under the provision of the Paris treaty, ought to be regarded as a treaty without receiving the assent of the Senate. That is the view of one of the American arbitrators; I cannot express an opinion upon it.

Motion to adjourn withdrawn.

CANADA TEMPERANCE ACT.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 11) to amend the Canada Temperance Act. He said: The amendment suggested is a very small one. Under the Canada Temperance Act prosecutions, so far as Prince Edward Island is concerned, are in the city and town brought before stipendiary magistrates, but outside the city and town they have to be brought before two justices of the peace, there being no stipendiary magistrates for the outlying portions of the province. The result has been that a very large number of cases, the Attorney General writes at least three-fourths of them, are appealed from the justices to the Supreme Court, and a period of from one month to six months sometimes elapses before these appeals can be heard. The appeals are really re-hearings, the witnesses having to be brought forward again. The result has been that the witnesses are not forthcoming, and a large number of the prosecutions fail from the absence of witnesses, and justice is not administered. The attorney of the Island intends to appoint stipendiary magistrates, professional men of good standing, for counties outside of the

city and town, and the only amendment which I suggest is, that when these magistrates are appointed cases may be heard before them, just as before the stipendiary magistrates in the city and town.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

CORNWALL CANAL—DAM AT SHEIK'S ISLAND.

Mr. CHARLTON asked, Whether a contract has been awarded to Messrs. Davis Bros., or to Messrs. W. H. Davis & Sons, for constructing a dam at Sheik's Island in connection with the Cornwall Canal? If so, what is the amount of the contract,—when was it awarded; and was it awarded to the lowest bidder under public tender?

Mr. HAGGART. A contract for constructing the Sheik's Island dams has been made with William Davis & Sons. Before taking this action, the superintending engineer submitted an estimate of the cost of the work, which amounted to \$374,000 odd, and he explained that the most suitable material to be had within reasonable distance from the work could be procured from contract No. 4, and that the adoption of the Sheik's Island scheme would necessitate certain additions at No. 20 lock and weir on that contract, and in that manner the two works were somewhat interwoven. Messrs. Davis & Sons were asked if they were willing to undertake the work at the contract schedule prices for contract No. 4, the work at those prices amounting, according to the quantities computed by the superintending engineer, to \$374,000. The matter was referred to the chief engineer, who reported in favour of the acceptance of this offer, it being in his opinion in the public interests to do so, in which I concurred. The matter was reported to Council, and an Order in Council was passed authorizing a contract to be entered into with Messrs. William Davis & Sons, based on the prices in their contract No. 4. The contract is dated 19th June, 1893. It is a schedule price contract, but based on the quantities of work furnished by the superintending engineer: it amounts to \$374,485. The contract was awarded in May, 1893.

THE BOARD OF CUSTOMS.

Mr. CHARLTON asked, How many times has the Board of Customs been called together for the transaction of business since the late Minister of Customs became Minister of Trade and Commerce?

Mr. WALLACE. There has been no formal meeting of the board since then, the present Acting Commissioner having only been appointed chairman of the board on 20th of January, 1894; but the opinions of the members of the board have been continuously obtained.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

CUSTOMS SEIZURES.

Mr. CHARLTON asked, Have the amounts paid to officers of the Customs, or officials connected in any capacity with the Customs Department, for seizures made during the past three years, been returned by such officers or officials to the Government in cases when the Government has subsequently refunded the fines imposed, to the parties from whom such fines were collected, in consequence of reversal of rulings or decisions, by virtue of which such fines were collected?

Mr. WALLACE. No distribution has been made, prior to refund, from the proceeds of seizures made or fines imposed.

LIGHTHOUSES IN THE PARISH OF STE. EMILIE.

Mr. GUAY (for Mr. Rinfret) asked, Whether it is the intention of the Government to provide and maintain lights for the lighthouses erected some years ago by the Government, in the parish of Ste. Emilie, in the county of Lotbinière?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. In answering this question, I desire to do so more fully than to make a direct reply, as the circumstances relating to the lighthouses are rather peculiar. The circumstances are as follows: These are two buildings which were erected some years ago in connection with the scheme for lighting the 27-foot channel. They were not put in operation when completed, because the Montreal Harbour Commissioners found more trouble in completing the channel at Cap à la Roche than they had anticipated, and the branch pilots preferred using the Cap Charles range lights to which they were accustomed. In the meantime the two towers have been used as day beacons, and, I think, replace day beacons formerly maintained by the Harbour Commissioners. The Cap à la Roche channel has now been completed by the Public Works Department, and the lights are to be put in operation on the opening of navigation. The keepers of the two lighthouses were appointed in 1880, but the Order in Council provided that their salaries should not begin until the lighthouses were put in operation.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Then these lighthouse-keepers have been fourteen years in office and have done nothing?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. For those special reasons and under those circumstances.

I. C. R.—EMPLOYEES DISCHARGED.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) asked, How many employees of the Intercolonial Railway were discharged during the fiscal year ended July, 1893; and from which department of the railway, and in what numbers in each department? How many have been reappoint-

ed since that date, and in what numbers in each department, and at what salaries or wages? How many new men have been appointed since the above date?

Mr. HAGGART. Since 1st July, 1893, forty-nine men have died or left the service of their own free will, thirty-eight men have been dismissed, making a total of eighty-seven men. Of those, twenty-five were of the mechanical department, twelve of the track department, one of the stores department, three of the sleeping and parlour car service, and forty-six of the traffic department. The reappointments have been: mechanical department, fourteen men; one at 10 cents per hour, four at 11 cents per hour, two at 13 cents per hour, two at 13½ cents per hour, one at 14 cents per hour, one at 14½ cents per hour, and three at 15 cents per hour. Parlour car service: one man at \$30 per month. Traffic department: one man at \$25 per month, one at \$1.20 per day, one at \$1.50 per day, and one at \$2.50 per day, two at \$1. The number of new men appointed has been: mechanical department, thirty; track department, seventeen; stores, one; parlour car service, four; traffic department, thirty-two. Two boys in office. Total, eighty-six.

FISHERY BOUNTIES—BREAKWATERS IN GUYSBORO'.

Mr. FRASER asked, 1. Have the Government made definite arrangements as to the yearly date of payment of the bounties to fishermen? If so, what is the date and when was it fixed? What was the date of last payment in Nova Scotia? Have the Government or any member thereof authorized Mr. J. G. Forbes, the Conservative candidate in the county of Guysboro', to state that he is promised by the Government or any member of the Government in case he is returned, to obtain large sums for breakwaters and other public works in the said county of Guysboro'? Have any promises for such expenditures been given by the Government or any member thereof? 3. What is the amount expended in the province of Nova Scotia since 1878, by counties, on railways, harbours, breakwaters, wharfs and all other public works in said province?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The first paragraph of the question concerns my department, and in reply I desire to say arrangements have been made by which bounties to fishermen are paid every year at the end of February. These arrangements were first carried out in 1889. The distribution for 1893 in Nova Scotia was made last month.

Mr. FRASER. I have only received an answer to one question.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I know nothing about the second question. I did not know the hon. gentleman referred to me.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Perhaps the hon. gentleman will allow the second and third questions to stand.

Mr. FRASER. Very well.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Each member of the Government has to be consulted to see if he gave his permission.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. That is what the hon. member for Guysboro' (Mr. Fraser) wants to consult us about.

MADUNNAKEAG FISH-WAY.

Mr. COLTER asked, Is it the intention of the Government to place a fish-way at the mouth of the Madunnakeag stream, in the county of Carleton, N.B.? If not, why not?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. In 1885, Inspector Venning reported that for many years, a fish-way had been maintained on this dam, without perceptible benefits. In 1892, another officer was instructed to inspect this river and report his views on the building of a fish-way. He reported that the dam could easily be made passable for salmon at a cost of about \$100. He stated that the local sportsmen were willing to bear the cost of this work. On the 11th February, 1893, Mr. John Stewart, Superintendent of the Canadian Pacific Railway at Woodstock, wrote to Mr. Wilmot, saying he had "made all arrangements to place a fish-way in the Madunnakeag River, and hopes to have it placed in a few weeks, the sportsmen at Halton and Woodstock to bear the expenses." This seems to be a matter in which local sportsmen are primarily concerned.

I. C. R.—HARRIS PROPERTY.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) asked, What is the total amount paid for the property acquired in the city of St. John for the Intercolonial Railway, known as the Harris property? How and at what times, and to what persons, and in what amounts respectively was the purchase money paid? What amount has since been expended on this property, and for what purposes has the property been utilized? Has the fee simple yet been obtained and vested in the Queen in that part of the property which at the time of the purchase was leasehold? Has any, and if any, what moneys been paid to the possessors of the leasehold interest in this property? If so, how were the sums to be paid to the respective parties arrived at? Does the total sum paid exceed the amount Parliament was asked to vote and did vote for the purpose?

Mr. HAGGART. The total amount paid for the Harris property in St. John is \$200,000, which was paid to the joint order of Messrs. Fred. Barker, agent of the Minister of Justice, and George Schofield, agent of the Harris estate: \$75,000 on the 29th of January, 1892; \$4,473.57 on the 8th of July, 1892,

and \$120,526.49 on the 2nd of August, 1892. No moneys have been paid by the Government to the possessors of the leasehold interest in this property. The fee simple has been obtained and vested in the Queen of the whole property purchased, which includes the leasehold. \$5,944 was expended in building cribwork approach, laying tracks, floors, &c. The total sum does not exceed the parliamentary appropriations.

THE SCHOOLS OF MANITOBA AND THE N. W. T.

Mr. LaRIVIERE moved for :

Copies of all petitions, memorials and correspondence in reference to the appeal made in the name of the Roman Catholic minority of the province of Manitoba, in reference to the school laws of that province; also, copies of reports to and Orders in Council in reference to the same; also, copies of the case submitted to the Supreme Court of Canada respecting aforesaid appeal, and including factums and all materials in connection therewith, and copies of all judgments rendered and answers given by said court on or to the questions referred to them.

He said: Mr. Speaker, in making this motion, I do not intend at the present time to discuss the merits of the question that is involved. I shall wait until all the papers are put before the House and until the members are fully cognizant of the details of the question. I have my own opinion as to the merits of the case, and as to the action that has been taken thereon, and I intend, later on, as I have no doubt, an opportunity will be given, to express that opinion in an unbiassed and in a fair and impartial manner.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. LaRIVIERE moved for :

Copies of all school ordinances, school regulations or by-laws and amendments thereto, adopted by the Legislative Assembly, the Executive, and by any Board or Council of Education, in reference to the establishment, maintenance and administration of schools in the North-west Territories since 1885; also, for copies of all petitions, memorials and correspondence in reference thereto; also, for copies of all reports to and Orders in Council respecting the same.

He said: My remarks on the previous motion also apply to this.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. TARTE moved for :

1. Copies of all correspondence between His Grace Archbishop Taché, of St. Boniface, and any member of the Government since last session, and in particular of the memorial recently sent to the Governor General, or to the Prime Minister, respecting the Manitoba schools, and of the ordinances adopted by the Legislature of the North-west Territories in 1892, and now in force; 2. Copies of all memorials, petitions and letters addressed to the

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Governor General in Council, or to any Minister asking for the disallowance of the said ordinances; 3. Of correspondence between the Lieutenant Governor of the North-west Territories or the Executive Council of the said Territories, and the Dominion Government; 4. Copies of the instructions to the Lieutenant Governor of the North-west Territories, and of communications sent to the Executive of the Territories in order to induce them to amend the ordinances of 1892.

He said: Mr. Speaker, I feel it to be my duty to put this motion in your hands and to offer a few remarks upon it; and, imperfect as my English may be, I venture to ask the attention of the House while I attempt to address it in that language. Since the beginning of the session hon. members of this House, on both sides, have carefully discussed the commercial and financial position of this country. Nobody has yet alluded to its political situation, or rather to the grave national crisis with which we are face to face to-day—thanks, I am sorry to say, to the unwise, imprudent and irritating policy of the Government on the school question. Permit me, Sir, to use, as a description of that crisis, a speech which has recently been delivered in the city of Montreal by one of the leading Conservatives of the province of Quebec—the Hon. T. C. Casgrain, the Attorney General in the Taillon Cabinet. That hon. gentleman, speaking at a meeting of the Cartier-Macdonald Club, a few days ago—I quote from the Montreal 'Gazette' of the 28th of February—expressed himself as follows:—

A terrible wind is now blowing even at the very doors of the province of Quebec; and the storm is so strong that it is shaking Confederation to its very foundations. It is a difficult and delicate question which I am now taking up, and I wish to say that I am now speaking only as a citizen of Canada. I am now speaking of the question of separate schools in the North-west.

Confederation was the result of a compromise. In order to protect our fellow-countrymen, who had carried the seed of civilization to the North-west, we stipulated that they should always have the right to separate schools. Now, I contend that no one has the right to do indirectly what the law forbids to do directly. No one had the right to deprive the Catholics of the North-west of their separate schools. The Hon. Mr. Haultain, the Premier of the North-west Territories, understood that perfectly well. That is why he went in a roundabout way. He overhauled all the ordinances relating to the schools; and while the new ordinance reaffirms the rights of Catholics to separate schools, it makes these dependent on such conditions that they are virtually suppressed. So that Mr. Haultain has done indirectly what he could not do directly. The question put to the Federal Government was, whether the law should be disallowed. We have the right to insist that the protection given our countrymen shall be respected. If the understanding arrived at when Confederation was formed can be violated by one party, then that contract is only a paper which can be torn at will. The Federal Government has the right, and I will say has the

duty, to disallow all laws contrary to the general interests of the Dominion, and such is the new ordinance. Speaking for myself, I say that fanaticism has long enough had its way. We have had enough of the McCarthys, O'Briens and of the P. P.A., which wanted to ostracise everything that is Catholic. We are citizens and useful citizens of this country. I can claim to be moderate on these questions. I fought the Riel agitation. But when it comes to decide the question whether Catholics have rights in this country, I say that it is time to be up and doing. I appeal to all moderate men, irrespective of creed. Fanatics are not the majority in this country: and if, to prove it, it is necessary to make a daring move—in French, a *coup d'état*—let it be made. The man who will make it shall have the united support of the province of Quebec. If to succeed it becomes necessary to call around our flag all moderate men, we will do it and we will again go over the work of Confederation. If we allow the sacred rights of our countrymen to be violated, we will vainly work for the progress of this province.

These were very strong sentiments, and they had the more importance because they were uttered in the presence of the Prime Minister of the province of Quebec and four or five of his colleagues. Naturally enough, that speech created a great sensation, in the province of Quebec at least. It was widely discussed. The whole ministerial press, with the sole exception of 'La Minerve,' the personal organ of my hon. friend the Postmaster General endorsed it. 'L'Événement,' which is one of the leading organs of the Conservative party in Quebec, and which is to-day under the able supervision of my hon. friend the member for Gaspé (Mr. Joncas), spoke as follows:—

The speech delivered by the Hon. T. C. Casgrain at the Conservative Club in Montreal has created quite a sensation, and will have a telling effect.

The Attorney General has echoed the feelings of all those in this province who understand that the system of active persecution is organized against them and that the time has come for us to take the necessary means of imposing respect for the rights which have been granted to us by the constitution. Mr. Casgrain deserves the congratulations of his countrymen on account of the patriotism, the firmness and the energy he has shown.

Another paper of great importance, and which is the organ and the property of one of the Quebec Ministers—I mean 'Le Courrier du Canada'—said:

We are the more happy to applaud those vigorous and manly declarations because they respond to the feeling that our readers have found in the columns of 'Le Courrier du Canada' during the last few days. Mr. Casgrain has exclaimed at a certain moment that if the central power is unable to protect the minorities, the guarantee contained in the right of disallowance is nothing less but worthless paper.

This is exactly our opinion. We said the other day that in the question of the schools of the North-west, the Federal Government had the power to disallow, that the circumstances justified disal-

lowance, and that if the right of disallowance cannot be used to protect minorities it is not worth much. We congratulate the Attorney General on the energy and the frankness with which he has developed this idea that the central power is bound to protect the oppressed minorities, if the future of this confederation is going to be assured."

The newspaper, the 'Empire,' having taken upon itself to lecture the Attorney General of Quebec in the same way as it had lectured in former days my hon. friend from North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy). 'Le Courrier du Canada' replied in very plain language:

The 'Empire' says that nobody has been found to approve the conduct of Mr. Casgrain. We have the honour to inform our contemporary that he labours under a strange error. On the very evening of his speech, Mr. Casgrain was warmly cheered by the Conservative meeting to which he was addressing himself, and since then the most cordial congratulations and the highest approbations have come in great numbers to him. The 'Empire' is no more veracious when it insinuates that Mr. Casgrain's colleagues blame the Attorney General. We are better informed than the Toronto newspaper, and we beg him to believe that Mr. Casgrain did not express an isolated opinion when he spoke as he did in Montreal.

A few days afterwards, the Cartier-Macdonald Club met in the city of Quebec. That club is composed of the best class of young men in the Conservative party at Quebec. They thought proper to adopt the following resolution:—

That, in the opinion of this club, the last ordinances of the Legislative Assembly of the North-west relating to education contain dispositions which affect the established principle of separate schools and constitutes a new violation of the rights and privileges possessed by the minorities in this confederation.

That, while we take into account the spirit of justice of well-thinking citizens in this country and their enlightened patriotism, nevertheless in presence of the regrettable events, of the increasing appeals of intolerance and fanaticism, that we have witnessed for some time past, in some portions of the Dominion, this club thinks it is its duty to protest more firmly than ever, and beg to state that it approves on this point the energetic attitude taken by the Hon. T. C. Casgrain, one of the Ministers of Quebec, and the declarations which he has publicly made in Montreal, on the 28th of February.

Well, it is easy to understand that there was some reason for such a series of speeches and articles. What was the reason? Of course, we were not allowed to enter the sanctum sanctorum in which so many angelical spirits preside over our destiny. Nevertheless, the quarrels of the gods were made public to us through the indiscretions of some of their organs. There was a big row in the ministerial press of Quebec. 'La Minerve' supported very warmly and very ably, my hon. friend the Postmaster General, and contended that he was the only patriotic

man in this country. On the other side, 'Le Moniteur de Lévis' lectured him in a severe way indeed. Through those indiscretions, it was made known that a sub-committee of the Privy Council had been formed, composed of my hon. friends the Minister of Finance, the Minister of the Interior, and the Minister of Agriculture. Those hon. gentlemen set to work with all the ability and energy we know they possess. They held long and mature deliberations. Still we have not yet been able to see the colour of their work, but there was a rumour to the effect that the three hon. gentlemen could not agree. Patriotic as they were, resolved as they were to work for the prosperity of their country, they were not able to agree, and the question was referred to the whole body of the Privy Council. But during the passage from the sub-committee to the Privy Council, there were very wicked rumours indeed circulated, and circulated by the organs of the Ministers themselves. We were told very plainly that four of the hon. Ministers—three of them I see on the Treasury benches now—had made up their minds that if the Privy Council did not see its way to disallow the North-west Ordinances, they would not be in a position to be of any more use to the Administration. We were even told that three French Ministers solemnly took the pledge that they would resign together if these Ordinances were not disallowed.

Mr. LANDERKIN. Not a bit of danger of that so long as the salary runs.

Mr. FOSTER. That is where it strikes an appreciative chord in you.

Mr. TARTE. We heard another rumour. I hope it is false, but I think I am justified in putting it before the House—simply as a rumour. It went so far as to say that the hon. the Postmaster General (Sir Adolphe Caron) went back on his colleagues without warning them. I trust the rumour is false; I put the question. The rumour may be false, but still this is the rumour that the good friends of the Administration have widely circulated. At any rate, one thing is perfectly clear, and that is this—that none of the hon. Ministers have seen fit to resign. I just remark that the hon. Minister is laughing heartily. I may submit to him presently, for greater enjoyment, the opinion of a journal which is under the direct control of the most intimate friends of the Minister of Agriculture—I mean 'Le Moniteur de Lévis':

Some Montreal newspapers having stated that alone amongst all our Ministers Mr. Ouimet had differed from the majority of the Cabinet on the question of the schools of the North-west, we have argued that it could not be so in presence of the most significant fact that the sub-committee of the Privy Council composed of Messrs. Foster, Angers and Daly had not been able to arrive at a conclusion.

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Mr. Angers had consequently differed, and that difference of opinion had naturally been expressed in the Privy Council, especially as Mr. Angers has found an ally in Mr. Ouimet. As to Sir Adolphe Caron, we have, to inform us on the position he has taken in the Council, no other indication to that effect that he went two or three days afterwards to defend the conduct of the Government before a political club.

Is it natural to suppose, is it logical to conclude, that Sir Adolphe Caron would have defended an opinion which would not have been his own?

By publicly taking before all his countrymen the position that has been indicated in the newspapers, has he not sufficiently pointed out to those who are candid and also those to who are not candid the role that he has played in the Council?

Our deductions are, then, perfectly logical. 'La Minerve' itself, who pretends to laugh, shares our opinions when it says: "Have there been differences between the French Ministers? We don't know anything about it, but the thing is possible and even probable."

"Probable," says 'La Minerve.' And why "probable?" Would there be Ministers who have betrayed their oath of office to inform 'La Minerve,' or has 'La Minerve' arrived at that conclusion by simple deduction.

What 'La Minerve' says on the oath of office is grave and we invite it not to insist. The lesson that it wants to teach has been very badly learned. It is addressed to the wrong party.

Let 'La Minerve' ask of the party who inspires it—

I think my hon. friend the Postmaster General will understand the hint—

—for the narration of a little trip to Montreal during the last days of January by a person in a very high position. If its investigation is well conducted, it will learn to its great scandal that indiscretions have been committed which are of a nature to exempt 'La Minerve,' the confidante of the gods, from proceeding by way of deduction and which allows us to invite it to submit its extracts from Todd to other parties than to us.

If 'La Minerve' wants to know more, we are at its disposal at its first request.

Of course, 'La Minerve' did not want to know anything more—it had had enough of it;—but Sir, we were told that this crisis was going to be averted by Mr. Haultain, the Prime Minister of the North-west Territories, insisting that the Legislature should amend the ordinances of 1892. Mr. Mackintosh, the Lieutenant Governor of the territory, by a happy accident, was at the time on his way to the Capital. A few days afterwards, Mr. Haultain, while passing through Winnipeg, made a speech, in which he stated that he would not submit to any outside interference, that he thought the ordinances fair and just, and that he would not be a party to any amendment to them. Well, in the presence of these statements, I want to know how it is that the French Ministers, who had put their resignations into the hands of the Premier, have been able to retain their seats as they do to-day? Mr. Speaker, a question

arises—were the Ministers from the province of Quebec serious or were they not when they instructed their press throughout the province of Quebec to state that they were asking for justice, and that they were insisting upon the disallowance of these ordinances? If they were serious, how is it that they are still on the Treasury benches? If they were not serious, they were simply pursuing the same imprudent course that has characterized the policy of this Government on the school question from the beginning; that is to say, they were contributing to increase the dangerous agitation that we have to face to-day. But, Sir, to save themselves from the humiliation in which they have been placed by their organs, they began to appeal to the most dangerous prejudices. Would you allow me to quote the last sample of that bigot sentiment that the organs of the hon. Ministers of the province of Quebec are trying to excite to-day? As every one knows, my hon. friend from Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) was introduced in this House by the hon. the leader of the Opposition and by my hon. friend from Queen's, P.E.I. (Mr. Davies). It is a courtesy that we owe to one another to introduce one another in the House. My hon. friend (Mr. Martin) was elected, not on the school question, but as a tariff reformer; he was elected by the votes of Liberals and Conservatives alike. If I went further, I would not say, perhaps, that he had been elected by the Catholic vote, but certainly, as he said the other day, he has received a great many Catholic votes. And why? Because the Archbishop of St. Boniface thought proper to be interviewed during that election. Of course, His Grace is not as good a Catholic, or as orthodox, as my hon. friend the Postmaster General, still he is something of a Catholic. His Grace was interviewed on the 11th November, 1893, and this is what he is reported to have said:

The interviewer ventured to ask His Grace how he expected Catholics to vote in the Winnipeg by-election. The archbishop replied that he thought the vote would be divided. If either candidate were an advocate of separate schools it might be different, but as the case now stands, those Catholics who desire tariff reform will many of them vote for Mr. Martin, though some will withhold their vote from resentment. Catholics, he said, were perfectly free to vote whichever way they saw fit.

Well, according to His Grace, the Catholic voters of Winnipeg were perfectly free to vote as they pleased; but when my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition introduces to the House a gentleman duly and legally elected, he commits a crime against heaven and society. Now, let us see the extent of that crime according to one of the most important ministerial organs in the province of Quebec, 'Le Courrier du Canada,' the organ of one of the Provincial Ministers in Quebec, Mr. Chapais. The heading is very suggestive:

LAURIER, MARTIN, DAVIES!

A SUGGESTIVE TRIO.

It is done! We wrote a little while ago that if Mr. Laurier dared to do it, he would introduce Mr. Joseph Martin, leaning on his arm, into the House of Commons, the persecutor of the Catholic minority in Manitoba.

Well, Mr. Laurier has dared to do it.

Yesterday afternoon the chief of the Opposition, escorted by Mr. Davies, introduced into the House the illustrious Martin. Laurier, Martin, Davies!

This spectacle is extremely suggestive. Mr. Davies is the author of the persecuting law of Prince Edward Island, of 1877. Mr. Martin is the author of the persecuting law of Manitoba of 1890. Both are fanatical adversaries of separate schools and of the rights of minorities.

And Mr. Laurier, the man that the 'L'Electeur' asks us to aid, opens the session by an official parade in company with these two men. Under the existing circumstances this introduction, usually a very ordinary affair, assumes a very grave character and signification. One would suppose that Mr. Laurier wished to break the ice, and to show upon the first day what the attitude of the Opposition would be on the school question.

Frankly, politics causes the observer to witness strange scenes.

My hon. friend from Queen's, P.E.I. (Mr. Davies), is perfectly able to take care of himself; still, if he allows me, I will briefly describe the law that the hon. member for Queen's passed in 1877. If I am rightly informed, the first school law in Prince Edward Island was passed in 1852. It is natural to suppose that a school law which had existed for 25 years in a progressive province, needed to be amended after so long a period of time. The election of 1876, was carried on the question of the necessity of improving the law. It was fought, not by one political party alone, but by a combination of public men belonging to both political parties. My hon. friend succeeded at the polls, and he then formed a coalition Government, of which he was the leader, but the majority of his colleagues were Conservatives. The law which was passed in 1877 did not change the principle of the old law; it only amended it by giving more power to the school trustees and making some other changes. At any rate, the law was adopted. There was some little friction, no doubt. Archbishop McIntyre thought that the improvements he had made on his school property were to be imperilled, and he applied, as I understand, for the disallowance of the law. His request was not granted; and a short time afterwards His Grace and my hon. friend came to a perfect agreement, and since that time His Grace has declared himself entirely satisfied. My hon. friend was defeated in 1879, and his position was taken by Mr. Sullivan—now, I think, Chief Justice Sullivan—who was a strong Conservative and a Roman Catholic. He remained in

power for the long period of twelve years, and no amendment was made to the law. Sir, this is the law for which my hon. friend for Queen's has been hurled into eternal flames by 'Le Courrier du Canada.' Now, I want to know what we are going to do, and what is going to happen in the presence of such appeals to prejudices. I suppose my hon. friends opposite will not tell us that all these appeals come from this side of the House. I have quoted speeches, articles and statements made and written by their most important friends in the province of Quebec, and I will challenge hon. gentlemen opposite to find a single statement like this coming from any hon. gentleman on this side of the House. We have claimed justice, we are still claiming justice; we do not claim anything more than justice. I know that some of us, especially myself, have been shamefully misrepresented by some of the Ontario papers. I think I am the oldest newspaper man in this Chamber, one of them at least. I may have read more newspapers for the last twenty years than any other member of this House, for the simple reason that being able to read both English and French, I have read all the papers I could from England, from France, from the United States and in Canada. Sir, I am sorry to speak as I am going to do, but I must say that in my long experience I have never read a paper more wickedly mendacious than the Toronto 'Mail.' I know I am using a very strong expression, but I am confident that the fact justifies it. The province of Quebec is day by day systematically traduced. Its public men are calumniated and denounced to their fellow-countrymen. Yesterday one of my friends whom I now see, told me, "Tarte you are doing in Quebec just the work that is being done by McCarthy in Ontario." I asked him this question—because he is a very sensible gentleman—"Sir, can you read French?" He replied, "Unfortunately, I cannot." "Did you ever read any articles signed by me?"—for I generally sign my articles so that every one may know where I am. He said: "No, I cannot read French." Then, I asked, "Where did you find the evidence that I am playing on the feelings of my countrymen as Mr. McCarthy is doing in your own province?" Of course he was obliged to say: "In the translations that appear in some Ontario papers." My own personality is insignificant and of very little value, but my dear province of Quebec is something after all, and I throw back that slur cast upon it. We have a right to be respected by our fellow-countrymen of English origin; we have a right to be treated like men who love their country and do not want to ruin it. Well, every day the Toronto 'Mail' which is not refuted, I am sorry to say, by many Toronto newspapers, denounces the province of Quebec, its men and institutions, in such a manner that Ministers of the Crown should

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take cognizance of it. As a governing body they should ask their own organs to be more just to us. A few moments ago I was asking: What is going to happen? The Government is amenable to the charge of being the cause of all the agitation that is going on to-day. I do not speak in a party spirit, and I do not want to be so understood. The prime duty of a Government is to have a distinct and clear policy on all the important questions of the day. The hon. gentlemen on the Treasury benches have endeavoured since the school question has entered the political arena to escape the responsibilities of their office. What have they done in the Manitoba school case? They proceeded by way of making promises, privately and publicly. They proceeded, moreover, by way of references to the courts, their only object being to gain time and placate public opinion if they could. As a matter of fact they have taken money from the public treasury to save their heads as politicians. What is the result to-day? The judgment of the Privy Council was given in due course. The hon. Prime Minister, who was then Minister of Justice, had proclaimed that if the Privy Council decided against the demands of the Catholic minority, there would be a remedy still. And whatever may be the efforts and ability of those who may undertake to defend the Government and the First Minister, if language means anything, I want to know what these sentences of his which have already been read to the House, but which I will take the liberty of reading again, can possibly mean. They are as follows:—

If the legal controversy should result in the decision of the Court of Queen's Bench being sustained, the time will come for Your Excellency to consider the petitions which have been presented by and on behalf of the Roman Catholics of Manitoba for redress under subsections 2 and 3 of the Manitoba Act, quoted in the early part of this report, and which are analogous to the provisions made by the British North America Act in relation to other provinces. Those subsections contain in effect the provisions which have been made as to all the provinces, and are obviously the provisions under which the constitution intended the Government of the Dominion should proceed if it should at any time become necessary that the Federal power should be resorted to for the protection of a Protestant or Roman Catholic minority against any act of the legislatures of the provinces or of any provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of such minority in relation to education.

Well, Sir, that pledge will be remembered by all men of good faith as having been made by the First Minister. I do not accuse the hon. gentleman of bad faith, but I do accuse him of weakness. He has, unwillingly perhaps, deceived the Roman Catholic minority. No sensible man who read the statement at the time—and observes that it was published broadcast—could fail to understand that the right hon. gentleman pledged himself to provide this

remedy, that if the courts of justice decided that according to the strict letter of the law, the Catholic minority has no statutory rights, the hon. gentleman pledged himself to recognize and consider the claim that the Catholic minority in the province of Manitoba was promised and given, in 1870, the same rights as the English minority of the province of Quebec enjoy, and have long enjoyed, with our cheerful consent. I therefore say the hon. gentleman is amenable to that grave charge. I know the Catholics in Manitoba are weak. It is a fact which there is no use in denying; but I will never agree to the idea that in a British colony, where the people were brought up under British liberty, the majority would undertake to trample upon the rights of the minority. The policy and pledges of the Government are to-day pretty well understood. After the judgment of the Privy Council it became the duty of the Government to keep their pledge and to consider, to use the words of the First Minister, the petitions of the Roman Catholic minority. It did not do so. It had recourse to a new referendum, to the courts of justice, and the judgment has recently been given. Peculiar to say, the hon. Solicitor General who is an able lawyer, went before the Supreme Court and said nothing. The Government had one of the most important cases that could be presented before a court of justice, and still, Sir, the Government had nothing to say. They said nothing, and the Catholic minority got nothing. I would like to repeat a question which I put last year to the House, and to which the Prime Minister at the time refused to answer. I want to know: What is the policy of the Government now? The Supreme Court has decided, but as the hon. gentleman knows, this decision is not binding. The Government is still at perfect liberty to take any course they like. They have the responsibility of the Government, of the peace and of the good harmony of this country on their shoulders. They are a strong Government, backed by a large majority. Can it be possible that on such an important question, involving such great results, the Government have no policy? Are they going to appeal from the decision of the Supreme Court or are they going to abide by it? I believe that we have a full right to receive a distinct answer to this question. Now, Sir, what has the Government done with reference to the North-west Territories school question? The Ordinances were enacted in 1892.

Mr. DAVIN. What have they enacted? You have not told us the grievance. Explain to the House the issue.

Mr. TARTE. If the hon. gentleman will allow me, I will try to explain to his own satisfaction, if I can, what, I am sure, are grievances, but just now I am asking what is the policy of the Government, as it is my right to inquire. What has been the policy

of the Government, I ask, with regard to the school question of the North-west Territories? The Ordinances were enacted in 1892, and they were going to be enforced in the course of the month of February last, if not disallowed by the Governor General in Council. As I explained, there were differences of opinion between the members of the Government; there is no possible doubt about that. We have been told by the organs of the Ministers, that if the Ordinances were not disallowed, at least the Catholic and the French minority of the North-west would still get justice, because the Government had recommended to Mr. Haultain, as was its right to do, to amend these Ordinances. We have seen that Mr. Haultain has already stated that he would not consent to amend the ordinances. The Government has not disallowed the law, but it has given inducements, it has given what I may fairly call false hopes, to the Catholic and French minority, and so the agitation still continues. Well, Sir, why has not this strong Government a decided and a strong policy? Do you think that it would not be better for all parties concerned if the Government told us plainly that these two questions are settled? If they told us that, we would know where we are and what means to take. The Government, by leaving everything undecided and by giving false hopes, have encouraged the dangerous agitation which we must face to-day. It may be said to me: You evidently want to invade provincial rights, I claim that this Government has denied the very principle of Confederation, in placing provincial rights over the rights of the people of this Dominion as a whole. We all know how the Confederation Act was enacted. Confederation did not take place out of the love that the different provinces professed for one another. No; Confederation took place because Upper and Lower Canada, United Canada, could not get along together any longer on account of their racial, religious and national differences. The Government was at a deadlock half the time, and then the Confederation scheme was adopted. Now, the very basis of the Confederation Act was the right of disallowance, that statement cannot be disputed. Disallowance and the right of appeal to the Governor General in Council were insisted upon especially by the English majority in this Dominion. And to-day, when we claim that the right of disallowance, and the right of appeal should be exercised towards the French and Catholic minority, I am sorry to say, that we are treated like fanatics. I want to know, and I ask the Government: If, in allowing all these prejudices to take root, they are acting wisely and as a Government worthy of the confidence of the people of this country. In the speech which my hon. friend the Attorney General of the province of Quebec made in Montreal, he stated that if it was necessary to make a daring move, it would be made in the province of Quebec. I beg, Sir, to dissent from that opinion. I beg to state, in

the name of my electors, in the name of my countrymen—whom I believe I know as well as any other man—that we do not contemplate any daring movement or any ‘coup d’état.’ We mean to abide by a constitutional agitation, we mean to abide by the law of the land, we do not want anything more, but I do not believe that we should be given anything else. The Government profess to be very hostile to my hon. friend from North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) in his policy. My opinion is that they are following the very same policy, and, if I may be permitted to say so, they are driven by him. The hon. gentleman from Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) has obtained everything that he wanted to have. He wanted to have separate schools abolished, and they have been abolished with the concurrence of the hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House. He desired that the school laws of Manitoba should not be vetoed, and they have not been vetoed. As a matter of fact, the most important plank of his platform is gone, and, of course, I would not be sorry for it, if we had not been sacrificed by the agitation led by him. My hon. friend from Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) has asked me a question which I am delighted to answer; he has asked me, what are your grievances in the North-west? In 1875 an Act was passed by the unanimous consent of this Chamber, and by a majority of the Senate, establishing separate schools and the French language in that country. In this Chamber, there was not a dissenting vote, and I see here to-day a great many hon. gentlemen who then sat in Parliament. Well, Sir, my hon. friend will admit that the separate schools have been abolished by the North-west ordinance.

Mr. DAVIN. No.

Mr. TARTE. My hon. friend says no. I will try to make myself clearer to him. Does not the Act of 1875 mention Roman Catholic separate schools? I want to know if, since the passage of the ordinance, there are any longer Roman Catholic separate schools in the North-west. We are speaking here as men of good faith, and let us use words in their ordinary signification.

Mr. DAVIN. There are Roman Catholic separate schools in the North-west.

Mr. TARTE. I will illustrate my idea in a way which I hope my hon. friend will understand. Suppose that at the next session of the Legislature of the province of Quebec—it will never be done, I am only supposing it—an hon. French member should copy, word for word, the Ordinance of the North-west Assembly and should propose to place under the control of the Government, constituted the Council of Public Instruction, all the schools of the province, all the books—in a word, everything connected with the schools—I want to know from any reasonable man,

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would not the Protestant separate schools of the province of Quebec be thereby abolished? We are here, not to play with words, but to speak facts. And now, let me say, with the utmost frankness, that in claiming our rights we are not acting under the dictation of any Roman Catholic or ecclesiastical influence. We are accused, especially by the ‘Mail,’ of being driven and led as a lot of cattle by the Roman Catholic clergy. With regard to the majority of the members of this side of the House, they have been fought by the clergy. I claim, and I am proud to claim it, that the most enlightened part of the Roman Catholic clergy are beginning to realize where they are now. There is not an hon. member on either side of the House who will not bear out this statement, that my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition is leading, in the province of Quebec, a party which has not received so far the full sympathy of the Roman Catholic clergy. And yet we are accused by the Ontario organs of hon. gentlemen opposite of being directed by the hierarchy. On the question of schools let it be well understood, that we are prepared to discuss calmly and like business men the whole situation. We quite understand that things may change; we quite realize that we cannot always remain stationary; but our position, in regard to which we should have the sympathy of every Protestant member of this Chamber, is this: We have made a bargain, an agreement, and, as one of the parties to that agreement we do not want our rights to be taken from us, at least without being consulted. If the English minority in the province of Quebec, which bears the same proportion to the French majority there, as the French minority bears to the English majority in Manitoba, were treated as the French minority is treated, the English majority of the Dominion would, if necessary, take up arms in their defence. My statement will not be challenged, because Englishmen are fond of liberty, and are not disposed to submit to being trampled upon. Is it surprising that we have the very same feeling? But we don’t go any further. So far as I am concerned, I always sign my articles. I speak here before the representatives of the whole Dominion, and I challenge any one to quote one single sentence of mine in which I have either threatened or attacked the rights of the English minority of Quebec. With regard to the other part of the question put by my hon. friend, I want to know if the minority of the province of Manitoba and in the North-west do not suffer from the deprivation of the very same rights that the English minority enjoy in the province of Quebec. We had a right to our language; we had a right to our separate schools, those rights have been abolished. Hon. gentlemen will say that they have been legally abolished. Every one of us has known in his experience many good cases which have been lost in the

courts of justice; but, in my experience of history I have never yet known the case of a people being deprived of their political rights through the courts of justice. That is the reason why we insist so much that this Government should have a policy on this matter. I do not know whether any of the Ministers will condescend to answer me. I am not speaking in my own name alone. I am speaking on a question which is to-day exciting the attention of the whole Dominion. Would it not be better to have a full discussion and the settlement of these grievances in this House during this session, than to let the agitation in the country be continued? Sir, we often boast that we have a magnificent country. It is true. We often boast of our desire to build up a nation on this soil of British North America. That is a legitimate desire. But how can we build up a nation if we are going to quarrel with one another? Is there a man of brains who would think for a single moment that the English majority of the Dominion, strong as it is, could conduct public affairs profitably by dictating to the French and the Catholic minority? Nobody imagines that. If we want to become a nation and live as civilized men and Christians should live, let us come to some understanding. When we converse with one another in this House we are all of opinion that we should put a stop to all appeals to prejudices and bigotry. When it becomes a matter of party politics we are driven into the abyss. I have perhaps spoken too long, but the question is one of very great importance. I hope I have dealt with it in a spirit which is not offensive to any one. My great aim was to put before the House the question as I honestly understand it, and nothing more.

Mr. DAVIN. I do not rise, I need hardly say, to oppose this motion, but to relieve the overwrought feelings of this House, after the speech of my hon. friend (Mr. Tarte). I am sure that the members of this House, particularly the French-Canadian members, who take a deep interest in the French minority in the North-west, must have been deeply grieved to hear the striking description of the differences existing among us in that country. To know something of the grievances of the kind described by the hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte), and of grievances of a similar character described from another point of view, a North-west member has to come to this House. It must have struck any rational man, on hearing the speech of my hon. friend, that my hon. friend has left us still in the dark as to what really our grievances are. The speech of my hon. friend, if he will excuse me, I will say was a vocal scrap-book. He gave us what Mr. Casgrain, the Attorney General of Quebec, said. He gave us what 'Le Courrier du Canada' and the 'Moniteur de Lévis' and sundry other papers and people said; but I

waited in vain to hear my hon. friend, who, I believe, is a university man, and must have a more or less trained mind, state the case on which he asks this House to come to an opinion. He failed to state the issue or the grievances which require remedy. I appeal to his own friends whether he has up to this minute stated these grievances. I would ask him to do so now, and I am sure the House will permit me to take my seat if my hon. friend describe the grievances which he says are existing in the North-west. He has given us the opinion that no Roman Catholic separate schools exist there. I say they do, and I say that not a single Roman Catholic separate school has been suppressed by any legislation in the North-west.

Mr. TARTE. They are under the control of a Protestant Board.

Mr. DAVIN. My hon. friend says they exist under the control of a Protestant Board. I will describe to the House what has been done. It is a mere accident that the members of that board are Protestant. I will read to the House what the arrangement is in regard to that. Hon. gentlemen on one side and the other rise up and give the public outside the notion that some portion of our people in the North-west is suffering under great grievance, and hence these strident appeals, calculated to do harm to that country. Is it not extraordinary that my hon. friend could quote gentlemen in Quebec by the dozen as to the existence of grievances in the North-west, and not be able to quote a single Roman Catholic opinion in the North-west.

Mr. LAURIER. That is what he is moving for—for the petitions.

Mr. DAVIN. That is all right, and you will have the petitions. But I ask is it not extraordinary, that, if there is such a sense of grievance in the North-west among the Catholic minority, no speaker has said one word about these grievances? What I want to point out is this, that I have never myself heard any complaints against the Ordinances as they exist. What I have heard is complaint against certain regulations. Now, I will show to the House what actually exists. The Council of Public Instruction is composed as follows. I am reading the Ordinance of 1892:—

The members of the Executive Committee and four persons, two of whom shall be Protestants and two Roman Catholics, appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council shall constitute a Council of Public Instruction, and one of the said Executive Committee, to be nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, shall be chairman of the said Council of Public Instruction. The appointed members shall have no vote and shall receive such remuneration as the Lieutenant-Governor in Council shall provide.

As to separate schools, section 22 provides:

The minority of the ratepayers in any organized Public School district, whether Protestant or

Roman Catholic, may establish a Separate School therein, and in such case, the ratepayers establishing such Protestant or Roman Catholic Separate Schools shall be liable only to assessments of such rates as they impose upon themselves in respect thereof.

Well, certain regulations were made by that Council of Public Instruction, and they were objected to. I am not going to say whether they were rightly or wrongly objected to. I suppose every one who knows me is aware that there is probably not a man on the continent of America so free from dogmatic prejudices, though they exist among so many of my fellow-countrymen of opposing opinions, as I am. Yet I speak with some earnestness on this subject, and for this reason: I say that it is more than one's patience can very well endure, to sit here, as I have for years past, even before my hon. friend (Mr. Tarte) was a member of this House, and hear hon. members, who know absolutely nothing of the North-west, speaking as though this or that section were being trampled under foot. My hon. friend refers to the newspapers. I never read long articles from newspapers to this House myself—I know their value. But I have read articles in one of the best written papers in the Dominion of Canada—the Toronto 'Mail'—from which one would suppose that Mr. Royal, while Lieutenant-Governor, was like a czar driving his political car over the Protestant sentiment of the North-west. It is not necessary to assure this House that there was nothing of that kind. It would be simply impossible. What actually happened was this: Mr. Royal, when he first came among us, went beyond the powers given him by the Dominion Act in handing over everything to the Assembly. The late Sir John Macdonald saw what he was doing, and reminded him that he must act within the Dominion statute. When Mr. Royal tried to hark back, and get within the Dominion Act, he seemed to be taking back something he had given, but he was only declaring that he had no power to give that which he had assumed to give. Subsequently, legislation took place that practically gave the Legislative Assembly all the powers of a Provincial Assembly, with two or three points excepted, and the North-west at the present minute is practically in the position of a province, save these two or three exceptions, and the fact that instead of getting a subsidy as the other provinces do, we get a grant in bulk but for specific purposes.

Mr. CHARLTON. What are the exceptions?

Mr. DAVIN. We cannot charter insurance companies and we cannot borrow money.

Mr. DALY. Cannot charter railway companies.

Mr. DAVIN. Railway companies also. Now, Sir, I have read these ordinances. Let me repeat that I have no brief here for the

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existing state of things, or any possible state of things. The issue I have with my hon. friend from L'Islet (Mr. Tarte), and the issue I have had with my hon. friends on the Ministerial side, when they have described a state of things which does not exist in the North-west, is plain. Certain regulations relating to the separate schools were passed, and these regulations were objected to. Now, what did this Executive Council which my hon. friend (Mr. Tarte) described as a Protestant council, do? My friend Mr. Haultain—who is described as premier, but who as he is a sensible man, laughs at that description of himself—has taken steps to meet the criticisms of his acts with reference to these questions, upon which he will have to appear before the people at no distant day. Here, I may say, are the modifications of the regulations, signed by Mr. James Brown, who is Secretary of the Council of Public Instruction:

In reply to inquiries respecting 'Readers' and examinations for promotion in Roman Catholic schools—

You see the schools are there.

Mr. TARTE. Hear, hear.

Mr. DAVIN. My hon. friend says, "Hear, hear." He knows this to be the fact. But will any man who has listened to him, not agree with me, that the impression conveyed by his speech was that the Catholic schools were done away with?

Mr. TARTE. The words are there, but the thing is gone.

Mr. DAVIN. Here is the modification that was made:

In reply to inquiries respecting 'Readers' and examinations for promotion in Roman Catholic schools, I am directed to forward the following minutes passed by the Council of Public Instruction the 13th of January, 1893:—

The regulations of the Council of Public Instruction mailed to all schools on or about 16th August last govern all examinations held under the direction of the Council.

The following Readers are authorized for use in Roman Catholic Schools in Standards I. and II., and become compulsory after 1st January, 1894, viz.:—

Protestant Readers? No.

The Dominion Series (Sadlier's Catholic Readers) Parts I. and II. and the Second Reader; or "The Ontario Readers" Parts I. and II. and the Second Reader.

In school districts where French is the vernacular the school trustees may, upon obtaining the consent of an Inspector, in writing, use the Ontario Series of bilingual readers, Parts I. and II. and the Second Reader, instead of the Dominion Series or the Ontario Reader. In all standards above the Second the Ontario Readers are prescribed after 1st January, 1894.

Now, there were some details of such a character that upon these, probably, there was

ground of complaint, though I understand this ground has been removed. As a fact, at this moment the Roman Catholic schools there are taught, in some cases by Roman Catholic ladies with vows, and the schools are in existence precisely as they were before this ordinance was passed. We get a grant of something less than \$200,000 all told. What was the use, Mr. Speaker, of having a dual inspection? As now arranged they have a Protestant inspector and a Catholic inspector. At one time the Catholic inspector goes over the district previously travelled by the Protestant inspector, and, at another, the Protestant takes the ground previously travelled by his Catholic colleague. Is it to be supposed, when they fix on the readers and the character of the instruction to be given in the schools that either inspector cannot be trusted to see that the system is carried out effectively? I have heard, as I say, from one or two friends in conversation, complaints against some of the regulations. I cannot say that I have heard complaints against the enactment. My hon. friend stands here to support the Roman Catholic schools for the North-west. He may be surprised when I tell him that no greater enemy—though he does not mean it—no greater enemy of Roman Catholic schools in the Territories exists in the Dominion of Canada than my hon. friend. The speech my hon. friend has made here to-day and every such speech, let me tell him, is a blow struck at Roman Catholic schools as they exist in the North-west. I am dealing simply with the question of schools in the North-west and not with any question outside of that. Sir, let me tell you that the people of the North-west, Catholic and Protestant, have, if possible a stronger sentiment of provincial autonomy—because it is nascent—than the people of any province in the Dominion of Canada where the sentiment is matured. The sentiment that they ought to be accorded all the rights and all the privileges of a province, is strong all over the North-west; and men who have no more prejudice against Roman Catholic separate schools than my hon. friend, if the Government had disallowed that Ordinance, would have been agitating all over the country. I said to one gentleman, who is, I believe, a friend of my hon. friend on my right, who is a French-Canadian, and takes a deep interest in this question: What do you want? Could you succeed in having the Federal Government disallow that Ordinance, you know well the result would be that agitation would never cease until we had in the North-west a Martin Bill. Those are the exact words I used.

Mr. MULOCK. Yellow?

Mr. DAVIN. Yes. Yellow Martin. Another incident showing the utter ignorance that prevails as to the state of opinion in the North-west was the speech of Mr. Casgrain. Mr. Casgrain, like my hon. friend,

never stated the grievance. It would be very hard, I think, for my hon. friend, after reading over that Ordinance, to say that separate schools do not exist there still; I will be very glad if he will show me from that Ordinance where his grievance is. If there is a grievance, or any of his friends feel that there is a grievance, in regard to that Ordinance, it is his duty to point it out. Now, I have seen the statement in the papers. Mr. Casgrain mentioned it, and my hon. friend quoted it, that perhaps the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-west and Mr. Haultain, were going to fix this thing up, and they would tell the Legislative Assembly what to do. Sir, we have not yet got party Government in the North-west Territories, and there is no one in the Local Assembly with what is called a following in the sense that Mr. Mowat, for instance, has a following in Ontario, or the right hon. gentleman who leads the Government, or the hon. gentleman who leads the Opposition, has a following in this House. There is no man in local politics that has such a following, and if Mr. Haultain were foolish enough to make any such suggestion, the Assembly would simply go on their way without minding the suggestion. There is, I repeat, a strong sentiment in favour of provincial autonomy in the North-west, and I am perfectly certain that it would be a pretty dangerous thing for Mr. Haultain to go to the country if he attempted to take any such course as Mr. Casgrain thinks he ought to take. What would be the use of it?

Mr. MULOCK. Perhaps you had better explain some of the changes.

Mr. DAVIN. The alleged grievances have not been very clearly explained. One of the grievances—and it is one that I certainly condemned myself, but I am under the impression that it has been remedied—was that Mr. Goggin, the Educational Superintendent, laid down that the ladies who taught in Roman Catholic schools, or the ladies about to take vows for the purpose of teaching, should go and be examined either at Calgary or at Regina, unless they were already qualified. Well, I considered that that was not necessary, and that it would be well to adopt the plan followed in Manitoba some years ago, namely, that the examiner should go and examine those ladies and see that they came up to the standard required by the Council of Public Instruction. It is, however, not a practical question at present, as all the ladies teaching or desiring to teach in Catholic schools are qualified. Now, Sir, I hope that my hon. friend will not think that it is rude on my part to say that I do not think he understood this question, although I am sure he must understand it now, if he did not before. I think I have shown the House how the legislation stands; I have shown the House how the Council of Public Instruction is formed, and I think I have shown the House where the shoe pinches, if there is any pinch. It was un-

derstood that a kind of informal arrangement had been come to so that the Ordinance would work, and I am very sorry if any hitch has occurred. Sir, I repeat that there never was a more mistaken course taken by any one who is a friend of separate schools, than the course of objecting to the state of things that exists at present. If you agitate it the result will be that a sentiment, partly provincial—and I won't say that there is not another sentiment of a warmer character than provincial—might be raised, and the results would be inimical to the very cause my hon. friend has at heart. Now, Sir, my hon. friend speaks of the "dear province of Quebec." Dear that province is, not only to him, but to us all. But does he not suppose that the people of the North-west can say: "Dear Territories of the North-west"?

Mr. TARTE. We do not abolish separate schools in the province of Quebec.

Mr. DAVIN No, you do not; but what you are contending is that something has taken place in the Territories that causes a great grievance to you. That is the point. Why, Mr. Speaker, my hon. friends talk about the French minority in the North-west Territories. I cannot speak the French language as my hon. friend does; I cannot appreciate all the fine and delicate 'nuances' of expression that belong to that magnificent tongue, as my hon. friend does; but I can, to a great extent, appreciate that language, and I need hardly say that I have no prejudice against the French language or against French people. But if you are going to talk about the French minority in the territories, what are you going to do with the German minority? Why, the German minority is of consequence to-day, and at the rate they are growing, they will soon compete with the English inhabitants in the North-west Territories. What are you going to do in regard to them? I am not aware of any French-Canadian in the North-west Territories who complains of any grievance. I am aware that gentlemen in high authority have objected to the regulations in regard to separate schools; and I am aware that on the part of my hon. friend, on the part of the hon. member for Simcoe, and on the part of several other hon. gentlemen, there is a hallucination prevailing as to the dual language question in the North-west Territories; a perfect hallucination. The bee buzzes as loudly and as nonsensically in the head of my hon. friend as he buzzes in the heads of others. Sir, there are some other things that I would like to say on this question, but as the House is about to adjourn I will defer saying them now, as I will have another opportunity of speaking before my hon. friend's motion finally passes.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I would like to make a suggestion as to the course of public business. This order cannot be resumed this evening as public Bills and Orders will come up after Government Orders, and I think it

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would be convenient, therefore, that this debate should stand adjourned. To-night, according to the Order of the House given the day before yesterday, when the House adjourns it will stand adjourned until Tuesday next, and inasmuch as a large number of members desire to take the night trains for the east and west, I think it would not be well for us to begin anything like the Budget business to-night, more especially as the Finance Minister, if he took four or five hours to deliver his Budget Speech, would have no time to reply to any comments on his speech. I may say that my colleague is perfectly ready, if it is the wish of the House, to go on with the business of this evening. What I would propose, however, is that we should adjourn this debate and then adjourn the House.

Mr. DAVIN moved the adjournment of the debate.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The hon. gentleman has the floor. Before moving the adjournment, I ask to have it agreed that the debate on the Budget, which I suppose will begin on Tuesday, shall be continued 'de die in diem' when it reaches the Committee stage.

Mr. LAURIER. I have no objection to that.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Does the Finance Minister definitely decide to make his financial statement on Tuesday?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 6.10 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, 27th March, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READING.

Bill (No. 12) to amend the Electoral Franchise Act by providing for a residential qualification for all voters.—(Mr. Edgar.)

REPORTS.

Annual Report of the Department of Railways and Canals, for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1893.—(Mr. Haggart.)

Tables of the Trade and Navigation of the Dominion of Canada, for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1893.—(Mr. Wallace.)

EX-JUDGE PALMER.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish, pursuant to private notice I gave the leader of the Government, to ask whether the Letters Patent have yet passed under the Great Seal, granting to ex-Judge Palmer, of New Brunswick, superannuation allowance provided in certain cases.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. On receiving the hon. gentleman's letter, I made inquiry yesterday, and I was told they had passed.

SEALING IN BEHRING SEA.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I desire to ask the Prime Minister if he has any further information to communicate to the House with respect to the subject to which I called attention at the last sitting, namely, what action has been taken or is likely to be taken in regard to the capture of sealers in Behring Sea? The hon. gentleman, I dare say, has noticed that the statements I made with reference of the possible intention of the United States Government seem to have been more or less accurate, if the American press is to be at all relied upon.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. There have been one or two despatches from the Colonial office on the subject within the last few days. I would not like to state from memory what bearing they have on the hon. gentleman's question. I will look at them, and tell the hon. gentleman to-morrow.

INSTRUCTIONS TO LIEUTENANT GOVERNORS.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I would like to call the attention of the Prime Minister to a statement made in the press, and to ask him to inform the House what are the facts in the matter. I notice a statement that the instructions issued to the Lieutenant Governor of the North-west have been recalled, and other instructions have been issued in their place, and there is also the allegation made that new instructions have been issued to the Lieutenant Governors of the various provinces. If so, I think the House should be informed in regard to what instructions have been issued, what were the reasons for recalling the instructions previously given, and in what respect they vary.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The same instructions have been given for some years past to the Lieutenant Governors of the several provinces. I am under the impression that a copy of them has already been placed on the Table of the House; if not, a copy of the instructions will be brought down. The instructions given to the Lieutenant Gov-

ernor of the North-west Territories were the same as those issued to the Lieutenant Governors of the provinces. The Lieutenant Governor of the Territories called our attention to the fact that in some particulars, not very material, the ordinary instructions were inapplicable to the Lieutenant Governor of the Territories, from the fact of there being no Executive Council and matters of that kind, and therefore the instructions were recalled, and made applicable to the Territories by change of phrase merely, not by change in any material particular.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE BUDGET.

Mr. FOSTER moved :

That the House resolve itself into Committee to consider the Ways and Means for raising the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.

He said : Mr. Speaker, I shall have to crave the indulgence of the House to-day for a more lengthy hearing than usual, and to bespeak the kindly attention, even a more considerate attention, which I could scarcely ask, than hon. members have generally given me, owing to the magnitude and length of the task which is set before me. In the first place, I will as briefly, as plainly and as definitely as possible, lay before the House the statement of the finances of the preceding year, with the usual remarks and observations with respect to the current and succeeding years, and after that, will proceed to explain the tariff recommendations with which I have been intrusted, and which I am to present to the House. I do not intend to make any pretense of a speech in the statements that I am to place before the House, but I desire to do my work in the shortest and most business-like way possible. Last year, it will be remembered, I gave no detailed statement of the probable revenue to accrue during the current year, but gave a gross estimate amounting to the sum of \$38,000,000. The actual revenue has exceeded the estimate by \$168,608, the Customs overrunning the Customs receipts of the preceding year by \$452,944, the Excise overrunning the Excise receipts of the preceding year by \$422,267, and the miscellaneous revenue or earnings overrunning those of the preceding year by \$371,526. So that the excess of revenue from these three sources, besides being \$168,608 more than was estimated, shows \$1,246,737 in advance of the revenue of the preceding year. The principal items in which the revenue increased, briefly stated, are as follows :—

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Breadstuffs | \$ 20,495 |
| Cement..... | 17,797 |
| Copper, and manufactures of..... | 12,028 |
| Cotton | 181,419 |
| Fancy goods..... | 26,252 |
| Flax, hemp and jute, and manufactures of..... | 18,910 |
| Furs, and manufactures of..... | 7,191 |
| Gloves and mitts..... | 7,123 |
| Gold and silver, and manufactures of..... | 10,684 |
| Hats, caps and bonnets | 30,278 |

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Iron and steel, and manufactures of..... | \$ 86,280 |
| Lava..... | 28,166 |
| Oils, coal, kerosene, and products of..... | 30,874 |
| Silk, manufactures of..... | 92,138 |
| Spirits and wines..... | 164,918 |
| Tobacco, and manufactures of..... | 22,025 |
| Wool..... | 213,826 |
| All other dutiable goods..... | 41,169 |

The items of decrease were :—

| | |
|----------------------------|--------|
| Ale, beer and porter..... | 21,071 |
| Animals, living..... | 16,113 |
| Carriages..... | 25,187 |
| Carpets and squares..... | 12,445 |
| Coal and coke..... | 7,150 |
| Earthenware and china..... | 11,593 |

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Fruits and nuts..... | \$ 16,558 |
| Fruits (green)..... | 38,681 |
| Jewellery..... | 7,407 |
| Musical instruments..... | 12,281 |
| Paper, and manufactures of..... | 9,902 |
| Provisions, viz. : butter, cheese, lard and meats..... | 107,647 |
| Sugar, all kinds of..... | 67,493 |
| Sugar, mollasses..... | 8,456 |
| Vegetables..... | 9,942 |
| Wood, manufactures of..... | 17,042 |

The movement in excise is shown by the following comparative table of the quantity taken for consumption and duty accrued on excisable articles in 1892-93 as against 1891-92.

| | Qty., 1892. | Qty., 1893. | Duty, 1892. | Duty, 1893. | Increase in 1893. |
|------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|
| Spirits..... | 2,578,973 | 2,747,597 | \$ 3,873,801 | \$ 4,139,306 | \$ 265,505 |
| Malt..... | 46,425,882 | 50,082,751 | 928,517 | 1,001,655 | 73,138 |
| Cigars..... | 104,521,493 | 114,668,809 | 623,952 | 681,628 | 57,676 |
| Cigarettes..... | 40,147,200 | 42,870,100 | 62,933 | 64,305 | 1,372 |
| Tobacco and snuff..... | 9,872,166 | 10,000,062 | 2,356,904 | 2,379,812 | 22,908 |
| | | | 7,846,107 | 8,266,706 | 420,599 |

The duties accruing in 1892-93 as compared with 1891-92 show an increase in spirits, in malt, in cigars, in cigarettes, in tobacco, and snuff: that is, along the whole line, and amounting in all to \$420,599. The per capita consumption of these articles as revealed by the report of the Controller of Inland Revenue is :

| | Spirits. | Beer. | Wine. | Tobacco. |
|------------------------|----------|--------|--------|----------|
| | galls. | galls. | galls. | lbs. |
| Average from 1867..... | 1.120 | 2.768 | .137 | 2.152 |
| do do 1891-92..... | .701 | 3.516 | .101 | 2.291 |
| do do 1892-93..... | .740 | 3.485 | .094 | 2.314 |

There is a slight increase in tobacco over the average, and over the consumption per head, of the year 1891-92. The House will see, then, from what I have stated that the remarkable fact about the year 1892-93—and I think it is a fact well worth noting just here—has been the extraordinary recuperative power which has been exhibited; a recuperative power which in Canada has been in marked contrast with the history of greater countries, and I may say, in fact, with all the great nations of the world. For, whereas these other countries have during the year 1892-93 experienced exceedingly great disturbances of trade, with a falling off in exports and imports, and a falling off in revenue as well; the fact remains that as far as trade is concerned, as shown by the Custom House revenue, as far as excise is concerned, and as far as the earnings, the miscellaneous revenue of the country are concerned, there was an increase in each item; a

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considerable and a steady increase over the year preceding, which, as the House may remember, marked the highest period which had been attained from Confederation up. These facts, I think, are worthy of consideration and of note at this time, showing as they do the healthy condition of trade in Canada as compared with other countries, showing the increased consumptive power of the people, showing also, if we will look into the returns, an augmented and expanding energy in the industrial work of the country as marked by the increase in raw materials, which in 1892-93 have been imported for working up in these different industries. Another gratifying fact about the year 1892-93 is that the miscellaneous receipts of Canada increased by the sum of \$371,526, showing that the earning power of these investments of the Government has kept steady and gradual pace with the trade of the country and the improvement of the country in other respects.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I do not want to interrupt my hon. friend unnecessarily, but will he give details of that? Has he got the details there?

Mr. FOSTER. The details are given in the Public Accounts in full under the head of "Miscellaneous," so that I have not troubled the House with them just here. I wish to state that these receipts have shown a gratifying increase for a number of years back. They amounted in 1867-68 to \$1,987,247, and by 1873-74 they had grown to \$4,075,907, or an increase of 105 per cent. In 1878-79 they had decreased slightly, remaining almost at the figure they were in 1873-74. In 1892-93 they had bounded up from four millions of dollars to \$8,847,241, or an increase over 1878-79 of 118 per cent. The increase in the earnings, or miscellaneous receipts of 1892-93

over those of 1891-92 was \$371,526, as I have stated, or 4½ per cent. The rate of taxation on home consumption entries of dutiable goods last year was 30·28 per cent; on the total of goods imported for home consumption dutiable and free, it was 17·38 per cent, thus showing a decrease in the percentage raised on goods entered for consumption, both dutiable and free, from 21·21 per cent in 1889-90 to 17·38 per cent in the year which has just passed. Whilst, therefore, the other colonies of Great Britain have felt very acutely the commercial depression, the loss of revenue and the loss of trade in the year 1892-93; and while that has been felt also by the great countries of the world, Canada, perhaps, without exception amongst the countries of the world, shows an increased trade both in imports and exports, and an increased revenue of one and a quarter million dollars over the preceding year 1891-92. Coming now to the expenditure for the past year. I stated about a year ago, or a little more, that my estimate of expenditure for the year 1892-93 was \$36,700,000, whereas the actual expenditure was \$36,814,052. The income was \$38,168,608, so that the total expenditures on consolidated fund account taken from the total revenue on Consolidated Fund account, leaves, what has been a pleasant and recurring experience in the administration of the present Government, a tidy surplus of \$1,354,556, to be carried to capital account. The increase in expenditure in 1892-93 as compared with the preceding year was \$48,158. That, however, is a very small increase when you take into account the increased interest on the debt, the increased sinking fund charges, the large quarantine expenditure to which the country was put, the mail and steamship subventions which have been added to, and the increasing demands for the various public services of the country. In fact it is well for the House to remember just at this moment, that from 1887 to 1892-3 there has been almost a stationary expenditure upon Consolidated Fund account. In the year 1887-88, \$36,718,494 was expended, and in 1892-93, \$36,814,052, or an increase of only \$95,558, and the average of the expenditure for the six years from 1887-88 to 1892-93 was \$36,599,312, the expenditure during those six years being, as I have said, about stationary. So that it would not be anything more than pardonable for me and for the Government, and for the party which supports the Government, to take note of the fact, and to emphasize it—that, in six years of Canada's growth, with services over a widely extended range of country constantly growing, and new ones constantly coming to the front, and in a time of progress and competition, when those services have to be generously met, we have been able to meet them, and have been able to keep the country's expenditure on Consolidated Fund at an almost stationary figure, and to have a good surplus each year to carry to capital

account. Coming to capital account, the expenditure for this year has been in excess of the expenditure of last year, mainly owing to the extraordinary expenditure for the finishing of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal. The expenditure upon railroads and canals, chiefly, of course, on canals, was \$2,782,490; on public works, \$181,877; on Dominion lands, \$115,038; making altogether \$3,079,406, as against \$2,165,700 for these items the year previous. If you add to this amount railway subsidies, which total \$811,394, as compared with \$1,248,215 the year preceding, you have a total capital expenditure, adding some few miscellaneous items, of \$4,039,673 during the year just past. Taking from that sum the surplus of \$1,354,556, taking also from it \$2,095,513 applied to sinking fund, which, of course, is laid up against the debt, taking also \$40,000 received from the city of St. John, we have as an addition to the debt the sum of \$549,605, as against an addition to the debt last year of \$3,332,403; another evidence of careful financial supervision and careful and prudent expenditure. The expenditure on capital account, has been met by temporary loans and by the issue of stock, the temporary loans made for this purpose amounting to \$1,460,000, and the stock issue amounting to \$1,186,403. So much with reference to the capital expenditure.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Will my hon. friend state from whom he borrowed the \$1,460,000?

Mr. FOSTER. The Bank of Montreal, our financial agents, which, I think, took most of the Treasury Bills, although they have been assisted somewhat by other London houses. Coming now to revenue and expenditure for 1893. I must frankly say to the House that I cannot present so favourable a statement; but the statement, such as it is, and exactly as it is, I intend to give. The revenue and expenditure up to the 10th of March of the present year, and of last year respectively, were as follows:—

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| Revenue to 10th March, 1894. . . | \$25,096,000 |
| do do 1893. . . | 25,771,000 |
| Expenditure to 10th March, 1894. . . | 22,633,000 |
| do do 1893. . . | 22,235,000 |

Last year from the 10th of March to the 30th of June, revenue accrued to the amount of \$12,397,000, and expenditure was incurred to the amount of \$14,579,000. If I were to calculate on the basis of receiving as much money from revenue from the 10th of March this year up to the end of it, as was received during the same period last year, and making an equal expenditure, the figures would stand in this way, that we should have a revenue of \$37,493,000, and an expenditure of \$37,212,000. But I cannot expect so large a revenue from the 10th of March this year to the end of the year as we received last year. The year 1892-93, as I have stated, was a remarkably steady, and, in fact, a progressive year. The

progress, so far as the revenues were concerned, remained remarkably steady up to about the middle of December, 1893. From that time to the present the revenues have shown a gradual decline, due to two causes: First, to a general apprehension throughout the country that there was to be a change in tariff conditions, and what followed from that, naturally and logically, a general prudent restriction of expenditure, and waiting to see what the tariff would be before making large purchases or undertaking large expenditures. This, I have no doubt, has been the principal cause of the temporary recession of the revenues. There has been, however, I think, another cause, which is this: Though this country stood remarkably well the stress of the hard times and the commercial disturbances which the world experienced in 1892 and 1893, and seemed to have passed through them without visible effect upon our trade or revenue, we are now feeling the reflex or dying influences of that world-wide depression and period of low prices, and it has had and is having the effect in Canada—for a period short as yet, and which I believe will not be of long duration—of making people prudent in expenditure and careful and conservative in their purchases. These reasons lead me to think that the revenues will be considerably less during the year 1893-94 than the revenue which accrued in 1892-93, and from present appearances I do not anticipate more than thirty-six and a half or thirty-six and three-quarter million of dollars. If the expenditure from the 10th of March to the end of the year should be normal, that would leave us with a deficit; but this Government has come to the conclusion—a wise conclusion, which I think will be echoed by this House, and in which the Government will have the co-operation and cordial help of the House—to endeavour to live during this year within our income, and, if our income is less, to resolutely keep down the expenditure, so that in the end we shall not have that unwelcome visitation which so often made its appearance to my hon. friend who sits opposite me—an ugly and ill-visaged deficit. A prudent business man, any prudent business concern, any private gentleman, any householder, would take that course of action; and in the national housekeeping it is equally incumbent, it seems to me, to follow the same course. It is fortunate that we have come pretty closely up to the limit of our capital expenditure upon great works. Three months from to-day, if our calculations are not wrong, will see Canadian vessels passing through the Sault Ste. Marie Canal, and an uninterrupted channel of communication for Canadian and other vessels, totally within Canadian waters and Canadian territory, from the centre of this continent out to the seaboard. We have spent a large amount of money upon our general canal system and upon the Sault Ste. Marie Canal. This last expenditure will be finished by the end of the year.

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and what remains will be the deepening and widening and other improvements necessary to the St. Lawrence canals and river, which will not cost a very large sum and will not extend over a very long period of time. Therefore it is fortunate that at this particular time, we are nearing the end of extraordinary expenditure for heavy public works and coming to a period when our revenue must more nearly equal our expenditures on Consolidated Fund account, so that we shall have to borrow less for the necessary capital expenditure which, from time to time, will have to be made.

Mr. CHARLTON. What expenditure is deemed necessary on the St. Lawrence canals, and what depth of water is it proposed to provide?

Mr. FOSTER. That is a question which more particularly pertains to my hon. friend who sits beside me. I am not prepared to give an estimate, but I think somewhere in the neighbourhood of \$8,000,000 or \$10,000,000 is supposed to completely finish the work and give the depth to the canals proposed for and known to the House for several years back.

Mr. CHARLTON. What is the depth?

Mr. FOSTER. Fourteen feet. Leaving the question of expenditure, I wish to say a word or two with reference to two or three facts worthy of being noted when considering the year just passed. The savings of the country, as indicated by the deposits of the people in the Government and other savings banks, show an increase as usual—an increase which might not have been expected, but which nevertheless took place. On the 30th June, 1889, we had a balance of deposits in the Government savings banks, including the Post Office, of \$42,956,357. About that time, as hon. gentlemen will remember, the rate of interest was lowered from 4 per cent to 3½ per cent. For that and other reasons the deposits ran down until, on the 30th June, 1891, they touched \$39,400,026. On the 30th June 1892, they had increased only to \$39,529,546, but the deposits had an upward tendency. On the 28th February, 1894, those deposits had grown to \$42,165,896, or an increase of \$2,636,350. Another evidence of the thrift and prosperity of our country during the year 1892-93 is shown by the fact that whilst this increase took place in the Government savings banks, there was also an increase of about \$7,908,418 in the savings deposits in the other chartered banks; and if we add to these the savings of the people as placed in the loan and building societies—not a very large amount, about \$19,000,000, and which remains fairly stationary—we find that the total deposits of the people, the total savings of the people—their deposits in the various banks, Government and others—amounted, on the 28th February, 1894, to the sum of \$242,645,358, or a sum of nearly \$50 per head for

the population of the country. When we take into account the fact that in 1878 this total was only about \$87,000,000, the fact remains that an increase between that period and the present has taken place of \$155,096,312. The commerce of the country during 1892-93, I have briefly noted. As finances showed exceedingly well in that year, as the savings showed an increase of about ten million dollars, so the trade and commerce of the country showed not only well, comparatively to itself in preceding years, but exceedingly well relatively to the experience of other countries. The Australian colonies, in their trade, ran down by hundreds of thousands; British commerce decreased in 1892-93, as compared with the preceding year, to the extent of \$133,291,535, her exports decreasing to the extent of \$41,678,026. French commerce declined \$97,811,239, her exports declining \$49,883,914 of that amount. The United States trade fell off \$133,182,229, her exports showing a decrease of \$68,499,544. With this record of decrease and decadence in trade, it is pleasing to contrast Canada's experience, which shows an increase in trade of \$6,269,177, and an increase in exports of home products of \$6,459,344. If that is an indication of progress relative to our foreign commerce, when we come to the country itself we find that more miles of railway have been operated, namely, 15,020, as compared with 14,585 in the preceding year. We find that there has been an increase in the passengers carried; we find that about an equal amount of freight has been moved—some twenty-two million tons—and we find that the earnings are larger than in the preceding year, amounting to about \$52,000,000. The tonnage by lake and sea has been well sustained. The increase of imports and exports has taken place as I have stated, and a notable and gratifying effect in relation to this increase is that in farmers' products—agricultural products, animals and their products—there has been a large development, the year 1892-93 showing a total export of these products of \$49,235,106, against \$46,145,590 the preceding year. As to the distribution of the exports to the United States, Canada sent \$6,020,992 worth in 1893, as against \$6,643,019 in 1892; to Great Britain, \$40,420,681, as against \$36,869,595 the preceding year. Now, Mr. Speaker, having thus briefly and rapidly gone over the financial exposition, as it is called (which I think cannot but be, on the whole, gratifying to the House) it becomes my duty to take up the second branch of my labour of the day; that is, to say something with reference to the tariff changes which it is proposed to introduce. I am sure the House will pardon me if I preface the recital of these changes by some general remarks upon the question. You will agree with me, Mr. Speaker, that there could not well be a more important question for a Parliament to discuss and for a country to decide than the principle upon

which and the details with which it arranges its fiscal and tariff legislation. The arrangement of a tariff and the principle which is to be adopted has two aspects—it looks to the revenue which is required in a country, and it looks as well to the general trade and development of a country. I wish, at this early stage of my remarks upon this subject, to say that, so far as the revenue aspect is concerned, it is of infinitely less importance than the effect of the principle and the details of the tariff upon the trade and development of a country. I know—and hon. gentlemen on both sides of the House will recognize it as a fact when I state it—that the revenue which is raised under a tariff is used often (and used, in my opinion, very often wrongly) either as an argument in favour of a tariff principle or as an argument against it. It has not been outside of the experience of myself and other hon. gentlemen on this side of the House that the fact that thirty-eight millions were raised and spent in the country in a single year has been debited to and made the ground of attack upon the policy, and the principle of the policy under which that revenue accrued. That is a position which, to my mind, is scarcely defensible. The principle of the tariff has nothing to do in this year 1893-94 with the amount of money which is required for the country's expenditure; and the fact that thirty-eight millions of dollars are raised under it is neither an argument for its support nor an argument for its condemnation. In the first place, thirty-eight millions of dollars are not raised by the tariff at present in force, and would not be raised by any tariff put in force in this country. Of the thirty-eight millions of dollars of revenue, twenty-one millions of dollars has to do with tariff principle or tariff detail. But the other seventeen millions of dollars are raised in totally different ways, as hon. gentlemen well know. So that the fact that a large amount of revenue is raised and spent in the country is not to be used by opponents of the present policy either in its details or in its principle as an argument against it and for its condemnation. The first thing to be settled by a country in this relation is how much money it ought to raise for its current expenses. When once that is settled, then the question of tariff simply has to do with revenue in this light—whether that revenue can be raised under that tariff or not, and then the tariff is relegated to the place where it properly belongs, and the view with which it should properly be canvassed—the principle and details of the tariff under the working out of which the necessary revenue shall be raised. So that the principal aspect in which the tariff is to be viewed is as to its effect upon the trade and development of the country. The principle of the tariff was well discussed in 1878 and several years preceding. It was discussed by the rival parties on the platforms of the country, and in the House of Parliament itself.

Then the question was relegated to the people, and the decision of the people given upon it. That decision has been reaffirmed in 1882, in 1887, and in 1891. Now it happens that, in the course of events, a period arrives when a retrospect is to be taken of the tariff in its operation, and when the question comes again before Parliament as to the principles of the tariff and as to the details which shall be built upon those principles. It seems to me that there are only three possible principles upon which, or methods by which, a tariff can be modelled. One is to have simple free trade, under which you have no customs imposts at all, the revenue necessary for the country being raised by direct taxation, however it may be distributed. Another is to have a revenue tariff which selects a list of articles and places rates of impost upon those articles, chiefly with a view to the quickest, easiest and best method of raising the amount which is necessary, but also with the necessary sequence of incidental protection whenever this selected list includes those things which are produced or can be produced in the country itself, a protection which is incidental, but which, in a purely revenue tariff, is never designed. The other and third method is the protective tariff, by which you select a certain list of articles and place upon them certain rates of impost with a view to raising a certain amount of money for the services of the country, but more especially with this view, that whilst you raise the amount of money that is necessary for the country, you shall stimulate the development of the resources of the country, you shall help to make its industrial life broad and diversified, and progressive, to manufacture in the country, by the labour of its people, as much as possible of what the people have to consume, and over and above that, as much as possible of what outside countries can be got to take of the products of the labours of the people. So the difference between a revenue tariff and a protective tariff is not that there may not be in both an incidental protection, but that in a purely revenue tariff that protection is simply incidental and not designed; whilst in a protective tariff it is both incidental and is designed to be a protection, and is put upon the statute-book for that purpose. Now, Sir, it seems to me that outside of these three methods no others have ever been proposed, or have ever been acted upon. Take the first, the simply free trade method. There is no country in the world to-day which practices it, or which has adopted it; there has been no country in the world, among those classed as great and progressive countries, which has ever adopted it. It is something which is very well to talk about, something which in airy and fine-sounding phrases, does to tickle the ear, at the hustings, of the audience that is listening, but which when brought down to the cold plane of discussion in Parliament and in legislative halls, has no place, and up to this date has

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found no place. The only great country in the world which has adopted the second method is Great Britain. She has selected a list of articles and placed imposts upon them, and so far as any of those articles are produced in the country, and are not subject to an equivalent excise tax, she has given them protection. The protection is brought to a minimum when the list of articles is so chosen that the whole of them, or the most of them, are of a class which is produced abroad and which is not produced at home. The third method is that which all great countries at the present time, with the exception of Great Britain, has adopted and has in practice, and that is the protective system, in which a list of articles is selected, and upon which impost rates are placed with the design, not only of raising a revenue, but of protecting the country in its various industries, in its labour and in its general development. Great Britain, which to-day is the only example, as I have said, of a country which has a revenue tariff as nearly as possible approaching to the non-protective, is a country which commenced her career by a protection which in some cases amounted to absolute prohibition, and which, for many years, progressed under a very high rate; and it was only when at last, by the unique development of her own forces, her own industrial powers as compared with surrounding countries, and the unique combination of conditions outside of herself which put her in a position to dominate completely the industries of the world, that she threw her ports open and allowed all products to come into her markets without imposts, in order that she might, for her own interest and benefit, carry the products of her labour, of her inventive faculties and mechanical genius, into every quarter of the world. She did that, but year by year her customers have been learning her arts, though they have not practised her example; and whilst they, in inventive genius, in mechanical dexterity, in industrial development, in many cases are equalling Great Britain, or coming close up to her, at the same time they are protecting their own ports and their own country; and to-day wares and goods which formerly were made in Great Britain alone, are now made in every quarter of the globe, and they are coming from protective countries into the markets of Great Britain to compete with what she manufactures, and throwing out of employment, in many instances, the very artisans who are descended from generations of industrial operatives in Great Britain.

Mr. LANDERKIN. Would the hon. gentleman leave the academy and come back to Parliament?

Mr. FOSTER. I have a first duty to perform to my hon. friend to make up for something in which, possibly, he has been previously lacking, and to give him a touch of the academy before I come down to his comprehension. If Canada were to-night commencing

'de novo' and discussing the principle upon which she should arrange her tariff with a view to the development of her resources and of her industries. She would have this surrounding set of circumstances of which to take cognizance: that being young, without the advantages of wealth, with all the initial disadvantages of a new country and a comparatively undeveloped country, so far as industries are concerned, surrounded by older and wealthier countries, having generations of skill, with large industries competing for the marts of the world, and on a world-wide scale, and all earnestly and fiercely competing for trade in those industrial products which Canada herself might have to take for the consumption of her people. If she were in that position to-day it seems to me that the very same thing would have to be done which was done in 1878 when she first canvassed this question, when she first came to the decision that it was impossible for her to have the industrial development which she needed, and which was necessary to her progress and her permanence, unless she gave to her people the vantage ground of a measure of protection which would mitigate the fierce competition and the advantages which older and more skilled countries possessed against her; and when she chose, as her policy, the well-known principle underlying the present tariff. In 1878 the Liberal-Conservative party espoused that principle, that party has existed on that principle up to the present time, it exists to-day upon that principle. More than that, it proposes to base its existence for many days to come upon that principle. One thing is certain, that so far as this Government is concerned, their policy is historic, it is definite, it is undoubted. I wish I could say the same of the party of hon. gentlemen opposite.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Ha, ha.

Mr. FOSTER. Will some one tell me what is the principle which they believe to be correct now—I mean the principle which, at this present time, is in favour with hon. gentlemen opposite? I invite them now, and especially the hon. gentleman who sits opposite to me, early in the discussion, a discussion which is one of the most important this Parliament has ever entered upon, and upon the decision of which the people will poll their votes not many months hence—

Mr. CHARLTON. How many?

Mr. FOSTER. I cannot tell my hon. friend. If I did so, he would know just as much as I do, and I never want an opponent to know as much as I know myself.

Mr. CHARLTON. Does the hon. gentleman know?

Mr. FOSTER. I invite the hon. gentleman, who will speak in the course of this debate, to be frank in this matter, as he has never been frank with the country or with this

Parliament in the matter of tariff, and to tell the people and to tell this Parliament just what he proposes as the principle. I do not ask him for the details, on which he will base his fiscal policy. The question is so serious and the consequences which hang upon it are so great, that the people will demand—and the hon. gentleman might just as well give it now as give it later—that he go to the country with a definition of his principles which will not have any doubt about it, but which will be plain, definite and clear. The policy of protection, which was adopted in 1878, has been objected to for several reasons, and just for a moment I wish to glance at two or three of the objections which have been made. In the first place, it has been objected to because of the alleged high rate of duty which it imposes upon products imported into the country; and the attempt is made with many persons, who do not have the advantage of reading, discussing and understanding these matters as do gentlemen who are continually engaged on them, to show that the tariff under the protective system that has been in force in Canada since 1878, and which is in force now, is one that is abnormally and outrageously high. Let me discuss that question for a single moment. Is it high? If there is to be a protective system at all, everybody knows that it must be higher in its inception than as the years gradually pass, when industries have become established and when the industrial development of the country grows apace. If a high degree of protection is necessary at any time, it is necessary in the initial years of a policy which adopts the principle of protection as its basis. Compare the rate of impost upon products coming into this country with that in other protected countries, and how do we stand? Is the assertion correct, that the rate of impost in Canada under the protective policy is absurdly and outrageously high? Suppose we compare it with other countries, not with France, which is a most highly protected country, but with the United States, and consider the actual figures as to what the imposts are in our own country. Well, Sir, if you take the average of the ad valorem duty paid on all dutiable goods imported into this country for home consumption from 1879 to 1893, you will find that in no year has the rate exceeded 31.85 per cent, and that the average of those years has been 28½ per cent. That is a refreshing and moderating fact when taken in connection with the assertion constantly made by the opponents of the policy that under it the imposts reach 40, 50, 60, 70 and 100 per cent.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. FOSTER. True in regard to trivial and individual items here and there, but entirely misleading, as tending to induce the public to believe that it is an outrageously

high rate. That is a mode of argument which is open to hon. gentlemen opposite, but at least, we must confess that it has not the merits of open, candid and complete truth. The rate per cent of imports dutiable coming into the United States between 1879 and 1893 has never been below 43 per cent, and has gone up to 50 per cent, and the average of those years is 45½ per cent, on the imported dutiable goods for home consumption in the United States; that is, Canada has this protective tariff that hon. gentlemen opposite have always denounced as being so absurdly and outrageously high. 17½ per cent lower than the tariff in force in the protective country by the side of us, the United States. But there is another point of view which for plain, honest and complete truth must be brought out. What the people pay as the amount of the impost can only be fairly taken and fairly put if you take the total amount of goods that are brought in for home consumption and used by the people. The very essence and concomitant of a national policy on the protective system is that while you build up industries in the country, you leave raw material which is not made in the country or grown in the country, free, as a basis of cheap manufacturing, and the dutiable list and the free list go side by side and have gone side by side under this policy; and the true measure of the impost and cost, so far as revenue is concerned, and so far as the people of Canada are concerned, is to find out what has been the duty rate on the total quantity of goods they have imported and consumed in this country. Taking that as a basis, what do we find? That in no year from 1869 up to now, has there been more than 21·57 per cent duty upon dutiable and non-dutiable goods on an average as an ad valorem impost in this country, and that the average has been 19 per cent. In the United States there has never, until the last two years, been a less duty than 25 per cent; it has become lower during the last two years, since raw sugar was taken off the dutiable list and put on the free list, but, notwithstanding that fact, from 1879 to 1893 the average impost on dutiable and free goods in the United States was 27½ per cent, while in Canada it was 19 per cent.

Mr. CHARLTON. What has it been in the United States during the last two years?

Mr. FOSTER. In the last two years in the United States it has been 21·26 per cent, and 23·49 per cent. So that I think the contention is fairly made and is well founded, that if you take the tariff as a whole and compare it with the tariff of protected countries, even as to the dutiable list, it is a moderate tariff on the average; and if you take in connection with that the large free list which goes side by side with the list of imposts, the tariff is remarkably moderate, not exceed-

Mr. FOSTER.

ing at the present time 17½ per cent, or a shade below it. But there is another point of view to be taken, and that is that in Canada the National Policy, so far as the protective features are concerned, has laid no heavy hand upon the vast consuming population so far as staple products of consumption are concerned, and I desire to draw the attention of the House for a moment to this point. What are they? The staples of living produced in this country have been benefited, in that the protective policy has kept the market from periodical and sectional demoralization, and that has been its value, and that is the value of the principle of protection so far as it applies to the staple products of the country, which are produced in surplus. But, with reference to these things, what is the truth of the matter? In lumber, in brick, and in stone, which are the staples of building, this country has a surplus, and they are not enhanced in price. In the matter of fuel, of wood and of coal: the one abounds everywhere, the second abounds in different portions of the country in large degree; and since the year 1887 the only remaining article of the fuel of the people, in the shape of anthracite coal, has been free. So that to-day the fuel that the people of this country need for warmth and for comfort, is free and untouched by the National Policy or its imposts. If you come, again, to the staple food of the country, its vegetables, its fruits, its grains, its meats, its dairy products, all of these grow in this country to a surplus, and the National Policy lays no heavy hand of impost upon them. They are raised here, they are raised in surplus, and, so far as the energy and power of the people is concerned, they are hampered to no degree by the National Policy. The tea, the coffee and the sugar of the people have also been made free under the National Policy—although that was a boon which could not be given by hon. gentlemen opposite under their revenue policy—and millions of taxation have been remitted from all classes of the people, especially the poorer people, on those products alone. The National Policy has laid no heavy hand on the people so far as the consumption of these articles goes. Let us come to the staple articles of wear: the boots and shoes, upon which there is a tariff of 25 per cent, but every man knows that in Canada boots and shoes are made as good and bought as cheaply as they are in any country in the world. On the cottons that are used by the people, the average tariff has been about 28 per cent, and cottons to-day can be bought in Canada, taking quality and price into account, as cheaply as anywhere else in the world.

Some hon. MEMBERS. No.

Mr. FOSTER. Taking quality and cost into account, I say yes. I have had two pieces of cotton placed before me, bleached cotton.

Mr. CASEY. No.

Mr. FOSTER. Actually yes. My hon. friend may never have seen the like, but I have. One of these pieces was a Canadian cotton and the other a foreign cotton, and, to look at them, they appeared equally good; but if you tore the foreign cotton, the sleeves of your coat would be covered with the clay filling with which it abounded; while, if you tore the Canadian cotton, you had the strong, steady fibre. Take the woollens of the country. There has been an average impost upon them of but 30 per cent, and the woollen consumers of Canada have been well supplied with good material and cheap. Even take the iron that has been used in the country, upon which my hon. friend opposite has declared undying and unrelenting warfare, and with reference to which he has declared, that the moment he comes into power every item of duty goes off from iron. The hon. gentleman nods his assent to that one part of the principle of his tariff, which is the only one I have been able to get from him. But, Sir, it may surprise my hon. friend, who has probably not looked into it, to know, that if he will take the imports of iron into this country last year, and calculate the ad valorem duty on the whole of them, it only amounts to 22 per cent. So that, even with the outrageous iron duty that is spoken of so much, when you take the high-priced, the low-dutied and the free together, the average ad valorem duty last year amounted to about 22 per cent. These are the four great staples of manufactured products, and in that regard I hold that the National Policy has laid no heavy hand upon the people of this country, so far as the consumption of these articles is concerned.

Mr. LAURIER. Surely, you are not going to amend this very perfect tariff?

Mr. FOSTER. My hon. friend wants me to tell him two hours in advance what I am going to do.

Mr. LANDERKIN. The chances are even yet.

Mr. FOSTER. They are even yet. Now with regard to the luxuries. The tax in this country under the National Policy has not been excessive and the rate which has been placed upon luxuries is a rate which they are quite able to bear, and which in any form of the tariff they should bear in their contribution to the public service. Another objection that has been made to the National Policy and to the protective principle in it, is: that the cost of many manufactured goods has been enhanced to the consumer on account of the rates imposed. Now, Sir, I grant that argument at once to a certain extent. I say that in the initial years of a National Policy with a protective principle in it, it will have the effect of enhancing the cost of goods, and that at the first the cost of goods will be very closely

up to the measure of the protection which was given. If it does not have that effect why should it ever be adopted at all and what is the good of it? The fact that you have a country which is not in its then present condition able to compete with the great industries and competitive powers of the world, shows that it is necessary that they shall have a vantage ground upon which they may collect their forces, upon which they may deploy the industrial activities, upon which they may gain experience, and in which they may get skill; and the object of a protective tariff is to give that vantage ground, and in giving it I frankly admit that in the initial stages the price will be raised to a certain degree. But I want to meet my hon. friends opposite on this argument of theirs, which again is not altogether truthful and perfectly honest. That is: that in their speeches before the country and in their speeches in this House, they tax the National Policy with raising the cost to the full amount of the duty which each article bears at present. Now I say that that is unfair. I affirm that the only measure of rise, the ultimate measure of rise in cost under the National Policy is, the difference between the impost that it puts upon a certain line of goods and what would have been put upon that line under a revenue tariff, and a tariff for revenue purposes only. And I say this: that if hon. gentlemen opposite reproach the National Policy with a 30 per cent tariff upon hardware, while they put a 17½ per cent impost upon it; in perfect fairness all the cost they can debit to the National Policy is the rise between 17½ per cent and 30 per cent, or 12½ per cent. If they thought it was necessary to put a tariff of 17½ per cent upon boots and shoes for revenue merely, with the incidental protection that it gave, and if the duty on boots and shoes to-day is 25 per cent, do not debit the National Policy with the full 25 per cent of rise, but debit it with what properly belongs to it, namely, the 7½ per cent. Let us go further than this. Go back to 1878 and calculate the ad valorem equivalent upon all goods dutiable and free brought in to this country, and it is 14 per cent. Calculate it to-day and it is 17½ per cent, and debit the National Policy with what belongs to it, namely, a rise on the total consumption of the country of 3½ per cent. Now, Sir, I have been frank to admit that, in the initial stages of a protective policy, the prices of goods manufactured under it will be enhanced; but I am here to state another fact, and that is, that as capital invests itself, as industrial establishments multiply, as they become diversified and distributed throughout the country, the power of internal competition comes in to take the place of external competition—a competition in many cases more keen and destructive than the foreign competition, owing to equal conditions of production and equal conditions of carriage and distribu-

tion in the country. It is one of the most patent facts in the history of the National Policy here, as in the history of protection in the United States, in Germany, and in other countries—and a fact that cannot be contradicted—that, although there is at first a heightening of prices, they tend to come down, by the multiplication of industries and the competition which results therefrom, until the producers sell simply at the cost of manufacturing, plus a merely living profit. But, Sir, a crowning objection that hon. gentlemen take to the National Policy is that it is an offspring of greed and selfish cupidity on the part of the few—of a desire amongst some to rob, and an acquiescence by the great majority in being robbed, until the process is legalized; and then it becomes, as my hon. friend says, legalized robbery. The very force and vehemence of an assertion like that disproves it. This is a free country; the free men of Canada are an intelligent people, and they make their representatives understand what they want; and their representatives right quickly put on the Statute-book what the people make them understand they think ought to go on the Statute-book. There is the straightest and freest communication between the legislative power and the constituencies which are the basis of the legislative power; and no long years of dilly-dallying, no long years of delay, take place between the expression of the people's sentiments at the polls and the crystallization of that sentiment on the Statute-books of the country. And to say that a system like this, canvassed from one end of this country to the other in 1878, before an intelligent Canadian electorate—canvassed ever since, and decided four times at the polls, and always by the same intelligent electorate—can be set down as the cupidity and selfishness of a few to rob the people under the guise of law, is to make one of those assertions, so extravagant, and consequently so harmless, that I wonder hon. gentlemen opposite have not reformed their methods in this respect, and come down to milder and more moderate language. I say, Sir, that there was a nobler sentiment and a stronger reason for the adoption of the National Policy in 1878 than the one just given. I look upon it that the National Policy in 1878—whosoever brain conceived it, wherever the plan came from—came at the right moment, and in answer to a sentiment that was growing and developing in the country—the sentiment springing from a growing knowledge of Canada's resources and Canada's greatness; a sentiment of hope and aspiration. Every awakening feeling of a people coming up into stronger and lustier manhood at that time, took hold of the idea that was embodied in the National Policy. They said this: Here we are, on this continent, a small people, widely separated with geographical difficulties, but with immense and almost boundless natural resources; we can-

Mr. FOSTER.

not make up our minds to live always as a people simply giving our attention to one kind of work, and one kind only; these resources must be developed; those varied industries which have made the life of all great countries, which are indispensable to the life of every great country, must be planted, and permanently planted, in this country as well; and with our present position, and in the competing circumstances and disadvantages around us, there is no way by which we can do that other than by making the necessary sacrifice—by obtaining for ourselves the vantage ground, even though we have to pay for it at first, in order that those industries may be developed, and in order that we may grow up to be a progressive and self-dependent people. That was the principle taken hold of and embodied in the National Policy in 1878, and to that principle the people of Canada have been true and steady at every polling, and in every election ever since. Now, Sir, another statement which has been made widely by hon. gentlemen opposite—another of those mild and moderate statements—is that this policy and this system has been a blight and a curse to Canada—

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Hear, hear.

Mr. FOSTER. And my hon. friend is kind enough to emphasize the assertion which I have made, in his usual emphatic way, and in doing so, to help me in the answer which I am going to give to that statement. If the National Policy and the protective system has been a blight and a curse to Canada, it has had a very odd way of showing it. Take the period covered by the National Policy, and contrast it with any other period in the history of Canada's growth; has there ever been a brighter, a stronger, a more prosperous, a more progressive period? And this result has been achieved—it is the dark spot in the prospect—notwithstanding the fact that the National Policy has been depreciated by nearly one-half of the people of this country, who belong to one political party, and despite the groans and sighs and lamentations and oburgations of hon. gentlemen opposite that have been launched against it. I would not find fault if they had been launched simply against the policy; but the trouble is they have been launched against the country as well. In the creation of despondency in blighting hope and aspiration, these hon. gentlemen, by the very vehemence and absurdity of their language, have been themselves what they declared the National Policy was—a blight and a curse to this country. Thousands of people are to-day, far distant from Canadian homes, in countries to which they wish they had never gone, and which they would be glad to leave; and they are there for what reason? Because, Sir, of

the sad and doleful pictures and prophecies of hon. gentlemen opposite.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. FOSTER. Hon. gentlemen may treat this matter lightly and assume a careless countenance, but it shows rather a selfish and callous heart after all when they must know that their lack of faith in and their depreciation, of Canada have caused the expatriation of thousands of their too confiding countrymen, the vision of whose privations and distress should haunt them nightly in their dreams and daily in their thoughts. But, Sir, if this National Policy was a blight and a curse to the country, it has had an odd way of showing it; for, from 1878 to the present time, the revenues of this country have been buoyant and abundant, and the deficits which were numerous under hon. gentlemen opposite, have disappeared, and surpluses have taken their places. The \$6,000,000 minus sign has become \$20,000,000 with a plus sign. Capital expenditure, for the last fourteen years, has been aided on an average of one and a half millions yearly or more, by the overplus from Consolidated Fund revenues. The credit of the country has steadily advanced and the interest rate on our debt steadily decreased. The financial conditions of this country have been sound, though our people have taken, during these late years, as it was right they should, every counsel of prudence. In the periods of stress and storm, which have recurred from time to time, in the cycle of fourteen years, Canada has stood the strain better than ever she did during similar periods before, and comparatively with other countries has passed them well and come out of them prosperously. In those fifteen years, our record has been one of progress. The locomotives of Canada to-day travel ten thousand miles more of rails than they did in 1878. They transport 8,000,000 more passengers and 17,000,000 more tons of freight, and they earn \$33,000,000 more. They pierce every portion of the older provinces, they extend like a network through the North-west, and reach the sea shore of British Columbia, and with our canal system, which has been enlarged and extended, with our steamships plying from ports on the Pacific and the Atlantic to all points of the compass, they form great lines of transport, developing Canada, binding together the different parts of the country, furnishing means of outgo and carriage for our surplus products, and bringing closer together the colonies and the mother country. That is the record written in broad lines, and it does not bear out the assertion that the National Policy has been a blight and a curse to this country. The condition of the people has improved. The \$87,000,000 of earnings, which they had saved in 1878, has become \$243,000,000, an increase of 180 per cent. The aggregate wealth, comfort and

happiness of the people have increased enormously as regards themselves, and comparatively as regards other peoples; so that to-day it is a truism—no argument is required but the bare statement is sufficient—that the people of Canada, taken as a whole, are as prosperous and comfortable as the people in any other part of the world. This makes out, I think, a strong *prima facie* case against the assertion that the National Policy has been a blight and a curse to this country. It has changed the whole face of business in this country. Old industries have been broadened and enlarged; new ones have been introduced; there has been a great diversification of industries. Read the census of to-day.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. FOSTER. My hon. friends read it as some people read the Bible, to find just what they want and nothing else, but if they read it carefully and read it all through, they will find evidences of diversification which bear out my assertion that almost everything required in this country is to-day made by the mechanics, artisans and work people of Canada. Our industries have not yet overtaken the home consumption of the people, but are gradually growing up to the point of meeting the consumptive demand in the country. Look at the lists of raw material which have been brought in and which show the progress of our manufacturing industries. Let us take some of the principal ones:

| Imports. | 1878. | 1893. |
|-----------------------------|------------|-------------|
| | lbs. | lbs. |
| Wool | 6,230,084 | 10,503,645 |
| Cottons | 8,011,759 | 40,263,333 |
| Raw sugar..... | 19,876,872 | 252,644,060 |
| | \$ | \$ |
| Hides, &c. | 1,202,390 | 2,045,175 |
| Rubber | 187,234 | 862,113 |
| Jute | 3,770 | 380,577 |
| Lumber and timber (foreign) | 205,984 | 877,364 |
| Veneers | 10,541 | 80,038 |
| Hemp | 199,179 | 1,150,134 |
| Furs and skins..... | 148,909 | 785,433 |
| Raw silk | 32,004 | 206,471 |
| Corkwood | 12,095 | 72,963 |
| Broom corn | 89,954 | 146,987 |

Pig and scrap iron, which in 1878 was introduced to the amount only of 34,000 tons, was imported in 1893 to the amount of 107,000 tons, while 48,000 tons were made in this country itself. These things show the wonderful increase and expansion in industrial developments which has taken place. Under the regime of hon. gentle-

men opposite, most of our manufactured goods we would have imported from abroad, paying the artisan and the workman in the foreign country. Under our policy we import the raw materials duty free, we make them up, and Canadian capital, Canadian brawn and Canadian brain has a chance to do this work. My hon. friends opposite are so much in love with the census that I must give them some more figures from it in order to inform them upon some points which they have not found within its columns.

| | |
|--|---------------------|
| Cheese factories, value of produce, 1891.. | \$ 9,784,288 |
| Flour mills do do | 52,416,586 |
| Sugar refineries do do | 17,127,100 |
| Meat, fish, fruit and vegetable curing... | 16,067,968 |
| Total..... | \$95,385,942 |

| | Iron and Steel industries. | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|--------------|-------------|
| | 1881. | 1891. | Increase. |
| Establishments, No..... | 10,411 | 12,338 | 1,927 |
| Employees..... | 40,028 | 50,327 | 10,299 |
| Wages..... | \$12,207,864 | \$17,899,336 | \$5,691,472 |
| Raw material.. | 17,833,006 | 27,615,836 | 9,782,830 |
| Finished product..... | 40,192,694 | 63,436,129 | 23,243,435 |

The wood industries in 1881 had an output of \$59,022,196, and in 1891 this output had become \$80,536,737. Leather industries, boots and shoes, show an increase of \$1,124,478; saddlery and harness, \$648,028. Textiles show an increase from \$13,258,197 to \$17,472,226 as between 1881 and 1891. Cheese factories show an increase of \$5,464,454; flour mills, \$10,621,671; sugar refineries, \$7,-

230,100; musical instruments, \$2,173,018; paper and pulp mills, \$2,147,850; furriers and hatters, \$1,631,980; tobacco and cigar makers, \$2,682,219. The wages paid in Canada in the wood industries as between 1881 and 1891, shown an increase of \$6,994,223; leather industries an increase of \$794,331; textiles an increase of \$1,767,659; food industries show an increase of wages of \$1,864,921; musical instrument manufactories an increase of \$555,400; paper and pulp mills, \$693,101.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I ask the hon. gentleman's pardon for a moment. In speaking of "textiles" I understand him to mean all kinds of woollens as well as cottons, and so on.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes. Furriers and hatters show an increase in wages of \$161,669. Taking these and a few other industries which I have given, the total increase in wages in 1891 over 1881 is \$19,580,044.

Mr. CHARLTON. Would the hon. gentleman be kind enough to give the total amounts for 1881 and 1891, so that we may judge of the percentage of increase as well as the total?

Mr. FOSTER. I am anxious to give my hon. friend all the information I can, but it happens that I have not the totals by me, and I must ask him to exert his investigating faculties for the information required.

Mr. CHARLTON. I judge the hon. gentleman might do that himself.

Mr. FOSTER. The following is a summary of Canadian industries by the census returns:—

| | 1881. | | 1891. | | VARIATIONS. | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------|-------------|---------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-------|
| | | | | | Increase. | | Per cent. | |
| | No. | \$ cts. | No. | \$ cts. | No. | \$ | No. | \$ |
| Number of establishments | 49,923 | | 75,768 | | 25,845 | | 51.8 | |
| Capital invested..... | | 165,302,623 | | 353,836,817 | | 188,534,194 | | 114. |
| Number of employees.. | 254,935 | | 367,865 | | 112,930 | | 44.3 | |
| Wages paid | | 59,429,002 | | 99,762,441 | | 40,333,439 | | 67.86 |
| Cost of raw material... | | 179,918,593 | | 255,983,219 | | 76,064,626 | | 42.3 |
| Value of products..... | | 309,676,068 | | 475,455,705 | | 165,769,637 | | 53.5 |

So that my assertion that a notable change has taken place in the industrial life of the country in this period of the National Policy is substantiated by the best statistics at our command, statistics which, taking them as the basis of com-

Mr. FOSTER.

parison between 1881 and 1891, are reliable, the statistics of 1891 being as reliable and even more carefully collected than those of 1881. But, Sir, there have been great changes in fourteen years in the imposts put upon the people, and I invite the attention of hon.

gentlemen opposite for a moment to this point. The history of the National Policy has not been wholly a history of raising the import duties, although hon. gentlemen opposite are fond of so representing it. The National Policy has had two attendant features which should be noted. The first is that, while changes were made in the imposts upon dutiable goods, the free list has been constantly expanding, and to-day it is very large. Another is that burdens and imposts have been repeatedly taken from the backs of the people from 1880 up to the present time, and that by the very persons who supported and believed in the National Policy. Now, Sir, if you wish to debit us with all the imposts we put on under the National Policy, be equally frank and honest in giving us credit for those we have taken off—and they are neither few nor trival. Sir, in the matter of bill stamps and newspapers, taxes were taken off. So far as the second is concerned I am not prepared to say that the change lightened the burdens of the people, but it lightened somebody's burdens certainly, and if the benefit did not go to the people generally, it went to that very enterprising class of people in our country who disseminate information for us, and very often give us information that we could get in no other way. But when we come down to other things, there can be no doubt about where the benefit went. Hon. gentlemen opposite, when in power, taxed tea 5 and 6 cents per pound; under the National Policy that tax was taken off. They taxed coffee 2 and 3 cents a pound; under the National Policy that tax was done away with. The tax on anthracite coal, which at the beginning of the National Policy was 50 cents per ton, was taken off in 1887, and anthracite coal has been free ever since, representing a lessening of duties to the tune of about three-quarters of a million dollars a year. The duties on glass have been reduced; the duties on salt have been reduced; the duties on molasses have been reduced one-half; and, more than all, three years ago the duty on raw sugar was completely taken off, remitting taxation to the amount that had formerly been collected.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. FOSTER. My hon. friend says "Hear, hear," no doubt with a flickering idea in his mind that when we admit that, the duty on raw sugar being taken off the taxes of the people were so much lightened, therefore we have admitted that a duty under the National Policy is always a tax. But there is every difference between a duty on an article which is made in this country, the like of which on entering the country has to meet this impost, and an article not made in this country, every cent of an import duty upon which must come directly from the pockets of the people. So the remission of three and a half million dollars of duties on sugar was

an actual, positive and immediate benefit to the tax-payers of this country, a benefit well diffused over every part of this country. So that, taking these things altogether—and I ask my hon. friend's attention to this—the aggregate amount of taxation remitted since 1882 on the articles I have enumerated amounted to \$29,500,000, or an average of about \$2,500,000 a year. For 1892-93, I have had the pleasure of announcing in Parliament that we had a surplus of \$1,354,000, had we kept the taxation on these articles, taxation which was imposed upon them, when the National Policy had its inception or in its first years, I should have had to add to that surplus the sum of \$5,600,000, which would have represented so much more taken from the pockets of the people. I have thought it not unnecessary, Mr. Speaker, to enter upon these observations before coming more particularly to the work of explaining the revision of the tariff, and I have done it because of the oft repeated objections which have been made to the principle of the tariff, and because I think it well that they should be brought up in Parliament, and that the arguments in reply to them should be stated to the people of this country. Now, Sir, there have been many changes since 1878. Since the inception of the National Policy, fourteen years have gone by. Changes have taken place in the business conditions of this country itself, changes in the value of raw material and of manufactured products, changes which, so far as the ad valorem equivalents of duties are concerned, have made a very great difference as to the nature and rates of imposts between those times and the present day. The industries of this country have, many of them, well established themselves. The amount of protection which they needed before, they do not need to so great a degree to-day; and for some years an opinion has been gaining ground among the people that the time for a revision has come, an opinion which was recognized by the Government when they said to Parliament last year that the time had come for a complete re-examination of the whole matter of our tariff arrangements in order that the anomalies existing might be done away with, and that the tariff might be brought level with the existing circumstances and changed conditions of business, not only in Canada, but in foreign countries, at the present day. Those changes have taken place, and those changes have been recognized. I wish again to state as forcibly as possibly that the argument—not strong at all, but used largely, and tending to deceive in some regards, if not carefully considered—that the argument is completely baseless, that the policy of protection depends upon the per cent of impost that shall be put upon a certain article. Because the Government recognizes, as all people recognize, that the conditions of business have changed within the last fourteen years, and that it is well to rear-

range the tariff to suit those changed conditions, does not justify the conclusion that therefore the Government have gone back upon the principle of protection, or denied the cardinal principle of the National Policy. Such reasoning is inconsequential, and an argument which has neither logic or force. I wish to state here that the Government of to-day, and the party which supports the Government of to-day, take their stand squarely and firmly upon the embodiment and upon the preservation of the principle of protection in the tariff, the degree of that protection to be according to the circumstances of the industry and the conditions of business and of trade at the present time. But, when they do that, they are not to be taunted with going back upon their policy. The argument is not sound, and cannot fairly be used, that they have therefore repudiated the cardinal principle and plank of their policy for the last 14 years. So that these changes, as I have said, having been recognized it becomes necessary for the Government to carry out its pledge given last year in Parliament, a pledge which was lightly treated by some hon. gentlemen opposite, who thought we were simply turning the corner, who thought we only wanted to shelve the question for another year and, perhaps, to go before the electorate, to get ahead of the hon. gentlemen opposite and steal their clothes—if indeed they have any political clothes worth stealing. Their clothes have become so variegated within the last six or seven years that they outrival Joseph's coat of many colours. Whilst we to-day take our stand upon the principle of protection in the tariff, will hon. gentlemen opposite be equally frank and say upon what principle they will take their stand? Will my hon. friend tell the House to-day, what he told the people of Ontario last year, that he would make a tariff out of which every vestige of protection shall be exorcised?

Mr. GILLMOR. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. There is one honest free trader in this House, and he comes from Charlotte county, N.B., who has no hesitation in saying what his principles are, who does not seek to befool or befog the people by stating in a roundabout way what he proposes to do. He is frank enough to say that, if he were in power, he would apply the principle of free trade and take every vestige of protection out of the tariff of this country. Let me tell that hon. gentleman that if he is following the leader of the Opposition with the idea that when he gets into power at some future time—I do not know how far distant—he will exorcise every vestige of protection from the tariff, he has pinned his faith to a broken reed. In the first place, he will not be able to do it; in the second place, it is perfectly impracticable and impossible in this country.

Mr. FOSTER.

Mr. GILLMOR. It is not impossible. You cannot find a bit of protection in the British tariff.

Mr. FOSTER. I think I could.

Mr. GILLMOR. Then you have got to hunt for it.

Mr. FOSTER. I have to acknowledge that in coming to a revision of the tariff and a rearrangement of it at the present time, there are two difficulties that have to be met. The first difficulty is the depression prices which exist over a large part of the manufacturing world to-day, and which are now based on abnormal conditions; and the other difficulty is the fact that we are face to face with a revenue which is not increasing, but, on the contrary, is rather falling. These two causes make it difficult to-day to revise and arrange the tariff, and they must both be taken into account in the consideration of the recommendations which the Government are to place before this House. The brief review that I made of the financial situation as regards the months that have passed of the present financial year, will be sufficient to show the House that we do not expect this year, and we do not expect next year, any considerable surplus; on the contrary, we expect that it will require the closest economy in order to keep the expenditures within the revenues that come into the consolidated fund. But, taking these two things into account, both the depression prices that exist and the necessity for not paring off the revenue too largely, the Government has come to its conclusions with reference to the tariff, and is prepared to submit them to the good judgment of the House, and of the country. Now, there are some things that I have not attempted to do, that the Government have not found it possible to do, in the rearrangement of this tariff. It has not been possible to proceed upon any fixed rule of uniformity, any fixed plan of horizontal reduction. The tariff which was made in 1878 was a practical tariff, and the tariff which is to be arranged during this session must also have that feature, if possible, of being a practical tariff, and must take cognizance of the varying conditions of different industries, and must mete out to them, on the principle which we have stated, the protection which is reasonably due to them, and necessary in order to maintain possible industries in their position in this country. Neither has the Government found it practicable to adopt any hard and fast rule with reference to the vexed question of specific and ad valorem duties. Some condemn specific duties entirely; others favour specific duties, especially on certain lines. I think the truth lies between the two extremes. Specific duties, in some respects, are absolutely necessary to guard against frauds of valuation; in other respects they are useful in inducing the consumption of a

higher and healthier, and better grade of article. Every customs-house officer, of course, delights in specific duties; they are not complex, and the importers of the country find it easy to make their calculations under them. The chief argument to be used against specific duties is where they are applied to a wide range of useful articles varying in price.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Woollen goods.

Mr. FOSTER. If the hon. gentleman thinks that is one article, we will say woollen goods. And where the specific duties act so as to raise the rate upon the cheaper though good articles, thus discriminating against a class of consumers in the country. In a case of that kind, the argument for ad valorem duties is strong; the argument for specific duties is equally strong in other respects.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. If the hon. gentleman will permit me to make a suggestion, it is that as he appears to be somewhat tired, six o'clock might now be called, and the hon. gentleman might resume after recess.

Mr. FOSTER. I prefer to proceed, as I desire to close a certain part of my statement before six o'clock. One main object has been to simplify the tariff and make it clear. Its 655 items of dutiable goods have been, as the House will see, very considerably condensed. Three schedules have been made; one for dutiable goods, one for free goods and one for prohibited goods. They have been arranged in the first schedule under classes alphabetically, and in the other schedule simply alphabetically, and the aim has been where items conflicted, to have them harmonize, and where there were grades of goods of different kinds, but yet which blended with each other, so as to make it difficult for the appraisers and customs-house officers to tell the difference between them, to place them under equivalent duties and thus avoid the inconvenience, the vexation and the confusion that arose from conflicting claims as to the quality of the article and the item under which it came. As far as it could possibly be done, special exemptions have been struck from the list, although as they have existed from the first and industries have grown upon them, it has been found impossible in all cases to strike them out, and in some cases the necessities of the situation seem to demand their continuance. The prime object in view has been to cheapen the cost of manufactures in this country, to cheapen the cost at which the goods issue from the factory itself; for there is another fact of which people think too little and which is not clearly treated even by those who do know it, and that is, that the cost to the consumer and the cost of the goods as they issue from the manufacturer are two very different things. I have in view to-day an article

in very wide consumption which the manufacturer places on the shelf of the seller for $1\frac{3}{4}$ cents per package, and it never realizes less than 5 cents per package. Coal oil was sold at Petrolia for 9 cents per gallon, and the cost of carrying it to a certain town was 2 cents per gallon, and yet it was sold in that town at 25 cents and 27 cents. Innumerable instances can be found of large increase of cost on goods from the time they leave the factory until they get into the hands of the consumer, and that has militated and has been made to militate unjustly against the policy and the factory itself. All I ask is, that in looking at the ultimate cost of the goods to the consumer, the manufacture should be looked at apart from the distributing agency; the cost at the factory should be considered by itself and the cost of distribution should be considered as well, for very often it has been found, and it will be found in the course of any investigation, that although the factory made the goods cheaply and sold them at a very small advance, the cost of distribution was large, and the ultimate cost to the consumer was therefore large. Two ways have been adopted for cheapening the cost of goods, one by lowering the duty upon raw material, and by transferring raw materials from the dutiable to the free list. It has been found in the course of the work that we had pretty well exploited that division of the subject already, and that in this country almost all the great staples for manufacturing were already on the free list, in contra-distinction to our neighbours to the south, where they are to-day fighting over the vexed question as to whether or not wool, a great staple for a large industry in that country, and an article of enormous consumption, shall bear a tax of 11 or 12 cents per pound or be placed on the free list. In 1893, \$121,000,000 worth of goods were entered for home consumption; of this amount \$52,000,000 represented free goods, the large proportion being raw materials for manufactures. The duties which have been placed on different articles have been regulated according to the vigour and the development of the industry itself, according to the conditions of competition outside, according to the advantages that home production has for various reasons in our own market, and according to methods of business in some cases as well. When any person undertakes to look at the effect of the duty which is placed in the revised tariff upon a particular article in which he is interested, he should not simply look upon the impost placed upon that article, but he should look as well at the list to which free goods have been transferred from the dutiable list, and to the dutiable list where articles which are raw material have been reduced so far as import duty was concerned. Whilst endeavouring to sacrifice no industry which can reasonably hope to maintain itself in this country, so far as it can be done by the imposition of a

reasonable duty which will give it sufficient vantage ground to maintain itself here, employing labour and paying wages into the hands of labour, to be used again in buying the products of the farmers, we have endeavoured to take these matters into account, and by a reasonable protection to retain all those industries which are in the country which employ labour, and which work up the raw material of the country or use imported raw material and which industries are consequently benefiting the country. But I wish to say this as well; although we have been accused often of seeing none but the selfish interests, as they are called, of those who are engaged in these industries and who want protection, the Government has had many opportunities of making themselves well acquainted with the views and requirements of the consumers as well, and whilst trying to make every reasonable provision for industries that exist, so far as I am concerned I have felt it to be my duty to represent the interests of the consuming population of this country, as well as the interests of its industries, in order that not only the consumer shall get the benefit which accrues, but that the industry shall be kept as well; for it would be of little avail in this country that an operative should be able to buy his goods at a cent a pound, or a cent a yard less than at present, if he did that under a condition of things which would keep him from earning the wage with which it was necessary to get the wherewithal to pay for that which he bought. It is very well to have in this country consumers who can get what they want as cheaply as possible, but it is well also to have consumers who, by virtue of invested capital, and by industries in the country, have a place where they can find their daily work, from which they can draw their daily wage and have the money to pay for that which they consume. Now, Mr. Speaker, I have travelled over the most of the ground that, I think, intervened between the commencement of my remarks, to which the House has most kindly listened, and the explanation of the different tariff items.

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, when the House rose at six o'clock I was saying that in the tariff revision it has been the aim of the Government, while seeing that industries are reasonably protected in this country, to also see that the rights of the consumers are carefully looked after, and that all classes and all conditions of the people shall have fair consideration in the arrangement of the tariff. If there has been any exception at all with reference to any class, it has been in the view that has been taken with reference to the incidence of taxation upon that large and worthy class of people in Canada,

Mr. FOSTER.

the foundation of its progress and the hope of its future, namely: the agricultural classes. With reference to those, I think I may say truthfully that the Government in preparing its tariff has acted sympathetically. This class of the people, distributed as they are over every part of the Dominion, working their fields and farms, producing that which is the basis of all supplies, becoming ultimately the consumers of a large proportion of what is made in this country, and what is imported into this country, having to struggle with various difficulties—difficulties often of low prices, difficulties of competition in the great markets of the world—I say that this class demands at the hands of the Government, as I propose it shall receive, a sympathetic and favourable consideration. That is not saying that, in my opinion, the agricultural interests of the country have not been the object of solicitude by the Government. I think they have been, and I think the Liberal-Conservative Government since 1878 has pursued a course of constant and unvarying care for the interests of the farmers of this country.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. FOSTER. Our friends in Opposition have had much sympathy and many fair words for the farmers. Of course, they have not for the last fourteen years had a chance to accomplish very much so far as deeds are concerned. But the record of the five years during which they occupied office, from 1873 to 1878, indicates no special consideration and no special care for that class. I may say, with reference to the agricultural classes of Canada, that the Government and the Liberal-Conservative party have shown their sympathy with the farmers in what they have done—first, in the protection that they have given to the products of the farmer, the protection which, as I said in a former part of my address, was not so much with the object of raising abnormally the prices of their products, as of steadying the market for them and preventing sectional and periodical inroads upon them, with the result of lowering the fair market value of what they produce. I wish to adduce some figures to show what has been done for the agricultural interests of this country. In 1877, the people of this country consumed, of imported agricultural products, animals and their products: from Great Britain, \$56,588 worth; from the United States, \$16,066,963 worth; from other countries, \$7,798 worth, making a total of \$16,131,349. In 1878 these imports for home consumption amounted to \$15,050,930, and in 1879 to \$10,420,344. The National Policy did its work, and the result was that the importation of these products fell to \$4,240,849 in 1891, to \$3,092,452 in 1892, and to \$2,741,733 in 1893. In other words, in the three years, 1877, 1878 and 1879, there was an average annual import of these products for consumption of \$13,867,541, whereas

in the last three years there was an average annual report of the same materials for home consumption of only \$3,358,344. If we turn again to the imports of flour and grain of all kinds, including pease, which come entirely from the United States, we find that the imports for home consumption were: in 1877, \$13,855,879; in 1878, \$13,452,460; but in 1892 these importations had fallen to \$1,345,294, and in 1893 to \$1,339,429. But, as an instance of the special protection accorded to certain products of the farmer in 1889-90, I will read the results as I have collected them. It is well known that at that time the imports of bacon, hams, shoulders, beef, mutton, pork and lard were very large, displacing by that much the same products of the Canadian farmer, and affecting him in two ways: in the first place, depriving him of part of the market which legitimately belonged to him; and in the next place, taking away from him his desire and encouragement to produce those products for a market which should be reasonably well assured to him. Well, Sir, the protection on these products to the farmer was increased in 1889-90, the result of which has been as follows:—In 1888-89 the imports of these articles amounted to 31,131,746 pounds, and in 1889-90 to 33,112,701 pounds. Then came the legislation, and in the succeeding year, 1890-91, the imports fell to 17,400,504 pounds in 1891-92 to 13,486,880 pounds, and in 1892-93 to 6,999,051 pounds. That is, in 1889-90 this country afforded a market for these products from the United States to the value of \$1,734,225; but in 1892, under the increased protection, that had been reduced to a market for only \$452,812 worth. That shows indisputably that the farmers have been given control of the market of Canada, and that they have risen to the height of the demands for consumption in this country, and have been able to avail themselves of this their legitimate market by means of the protection given to these products. They have had just that much more market for them. But another consequence is to be noted: the production of those articles has been stimulated. The fact that the farmer finds a home market ready for what he produces, gives him the basis of a stock-in-trade on which to work; he works on that and enlarges it, and then he looks to the foreign market for the disposal of his surplus product. What has been the effect of that? In 1877 the farmers of this country sent, of agricultural products and animals and their products, to Great Britain \$13,437,762 worth, and to the United States \$10,198,297 worth, or a total of \$25,123,396. In 1878 that total was increased to \$27,644,636 worth, distributed—\$17,308,793 to Great Britain and \$8,984,025 to the United States; and in 1879 increased to \$29,813,771, distributed—\$17,690,006 to Great Britain and \$10,869,275 to the United States. The average exports of those three years amounted to \$16,145,520 to Great Britain and \$10,017,199 to the United States, a total export of \$27,-

527,267 yearly. Coming to 1892 and 1893, the exports to Great Britain in 1892 reached the sum of \$36,869,595 and the exports to the United States the sum of \$6,643,099, a total of \$46,145,590. In 1892-93 they were to \$40,420,681 to Great Britain and \$6,020,992 to the United States, a total of \$49,235,106. Taking the average of these two years, the average exports of these products to Great Britain was \$38,500,000; the average export to the United States amounted to \$6,333,000; and the total averaged \$47,690,000. That shows that the farmer has benefited in two ways. He has gained the control of the market, which is properly his own, in this country. He has displaced, through the aid that protection has given him, the products that formerly came in from the United States, and in consequence of the better position thus acquired, he has gone into the cultivation of these products more largely and sent the surplus to Great Britain and the United States—notably Great Britain—until last year the export reached the very large sum of \$49,235,000. In this respect the National Policy has benefited the farmer. It has done more. It has provided experimental farms, at a very generous cost, from the Treasury. Experiments have been made, bulletins issued, competent teachers have gone throughout the country giving the results of their operations and experiments, teaching the people the elementary principles and the latest results of science and the best business methods in the raising of their various products. Further, at a great cost, this policy has, for the last fourteen years, provided transport for the farmers' products going out and for the articles they consumed coming in—a transport system which goes into every corner of the country, and which, for excellence and cheapness, is not surpassed by that of any other country in the world. Is not that a great advantage to the agriculturists, scattered throughout the country and depending on these means for the easy access of their goods to market, and benefiting by the better result from the sale of their goods, through the cheapness of transport thus afforded? These are two or three considerations which, I think, make my contention good, that the farmers' interests have not been neglected by the Government heretofore, and support my assertion that, in the revision of the tariff, his interests will again be found not to have been neglected. Now, after having made these observations generally and specially with reference to the tariff, I come to the items themselves. The first item in the schedule of dutiable goods is that of liquors and tobacco. In tobaccos we have made no change whatever. In spirituous liquors we have made no change whatever. With reference to malt liquors, we have made one change. It will be remembered that two or three years ago, when I undertook, in the face of a fairly buoyant revenue, to reduce that revenue by \$3,500,000 or more, I had

to have recourse, for a limited period at least, to some speedy method of recouping the great drop in the revenue caused by the reduction of the sugar taxation. I did so by putting a larger duty—although small in degree—upon tobaccos; by heightening the duty to a small extent on spirituous liquors, both excise and customs; by heightening also the excise on malts, making the excise, which had always been in this country, with the exception of a very short space of time, 1 cent a pound, 2 cents per pound. That was felt to be a very large increase. It operated in this way: The malt, and consequently the beer duty, in this country became 7 cents, as compared with 4 cents in Great Britain and 3 8-10 cents in the United States. The revenue has since come up largely to the expectations formed. The chasm that was made has been filled, and, under these circumstances, the Government has determined to take off from the malt duties one-half cent per pound, leaving it at one cent and a half instead of one cent, which has been the figure since Confederation, with the exception of one or two years. The loss which will accrue to the revenue from that will be in the neighbourhood of \$200,000. We will get some accretion of revenue probably from the larger amount of malt made, because, under the 2 cent duty on malt, the production decreased to a certain extent, and sugar and other substances were used which, it is said, make an inferior article. I leave that to my hon. friends opposite to judge.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What is your own opinion?

Mr. FOSTER. I am not a practical man myself in that respect.

Mr. LANDERKIN. You take moments of weakness occasionally, though.

Mr. FOSTER. I do, but am always frank enough to acknowledge my moments of weakness. Others are not. I have seen some hon. gentlemen get very irritable when these moments of weakness were brought to their attention.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Will you tell us what the Prohibition Commission has to say about it?

Mr. FOSTER. I have not had the pleasure of meeting the prohibition delegation, and the commission has not yet reported. I come next to the item of agricultural products, the second class of the schedule. From the remarks which I have made, it will be seen that it is not the policy of the Government to decrease in any material degree the protection at present afforded to the agricultural interests of the country. The effect upon their interests has been what I have pointed out, and with those effects fully in view, the Government did not feel itself justified—as indeed it did not feel disposed—in diminishing the protection which

Mr. FOSTER.

has worked so well and been so valuable an adjunct to that class. Some changes, however, have been made. Animals living, which were formerly—

Mr. LANDERKIN. Dead.

Mr. FOSTER—which were formerly 25 per cent, with the exception of live hogs—have been reduced to 20 per cent, which is the percentage placed upon live animals in the Wilson Bill and the Bill as emanating from the Senate Committee so far as it has gone. Live hogs, which were formerly 2 cents per pound, have been made 25 per cent. When we come to beef, fresh or salted, which was 2 cents per pound, that rate has been retained. Fresh mutton, which was 3 cents per pound, has been changed to 35 per cent. Meats, n.e.s., including canned meats, poultry and game, 25 per cent ad valorem. One explanation is due upon that item. It is this: The House will remember that, with reference to pork, we had two schedules. One was intended to include what was called the heavy or mess pork, and upon that a duty of a cent and a half per pound was placed. The other was intended to include the lighter pork, and upon that a duty of 3 cents was placed. The only way we had of distinguishing between the heavy and the light pork was by the number of pieces that should be in the barrel, but a very little experience was sufficient to show that that test was entirely inadequate.* It was impossible to open and inspect every barrel and find the number of pieces, and even if that were possible, it was practicable for dealers to cut up the hog in such a way that there should be the requisite number of pieces, even though it were a light pork, and then, after it was introduced into the country, to re-pack the pork, thus having the light pork come in at 1½ instead of 3 cents. That difficulty, therefore, had to be overcome, and the simplest and easiest way has been found to put a uniform duty of 25 per cent on both kinds. This will have the effect of raising the duty somewhat on the heavy pork, and of reducing it a shade on the light pork. On the whole, it will make an equitable arrangement, give an adequate protection, and take away a very serious evil and vexation, not only in the carrying out of the tariff, but one of which the farmers themselves rightly complain, inasmuch as where they supposed they were getting a protection of 3 cents per pound, the pork was actually coming in at 1½ cents per pound. Meats, fresh, n.e.s., which had been placed at 3 cents per pound, are left as before. Poultry and game are kept at 20 per cent, the same as before. Extracts of meat, fluid beef, not medicated, and soups, 25 per cent, the same as before. Lard and cottolene are changed from 3 cents per pound, and 20 per cent ad valorem respectively to an ad valorem duty of 25 per cent. Tallow, stearic acid and stearine, which formerly were 1

cent and 3 cents per pound, having been reduced to an ad valorem of duty of 20 per cent. Beeswax, which bore a duty of 20 per cent, has been reduced to 10 per cent. Paraffine wax and candles, which formerly paid respectively 3 cents and 5 cents, have been reduced respectively to 2 cents and 4 cents. All candles which formerly bore various duties have been reduced to a common duty of 25 per cent ad valorem. Soap, which bore a specific duty in two cases and a mixed specific and ad valorem duty in another case—the mixed duty being 10 cents per pound and 20 per cent and the specific being 1½ cents per pound, have been arranged under two schedules. The common or laundry soap, not perfumed, will bear a duty of 1 cent instead of a duty of 1½ cents per pound, and those soaps which bore a mixed specific and ad valorem duty, will pay a uniform rate of 35 per cent. Castile soap, mottled or white, remains at the duty at which it was before—2 cents per pound.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Can you give the equivalent ad valorem duty?

Mr. FOSTER. I think it would be about 25 or 30 per cent. Glue and mucilage—glue was formerly dutiable in two ways—liquid at 30 per cent, and other at 3 cents per pound, and mucilage was 30 per cent. These have been put into one schedule, and reduced to 25 per cent. British gum, or dextrine, sizing cream, &c., are all put under one schedule, and charged 10 per cent ad valorem, instead of 1 cent per pound. This is because these materials are used in processes of manufacture. Feathers, which were in three categories, are now placed in two, undressed feathers, which were formerly dutiable at 15 and 25 per cent, being put at 20 per cent, and others, formerly 35 per cent, being now 30 per cent. Butter remains as before, at 4 cents per pound, and cheese, as before, at 3 cents per pound. Condensed milk, which was divided into two schedules, one sweetened, dutiable at 1¼ cents per pound and 35 per cent, and the other, unsweetened, at 35 per cent, have been joined in one class containing condensed milk, condensed coffee, condensed coffee with milk, milk foods, and all similar preparations, including preserved ginger, are dutiable at 30 per cent ad valorem. When we come to the grains—oats have been kept at 10 cents per bushel, and cornmeal at 40 cents per barrel, but two schedules have been formed with other grains, and two or three other agricultural products. The first schedule contains corn and barley. The duties on these are kept as they were before, but there is added this clause, "Provided that barley and Indian corn shall be free of duty when imported into Canada from the country of production, if such country, whence either or both are imported, admits both these products free of duty, when imported thence from Canada. That is an offer of recipro-

city to any country that chooses to take it up.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). What is the object of leaving oats out?

Mr. FOSTER. The object of leaving oats out of that proposal was to retain protection to that product of the farmer in Canada, a very large product, and one which, in some portions of Canada, might be adversely affected at certain times and under certain conditions, if the duty were removed. Then again buckwheat, buckwheat meal, rye, rye flour, beans, peas, hay, potatoes, green and ripe apples, and vegetables, are left with the same duties, or nearly the same, as they had under the old tariff, and it is enacted that each of the above products shall be admitted free of duty from any country which imposes no duty on the like product when imported from Canada. The duty on oatmeal is placed at 50 cents per barrel. I come now to the question of rice, which has been discussed on several occasions in the House. Formerly the uncleaned rice, or paddy, was dutiable at 17½ per cent, and the cleaned rice at 1¼ cents per pound. Two methods of dealing with these items were canvassed. One was to reduce the duty on the uncleaned rice, and to correspondingly reduce the duty on the cleaned rice; but, on the other hand, it is necessary to look to the contingencies of revenue. Rice is an article which, although it is used largely, is used in small quantities by any one family, and the price of it is not high. A considerable duty can easily be got from it, the tax being diffused over the whole country, and not being felt as any considerable burden. It has, therefore, been decided to raise some \$30,000—basing calculation upon the importation of last year—in addition to the revenue already yielded from rice.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What will be your total revenue on this item?

Mr. FOSTER. The total revenue, I think, would be \$55,000 or \$60,000. That, however, is not at the expense of the consumer. The duty upon cleaned rice at present is 1¼ cents per pound. The arrangement of duties that has been made is this: to place four-tenths of one cent duty upon the uncleaned rice, and 1 cent per pound upon the cleaned rice, and it will recoup the revenue to the extent of about \$30,000. Rice flour and sago flour, which bore a duty of 2 cents per pound, have been placed at 25 per cent. Wheat and wheat flour are kept at the same rates as before—15 cents per bushel on the former and 75 cents per barrel on the latter. Biscuits formerly bore duties of 25 per cent for unsweetened, and 35 per cent for sweetened. A uniform duty of 25 per cent is now placed upon them. Macaroni and vermicelli, formerly 2 cents per pound, are now placed at 25 per cent ad valorem. Starch, including farina and corn starch, formerly bore a duty of 4 cents per pound for sweetened,

and 2 cents a pound for unsweetened, no change having been made since the reduction of the duty on sugar. The sweetened and unsweetened have been united in one uniform duty of 1½ cents a pound.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Is that expected to make any difference in the revenue?

Mr. FOSTER. Very little. I do not think that there will be any great importation into the country.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Perhaps I did not quite understand. I thought the hon. gentleman stated that one was four cents a pound and the other two cents, and that he now proposed to make them one and a half cents all round.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Well, if he reduces them to one and a half cents from two and four respectively, there must be more or less loss.

Mr. FOSTER. I think, if my hon. friend will look up the returns he will find that not much sweetened starch product came in at four cents duty. Sweet potatoes and yams, ten cents a bushel, with a reduction in behalf of the consumer in part, and a reduction also with reference to the Island of Bermuda, which imposes a very slight duty upon Canadian products going in there, and which, by letter or otherwise, has brought to the attention of the Government the high duty upon products from that island. Pickles were widely distended and under different categories as to duties; and there were duties upon fractions of a gallon as well as upon the gallon. The three schedules of pickles, sauces and catsups have been thrown into one, and a uniform duty of 35 per cent instead of the specific and specific and ad valorem duties combined, has been placed upon them. Garden seeds remain the same as before, 10 per cent when in bulk, and 25 per cent when in package. Ground mustard, 25 per cent, as before. Mustard cake reduced five per cent, and made fifteen instead of twenty. Malt, fifteen cents per bushel as before. Extract of malt, no change. No change has been made in the duty on hops, six cents per pound. Compressed yeast, and yeast cakes have been reduced from four and eight cents to three and six cents per pound, and the three schedules have been thrown into two. Trees, such as apple, cherry, peach, pear, plum, quince, of all kinds, have been made a uniform duty of three cents each. The specific duty has been retained, as it is almost impossible to follow these in point of valuation; that is not much change from the present duty. Grape vines, gooseberry bushes, raspberry bushes, currant bushes, and rose bushes, and all fruit plants not elsewhere specified, shade, lawn, and ornamental trees, shrubs, and plants, the half dozen

Mr. FOSTER.

categories under which these were found, some ad valorem and some specific, have been grouped under an ad valorem duty of 20 per cent.

Mr. CASEY. What change does that amount to?

Mr. FOSTER. On some, that is a lowering of the duty. It is most difficult to tell, because of the difficulty of getting their valuation. Take gooseberry bushes, their valuation, even of the same class, may be widely different in two or three days and is uncertain always. Blackberries, gooseberries, raspberries, strawberries, cherries, and currants, which had a duty of three cents a pound, and one cent a quart, respectively, have been put into one schedule of two cents a pound.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. When you say two cents per pound, what about the packages?

Mr. FOSTER. The package is included in the weight for duty. Cranberries, plums and quinces, which were thirty cents a bushel, have been put under an ad valorem duty of 25 per cent. Apples, forty cents per barrel, as before. Those I have spoken of. Apples, dried, desiccated, or evaporated, raisins, currants, dates, figs, prunes, and other dried or evaporated fruits, have been all made an even 25 per cent instead of an ad valorem duty of 10 per cent and one cent per pound.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. How about the French treaty in respect to those dried fruits?

Mr. FOSTER. The French treaty, when it comes into operation, will affect these by the very fact of its coming into operation, to the extent of the proportionate reduction which is provided for in the treaty. Grapes, two cents per pound, as at present. Oranges, lemons, and limes have been kept at about the same duty, a reduction from \$1.60 a thousand to \$1.50 a thousand upon the bulk. Peaches, one cent per pound, as before. Fruits, in air tight cans are reduced from three cents a pound to two cents.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I take it that in all these cases the packages are included?

Mr. FOSTER. Packages are included where I do not mention otherwise. Fruits preserved in brandy are kept at the brandy duty, \$1.90 per Imperial gallon; that is for fear that more brandy will be brought in than fruits. Jellies, jams, and preserves, which are now five cents per pound, are reduced to three cents per pound. Honey in the comb is kept at the old rate of duty, three cents. Coffee, green, when not imported direct, 10 per cent; when it is roasted or ground, and not imported direct, two cents a pound and 10 per cent. Coffee, roasted or ground, which was three cents a pound in the old tariff, becomes two cents

per pound. Extract of coffee, or substitutes therefor, formerly five cents per pound, are reduced to three. Chicory, which was three and four cents a pound, whether green or dry, becomes three cents per pound. Tea, a duty of 10 per cent when not imported direct. Cocoa paste and chocolate, which bore a duty of five cents per pound when sweetened, have been placed in the same list, and made four cents per pound.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Do I understand that there is now a duty on coffee of all sorts ?

Mr. FOSTER. There is a duty of ten cents on coffee when it is green, when it is not imported direct. When it is imported direct, there is no duty upon it. The same with reference to tea. Cocoa nuts remain at the same duty as before.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell.) If I understand the hon. gentleman, coffee that will be imported from Florida will come in free if it was grown in Florida ; but if the coffee was imported from Cuba to the United States it will pay ten per cent ?

Mr. FOSTER. It must be imported direct from growth and production. Desiccated cocoa nut, which, when sweetened, bore eight cents per pound, has been reduced to four cents per pound. A little change has been made in ginger and spices of all kinds, formerly they were 12½ per cent, and now they have been made fifteen per cent ; but when ground, the same duty of 25 per cent has been retained. Nutmegs and mace remain at the same duty. That disposes of the agricultural class of products, treated under the tariff. I now come to the third class, which consists of books and papers. On this question of books, leaving aside for a moment that of papers, there has been a good deal of writing, a good deal of speaking, and a great many demands have been formulated from different interests, from the reading public, from that portion of the reading public which may be called the studying public, who want scientific, philosophic and educational works which are not printed in this country, and which, for evident reasons, cannot at the present time be economically produced in the country. Colleges and libraries have also made a strong plea during several years for the admission of books for their libraries free of duty, and also for the admission of books for courses of study in the different classes. Then, again, there is the aspect of the printers of the country towards the book publishing interest to be considered. The book publishing interest in Canada does not occupy the position that it did many years ago. The large book houses which were then scattered in almost every considerable city, doing business in their special way, have largely gone out of the business, and it has taken other channels of distribution, most widely among which is that of the

subscription sale and the distribution of books by means of agents through the towns, villages, and rural portions of the country. The book duty heretofore has been an ad valorem duty, and that has been complained of on the ground of principle. After considering the matter carefully, the decision has been arrived to change the duty, and to make it a pound duty rather than an ad valorem. At first sight that might seem to defeat the object of those who seek relief for the reading public who take scientific, philosophical, and educational works, because those books are not printed in this country and cannot be printed here, and it might be thought that the system would bear more heavily on that class and more lightly on the class of books of a more ephemeral character, including current literature, put up in paper covers or more lightly put together than books of the other class. But the test shows that is not so. If you take a subscription book, bound, which sells at \$3, its weight will probably be four pounds. Under an ad valorem duty of 15 per cent, as at present, the duty would be 45 cents. It is proposed to make the duty a pound duty, 6 cents per pound. The duty on such a book would be 24 cents, instead of 45 cents. If you come down to current and light literature, large quantities of which are sent into this country, and which have not expensive bindings, and whose price is almost nominal, such a book coming here would weigh half a pound or three-quarters of a pound, and the invoice price would be but a few cents per pound. The ad valorem duty is almost nothing ; the pound duty will be considerable. Another point arises, and that is this, that in the distribution of books in the country the post office is largely availed of, and great difficulty arises from ad valorem duties in the post office customs distribution. It involves the appraisement of each book at the place where it is delivered. The pound duty is much easier ; the officer has simply to put the book in the scale and weigh it.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Will it be made fractional—3 cents for the half pound ?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes. Broadly stated, the question of principle I think is this, that the pound duty does not tax the genius, the spirit, the thought in the book ; it taxes the paper, binding, and the articles entering into its production. It is a better protective duty to those articles and to the printer as regards that class of book which it is possible to produce here. The duty will be 6 cents per pound for books, instead of an ad valorem duty of 15 per cent. British copyright, reprints of, will have in addition to 6 cents per pound, a duty of 12½ per cent, which is the amount we collect in payment of the copyright and transmit.

Mr. EDGAR. Is this ad valorem ?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes. But there is a clause attached, which is as follows: This duty shall continue until 27th March, 1895, and thereafter the rate shall be 6 cents per pound, it being the intention of the Government not to continue to collect this amount, but to try and have the matter adjusted by that time in a better and more satisfactory way. Advertising pamphlets and all that class of matter, which had an ad valorem duty of 20 per cent and 6 cents per pound, are retained at the same rate of duty. This item is a large revenue producer, and has been left unchanged.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Does the change from ad valorem to specific make any difference in the receipts?

Mr. FOSTER. It is very difficult to calculate that. If you take the returns on an ad valorem basis you have not the weight but simply the value; but testing different prices of books as we have done, it may be fairly assumed that what is lost on one side is gained on the other, and that the reduction on the whole will not amount to a very large sum. Bank notes, bonds, bills of exchange, and the like have been kept dutiable at 35 per cent; labels 15 cents per pound and 25 per cent, this item being also a large revenue producer. Maps and charts are 20 per cent. Painting, prints, and engravings remain as before, 20 per cent. Playing-cards will be 6 cents per pack; printed music 10 cents per pound. The question of wall paper has been settled by dropping the specific duties and imposing an ad valorem duty of 35 per cent all round. Paper sacks and bags, which were 35 per cent, have been made 25 per cent. Mill-board remains the same as before, 10 per cent. Tar red paper will be 20 per cent.

Mr. EDGAR. What will be the duty on ordinary paper?

Mr. FOSTER. It remains at the same duty as at present, namely, 25 per cent. It is desirable I think to state in this connection with respect to books on the free list—and I am stating it briefly and from memory—that these include Bibles, psalm-books, prayer-books, and hymn-books, instead of being charged 5 per cent; books for university, college, and libraries of that kind, books for public and incorporated mechanics' libraries are also made free to the extent of two copies to each institution. Books found in the regular curriculum of colleges, universities, and academies, being of a kind not printed or reprinted in Canada, are allowed free for those purposes. Books printed in any language foreign to this country, that is in any language except French and English, are admitted free, and some other concessions are made, which, though important, have escaped my memory.

Mr. SOMERVILLE. How about monthly magazines?

Mr. FOSTER.

Mr. FOSTER. They are kept as at present.

Mr. FOSTER. Books for the deaf, dumb, and blind are admitted free. A friend suggests that this is a concession to the Opposition.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It is a concession, Mr. Speaker, got by the Opposition from the predecessor of the hon. gentleman, and I should say, wrung out of the Ministry by the Opposition.

Mr. FOSTER. I hope the Opposition have used them. Coming next to chemicals, oils and paints. The vinegar duty has been kept the same as before. There is an excise upon the manufacture of vinegar in the country, all of which is carried on under the Inland Revenue, and it is proposed to make the excise duty larger and to get an additional revenue of some thousands of dollars therefrom. The protection upon vinegar is a large protection, but it is almost impossible to make it other than it is and keep vinegar from being made wholesale from acetic acid and other ingredients of a deleterious and unhealthy kind. So that that problem has been solved by keeping the vinegar at the old duty, and by raising an additional amount of revenue from the manufacture of it in the shape of excise.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. How much?

Mr. FOSTER. The additional income will be probably about \$30,000. Acid, acetic and pyroligneous of any strength for the purpose of manufactures which bore a duty of 25 cents per gallon and 20 per cent, has been reduced to 25 per cent. Acid, muriatic and nitric has been reduced from 25 per cent to 20 per cent. Sulphuric acid which bore a duty of five-tenths of a cent per pound has been reduced to four-tenths; sulphuric ether is the same duty, viz., 5 cents per pound. Acid phosphate has been reduced from 3 cents to 2 cents per pound. Liquorice paste and liquorice root, which has a duty of 2 and 3 cents a pound, have been made ad valorem 20 per cent, a considerable reduction; all medicinal preparations and patent medicines have been kept at the same rate: 50 per cent for liquids and 25 per cent for others. Cod liver oil, medicated, is kept at the old rate, 20 per cent. Essential oils, largely used in manufacturing soaps of the better kind, in fact all perfumed soaps, reduced from 20 per cent to 10 per cent. Pomades are kept at the same rate. Perfumery, including toilet preparations, have been kept at the same rate, namely, 30 per cent. Various representations have been made in Parliament and out of Parliament, looking to the reduction of duty upon illuminating oil. After having carefully thought over the subject with a view to do whatever was reasonable for the general consuming public, and with a very strong unwillingness to destroy an industry which has existed from Con-

federation up, and existed always under the protection of the Government: an industry which is local I admit, but which is peculiar in its nature in that, in the locality in which it exists it is widely distributed and becomes a living, each well, to the family, the small holder that owns the land upon which the well is worked. A year or more ago, very large prices were paid for oil, whether they were Canadian oils or American oils. That was not the fault of the producer at Petrolia. At the very time the Canadian oils were selling from 25 cents to 45 cents per gallon in Canada, they were being sold in bulk at Petrolia for 9 and 11 cents per gallon. It was pointed out to the producers last year that it was necessary for them to take measures by which oil should be reduced in price to the consuming public, and with an expenditure of commendable energy, and an expenditure, I am sure, of a large amount of money, they have perfected arrangements by which to-day, instead of the prices which I have quoted, oil is being distributed now from Calgary to Cape Breton, and sold at no place at a cost greater than 25 cents per gallon, and coming down to a cost of 10 and 12½ cents per gallon. The duty of 7 1-5 cents per gallon is a large duty, but it is a duty which is not availed of by the producers and sellers of the oil. On the other hand, from those who use American oil a very large revenue, some \$400,000, is received which it is difficult for the Government to sacrifice without replacing it in some other way. The amount of oil which is used by each family is not surprisingly large in quantity, and is not surprisingly great in its value.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What do you compute the total consumption at both home and imported?

Mr. FOSTER. The division is about two-thirds to one-third; one-third of the market is supplied by the United States illuminating oil, and two-thirds of the market is supplied by the home product. I will give you the figures later on. Under these circumstances, the Government has come to the conclusion not to lower the duty upon illuminating oils this year. Some changes have been made, however, with reference to the distribution, and arrangements will be made by the Inland Revenue by which this oil can be delivered and stored in tanks in any city or in any village, and by which it can be distributed without many of the vexations and additions to the expenses which exist.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Are the means of carriage to be interfered with?

Mr. FOSTER. Do you mean in transport by rail?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Or by water.

Mr. FOSTER. The law in that respect will remain the same as it is to-day. However, the duty on barrels in which oil is brought in is at present 40 cents, and that

has been reduced to 20 cents, giving in that method of bringing in the oil by barrels, a reduction of 20 cents on each barrel. In crude oils and gas oil and fuel oil, for fuel and manufacturing purposes, a reduction has been made of one-half of the present duty, and in lubricating oil the limit upon which that duty is placed has been reduced from 30 cents per gallon to 25 cents per gallon; and all above 25 cents per gallon in value goes into the class for lubricating oils, which bears a common duty of 25 per cent. Linseed oil or flaxseed oil, which bears a duty of 1¼ cents per pound and which is the raw material for a great variety of industries, has been lowered, and instead of that duty which I have mentioned, an ad valorem duty of 20 per cent has been placed upon it, which is a very considerable reduction. Lard oil, neat's-foot oils, and sesame seed oils remain at the same rate of 20 per cent. Olive oil prepared for salad purposes, has been increased from 20 to 30 per cent. Olive oil in bulk for manufacturing purposes has been placed on the free list, used, as it is coming to be now, very largely in the manufacture of the better kinds of soap and in various other articles, and in the preparation of sardines and the putting up of fish. Vaseline is to have a duty of 35 per cent instead of the old duty of 6 cents and 4 cents per pound. Blacking, shoe and shoemakers' ink is reduced from 30 per cent to 25 per cent. Ink for writing has been reduced from 25 to 20 per cent. Blueing has been reduced from 30 to 25 per cent. Dry white and red lead, orange, mineral and zinc white, 5 per cent; ochres, raw siennas and the various foundations for paints have been reduced from 30 per cent to 20 per cent. Oxides, ochres and ochrey earth, raw siennas and colours, have been reduced from 30 per cent to 20 per cent. Paints and colours which bore a 30 per cent duty, and in another class, 5 cents a pound and 25 per cent duty, have been reduced all round to an even 25 per cent. Paints and colours, ground in spirits, are kept at the same duty which is the spirit duty of \$1 a gallon, but scarcely anything is done in that line, no importation now taking place. Turpentine which is a basis for different manufacturing processes has been reduced from 10 per cent to 5 per cent. Varnishes, lacquers, japans and the like which bore a duty of 20 cents and 25 per cent, have been reduced to 20 cents a gallon and 20 per cent. Paris green is kept at the same duty, namely, 10 per cent. Putty has been reduced from 25 to 15 per cent. Coming to the class of earthenware, glassware and stoneware: brick for building remains at 20 per cent. There were two schedules, one of China and porcelain ware, and one of earthenware. The duty on china and porcelain was less than the duty on earthenware, and there were occasions for disputes arising at custom-houses. The two are thrown into one, and the common duty of 30 per cent is put upon them. Earthenware and stoneware, demijohns or jugs,

churns or crocks are reduced from 3 cents to 2 cents a gallon of holding capacity. Drain pipes and tiles are kept at the old rate. On glass the duties have not been interfered with in the main, except that small wares of glass, small bottles and the like, which bore 5 cents a dozen and 30 per cent, have all been placed in the general class bearing 30 per cent ad valorem. Insulators of all kinds and lamps, including arc and incandescence lamps, lamp chimneys, side-lights and head-lights, shades, globes, and all that kind of articles, which bore 5 cents a dozen and 30 per cent, and some few 25 per cent, have been placed under the common duty of 30 per cent, a reduction on the whole.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What does that cover?

Mr. FOSTER. That covers all kinds of electric fixtures and all kinds of lamps, side-lights, shades and globes, whether for oil, electric light or gas. Outside of what I have mentioned, the only change in the general glass duty has been to reduce the duty somewhat on plate glass, which comes in panes of not less than 12 feet square, the duty being reduced from 6 to 4 cents per square foot. The duty on the other glasses remains at the same figure, that schedule having been very carefully gone over two or three years ago and arranged very satisfactorily, I think, both to the importer and to the revenue. On spectacles and eye-glasses the duty is 30 per cent, as before, and upon the frames or parts thereof, 20 per cent. Show-cases, which bore a mixed duty of \$2 each and 35 per cent, have been placed at 35 per cent. Magic lanterns and slides therefor, philosophical, photographic, mathematical and optical instruments, 25 per cent. Cement, which ran through five schedules, has been placed in one, and the uniform duty of 40 cents per barrel put upon it. Plaster of Paris, in the rough and when calcined or manufactured, bears 15 per cent and 20 per cent respectively. Flagstones, granite and the rough stones generally, have an ad valorem duty of 20 per cent, and the finished article 30 per cent. Marble in the rough, that is, sawn in slabs, but not otherwise manufactured, has a duty of 20 per cent, and the finished article bears a duty of 30 per cent. Slate and manufactures of slate—roofing slates, slate-pencils, school or writing slates, the latter of which bore a complex and absurdly high duty, have been placed at the uniform duty of 20 per cent.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Surely, nothing was absurd in the National Policy.

Mr. FOSTER. The story is told that at one time slate was charged at so much per square foot, and the way adopted to get at the duty on slate-pencils was to find out the number of slate-pencils that would lie in a square foot and to calculate the amount of the duty from that. I state that by way of information to the hon.

Mr. FOSTER.

gentlemen when they come to frame their tariff. Leather, manufactures of, and rubber form the next class. On fur skins, 15 per cent, as at present. On fur caps, hats and the like, 25 per cent, as at present. Leather-board and leatheroid and boot and shoe-counters, 20 per cent. Leather and skins not otherwise provided for, when tanned, belting leather, sole leather, upper leather, including dongola, cordovan, lamb, sheep and calf, bear a uniform duty of 15 per cent. This is a slight reduction. Sole leather, rough or undressed, is the same as before, 10 per cent. On japanned, patent or enamelled leather, a uniform duty of 22½ per cent. Skins for morocco leather, tanned, but not further manufactured, 15 per cent. Glove leathers are, as before, at 10 per cent. All manufactures of leather, not elsewhere specified, are left at 25 per cent. Belting of leather or other material, is reduced from 25 to 20 per cent. Harness and saddlery of every description is placed at 30 per cent. Whips, which were 50 cents per dozen and 30 per cent ad valorem, have been put at 35 per cent ad valorem. Boots and shoes are kept at 25 per cent. India-rubber boots and shoes, with tops or uppers of cloth or of material other than rubber, which bore 35 per cent, are put at 30 per cent. India-rubber boots and shoes and manufactures of India-rubber keep the same duty of 25 per cent. India-rubber clothing, surfaced and otherwise, which bore a compound duty, is put at 35 per cent. Rubber belting, hose, packing and mats, which bore a compound duty of 5 cents per pound and 15 per cent, is put at 32½ per cent ad valorem. I now come to the class of metals and manufactures of, including, as the article of prime importance, iron. Upon this a great deal of attention and careful consideration has been bestowed. On the one hand, the duties upon iron have been and are relatively high. On the other hand, there is the patent fact that unless there be a sufficient inducement in the way of protection or bounty given for the manufacture of iron, it will be impossible in this country, as it has been found impossible in all other countries, ever to rise from the production of raw ores, which abound in this country, to the independent and self-contained manufacture of the larger portion of the iron needed for the consumption of the country. That problem has been solved in part before by the fixing of a duty of \$4 per ton upon pig iron, and grading the duties on puddled and bar iron in proportion, the present duty being \$13 per ton, upon which to build up the manufacture of iron in the country. Scrap, which is a raw material, out of which bar iron is made, was, however, when these duties were arranged in 1887, left at the import duty of \$2. The consequence of that has been simply this: Instead of the bar iron of the country being made from puddled bars, the product from pig iron, and the latter from the iron ores of the country, no bar iron is at present made in the

country from puddled bars. All that is made is made from scrap, either the native scrap or imported scrap. That has its effect upon the quality of the iron, but its most serious effect is to retard in that way the development, so much desired, of the iron industry. Some method, therefore, had to be adopted in order to remove that disadvantage. It is not the intention of the Government to take the line which has been assented to by my hon. friends opposite to-night. It is not our intention to destroy every vestige of protection, so far as the iron schedule is concerned. We must bear in mind that in 1887 the first real attempt was made to give iron any real protection in this country. We must bear in mind that although the National Policy dates from 1878, there was nothing but a revenue tariff upon iron from 1878 up to 1887. It was at that period, and only six years ago, that Parliament assented to a scheme which had for its object the development of the iron industry by a system of protection and bounty. The problem which confronted the Government was this: In the first place, not to destroy the development of our iron industry; in the second place, to give as much relief as possible to those who make up all kinds of articles from the iron of commerce—that is, the puddled bar, or the bar iron. In steering between these two conflicting interests, the Government have concluded to adopt this as their policy. Briefly stated, it is as follows: to keep upon pig iron the same customs duty and the same bounty as at present—the duty being \$4 per ton, and the bounty \$2 per ton.

Mr. EDGAR. That is on the net ton.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; the net ton is always understood in our duties. That gives to pig iron a protection of \$6 per ton. It is not proposed to disturb that duty. The difficulty, however, which has occurred from the introduction of scrap, and the practical making of all the bar iron of the country from scrap, had to be met, and the proposal of the Government is to make the scrap duties, from to-day until the end of the year, \$3 instead of \$2, and after the 1st of January, 1895, \$4 per ton.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. How much revenue do you expect from that?

Mr. FOSTER. It is impossible to make any estimate. Under that duty it is supposed that not a very great deal of foreign scrap will be imported. Our object is to induce the manufacture of bar iron from the iron of the country—from the puddled bars.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. You expect that duty to be prohibitive?

Mr. FOSTER. It will largely act as a deterrent to the importation of foreign scrap. It is proposed to keep the duty and bounty upon pig iron. In order to reduce the cost of merchantable iron to the country, a reduction will be made in bar iron of \$3 per

ton, reducing it from \$13 to \$10. A reduction will be made also in puddled bar from \$9 to \$5, being a reduction of \$4 per ton, and iron and steel will be treated all through on an equality as respects the imposts, and upon these lowered duties on steel and iron the reductions have been made in the articles which are manufactured from these forms of iron. But in order to stimulate the production of puddled bar from the pig iron, so that the process of development may not stop at the point of pig iron, it is proposed to give a bounty of \$2 per ton upon puddled bar, and what corresponds to that in steel. Both bounties in pig iron and puddled bar to run five years from the day of this enactment, and also with this proviso, that if in two years from this, for instance a blast furnace starts and goes into the operation of making iron, it shall have the benefit of the bounties, on the strength of which it made the investment, for five years from the time it commenced to make the pig iron or puddled bars.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Will the old concerns go on for five years?

Mr. FOSTER. They go on five years from this date.

Mr. CHARLTON. How will it be in the case of one starting four years from this date?

Mr. FOSTER. It will have the five years bounty in the same way.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). That one concern, but not the others?

Mr. FOSTER. Not the others. The object of a bounty, in every case, is to induce the investment of capital into the making of iron from the ore into the pig or puddled iron. It is in the general interests that these industries shall be distributed in different parts of the country, so as to overcome, to a large extent, the heavy cost of distribution, consequent on our geographical extent.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman proposes to tie the hands of Parliament for five years.

Mr. FOSTER. As any law ties the hands of Parliament. Any law which is enacted ties the hands of Parliament to that extent. The present Bounty Act ties the hands of Parliament just as much and no more than the one now proposed will do.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What is the loss of revenue you expect for these proceedings, bounty included?

Mr. FOSTER. I may mention that although in the first years of the bounty no very great progress was made, there has been in the last three years great progress in the manufacture of iron, and last year the manufacture of pig iron in this country, upon which the bounty was paid, amounted to 48,000 tons. This year, up to March, the

amount made was 42,000 tons. So that there is every possibility that the current year will see pig iron made in this country to the extent of 50,000 tons. The bounty upon puddled bar, it is calculated, will increase that amount by about one-half, so that for the next three or four years—the bounty being \$2 per ton—the amount paid will run from \$90,000 up probably to \$120,000, or \$130,000. Of course, all depends upon the rapidity and extent of the development in the production of this kind of iron.

Mr. EDGAR. That is, on the two.

Mr. FOSTER. On the two. The duty on wrought scrap iron and scrap steel then is, as I have stated it, and the duty upon pig iron is \$4 per ton, as at present.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I did not observe that the hon. gentleman gave any intimation of the loss of revenue, pursuant on the reductions he proposes to make—in the one case of \$3 per ton and in the other \$4 per ton. He ought to have those figures before him.

Mr. FOSTER. As far as can be calculated, the loss on metals and manufactures, owing to the reduction proposed in duties, will amount to about \$350,000, basing the calculation upon the importations of last year, which is the only way, I suppose, in which you can make an estimate. But the hon. gentleman will see that to estimate with any degree of accuracy will be impossible, because we do not know what will be the effects of these duties from year to year. Bar iron and steel, as I have stated, are reduced to \$10 a ton, from \$13 a ton. Iron or steel plates or sheets, sheared or un-sheared, hoops, bands, strips, and skelp iron or steel, sheared or rolled in grooves, and iron or steel of all widths not thinner than number seventeen gauge, n.e.s., will be \$10 per ton. Plates or sheets of iron or steel over thirty inches wide, and not less than one-quarter of an inch in thickness, commonly denominated boiler plate, and universal mill or rolled edge steel plates, not exceeding thirty inches in width, will be 12½ per cent. A large reduction is made in iron or steel sheets, hoops, bands, and strips, or other iron or steel of all widths, sheet iron, common or black, smooth, polished, coated or galvanized and Canada plates, number seventeen gauge, and thinner, the change being from 12½ per cent, and, in some cases, as high as 30 per cent, to 5 per cent. These are materials which at present are not made in Canada, and which are largely used, and the duty is put at a nominal rate so as to encourage those industries which use these materials.

Mr. CHARLTON. What was the duty on boiler plate?

Mr. FOSTER. It was either \$13 per ton or 12½ per cent. Plough plates, mould boards, land sides, and other plates for agricultural

Mr. FOSTER.

implements, when cut to shape from rolled sheets of steel, but not moulded, punched, polished, or otherwise manufactured, and being of a greater value than four cents per pound, were formerly charged at the rate of 12½ per cent. This is a quality of steel not made in this country, and the duty has been reduced to the nominal rate of 5 per cent, which, of course, will be a distinct gain to the manufacturers of implements and other articles made from these materials. Forgings of iron and steel, which were 1½ cents per pound, but not less than 35 per cent, have been fixed at 35 per cent. Rolled iron or steel angles, channels, structural shapes and special sections, weighing less than twenty-five pounds per lineal yard, which were formerly charged at one-half cent per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem, have been placed at 35 per cent. Rolled iron or steel angles, channels, beams, and the like, which were largely used by bridge builders, and which, when imported by bridge builders for the purpose of bridge building, came in at 12½ per cent, have been placed at 12½ per cent, the condition being taken off, so that they may be imported for use by any one at this rate. Iron bridges and structural iron work, formerly charged 1¼ cents per pound, but not less than thirty-five per cent, had been placed at 30 per cent. Iron and steel railway bars, or rails for railways and tramways, of any form, punched or not punched, formerly dutiable at \$6 per ton, will be fixed hereafter at 30 per cent.

Mr. SOMERVILLE. Does this apply to electric railways?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, this would apply to electric railways. Railway fish plates and tie plates, formerly charged \$12 per ton, will be 30 per cent. There is a quality of iron which comes into the country and is largely used, known as Swedish iron. It has borne a duty of 20 per cent, being of high value, and necessary for certain processes of manufacture, and filling a place which could not be filled by our own rolled iron. The duty upon this material has been made 15 per cent. Axles, car springs, and springs of iron or steel, or parts thereof, formerly \$30 per ton, and not less than 35 per cent, have been placed at 35 per cent. Malleable iron castings and steel castings, n.e.s., were formerly \$25 per ton, and not less than 30 per cent. This duty has been fixed at 25 per cent. Cast iron vessels, plates, stove plates and irons, sad irons, hatters' irons, tailors' irons, and castings of iron not elsewhere specified, are reduced from \$16 per ton and not less than 30 per cent to 27½ per cent. Cast iron pipe of every description, formerly \$12 per ton, and not less than 35 per cent, has been reduced to \$10 per ton, and not less than 35 per cent. Boiler tubes of a kind not made in this country, have been reduced from 15 per cent to 7½ per cent, and to these have been added corrugated tubes, or flues for marine boilers.

This is a distinct advantage to an industry which is largely prosecuted in this country. Lap-welded iron tubing for artesian wells and petroleum wells, etc., remain, as before, at 20 per cent. Tubes not welded or more than 1½ inches in diameter, rolled steel, are also unchanged at 15 per cent, and wrought iron tubing, threaded and coupled or not, over two inches in diameter, bear the same duty as before—15 per cent. All other wrought iron tubes, five-tenths of a cent per pound and 30 per cent. Chains (iron or steel) remain at 5 per cent, except that the limit has been reduced from nine-sixteenths to five-sixteenths of an inch in diameter. Nails and spikes, wrought and pressed, galvanized or not, horse-shoe nails, and all other wrought iron, steel, and other nails, n.e.s., and horse, mule and ox shoes have been changed from 1½ cents per pound, and not less than 35 per cent, to 30 per cent ad valorem. Composition nails and spikes, and sheathing nails have been reduced from 20 per cent to 15 per cent. Wire nails, cut nails and spikes of iron or steel now bearing a duty of 1½ cents per pound, but not less than 35 per cent, have been reduced to three-quarters of a cent per pound. Cut tacks, brads, or sprigs, not exceeding 16 ounces to the thousand, were formerly 2 cents per thousand, but this duty has been reduced to 1 cent per thousand. The same class of goods, exceeding sixteen ounces to the thousand, formerly charged 2 cents per pound, are reduced to 1½ cents per pound. Screws, commonly called wood screws, which formerly had a protection of 6 cents, 8 cents, and 11 cents per pound, respectively, have been reduced to 3 cents, 6 cents, and 8 cents per pound, but not to be less than 35 per cent. This is a reduction of about one-half on the present duty. Other screws of iron, steel or brass, or other metal, not otherwise provided for, are reduced from 35 per cent to 30 per cent. Wrought iron or steel nuts and washers, iron or steel rivets, bolts, with or without threads, nut and bolt blanks, T and strap hinges, which formerly bore duties of about 1 cent per pound and 25 per cent, have been reduced to 1 cent per pound and 20 per cent. Skates, formerly 20 cents per pair and 30 per cent ad valorem, are reduced to 10 cents per pair and 30 per cent ad valorem. Clothes wringers, formerly \$1 each and 30 per cent, are reduced to 25 cents each and 20 per cent. Cutlery, not otherwise provided for, remains, as before, at 25 per cent. Celluloid is not changed, the duty being 10 per cent. Knife blades and blanks are 10 per cent ad valorem, this duty involving no change. House furnishing hardware, builders' and cabinet-makers' hardware, etc., which formerly occupied two different schedules, have been thrown into one schedule. The former duties were 30 and 35 per cent. A common duty has been fixed at 32½ per cent. Adzes, hatchets, picks, mattocks, track tools, wedges, and crow-bars

of iron and steel, and hammers or sledges are now 30 per cent. This is on the whole, a reduction, the duties coming down from about 35 per cent. On this there was 35 per cent before. Axes of all kinds, scythes, hay knives, lawn mowers, pronged forks, rakes, and hoes, not elsewhere specified, and other agricultural tools or implements not elsewhere specified, 35 per cent ad valorem. These were, some of them, \$2 per dozen and 40 per cent; some of them \$2.40 a dozen and ad valorem duties combined. Shovels and spades, which had \$1 per dozen and 25 per cent, have been made 35 per cent. Files and rasps, 35 per cent. Steel needles, 30 per cent. Surgical and dental instruments are reduced from 20 to 15 per cent. Safes and the like are reduced from 35 to 30 per cent. Fire engines, 35 per cent. Locomotives for railways were formerly 30 per cent ad valorem when not less than \$2,000 each. The limiting clause has been stricken out, and locomotives for railways have been placed at 35 per cent. Steam engines, boilers, machinery, and the like, have been reduced from 30 per cent to 27½ per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Am I correct in understanding you that the total loss will only be \$350,000 on all the reductions made?

Mr. FOSTER. According to the best calculation that can be made, but it is a calculation which has no pretention to accuracy.

Mr. EDGAR. These things the hon. gentleman has lately given us are included in that estimate?

Mr. FOSTER. The different kinds of furniture are not included. Coming to the question of agricultural implements, the Government has found that a vexed one. The duty which has been heretofore 35 per cent upon mowing machines, binders, harvesters, and the like of that, has been greatly reduced. A very strong demand has been made by the farming interest all over the country for a reduction in that duty. A great many have been, I think, a little unreasonable, and have asked that the duty should be taken off altogether; others, representing large sections of the farming community, have petitioned that the duties should be materially reduced. These machines are made at the present time almost exclusively of iron, the percentage of wood which goes into their construction being remarkably small; and the reduction of duties upon iron will, to the extent that it is used, be felt in the reduction of cost in the manufacture of these different implements. After considering the matter in all its phases the Government has come to the conclusion to reduce these from 35 per cent to 20 per cent, a reduction of 15 per cent on the whole, and a reduction which it will tax the manufacturers of these implements

to meet and keep the field in which their competition is at present even quite heavy, especially in the North-west; but a reduction with which the Government believes that they can prosecute their industry, while, at the same time, it will have the effect of greatly cheapening one of the largest items of expenditure to which the farmer has been subjected, especially in grain growing districts.

Mr. CHARLTON. Has the Government considered the question of granting reciprocity to the United States in agricultural implements under the terms of their tariff, giving free admission to our agricultural implements into the United States on the condition that theirs are admitted here on the same terms?

Mr. FOSTER. The Government is aware that in the Committee's Draft Bill in the United States Senate, agricultural implements have been made free to the people of that country. So far as the manufacturers and buyers of implements in the United States are concerned, there is no duty upon agricultural implements, whether Canada reduces her duty in whole or in part.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I would like to know from the hon. gentleman what he calls agricultural implements. It is extremely important that that should be clearly understood.

Mr. McMILLAN. I would ask the hon. gentleman if the United States has not adopted a provision with respect to agricultural implements that they will allow them to come into their country free from any other country that allows American agricultural implements to come in free?

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman would be perfectly correct if he had asked whether a committee had not recommended that, but nothing has yet been adopted. What my hon. friend has said is true with that limitation. This clause takes in mowing machines, harrows, cultivators, seed drills, horse rakes, self-binding harvesters, harvesters without binders, binding attachments, reapers, sulky and walking ploughs, all of which are placed at 20 per cent.

Mr. CHARLTON. This is a matter of considerable importance. The Senate Finance Committee's draft on the Tariff Bill provides that agricultural implements shall be admitted into the United States free of duty if imported from countries not imposing duties upon agricultural implements of American manufacture exported to that country. That, undoubtedly, will be a question that the Government will be called upon to meet. No doubt that provision in the tariff will be retained if the Wilson Bill passes; and if that provision is made I presume the people of Canada would like to know, now that the tariff is under consideration, what course the Government of Canada would be likely to take in the premises.

Mr. FOSTER.

Mr. FOSTER. All I can say to my hon. friend is that we have to legislate under present conditions. This is the legislation which we propose under present condition.

Mr. LAURIER. How was it a moment ago about reciprocity?

Mr. FOSTER. How has it been for the last five years about reciprocity? Hon. gentlemen have been preaching reciprocity for five years. No one more than my hon. friend, who has just spoken, hailed with delight and with exuberant joy the result of the late election in the United States, and the coming into power of the Democratic party, because he believed there would be a free and open road to free trade in the United States. But what has happened? That although that party has an overwhelming majority in the House of Representatives and a clear majority in the Senate, after a year and a half of arduous struggle, they have succeeded in getting as far as the report stage of a Bill which is protective from one end of it to the other, and which expressly abolishes every reciprocity treaty that has been entered into with the United States.

Mr. LAURIER. The hon. gentleman was asked, what he would do about reciprocity in agricultural implements; and his answer was that he had to legislate according to present conditions. That is to say, that the hon. gentleman cannot do so when we do not know what will be done by the United States. But a moment ago the hon. gentleman submitted a reciprocity clause with respect to other articles, without knowing any more what the United States legislation would be than in the present case.

Mr. FOSTER. I see no inconsistency in that, not the least. We are legislating for ourselves in both respects. We are stating now in this legislation what under certain conditions and with respect to certain articles we are prepared to do with the United States. We are legislating in respect of the clauses under discussion, exactly in the same way.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. There will be some loss of revenue. Can the hon. Minister state how much?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know that there will be loss of revenue. Portable machines, portable steam engines, threshers and separators, now bearing 35 per cent, will be charged 30 per cent.

Mr. McMULLEN. Before the hon. gentleman leaves the question of agricultural implements I desire to ask, whether the Government will claim the right to re-value those instruments at the port where they are entered, or will they be bound to accept the invoice of the cost where they are manufactured?

Mr. FOSTER. We will adopt the same course with respect to those machines as we follow with regard to other importations. Sewing machines, which were \$3 each and 20 per cent, have been made 30 per cent. Pumps of all kinds and wind-mills will have a duty of 30 per cent. Type for printing will remain as before, 20 per cent; type metal will be 10 per cent. Bookbinders' tools, printing and lithographing presses and printing machines will remain at 10 per cent. Plates engraved on wood and on steel will be 20 per cent. Stereotypes, electrotypes and celluloids, for almanacs and such like, will remain at 2 cents per square inch; those of books will be free, because it has been found that the duty upon them has in no sense affected for the better those branches of the printing trade in this country. The duty upon the stereotypes and electros has, however, a different effect on book publishing, and the fact that these will be made free, while it will not in any respect injure the printing business, will assist the publishing and paper interests. Bird cages will be 35 per cent; barb wire fencing will be reduced to $\frac{3}{4}$ of a cent per pound, buckthorn and strip fencing of iron will be $\frac{1}{2}$ cent per pound. Machine card clothing will be 25 per cent, and wire cloth of brass, copper and tin will be kept at the same rate. 20 per cent. Wire of brass and copper is reduced from 15 to 10 per cent. As a concession to the manufacturers of wire fencing and wire nails, on whom the competition will fall with very great force, and who under the reduced duties will find it a hard struggle to keep up their end of the competition, we have given them a little relief by reducing the wire used for those purposes, from No. 11 to No. 14 gauge, from 25 per cent to 15 per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What is your estimate of the loss of revenue?

Mr. FOSTER. I think there will not be any loss of revenue. Wire rope of iron or steel will be 25 per cent; manufactures, articles or wares not specially enumerated are reduced from 30 per cent to 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Firearms will pay 20 per cent. Corset clasps, spoon clasps or busks and other articles of that class will be 5 cents per pound and 20 per cent. Gas, coal oil and electric light fixtures will pay 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Gas meters will pay 35 per cent. Bells of any description, 25 per cent. Brass and copper nails will also pay 25 per cent; zinc, manufactures of, 25 per cent; babbitt metal, 10 per cent; phosphor bronze, 10 per cent; lead, 60 cents per 100 pounds, when in bars or blocks; old lead, 40 cents per 100 pounds; manufactures of lead, 30 per cent; cans and packages made of tin or other material, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents per quart; stamped tinware, japanned ware, 25 per cent; enamelled iron or steel ware, 30 per cent. Telephones or telegraphic instruments will be 25 per cent. Composition metal for the manufacture of filled

gold watch cases, remains the same, 10 per cent ad valorem; Britannia metal and German and nickel silver, manufactures of, remain the same, 25 per cent. Manufactures of gold and silver jewellery have been raised from 20 per cent to 25 per cent, and I would have had no hesitation in raising the duty still more if I thought it would have had the effect of bringing in additional revenue, but when you go beyond a certain limit of duty no additional revenue is obtained. Sterling silver table ware and plated ware, 30 per cent, plated cutlery, 35 per cent, precious stones, 10 per cent; clocks, 25 per cent instead of 30; watches remain as before, 25 per cent. Jewellery and watch cases have been brought in under a common duty of 35 per cent. Coming to minerals, few changes have been made. Plumbago has been reduced from 15 per cent to 10 per cent; manufactures of plumbago from 30 per cent to 25 per cent. Cane or rattan, split, will be 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to 10 per cent; manufactures of plumbago from 30 per cent to 25 per cent. Manufactures of cane or rattan will be 15 per cent. Lumber and timber manufactures, further than rough sawn or hewn, 20 per cent; hubs, spokes, felloes and parts of wheels have been reduced from 15 per cent to 10 per cent; pails, tubs, churns, etc., reduced from 25 per cent to 20 per cent.

Mr. LANDERKIN. Is there any change on the duty on a wagon?

Mr. FOSTER. I will come to that presently. Manufactures of wood and brushes, 25 per cent; umbrella and parasol sticks, 20 per cent; veneers of wood reduced from 10 per cent to 5 per cent. Picture and photograph frames have been reduced from 35 per cent to 30 per cent; mouldings of wood from 25 per cent to 20 per cent; fishing rods are maintained at the same rate of duty, 30 per cent; furniture of wood, iron or other material reduced from 35 per cent to 30 per cent; coffins and caskets have been reduced from 35 per cent to 25 per cent.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Bless the dead.

Mr. FOSTER. That will be some relief to the hon. gentleman opposite. Billiard tables, which had a series of duties, specific and ad valorem according to their grades and value, have all been put in one list at 35 per cent. In respect to carriages, two divisions have been made. Carriages had a complex duty and were graded according to their value. It has been decided to make all farm and freight wagons, carts, drays and similar vehicles 25 per cent; and to make all other carriages and buggies, including children's carriages, at a uniform rate of 25 per cent.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Where do bicycles come in?

Mr. FOSTER. Bicycles and tricycles come in next at 30 per cent.

Mr. MULOCK. What reduction would that be on carriages?

Mr. FOSTER. You can figure it out in this way: If a farm wagon cost less than \$50—say it cost \$30—the duty as at present would be \$10 and 20 per cent, which is \$6; the two duties would be \$16 on \$30, which would be over 50 per cent. If a wagon cost \$20 the rate per cent, ad valorem equivalent, would be still greater. The present arrangement of duties, besides lowering the ad valorem upon the farmers' wagons and all that class of wagons, does away with the discrimination against the lower valued wagons. Railway cars and the like are 30 per cent. Fibreware is reduced from 30 per cent to 25 per cent. Lead pencils are reduced from 30 per cent to 25 per cent. Musical instruments, which had a set of double duties, are reduced to a uniform duty: organs 30 per cent, pipe organs and sets or parts 25 per cent. Pianofortes had also a series of mixed duties, according to the value of the instruments, and a round duty of 35 per cent has been placed upon them. Parts of pianos coming in as before at 25 per cent, and musical instruments at 20 per cent. We come next to the items of sugars and syrups. The present duties upon sugars, as hon. gentlemen will recollect, is 8-10 of a cent upon refined sugars, and upon all sugars above No. 14 Dutch standard. Molasses has its duty of 1½ cents per gallon, grading up or grading down, as the molasses becomes better or as it becomes poorer. The decision of the Government with reference to sugar is this: to raise the colour standard from 14 to 16, so that hereafter all sugars not over, that is, including No. 16 Dutch standard, will come in free; all raw sugars. That will give ingress to a very valuable class of sugars fit for the table and culinary uses, which will be brought in largely from the West Indies. At the same time the protective duty for refined sugars, which is now 8-10 of a cent per pound, is to be reduced 20 per cent, and the duty will be 64-100 of a cent.

Mr. CHARLTON. Looking to Washington.

Mr. FOSTER. No; they will put a duty on raw sugar. That is, the committee arranged it; but what will be done, no one knows.

Mr. CHARLTON. They have only 3-10 of a cent protection.

Mr. FOSTER. No; the present schedule, if it goes into effect in the United States, will give a clear 4-10 protection. Glucose, or grape sugar, 1½ cents per pound. Sugar candy, in which all have an interest, which was 1¼ cents, and 25 per cent before, is reduced to 35 per cent. The molasses clause has been made more strict in order, if possible, to include in it what is really good molasses, and to exclude from that category of a low rate of duty, what is not good molasses and syrups of different kinds and of all qualities, some good

Mr. FOSTER.

and more of them bad, which are thrown into the market. So that the arrangement of the wording has been made as strict as it possibly could be upon molasses, and a third class is made of syrups of all kinds, the products of the sugar cane or beet root.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Do I understand the hon. gentleman correctly that from this time out the sugar duties will be 6-10 of a cent per pound, all over No. 16 Dutch standard?

Mr. FOSTER. Sixty-four one hundredths.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That is close to 6-10, practically the same. And on molasses—did he say it would be 5-10 of a cent per pound?

Mr. FOSTER. No; on molasses 1½ cents per gallon of a certain test, and when it goes far below that test, my hope is that it will not be able to come in at all. Below that test it degenerates rapidly, and becomes ultimately what is known in the Maritime Provinces as "blackstrap," but it is not used, I think, there except for the purpose of making blacking. I come next to textiles, and the first is cotton. Hon. gentlemen will remember that the cotton schedule or items run over a considerable space, and combine a very large number of different specifications. An attempt has been made, and I think successfully, to very greatly lessen the confusion that arises therefrom by making the schedules definite and fewer in number. It is proposed to have the following duties upon cottons: cotton batts, batting and sheet wadding, dyed or not, which formerly had a compound duty, have an ad valorem duty of 22½ per cent. Cotton warps and cotton yarns, dyed or undyed, which had a double or mixed duty, have been placed at 25 per cent. Cotton unbleached, which was formerly 1 cent a square yard, and 15 per cent ad valorem, has been made 22½ per cent. White or bleached cotton fabrics, which were 2 cents per square yard, and 15 per cent, have been reduced to 25 per cent, and cotton fabrics, printed, dyed or coloured, which came in largely at 32½ per cent duty, have been reduced to 30 per cent. That takes in the cotton schedule, being some five items, simple and plain, and avoiding all confusion in importation and appraisement.

Mr. FLINT. Does that include cotton duck?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, that includes cotton duck. Everything that is made of cotton finds its place in one or other of these schedules.

Mr. MULOCK. Has any estimate been attempted as to the reduction or revenue in this?

Mr. FOSTER. No; if I made any estimate it would simply be a guess, and would not be worth discussing. I cannot tell. We have one item after this: that of cotton and linen. xylonite, collars and cuffs, and shirts of all

kinds, which is a rather difficult one to deal with. It is an industry which is very widely disseminated, which has grown to very large proportions, and which has one most excellent feature about it, especially in the province of Quebec, in that, the work is very largely distributed amongst the farmers' homes in the vicinity of these factories, where the wages are paid and where the effect of this distribution of the money is felt and seen in the general improvement and betterment of the community. In these collars and cuffs and shirts there is also a very strong competition, not only from the United States of America but more especially from the old country and from Germany. The low prices of labour on the continent enables them to put together these articles at an exceedingly cheap rate, and makes it almost impossible, makes it entirely impossible, in my opinion, without a strong vantage ground, for the manufacturers of these articles in this country to hold their own. The duties upon collars, cuffs and shirts have been arranged with reference to that condition of outside competition and to the feature of the general distribution of the work in our own country. Upon collars of cotton, linen, xylonite or celluloid, the duty, which was before 24 cents a dozen and 30 per cent, has been reduced to 24 cents a dozen and 25 per cent. Cuffs of cotton, linen, etc., have been reduced from 4 cents a pair and 30 per cent to 4 cents a pair and 25 per cent. Shirts of all kinds, costing \$3 or less per dozen, have been placed at a uniform duty of 25 per cent ad valorem, a low duty, which will, I suppose, have the effect of sacrificing that part of the industry to the foreign producer; but shirts costing more than \$3 per dozen, worn by the better class, have a specific duty of \$1 per dozen and 25 per cent, instead of \$1 a dozen and 30 per cent. That, I believe, will keep the larger part of the industry; and certainly there is no complaint in the country that these goods are not as well made and as cheaply sold in Canada as they are in other countries. Cotton clothing and all other manufactures of cotton, which were 35 per cent before, will be 32½. Crapes, black, 20 per cent. Velvets, velveteens and plush fabrics are increased from 20 per cent to 30 per cent for revenue. Webbing is put at 20 per cent, instead of 25. Jeans and coutils have been imported by corset-makers under a special schedule at 25 per cent, and some would come under the new 30 per cent rate. It has been thought best to keep a special schedule for these at 25 per cent. Laces, braids fringes, embroideries and the like are reduced from 35 to 30 per cent, not because it was thought well to particularly cheapen these goods, as they are in the nature of luxuries, but because it was thought that 30 per cent would bring a greater revenue than 35. Cotton sewing thread, in hanks or on tubes, black, bleached or unbleached, which was 12½ per cent has been increased to 15 per cent, while cotton sewing thread and crochet

cottons, on spools or in balls, has been kept at 25 per cent. It was considered that 10 per cent was sufficient for the operation of spooling; a little more revenue will accrue, while the price will not be raised to the consumer. Twine and cotton cordage of all kinds, 25 per cent. Cordage not elsewhere specified, 30 per cent. Twine for harvest binders, which was reduced last year to 12½ per cent, has been kept at that rate. It is really a low rate, and has not in it now a very large element of protection, now that the different governments have undertaken to manufacture binder twine in the prisons. Boot and shoe laces are 30 per cent. Hammocks and lawn tennis nets are 30 per cent; damask, towels, and sails for boats and ships are 25 per cent. Bags or sacks of hemp, linen, cotton or jute, which had half a dozen different kinds of duty, some of them compound, have been lumped together under a uniform rate of 20 per cent. Bags or sacks of hemp, linen, cotton or jute, and all manufactures of flax and hemp are 20 per cent. Jute cloth, dyed or bleached or calendered, 10 per cent. The silk duties have been kept as they were. Silk velvets and all manufactures of silk and ribbons are at the same rate of 30 per cent. When we come to woollens, the difficulty of arranging the tariff was apparent from the outset. The woollen industry is exceedingly diversified in the grades and qualities of its productions. The present duties are specific and ad valorem together. On the lowest class of goods, or shoddies, they range to a very high ad valorem equivalent, and it has been found impossible, even with the best intentions, to do all that was desired for that part of the woollen trade. It has been found impossible to afford adequate protection to that class of goods, which at the same time would be reasonable for straight woollen goods. The Government has therefore come to the decision to make two single items of the whole woollen business. Yarns, woollen and worsted, which bore 10 cents a pound and 20 per cent ad valorem, have been made to bear an ad valorem duty of 27½ per cent, and all fabrics and manufactures of wool have been put at the rate of 30 per cent. Women's and children's dress goods, which are imported in the rough, to be dyed and finished in this country, come in at 22½ per cent, under regulations as to their dyeing and finishing. Felt, pressed, of all kinds, 17½ per cent. Hosiery and knitted goods, which have borne a double duty of 10 cents a pound and 20 per cent, are put into one schedule and will pay 35 per cent. The carpet schedule, which ran over five or six items, has been reduced to one, and carpets, mats and rugs are put at 30 per cent. This will be a slight increase on Brussels carpet, which before paid 25 per cent; but those who buy Brussels carpet can afford to pay a little more for the purpose of uniformity in the schedule. Carpeting, mats and matting of cocoa, hemp or jute, the same as before. 25

per cent. Floor oilcloth, which before had a mixed duty, has been put in one item, at 30 per cent. Window shades, 35 per cent. Gloves and mitts, 35 per cent. Ready made clothing, 32½ per cent. Hats, caps and bonnets, umbrellas and parasols, 30 per cent. Braces and suspenders, 35 per cent. Surgical belts and appliances, 25 per cent. In the class of sundries, artificial flowers are the same as before, 25 per cent. Buttons of hoof, rubber, vulcanite or composition, which were before 5 cents per gross and 20 per cent, have been put at 4 cents per gross and 20 per cent. Buttons of pearl, vegetable ivory or horn, which were 10 cents per gross and 20 per cent, have been made 8 cents per gross and 20 per cent. Buttons of papier maché and all other, n.e.s., which were 25 per cent, are reduced to 20 per cent. Combs, 35 per cent. Fireworks, 25 per cent. Fertilizers, compounded, which bore 20 per cent, have been reduced to 10 per cent, and all un-compounded fertilizing matter comes in free, and can be imported by any person and mixed and compounded by the farmer himself for his own wants. Gun, rifle and pistol cartridges, cartridge-cases and the like are reduced from 35 per cent to 30 per cent. Nitro-glycerine, dynamite, blasting, mining and gunpowder and other explosives, which bore specific or specific and ad valorem duties, have been placed in one schedule at 25 per cent. Photographic dry-plates are 30 per cent. Tobacco pipes, cigar and cigarette-holders, 35 per cent, the same as before. Trunks and valises, 30 per cent, the same as before. I do not propose to trouble the House by reading the whole of the free list through. I will place that, of course, upon the Table, and it will be printed in due course. There are just one or two things that I wish specially to notice. With reference to books, I have explained that pretty fully. Generally, I may say, that all acids, drugs, dye stuffs—everything which is necessary for tanning in the manufacturing process and the like—have been taken from the dutiable list and placed on the free list. In that respect, pretty nearly all, if not all, the elements that go into dyeing, tanning and the like, have been made free. In addition to the books made free are those printed by any government or association for the promotion of science and letters, and issued in the course of the proceedings of such association, to its members, and not for the purpose of sale or trade. Also books, not being printed or reprinted in Canada, which are included in the curriculum of any university or incorporated college in Canada; books specially imported for the bona fide use of incorporated mechanics' institutes, etc. Brass scrap and brass in sheets or plates. Brass in bars and bolts, drawn, plain and fancy tubing, and other brasses, as will be seen by reference to the list, are made free. In the article of minerals, coke, which was dutiable heretofore, has been placed on the free list. This will be a large

Mr. FOSTER.

concession to the whole of the western part of this country, in so far as manufacturing is concerned.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Did you say anything about bituminous coal?

Mr. FOSTER. In passing over that, I said they were kept as before. But there is one item made free, which deserves special mention, and the object of which is to afford a healthy amusement, at a cheap rate, to a large and deserving class of our population. Curling stones of granite have been made free. Dogs have been added to other fowls that come in free for breeding purposes. Globes, geographical, topographical and astronomical, have been put on the free list. Mining machinery, it will be recollected, was put upon the free list for three years.

Mr. EDGAR. That was only what could not be made in this country.

Mr. FOSTER. That has been re-enacted with an addition which will make it read as follows:—

Mining and smelting machinery, imported prior to the 16th May, 1896, which is at the time of its importation of a class or kind not manufactured in Canada.

The object is to assist, as far as possible, in holding out inducements for the establishment of new smelting furnaces.

Mr. FRASER. Will that include such machinery as is required for the washing of ores as well as the mining of ores?

Mr. FOSTER. It will include just what is understood under smelting machinery. I am not sufficiently versed in mining and smelting machinery to know just how far it will go, but the Controller of Customs and the Minister of Justice will take care that it does not go too far. Shoe buttons, papier maché; metal glove-fasteners, eyelets, hooks and eyelets for boots and shoes, and lacing hooks, are free. Sugar, not above No. 16 Dutch standard in colour, sugar drainings or pumpings, drained in transit, melado or concentrated melado, tank bottoms and sugar concrete, are also free. With reference to woods, logs and round unmanufactured timber, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act; firewood, handle bolts, railroad ties, ship timber and ship-planking not specially provided for in this act, and other woods as mentioned in the schedule, are free. This is a special concession, and I hope will prove a useful one in Manitoba and the North-west. There was no one feature of our examination into the condition of things in that part of the country, which impressed itself so forcibly on my mind, as the combine which existed for the distribution and sale of lumber. Every town was parcelled out. One or two men were selected, to whom was given the monopoly of selling in each place. The prices

were fixed, and if they sold a fraction of a cent under the fixed prices, their privilege was taken away and given to somebody else. That monopoly bore heavily on the people in that country, where lumber is so essentially necessary in the making of barns and houses, and I came to the conclusion that if possible help should be given by putting lumber upon the free list, and that has been done. But there is a codicil, which will, I know, please my hon. friends opposite. These articles are free, but it is provided that:—

If any country shall impose a duty upon the articles in this schedule enumerated, or any of them, when imported into such country from Canada, it shall be lawful for the Governor in Council, from time to time, by proclamation published in the *Canada Gazette*, to declare that the following export duties, or any of them, shall be chargeable upon logs exported into such country from Canada.

The articles enumerated are as follows:—

Pine, Douglas fir, fir balsam, cedar and hemlock logs not exceeding \$3 per thousand feet board measure. In case of the export of any of the above enumerated logs in shorter lengths than 9 feet, then a rate per cord may be levied in the same way, equivalent to the above enumerated rate per thousand feet, board measure. And export duty shall be chargeable accordingly, after the publication of such proclamation: Provided that the Governor General in Council may by proclamation published in like manner, from time to time, remove and reimpose such export duty.

Wood pulp, mechanically ground, and chemical wood pulp, bleached or unbleached, are added to the free list. I think I have exhausted the patience of the House, and your patience, Mr. Speaker.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What is the total effect of this on the revenue?

Mr. FOSTER. I therefore will conclude this long series of remarks by giving the hon. gentleman the information which I have at hand. The total reduction of revenue resulting from the changes, taking as a basis the imports of last year, will be about \$1,500,000 or \$1,600,000. This takes into account the additions to the revenue which we may fairly calculate upon, as in the case of rice.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That is the net loss.

Mr. FOSTER. That is the net loss. That is a rather bold reduction to make, the situation being as at present, but I have every hope that the depression in the revenue will be short lived, and that in a few months the revenues of the country will recover their buoyancy with recovering business on the other side of the line, in Great Britain, and, I hope, the world over. However that may turn out, I think that what we have to face, as a prudent people, and to face cheerfully, is the fact that we may

be short in revenue for a year or two as compared with former terms. It is our duty, in making this reduction and incurring that shortage, to keep the expenses of the country well within our revenue, whether it slightly exceeds our expectations or whether it does not fully come up to them. I wish to state this one thing in addition: After all that has been done in the United States, after their election, run upon the basis of tariff revision, and after the question has been thoroughly fought out in the House of Representatives, there is a net result, if the Wilson Bill is carried as at present, of an average protection on dutiable imports of 30·66 per cent. That is a little over the average upon the dutiable imports in Canada under the present tariff. The American representatives came face to face with the facts: their theories had to be put to the test of a practical solution, and the leaders, in the preparation of the Bill, and in the House itself were obliged frankly to acknowledge that they could not make a free trade measure and that they had to embody in the Bill the principle of protection. That principle has been embodied in it from the first. But, after all the agitation that has taken place, their average ad valorem duty, calculated on the basis of their imports, will be a little higher than our average ad valorem duty under the present tariff. Under the reduced rates which I have just given, our ad valorem duty will be, on the average, about 28 per cent, which is a large reduction, and much below that of the United States as it will be if the Bill is carried as proposed. I want to say, in conclusion, just one more word with reference to the principle of reciprocity. We have been charged with not dealing with the United States in a fair and reciprocal spirit. We must consider the whole line of the Customs tariff. We know this fact, that the McKinley Bill in 1893 (the last year of its operation if the new Bill is carried) charged an ad valorem duty equivalent to an average, on the table of imports, of 49½ per cent, while our tariff, as regards dutiable imports for home consumption, went down to an average of 30·28 per cent. Ever since they have had a protective system their duties have been, on the average, from 15 to 20 per cent higher than ours, and, in some cases, their duties have been double what ours have been. Take cotton warps and yarns—their average duty in 1890 was 46 per cent; in 1891 they were 49 per cent; in 1892 they were 49 per cent; and in 1893 they were 50·23 per cent. On carpets, they have had an even 50 per cent; on cotton cloth from 46 to 48 per cent; knitted goods, in 1892, an average of 68 per cent. The total cotton manufactures have borne a duty of 55 per cent, and so on through the whole list. It cannot be argued that, in the matter of arrangement of duty we have not treated them fairly. They have been able to get over our wall, but it has been almost impossible for us, in nearly every line of manufactured goods, to get over the wall

they have built around their country. I thank you, Mr. Speaker, and the members of the House for the attention with which you have listened to me.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Will the hon. gentleman allow me a question? He has mentioned that garden seeds remain as before. Is grass seed in the same category?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; it remains as before.

Mr. CHARLTON. If the hon. gentleman will permit me I desire to ask a question. As I understand the hon. gentleman, boards, deals, etc., are placed upon the free list, with a provision that nations that do not reciprocate shall have an export duty placed upon logs and some other articles. A contingency may arise with regard to which I wish to inquire. The American Congress has now a tariff bill under consideration, which bill places these articles upon the free list. Consideration of that bill may not be completed and final action taken as early as final revision upon this bill. Under the provisions of the tariff just explained by the hon. gentleman, as I understand it, we are liable to have export duties imposed in the interim between the time this bill is passed and the time the American bill is acted upon. If that were the case, it would have an irritating effect and might very seriously compromise our chances of getting free admission for our lumber into the United States. Would such a contingency arise?

Mr. FOSTER. No; it is not the intention that any contingency of that kind shall arise.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). I suppose the intention of the hon. Minister in the resolutions he has placed before us is to repeal the present provisions of tariff enactments and to consolidate the law?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). As the hon. Minister proceeded I did not observe that he referred to some articles which had occurred to my mind, and he has forgotten to tell us what rate he intends to impose on unenumerated articles.

Mr. FOSTER. The same as before, 20 per cent.

Mr. SOMERVILLE. I would like to ask the Finance Minister if it is the intention to allow stereotype plates for newspapers to come in free?

Mr. FOSTER. There is no change in that respect; stereotypes for books come in free. I have already, Mr. Speaker, thanked yourself and the members of the House for the attention with which you have listened to me. The following are the resolutions:—

1. Resolved, That it is expedient to revise and consolidate the Acts and parts of Acts now in force respecting the duties of Customs, and that for this purpose it is expedient to repeal the following Acts or parts thereof not heretofore repealed, viz. :—

Mr. FOSTER.

The Act, Chapter 33, Revised Statutes, intituled: "An Act respecting the duties of Customs."

50-51 Victoria, Chapter 39, intituled: "An Act to amend the Act respecting the duties of Customs."

53 Victoria, Chapter 20, intituled: "An Act to amend the Acts respecting the duties of Customs."

53 Victoria, Chapter 21, intituled: "An Act to amend the Act of the present session, intituled: 'An Act to amend the Acts respecting the duties of Customs.'"

54-55 Victoria, Chapter 45, intituled: "An Act to amend the Acts respecting the duties of Customs."

55-56 Victoria, Chapter 21, intituled: "An Act further to amend the Acts respecting the duties of Customs."

56 Victoria, Chapter 16, intituled: "An Act further to amend the Acts respecting the duties of Customs."

And to provide otherwise by enacting that the following be substituted in lieu thereof:—

1. That unless the context otherwise requires—
(a) The initials "n.e.s." represent and have the meaning of the words "not elsewhere specified";

(b) The initials "n.o.p." represent and have the meaning of the words "not otherwise provided for";

(c) The initials "f.o.b." represent and have the meaning of the words "free on board";

(d) The expression "gallon" means an Imperial gallon;

(e) The expression "ton" means two thousand pounds avoirdupois;

(f) The expression "proof" or "proof spirits," when applied to wines or wine spirits of any kind, means spirits of a strength equal to that of pure ethyl alcohol compounded with distilled water in such proportions that the resultant mixture shall at a temperature of sixty degrees Fahrenheit have a specific gravity of 0.9198 as compared with that of distilled water at the same temperature.

(g) The expression "gauge," when applied to metal sheets or plates or to wire, means the thickness as determined by Stubbs' Standard Gauge;

(h) The expression "in diameter," when applied to tubing, means the actual inside diameter measurement;

(i) The expression "sheet," when applied to metals, means a sheet or plate not exceeding three-sixteenths of an inch in thickness;

(j) The expression "plate," when applied to metals, means a plate or sheet more than three-sixteenths of an inch in thickness;

2. That the expressions mentioned in section two of "The Customs Act," as amended by section two of "The Customs Amendment Act, 1888," whenever they occur herein, or in any Act relating to the Customs, unless the context otherwise requires, have the meaning assigned to them respectively by the said sections two; and any power conferred upon the Governor in Council by "The Customs Act" to transfer dutiable goods to the list of goods which may be imported free of duty is not hereby abrogated or impaired.

3. That the whole or part of the duties hereby imposed upon fish and other products of the fisheries may be remitted as respects either the United States or the Island of Newfoundland, or both, upon the proclamation of the Governor in Council, which may be issued whenever it appears

to his satisfaction that the Governments of the United States and the Island of Newfoundland, or of either of them, have made changes in their tariffs of duties imposed upon articles imported from Canada in reduction or repeal of the duties in force in the said countries respectively.

4. That whenever it appears to the satisfaction of the Governor in Council that the Governments of France and Spain, or either of them, have made changes in their tariff of duties imposed upon articles imported from Canada, in reduction or repeal of the duties now in force in the said countries, he may by proclamation, order the whole or part of the duty of thirty per centum ad valorem hereby imposed upon wines imported into Canada to be remitted as respects importations from the said countries, or from that one of the said countries by the Government of which such change in its tariff of duties has been made as aforesaid.

5. That any goods or packages being the growth, produce or manufacture of Canada, and having been exported therefrom and intended to be returned, may be admitted free of duty on being reimported into Canada, provided such goods or packages were entered for exportation, and branded or marked by a collector or proper officer of Customs, and are fully identified by the collector or proper officer at the port or place where they are so reimported; and provided further, that the property in such goods or packages has continued in the same person or persons by whom they were exported, and that such reimportation takes place within one year of the exportation thereof.

6. That all medicinal or toilet preparations imported for completing the manufacture thereof, or for the manufacture of any other article by the addition of any ingredient or ingredients, or by mixing such preparations, or by putting up or labelling the same, alone or with other articles or compounds, under any proprietary or trade name, shall be, irrespective of cost, valued for duty and duty paid thereon at the ordinary market value in the country whence imported of the completed preparation when put up and labelled under such proprietary or trade name, less the actual cost of labour and material used or expended in Canada in completing the manufacture thereof or of putting up or labelling the same.

7. That all medicinal preparations whether chemical or otherwise, usually imported with the name of the manufacturer, shall have the true name of such manufacturer and the place where they are prepared permanently and legibly affixed to each parcel by stamp, label or otherwise; and all medicinal preparations imported without such names so affixed shall be forfeited.

8. That on imported Indian corn, to be kiln-dried and ground into meal for human food or ground into meal and kiln-dried for such use, under such regulations as are made by the Governor in Council, there may be allowed a drawback of ninety per cent of the duty paid.

9. That any person who, without lawful excuse, the proof of which shall be on the person accused, sends or brings into Canada, or who, being in Canada, has in his possession, any bill-heading or other paper appearing to be a heading or a blank capable of being filled up and used as an invoice, and bearing any certificate purporting to show, or which may be used to show, that the invoice which may

be made from such bill-heading or blank is correct or authentic, is guilty of a misdemeanour and liable to a penalty of five hundred dollars, and to imprisonment for a term not exceeding twelve months, in the discretion of the court, and the goods entered under any invoice made from any such bill-heading or blank shall be forfeited.

10. That the export of deer, wild turkeys, quail, partridge, prairie fowl and woodcock in the carcase or parts thereof, is hereby declared unlawful and prohibited; and any person exporting or attempting to export any such article shall for each such offence, incur a penalty of one hundred dollars, and the article so attempted to be exported shall be forfeited, and may, on reasonable cause of suspicion of intention to export the same, be seized by any officer of the Customs, and, if such intention is proved, shall be dealt with as for breach of the Customs laws: provided that this section shall not apply to the export, under such regulations as are made by the Governor in Council, of any carcass or part thereof of any deer raised or bred by any person, company or association of persons upon his or their own lands.

11. That regulations respecting the manner in which molasses and syrups shall be sampled and tested for the purpose of determining the classes to which they shall belong with reference to the duty chargeable thereon shall be made by the Controller of Customs; and the instruments and appliances necessary for such determination shall be designated by him and supplied by such officers as are by him charged with the duty of sampling and testing such molasses and syrups; and the decision of any officer (to whom is so assigned the testing of such articles) as to the duties to which they are subject under the tariff shall be final and conclusive, unless upon appeal to the Commissioner of Customs within thirty days from the rendering of such decision, such decision is, with the approval of the Controller, changed; and the decision of the Commissioner with such approval shall be final.

12. That in the case of all wines, spirits, or alcoholic liquors subject to duty according to their relative strength of proof, such strength shall be ascertained either by means of Sykes's hydrometer or of the specific gravity bottle, as the Controller of Customs may direct; and in case such relative strength cannot be correctly ascertained by the direct use of the hydrometer or gravity bottle, it shall be ascertained by the distillation of a sample and the subsequent test in like manner of the distillate.

13. That subject to the foregoing provisions and to the requirements of the "Customs Act" (Chapter 32 of the Revised Statutes, as amended) there shall be levied, collected and paid upon all goods enumerated, or referred to as not enumerated in Schedule A hereto appended,—the several rates of duties of Customs set forth and described in the said Schedule and set opposite to each item respectively or charged thereon as not enumerated, when such goods are imported into Canada or when taken out of warehouse for consumption therein:

(2.) That subject to the same provisions and to the further conditions contained in Schedule B hereto appended, all goods enumerated in the said Schedule B may be imported into Canada or may be taken out of warehouse for consumption therein, without the payment of any duties of Customs thereon:

(3.) That the importation into Canada of any goods enumerated, described or referred to in Schedule C hereto appended, is prohibited, and that any such goods if imported shall thereby become forfeited to the Crown and shall be destroyed, and that any person importing any such prohibited goods or causing or permitting the same to be imported shall in each case incur a penalty of two hundred dollars.

2. *Resolved*, That it is expedient to cancel all Orders in Council and all departmental regulations contrary to or inconsistent with any of the provisions of the foregoing resolution or of the Schedule thereto.

3. *Resolved*, That it is expedient to provide that the foregoing resolutions and the alterations thereby made in the rate of duties of Customs payable on goods imported into Canada shall take effect on and after the 27th day of March instant.

SCHEDULE "A."

Ales, Beers, Wines and Liquors.

Ale, beer and porter, when imported in casks or otherwise than in bottle, sixteen cents per gallon.

(See old Item No. 123).

Ale, beer and porter when imported in bottles (six quart or twelve pint bottles to be held to contain one gallon) twenty-four cents per gallon.

(See old Item No. 124).

Cider, not clarified or refined, five cents per Imperial gallon.

(See old Item No. 125).

Cider, clarified or refined, ten cents per Imperial gallon.

Lime juice and fruit juices, fortified with, or containing not more than twenty-five per cent of proof spirits, sixty cents per gallon; and when containing more than twenty-five per cent of proof spirits, two dollars per gallon.

Lime juice and other fruit syrups and fruit juice, n.o.p., twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Spirituos or alcoholic liquors, distilled from any material, or containing or compounded from or with distilled spirits of any kind, and any mixture thereof with water, for every gallon thereof of the strength of proof, and when of a greater strength than that of proof, at the same rate of the increased quantity that there would be if the liquors were reduced to the strength of proof. When the liquors are of a less strength than that of proof, the duty shall be at a rate herein provided, but computed on a reduced quantity of the liquors in proportion to the lesser degree of strength; provided, however, that no reduction in quantity shall be computed or made on any liquors below the strength of fifteen per cent under proof, but all such liquors shall be computed as of the strength of fifteen per cent under proof, as follows:—

(a.) Ethyl alcohol, or the substance commonly known as alcohol, hydrated oxide of ethyl or spirits of wine; gin of all kinds, n.e.s.; rum, whisky, and all spirituos or alcoholic liquors, n.o.p., amyl alcohol or fusel oil, or any substance known as potato spirit or potato oil, methyl alcohol, wood alcohol, wood naphtha, pyroxylic spirit or any substance known as wood spirit or

methylated spirits, absinthe, arrack or palm spirit, brandy, including artificial brandy and imitations of brandy, cordials and liquors of all kinds, n.e.s., mescal, pulque, rum shrub, schiedam and other schnapps; tafia, angostura and similar alcoholic bitters or beverages, two dollars and twelve and one-half cents per gallon.

(b.) Spirits and strong waters of any kind, mixed with any ingredient or ingredients, as being or known or designated as anodynes, elixirs, essences, extracts, lotions, tinctures or medicines, n.e.s., two dollars and twelve and one-half cents per gallon, and thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

(c.) Alcoholic perfumes and perfumed spirits, bay rum, cologne and lavender waters, hair, tooth and skin washes, and other toilet preparations containing spirits of any kind, when in bottles or flasks weighing not more than four ounces each, fifty per cent *ad valorem*; when in bottles, flasks or other packages, weighing more than four ounces each, two dollars and twelve and one-half cents per gallon, and forty per cent *ad valorem*.

(d.) Nitrous ether, sweet spirits of nitre and aromatic spirits of ammomia, two dollars and twelve and one-half cents per gallon, and thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

(e.) Vermouth and ginger wine, containing not more than forty per cent of proof spirits, seventy-five cents; if containing more than forty per cent of proof spirits, two dollars and twelve and one-half cents per gallon.

Wines of all kinds, except sparkling wines, including orange, lemon, strawberry, raspberry, elder and currant wines, containing twenty-six per cent or less of spirits of the strength of proof, whether imported in wood or in bottles (six quart or twelve pint bottles to be held to contain a gallon), twenty-five cents per gallon, and for each degree of strength in excess of the twenty-six per cent of spirits as aforesaid, an additional duty of three cents until the strength reaches forty per cent of proof spirits; and in addition thereto, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Champagne and all other sparkling wines, in bottles containing each not more than a quart but more than a pint, three dollars and thirty cents per dozen bottles; containing not more than a pint each but more than one-half pint, one dollar and sixty-five cents per dozen bottles; containing one-half pint each or less, eighty-two cents per dozen bottles; bottles containing more than one quart each shall pay, in addition to three dollars and thirty cents per dozen bottles, at the rate of one dollar and sixty-five cents per gallon on the quantity in excess of one quart per bottle, the quarts and pints in each case being old wine measure; in addition to the above specific duty, there shall be an *ad valorem* duty of thirty per cent.

But any liquors imported under the name of wine, and containing more than forty per cent of spirits of the strength of proof shall be rated for duty as unenumerated spirits.

Tobacco and Manufactures of :

Cigars and cigarettes, two dollars per pound and twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*, the weight of cigarettes to include the weight of the paper covering.

Cut tobacco, forty-five cents per pound and twelve and one-half per cent *ad valorem*.

Manufactured tobacco, n.e.s., and snuff, thirty-five cents per pound and twelve and one-half per cent *ad valorem*.

Opium (crude), one dollar per pound; the weight to include the weight of the ball or covering.

Opium, powdered, one dollar and thirty-five cents per pound.

Opium prepared for smoking, five dollars per pound.

Animals, and Agricultural and Animals products.

Animals, living, n.e.s., twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Live hogs, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Beef, salted, in barrels, two cents per pound.

Mutton and lamb, fresh, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Meats, n.e.s., including canned meats and canned poultry and game, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Meats, fresh, n.e.s., three cents per pound.

Poultry and game, n.o.p., twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Extracts of meats and fluid beef not medicated, and soups, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Lard and cottolene, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Tallow, stearic acid and stearine of all kinds, n.e.s., twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Bees' wax, ten per cent *ad valorem*.

Candles, all other, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Soap, n.e.s., pearline and other soap powders, pumice, silver and mineral soaps, sapolio and like articles, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Soap, common or laundry, not perfumed, one cent per pound.

Castile soap, mottled or white, and white soap, n.e.s., two cents per pound.

Glue and mucilage, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Feathers, undressed, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.
(See old item 24.)

Feathers, n.e.s., thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

(See old items 25 and 26.)

Butter, four cents per pound.

(See old item 58.)

Cheese, three cents per pound.

Condensed milk, condensed coffee, condensed coffee with milk, milk foods and all similar preparations, including preserved ginger, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Apples, forty cents per barrel, including the duty on the barrel.

Beans, fifteen cents per bushel.

Buckwheat, ten cents per bushel.

Pease, ten cents per bushel.

Potatoes, fifteen cents per bushel.

Rye, ten cents per bushel.

Rye flour, fifty cents per barrel.

Hay—two dollars per ton.

Vegetables, when fresh, or dry salted, n.e.s., twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Provided that green or ripe apples, beans, buckwheat, pease, potatoes, rye, rye flour, hay and vegetables, n.e.s., or any of them shall be free of duty when imported into Canada from the country of production if such country whence any of the above products are imported, imposes no duty on like products imported thence from Canada.

Barley, fifteen cents per bushel.

Indian corn, seven and a-half cents per bushel.

Provided that barley and Indian corn shall be free of duty when imported into Canada from the country of production, if such country whence either or both are imported admits both these products free of duty when imported thence from Canada.

Dutiable breadstuffs, grain and flour and meal of all kinds, when damaged by water *in transitu*, twenty per cent *ad valorem* upon the appraised value,—such appraised value to be ascertained as provided by Sections 58, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75 and 76 of the Customs Act.

Buckwheat meal or flour, one-fourth of one cent per pound.

Cornmeal, forty cents per barrel.

Oats, ten cents per bushel.

Oatmeal, fifty cents per barrel.

Rice, uncleaned, unhulled, or paddy, five-tenths of one cent per pound.

Rice, one cent per pound.

Rice and sago flour and sago, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Wheat, fifteen cents per bushel.

Wheat flour, seventy-five cents per barrel.

Biscuits of all kinds, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Macaroni and vermicelli, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Starch, including farina, corn starch or flour, and all preparations having the qualities of starch, one and one-half cents per pound; the weight of the package to be in all cases included in the weight for duty.

Seeds, viz.:—Garden, field and other seeds for agricultural or other purposes, n.o.p., when in bulk or in large parcels, ten per cent *ad valorem*; when put up in small papers or parcels, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Mustard, ground, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Mustard cake, fifteen per cent *ad valorem*.

Sweet potatoes and yams, ten cents per bushel.

Tomatoes, fresh, twenty cents per bushel and ten per cent *ad valorem*.

Tomatoes and other vegetables, including corn and baked beans, in cans or other packages, not elsewhere specified, one and one-quarter cents per pound; the weight of the cans or other packages to be included in the weight for duty.

Pickies, sauces and catsups, including soy, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Malt, fifteen cents per bushel, upon entry for warehouse, subject to excise regulations.

Extract of malt (non-alcoholic), for medicinal purposes, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Hops, six cents per pound.

Compressed yeast, in bulk or mass of not less than fifty pounds, three cents per pound; in packages weighing less than fifty pounds, six cents per pound, the weight of the package in the latter case to be included in the weight for duty.

Yeast cakes and baking powders, six cents per pound, the weight of the package to be included in the weight for duty.

Trees, viz.:—Apple, cherry, peach, pear, plum and quince, of all kinds, three cents each.

Grape vines, and gooseberry, raspberry, currant, and rose bushes; also fruit plants not elsewhere specified, and shade, lawn and ornamental trees, shrubs and plants, twenty per cent, *ad valorem*.

Blackberries, gooseberries, raspberries, strawberries, cherries and currants, n. e. s., two cents per pound, the weight of the package to be included in the weight for duty.

Cranberries, plums and quinces, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Prunes, one cent per pound, —including raisins and dried currants.

Apples, dried, desiccated or evaporated; dates, figs, and other dried, desiccated or evaporated fruits, n. e. s., twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Grapes, two cents per pound.

Oranges, lemons and limes, in boxes of capacity not exceeding two and one-half cubic feet, twenty-five cents per box; in one-half boxes, capacity not exceeding one and one-fourth cubic feet, thirteen cents per half-box; in cases and all other packages, ten cents per cubic foot holding capacity; in bulk, one dollar and fifty cents per one thousand oranges, lemons, or limes; in barrels not exceeding in capacity that of the one hundred and ninety-six pounds flour barrel, fifty-five cents per barrel.

Peaches, n.o.p., one cent per pound—the weight of the package to be included in the weight for duty.

Fruits in air-tight cans or other packages, two cents per pound, the weight on which duty shall be payable to include the weight of the cans or other packages.

Fruits preserved in brandy, or preserved in other spirits, one dollar and ninety cents per imperial gallon.

Jellies, jams and preserves, n.e.s., three cents per pound.

Honey, in the comb or otherwise, and imitations and adulterations thereof, three cents per pound.

Coffee, green, when not imported direct without transshipment from the country of growth and production, ten per cent. *ad valorem*.

Coffee, roasted or ground, when not imported direct without transshipment from the country of growth and production, two cents per pound and ten per cent *ad valorem*.

Coffee, roasted or ground, and all imitations of and substitutes for, not elsewhere specified, two cents per pound.

Extract of coffee, or substitutes therefor of all kinds, three cents per pound.

Chicory, three cents per pound.

Tea, when not imported direct without transshipment from the country of growth and production, ten per cent *ad valorem*.

Cocoa paste and chocolate, and other preparations of cocoa, four cents per pound.

Almonds, shelled, five cents per pound.

Almonds, not shelled, three cents per pound.

Nuts of all kinds, not elsewhere specified, three cents per pound.

Cocoa nuts, n.e.s., one dollar per hundred.

Cocoa nuts, when imported from the place of growth by vessel direct to a Canadian port, fifty cents per hundred.

Cocoa nut, desiccated, sweetened or not, four cents per pound.

Nutmegs and mace, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Spices, viz.: Ginger and spices of all kinds, n.e.s., unground, fifteen per cent *ad valorem*; ground, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

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Books and Papers.

Albumenized and other papers, chemically prepared for photographers' use, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Books, printed, periodicals and pamphlets, not elsewhere specified, not being foreign reprints of British copyright works nor blank account books, nor copy books, nor books to be written or drawn upon, nor Bibles, prayer-books, psalm and hymn-books, six cents per pound.

British copyright works, reprints of, six cents per pound and in addition thereto twelve and one-half per cent *ad valorem* until March 27th, 1895, and thereafter six cents per pound.

Advertising pamphlets, circulars, illustrated advertising periodicals, illustrated price lists, advertising calendars, advertising almanacs, tailors' and mantle-makers' fashion plates, and all chromos, chromotypes, oleographs or artistic work of similar kind, produced by any process other than hand painting or drawing, whether for business or advertisement purposes or not, printed or stamped on paper, cardboard or other material, n.e.s., six cents per pound and twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Bank notes, bonds, bills of exchange, cheques, promissory notes, drafts, and all similar work unsigned, and cards or other commercial blank forms, printed or lithographed, or printed from steel or copper or other plates, and other printed matter, n.e.s., thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Labels for fruits, vegetables, meat, fish, confectionery, and other goods, also tickets, posters, pictorial show cards, advertising bills and folders, whether lithographed or printed, fifteen cents per pound and twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Maps and charts, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Newspapers or supplemental editions or parts thereof, partly printed and intended to be completed and published in Canada, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Paintings, prints, engravings, drawings, building plans, photographs and pictures, n. e. s., twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Playing cards, six cents per pack.

Printed music, bound or in sheets, ten cents per pound.

Paper hangings or wall paper, in rolls, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Paper sacks or bags of all kinds, printed or not, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Mill-board, not straw board, ten per cent *ad valorem*.

Straw boards, in sheets or rolls, plain or tarred, forty cents per hundred pounds.

Sand-paper, glass, flint and emery paper, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Paper, tarred, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Union collar cloth paper in rolls or sheets, not glossed or finished, fifteen per cent *ad valorem*.

Union collar cloth paper in rolls or sheets, glossed or finished, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Paper of all kinds, not elsewhere specified, twenty five per cent *ad valorem*.

Manufactures of paper, including ruled and border and coated papers, papetries, boxed papers, envelopes and blank books, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Chemicals, Oils and Paints.

Acid, acetic and pyroligneous, n.e.s., and vinegar, a specific duty of fifteen cents for each gallon of any strength not exceeding the strength of proof, and for each degree of strength in excess of the strength of proof, an additional duty of one cent. The strength of proof shall be held to be equal to six per cent of absolute acid, and in all cases the strength shall be determined in such manner as is established by the Governor in Council.

Acid, acetic and pyroligneous, of any strength, when imported by dyers, calico printers or manufacturers of acetates or colours, for exclusive use in dyeing or printing, or for the manufacture of such acetates or colours in their own factories, under such regulations as are established by the Governor in Council, a duty of twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Acid, muriatic and nitric, and all mixed acids, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Acid, sulphuric, four-tenths of a cent per pound.

Sulphuric ether, five cents per pound.

Acid phosphate, two cents per pound.

All medicinal preparations, including patent and proprietary preparations, tinctures, pills, powders, troches or lozenges, syrups, cordials, bitters, anodynes, tonics, plasters, liniments, salves, ointments, pastes, drops, waters, essences, oils, and all chemical, pharmaceutical or official preparations or medicines, not otherwise provided for; all liquids, fifty per cent *ad valorem*; and all other, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Coal liver oil, medicated, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Oils, essential, ten per cent *ad valorem*.

Pomades, French or flower odours preserved in fat or oil for the purpose of conserving the odours of flowers which do not bear the heat of distillation, when imported in tins of not less than ten pounds each, fifteen per cent *ad valorem*.

Perfumery, including toilet preparations (non-alcoholic), viz.:—Hair oils, tooth and other powders and washes, pomatums, pastes, and all other perfumed preparations, n.o.p., used for the hair, mouth or skin, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Illuminating oils composed wholly or in part of the products of petroleum, coal, shale or lignite, costing more than thirty cents per gallon, twenty five per cent *ad valorem*.

Oils, coal and kerosene distilled, purified or refined; naphtha and petroleum, n.e.s.; products of petroleum, not elsewhere specified, seven and a fifth cents per Imperial gallon.

Lubricating oils composed wholly or in part of petroleum and costing less than twenty-five cents per Imperial gallon, six cents per gallon.

Crude petroleum, fuel and gas oil, for fuel purposes and for the manufacture of gas, three and three-fifths cents per gallon.

Paraffine wax, two cents per pound.

Paraffine wax candles, four cents per pound.

British gum, dextrine, sizing cream and enamel sizing, ten per cent *ad valorem*.

Lubricating oils, n.e.s., and axle grease, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Barrels, containing petroleum or its products, or any mixture of which petroleum forms a part, when such contents are chargeable with a specific duty, twenty cents each.

Linseed or flaxseed oil, raw or boiled lard oil, neats-foot oil, and sesame seed oil, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Olive oil, prepared for salad purposes, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Vaseline, and all similar preparations of petroleum for toilet, medicinal or other purposes, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Blacking, shoe, and shoemakers ink, and shoe, harness and leather dressing, and harness soap, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Ink for writing, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Blueing, laundry blueing of all kinds, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Dry white and red lead, orange mineral and zinc white, five per cent *ad valorem*.

Ochres, ochrey earths, raw siennas and colours, dry, n.e.s., twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Oxides, dry fillers, fire proofs, umbers and burnt siennas, n.e.s., twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Paints and colours, rough stuff and fillers, n.e.s., twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Paints and colours, ground in spirits, and all spirit varnishes and lacquers, one dollar per gallon.

Turpentine, spirits of, five per cent *ad valorem*.

Varnishes, lacquers, japans, japan driers, liquid driers, and oil finish, n.e.s., twenty cents per gallon and twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Paris green, dry, ten per cent *ad valorem*.

Putty, fifteen per cent *ad valorem*.

Earths, Earthenware, Glassware and Stoneware.

Brick for building, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

China and porcelain ware, also earthenware and stoneware, brown or coloured, and Rockingham ware, white granite or ironstone ware, "C.C." or cream-coloured ware, decorated, printed or sponged, and all earthenware, n.e.s., thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Earthenware and stoneware, viz.:—demijohns or jugs, churns or crocks, two cents per gallon of holding capacity.

Earthenware or stone ink bottles, not exceeding three ounces capacity, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Drain tiles, not glazed, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Drain pipes, sewer pipes, chimney linings or vents, and inverted blocks, glazed or unglazed, and earthenware tiles, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Crystal and decorated glass tableware, made expressly for mounting with silver plated trimmings, when imported by manufacturers of plated ware, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Glass carboys and demijohns, empty, filled, bottles and decanters, flasks and phials, glass jars and glass balls, and cut, pressed or moulded glass tableware, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Insulators of all kinds, and lamps, including arc and incandescent; lamp chimneys, side lights and headlights, lamps, gas light and electric light shades, and globes—for lanterns, lamps, electric lights and gas lights, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Common and colourless window glass; and plain coloured, stained or tinted, or muffled glass in sheets, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Ornamental figured, and enamelled coloured glass, painted and vitrified glass; figured, enamelled and

obscured white glass; and rough rolled plate glass, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Plate glass, not coloured, in panes of not over twelve square feet each, four cents per square foot; and when bevelled, two cents per square foot additional.

Plate glass, not coloured, in panes of over twelve and not over thirty square feet each, six cents per square foot; and when bevelled, two cents per square foot additional.

Plate glass in panes of over thirty and not over seventy square feet each, eight cents per square foot; and when bevelled, two cents per square foot additional.

Plate glass in panes of over seventy square feet each, eight cents per square foot; and when bevelled, two cents per square foot additional.

Silvered glass, n.e.s., thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Silvered glass, bevelled, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Stained glass windows, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

All other glass and manufactures of glass, n.o.p., including bent plate glass, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Spectacles and eyeglasses, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Spectacle and eyeglass frames, parts of, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Show cases, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Magic lanterns and slides therefor, philosophical, photographic, mathematical and optical instruments, n.e.s., twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Cement, including Portland or Roman and hydraulic or water lime, forty cents per barrel, including the duty on the barrel.

Plaster of Paris, or gypsum, ground, not calcined, fifteen per cent *ad valorem*.

Plaster of Paris, calcined or manufactured, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Flagstones, granite, and rough freestone, sandstone, and all building stone, except marble from the quarry, not hammered or chiselled, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Granite, flagstones and freestones, dressed; all other building stone, dressed, except marble, and all manufactures of stone, n.e.s., thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Grindstone, not mounted, and not less than twelve inches in diameter, one dollar and seventy-five cents per ton.

Lithographic stones, not engraved, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Marble in blocks and slabs, in the rough or sawn but not otherwise manufactured, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Marble, finished, and all manufactures of marble not otherwise provided for; also slate mantels, slates and manufactures of slate, n.e.s., thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Slates, roofing slate, when split or dressed only; also slate pencils and school or writing slates, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Leather, Manufactures of, and Rubber.

Fur skins, wholly or partially dressed, fifteen per cent *ad valorem*.

Caps, hats, muffs, tippets, capes, coats, cloaks and other manufactures of fur, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

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Leather-board and leatheroid, and boot and shoe counters made from leatheroid, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Leather and skins not otherwise provided for, tanned: belting leather, sole leather and upper leather, including dongola, cordovan, kid, lamb, sheep and calf, fifteen per cent *ad valorem*.

Leather, sole, tanned but rough or undressed, ten per cent *ad valorem*.

Japanned, patent or enamelled leather and morocco leather, twenty-two and one-half per cent *ad valorem*.

Skins for morocco leather, tanned but not further manufactured, fifteen per cent *ad valorem*.

Glove leathers, viz.:—kid, lamb, buck, deer, antelope and waterhog, tanned or dressed, coloured or uncoloured, when imported by glove manufacturers for use in their own factories in the manufacture of gloves, ten per cent *ad valorem*.

All manufactures of leather, n.e.s., twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Belting of leather or other material, n.e.s., twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Harness and saddlery of every description, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Whips of all kinds, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Boots and shoes, n.e.s., twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

India-rubber boots and shoes with tops or uppers of cloth or of material other than rubber, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

India-rubber boots and shoes, and manufactures of India-rubber and gutta-percha, n.e.s., twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

India-rubber clothing and clothing made waterproof with India-rubber, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Rubber or gutta-percha belting, hose, packing, mats and matting and cotton or linen hose lined with rubber, thirty-two and a half per cent *ad valorem*.

Metals and Manufactures of.

Wrought scrap iron and scrap steel being waste or refuse wrought iron or steel, fit only to be remanufactured, the same having been in actual use, not to include cuttings or clippings which can be used as iron or steel without remanufacture, and steel bloom-ends and crop-ends of steel rails, three dollars per ton; and on and after the first day of January, eighteen hundred and ninety-five, four dollars per ton.

Iron or steel, being pieces, punchings or clippings of boiler plate or other plates, sheets or bars of iron or steel, whether the same have had the ragged or cropped ends or edges sheared off or not, and crops from iron or steel rails having both ends sawn or sheared off, the same not having been in actual use and being fit for re-rolling or remanufacture only, four dollars per ton.

Iron in pigs, iron kentledge and scrap iron, ferro-silicon and spiegel-eisen, four dollars per ton; ferro-manganese, ten per cent *ad valorem*.

Iron or steel ingots, clogged ingots, blooms and slabs, billets and puddled bars, loops or other forms less finished than iron or steel bars but more advanced than pig iron, except castings, five dollars per ton.

Bar iron or steel rolled or hammered, comprising rounds and squares, and shapes of rolled iron or

- steel, not more than four inches in diameter, and flats not thinner than number seventeen gauge, whether in coils, bundles, rods or bars, n.e.s., ten dollars per ton.
- Iron or steel plates or sheets, sheared or unsheared, hoops, bands, strips and skelp iron or steel, sheared or rolled in grooves, and iron or steel of widths not thinner than number seventeen gauge, n.e.s., ten dollars per ton.
- Universal mill or rolled edge steel plate, not exceeding thirty inches wide, and plates or sheets of steel over thirty inches wide, and one-quarter of an inch and over in thickness, twelve and one-half per cent *ad valorem*.
- Iron or steel sheets, hoops, bands, and strips, or other iron or steel of all widths, sheet iron, common or black, smoothed, polished, coated or galvanized and Canada plates, number seventeen gauge or thinner, five per cent *ad valorem*.
- Plough plates, mould board, land sides and other plates for agricultural implements, when cut to shape from rolled sheets of steel, but not moulded, punched, polished or otherwise manufactured, and being of a greater value than four cents per pound, five per cent *ad valorem*.
- Provided that on all iron or steel bars, rods, strips, or steel sheets of whatever shape, and on all iron or steel bars irregular shape or section, cold rolled, cold hammered or polished in any way in addition to the ordinary process of hot rolling or hammering, there shall be paid five per cent *ad valorem* in addition to the rates imposed on the said materials.
- Forgings of iron and steel of whatever shape or size or in whatever stage of manufacture, not elsewhere specified: and rolled or hammered bars of iron or steel not less than four inches in diameter, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
- Rolled iron or steel angles, channels, structural shapes and special sections, weighing less than thirty-five pounds per lineal yard, n.e.s., thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
- Rolled iron or steel angles, channels, beams, joists, girders, structural shapes and special sections, including rolled iron or steel bridge plate not less than three-eighths of an inch thick nor less than fifteen inches wide, weighing not less than twenty-five pounds per lineal yard, and eye-bar blanks rolled by the Kloman process, twelve and a half per cent *ad valorem*.
- Iron bridges and structural iron work, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Iron and steel railway bars or rails for railways and tramways, of any form, punched or not punched, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Railway fish plates and tie plates, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Swedish rolled iron rods, under one-half inch in diameter and of not less than one and three-quarters of a cent per pound value, fifteen per cent *ad valorem*.
- Axles, car springs, and springs of iron or steel or parts thereof, and all other springs, n.e.s., axle bars and axle blanks, without reference to the stage of manufacture, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
- Malleable iron castings and steel castings, n.e.s., twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
- Cast iron vessels, plates, stove plates and irons, hatters' irons, tailors' irons and castings of iron not elsewhere specified, twenty-seven and one-half per cent *ad valorem*.
- Cast iron pipe of every description, ten dollars per ton, provided that the duty shall not be less than thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
- Boiler tubes of wrought iron or steel, including corrugated tubes or flues for marine boilers, seven and one-half per cent *ad valorem*.
- Lap-welded iron or steel tubing, threaded and coupled or not, one and one-quarter to two inches inclusive in diameter, for use exclusively in artesian wells, petroleum pipe lines and petroleum refineries, under regulations to be made by the Governor in Council, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Tubes not welded, not more than one and one-half inch in diameter of rolled steel, fifteen per cent *ad valorem*.
- Wrought iron or steel tubing, threaded and coupled or not, over two inches in diameter, fifteen per cent *ad valorem*.
- Other wrought iron tubes, or pipes, five-tenths of one cent per pound and thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Chains (iron and steel) over five-sixteenths of an inch in diameter, five per cent *ad valorem*.
- Nails and spikes, wrought and pressed, galvanized or not, horse-shoe nails, and all wrought iron or steel, and other nails not elsewhere specified, and horse, mule or ox shoes, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Composition nails and spikes and sheathing nails fifteen per cent *ad valorem*.
- Wire nails, cut nails and spikes of iron or steel, three-fourths of one cent per pound.
- Cut tacks, brads or sprigs, not exceeding sixteen ounces to the thousand, one cent per thousand: exceeding sixteen ounces to the thousand, one and one-half cents per pound.
- Screws, commonly called "wood screws," two inches and over in length, three cents per pound: one inch and less than two inches, six cents per pound; less than one inch, eight cents per pound: provided that the duty shall not be less than thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
- Screws of iron, steel, brass or other metal, not otherwise provided for, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Wrought iron or steel nuts and washers, iron or steel rivets, bolts with or without threads, nut and bolt blanks, and "T" and strap hinges, one cent per pound and twenty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Skates, ten cents per pair and thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Clothes wringers, twenty-five cents each and twenty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Cutlery, not otherwise provided for, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
- Celluloid, moulded into sizes for handles of knives and forks, not bored nor otherwise manufactured: also, moulded celluloid balls and cylinders, coated with tinfoil or not, but not finished or further manufactured—ten per cent *ad valorem*.
- Knife blades or knife blanks, in the rough, unhandled, for use by electroplaters, ten per cent *ad valorem*.
- Cast iron table forks, not handled nor ground or otherwise manufactured, ten per cent *ad valorem*.
- House furnishing hardware and building, "cabinet-makers," harness-makers and saddlers, hardware, including curry-combs, carriage hardware, locks, butts and hinges, n.e.s., saws of all kinds,

- and table cutlery, not elsewhere specified, thirty-two and a half per cent *ad valorem*.
- Adzes, hatchets, picks, mattocks, track tools, wedges and crowbars of iron or steel and hammers and sledges, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Axes of all kinds, scythes, hay knives, lawn mowers, pronged forks, rakes, n.e.s. and hoes and other agricultural tools or implement, n.e.s., thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
- Shovels and spades, shovel and spade blanks, and iron or steel cut to shape for same, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
- Files and rasps, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
- Steel needles, viz.:—Cylinder needles, hand frame needles and latch needles, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Surgical and dental instruments of all kinds, fifteen per cent *ad valorem*.
- Safes, doors for safes and vaults, scales, balances and weighing beams, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Fire engines, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
- Locomotives for railways, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
- Steam engines, boilers and machinery composed wholly or in part of iron or steel, not elsewhere specified, twenty-seven and a half per cent *ad valorem*.
- Mowing machines, self-binding harvesters, harvesters without binders, binding attachments, reapers, sulky and walking ploughs, harrows, cultivators, seed drills and horse rakes, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Portable machines, portable steam engines, threshers and separators, horse powers, portable saw mills and planing mills, and parts thereof in any stage of manufacture, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Sewing machines, or parts thereof, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Pumps, of all kinds, n.e.s., and wind mills, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Type for printing, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Type metal, ten per cent *ad valorem*.
- Bookbinders' tools and implements, including ruling machines, ten per cent *ad valorem*.
- Printing presses and printing machines, such only as are used in newspaper, book, and job printing offices; folding machines and paper cutters, such as are used in printing and bookbinding establishments, and lithographic presses, ten per cent *ad valorem*.
- Plates engraved on wood, and on steel or other metal, and transfers taken from the same, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Stereotypes, electrotypes and celluloids for almanacs, calendars, illustrated pamphlets, newspaper advertisements or engravings, and all other like work for commercial, trade or other purposes, n.e.s., and matrices or copper shells for the same, two cents per square inch.
- Stereotypes, electrotypes and celluloids of newspaper columns, and bases for the same, composed wholly or partly of metal or celluloid, three-quarters of a cent per square inch, and matrices or copper shells for the same, two cents per square inch.
- Bird cages, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
- Barbed wire fencing of iron or steel, three-fourths of one cent per pound.
- Buckthorn and strip fencing of iron or steel, one-half of one cent per pound.
- Machine card clothing, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
- Pins, manufactured from wire of any metal, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Wire-cloth of brass, copper and tin, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Wire covered with cotton, linen, silk or other material, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Wire of brass or copper, ten per cent *ad valorem*.
- Wire of iron or steel, eleven to fourteen gauge inclusive, fifteen per cent *ad valorem*.
- Wire of all kinds, n.e.s., twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
- Wire rope of iron or steel, not otherwise provided for, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
- Firearms, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Manufactures, articles or wares not specially enumerated or provided for, composed wholly or in part of iron or steel and whether partly or wholly manufactured, twenty-seven and a half per cent *ad valorem*.
- Corset clasps, spoon clasps or busks, blanks, busks, side steels and other corset steels, whether plain, japanned, lacquered, tinned or covered with paper or cloth; also back, bone or corset wires, covered with paper or cloth, cut to lengths and tipped with brass or tin, or untipped, or in coils, five cents per pound and twenty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Gas, coal oil and electric light fixtures, or parts thereof, twenty-seven and one-half per cent *ad valorem*.
- Gas meters, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
- Bells of any description, except for churches, and gongs, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
- Brass and copper nails, rivets and burrs, and manufactures of brass or copper not elsewhere specified, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
- Zinc, manufactures of, not elsewhere specified, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
- Babbit metal, ten per cent *ad valorem*.
- Phosphor bronze, in blocks, bars, sheets and wire, ten per cent *ad valorem*.
- Lead, bars, blocks and sheets, sixty cents per hundred pounds.
- Lead, old, scrap and pig, forty cents per one hundred pounds.
- Lead, manufactures of, n.e.s., thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Cans and packages made of tin or other material, containing fish of any kind admitted free of duty, under any existing law or treaty, not exceeding one quart in contents, one cent and a half on each can or package; and when exceeding one quart, an additional duty of one cent and a half for each additional quart or fractional part thereof.
- Stamped tinware, japanned ware, galvanized iron ware, and all manufactures of tin, n.e.s., twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
- Enamelled iron or steel ware, including granite or agate ware, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
- Telephones and telegraph instruments; telegraph telephone and electric light cables; electric and galvanic batteries, electric motors and apparatus not elsewhere specified, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Gold, Silver and Jewellery.

Composition metal for the manufacture of filled gold watch cases, ten per cent *ad valorem*.

Britannia metal, and German and nickel silver, manufactures of, not plated, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
 Nickel anodes, ten per cent *ad valorem*.
 Gold and silver leaf, and Dutch or schlag metal leaf, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
 Manufactures of gold and silver, and all other articles, not elsewhere specified, commercially known as jewellery, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
 Sterling silver tableware, and platedware, all other, electro-plated or gilt, of all kinds, whether plated wholly or in part, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
 Plated cutlery, namely, knives plated wholly or in part, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
 Precious stones, n. e. s., polished, but not set or otherwise manufactured, and imitations thereof, ten per cent *ad valorem*.
 Clocks, n. e. s., twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
 Tower clocks, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
 Watches, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
 Watch actions or movements, ten per cent *ad valorem*.
 Watch cases, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
 Cases for jewels and watches, cases for silver and platedware, and for cutlery and other like articles, writing desks, glove boxes, handkerchiefs boxes, manicure cases, perfume cases, toilet cases and fancy cases for smokers' sets, and similar fancy articles made of bone, shell, horn, ivory, wood, leather, plush, satin, silk, satinette or paper; dolls and toys of all kinds, including sewing machines, when of not more than two dollars in value; ornaments of alabaster, spar, amber, terra cotta or composition; and statuettes and bead ornaments, n.e.s., thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Minerals.

Asbestos in any form other than crude, and all manufactures thereof, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
 Coal, bituminous, sixty cents per ton of 2,000 pounds.
 Coal dust, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.
 Plumbago, ten per cent *ad valorem*.
 Plumbago, all manufactures of, n.e.s., twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
 Electric light carbons or carbon points, not exceeding twelve inches in length, two dollars and fifty cents per thousand, and in proportion for greater or less lengths.

Manufactures of Wood, Vehicles, &c.

Cane or rattan, split or otherwise manufactured, n.o.p., twelve and a half per cent *ad valorem*.
 Corks, and other manufactures of cork wood or cork bark, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.
 Lumber and timber further manufactured than rough sawn or hewn, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.
 Hubs, spokes, felloes, and parts of wheels, rough hewn or sawn only, ten per cent *ad valorem*.
 Pails, tubs, churns, brooms, washboards, pounders and rolling-pins, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.
 Manufactures of wood, not elsewhere specified, and brushes, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
 Umbrella, parasol and sunshade sticks or handles, not elsewhere specified, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Veneers of wood, not over one-sixteenth of an inch in thickness, five per cent *ad valorem*.
 Walking sticks and canes, of all kinds, not elsewhere specified, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
 Pictures and photograph frames, of any material, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
 Mouldings of wood, plain, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.
 Mouldings of wood, gilded or otherwise further manufactured than plain, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
 Fishing rods, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
 Furniture of wood, iron or any other material, house, cabinet or office, finished or in parts, including hair and spring and other mattresses, bolsters, and pillows, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
 Coffins and caskets, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
 Billiard tables, with or without pockets, and bagatelle tables or boards, cues, balls, and cue racks, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
 Farm and freight wagons; carts, drays and similar vehicles, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
 Buggies and carriages, including children's carriages, pleasure carts or gigs, and other similar vehicles, and democrat wagons, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
 Bicycles and tricycles, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
 Railway cars, sleighs, cutters, wheel-barrows and hand carts, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
 Fibre ware, indurated fibre ware, vulcanized fibre ware and all articles of like material, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
 Lead pencils of all kinds, in wood or otherwise, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Musical Instruments.

Organs, cabinet, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.
 Organs, pipe organs, and sets or parts of sets of reeds for cabinet organs, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
 Pianofortes, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
 Parts of pianofortes, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
 Musical instruments of all kinds, not otherwise provided for, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Sugar, Syrups and Molasses.

All sugar above number sixteen Dutch standard in colour, and all refined sugars of whatever kinds, grades or standards, sixty-four one hundredths of a cent per pound.
 Syrups of all kinds, the product of the sugar cane or beet root, n.e.s., and molasses, n.e.s. and all imitations thereof or substitutes therefor, five-tenths of a cent per pound.
 Glucose or grape sugar, glucose syrup and corn syrup, or any syrups containing any admixture thereof, a specific duty of one and one-half cents per pound.
 Sugar candy brown or white, and confectionery, including sweetened gums, candied peel and pop-corn, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
 Liquorice paste and liquorice in rolls and sticks, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.
 Molasses produced in the process of the manufacture of cane sugar from the juice of the cane when imported in the original packages from the district where produced in the country where the cane was grown and which has not been subject to any

process of treating or mixture after leaving the country from which originally shipped—

(a) Testing by polariscope, forty degrees or over and not over sixty degrees, a specific duty of one and one-half cents per gallon.

(b) When testing by polariscope less than forty degrees and not less than thirty-five degrees a specific duty of one and one-half cents per gallon, and in addition thereto one cent per gallon for each degree or fraction of a degree less than fortydegrees.

Textiles.

Cotton batts, batting and sheet wadding, dyed or not, twenty-two and one-half per cent *ad valorem*.

Cotton warps and cotton yarns, dyed or undyed, n.e.s., twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Gray, unbleached cotton fabrics, twenty-two and one-half per cent *ad valorem*.

White or bleached cotton fabrics, n. e. s., twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Cotton fabrics, printed, dyed or coloured, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Collars of cotton, linen, xylonite, xyolite or celluloid, twenty-four cents per dozen and twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Cuffs of cotton, linen, xylonite, xyolite or celluloid, four cents per pair and twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Shirts of all kinds, costing three dollars or less per dozen, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*; costing more than three dollars per dozen twenty-five per cent *ad valorem* and a specific duty of one dollar per dozen.

Cotton clothing and other manufactures of cotton, n. e. s., thirty-two and a half per cent *ad valorem*.

Lampwicks, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Crapes, black, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Velvets, velveteens and plush fabrics, n. e. s., thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Webbing, elastic and non-elastic, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Jeans and coutils, when imported by corset and dress stay makers, for use in their own factories, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Laces, braids, fringes, embroideries, cords, elastic round or flat, tassels and bracelets; braids, chains or cords of hair; lace collars and all similar goods; handkerchiefs, lace nets and nettings of cotton, silk, linen or other material; table cloths and curtains, when made up, trimmed or untrimmed, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Cotton sewing thread in hanks, or on tubes, black, bleached or unbleached, three and six cord, fifteen per cent *ad valorem*.

Cotton sewing thread and crochet cotton, on spools or in balls, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Cordage, n.e.s., thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Twine and cotton cordage, of all kinds, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Rove, when imported for the manufacture of twine for harvest binders, ten per cent *ad valorem*.

Twine for harvest binders of hemp, jute, manilla or sisal, and of manilla and sisal mixed, twelve and a half per cent *ad valorem*.

Boot, shoe and stay laces of any material, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Hammocks and lawn tennis nets and other like articles manufactured of twine, n.e.s., thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Damask, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

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Towels of every description, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Sails for boats and ships, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Bags or sacks, of hemp, linen, cotton or jute, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

All manufactures of hemp, flax or jute, n.e.s., or of flax, hemp and jute combined, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Jute cloth, dyed or bleached, or callendered, ten per cent *ad valorem*.

Silk in the gum, or spun, not more advanced than shingles, tram and thrown organzine, not coloured, fifteen per cent *ad valorem*.

Sewing and embroidery silk and silk twist, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Silk velvets and all manufactures of silk, or of which silk is the component part of the chief value, not elsewhere specified, except church vestments, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Ribbons of all kinds and materials, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Wool, viz.:—Leicester, Cotswold, Lincolnshire, South Down combing wools, or wools known as lustre wools, and other like combing wools, such as are grown in Canada, three cents per pound.

Hair, curled, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Yarns, woollen and worsted, n.e.s., twenty-seven and one-half per cent *ad valorem*.

Cloths, fabrics and manufactures, composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca goat or other like animal, not elsewhere specified, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Hair-cloth of all kinds, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Women's and children's dress goods, coat linings, Italian cloths, alpacas, orleans, cashmeres, henriettas, serges, buntings, nun's cloth, bengalines, whip cords, twills, plains or jasquards of similar fabrics, composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the camel, alpaca goat, or other like animal, not exceeding in weight six ounces to the square yard, when imported in the gray or unfinished state for the purpose of being dyed or finished in Canada, under such regulations as are established by the Governor in Council, twenty-two and a half per cent *ad valorem*.

Felt, pressed, of all kinds, not filled or covered by or with any woven fabric, seventeen and a half per cent *ad valorem*.

Hosiery and knitted goods of every description, n.e.s., thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Carpets, mats and rugs, n.e.s., thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Carpeting, mats and matting of cocoa, hemp or jute, and carpet linings and stair pads, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Floor oil cloth, cork matting or carpet; oil cloth and oiled silk, in the piece, cut or shaped, oiled, enamelled, stamped, painted or printed, India-rubbered, flocked or coated, not otherwise provided for, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Window shades, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Gloves and mitts of all kinds, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Clothing, ready-made, and wearing apparel of every description, n.e.s., including horse clothing, shaped, thirty-two and a half per cent *ad valorem*.

Hats, caps and bonnets, n.e.s., thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Umbrellas, parasols and sunshades of all kinds and materials, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Braces or suspenders and parts thereof, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Surgical belts or trusses and suspensory bandages of all kinds, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Sundries.

Artificial flowers, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.
Buttons of hoof, rubber, vulcanite or composition, four cents per gross and twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Buttons of pearl, vegetable ivory or horn, eight cents per gross and twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Buttons, pantaloon, and all other buttons, n.e.s., twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

Combs for dress and toilet, of all kinds, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Fertilizers, compounded or manufactured, ten per cent *ad valorem*.

Fireworks, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Gun, rifle and pistol cartridges; cartridge cases of all kinds and materials; percussion caps, and gun wads of all kinds, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Nitro-glycerine, dynamite, dualin, blasting, mining and gunpowder, and other explosives, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Photographic dry plates, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Tobacco pipes of all kinds, pipe mounts, cigar and cigarette holders and cases for the same, thirty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Trunks, valises, hat-boxes, carpet bags, satchels, pocket books and purses, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Ships and other vessels, built in any foreign country, whether steam or sailing vessels, on application for Canadian register, on the fair market value of the hull, rigging, machinery, and all appurtenances; on the hull, rigging and all appurtenances, except machinery, ten per cent *ad valorem*; on boilers, steam engines and other machinery, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

All goods not enumerated in this Act as subject to any other rate of duty, nor declared free of duty by this Act, and not being goods the importation whereof is by this or any other Act prohibited, shall be subject to a duty of twenty per cent *ad valorem*, when imported into Canada, or when taken out of warehouse for consumption therein.

Fish and Products of the Fisheries.

Mackerel, one cent per pound.

Herrings, pickled or salted, one-half cent per pound.

Salmon, pickled or salted, one cent per pound.

All other fish, pickled or salted, in barrels, one cent per pound.

Foreign caught fish, imported otherwise than in barrels or half-barrels, whether fresh, dried, salted or pickled, not specially enumerated or provided for by this Act, fifty cents per hundred pounds.

Fish, smoked and boneless fish, one cent per pound.
Anchovies and sardines, packed in oil or otherwise, in tin boxes measuring not more than five inches

long, four inches wide, and three and a half inches deep, five cents per whole box; in half-boxes, measuring not more than five inches long, four inches wide, and one and five-eighths deep, two and a half cents per half-box; and in quarter-boxes, measuring not more than four inches and three-quarters long, three and a half inches wide, and one and a quarter deep, two cents each per quarter-box. When imported in any other form, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Fish, preserved in oil, except anchovies and sardines, thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

Salmon and all other fish prepared or preserved, including oysters, not especially enumerated or provided for in this Act, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Oysters, shelled, in bulk, ten cents per gallon.

Oysters, canned, in cans not over one pint, three cents per can, including the cans.

Oysters in cans over one pint and not over one quart, five cents per can, including the cans.

Oysters in cans exceeding one quart in capacity, an additional duty of five cents for each quart or fraction of a quart of capacity over a quart, including the cans.

Oysters in the shell, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Packages containing oysters or other fish, not otherwise provided for, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Oil, spermaceti, whale and other fish oils, and all other articles the produce of the fisheries, not specially provided for, twenty per cent *ad valorem*.

SCHEDULE "B."

Free Goods.

Articles for the use of the Governor General.

The following articles when imported by and for the use of the army and navy:—Arms, military or naval clothing, musical instruments for bands, military stores and munitions of war.

Articles imported by and for the use of the Dominion Government or any of the departments thereof, or by and for the Senate or House of Commons, including the following articles when imported by the said Government or through any of the departments thereof for the use of the Canadian Militia:—"Military clothing, musical instruments for military bands, military stores and munitions of war."

Articles for the personal use of consuls general who are natives or citizens of the country they represent and who are not engaged in any other business or profession.

Travellers' baggage, under regulations prescribed by the Controller of Customs.

Carriages for travellers and carriages laden with merchandise, and not to include circus troops nor hawkers, under regulations prescribed by the Controller of Customs.

Apparel, wearing and other personal and household effects, not merchandise, of British subjects dying abroad, but domiciled in Canada.

Settlers' effects, viz.:—Wearing apparel, household furniture, books implements and tools of trade, occupation or employment, which the settler has had in actual use for at least six months before removal to Canada, musical instruments,

- mestic sewing machines, live stock, carts and other vehicles and agricultural implements in use by the settler for at least one year before his removal to Canada, not to include machinery, or articles imported for use in any manufacturing establishment, or for sale; provided that any dutiable article entered as settlers' effects may not be so entered unless brought with the settler on his first arrival, and shall not be sold or otherwise disposed of without payment of duty, until after two years' actual use in Canada; provided also, that under regulations made by the Controller of Customs, live stock, when imported into Manitoba or the North-west Territories by intending settlers, shall be free, until otherwise ordered by the Governor in Council.
- Animals brought into Canada temporarily, and for a period not exceeding three months, for the purpose of exhibition or of competition for prizes offered by any agricultural or other association; (But a bond shall be first given in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Controller of Customs, with the condition that the full duty to which such animals would otherwise be liable shall be paid in case of their sale in Canada, or if not re-exported within the time specified in such bond).
- Horses, cattle, sheep and swine, for the improvement of stock, under regulations made by the Treasury Board and approved by the Governor in Council.
- Menageries, horses, cattle, carriages and harness of, under regulations prescribed by the Controller of Customs.
- Acids used for medicinal, chemical or manufacturing purposes, not specially provided for in this Act.
- Admiralty charts.
- Alum, in bulk only, ground or unground.
- Aluminum, or aluminium and alumina and chloride of aluminum or chloralum, sulphate of alumina and alum cake.
- Ambergis.
- Ammonia, sulphate of, and sal ammoniac.
- Anatomical preparations and skeletons or parts thereof.
- Aniline salts and arseniate of aniline; aniline dyes and coal tar dyes in bulk or packages of not less than one pound weight, including alizarine and artificial alizarine.
- Aniline oil, crude.
- Annatto, liquid or solid.
- Anchors.
- Antimony salts; and antimony, not ground, pulverized or otherwise manufactured.
- Arsenic.
- Asphalt or asphaltum and bone pitch, crude only.
- Barrels or packages of Canadian manufacture exported, filled with Canadian products, when returned, under such regulations as the Controller of Customs prescribes.
- Bees.
- Bells, when imported by and for the use of churches.
- Bismuth, metallic, in its natural state.
- Blanketing and lapping, and discs or mills for engraving copper rollers, when imported by cotton manufacturers, calico printers and wall paper manufacturers, for use in their own factories only.
- Blood albumen, and tannic acid.
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- Bolting cloth, not made up.
- Bones, crude, not manufactured, burned, calcined, ground or steamed.
- Books, viz.:—Bibles, prayer-books, psalm and hymn; and books printed in any language other than the English and French languages.
- Books, embossed, for the blind, and books for the instruction of the deaf and dumb and blind.
- Book printed by any Government or by any association for the promotion of science and letters issued in the course of the proceedings of said association, to its members, and not for the purpose of sale or trade.
- Books, not being printed or reprinted in Canada, which are included in the curriculum of any university or incorporated college in Canada; books specially imported for the *bona fide* use of incorporated mechanics' institutes, public free libraries, and university and college libraries, not more than two copies of each book; and books, bound or unbound, which have been printed and manufactured more than twenty years.
- Books printed in any of the languages or dialects of any of the Indian tribes of the Dominion of Canada.
- Bookbinders' cloth.
- Boracic acid, and borax, ground or unground, in bulk of not less than twenty-five pounds only.
- Botanical specimens.
- Brass scrap, and brass in sheets or plates.
- Brass in bars and bolts, drawn, plain and fancy tubing.
- Brass in strips for printers' rules, not finished.
- Brass, copper, iron or steel rolled round wire rods under half an inch in diameter, when imported by wire manufacturers for use in making wire in their factories.
- Brass and copper wire twisted, when imported by manufacturers of boots and shoes for use in their own factories.
- Bristles.
- Britannia metal in pigs and bars.
- Bromine.
- Broom corn.
- Buckram for the manufacture of hat and bonnet shapes.
- Bullion, gold and silver, in bars, blocks or ingots, and bullion fringe.
- Burgundy pitch.
- Burr stones, in blocks, rough or unmanufactured, not bound up or prepared for binding into mill-stones.
- Canvas of not less than forty-five inches in width, not pressed or calendered, for the manufacture of floor oilcloth.
- Caplins, unfinished Leghorn hats and Manilla hoods.
- Casts as models, for the use of schools of design.
- Cat-gut strings or gut cord for musical instruments: cat-gut or whip-gut, unmanufactured, and gut, and worm gut, manufactured or unmanufactured, for whip and other cord.
- Celluloid, xylonite or xyolite in sheets, and in lumps, blocks or balls in the rough.
- Chalk stone, china or Cornwall stone, felspar and cliff stone, ground or unground.
- Cherry heat welding compound.
- Chloride of lime.
- Chronometers and compasses for ships.
- Cinnabar.
- Citron, lemon and orange rinds in brine.

- Clays, including China clay, fire clay and pipe clay.
 Clothing, donations of, for charitable purposes.
 Coal, anthracite, and anthracite coal dust.
 Coal tar and coal pitch.
 Coke.
 Cobalt, ore of.
 Cochineal.
 Coffee, green, except as hereinbefore provided.
 Coins, cabinets of, collections of medals and of other antiquities, including postage stamps.
 Coins, gold and silver, except United States silver coin.
 Coir and coir yarns.
 Colours, metallic, viz. :—Oxides of cobalt, zinc, tin and copper, n.e.s.
 Communion plate, when imported by and for the use of churches.
 Copper, old and scrap, and copper in pigs, bars, rods, bolts, ingots, sheets, plates and sheathing, not planished or coated.
 Copper, seamless drawn tubing.
 Copper, precipitate of, crude.
 Cotton wool and cotton waste.
 Cotton yarns finer than number forty.
 Cups and other prizes won in competitions.
 Curling stones of granite.
 Degras.
 Diamonds, unset, diamond dust or bort and black diamonds for borers.
 Diamond drills for prospecting for minerals, not to include motive power.
 Domestic fowls, pure-bred, for the improvement of stock, and pheasants and quails.
 Dragon's blood.
 Drugs, viz. : aloes, ground or unground, agaric, belladonna leaves, buchu leaves, hyoscyamus or henbane leaf, senna in leaves, conium cicuta or hemlock seed and leaf, chamomile flowers, cinchona bark, ergot, India hemp (crude drug).
 Duck for belting and hose when imported by manufacturers of rubbergoods for use in their factories.
 Dyeing or tanning articles, in a crude state, used in dyeing or tanning, not elsewhere specified: berries for dyeing or used for composing dyes, turmeric, nut galls: lac, crude, seed, button, stick and shell; indigo, indigo paste and extract of, and indigo auxiliary or zinc dust; persis, or extract of archill and cudbear, terra-japonica, gambier or cutch, extract of logwood, fustic, oak and of oak bark; camwood and sumac and extract thereof, tanners' bark, hemlock bark and oakbark.
 Eggs, and egg yolk.
 Emery wheels and emery in blocks crushed or ground.
 Entomological specimens.
 Felt, adhesive, for sheathing vessels.
 Fertilizers, uncompounded or unmanufactured, including kainite or German potash salts, German mineral potash, bone-dust and bone-ash, fish offal or refuse, guano and other animal and vegetable manures.
 Fibre, Mexican, and tampico or istle, and vegetable fibres, natural.
 Fibrilla.
 Fillets of cotton and rubber, not exceeding seven inches wide, when imported by and for the use of manufacturers of card clothing.
 Fish hooks, and twines to be used in making nets or seines, and fishing-lines, not to include sporting fishing tackle or hooks with flies or trawling spoons, or threads or twines commonly used for sewing or manufacturing purposes.
 Flax fibre and flax tow.
 Fire bricks.
 Flint, flints and ground flint stones.
 Florist stock, viz. :—Palms, orchids, azaleas, cacti, and flower bulbs of all kinds.
 Foliæ digitalis.
 Fossils.
 Foot grease, being the refuse of cotton seed after the oil has been pressed out, but not when treated with alkalies.
 Fruits, viz. :— Bananas, plantains, pine-apples, pomegranates, guavas, mangoes and shaddocks: and wild blueberries, wild strawberries and wild raspberries.
 Fuller's earth.
 Fur skins of all kinds not dressed in any manner.
 Gannister.
 Globes, geographical, topographical, and astronomical.
 Gold-beaters' moulds and gold-beaters' skins.
 Gold and silver sweepings.
 Grass, Manilla, Esparto, or Spanish, and other grasses, and pulp of, including fancy grasses, dried but not coloured or otherwise manufactured.
 Gravels.
 Grease, rough, the refuse of animal fat, for the manufacture of soap only.
 Gummits.
 Gums, viz. : Amber, Arabic, Australian, copal, dammar, kaurie, mastic, sandarac, Senegal, shellac; and white shellac in gum or flake, for manufacturing purposes; and gum tragacanth, gum gedda and gum barberry.
 Gutta percha, crude.
 Gypsum, crude (sulphate of lime).
 Hair, cleaned or uncleaned, but not curled or otherwise manufactured.
 Hatters' furs, not on the skin.
 Hemp, undressed.
 Hides and skins, raw, whether dry, salted, or pickled, and raw pelts.
 Hoofs, horn strips, horn and horn tips.
 Hoop iron, not exceeding three-eighths of an inch in width and being No. 25 gauge or thinner, used for the manufacture of tubular rivets.
 Ice.
 Indian corn of the varieties known as "Southern White Dent Corn" or horse-tooth ensilage corn, and "Western Yellow Dent Corn" or horse-tooth ensilage corn, when imported to be sown for soiling and ensilage, and for no other purpose, under regulations to be made by the Governor in Council.
 Iodine, crude.
 Iron sand or globules, and dry putty for polishing granite.
 Iron liquor, solution of acetate of iron for dyeing and calico printing.
 Iron or steel beams, sheets, plates, angles and knees for iron or composite ships or vessels.
 Iron masts for ships, or parts of.
 Iron or steel manufactures, which at the time of their importation, are of a class or kind not manufactured in Canada, when imported for use in the construction of iron or steel ships or vessels.
 Ivory and ivory nuts, manufactured and veneers of ivory, sawn only.

- Junk, old.
- Jute, and jute butts.
- Jute cloth, rough, not coloured, bleached or calendered in any way.
- Jute yarn, plain, dyed or coloured, when imported by manufacturers of carpets, rugs and mats, and of jute webbing or jute cloth, for use in their own factories.
- Jute canvas, not less than fifty-eight inches wide, when imported by manufacturers of floor oil-cloth for use in their own factories.
- Kelp.
- Kryolite or cryolite, mineral.
- Lamp black and ivory black.
- Lava, unmanufactured.
- Lead, nitrate and acetate of, not ground.
- Leeches.
- Lime juice, crude only.
- Litharge.
- Litmus and all lichens, prepared or not prepared.
- Locomotive and car wheel tires of steel, when in the rough.
- Locomotives and railways passenger, baggage and freight cars, being the property of railway companies in the United States, running upon any line of road crossing the frontier, so long as Canadian locomotives and cars are admitted free under similar circumstances in the United States under regulations prescribed by the Controller of Customs.
- Madder and munjeet, or Indian madder, ground or prepared, and all extracts of.
- Manganese, oxide of.
- Manuscripts.
- Maps and charts for the use of schools for the blind.
- Meerschaum, crude or raw.
- Mineral waters, natural, not in bottle, under regulations prescribed by the Controller of Customs.
- Mineralogical specimens.
- Mining and smelting machinery imported prior to the sixteenth day of May, 1896, which is at the time of its importation of a class or kind not manufactured in Canada.
- Models of inventions and of other improvements in the arts; but no articles shall be deemed a model which can be fitted for use.
- Moss, Iceland, and other mosses, seagrass and seaweed, crude or in their natural state or cleaned only.
- Musk, in pods or in grains.
- Newspapers, and quarterly, monthly and semi-monthly magazines, and weekly literary papers, unbound.
- Nickel.
- Oakum.
- Oils, viz.: Coconut and palm, in their natural state; carbolic or heavy oil; olive oil, n.e.s., for manufacturing and mechanical purposes, and oil of roses including ottar or attar of roses.
- Oil cake and oil cake meal, cotton seed cake and cotton seed meal and palm nut cake and meal.
- Osiers.
- Ores of metal of all kinds.
- Oxalic acid.
- Oysters, seed and breeding, imported for the purpose of being planted in Canadian waters.
- Paintings, in oil or water colours, by artists of well known merit, or copies of the old masters by such artists.
- Paintings, in oil or water colours, the production of Canadian artists, under regulations to be made by the Controller of Customs.
- Palm leaf, unmanufactured.
- Philosophical instruments and apparatus, that is to say, such as are not manufactured in the Dominion, when imported by and for use in universities, colleges, schools and scientific societies.
- Phosphorus.
- Pictorial illustrations of insects, &c., when imported by and for the use of colleges and schools, scientific and literary societies.
- Pitch (pine), and pine tar in packages of not less than fifteen gallons each.
- Plaits, chip, manilla, cotton, mohair, straw, Tuscan and grass.
- Platinum wire; and retorts, pans, condensers, tubing and pipe made of platinum, when imported by manufacturers of sulphuric acid for use in their works in the manufacture or concentration of sulphuric acid.
- Plumbago crucibles.
- Potash, chlorate of, in crystals, when imported for manufacturing purposes only; potash, muriate and bichromate of, crude, caustic potash, and red and yellow prussiate of potash; also ashes, pot and pearl, in packages of not less than twenty-five pounds weight.
- Precious stones, in the rough.
- Prunella.
- Pumice and pumice stone, ground or unground.
- Quicksilver.
- Quills in their natural state or unplumed.
- Quinine, sulphate of, in powder.
- Rags of cotton, linen, jute, hemp, and woollen, paper waste or clippings, and waste of any kind except mineral waste.
- Red liquor, a crude acetate of aluminium prepared from pyroligneous acid, for dyeing and calico printing.
- Remet, raw or prepared.
- Resin or rosin in packages of not less than one hundred pounds.
- Ribs of brass iron or steel, runners, rings, caps, notches, ferrules, mounts and sticks or canes in the rough, or not further manufactured than cut into lengths suitable for umbrella, parasol or sunshade sticks, when imported by manufacturers of umbrellas, parasols and sunshades for use in their factories in the manufacture of umbrellas, parasols and sunshades only.
- Roots, medicinal, viz.: Alkanet, crude, crushed or ground, aconite, calumba, gentian, ginseng, jalap, ipecacuanha, iris, orris root, liquorice, sarsaparilla, squills, taraxacum, rhubarb, and valerian, unground.
- Rubber, crude, caoutchouc or India-rubber, unmanufactured: hard rubber in sheets, but not further manufactured, and recovered rubber and rubber substitute.
- Saddle jiggers, and stirrups, saddle-trees, and cheap Morgan trees, for cowboys' saddles, including pack saddle-trees.
- Saffron, saffron cake, safflower, and extract of.
- Salt, imported from the United Kingdom or any British possession, or imported for the use of the sea or gulf fisheries, not otherwise provided for.
- Salt, not elsewhere specified, imported in barrels, bags or other packages, the bags, barrels or other packages to bear the same rate of duty as if imported empty.

Mr. FOSTER.

Saltpetre.

Sand.

Sausage skins or casings, not cleaned.

Scrap iron and scrap steel, old and fit only to be remanufactured, being part of or recovered from any vessel wrecked in waters subject to the jurisdiction of Canada.

Seedling stock for grafting, viz. :—Plum, pear, peach and other fruit trees.

Seeds, viz. :—Annatto, beet, carrot, flax, turnip, mangold and mustard, and aromatic seeds which are not edible and are in a crude state, and not advanced in value or condition by grinding or refining, or by any other process of manufacture, viz. :—Anise, anise-star, caraway, cardamom, coriander, cumin, fennel and fenugreek.

Beans, viz. :—Tonquin, vanilla and nux vomica, crude only, locust beans and locust bean meal, and cocoa beans, shells and nibs, not roasted, crushed or ground.

Shells, tortoise, mother of pearl and other, unmanufactured.

Shoe buttons, papier mâché : metal glove fasteners, eyelet-hooks, and eyelets, for boots and shoes : and lacing hooks.

Silex, or crystallized quartz.

Silk, raw or as reeled from the cocoon, not being doubled, twisted or advanced in manufacture in any way, silk cocoons and silk waste.

Silver, German silver and nickel, silver, rolled or in sheets.

Soda, sulphate of, crude, known as salt cake, barilla or soda ash, caustic soda ; silicate of soda in crystals or in solution ; bichromate of soda, nitrate of soda or cubic nitre, sal soda ; sulphide of sodium, nitrite of soda, arseniate, binarseniate, chloride and stannate of soda.

Spelter, in blocks and pigs.

Spurs and stilts, used in the manufacture of earthenware.

Steel bowls for cream separators.

Steel, for the manufacture of files, when imported by file manufacturers for use in their factories.

Steel of No. 20 gauge and thinner, but not thinner than No. 30 gauge, to be used in the manufacture of corset steels, clock springs and shoe shanks ; and flat wire of steel of No. 16 gauge or thinner, to be used in the manufacture of crinoline and corset wire, when imported by the manufacturers of such articles for use in their own factories.

Steel, rolled rods of, under half an inch in diameter or under half an inch square, when imported by knob or lock manufacturers or cutlers for use exclusively in such manufactures in their own factories.

Steel rails, weighing not less than forty pounds per lineal yard, for use in railway tracks.

Steel, in sheets of not less than eleven nor over eighteen wire gauge, and costing not less than seventy-five dollars per ton of two thousand two hundred and forty pounds, when imported by manufacturers of shovels and spades for use exclusively in such manufacture in their own factories.

Steel for saws and straw cutters, cut to shape, but not further manufactured.

Steel valued at two and one-half cents per pound and upwards, for use in the manufacture of skates.

Steel of No. 12 gauge and thinner, but not thinner than No. 30 gauge, when imported by manufac-

turers of buckle clasps and ice-creepers, to be used in the manufacture of such articles only in their own factories.

Stereotypes, electrotype and celluloids of books, and bases, and matrices and copper shells for the same, whether composed wholly or in part of metal or celluloid.

Sugar not above number sixteen Dutch Standard in colour, sugar drainings, or pumpings drained in transit, melado or concentrated melado, tank bottoms, and sugar concrete.

Sulphate of iron (copperas), and sulphate of copper (blue vitriol).

Sulphur and brimstone, crude, or in roll or flour.

Tagging metal, plain, japanned or coated, in coils, not over one and a half inches in width, when imported by manufacturers of shoe and corset laces for use in their factories.

Tails, undressed.

Tartar emetic and gray tartar, cream of tartar in crystals and argal or argols.

Tea, except as hereinbefore provided.

Teasels.

Tin crystals, tin strip waste, and tin, in blocks, pigs, bars and sheet and tin plates, tin foil and tea lead.

Tobacco, unmanufactured, for excise purposes, under conditions of "The Act respecting the Inland Revenue."

Treenails.

Trees, forest, when imported into the province of Manitoba, or the North-west Territories, for planting.

Turpentine, raw or crude.

Turtles.

Ultramarine blue, dry or in pulp.

Vaccine and ivory vaccine points.

Varnish, black and bright for ships' use.

Verdigris, or sub-acetate of copper, dry.

Whalebone, manufactured.

Whiting or whitening, gilder's whiting and Paris white.

Wire rigging for ships and vessels.

Wire, crucible cast steel.

Wire of iron or steel, No. 13 and 14 gauge, flattened and corrugated, used in connection with the machine known as the wire grip machine for the manufacture of boots, shoes and leather belting, when imported by manufacturers of such articles to be used for these purposes only in their own factories.

Wool and the hair of the camel, alpaca goat and of other like animals, not further prepared than washed, n.e.s. ; and noils, being the short wool which falls from the combs in worsted factories.

Mohair yarns.

Wool or worsted yarns, when genapped, dyed or finished, and imported by manufacturers of braids, cords, tassels and fringes to be used in the manufacture of such articles only in their own factories.

Wood.

Logs, and round unmanufactured timber not specially enumerated or provided for in this Act.

Firewood, handle bolts, heading bolts ; stave bolts, and shingle bolts, hop poles, fence posts, railroad ties, ship timber, and ship planking, not specially provided for in this Act.

Timber, hewn or sawed, and timber used for spars and in building wharfs.

Timber, squared or sided.
 Sawed boards, plank, deals, and other lumber.
 Pine clapboards.
 Spruce clapboards.
 Hubs for wheels, posts, last blocks, wagon blocks, oar blocks, gun blocks, heading, and all like blocks or sticks, rough hewn or sawed only.
 Laths.
 Pickets and palings.
 Shingles.
 Staves of wood of all kinds, wood unmanufactured. Provided that if any country shall impose a duty upon the articles in this Schedule enumerated, or any of them, when imported into such country from Canada, it shall be lawful for the Governor General in Council, from time to time, by proclamation published in the *Canada Gazette*, to declare that the following Export Duties, or any of them, shall be chargeable upon logs exported into such country from Canada, viz. :—
 Pine, Douglas fir, spruce, fir balsam, cedar and hemlock logs, not exceeding three dollars per thousand feet board measure.
 In case of the export of any of the above-enumerated logs in shorter lengths than nine feet, then a rate per cord may be levied in the same way, equivalent to the above enumerated rate per thousand feet, board measure.
 And export duty shall be chargeable accordingly, after the publication of such proclamation.
 Provided that the Governor General in Council may by proclamation published in like manner, from time to time, remove and reimpose such export duty.
 Bamboos, unmanufactured, and bamboo reeds, not further manufactured than cut into suitable lengths for walking sticks or canes, or for sticks for umbrellas, parasols or sunshades.
 Cane, rattans and reeds, not further manufactured than split.
 Corkwood, or cork bark, unmanufactured.
 Lumber and timber planks and boards of amaranth, cocoboral, boxwood, cherry, chestnut, walnut, gumwood, mahogany, pitch pine, rosewood, sandalwood, sycamore, Spanish cedar, oak, hickory, whitewood, African teak, black heart ebony, lignum vitæ, red cedar, redwood, satin wood and white ash, when not otherwise manufactured than rough sawn or split, or creosoted, vulcanized or treated by any other preserving process: the wood of the persimmon and dogwood trees, hickory billets, and hickory lumber sawn to shape for spokes of wheels, but not further manufactured: hickory spokes rough turned, not tenoned, mitred, throated, faced, sized, cut to length, round tenoned or polished.
 Wood pulp,—mechanically ground.
 Wood pulp, bleached or unbleached.
 Yellow metal, in bolts, bars and for sheathing.
 Zinc, in blocks, pigs and sheets, and zinc seamless drawn tubing.
 Zinc, chloride, salts and sulphate of.

SCHEDULE " C. "

Books, printed paper, drawings, paintings, prints, photographs or representations of any kind of a treasonable or seditious, or of an immoral or indecent character.

Mr. FOSTER.

Reprints of Canadian copyright works, and reprints of British copyright works which have been also copyrighted in Canada.
 Coin, base or counterfeit.
 Oleomargarine, butterine or other similar substitute for butter.
 Goods manufactured or produced, wholly or in part by prison labour, or which have been made within or in connection with any prison, jail or penitentiary.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I wish to relieve your mind and that of my hon. friends by saying at once that I have not the slightest intention of inflicting a speech upon them to-night. We have had an extremely interesting discussion upon the most important matters that can come before us and I will not pay the Finance Minister so poor a compliment as to proceed to discuss changes in 665 tariff items without having the document before me. I therefore move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved :

That the adjourned debate be made the first Order of the Day on Wednesday and subsequent days until concluded, after questions put by members.

Motion agreed to.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and House adjourned at 11.10 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, 28th March, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE DEBATES.

Mr. LARIVIERE moved :

That the House do now concur in the First Report of the Select Committee appointed to supervise the Official Reports of the Debates of this House during the present session.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I would ask that the motion should not be pressed for this afternoon. There is, perhaps, some mistake in the recommendation of the committee on the subject of the gratuity to the widow of one of the official reporters now deceased. It was the intention of the Government to propose a gratuity in the Estimates, and, I think, in the main Estimates before the House a gratuity is now proposed, and, I think, a little larger than the one recommended by the committee. A postponement

will give us an opportunity of ascertaining whether that concurs with the views of the committee, or whether the proposition is to give a second gratuity, which, I think, the House would not be disposed to do.

Motion withdrawn.

AMENDMENTS TO THE SEAMEN'S ACT.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 13) to amend the Seamen's Act. He said: There are just two paragraphs in the Bill. One is the same as was in the Bill introduced last session, and it is to extend the right of lien for disbursements that the seamen now enjoy, to the master the same as in the English law. The second clause is to extend the language in a section of the Seamen's Act so as to remove all doubts, and practically to legalize a practice which has obtained in the Board of Trade in England since 1869. In 1869 the Government of this country entered into an arrangement with the Board of Trade respecting expenses incurred by Her Majesty's Consuls in relieving sick and distressed mariners; and in examining certain accounts it was ascertained that the language of the Act did not go so far as the agreement upon which action has been taken ever since 1869. At the moment I would not be quite positive as to which words were required, but I am of the opinion that the question of the domicile was the point in reference to which legislation is required to carry that agreement out. As it stands, this proposal is that a seaman who is domiciled for twelve months in Canada shall be entitled to the advantages of those provisions in the Seamen's Act.

Motion agreed to, and read the first time.

CHINESE LABOUR AT ESQUIMALT.

Mr. PRIOR asked. Whether the Government is aware that the Imperial authorities having charge of the impending fortifications at Esquimalt, British Columbia, are employing Chinese labourers on those works; and if so, will they remonstrate with the Imperial Government on this matter and strongly urge the necessity of giving employment to the large surplus of white labour now on the Pacific Coast instead of to the Chinese?

Mr. PATTERSON (Huron). I was not aware of the circumstances referred to in question until they were brought to my notice by the hon. member. I may say that there is nothing before me upon which to base a remonstrance.

THE ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE.

Mr. MULOCK asked, 1. How many students have graduated from the Royal Military College since its establishment? 2. How many of these graduates are now in the public service of Canada, and how many in the service of the Imperial Government? 3. How much has been expended on capital ac-

count and how much on income since the college was established? 4. How many students graduated in 1893? 5. How many students are now in attendance? 6. What is the total amount of salaries paid each year of all persons employed in connection with such college? 7. Who is the commandant of the college? What is his salary; what perquisites, if any in the way of free residence, maintenance thereof, supplies, servants or otherwise, does he enjoy? 8. Was a residence for the use of the commandant purchased? If so, what was the purchase money, and what amount has been expended thereon by the Government since the purchase?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I think the hon. member ought to move in a matter which requires so much labour.

Mr. MULOCK. Will the hon. gentleman allow this to pass as a motion?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes.

Mr. MULOCK. I will make the motion, then, presently.

Mr. SPEAKER. You cannot to-day.

Mr. MULOCK. By consent. It has been done before.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I would suggest that the hon. gentleman should move the motion when motions are called to-morrow. We will waive any notice.

PUBLIC WORKS IN GUYSBORO'.

Mr. FRASER asked. 1. Have the Government or any member thereof authorized Mr. J. G. Forbes, the Conservative candidate in the county of Guysboro', to state that he is promised by the Government or any member of the Government, in case he is returned, to obtain large sums for breakwaters and other public works in the said county of Guysboro'? Have any promises for such expenditures been given by the Government or any member thereof? 2. What is the amount expended in the province of Nova Scotia since 1878, by counties, on railways, harbours, breakwaters, wharfs and all other public works in said province?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The Government have not, nor has any member thereof, authorized Mr. J. G. Forbes to state that he was promised by the Government or any member of the Government, in case he was returned, to obtain large sums for breakwaters and other public works in the county of Guysboro'; nor has any promise for such expenditures been given by the Government or any member thereof. Applications were made to some of the Ministers and to myself with respect to some works in the county, on the part of Mr. Forbes and friends who came with him, but no promise was given other than an assurance that the representations they made would be fully considered,

and the claims of the different localities they mentioned would be investigated. It is proper I should state for the hon. gentleman's information that Mr. Forbes has written me a letter denying that he made any such assurances as are stated in the question, and that the only assurance he gave was that the friends whose election he was advocating and himself would be glad to forward any request, and exercise any influence which they possess in favour of obtaining any proper expenditures which the necessities of the county might require. The information called for in the second branch of the question should be moved for by the hon. gentleman. It will require considerable work by each department in order to obtain the amount expended in Nova Scotia, since 1878, by counties, on railways, harbours, breakwaters and other public works.

Mr. FRASER. Will the hon. gentleman allow a motion to that effect to take the same position as the motion to be moved by my hon. friend from North York (Mr. Mulock) ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes.

SUGAR REFINERIES.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT asked, Whether the number of persons employed in sugar refineries is correctly stated in the last census returns at 171 ?

Mr. FOSTER. The number of persons who are sugar makers and refiners, as given in the census of 1891, is 171, and the number of persons employed in sugar refineries is 1,927.

FLAG STATION AT MILL RIVER, P.E.I.

Mr. PERRY asked, At whose recommendation was the flag station at Mill River, P.E.I., moved to Howlan Road ?

Mr. HAGGART. The flag station at Mill River was moved to Howlan Road on application of Rev. A. E. Burke and others.

CLAIMS BY ENGINEER PALMER.

Mr. PERRY asked, Did the Government finally settle with Engineer Palmer on account of claims for services in boring across the Straits of Northumberland during the summer of 1892 ? If yes, what is the amount paid Palmer ?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, the Government have settled with Mr. Palmer. The total amount paid in connection with the work of these borings during the season in which Mr. Palmer had charge under his agreement, is \$7,280.

MIMINEGASH BREAKWATER, P.E.I.

Mr. PERRY asked, Is there a balance of \$1,000 or any amount not expended out of

Sir JOHN THOMPSON.

the appropriation towards the repairs and extension of the Miminegash Breakwater, Prince Edward Island ?

Mr. OUMET. The balance unexpended is \$455.50.

DREDGING AT MIMINEGASH BREAKWATER, P.E.I.

Mr. PERRY asked, Did the Department of Public Works, by contract or otherwise, authorize dredging along the Miminegash Breakwater, Prince Edward Island ? If by contract, who is the contractor ? What is the amount of the contract ? Is the Government satisfied that such dredging will not damage the breakwater by causing it to tumble over ?

Mr. OUMET. I am informed that the Department of Public Works did not authorize dredging along the Miminegash Breakwater, Prince Edward Island, and the Department is not aware that such dredging has been done.

PROPOSED TUNNEL ACROSS STRAITS OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

Mr. PERRY asked, Have any borings been made last year across the Straits of Northumberland, from Cape Traverse, P.E.I., to Cape Tormentine, N.B., with the view of further obtaining information as to the practicability of building a tunnel across the Straits, and to enable engineers to make an estimate as to the cost of building said tunnel ? If yes, who was the contractor ? If by day work, who was the engineer in charge ? How many borings were made ? How much did the work cost ? Is it the intention of the Government to cause further borings during the present year ?

Mr. FOSTER. No borings were made last summer across the Straits of Northumberland from Cape Traverse to Cape Tormentine. It is the intention of the Government to cause further borings to be made during the coming summer.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) To be continued until the elections.

TIGNISH BREAKWATER, P.E.I.

Mr. PERRY asked, What is the amount collected and paid in during the year 1893, at Tignish Breakwater, Prince Edward Island ?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. No returns have been made of the amount collected for the year 1893 at Tignish Breakwater.

IMPORTATION OF COAL OIL IN TANKS.

Mr. LANDERKIN asked, At what date did the regulations which permitted the importa-

tion of coal oil in tanks come into force? In how many places in Ontario is oil so admitted at present, and what is the name of each place? Have any places applied for authority for such privileges and been refused? If so, what places and why refused?

Mr. WOOD. The regulations which permitted the importation of coal oil in tank cars came into force on 1st July, 1893. Oil is so admitted in 38 places in Ontario. The names of those places are: Belleville, Berlin, Brantford, Brockville, Cornwall, Chipewa, Collingwood, Fort Erie, Galt, Gananoque, Guelph, Hamilton, Kingston, London, Lindsay, Napanee, Oshawa, Ottawa, Owen Sound, Pembroke, Perth, Prescott, Peterborough, Port Arthur, Port Hope, Port Stanley, Petrolia, Sarnia, Sault Ste. Marie, Smith's Falls, Stratford, St. Catharines, St. Thomas, Toronto, Whitby, Windsor, Woodstock and Welland. No place has applied for authority for such purposes and privileges and been refused. With regard to one place, Harrison, for which application was made for this privilege, a favourable recommendation has been made, but owing to the fact of its not being a customs port some delay has arisen, there being no officer at such place to collect the Customs revenue.

WILLIAMSBURG CANAL SUPERINTENDENT.

Mr. LANDERKIN asked, Has the following article from the Morrisburg 'Herald' been brought to the notice of the Government:—

The Superintendent of the Williamsburg Canals is unmolested in his dual role of superintendent and medical practitioner. His professional card, a plea for patronage, is displayed prominently in a local paper, and every effort made to remove as far as possible from the intention of the regulations governing his as well as other official positions. During the late session of the Ontario Assembly, the member for Dundas with extreme earnestness insisted that an official who was allowed to partake of the proceeds of business other than his official one, was nothing less than a thief, that the practice was bad and should be ended. It is not allowed in this province. Most of your readers will well remember when the late superintendent, Mr. A. G. McDonell, was compelled to relinquish a lucrative law practice in order to retain his position as superintendent. This, of course, was during the Mackenzie regime, but the same regulations are still in force and should be put into operation as they were at that time.

What is the name of the officer, his salary, and when appointed?

Mr. HAGGART. The article referred to by the hon. gentleman had not been brought to the attention of the Government. The name of the superintendent of the Williamsburg canal is Charles E. Hickey; salary, \$1,800 per annum, and he was appointed in 1891.

THE LOBSTER FISHERY.

Mr. BOWERS asked, Whether the Minister of Marine and Fisheries has received, since the last session of Parliament, any correspondence recommending or asking that the limitation of size, as regards the taking of lobsters, is placed at ten and one-half inches?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I have.

Mr. BOWERS asked, Whether the notice of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries has been called to the systematic evading of the fishery law in the harbours and along the shores to the eastward of Halifax, N.S., and the fact that parties there not only catch lobsters, but can them during the close season? Shall we see, this session of Parliament, an Act placed upon the Statute-book of Canada, looking towards the better preservation of this very valuable and remunerative fishery?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. In reference to this and the following question, I regret that I have to take objection to the manner in which they are framed. I have no objection to give the hon. gentleman the definite information which he desires, but I think the two questions involve, to some extent, debatable subjects, and they are based on hypothesis that I cannot admit. Therefore, I am not really in a position to satisfactorily answer them as they stand.

HON. SENATOR SANFORD.

Mr. LANDERKIN asked, Whether the Government are aware that Mr. Senator Sanford spent a considerable time at Washington, in discussions on the subject of the United States tariff, with certain members of the United States Congress?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Shortly before the session, Senator Sanford informed me that, for certain reasons of his own, it was very important that he should visit Washington in connection with his own affairs, and, as regards expressing approval, I could not do otherwise than express approval of his intention under the circumstances, although, in connection with business coming before the Senate his presence here would have been desirable. I am not aware how much time the hon. Senator spent in discussing the United States tariff question.

Mr. LANDERKIN asked, also, Whether Senator Sanford communicated his intention of proceeding to Washington to the Government of Canada, or to any member thereof, and whether the Government, or any member thereof approved of his intention?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I think I have answered that question pretty fully before.

Mr. LANDERKIN further asked, Whether Senator Sanford had any communication

with the Government, or any member thereof, during his stay at Washington, and whether he has made any report of his proceedings, while at Washington, to the Government, or any member thereof, verbal or otherwise ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes ; I had one or two letters from Senator Sanford while he was in Washington, and conversation with him since his return. I would not like to say they were on the subject of his proceedings—that is a rather formal expression—but they were in relation to his visit to Washington.

THE REPORT OF THE MAJOR GENERAL.

Mr. MULOCK asked, 1. Whether the report made by the Major-General commanding Her Majesty's forces in Canada will be published in ordinary course, and if not, why ? 2. Whether the said report, as originally presented to the Minister contained a statement that the militia of Canada, in their present state of organization, could not resist fifteen hundred regular soldiers, or words to that effect ?

Mr. PATTERSON (Huron). I may say that the report of the Major-General will come down in due course. In answer to the second paragraph of my hon. friend's question, the reply is, No.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Mr. FLINT asked, Has the Royal Prohibition Commission (so-called) concluded the taking of evidence and hearing of arguments on the subject under their consideration ? If so, has the said Commission yet made any report, preliminary or otherwise, of its findings, or evidence taken by it, to the Government ? When will the report be presented to Parliament ? Is it the intention of the Government to publish in detail the evidence taken by the said Royal Commission, and is such evidence to be presented to Parliament with the report of the Commission ? If the Commission has not yet reported, when does the Government expect to receive such report ?

Mr. FOSTER. I desire to say in answer to that question that the Prohibition Commission has concluded the taking of evidence and the hearing of the arguments on the subject under their consideration. The Commission has not yet made any report, but the evidence taken by it or nearly all of it is in. The report will be presented to Parliament as soon as it comes from the Commission into the hands of the Government.

Mr. LAURIER. Is there not a preliminary report ?

Mr. FOSTER. Not yet. The intention of the Government is to publish the evidence

Mr. LANDERKIN.

taken by the Royal Commission, in fact the major part of the evidence is already in print, and such evidence will be presented to Parliament with the report of the Commission. The Government expects to receive the report of the Commission before a very long time.

SAMUEL CAMPBELL, P. E. I.

Mr. DAVIES asked, What was the date of the dismissal of Mr. Samuel Campbell from the position of superintendent of St. Paul's Island, and keeper of Ingonish Island ? When was he appointed to fill these positions, respectively, and what was his salary at the time of his dismissal, and how long had he served ? What was the alleged cause of his dismissal ? Was he granted any superannuation allowance ? If not, why ?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Mr. Samuel Campbell was appointed keeper of the Ingonish light on the 17th of April, 1871. He was appointed keeper of the two lights and superintendent of the Humane establishment on St. Paul's Island on the 6th November, 1874. His salary was \$600 at the time of his dismissal. He was 67 years of age at the time of his dismissal, which occurred in the autumn of 1893. He was dismissed for holding out improper inducements to secure a vote at an election, and for these reasons, of course, he was not superannuated.

CATTLE EMBARGO IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Mr. FEATHERSTON asked, Has the Government received any official intimation from the Imperial Government of their intention of removing the embargo now existing against Canadian cattle entering the ports of Great Britain ? If so, on what condition do they propose the removal of said restrictions ?

Mr. FOSTER. No official information of such intention has been received.

VACANCIES IN THE SENATE.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT asked, How many vacancies are now existing in the Senate ? 2. For what length of time have the said vacancies existed ; giving date in each case ? 3. Is it the intention of the Government to fill the said vacancies without further delay ; and if not, why not ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. There are seven vacancies existing in the Senate. I cannot, for the present, give the dates at which they occurred.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Will you get these dates, as it is a matter of certain consequence ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes ; let that stand for the present. It is the intention of

the Government to fill the vacancies at an early date.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT asked, also, Have the Government, or any member thereof, promised any member of this House that he will be appointed to one of the vacancies in the Senate, and if so, at what date?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The answer is, No.

CUSTOMS COLLECTORSHIP OF MONTREAL.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT asked, When did the office of collector for the port of Montreal become vacant? Is it the intention of the Government to fill this office without further delay, and if not, why not?

Mr. WALLACE. The office became vacant on the death of the late collector, M. P. Ryan, on the 15th of January, 1893. It is the intention of the Government to fill the position at an early day.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT asked, Have the Government or any member thereof promised any member or members of this House that he or they will be appointed to the collectorship of Montreal, and if so, at what date is the said appointment to be made?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The answer is, No.

THE STATISTICAL YEAR-BOOK.

Mr. COCKBURN asked, Why is the Statistical Year-book for each year not ready for distribution among the members of this House when it meets, and how is it that in Great Britain and the United States the Trade Returns are published monthly, in full, by countries, quantities and values, so that every business man may see at the earliest date the trend of the exports and imports of the country for the preceding month?

Mr. FOSTER. The Statistical Year-book is in part an abstract of the blue-books published by the several departments for presentation to Parliament. Until these blue-books are prepared it is impossible to obtain the material for the preparation of the Year-book. It is the intention to accelerate as much as possible in the future the obtaining of this information. With regard to the second question, the departmental figures of the Trade Returns have not hitherto been made up in such form as to admit of monthly publication, but the question of such publication is under consideration.

REPORT OF DEPARTMENT OF MARINE.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I would like to ask the hon. Minister of Marine the cause of the delay in the presentation of the report of his department this year, and when we may hope to have it?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries has nearly every year been later than the other annual reports, for this reason: all the other reports cover the fiscal year, whereas the report of the Marine Department covers the calendar year; so that we are obliged to wait until we get reports from the outside officers of their work up to the end of December instead of to the end of July. Last year and the year before the report was brought out earlier than usual—which no doubt has caused the hon. gentleman to ask this question—because we divided the report, as it were, bringing the preliminary portion down much earlier than the later portion. It was, however, considered somewhat inconvenient, and the whole report is now in the hands of the printer, and I was told a week ago that it would be ready in a few days for distribution.

RELEASE OF MCGREEVY AND CONNOLLY.

Mr. MULLOCK. I would like to ask the hon. Minister of Justice the reason for the delay in bringing down the return ordered on the 20th of March last, in reference to the McGreevy and Connolly pardon?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. There was no delay. The file of papers was put in hand immediately, and the copying of them is complete. They were laid on my desk this afternoon, but I did not bring them, because I had not time to read them.

Mr. MULLOCK. We may expect them tomorrow, then?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Probably.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE BUDGET.

House resumed adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Foster:

That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair, for the House to go into Committee of Ways and Means.

Mr. FOSTER. Before my hon. friend proceeds with his speech, I desire to say that in making up the schedules last night the class of fish and fish products was left out. It was prepared, but in the copy which was laid on the Table of the House, as well as in a second copy which I had, it seems to have been omitted, and I desire to submit it to-day as a part of what should have been included last night. At the same time, I desire to correct two clerical errors, so that in the discussion of the subject we may be on all-fours.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Are there any material changes in the duties on fish and fish products?

Mr. FOSTER. No. Democrat wagons are to be included with carriages and buggies at 35 per cent. It was a clerical error that they were put in the class to which I alluded

last night. Starch and preparations of starch, instead of being 1¼ cents, should be 1½ cents. Both of these were clerical errors, which I wish to have corrected, so that the discussion may proceed on a proper basis.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, like my predecessor, I shall feel compelled to crave the indulgence of the House on this occasion if I trespass on their patience for somewhat more than the time I usually require. I fear that it will not be in my power to make my speech as interesting as was the latter half of his speech, but I will do my best, notwithstanding, to relieve the monotony which attends on discussions of a financial character. The hon. gentleman, I observed, divided—and perhaps very properly divided—his speech, which was of very unusual length—although amply warranted by the magnitude of the subject—into two parts. The first portion, consuming about two hours and a half in delivery, was occupied in a eulogy of the late—I suppose I may call it the late—tariff. The hon. gentleman pointed out with great force and great unction, the high, noble and patriotic motives which actuated the framers of that tariff. He dwelt with almost equal unction on the enormous benefits which had accrued to the vast mass of the people of Canada under the beneficent influences of the National Policy. Nor did he forget to reprimand those evil-minded men who had dared to speak of that great policy as a blight and a curse. But, Sir, whilst I can understand that so far the hon. gentleman may have carried a large number of his supporters with him, I do think that when in the succeeding two hours and a half he proceeded to maul and main, and mutilate and mangle, in every conceivable shape and form, this so glorious work of art, the National Policy and the tariff which represented the National Policy, I do conceive that, in the minds of some of his supporters perhaps—I fear in the minds of a great many of his attentive listeners—there did appear to be some inconsistency between the first half and the latter half of the hon. gentleman's speech. By the time the hon. gentleman had got through with what I have described as the late tariff, I am bound to say I think that tariff, or rather the tariff which succeeded it, could only be properly described by the language which Lord Byron applied to the man who fooled around a powder magazine: "The very mother who him bore she had not known her son." One thing only the hon. gentleman did not do, which he ought to have done: he did not succeed in exorcising the demon of protection from the tariff which he otherwise treated so badly. The shell was altered; the outward and fleshy tabernacle was altered; but the spirit of protection remained as before. Now, Sir, I would ask, in all sincerity and kindness, the hon. gentleman and his friends here, and his supporters throughout the coun-

Mr. FOSTER.

try, to consider what manner of thing was that tariff with which the hon. gentleman dealt so roughly on that occasion. Sir, at least in the hon. gentleman's eyes, I think that tariff should have been entitled to gentler treatment. Was not that tariff the last-born, best-loved child of Sir John Macdonald? Was it not tenderly nursed by Lady Tilley—I mean Sir Leonard Tilley? Was it not the tariff to which the great Sir Charles Tupper had been sponser and midwife? Was it not, therefore, entitled to better treatment at the hands of the Minister of Finance than it received? I can only liken the treatment it received at his hands, to the story so well related by Victor Hugo, in which he describes how a noble boy of princely parentage, strayed from his home, fell into the hands of an itinerant tinker, and how that tinker did so mutilate and deform that princely child that he made of it a hair-lipped, split-nosed, squint-eyed monstrosity, henceforth of no use to any one but the tinker and his friends. In the recent assembly of a body to which I desire to refer in all respect—no less important and august a body than the Protective Association of Manufacturers—meeting, I think, in Toronto, I observe that one fervent admirer of the late tariff, intimated, I think semi-officially, that the only way to deal with those who raised sacrilegious hands against the holy tariff, was, simply, to fasten a hempen rope around their necks. I confess I thought for a moment, when Mr. Gurney made that recommendation, it was me he had in his mind; but it appears it was not exactly open foes, but secret traitors, to whom he had reference. I have one question to put to the Minister of Finance. He knows, and we all know, that a thing of beauty is a joy for ever. Has he not told us, time and time again, almost without number, what a thing of beauty was the late tariff? And yet it is his sacrilegious hands that have maimed and mutilated that beautiful object. Sir, I can hardly refrain from expressing the sentiment which all men ought to feel, when they see a noble creature mutilated by unworthy hands:

"An eagle towering in his pride of place
Was by a mousing owl hawked at and killed."

Mr. FOSTER. Nothing personal intended.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Certainly not. Incidentally and in the course of his general remarks, the hon. gentleman did four things. First of all, he was good enough to explain to us the genesis of the tariff. Do you think, Mr. Speaker, that was preparatory to its exodus? In the next place, the hon. gentleman enlarged, and I also will presently enlarge, on the innumerable tokens of general prosperity throughout this country due to that tariff. He was then good enough—for my special benefit, I suppose—to deal in a small chapter of deficits. And lastly, he gave

us a lecture on tariffs, and explained how all tariffs were more or less protective, the British tariff in particular included. Well, with respect to the noble, the lofty, the patriotic motives which actuated the noble men who founded and introduced the National Policy and the tariff based thereon, it is possible for us to obtain a little better evidence than the Minister of Finance. That hon. gentleman was not present on that auspicious occasion. He did not enter Parliament until many years after the tariff was an accomplished fact. Now, we are highly privileged in having in this House—and I am delighted to see him here to-day—a gentleman who was present on that occasion. He was very high in the councils of his party. He was, and deservedly, a bosom friend of the late Sir John Macdonald, and I propose to read what that most unimpeachable witness had to say as to the lofty, the patriotic motives which impelled the men who originated and founded the tariff. Sir, I find that the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), who spoke on the subject, was good enough to inform the country :

No doubt in the world the Conservative party were put out of power, and by going in for the National Policy and taking the wind out of Mr. Mackenzie's sails we got into power. We became identified with the protective policy, and if Mr. Mackenzie had adopted a protective policy we would have been free traders. I am willing to make this confession, that if Mr. Mackenzie had been a protectionist, there would have been nothing left for us but to be free traders. But Mr. Mackenzie was either too honest or too earnest in his opinions to bend to the wave of public opinion, and the result was he was swept out of power and had only a corporal's guard to support him when the House met.

The House and the country can judge whether the Minister of Finance or the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) is a better authority or is likely to be better informed as to the real motives which actuated the founders of the National Policy. But I can add a little, of my own personal knowledge, to the facts bearing on the case. I remember right well in 1876, after having finished my speech on the Budget, that my esteemed friend, Mr. Mackenzie, stepped over immediately to Sir Charles Tupper, then sitting in the place I now occupy, and asked him whether he had not been prepared at that moment with a speech denouncing Mr. Mackenzie and myself, had we come down and proposed any addition to the burdens of the people. And I have Mr. Mackenzie's word for it, that Sir Charles Tupper candidly admitted, that had we proposed an increase, he was prepared, then and there, with all the eloquence which fits him so well, to denounce us for placing the iron heel of an Ontario Finance Minister on the neck of the Maritime Provinces.

An hon. MEMBER. Give us the corroboration.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It requires no corroboration. It was my fortune in early life to be exceedingly well acquainted with the late Sir John Macdonald. Few men among his colleagues knew him better or had better opportunities of knowing him than I had; and I know this at least, that while Sir John Macdonald was in the prime of his life and of his intellectual vigour, on all occasions he spoke of protection as a hollow sham, and intimated to me and many others his belief that a revenue tariff was the only one properly suited to Canada. And, unless I am greatly misinformed, the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), so far at any rate, corroborates this in many of his speeches, as to express his opinion, which I believe was true enough at the time, that the protective tariff of 1879 was only adopted, according to his understanding, by Sir John Macdonald as a mere temporary expedient. Now, Sir, the hon. Minister of Finance had the—well, I must call it audacity, looking at all the facts—to rise in his place—he, the man who presumably ought, by virtue of his position, to be best acquainted with the true condition of the people of this country—and to tell us that Canada at this time was enjoying a great measure of general prosperity. This, Sir, was what he said—he hailing from the Maritime Provinces, those provinces which in the last ten years have not added one per cent to their total population, I believe; he, coming from the province of New Brunswick which, in the last ten years, has not added 61 souls to its entire population; he, representing the county of King's which, within the last ten years, putting together the absolute loss of population and the natural increase which it has failed to retain, has lost well nigh 9,000 souls on a present population of 23,000—this hon. gentleman, though knowing these facts and having them forced upon his notice in every possible shape and way, dares to tell us that this country is in a state of general prosperity. Sir, it is an old and a true saying "Where wealth accumulates, men decay." I will not dispute the fact that in the province of New Brunswick, if we are to judge from the specimens we have on the Treasury benches, there has been a great decadence since the days of Sir Albert Smith and Mr. Isaac Burpee—

Mr. FOSTER. In size.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I am afraid, however, that if the men have decayed, the wealth has not accumulated, unless, peradventure, so much as may have flowed into the pockets of fortunate individuals having seats in the judiciary of the province, or of those owning land in the immediate vicinity of some Intercolonial railway station. Then, Sir, the hon. gentleman was good enough to give us a little chapter on deficits. He was good enough to express a very strong opinion, indeed, as to the utter lack of statesmanship—I think that is what he said—which distinguished any government that

happened to have a deficit at any time. The hon. gentleman is not a very old member of Parliament and does not seem to be very well acquainted with the history of the Canadian statesmen with whom he has been associated. Was the hon. gentleman aware that, when he made that slightly unguarded statement, he virtually spat upon the grave of his own late chief? Was he aware that of all the statesmen that have ever lived in Canada there never was one who had so many deficits or such enormous deficits in proportion to the income at his disposal as the late Sir John Macdonald? You do not think so? Well, Sir, I will give the hon. gentleman—it is worth while doing it—some proofs on that subject. The hon. gentleman has chosen, as his predecessors have chosen, rather inadvisedly, to refer to deficits incurred under the Mackenzie Administration. Why those deficits were incurred, what caused them, I will have a word or two to say about presently. I find that when Sir John Macdonald was Prime Minister of Old Canada, he had in 1858 a deficit of more than 60 per cent on the total receipts. I find that in 1859 he had a deficit amounting to 22 per cent, in 1860 and in 1861 he had deficits of 28 per cent, and so on. Now, Sir, what were the total deficits during the Mackenzie regime? The greatest we had was a deficit of 9 per cent and the last was a deficit of 4 per cent. Why were Sir John Macdonald's deficits incurred? In consequence of his own acts? Why were Mr. Mackenzie's deficits incurred? Sir, they were incurred because of the enormous obligations left upon this country through the desperate attempt of Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues, by wholesale bribery, to escape the condemnation which was justly meted out to them in 1873. That was the cause of our deficits—that our predecessors went out of office leaving four millions of dollars of annual charge upon the country for which they had not provided one single copper. Let the hon. gentleman, if he chooses, lay down the proposition—I do not object to it, but he may find reason to recall it before he is much longer in office—that all deficits are evidence of gross want of statesmanship. The hon. gentleman had better be cautious. The statements he has laid before us show that he himself is in very serious peril of having a deficit, and a very considerable deficit to deal with before this country is 18 months older. I have here his statements of the 10th of March. What do they show? They show that the revenues up to that date are half a million less, and the expenditures up to that date half a million more, than they were last year. They show, in other words, that by the 10th of March last past all his boasted surplus of 1893 had vanished into thinnest air. He told us last night that he expected to lose one and a half millions of revenue from the results of the tariff he brought before us. Now, Sir, if that be the case, the hon. gentleman is convicted out of his own mouth; his

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practice does not keep pace with his principles. The hon. gentleman is making a deficit inevitable; he has apparently taken no steps to prevent it. The hon. gentleman trusts to nothing except the bare chapter of accidents, to a lucky chance, to relieve him from the very thing which he brought as a reproach against me, an event which has occurred in a very great number of cases in Canadian history, as he well knows, an event which has occurred in the history, even of the very government in which he was a Minister, for I recollect very well, in a former year, gentlemen opposite had a bigger deficit than the whole of mine for three years put together. How was that deficit caused? Was it caused by the overruling act of Providence, by financial depression which we could not control, or by any great shrinkage in values? Not at all, Sir; but by the most scandalous and wicked misgovernment of those unfortunate half-breeds in the North-west, and which ended in goading that people into insurrection. But, Sir, perhaps the crowning effort of the hon. gentleman was the lecture he delivered to us on the three kinds of tariff which, he alleged, were alone possible. Let me say to the hon. Minister that a little knowledge is a very dangerous thing. The hon. gentleman was wholly in error. He has laid down propositions which no political economist who knows his business would defend for one instant. The hon. gentleman dares to tell us that you cannot have a revenue tariff without incidental protection. I take issue with the hon. gentleman from the start. You can have a revenue tariff without incidental protection; and, more than that, I tell the hon. gentleman that the English tariff to-day is a tariff which gives no protection at all. Sir, the hon. gentleman is fond of looking to English precedents—

An hon. MEMBER. Fond of saying so.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I accept the correction; the hon. gentleman is fond of saying he looks to English precedents, but very fond of following American ones. The hon. gentleman left it to be inferred that there was incidental protection in the English tariff. I have here the English tariff. I will give the hon. gentleman my place and my time and he may show then, if he can, that it affords incidental protection. Or I will read the items in succession and I challenge him to show one single solitary item in the English customs tariff which gives incidental protection in any shape or form. The customs tariff of Britain yields a total of about £20,000,000. The first item is £4,290,000 from the duty on foreign spirits. Does the hon. gentleman say that there is any incidental protection there? The next is £1,268,000 on wine. Does he say there is any protection there? The third duty is a duty on tobacco yielding £10,124,000; and he ought to know, if he does not know, that the English excise laws are so arranged that

there is absolutely no protection to the English grower there. Then there is the duty on tea, cocoa, coffee, chicory, amounting to £3,745,000. It may be known to the hon. gentleman, but it will be news to the House, that there are sections of the British Islands in which tea, cocoa, coffee and chicory can be grown to advantage, and if not, there is no incidental protection there. The remaining duties, and they are very small indeed, are £345,000 from dried fruits, not an article affording much incidental protection, and £33,000 on miscellaneous minor customs duties, which I have not investigated. There is the English customs tariff; and now, and here I defy the hon. Minister of Finance or any of his followers to show one vestige of incidental protection in the English customs tariff as it stands to-day.

Mr. McNEILL. I would like to ask the hon. gentleman if there is not incidental protection upon whisky?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The hon. member had better refer that question to the Prohibition Commission. My impression is that it is the other way; my impression is that home-made whisky is considerably more taxed than it ought to be in proportion to the taxes which are levied on the wines consumed by the richer classes in England. I will answer the hon. gentleman to the best of my knowledge—the protection is, in my judgment, to the foreign grower of wine, and not to the manufacturer of Scotch, or Irish, or English whisky.

Mr. McNEILL. There is a duty upon imported whisky, and consequently a protection to the home-made whisky.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. And a very heavy excise duty upon home-made whisky. However, my challenge was to the Minister of Finance, but I know he is not as good an authority upon whisky as my hon. friend. Sir, I would be glad to have the hon. Minister of Finance, or his friend the Controller of Inland Revenue, point out if they can one solitary instance where there is a particle of incidental protection, or protection of any kind, at present, contained in the British tariff. Now, I will not say to the hon. gentleman, "Tarry at Jericho till your beard be grown,"—that appears to be unnecessary—but I will say to him that he had better not undertake to instruct this side of the House in matters of political economy until he has mastered at least the A B C of the same. Sir, it is, as the hon. gentleman was good enough to remind us, exactly 15 years, or within a few days, since the initiation of that scheme of fraud misnamed the National Policy. It becomes our duty now to recall some of the promises which were made to the people of Canada when that delusion was palmed off on them; it becomes our duty also to examine the position in which we find ourselves to-day. Sir, what

is that position as compared with 1879? We find that our national debt is very nearly double. I left it at one hundred and forty millions net; the hon. gentleman knows it is more than two hundred and forty millions now. The real taxation of this country, as compared with the taxation going into the Treasury in Mr. Mackenzie's time, has been absolutely trebled, if you put together not merely the sum which goes into the Treasury, but the sum which is taken out of the pockets of the people for the benefit of a few hundred persons. The great mass of farm property and the great mass of town and village property, every one knows, has at least in the older provinces been frightfully depreciated in those fifteen years. Far worse than that, a thing I regret infinitely more than I do the loss of a few hundred millions of dollars, is the fact now well known, proved by the United States returns, proved by our own returns, that most unhappily to-day, in all human probability, of every male born in Canada, between the ages of 20 and 50 years, one in three is found in the United States; and I make that statement, with special reference to the enormous percentage of the youth of our country found in the annual migration to the United States. Sir, in ten years, if there be one particle of truth in the official statistics laid on the Table of the House by the hon. gentleman's colleagues, during that period, 886,000 persons came to Canada intending to settle, and our census returns show that scarcely 150,000 of them remained with us. In those ten years, if the United States statistics are to be relied upon, and if, as I said, our statistics are worth the paper they are written on, we have lost from Canada a million and a quarter of people, putting together the loss of the emigrants who came here intending to settle, and the still more important factor of the loss of our own people who have gone to the United States. All these things have occurred in a country having a population of five millions, but having lands and resources quite sufficient to enable it to sustain 50, and it may be, 150 millions of people. Now, I ask the Minister of Finance whether in the teeth of facts like those, he is not ashamed to repeat the statement he has made, without one particle of foundation in fact, that this country is in a state of general prosperity. There is one test of prosperity, the truest test and the best test. Do people desire to leave a country which is as prosperous as he describes; do people come to a country so prosperous as he describes, and then leave it by hundreds of thousands? Sir, what has the hon. gentleman to say of the unrest and discontent which, as he well knows, pervades all Canada to-day? Do men clamour to have general prosperity removed from them? Do they fly by millions from a state of general prosperity? If that general prosperity exists, is it needful that the Government of the country should be sustained by such

means as we know they are sustained? Is it needful that general prosperity should be defended by fraud, by falsehood and by corruption? Is it needful that general prosperity should be maintained by subsidizing a part of the press to distort the truth? Is it necessary that general prosperity should be maintained by raising a corruption fund at the point of the bayonet from protected manufacturers, or by gerrymandering the constituencies by wholesale in such a fashion that in my own province to-day I can point you to twelve constituencies where the Reform party had a collective majority of over 2,000 strong, and yet, of the representatives in this House returned by those 12 gerrymandered constituencies, having a Liberal majority of 2,000 strong, we have only four Liberal members to eight Conservatives. I can point you to the other end of the same province, where the Minister of Public Works resides, and I can show you there 12 constituencies having a Conservative majority 2,000 strong, from which 12 constituencies there are 10 Conservatives and two Liberals returned. So that out of 24 constituencies in which the actual vote was equally divided between the two parties, by grace of the gerrymander, the Conservative party have eighteen representatives and the Liberal party six. Sir, is it necessary to maintain and defend general prosperity by means of knavish Franchise Acts? Is it necessary to do it by bribing the electorate by wholesale, as we have seen so often done? Let us for our part face the situation frankly. Let us understand where we are, and let us understand what we have to do, before we decide how far the proposals of the Government are worthy of the acceptance of the people of this country. Sir, what is our situation? Why, in the first place, looking at the question of the public debt, allowing for the difference in the rate of interest on our debt, and on the English debt, which, as the House knows, is considerably heavier for us than for them, our debt at this moment, gauging it as it ought to be gauged, by the amount of interest we pay, is quite equal per head as regards the burdens of the people to the great public debt of England, incurred during hundreds of years, and in the prosecution of hundreds of wars. It is equal, I believe, to the debt with which the United States emerged from their great and desperate civil war. Then as I have often pointed out, if you will take the real taxation inflicted by the tariff on the people of Canada, and not merely the nominal taxation as recorded in our Public Accounts, you will find that per head the sum paid by the people of Canada to-day quite equals the sum paid by the people of England, with this extremely serious difference, that whereas the English tariff is wisely and justly so distributed that the chief burden after all falls on the shoulders of the upper and wealthy class, our tariff is arranged so that the chief burden falls on the shoulders of the needy,

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and the most heavily taxed man in Canada to-day is the poor man with a large family to support. We know perfectly well, as I have said, that the flower of our youth to-day is not to be found in Canada but in the United States, in a great measure. We know, I know, if the hon. gentleman does not, that in hundreds of towns and villages in the province of Ontario, and the same rule applies, I am informed, to places in the Maritime Provinces and to the province of Quebec, that there is scarcely one in ten of those formerly prosperous towns and villages in which, during the last ten years, the growth of population has equalled the natural increment, without taking into account in the slightest degree the immigration we have brought at great cost into this country. The hon. gentleman knows, or he ought to know, for the census returns have made it plain to any one of the meanest capacity, that over all the rural districts, with very few exceptions, throughout the elder provinces of Canada, the rural population has been decimated four times over. We have lost more by far than our total natural increase, when you come to take into account in these elder provinces the number of people imported into them as well. The hon. gentleman knows, we all know, and we all regret it, and no man regrets it more than myself, that the stupendous efforts that have been made and the enormous sums that have been spent in prosecuting the colonization of the North-west have resulted in what I can characterize as no better than total failure, taking into account on the one hand the extent of our exertions, and on the other hand the great natural resources of that country. The hon. gentleman must know, and if not, any of his friends from the rural districts can inform him, that within these ten or fourteen years the prices of our leading farm products have fallen, fallen, fallen, till they have touched to-day the lowest point known for forty years. The hon. gentlemen disclaim all power to add to the prices of farm products; they now tell us these are governed by causes beyond their control. What said the hon. gentleman's friends and predecessors when they were preaching the National Policy in 1878? Why, our ears were dinned with declarations, that with the National Policy the people would have a home market for everything they could raise, and obtain high prices for everything they could produce; every village would become a town, every town would become a city, and all that the farmers could produce would be wanted for the enormously increased population which the National Policy would bring in. Sir, I think we have not seen the worst. I fear that, low as prices have fallen, there is danger in some important respects that they may fall lower yet; but of that I shall have a word or two to say later on. Well, Sir, what is our consolation? The hon. gentleman tells us: Take heart; never mind the loss of one-third of our male population,

the depreciation in the value of our farms, and the reduction in the prices of farm products ; be consoled, the savings' banks are increasing their deposits, and the depositors in the banks are becoming more numerous. That is good so far as it goes. I am not disposed to question that these are evidences of thrift ; they go to show that the hon. gentleman has not quite succeeded, as yet, in utterly destroying the fruits of our industry and our great natural resources. But if the hon. gentleman knows his business as he should know it, he must be aware that when he talks of one hundred and twenty or one hundred and fifty millions of additional savings, that is quite insignificant when compared with the loss to the farmers of Canada alone by reason of the huge depreciation which has taken place in the value of the farms from one end of the country to the other. Sir, I say, and I know whereof I affirm, that in the province of Ontario alone there has been a decline equal to ten dollars an acre on every acre of cultivated land from one end of the province to the other, and I am informed by those who have larger power of obtaining information than myself, that what is true of Ontario is true of Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Quebec, and if the hon. gentleman understands what that means, he will know that for every dollar that has gone into the savings bank three or four dollars have gone out of the pockets of the farmers of Canada. The hon. gentleman in the course of his remarks advanced one very absurd fallacy. The hon. gentleman took credit to the National Policy for the whole growth of manufactures. Why, does the hon. gentleman not know that there were plenty of manufactures in Canada before we ever heard of the National Policy ? Does he not know that the growth of Canadian manufactures during the period from 1860 to 1878 was very considerable indeed, and if he is going to claim credit for that growth he must in all consistency and honesty deduct first a percentage of increase equal to that which occurred during the period when we were living under a revenue tariff. My hon. friend near me says if that were done there would be nothing left. That is to say, that although there would be a few specially favoured industries which had grown up in consequence of this policy there would be in other quarters of the country a marked absence of natural, wholesome, indigenous industries which had perished under that blight and curse. The hon. gentleman made one correct statement in his speech, and I give him credit for it. The hon. gentleman said, and said truly, that Canada had been very successful in weathering the financial storm which very nearly wrecked so many industries in the United States. Sir, for that result very considerable credit, in my judgment, is due to the Canadian banking system, which I have always defended against the attempts made by some hon. gentlemen opposite, and unless

my memory fails to serve me, made by the Finance Minister himself, to interfere with it unnecessarily. But I have a caution to give the hon. gentleman. I know, and I have seen it more than once, I have seen it as a private man and have seen it and felt it as a Minister, and it is perfectly well known to men of experience in Canadian affairs, that as a rule a great and general disaster in the United States, for instance, will not make itself fully felt in Canada for a year, or it may be two years after it has occurred in the United States, and if the hon. gentleman understands the real situation, he and his colleagues, however contrary it may be to their inclinations otherwise, should pray night and morning that the cloud resting over the United States be speedily lifted, because I tell them, knowing of what I speak, that if unfortunately the United States were again to go through a period of depression similar to that which prevailed from 1873 to 1878, the hon. gentleman would find his revenue and his receipts reduced day by day in an infinitely more alarming ratio than he may expect. I desire, for their sake and for our sake, that the United States should prosper ; I believe and hope with the hon. gentleman that the financial tornado which has swept over them will be of short duration, and that they may be speedily restored to something like their pristine prosperity. But I tell the hon. gentleman, that if, unfortunately, it should be otherwise, if, unfortunately, the United States shall be subject to a prolonged period of great depression ; if he is wise, he will take in all sail with all possible expedition, for he may rest assured that every merchant and every manufacturer and every business man in Canada will have a bitter experience to go through, if our great neighbour and best customer were to suffer again as she did some twenty years ago. I hold it in some respects as a sign of returing sanity, that the hon. gentleman, and the Minister of Justice too, appear at long last, a very long last, to have wakened up to the conviction that our interests and those of the United States are very closely intertwined. They did not always think so ; at any rate, they did not always say so, and they have not always instructed their press to express those friendly sentiments for the United States. But, whatever they thought before and whatever instructions they gave, the fact is so, and I am glad to see from their remarks some sign that they are wakening up to the fact, that for good or for evil, the prosperity of the people of Canada is exceedingly closely intertwined with the prosperity of the people of the United States. I do not know what I can say as to the propositions the Finance Minister made in the direction of reciprocity. Is it impossible for this Government to do anything by wholesale ? Must they tinker at every proposition they make ? Do they not know that all these petty little offers of concessions to the United States are practically worthless ? Let them come down with

a bold and decisive measure of reciprocity, and although I must say that their conduct has not been altogether such as to recommend them, I think in that case they will get a very fair consideration from the Government and from the people of the United States. But, Sir, that is just what they won't do; they won't meet the United States; they won't even tell the Parliament of Canada what they intend to do with respect to the offers of reciprocity already contained in the tariff of the United States. Where it suits their purpose, on one or two individual articles, as my hon. friend (Mr. Laurier) pointed out last night, they are ready enough to declare that they will, under certain conditions, go for reciprocity, but when they are asked as to what they shall do as to a particular article known to be recommended by the committee of Congress, an article of great importance and involving very important manufactures indeed, why, Sir, it is quite impossible to obtain anything but the most frivolous and contradictory answers from them on a point on which they ought to know their own minds and be prepared to take the House into their confidence. There is one other point, with respect to the statement of the Finance Minister, which deserves some consideration. The hon. gentleman's proceedings have done this, at any rate: they import an element of great uncertainty into the trade and business of this country. He has got, in a very remarkable fashion, new light on the tariff. Who can tell us that after the next election the hon. gentleman may not get new light the other way, and that all these changes that are made on the eve of a general election—not many months, as he says, before a general election—may not, after the general election, be reconsidered and reconstructed as heretofore. Let my farming friends look to it, and let them take good, strong and solid material guarantees that these gentlemen will be kept in the same frame of mind that they are in at this present moment. We asked the hon. gentleman last night for information, which I think we had a right to have. We asked him to let us know what his calculations were as to the extent to which these varied changes would affect the revenue of the country. What was the answer we got? We wanted to know the loss of revenue that was likely to accrue in consequence of the reductions of duty, but the hon. gentleman did not know. We asked to know the loss which was likely to accrue from the bounties he proposed to give, but the hon. gentleman did not know. The hon. gentleman told us that it was all guess-work, and that the result of his lucubrations was in brief this: That he was about to make a leap in the dark and he did not know where he would land. There is no doubt, Mr. Speaker, that an honest confession is good for the soul, but whether one which is not so honest will be of any spiritual benefit, I am not quite sure. Now, if the Minister of Fi-

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nance were like Mr. David Wells, who began life a great protectionist, but who was converted by watching the practical operation of the United States tariff, into a very decided and demonstrative free-trader; if the hon. gentleman is really—and I am not quite sure that he has not been converted at the bottom of his heart into a free-trader, or at least a revenue tariff man; after all said and done, the hon. gentleman ought in all conscience to let us know it. But I fear that even if the hon. gentleman is converted, he will keep that conversion as he has done his conversion on other subjects on which he originally entered public life with very pronounced opinions—pretty well at the back of his head until the election is over. The speech of the Finance Minister, in one aspect, might be described as one long apology to the manufacturers. He wanted the manufacturers to understand that he was their dear and trusty friend, but he also wanted them to understand that the wolves were after him and that self-preservation was the first law of nature. The hon. gentleman's conduct on this occasion is not altogether unlike the story published and illustrated by 'Punch,' of the Russian mother, who, being pursued by wolves, first affectionately kissed her babes and then threw them over; or, perhaps, the hon. gentleman's conduct might be more fitly described by a reference to the ancient Egyptian tradition, that, when the deluge overspread the country, the antediluvians of that date put their children under their feet in order that they might thereby prolong their base and miserable existence a few seconds more. Sir, there are three things which especially strike me in the hon. gentleman's remarks. One of them was this: In this new tariff of his, which is to supersede the old one, there is, apparently, an utter absence of any governing principle. You might define this tariff as a tariff in which the very maximum of disturbance is introduced, in which the very maximum of loss of revenue has occurred, and in which the minimum of general substantial relief to the consuming classes is given. I do not say that no relief is going to be given, but I say that for a thoroughly revised tariff I never saw more disturbance, with more pitiful results. If I were going to coin a word for it, I would be very apt to describe it, not exactly as a tariff of shams perhaps, but certainly as a tariff of makeshifts. There is no sort of finality about such a tariff as that. The hon. gentleman will find—and I warn him, and I warn his supporters, and I warn the manufacturers—the hon. gentleman will find that you cannot stop here. He will have to go further. He will have to make more concessions. He will find himself compelled, whether he likes it or not, by reason of the very concessions he has given and of the very steps he has taken, to surrender or to quit. The second thing that must strike every one in this tariff is the fact, that of all tariffs that have ever been submitted in Canada,

this is the tariff which looks straightest and most directly to Washington. We can easily see why this House was not allowed to meet until the very latest moment that the law permitted. The original tariff was, it is true, a mere plagiarism of the tariff of the United States, but it was hardly so servile a copy as the hon. gentleman is disposed to make the one he has now introduced. Sir, what have these hon. gentlemen done? Did Mr. McKinley impose or threaten to impose new taxes? The House will remember that straightway the hon. Minister of Finance imposed new taxes. Did Mr. McKinley remit any taxes? Did he lower the sugar duties? Straightway the hon. Minister of Finance lowered his sugar duties. Do the United States makes alterations all along the line of their tariff, as they propose to do by the Wilson Bill? The hon. gentleman straightway makes alterations all along the line of his tariff, until, as he told us last night, there is scarcely any more than a imaginary line between the amount of taxes levied under the Wilson tariff and the amount levied under his own—I think he put it at 28 per cent under his and 30 per cent and a decimal under the Wilson tariff. There is another point on which I have a word or two to say. This House will remember well the denunciations with which this Chamber, and the country, too, rang when I dared to say that if Canadian interests required it, I would not hesitate to have discriminatory duties against Great Britain. What have these men been doing in their tariff? From start to finish this whole tariff of their has been one huge discrimination against Great Britain. Sir, that was from the necessity of the case. Great Britain is a great manufacturing country—the greatest manufacturing country in the world. Therefore, if you introduce a tariff for the purpose of protecting manufacturers, it follows necessarily that you must discriminate, and discriminate heavily, against Great Britain. Now, Sir, it is not possible for anybody but an experienced expert to tell how far, in these changes which the hon. gentleman has made, that particular effect of his tariff is increased or removed; but I know, and the hon. gentleman knows, that a critical analysis of his former tariff, at any rate, shows all through a very great discrimination indeed against Great Britain. Why, Sir, in a certain document, purporting to be official—I have no reason to believe that the thing was forged—said to have been prepared for the use of the hon. gentleman, I come upon such items as these: Iron axles, imported from Great Britain, 61 per cent; from the United States, 44 per cent; bar iron, imported from Great Britain, 38 per cent; from the United States, 27 per cent; boiler iron, from Great Britain, 41 per cent; from the United States, 23 per cent; cast iron, from Great Britain, 52 per cent; from the United States, 43 per cent; and so on, through a long list of articles which I will not now inflict on the House. Now,

I should like to know what, under these circumstances, is the hope of the Government. Well, Sir, apparently the hope of the Government is simply in the chapter of accidents. It is possible—and I think in their inmost hearts they would be heartily glad of it—that tariff reform in the United States may fail. It is possible that the well-expressed will of the people of the United States may be frustrated. It is possible that obstacles may be placed in the way which may delay for a time, though I think not for a long time, the giving effect to the wave of reform now sweeping over the United States; and how our excellent Government would rejoice if they were only able to point to a higher tariff existing in the United States than in our own country. There are other accidents which might occur to help them out. It is possible that we might have a European war, which would cause an increase in the price of some of our staples; we may have good harvests, or some such piece of good luck may befall them; but, looking at the facts submitted to this House and to the people of Canada, the stern and plain fact remains, if the calculations of the hon. gentleman are correct, and if there is no improvement in our condition or alteration in our system of affairs, that we are driving headlong into that condition of deficit which the hon. gentleman denounced so energetically about twenty-four hours ago. I observe that the hon. gentleman did in one or two places deprecate allusions to the past. We deal with the present, he said, not with the past. Well, Sir, I can understand perfectly why the hon. gentleman, and some of his friends, too, should deprecate allusions to the past. People with a certain class of antecedents do not like allusions to the past. If I wished to endear myself to an assemblage of a particular kind, no doubt I would abstain from certain allusions to the past. Were I addressing, for instance, an assemblage of ex-convicts, I do not know that I would allude to the effects of the transportation system; nor, if I were addressing an assemblage of fraudulent bankrupts, would I consider it necessary to allude to the importance of a strict insolvency law inflicting severe punishment on those who defrauded their creditors. Similarly, it might not be expedient to talk of a rope to men whose ancestors were hanged, or even whose ancestors deserved to be hanged. I do not doubt that it is equally unpleasant to some of these hon. gentlemen to recall the promises which heralded in the National Policy. What were we promised then? Why, Sir, above all and before all, we were promised economical government. An expenditure of twenty three and a half millions—that was a frightful thing! According to Sir David Macpherson, it was an appalling thing; I have his statement here to that effect. Sir Leonard Tilley was shocked at it; and Sir John Macdonald thought it a horrible thing. Sir, what are the facts? I left office with

an expenditure of twenty-three and a half millions; my successor comes down and tells us that he requires to provide for an expenditure of thirty-seven and a half millions. These hon. gentlemen promised, from one end of Canada to the other, that they would stop the exodus from the country, although they well knew that during Mr. Mackenzie's time the rural population increased twenty-fold faster than during their time, and that the emigration from Canada, under Mr. Mackenzie's regime, was not one-third or one-fourth of what it has been under theirs. But they declared they would stop that exodus. Well, Sir, we find, as the result of their efforts in that direction, that, not in fifteen years, but in ten years, between the foreigners who have come to this country and left it again, and our own citizens who have become residents of a foreign country, one million and a quarter of people who ought to be in Canada are in the United States. Sir, these hon. gentlemen pledged themselves a hundred times over to settle the North-west, and to repay to the people of Canada every penny which the Canadian Pacific Railway would cost them. These pledges are on record; I can give the hon. gentleman chapter and verse for them. I can show him the place where Sir Charles Tupper promised us 640,000,000 bushels of wheat per annum from the North-west at a time which has long since expired. I can give chapter and verse for the promise made by Sir Charles Tupper, and backed up by Sir John Macdonald, that by the 31st of December, 1891, we should be in receipt of \$58,300,000 of cash, or securities which would be better than cash, from the sale of our lands in the North-west, to indemnify us for our outlay on the Canadian Pacific Railway. I have likewise the Public Accounts in my hands to show that from the day we occupied the North-west down to this present hour, though we have voted away an empire, we have not obtained from it enough to pay the costs of our surveys. Sir, they promised to provide home markets for all our farmers could produce, and last night the hon. Minister of Finance made it the special point of his speech in that regard that we were able to supply outsiders with more products than we did before. They talked of redressing the balance of trade, too. Well, I have not looked up the last fifteen years, but I think the balance of trade is against us to the tune of at least \$200,000,000 during that period, and probably nearer \$300,000,000. Aye, and they talked of increasing the price of farm lands and products. How say these hon. gentlemen now? Now they tell us that none but quacks and charlatans would dare to tell the people of Canada that it was in the power of any government to increase the price of farm products. Agreed. None but quacks or charlatans ever did or would use such language; and it was such language which was used by the men who founded the National Policy. Sir, they tell us that there are causes

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which no government can control. Again I say I agree with them, but it has taken them fifteen years to discover that simple fact. What are the causes which we can and what are those which we cannot control? It is true that a certain section of the people were deluded by these false promises and fell into grievous error in 1878. They condemned the Mackenzie Government then for causes which, according to these gentlemen's own statements to-day, no government that ever lived could by any possibility control. They condemned us for the results of the acts of our predecessors, against which we had protested from first to last. What are the causes which led to those deficits the hon. gentleman alluded to? What were the causes which brought about the downfall of Mr. Mackenzie? It is worth while to spend a few short moments in recalling them. They were, first, the world-wide depression which extended over almost the entire civilized world from 1873 to 1878, and more particularly over our two best customers, Great Britain and the United States. As I have said, it will be well for the hon. gentleman if he is not called upon, as I hope he will not be called on, to grapple with such a period of distress in the future. What was the second cause? It was this. It is well-known to every one who knows anything of the commercial history of that time—during 1876, 1877 and 1878—that there was an enormous, and, up to that date, perfectly unprecedented fall in prices, which necessarily disorganized all calculations of income based on the ad valorem principle. And lastly, there were the immense outlays which had been undertaken, against our will and protest, by the predecessors of Mr. Mackenzie, for purposes by no manner of means urgently required in the interests of the country. Those were causes which the Government of that day could not control, and which led to the deficits of which the hon. gentleman complains. But while there are causes no government can control, there are others perfectly well within the power of governments to control. Sir, every government can control the amount of taxation it finds necessary to impose upon the people. Every government, if it likes, can confine that taxation to the amount absolutely required to meet the necessary services of the country. Governments likewise can very largely affect the distribution of wealth. In those two ways, and only in those two ways, there is not the slightest doubt government can largely affect the general prosperity of the country. Now we are confronted with the results of the course we adopted in 1879. What has been the cost to us? I notice that the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) put it at about the same amount as I did although he arrived at his figures by a somewhat different process. I believe there have been exacted from the people of Canada during the last fifteen years, in real taxes, paid not into the treasury but into

the pockets of manufacturers as well, not less than \$1,000,000,000, and for that belief I shall at the proper place and time give adequate and substantial reasons. I have given them several times before, and they have never yet been successfully controverted on that side of the House. When they are replied to, I or some of my friends on this side of the House will be ready to refute the answer. We have lost one and a quarter million people in ten years and very nearly two millions in the last fifteen years. In 1867 I was one of those who agreed to Confederation. There was no man who would not, at that time, have scouted the idea that after twenty-seven years of Confederation, Canada would not have at least a population of seven millions strong. That is the population we ought to have, resulting from the bare natural increase. That would have been barely equal to our previous natural increase and barely equal to the natural increase which has taken place in many other countries less favourably circumstanced than ours, and that increase would have taken place had we been able to keep our young men and women at home. The proof is this. In the United States returns there is a special column for the children of Canadians, which shows that there are now in the United States—either Canadian-born or of Canadian parentage on both sides—two and a half millions in all—one million born in Canada and one and a half million the children of Canadians. The Government have done worse. They have introduced a debasing and degrading element into the body politic. If there was no other reason, if all they say as to our material progress was true, as I know it to be false, it would be enough for ever to condemn the protective principle in the eyes of honest men, that wherever you have protection you have corruption, and corruption in the highest degree. Protection and corruption are political Siamese twins. They never have been separated in this world, and I do not think they will be in the next. Now, I have another thing to say to the hon. gentleman. There are certain documents which we ought to have had before being called upon to discuss this tariff. Do not we know, has not the hon. gentleman made a merit of it, that two distinguished members,—I was going to say of the Ministry, but if they are not in the Ministry very near it—were despatched, regardless of expense, all through the Dominion, for the purpose of obtaining information as to these changes. Now those gentlemen did not pay their own expenses, but their expenses were paid by the country, and we ought to have their reports. The reports of the Controllers of Customs and Inland Revenue we ought to have in our hands. Are all those volumes of wisdom which were delivered by these gentlemen to the farmers to be denied us? Who knows that if we had a full report of the speeches delivered by them, we might not be converted to a somewhat better appreci-

ation than we now possess of the beauties of protection. Then we ought to have that table of rates in the hands of the hon. gentleman, showing the practical discrimination against British goods under the tariff. The hon. gentleman cannot deny that such a thing exists. He wanted to keep it for his own private use, but some of us were favoured with a copy—not with his consent, I confess.

Mr. FOSTER. Tell us how you got it.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I am not bound to tell you. The thing exists and you cannot deny it.

Mr. LAURIER. We got it by mail.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It came by Her Majesty's Postmaster General—ask him. Now there is another point on which I have a word to say. The hon. gentleman made a considerable deal of the increase of trade. That is a good and a wholesome sign. I join with him in congratulations on the increase of trade. It is one of the most cheering symptoms that has occurred for some time. Let us understand what it means. He would give us to understand that this increase of \$6,000,000 in the total volume of trade—this increase from \$241,000,000 to \$247,000,000, is an extraordinary and unprecedented thing. Why, Sir, I look back to the year 1893, and what do I find? I find that we had then a total volume of trade of \$217,000,000. Does the hon. gentleman know what that means? Let me tell him, Sir. It means that, in 1873, twenty years ago, with a population of three and three-quarter millions, all told, we had a total trade of something like \$57 or \$58 per head, and to-day, with a population of five millions, we have a total trade of not quite \$50 per head. This means that we are fifty millions of dollars short, relatively, of the standard we had attained in 1873. Well, Sir, I am glad to see that we are going up the hill; but, on my word, I do not see that an increase in twenty years of about thirty-three millions of dollars, giving an average total trade of \$50 per family less than the figure we had attained in 1873, should quite reconcile us to all the other facts that I have alluded to. I notice, Sir, by the by, that in this volume of trade returns there are one or two curious items. We have, it is true, a total volume of trade of six millions more in 1893 than we had in 1892. But part of that is made up in this way: In 1892 we exported \$1,800,000 of bullion, and in 1893 we exported \$4,000,000 worth of bullion. Now, Sir, is that a very desirable or a very valuable addition to our exports? The Finance Minister can say, or some of his fellows may have the goodness to tell us. Further, I think that before the hon. gentleman asks this House to come to a decision upon his proposals, he ought to have stated fairly and candidly to this House, and fairly and candidly to his own colleague, the Minister of Marine, what, at long last, he is

going to do about the French treaty. This treaty affects our revenue, and we ought to know what the hon. gentleman proposes to do with regard to it. The hon. gentleman has admitted that the public honour is in no respect pledged for the ratification of this French treaty. The hon. gentleman made that clear, perfectly clear, the other day, when he stated that the Government had not made up their minds as to what they would do with regard to this treaty, because they had to wait to hear what one or two deputations of temperance men and vine-growers would have to say about it. That cuts from under the feet of the hon. gentleman, and from under the feet of the Government of which he is a member, the opportunity to pretend that the honour of Canada is in any way concerned or affected in implementing this treaty. That being so, it was his bounden duty, on coming down to this House with his Budget, to tell us what they proposed to do with this same French treaty. The hon. gentleman ought to take the earliest opportunity to do it now. The Government has been interviewed by the temperance representatives and has heard what these gentlemen have to say. Surely there has been time enough for the Government to make up their mind with regard to this matter. The House knows, Sir, that this Government is a 20-knot Government; the Finance Minister told us that some time ago. And, being a 20-knot Government, of course it is bound to have a 20-knot Atlantic service. The fast service is going to cost us at least \$750,000 a year, which, capitalized, is equal to twenty millions of dollars. Not one word of notice do I find in the Estimates, not one syllable did I hear in the Budget speech yesterday as to whether that alarming item of \$750,000 was or was not to figure as an increase of our expenditure. Surely it cannot have slipped the mind of the hon. gentleman along with the fish products. Will not the hon. gentleman tell us whether we are to have that \$750,000 added to the expected deficit of \$1,500,000 which he told us would result from loss of revenue caused by his tariff changes? Will not the hon. gentleman relieve my anxiety on this point now?

Mr. FOSTER. Not just now—sorry.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I think this is very hard and very unreasonable.

Mr. FOSTER. You have all you can do now.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The hon. gentleman ought to know, and he ought to be able to tell us. He ought not to make a Budget statement involving large reductions of duty without informing us not only of the general expenditure in the main estimates, but also if there are to be any important supplementary charges. The hon. gentleman ought to have given us this information, and, if his supporters know their

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duty, they will insist upon having it brought down before this debate is over. Well, Sir, there was another subject we ought to have known something about, but upon which the same policy of ostrich-like concealment has been followed. We ought to know what hon. gentlemen opposite intend to do about their Prohibition Commission. We ought to know if our excise revenue is in danger through a measure of a prohibitory character; we ought to know if they intend to take steps to obtain a plebiscitum, and, if so, whether they will implement the decision of that plebiscitum after it has been taken. Sir, this is a very interesting question, and a very important question, a question which may affect, or which ought to affect, very materially, the decision of the House with regard to the several propositions submitted to us. Sir, looking over the financial statements that the hon. gentleman has submitted to us, it does appear to me that there is need for very considerable caution. There can be no doubt whatever, let the hon. gentleman say or think what he pleases, that the real taxation to which the people of this country are subjected to is enormous. Then there is a point to which, for twenty years, I have never failed to call to the attention of the House—that the fixed charges upon our revenue are a very large proportion of that revenue. This is a very serious consideration when we are talking about the probable results of the tariff changes. It is very easy for members of the House to talk of an income and expenditure of thirty-seven or thirty-eight millions, but to overlook the fact that a large proportion of that expenditure is beyond control. The part of our expenditure that we can control is very small; the amount of saving that can be made is relatively very limited. Therefore, the loss of a million and a half of revenue is much more serious than it might appear at first sight. Then there is another consideration to which many members of this House, on both sides, have called attention, and that is, that the debt of Canada—and by that I mean not merely the public debt of the Dominion, but also the provincial debt, the municipal debt, the railway debt and the private debt—is exceedingly large. We owe a huge amount of money, and we do not owe it to our own people. The amount of money owed by the people of Canada abroad has been estimated at as high as eight or nine hundred millions, including the amount due for railway construction. I am not prepared to say at this moment whether this is nearly correct or not, but there is not the faintest doubt of this, that the total amount is immense, and that Canada has become in the strictest sense of the word a tribute-paying country—chiefly, it is true, to the mother country—and that an enormous amount of gold, or the equivalent of gold, must be sent out day by day or year by year to pay the interest on our debt. Now, Sir, when the hon. gentleman talked

of a very great increase in our exports, he will do well to bear in mind, that, so long as we are not borrowing, and, so long as corporations doing business in Canada are not borrowing, a very considerable amount of these exports goes really for no other purpose than to pay the interest on Canadian debt. That is a serious consideration in looking to our future. Sir, all these features are in themselves bad features. The plain truth of the matter is this, that (pardonably perhaps) a few years ago, when we were not aware at the rate at which our population would increase, our clothes were cut considerably too large for us. We have a suit which is more fitted for a population of fifteen or twenty millions than for a population of five million. What on earth do we want with fifteen or sixteen Cabinet Ministers? Sir, it would be high treason to say it, or I would ask what do we want with a couple of Speakers? There is no doubt whatever that the general cost of our departments is far too extravagant. Now, I want to say to the Finance Minister—because it has been my disagreeable duty, as I dare say it has been his duty, to cut down the estimates of my colleagues ruthlessly—I would just call attention to this fact, that we had substantially the same work to do that he has, the real difference is very small. Civil government, which is more particularly under the control of the Government of the day, in Mr. Mackenzie's time, cost altogether about \$823,000. The hon. gentleman to-day asks for \$1,475,000 for doing the same work, and not doing it as well. Sir, the conclusion that I draw from these statements of the hon. gentleman is this: the hon. gentleman and his followers, by his acts and their acts, by his extravagance and their extravagance—or, perhaps, I might say more correctly, by failing to curb their extravagance—has enormously and unjustifiably increased the annual expenditure of this country. I give him no credit for saying that he has succeeded in stopping the expenditure at thirty-six or thirty-seven millions a year. Sir, Canada has no business, and never had, to spend thirty-six or thirty-seven millions a year. It is a monstrous thing, properly understood, and wholly apart from the amount of real taxation paid by us that an expenditure of thirty-six or thirty-seven millions should be saddled on five millions of people in the position of the people of Canada. The hon. gentleman would do well to look at the annals of the United States, and he will find that when they were a people of twenty millions, a people obliged to maintain an army and a navy, a people obliged to maintain a foreign consular service, a people, in one word, obliged to maintain all the things which are requisite to the existence of an important nation, they were able to get along with twenty-two millions annually, as against the thirty-seven millions required by the people of Canada,

though but five millions strong, and if the hon. gentleman pleads, as I have heard him plead, that a good deal of that money goes in subsidies to the provinces, I can remind him that there is a great deal of the United States expenditure for which we have no equivalent, or anything corresponding thereto. Sir, I think that calm reflection on the part of our people will endorse the statement that Canada to-day, above all things and before all things, must be made, if it is going to prosper, a cheap country to live in and a cheap country to produce in. More than that, Canada, above all and before all things, must have access to larger markets, and notably to the most important of all markets, the market which lies to the south of us. Sir, if the hon. gentleman's follies have hitherto temporarily blocked that opportunity, if they have deprived us of the chance which existed half a dozen years ago of obtaining access on reasonable and honourable terms to the United States market, all the more need to-day for low taxation, and all the more need to-day for saving every penny we can, because, with that market excluded, Canada must compete for her living with the whole world. She will get no favour in the English markets. She will not be able to induce the English buyer to take a pound of Canadian beef, or a pound of Canadian cheese, or a pound of Canadian butter, or a pound of Canadian products of any sort or description, unless Canada can undersell all producers in the English market, which is open to the whole world on equal terms. Sir, for myself, and I speak for myself more particularly, I here reaffirm—let the hon. gentleman understand it—all that I have said in my place in this House, and out of it, as to the enormous importance to Canada of obtaining access to the market to the south of us. I tell this House, and I will tell the people of Canada anywhere and everywhere, that while I think Canada can maintain herself, perhaps, with good government and a wise fiscal system, in reasonable comfort, independent of the United States, yet that great prosperity and anything like a full development of our resources can only come to us, and will only come to us, when we obtain, on fair and honourable terms, free access to the markets of North America. There are other considerations on which I will not dwell now, considerations of the very highest value not merely to Canada, but to the British Empire at large, which have always made me, and will always make me, a determined advocate of close and friendly relations with the United States. Hon. gentlemen may say what they please, they may do what they please, yet with all that we can do with our tariff, the full development of Canada must and will depend on our success in obtaining access, as I said before, above all things and before all things, to the markets of the great country, our great neighbour to the south of us. Now, Sir, looking at the conduct of hon. gentlemen in

the past, looking to what we know of their position, of their relation to various interests throughout the country, if there was ground for supposing that the hon. gentlemen were really, in the proper sense of the term, free agents, that they were really the authors of this policy, I do not know but that it would be well worth while, on the present occasion, I do not know but it is worth while on the present occasion, for some of my hon. friends—for my time will not permit me to do it—to review the former utterances of those hon. gentlemen and their predecessors. Certainly the contrast would be very remarkable between, not so much the words, as the acts of the hon. gentleman last night, and the acts of the hon. gentleman a few years ago. Sir, knowing the relations that these hon. gentlemen occupy to certain interests in the country, I do not know, after all said and done, that it would be very desirable for me to occupy much of the time of the House in contrasting the contradictions and inconsistencies which mark the career of that hon. gentleman and his friends. Sir, "cui bono"? The real question is, not how do the hon. gentleman's speeches agree with one another, but really and truly, does the hon. gentleman offer on the present occasion, or perhaps I should say more correctly, do the protected manufacturers, through their parliamentary mouthpiece, offer us anything that is worth considering? We will waive discussion on the abstract right of protection, and we will see what their offer amounts to, for after all, that is the most important question the House has to consider. I listened attentively to the hon. gentleman last night, and although I do not pretend to say that I could analyse at this short notice the results of all the alterations proposed to be made in the tariff, there is no doubt that the hon. gentleman has disturbed and revised the tariff to a very great extent, but it does not follow—and it is well the House should bear that in mind—that while he has disturbed the tariff in a vast number of articles he has therefore any material reduction in his tariff. I doubt very much whether the concessions, so-called, that the hon. gentleman makes in cottons, or in woollens, or in iron, are going to be of great benefit to the consumers at large. We will be able to judge of that very much better when we hear what he has to say under the cross-examination to which all these items will be subjected in committee. But, taking it on the whole, it appears to me that the hon. gentleman has gone on this principle, and to a certain extent he is perfectly consistent in going on this principle—he has selected certain large and important industries, owned and engineered by wealthy firms, and wealthy individuals, and the kind of persons, in short, whom it is convenient to approach about election time. Those have substantially escaped, but the minor thieves are to be slaughtered, to some extent—manu-

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facturers of binder twine, for instance. The hon. gentlemen, as I have remarked, are thoroughly consistent. All through they have been quite willing to sacrifice half a dozen little clerks, who might have been convicted of nefarious practices, but the hon. gentlemen have always been careful to draw the line at officials who knew too much. Sir, there is a certain height of virtue which has been attained by the Minister of Justice, as well as by the Minister of Finance. The Minister of Justice was perfectly willing to sacrifice John Charles Rykert on the eve of a general election; the Minister was perfectly willing to sacrifice an unpopular colleague, whose presence might have stood in his way; but the hon. gentleman is very cautious about giving up any protected industry which can be milked to some purpose for the corruption fund. I recollect a suggestion I once made to the hon. gentlemen with respect to their subsidized press. I suggested to the Minister of Justice, I think, that it was expedient and desirable in the case of the subsidized press, that just as you put the words "limited liability" after a firm which has ceased to be individually responsible, you should put after the title of every one of those newspapers who received subsidies from the Government, the amount which they received during the last year, in sufficiently large characters, and this should be printed in the organ immediately under the head line. I suggest that if we are to have an intelligent discussion of these revisions in the tariff, if we are to understand exactly where we are and the principle on which the Government have proceeded with respect to all those important industries, in regard to which, as I have said, I can see very little reduction is to be made, there should be brought down to us first an estimate of the sum for which the people are taxed over and above that which goes into the Treasury, and next, a short statement of the amount which these individuals have subscribed to election funds during the last few years. Were the Government really sincere in their wish to reform the tariff, the speech would have been a rather curious commentary on the inherent difficulties which arise when once a Finance Minister goes thoroughly wrong and adopts a thoroughly bad system. One of the worst effects, indeed the worst effect of the protection system, is that it creates difficulties in the way of its own reform. Vested interests spring up. I do not mean to say (although I am not going to sanction the principle, that a vested wrong by long continuance becomes a vested right), that some reasonable discretion and latitude might not be allowed in dealing with a vested interest of long standing; but, as the hon. gentleman is beginning to understand, and if I know anything of Canadian manufactures, as he will understand very much better between now and two weeks later, the longer it lasts the more difficulty such a tariff creates and the more mischievously it

operates. There is a very good illustration of this in the case of the country to which the hon. gentleman is constantly looking. We see in the United States, where the public mind has been expressed, in a way in which never in the memory of living man it was so strongly expressed before, where it is manifest that the people desire a revenue tariff, that they desire to do away with protection, that they want, if not free trade, as near free trade as possible, how thirty such years of protection have produced ramifications and such entrenchment of different interests, and how by availing themselves deftly of those peculiar forms of the United States constitution, which however valuable they may be for certain purposes, are in my opinion far less efficacious than our own in matters of this sort, there is great danger that the expressed will of the people may be frustrated by a few score of plutocrats and millionaires. Something of the same kind may occur here, possibly something of the same kind has occurred here; but there is no doubt whatever that this goes to show how thoroughly rotten, how thoroughly mischievous, how thoroughly corrupt such systems tend to become, not, perhaps, so much by reason of the inherent depravity of the men who follow them as by reason of the inherent and natural results of a system which makes it the interest of a number of wealthy men to combine together for the purpose, rightly or wrongly, of maintaining in power a Government pledged to share with them the plunder obtained from the people. The whole conduct of the hon. gentlemen shows this fact at all events: they did not crave publicity. The First Minister and Minister of Finance have both taken this ground with respect to the investigation recently conducted by the Finance Minister: that they were not justified in calling upon the men they examined to give details of their business, or if they had the right, that these details must be given in camera and not in public. I take issue fairly and squarely with the hon. gentlemen on that point. Who were those men who were interviewing the hon. gentlemen? They were men who came to him claiming that they could not by their own legitimate exertions and industry, by the use of their brains and capital, make an honest living. They required to be protected; they required that special privileges should be given to them that were not given to their fellow-subjects. They demanded that the rest of the people should be taxed for their benefit. In all such cases the onus lies on every man who asks protection to make good his case, to explain not to the Finance Minister, not to the hon. gentleman in a closed chamber, but to explain fully and plainly and in good time, so that their statements may be tested and examined, and full inquiry made as to their allegations in order to obtain the real truth as to the facts, why and wherefore they claim the right to tax the people of Canada. It is possible that under some very extraor-

inary circumstances (such as I have never known, and cannot imagine) a good case might be made out—I am willing to suppose the possibility—but be that possible or not the Finance Minister had no right, and the Government had no right to conduct those investigations in the close and secret manner they did. They should have been conducted as publicly as they were when the Controller of Inland Revenue and the Controller of Customs were conducting their investigations. When the case of the farmers was up we had the fullest publicity, aye, we had the hon. gentlemen acting as—what shall I call them?—devil's advocates in order to convince the unfortunate farmers that they were not being pillaged by the trusts and combines; but when the Finance Minister was conducting his investigation with men who have an enormous interest, as every one knows, in maintaining the duties, then everything was done in secrecy, then everything was done privately, the press and the public being excluded. We were left utterly in the dark as to facts that we should know as well as the Finance Minister himself, as to the profits derived by these men, the number of hands they employ, and the whole details of their business, which I maintain, and I always will maintain, must be made public in the case of protected manufacturers if they are to make out, even in the remotest degree, a case of right to tax the public at large. We have had, almost as a necessity, the result of which I have spoken. We have a tariff embodying no principle; we have a tariff, which I have declared, and I think rightly, to be merely a makeshift tariff. There, and there alone, perhaps, hon. gentlemen have been consistent. There is protection in every line of the tariff. We have at last here got the classes and the masses face to face. The question of freedom and slavery is brought up for our decision. The question which the hon. gentleman submits to us is this: Shall this Government, shall the fiscal system of Canada be so administered as to enrich a few hundred wealthy men and millionaires, or shall it be administered for the benefit of the millions of wage-earners and toilers from one end of the country to the other? Sir, the Government—although possibly the partnership may be in danger of dissolution—at all events up to the present time, have been nothing more nor less than sleeping partners with the Red Parlour. To it they have looked for the means of conducting election campaigns. We do not forget that the founder and originator of the policy told the gentlemen of the Red Parlour that the hogs for whom he shook down the acorns must make a fair division. After all, it is really a return to first principles. Everybody knows that in the last resort the government of a country depends on the good-will of those who furnish the supplies, and it is pretty clear that whatever we may do here in this chamber, the real supplies, which go to grease the inner machinery of the government—that extraordinary

and intricate machinery of which we got a little glimpse in the case of my hon. friend the Postmaster General—we know perfectly where the oil and the grease to make that machinery work harmoniously comes from, and whence it must be supplied. I did notice, in one respect, an improvement in the hon. gentleman's tone and in the tone of the First Minister. They, having, perhaps, learned their lesson, rather to the cost of the people of this country, are not quite so prone on the present occasion as they have been in the past, to endeavour to stir up ill-blood between ourselves and the people of the United States. Maybe they feel that, under the circumstances, that would be a very impolitic thing to do. Therefore, they have not on the present occasion, as they have very often done before, indulged in much rhetoric about the disadvantage and about the impropriety of looking to see what our American neighbours were doing before we decided on any matters of importance affecting our finances. But, notwithstanding, the hon. gentleman could not possibly abstain from one old fallacy, which I noted at the time he spoke. I observe that the hon. gentleman took occasion to quote the case of the United States, by way of proving to us, as he alleged, that our tariff was enormously lower than the tariff in the United States. Now, had the hon. gentleman examined that question with any care, he would have known this—no intelligent protectionist would ever deny it—that the larger the area over which a protective system spreads, the less consequence it is how high the duties you may impose. It is a very serious thing in a small country to impose a protective tariff, even apparently of moderate dimensions. It exposes you to many evils which do not exist in a larger country. There are circumstances in Canada which must be well known to the hon. gentleman—which ought to be well known to him, at any rate—which make Canada, of all countries I have read or known of, perhaps the very worst suited to the application of the protective principle; as there are likewise circumstances in the condition and position of the United States which minimize to an enormous extent the mischief which even there arises from the application of protection. The knowledge of that fact ought to have convinced and ought to have shown the hon. gentleman, the utter fallacy of his contention, that because, peradventure, the United States tariff was higher on some few articles than it was with ourselves, that, therefore, we were infinitely better off in that regard than the United States. I tell the hon. gentleman that it is possible for the United States to have an almost absolutely prohibitive tariff, and it would not do them anything like the amount of mischief that a very moderate protective tariff would do in Canada. The reason is obvious. The United States are a great country; they are rather a group of thirty nations than a single nation;

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they extend from the tropics to the Arctic zone; they extend from one ocean to the other, and so do we, but under circumstances of very much more disadvantage. Our country consists of three or four isolated groups of provinces, separated from each other by tracts of wilderness which can only be traversed at very great cost and very great expense. The portions of our country are separated from each other, and, what is more, they have not any very great facility for mutual interchange. We are rather competitors, as I have often said, than customers of each other, and there is no portion of the Canadian group which has not a better market to the south of it—I am sorry to have to say it—than it has with the country which lies east or west. Under these circumstances, to impose protection on a country so-circumstanced, is, and has always appeared to me to be, the very height of folly; and it is a still greater folly to argue from the example of the United States or from the rate of their tariff, that because they have, for reasons of their own, reasons of a very peculiar character, reasons which were dependent on the result of the civil war—because they were persuaded or misled into adopting a protective tariff, that therefore we could do it without suffering more in proportion than they. Sir, there is another consideration. We on this side of the House have time and again called attention to a thing which every statesman ought to consider, and that is: The extreme burthens which are imposed by our tariff on the poorer classes of the population. The hon. gentleman may tell me that that is almost inevitable in any tariff or any system of taxation which depends solely on indirect sources of supply. There may be an element of truth in all that; but, Sir, our tariff is, and has been so arranged that it inflicted very special injury on our farmers, and our fishermen, and our miners, and on our lumbering interest; in one word, on all our great producing classes. I am glad to see that, in obedience to suggestions from this side of the House, in obedience to remonstrances which have been constantly made by us, that evil has been remedied in this tariff to some moderate extent. But a very great deal still remains to be done. A great many of these burthens have been only touched, not substantially lightened, and it will be the interest, and it will be the duty of the Government, if they do their duty, to see that that relief is made effectual and not as it is at present, a mere skin-deep relief, a mere 2½ per cent or a mere 5 per cent, when double or treble that is required to render any real and substantial relief to the people who are suffering from it. The indirect effects of this, as everybody knows, have been very serious to us. The indirect efforts of laying these heavy burdens on the poorer classes of our population have contributed to a very large degree indeed to the great loss of people which we deplore, and also they impose a very severe check on

the successful colonization of the North-west. Now, Canada, in its collective capacity, has sunk something like \$100,000,000 or more—a great deal more, if you include the interest we have had to pay—in endeavouring to develop the North-west. It is a mere truism to say that the results which we have as yet obtained have been wholly and miserably uncommensurate with the expenditure that has taken place. I had hoped to find, and I have no doubt that my hon. friends from that section of the country had hoped to find, some more substantial recognition of the needs and interests of the people of Manitoba and the North-west than the hon. the Finance Minister is disposed to give them. The hon. gentleman spent a considerable time there, so he tells us. The hon. gentleman was at pains, he says, to make himself acquainted with the needs of these people. The hon. gentleman did, if I am not mistaken, hold out rather large though indefinite promises of relief, yet I fail to see, except in one or two comparatively insignificant particulars, where that relief will come in under his present tariff. Sir, that is a question on which I should like also to hear more from the hon. gentleman or his colleagues before this debate closes. In my judgment, and I shall give reasons for it before I sit down, the position of the North-west to-day is very serious. I do not know that the hon. gentleman has fully appreciated the enormous extent to which the successful raising of many products of that country is threatened by recent discoveries and by recent developments which have taken place in various parts of the world. But, if it has not attracted the attention of the hon. gentleman, I can tell him that I am informed, on very high financial authority from the English Stock Exchange, that it is now expected—and I think he will see for himself, without further comment, the enormous importance of the statement—that it is now expected that the Argentine Republic alone will be able to supply to the English market, in the course of next year, from eighty to one hundred million bushels of wheat of a very superior quality, which can be laid down in London at a rate little if at all in excess of 60 cents per bushel. That is a matter which the hon. gentleman ought to be made acquainted with, which he ought to take into account in framing his tariff; because it is perfectly obvious that, if that statement is even approximately correct, I regret to say, the further development of wheat raising in the North-west, for some considerable time to come, must be regarded as very problematical, and that, perforce, the advice given by his distinguished agricultural colleague to quit wheat raising and go into mixed farming, will become an absolute necessity on the part of the people of that country.

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I much regret that it was not in my power to bring my remarks to a close before six o'clock, and I shall endeavour not to trespass on the patience of the House any longer than is absolutely necessary. At the same time, there were one or two points alluded to by the hon. Finance Minister which cannot be passed over entirely in silence. The hon. gentleman, among other things, endeavoured, consciously or unconsciously, to give the stamp of his authority to a very absurd fallacy as to the number of persons who are really interested in these same protective duties. Now, Sir, this is a triple fallacy. In the first place, there is not one shadow of justification for alleging that the 367,000 persons, be the same more or less, who are down as engaged in manufacturing industries, are, in any shape, form or way, benefited by the imposition of high taxes; in the next place, the hon. gentleman, as I pointed out before, entirely ignored the fact—a fact which ought to be perfectly well known to him and others—that an immense number of those industries which were supposed to owe their existence to the protective policy, had been in existence and were flourishing industries under the revenue tariff which prevailed up to 1878; and in the third place, the hon. gentleman ignores the equally well-known fact—known to every man who has examined carefully the industries which now exist in our various towns and villages, more particularly in Ontario—that a great number of the industries which were doing well and flourishing under a revenue tariff, have wholly and entirely disappeared under the protective tariff. Taking these three things together, I allege that it is a most gross mistake to assert or insinuate that these 367,000 persons who are stated to be engaged in manufactures, are as a whole at all dependent upon the existence of a high tariff. In the volume of the census, which has been lately published—and as to which, by the way, I may observe that it appears to me to be very inartistically arranged—I do not know what particular Minister is specially responsible for it—I find a list of the persons engaged in the manufacturing industries. Now, if the House remembers, I put a question, before I commenced my speech, which will illustrate that statement. I called attention to the fact that, superficially and apparently, the sugar makers, the sugar refiners in Canada were barely 171. Of course, I was aware there was some mistake there. The Minister of Finance alleged, though he did not give details, that something like 1,900 persons were so employed. What he meant by that I do not know. He may have included all the persons concerned in mining coal for supplying the sugar industry. He may have included all the coopers and the vast variety of other men indirectly employed. These re-

turns give very little opportunity of ascertaining what the actual facts are, and in that respect are exceedingly defective, not to say misleading. However, such as they are, we must take them, making the allowances I have mentioned. Now, I have gone pretty carefully over the various occupations which come under the head of manufactures. I find, on a tolerably careful examination, that the total number of persons who can, even superficially, be supposed to be benefited by this protective tariff, is really very small. The numbers are as follows:—

| | |
|---|-------|
| Cotton operatives | 6,053 |
| Glass operators | 5,081 |
| Hosiery operatives | 946 |
| Mill and factory operatives, put under the head of textile not otherwise stated | 3,876 |
| Linen mill operatives | 522 |
| Manufacturers and officials | 6,169 |

A rather peculiar heading.—

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|---------------------------|-----|
| Oil well operatives | 177 |
| Oil works do | 167 |

There, also, I suspect, the number is considerably understated.—

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|---------------------------------------|--------|
| Rope and cordage operatives | 412 |
| Silk mill operatives | 121 |
| Sugar refiners' operatives | 171 |
| Parasol and umbrella operatives | 31 |
| Woollen mill operatives | 4,241 |
| Total | 23,667 |

But the result is this, that superficially stated, and with the light afforded of these census returns, apparently out of these 367,000 about 23,667 would represent the number which could fairly be said in any way to owe their existence or continuance in operation to the protective tariff. A vast number of these, I may add, are women and children—not men at all—and are hardly entitled to be reckoned as full hands, it being perfectly well known that, in the case of children particularly, the amount of wages received, the number of hours employed, and all the rest of it render them a comparatively insignificant fraction as regards their power of adding materially to the number of the population supported by these industries. But when we turn to the other side, when we examine who compose the great bulk of these 367,000 people, we find that they are composed, for the most part, of trades which I verily believe are not only in no degree assisted or benefited by a protective tariff, but are materially injured, inasmuch as the great proportion of them depend for their prosperity and maintenance on the prosperity of the farmers and other producers who are most decidedly injured by the protective tariff—and that injury extends itself to all those who depend on the agricultural class. I find items like this:

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| Bakers | 5,116 |
| Blacksmiths | 19,957 |
| Boot and shoemakers | 15,816 |
| Brick makers | 3,138 |

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|--|---------|
| Butchers | 7,288 |
| Carpenters and joiners | 45,229 |
| Butter and cheese makers | 1,801 |
| Carriage-makers | 6,822 |
| Compositors and pressmen | 6,095 |
| Coopers | 3,420 |
| Dress-makers | 22,217 |
| Harness-makers | 3,647 |
| Tanners | 3,593 |
| Marble and stone cutters | 3,585 |
| Masons | 10,205 |
| Millers | 4,384 |
| Milliners | 3,456 |
| Painters and glaziers | 10,017 |
| Plasterers | 2,458 |
| Plumbers | 3,249 |
| Saw-mill operators | 13,338 |
| Lumbermen | 12,319 |
| Ship and boat builders | 4,435 |
| Tailors and tailoresses | 14,517 |
| Tinsmiths | 4,740 |
| Woodworkers and innumerable others | 2,178 |
| Seamstresses | 10,239 |
| | 241,219 |

And innumerable others, whom I have not taken into account. But the ones I have taken into account muster 241,000 out of the 367,000, most of them being heads of families. Now, the vast majority of those people are not benefited, but injured, because the customers with whom they deal are injured, because the men on whom they depend are injured, because the great trades of which they are offshoots are injured by this excessive protection and enormous taxation, so that the pretension which, if true, would undoubtedly entitle the plea of hon. gentlemen opposite to a more respectful consideration—the plea that 367,000 of our people are in any way aided by the protective tariff—fails utterly, and it would be infinitely nearer the truth to say that scarcely one-twentieth part of that number do or have derived any benefit from your national protective policy, and that even of that one-twentieth, a very large percentage would—judging by the results which occurred between 1870 and 1878, and the results which occurred previously—have been carrying on a much sounder and more prosperous business, would earn higher wages and get more value for their wages today if you had no protective tariff. Now, the truth is this. Our policy and that of the United States have, to an enormous degree, isolated Canada entirely. Under those circumstances, and more particularly until you get access to the United States market, your only safeguard is to enable your people to produce cheaply, because the prices of the products on which your people mainly depend are not regulated by your home market at all, but by the competition of the whole world. Those who have to face the competition of the whole world must have the right, if they are to prosper, to purchase as cheaply as they can. In order that they may purchase as cheaply as they can, and enjoy the prosperity they ought to enjoy, you must have low taxation. You must have at any rate as low taxation as the public

honour and credit will permit You must put no taxes on them that are not imperatively required to enable you to discharge your obligations. Not one cent should go on except for that purpose. More than that, these men must have the liberty, not merely to sell where they can at the best advantage, but to buy where they can at the most advantage. Otherwise we will fail of necessity in the competition forced upon us against the whole world in the open market, where no favour is shown to us. Now, what is the actual fact? It is that whether it be under the late or the present tariff, each petty manufacturer forsooth is able to dictate to his countrymen where and from whom they shall buy, and if the people do not choose to deal with him he is able to subject them to a very heavy fine. Take cotton manufacturers. Even under the tariff now introduced they can say: Deal with us or pay a fine of \$30 or \$35 into the Treasury for every hundred dollars worth of goods you buy. That is a literal and simple statement of the case, and they will exact every penny out of you, save only that miserable remnant which enables him to undersell the foreign competitor. In other cases it is even worse. We talk of usury; we talk of the iniquity of exacting a higher percentage than a fixed rate. A good many worthy people demand that the rate of interest be fixed by law at a very low rate. They talk even of requiring that the Government should lend money at 3 or 4 per cent. But where is the usury now existing that can compare with the fine of \$35 on every hundred dollars' worth of goods you require to buy? Meantime, Sir, we have the census returns in our hands. Those returns ought to convince, I believe really they have convinced, all the more intelligent among the supporters of the Government, that something must be done to stop this fatal atrophy which is spreading over large sections of what ought to be the most prosperous portions of our Dominion. Sir, is it to be tolerated that to-day we should be taxed to death and that a fertile island such as that which my hon. friend here (Mr. Davies, P.E.I.) represents should barely add 190 souls to its population in ten years? Is it to be tolerated that, as I have said, all over the Maritime Provinces the total increase of population should be barely 1 per cent in ten years? That the province of New Brunswick should add barely 61 souls of its population in ten years? Is it to be tolerated, nay, is it not to the proper shame and scandal of the people and Government of Canada, that, in this country, with room for a hundred millions more than are here to-day, the increase in Canada should fall far below the increase in some of the longest settled and most densely populated countries in the known world? Sir, some time ago, I think it was in reply to the First Minister, I called attention to a most significant fact. I have not my notes by me and must trust

to my memory. But that fact is this. Sir, every one here knows to what a frightful extent the Southern States of the American Union were ravaged and desolated by the terrible civil war which prevailed from the year 1861 to the year 1865. Some time ago I made a careful examination of the state of things in seven or eight of those States which had suffered most. I found, Sir, that they had a population of something like eleven millions at the commencement of the period of the Civil War in 1860. In the ten years between 1860 and 1870, although these unfortunate States had been ravaged with fire and sword, although after the Civil War had ended they had been subjected to one of the most brutal and oppressive black governments ever inflicted upon an unfortunate people—the period known as the carpet-bagger regime, and detested to this day by every true Southerner—although they were subjected to almost every affliction that could befall a conquered people, yet (and this is worthy of the most especial notice of the people of Canada) in these ten years, these seven or eight States had gained 14 per cent in population. Yet, Sir, in the ten years from 1881 to 1891 the whole of Old Canada—Quebec, Ontario and the Maritime Provinces—scarcely gained 8 per cent. Sir, I might go on for hours, and yet I could give no better proof of the intolerable evil and the intolerable mischief this same protective system has worked upon our people. Now, what are the remedies offered by the Government? We have the right to demand of these people who initiated this policy, and who have had for fifteen years almost supreme and unchecked power in Canada, what are the remedies they propose for this state of things. The remedies they propose are about as effective as a penny squirt for a house on fire. Sir, Canada has only two markets of any value. Other markets may be developed in the future. I do not know what can be done with our brethren at the Antipodes; perhaps the Minister of Trade and Commerce will make an announcement with regard to that in due time. But at the present time, Canada has only two markets that are of any value; the rest are mere side shows at best. The Government, largely by their foolish conduct, has barred us out of one; at any rate it has done nothing, and is doing nothing to secure us access to the American market. I think a change is coming over the spirit of their dream, a change I am very glad to see. Till very recently, one of the main objects of themselves and their subsidized press was, at all times and at all seasons, to depreciate and minimize the value of the American market. Sir, I do not say that the Ministers themselves have exulted in the misfortunes which overtook a portion of the United States of late, but I do say, and I am in the judgment of both sides of this House, if I do not speak the truth, when I say it, that it was notorious in all parts of Canada that a great many of the

organs of the Government, a great many of their subsidized organs were constantly on the look-out to bring forward everything detrimental and injurious to our best customer, the people of the United States, and to exult over it. Now, Sir, I say that was most superlative folly. I say, and I have pointed out before, that Canada is, above all things and before all things, a part of North America, and that what injures the United States will most assuredly injure us. There is at best but a short delay before the reflex action of misfortunes in the United States is felt here. More; I can tell the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster), whom I do not see in his place, and I can tell the hon. gentleman's colleagues, that if they think that Canada escapes scot free from the results of the commercial cyclone or tornado which swept over the United States, they are most enormously mistaken. It is within my knowledge, and if the hon. gentleman doubts, let him go to Montreal, or let him go to Toronto, and consult any broker in large business or any banker in large business, and he will be told that among the fruits of the disasters that overtook the Americans was this—that a great number of millions of Canadian capital have perished altogether. Sir, I repeat, and it is a thing to be repeated, it is a thing to be dwelt upon, it is a thing to be thoroughly understood by those who desire to see a stable prosperity in Canada, that, while I admit, and while I myself have always contended, that it is quite possible for us, by wise and good government, by reducing our taxation, by introducing a sound fiscal system and by developing our resources, to attain a moderate prosperity; yet no great prosperity can be attained by the people of Canada, notably, I believe, none can be attained by the people of the Maritime Provinces, or by the people of the great provinces of the North-west, unless and until we establish friendly, amicable relations with the United States and obtain access to their markets—a thing which, moreover, I have always contended and believed, is of the greatest possible importance to the ultimate welfare and prosperity, not merely of ourselves, but of the British Empire as well. These gentlemen frequently say: This may be very well, but we cannot get access to the markets of the United States. When did they ever honestly try to get access to that market? Sir, if that market is barred to us, it is by reason of their own deliberate misconduct during the last eight or ten years. I say that up to this present moment they have never made one honest effort to gain access to that market, and their record testifies against them at all points and testifies to the truth of my assertion. But, Sir, I will take the Government on their own ground. Let us admit what they say—that they cannot get access to the American market. They allege to us the superior value of the British market.

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Now, I freely admit that, for certain articles, the British market is an excellent market, that, for certain articles, it is perhaps our best market, that it is a market to be cultivated and exploited and made the most of—all the more so because it is perfectly free to us. But it is a delusion to say that for an enormous number of articles of great value to us, the British market is the best market. For a great many things that Canada produces and for producing which she has special facilities, the British market, at the best, is a second-rate and second-best market; and the only true and really valuable market is the market which extends for 3,000 miles along our southern border. You must remember that when you talk of the British market you talk of a market in which no special privilege is or can be given to us. I do not want, in the presence of the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill) to speak too slightly of the aspirations which at one time I partly shared myself, relative to the somewhat glittering generality of Imperial Federation. But after all said and done, you are not going to get the English people to give you any special privileges or to pay more for Canadian wheat, or Canadian beef, than they can buy it for in open market. Disabuse your minds at once and forever of that idea. The British people cannot do it, and the British Government, whether they be Conservative or Radical, have not the faintest intention of doing it either. Nevertheless, if it be true that the English market is the one market to which we must look, is the one market which is open to us, all the more reason for enabling Canada to produce more cheaply and thereby to sell more cheaply, all the more reason for having lighter taxation. Remember that if our people are going to produce cheaply, they must have the power to buy all that they require, as cheaply as they possibly can. Unless that is granted, I think it is in the nature of things impossible for them to compete on fair terms in the markets of the world. Recollect that the people of Canada, though they have in other directions important advantages, are handicapped in many ways. There is a long and costly transport intervening between us and the English market; our climate in some important respects makes farming to-day, and makes living here, more expensive than it is in England. In my judgment, human labour will always be pretty dear here, and I do not know that I regret it. I do not want to see my countrymen brought down to the level of a man, woman and half a dozen children, living on eight or nine shillings sterling per week. I am glad, therefore, that labour is dear here, and likely to be dear. That is an important element in estimating the cost of production here; and it is, I repeat again, a most important additional reason for reducing the cost of protection to the lowest possible figure. Now, Sir, as to the allegation that our farmers ought to be

content with their situation because, forsooth, farmers in other countries suffer as well as they do, because, forsooth, in England and elsewhere farming has been at a heavy discount for some years back. What does that prove? It proves that there are exceptional causes operating which make farming unusually unprofitable. Now, the necessary corollary and the necessary deduction from that fact is this, that if farmers are specially handicapped by causes over which the Government have no control, the Government is bound, above all things and before all things, to see that by no act of theirs are those disadvantages increased or added to if they can prevent it. Now, it is well-known that Canada, whatever power it may possess for manufacturing, is above all things a great food-producing country. That is our staple manufacture, and the manufacture which, of all others, should be most forwarded and most attended to by the Government. The rest, after all said and done, is subsidiary to that. Now, Sir, we are able to produce food for fifty times our present number, and in a great number of articles, as we all know well, Canadian produce is vastly superior to the produce of most other countries, and is notably superior for many purposes to the similar articles produced in the country to the south of us. As I have said, for a great deal of our produce, that is our best market, but if the Government will not or cannot get that for us, at any rate let them give us a fair chance to supply the others. It is frequently stated, or perhaps rather insinuated, by the Minister of Finance and his colleagues, that this side of the House is inimical to manufactures. No statement can be more untrue, no statement can be more without foundation in fact. I most fully recognize, we all recognize, the enormous importance of manufactures in every country; we all desire every possible good to all honest manufacturers who are willing to pit their brains, and their capital, and their energy, against the brains, and the capital, and the energy of other people, either here or elsewhere. Sir, what do our manufacturers need? They need, above all things, larger markets. They manufacture under great difficulties in this country. Their market is smaller even than it appears to be by reason of the extraordinary extent and shape of this country. It would be nearer the truth to say that our manufacturers, in many cases, have a market of but three millions instead of a market of five. But they need another thing, they need more prosperous customers; they need that the farmers with whom they deal and to whom they must sell the great bulk of their goods, should be more prosperous, for in their prosperity all the manufacturers who deserve to prosper, would, I believe, find theirs. And so also with the cities and towns, notably the cities and towns of Ontario. With a prosperous farming community, the cities and towns will prosper as well; without a prosperous

farming country, although they may have a temporary and ephemeral prosperity, there is no stable foundation for it; and even those which, for a time, appear to be prosperous, having surpassed their natural increment, have discovered after a few short years that when the country is drying up but a very short time will elapse before the cities will dry up too. Now, I desire to speak briefly, having already inflicted upon the House a longer speech than I intended, of the details of the measure submitted to it. I will speak but briefly for several reasons. First of all, and I think I have good right to complain of it, I have not up to this present moment, nor have my friends beside me, received any official copy of the tariff as proposed by the Government. We do not know how many clerical errors may be discovered; we do not know how many members of Parliament may put the screws on to get more clerical errors discovered before this Bill is carried. Are there more democratic wagons, or wagon manufacturers—I do not see the hon. member for South Leeds (Mr. Taylor) present, but I should like to put that question to him—requiring clerical errors to be corrected? Are there more gentlemen interested in starch factories who require other clerical errors to be corrected? The matter is one of some interest. I must say that I do not approve of this fashion of coming down and intimating that in important sections of the tariff clerical errors have been discovered twenty-four hours after information as to the changes intended to be made, has been placed before the House. It is not right, it is not just, it is not creditable to the Government that these things should occur; and they would not have been so likely to occur had the practice which prevailed in my time, and in the time of most of my successors been followed, that of having the changes printed confidentially and placed in the hands of the House when the Minister of Finance made his statement, and then being adhered to. I am not going to say that this tariff has not some good points. This tariff has some good points, because the Minister of Finance has taken the several motions which have been moved time and again, year after year, from this side of the House, and has under compulsion embodied them in his tariff. Therefore, and therefore only, the tariff has some good points. Those hon. gentlemen opposite have been long in learning, but for incorporating those points I give them credit, and I will enumerate them too. The House will remember, I have no doubt, that year after year we denounced specific duties, that in speech and in motion we pointed out the extreme injustice done to the poorer class of the community by their operation. The Government has removed, to a large extent, specific duties in obedience to our demand, and in consequence of the feeling we created in the country, and so far the tariff is an improvement. Hon. members

will remember perfectly well that when the McKinley tariff was imposed, and when hon. gentlemen opposite, who spurned American dictation, were compelled to alter the sugar duties, we pointed out the injustice that was being committed to the consumer. My hon. friend from Brant (Mr. Paterson) moved that all sugar up to No. 16 be made free; he also moved that other sugar should be admitted at a rate of 51·100 of 1 cent per lb. What does the Finance Minister do? He follows as nearly as he possibly can the exact and literal wording of the motion made by my hon. friend from Brant, and embodies it in his tariff. Here is my hon. friend (Mr. Mulock) champion of the farmers and of binding twine. Does the House forget how year after year he brought up the needs of the farmers and the necessity of a reduction in the duty of binding twine. Hon. gentlemen opposite have seen the error of their ways, and although they have not made it free, as they very well might and ought, they have largely reduced the duty. On this side of the House we repeatedly denounced the duties on barbed wire, on iron, and on other articles, and on looking over this tariff, while it is in some respects modified and improved, we find that all the modifications and all the improvements and everything good in it consists in the adoption of motions and suggestions that were made in the public interest from this side of the House, and this side only. Sir, as I have said, it is not possible at this hour, and with the information we at present possess, to enter into anything like a minute examination of this readjustment. So far as I can judge from the statement made last night, an immense number of the modifications are of the most superficial and trivial description. We find reductions of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and 5 per cent in cases in which four times that reduction should have been made. I am sure the Ministers do not know, and I think the trade cannot yet judge how far the abrogation of the compound duties and the substitution of very considerable ad valorem duties will for the time being produce any substantial relief. It may in the long run, by reason of the improvement constantly going on in mechanical processes, but I doubt exceedingly if much of the readjustment is at all fair. Take a case with which I am somewhat familiar, the article of agricultural implements. It is right there should be a reduction; it is very proper that a reduction has been made. Those are farmers' tools and are of the first necessity to them. Without them, as the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) will tell you, farming in the North-west would be almost impossible. It is perfectly right to reduce the duties on them: but it is only just that when you reduce the duties on those that the iron and steel, of which they are composed, should be put on the same footing as the raw material of the cotton or woollen manufacturer. Reduce those duties as much as you like, but at the

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same time reduce the iron duties, give those manufacturers fair play, and remember that in giving them fair play you give the farmers fair play, because the cheaper the manufacturers are able to produce those articles the cheaper the farmer will get them and the less difficulty there will be in the way of cheap production. And what is true of them is true of other workers in iron, and there are a great many of them. This industry, although I have no statistics, because these returns are so imperfect I cannot use them, employ quite as many men as the cotton industry or the woollen industry. Why, I should like to know, and I repeat the question, should the cotton spinner obtain his raw material, his cotton, perfectly free, and the woollen spinner obtain his wool perfectly free, and the agricultural implement maker be mulcted in very heavy duties on the iron and steel he employs? True, some trifling reduction has been made, but nothing at all in my judgment equal or adequate to the loss which they sustain by reason of the very heavy iron duties maintained. I repeat, speaking generally and looking at this tariff as a whole, that I believe you have about the maximum of disturbance and the minimum of real relief, and it is not an insignificant consideration that you have imported a great element of uncertainty into trade and commercial transactions. So far as the people have been relieved, good; but at the same time it does appear to me that when you are overturning the whole tariff some reasonable or substantial relief, vastly greater than that proposed, might have been afforded. More than that, I have my doubts, and I have reason for my doubts, as to how far the Government mean honestly to carry out this tariff. Under our present customs law I have observed that the Government, or perhaps I should say the Customs Department, have most improperly arrogated to itself a power which is often practically equivalent to adding 30, 40, or 50 per cent to the lawful tax. It is done in this way. I believe the right to make these revaluations was first given at a time when American currency was in a very disturbed condition, and, therefore, it was very difficult to judge accurately the cost on the other side. At all events the Customs authorities have chosen to take to themselves this power, that when a Canadian merchant purchases goods for a fixed sum, cash paid on the other side or elsewhere, the Customs Department may disregard the invoice altogether, and this arbitrary action is often done at the bidding of the manufacturer who is engaged in producing similar articles, and by increasing the price, the duties are thereby raised to an enormous extent. That is a fraud, a gross fraud, it is a very tyrannical proceeding, and it is a power which has been grossly abused, and it is one which the House would act wisely in speedily taking away from those gentlemen. But so long as that power remains, I have great doubts

whether after all this revision may not issue in a great many cases in a taxation practically far in excess of that which the House intended or approved. Putting the whole case together, I say that for a protective tariff, scientifically constructed, if such a thing be possible—some people say it is, but I have my doubts—but for a protective tariff, something is to be said; for a revenue tariff a very great deal is to be said, but for this amorphous botch nothing is to be said. It is neither fish, flesh nor red herring. It really does nothing at all but disturb everybody, make a certain number of corners, which will appear as we go through it in minute detail, and conciliate for a time until the elections come round a certain number of gulls whom the hon. gentlemen have successfully deluded in times past. One thing I must congratulate the Government upon, and that is their capacity for swallowing not only their own previous professions upon the subject, but their predecessors too. In this tariff the Government have justified to the full all the criticisms that have ever been levelled at the past tariff from the Opposition benches, and they show now to the people by their own confession how outrageously they have been plundered by the imposition of specific duties and similar inventions in times gone by. But the Government have, I think, unwittingly done one good thing. The Government have pointed out the road to the future. Every concession that these men have made, if we be true to ourselves, and if the people be true to themselves, means other concessions, and that in the near future. These gentlemen opposite are like engineers who have broken down their sea wall in order to avoid a temporary rush of water, and they will soon discover that there is a good deal of truth in the statement made by one of their supporters from Cape Breton: That be the tariff good or bad, when you begin to pull the bricks out the whole arch will soon crumble about your ears. Sir, I may be pardoned, perhaps, for indulging in a brief, and it shall be a very brief, historical retrospect. I have been a member of this House for a longer period than I quite care to recollect. I was a member of the Canadian Legislature which preceded it, and in my judgment there have been within the last seven and twenty years no less than four distinct occasions on which the people of Canada might have obtained great advantage by a wise policy. One occasion took place when Confederation was initiated in 1867. At that time Canada occupied a position of marvellous advantage towards the United States. Our taxes were one-third per head of theirs, our debt was one-third per head of theirs, our expenditure was very low, scarcely one-third of our present expenditure, and had that position been wisely taken advantage of, it would have been possible then to have introduced in Canada a system of free trade which would even have satisfied my hon. friend from Charlotte (Mr. Gill-

mor). It would have been possible at that time to have introduced a system which would have practically compelled the people of the United States to pay the greater part of the customs-house duties of Canada. That opportunity was lost, partly, I believe, by the unfortunate fact that at that time that bold and daring statesman, Sir Alexander Galt, ceased to be the Finance Minister of the Macdonald Government, and was succeeded by a gentleman who, although of undoubted ability, had not much experience up to that date in that particular walk. However, whether for good or evil, that opportunity, and it was a great one, was lost, and I have the authority of no less experienced a man than Sir Francis Hincks for saying that if he had been in Canada at that time he would have availed himself of it to the utmost. In the year 1873 another opportunity was given to us. We had prospered greatly, thanks chiefly to the great prosperity of the United States, during these half dozen years. We had prospered far more than we expected. We had a great surplus of revenue, and we were in a position to have very largely reduced our taxation then. Instead of that, we chose, for reasons that I will not now repeat, to throw them all away, and to add four millions of dollars unnecessarily and needlessly to our annual expenditure. We chose to pave the way for the deficits the Minister of Finance alluded to, and we chose to embarrass our whole future without the smallest justification to my mind. Another opportunity presented itself in 1879. Say what they please, we had then surmounted the grave difficulties that our predecessors in office had left behind them. It was perfectly clear that prosperity was coming fast, because it was perfectly clear that the United States were emerging from the cloud of oppression that overspread that country, and we knew it, and I knew it, and you will see that I stated in detail in the very last speech I made as Finance Minister: That within a few brief months at the uttermost, trade would return to its normal proportions, and the very moderate revenue tariff we then had would have afforded us all, and more than all, we required for proper government. That opportunity, too, was thrown away. There was, whether ministers knew it or not, another magnificent opportunity given us in 1888, when Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Bayard, on the other hand, and some of the leaders of the Republican party on the other, had expressed their earnest desire to enter into a fair and equitable arrangement with Canada. And, Sir, it is a noteworthy fact that when in 1888 I made the speech which I then delivered on reciprocity with the United States, it is within the recollection of hon. members of this House that the then Finance Minister, Sir Charles Tupper, took excellent good care—and I knew the reason why—not to oppose me or to say one word on the subject in opposition to my speech. The hon. gentleman, I won't say was conveni-

ently ill, but he was conveniently absent for four or five weeks during that time, and it did not in the least interfere with his carrying on his ordinary avocations. Now, Sir, these four opportunities have passed and gone. But I believe, Sir, that another opportunity is offering the people of Canada, if not at once, at any rate in not many months, and on the use that they may choose to make of it depends, in my judgment, whether Canada shall enjoy the prosperity that her resources warrant her in expecting, or whether Canada shall go floundering on in the slough in which we now are and be content with adding to our population at the rate of one per cent a year, and with losing a million and a quarter of her people in 10 years or thereabouts. I have been accused by hon. gentlemen opposite, and I have been accused by their press of being most pessimistic in my utterances. Why? Because I have seen what was coming, and I have warned them in time. But I am not so pessimistic as they suppose. I believe, for my part, that out of this evil good may come. Although it may astonish hon. gentlemen to hear it, I look upon all these things to a certain extent, in a young nation, like the diseases incidental to infancy. Protection, Sir, is like measles; in itself it is not so very formidable, but it has very dangerous secondary symptoms, and the most dangerous of these is, as I have often pointed out, the inevitable and terrible corruption which under the system of protection to manufacturers is the certain consequence of protection. Fortunately, the people are beginning to understand what protection costs them, and they are beginning to understand also—thanks particularly to certain revelations that have been made in this House—the corruption which is incident to protection. Sir, they are understanding much else. Hon. gentlemen may not know it; hon. gentlemen may choose to shut their eyes to it; but, Sir, the fact is: that not merely in Canada but in the United States, aye, and to some extent in England—although their system, as I have shown, is infinitely better than ours—the whole theory of taxation as at present understood is passing through the fire, and may be said to be in the crucible. Now, in this respect I speak for myself alone. I want to pledge no one, and in particular I beg to be understood that I do not at all intend to pledge my friends beside me. I say that this good has come out of the evil done by hon. gentlemen opposite: men's minds in Canada and elsewhere have been turned as they never yet were turned to the inequality inherent in the best system of taxation hitherto prevailing. These gentlemen, whether they know it or not, whether they desire it or not, have really made radical reforms possible, and I believe, if my friends of the Liberal party rise to the occasion, if they show a true and bold and wise daring in this crisis, that they may pave the way for a completely new system in good time. I do not want revolution; I want reform:

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but I desire to see genuine free trade brought about. I desire to see genuine equality of taxation brought about, so that every man shall bear a burden, not altogether in proportion to his expenditure, but in proportion to his means. Thereby, Sir, would the power of the State be established on a true and broad basis; thereby would, for the first time, perhaps, in our history at any rate, real justice be done, (so far as the system of taxation extended) between man and man. It is possible for us, it is possible for the people of Canada, after all is said and done, to set an example to other nations, and not to be as they have been up to the present time, dragged tamely in the wake of other peoples. Sir, I believe that we may yet succeed in developing our resources as they ought to be developed; and yet more, that we may develop our people as they ought to be developed, and show ourselves worthy of the inheritance of half a continent. And now, Sir, these hon. gentlemen challenge us—these consistent mortals, who are shocked at our inconsistency—demand our policy, and in especial they demand mine. Sir, they shall have it. I announced it years ago: my policy from first to last, ever since this infamous system was put on the statute-book, has been to do away with protection—how, I did not care. If free trade would do it, I was for that; if continental free trade or reciprocity with the United States would do it, I was for that; if a revenue tariff would do it, I was for that. Always and at all times, from the time I was Finance Minister until the present hour, I have set my face like a flint against recognizing in any shape or way the tyranny of protection. Sir, they demand our policy. Well, Sir, they shall have our policy and here I believe I do speak for my hon. friends beside me: our policy is death to protection and war to the knife to corruption. Sir, we strike, and we will strike, for liberty and freedom from this system of protective taxation; and I tell the hon. gentlemen that we will not rest until the slavery that they have imposed upon us has become a thing of the past, and until Canadians are free, as Canadians ought to be—free to buy and sell, free to make the most they can of the opportunities God has given them. And, Sir, that the hon. gentlemen may have their question answered, I move:

That while recognizing in the reductions proposed an admission to that extent of the evils inflicted upon the people by the system of high protective duties, this House is nevertheless of the opinion that the amendments suggested, being based upon the principle of protection and not solely upon the requirements of public service, are inadequate to afford satisfactory relief from the burdens of excessive and unfair taxation;

That the highest interests of Canada demand the adoption of a sound fiscal policy which, while not doing injustice to any class, will promote domestic and foreign trade and hasten the return of prosperity to our people;

That, to that end, the tariff should be reduced to the needs of honest, economical and efficient

government, should have eliminated from it the principle of protection to particular industries at the expense of the community at large and should be imposed for revenue only :

That it should be so adjusted as to make free, or bear as lightly as possible upon, the necessities of life and to promote freer trade with the whole world, particularly with Great Britain and the United States.

Mr. HAGGART. Mr. Speaker, before replying to the hon. gentleman, allow me to congratulate the House and the people of Canada upon the prosperous state of the country, as depicted by the Finance Minister. One would have thought, after the statement of the hon. Finance Minister, in which he proved pretty conclusively the prosperity that exists from one end of the country to the other, that we would have heard little from the hon. gentleman opposite about the deplorable state of the country, such as he has given us from year to year, unless he was able to give facts and to state what country was more prosperous than Canada. The wail has not been so loud as formerly ; but still he dwelt a little upon it. After the statement of the Finance Minister, in which he showed the prosperity of the people, as evidenced by their savings in the savings banks and the other banks, by the increased railway traffic in all parts of the country, and by the great increase in the trade of the country, one might fairly have looked for some reason being given for the pictures which have been displayed from one end of the country to the other by hon. gentlemen opposite, especially by the hon. gentleman who has just sat down, and some statement being made as to the respect in which the country is not prosperous. I think every man in this country, from one end to the other, may feel a just pride in being able to point to the fact that, notwithstanding the depression that has occurred in almost every other part of the world, that the country to which he owes his birth and to which he belongs, is in a proud condition of prosperity. There was not a single evidence produced by the hon. gentleman in contradiction to the statement made by the Finance Minister, showing the prosperity of the country, except the old one which we have heard again and again about the exodus of some people to the republic to the south of us. I am proud to say that the people who left this country are returning to it. I am glad to say that the customs returns from the province of Quebec will show that a large number of those who left that province are being repatriated. But I would ask the hon. gentleman to remember some of his speeches from 1874 to 1878, in which he drew a picture of those who spoke of the great and real distress of the country then existing. I would ask him to recall the statement he made at Fergus on 7th July, 1877, and which he will find in the picnic speeches of that period. He then said :

It is also a trite and well-known maxim of political science that when a country is in distress

then is the opportunity of your true demagogue, for can we find a surer mark or a better mode of distinguishing between the demagogue and statesman than in this, that the demagogue, of whatever rank or station, will always be found imputing that distress to the Government of the day, while the true statesman will search carefully into the cause of that distress, and will deem it, as it very rightly is, a political crime of the first magnitude, to stir up the violence and passions of the people by holding out hopes of succour which he knows no Government no power can grant.

Sir, who is the demagogue now by the hon. gentleman's own definition ? But how different a tune he sings now. I may congratulate him, perhaps, upon his changed feelings, but I cannot help taking this opportunity of drawing the attention of the House to the statement he then made. In his remarks this evening, the hon. gentleman indulged in comparisons with reference to my hon. friend the Finance Minister. He applied to him, in a paraphrase which I do not remember, the heraldic device of the falcon being struck down by a mousing owl.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. You are wrong ; it is an eagle. I will give you the quotation, if you like.

Mr. HAGGART. I remember the quotation perfectly well, but I never heard the paraphrase before. I remember perfectly well the old heraldic maxim about a noble person being struck down by some ignoble hand, and the same illustration is made use of by Sir Walter Scott in his history of Napoleon. In describing the sympathy excited throughout the whole community, when Danton and his compatriots were sent to the guillotine at the command of Robespierre—although perhaps they deserved their fate—he said it was caused by the sight of a noble eagle being struck down by so ignoble a bird. My hon. friend the Finance Minister need not mind the comparison which the hon. gentleman sought to make. We are all proud, the whole country is proud, of the hon. gentleman. The people look upon him with pride as a worthy successor of the many eminent men who have filled the position he now occupies. He has carried out the policy of the Government to the satisfaction of the country and of the Conservative party. He is a Finance Minister of whom the people are proud, on account of his splendid ability, his untiring industry and application ; and in this last great effort of his, the introduction of the new tariff, he has gained fresh laurels. As the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) has indulged in comparisons, let me suggest a motto peculiarly suitable to the hon. gentleman himself and his party. On the one side, the lugubrious countenance of the rueful knight of South Oxford, and opposite, having reference to the wonderful tenacity which these gentlemen have displayed in never changing their policy, the motto which the hon. gentleman himself suggested, "A thing of beauty is a joy for ever." Let

me also remind the hon. gentleman that, in giving to the House information as to what other people may have said, he should be very particular that the parties are alive from whom he received the information, or that, at least, there be a record somewhere in some speech or in some other manner, in support of his statement, so that we may have some means of confirming the report. It seems to be fashionable now to make statements of alleged facts and quote dead men as authority for the statements. With regard to the statement which the hon. gentleman says Sir Charles Tupper made to Mr. Mackenzie, I was in the House at the time, and several other members of the Conservative party present to-day were here then, and neither I nor they have ever heard anything of what the hon. gentleman attributed to Sir Charles Tupper.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Mr. Mackenzie did.

Mr. HAGGART. And I have no doubt that, when Sir Charles Tupper hears of it, he will give it a flat contradiction.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I dare say.

Mr. HAGGART. I would remind the hon. gentleman to be careful in making statements of that kind, for the simple reason that we hear of a good many statements alleged to have been made, the witnesses to which are no longer living. It is very convenient sometimes to make statements of that kind. I am not imputing to the hon. gentleman that he does not believe in the correctness of the information he gave, but such statements are of their very nature peculiarly liable to contradiction, and should not be made unless the authority for them is in some way forthcoming. The hon. gentleman also referred, when treating of the deficits from 1874 to 1878, to those which occurred under Sir John Macdonald in 1858. He has made the comparison often and often throughout the country, in order to apologize for the deficits from 1874 to 1878. But, if I remember rightly, the gallant knight from South Oxford was at that time a supporter of Sir John Macdonald. He was a close follower and admirer of his, and supported thoroughly in every respect his financial administration.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That is exactly what I did not do.

Mr. HAGGART. He was a supporter of the hon. gentleman in 1858.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I was not in the House then.

Mr. HAGGART. When the hon. and gallant knight left the Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald, the era of deficits for the latter ceased. There were no deficits under Sir John Macdonald after that. But the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) learned nothing from the experience of 1858, and, when he came

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into power, the deficits still continued. The House waited with a good deal of curiosity and patience to hear the criticism which the hon. and gallant knight would make upon the tariff. What we are considering at present is the ways and means for the producing of a customs revenue, as the Finance Minister said, of some \$1,600,000 less than \$21,000,000. That is the question before the House. Has the hon. gentleman made any attack upon the policy of the Government, as proposed by the present tariff resolutions? Has he shown, in a single respect, where they are wrong or suggested a remedy for them? Has he suggested any lessening of the burdens of the people or showed in any particular where a reduction could be made? In one breath he complains of the Minister of Finance. He says to him: You are doing a very foolish and dangerous thing, a thing of which you may repent, in relieving the country of \$1,600,000 of customs taxation because you may want revenue. And in the next breath he says: Why is it you are levying such a large amount of \$36,000,000 on the people. I defy the hon. gentlemen opposite to show in what particular they intend to reduce the amount of expenditure which is expended in this country. I defied them last session to do this, and I defy them again. Before the people of the country will consent to put these hon. gentlemen in power they must be prepared to show in what respect the amount levied upon the people is in excess of the country's requirements. I, for one, never heard one of the hon. gentlemen attempt to deal with that point. Sometimes the hon. member (Sir Richard Cartwright) is frank in speaking. At one of these times he stated that the amount required to cover the necessary expenditure of this country was about \$35,400,000, and he was correct then. There is the interest on the public debt, the subsidies to the provinces, the expense of administering justice, the expense of collecting revenue and other items of necessary expenditure. What item is the hon. gentleman going to reduce; in what manner is he going to lighten the imposts upon the country? Why, the hon. gentleman's leader is pledged to an increase of that expenditure. His leader, if he comes into power, must increase that expenditure under the agreement made with Mr. Mercier in the conference at Quebec by two million dollars each year as additions to the provincial subsidies. What a farce it is for these hon. gentlemen to state that if they get into power they will lessen the burdens of the people. They talked at one time glibly about Commercial Union. But one of the hon. members for Prince Edward Island says:—"I never was in favour of Commercial Union; the party never were in favour of it." What does the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) say with reference to that? What is the meaning of the 'Globe's' articles for a period of three or four months if they are

not in support of Commercial Union? Afterwards the hon. gentleman said: "that unrestricted reciprocity was perhaps an unfortunate term," that they are going to resort to the greatest measure of free trade consistent with the raising of the necessary revenues of the country. The hon. leader of the Opposition says that they will follow in the wake of the British Government in having a purely revenue tariff. They go throughout the country and tell the workmen, they tell the agriculturists that they are being over-taxed, that the incidence of taxation falls more heavily upon them than upon any other portion of the community. But will these hon. gentlemen really adopt the British system of taxation? The customs taxes in Britain are levied upon nine articles—tobacco, tea, rum, brandy, spirits, wine, currants, coffee and raisins. Does the hon. gentleman know that if he should resort to such a system of taxation it would be in effect a per capita tax upon the people of this country? The poor man in this country drinks about as much rum as the rich man, he uses about as much tobacco, as much tea and as much of these other articles. If hon. gentlemen stick to the policy which they have last announced and adopt the system in use in England, the burden of taxation will fall upon those practically free from taxes today. Such a system would be in effect a per capita tax as I have said and that more so than in Great Britain, for there it is corrected by a dozen other taxes—by a stamp tax, by an income tax and others which relieve the poor and throw the burden of taxation upon the shoulders of those who ought to bear it. Does the hon. gentleman propose to do that? Let them suggest a way by which they will reduce the expenditure of the country. It is true that the hon. gentleman suggested that they could reduce the amount paid for civil government here in Ottawa. But reduction there would be possible only to a small amount. They might effect a reduction of expenses by refusing to expend upon public works. In this way they could reduce the expenditure by two millions, but do the hon. gentlemen propose to stop these public works and to refuse assistance to railways in this country? A charge they make from one end of the country to the other is that we are responsible for the debt of the country, and therefore responsible for the increased annual expenditure to pay the interest upon that debt. I have again and again answered that charge in this House. The present Government is no more responsible for any portion of the debt of the country than are gentlemen on the other side. What does the debt of the country consist of? The public debt amounts to \$240,000,000, made up of the amount of provincial debts, assumed by the Dominion at the time of Confederation, afterwards increased by arrangement of the debt of the different provinces, the amount expended on the Intercolonial Railway, the amount expended on building the canals and the amount

expended on the Canadian Pacific Railway. Is there a single item in that list that they opposed? Is there a single item, except the expenditure upon the Canadian Pacific Railway? And do they not now justify the expenditure upon that work in every portion of the country? The hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) in his statement said that a good deal of the deficit under his regime was caused by unnecessary works and public improvements left by his predecessors to be done. It is all very well to tell that to people who forget the events of the period from 1874 to 1878. I remember that when they came into power the principal expenditure they had to make was for the purpose of increasing the capacity of the Welland Canal. Some of the contracts had been let before the hon. gentleman had come in. He cancelled all the contracts and was then in a position not to expend a single cent for these improvements. He relet the work and went on with it, and then blamed his predecessors for his expenditures. But, Sir, not one of those expenditures but was perfectly justified by the necessities of the country. We take pride in the enlargement of the canal. There is another work which was at one time spoken of as if it was one of the biggest jobs ever known in the history of the country—the Galops Canal. It has been stated that the Government was responsible for placing a portion of it on the American side. I have known it to be stated from one end of this country to the other that this was one of the works foisted upon the hon. gentleman and his friends by his predecessor, the late Sir John Macdonald. It was stated from one end of the country to the other that this work was bequeathed to the hon. gentleman and his friends by the Government and Sir John Macdonald. Sir, would you believe it? The work was recommended by Mr. Page to Mr. Mackenzie, the location was adopted by him, and the work was let under contract and carried on by him. This was done in 1876 and continued in 1878. The works on the St. Lawrence Canal are works of great importance, which were forced upon the hon. gentleman's Government by his predecessors. Again, the hon. gentleman complained of the system of taxation which is adopted in this country, a protective system which, as he alleges, enables the Government to bleed the manufacturers of Ontario. If anything should bring a blush of shame to the manufacturers of this country it is to hear that statement continually made by hon. gentlemen opposite. Sir, there are hundreds of manufacturers in this country who know, as I know, that all the assistance the Conservative party ever got from the manufacturers in Ontario would not pay for the printing of the campaign literature throughout the country. There are hundreds of manufacturers in the country who know that this statement is true. We have been accused again and again, especially in agri-

cultural districts, of putting a burdensome protective tariff upon the farming community in order that the leaders of the Conservative party might obtain money from the manufacturers for the purpose of corrupting and debauching the constituencies. Talk about corrupting and debauching constituencies! Have hon. gentlemen no memory? Do they not remember about the Ontario Bank proceedings? Have not the hon. gentlemen themselves again and again admitted the necessity of corrupting and debauching the constituencies, and made public announcement of it? Let me refer to a speech the hon. member for South Oxford now in his own opinion, the emblem of purity, made in Napance on November 21st, 1873, as published in the Napanee 'Express.'

Then, again, he knew there were a large number of men in the county who wanted to be bought. He knew that, because he has bought them twice himself while he was still an unrepentant sinner. But he would not buy them again. He would not be hypocrite enough to deny that in the buying of these men in the two late elections he had spent large sums of money.

Do we not remember the Grit manifesto in Nova Scotia in 1878? This is what it said:

The Liberal candidates should be elected because they support a Government [the Liberal Government] which spent large sums of money on useful public works, because they support a Government which, during five weeks, have spent \$1,877,794 upon public works in N. S., as against only \$650,288 spent by the late Government in seven years. A Reform yearly expenditure of \$375,559, against a Tory yearly expenditure of \$92,890.

Do they appeal to the electorate on the ground of a comparison between their methods and the methods of a corrupt and extravagant Tory Government? No, they boldly boast of their corruption as one reason why they should receive the support of the country. They made a yearly expenditure of \$375,599 against a Tory yearly expenditure of \$92,890. Let me draw the attention of the leader of the Opposition to a speech which he made in the Club National in 1877:

I would have you rely mainly on the justice of your cause, yet I have learned by experience that we must not forget those human devices that are so essential to victory.

And when we see the hon. leader of the Opposition and the hon. member for South Oxford getting up here and talking about corruption, they are merely trying to draw a herring across the trail to turn away attention from their own misdeeds. I am suspicious of those hon. gentlemen when I hear them protest against the corrupt Tory party debauching the electorate, they remind me of a character in Shakespeare, "Methinks she protests too much." Sir, we are all glad to hear the Finance Minister state in his speech that the expenditure of the coun-

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try, which is now in the neighbourhood of \$36,000,000, had remained so for the last five years; that the debt of the country was not to be increased, that it would remain stationary, and the probabilities were that in a few years to come it would be less than at present. He stated that the expenditure in this country had arrived at its maximum. It has arrived at its maximum, because in about three years from this date the large amount which has been expended on capital account for the purpose of constructing the canals throughout the country, will have ceased, and we will save in the neighbourhood of \$1,500,000 a year in that work alone. Our expenditure on public works will be less in the future than it is at present, and the prospect is that the national debt, in three or four years from now, will begin to decrease. As I said before, I am at a loss to find in what particular point the hon. gentleman complains of the tariff proposals. The Finance Minister has challenged them again and again to state in what form they intend to raise a revenue in this country if they get into power. Their amendment states, and it is mere verbiage, that they intend to remove all vestiges of protection throughout the country. Well, that is a late idea with them. If I remember rightly, Mr. Blake, in a pamphlet which he circulated among the manufacturers throughout the country, stated that on account of the large debt of the country and the financial necessities existing, at that time, it would be impossible for a number of years to come to have anything but a protective policy in this country. He not only spoke for himself, but he said he had authority to speak for his party, including especially the hon. member for South Oxford. Have they changed their policy altogether? If they get into power is it their intention to do away with every vestige of protection in the country and adopt the English system of levying taxation? Everyone knows that even if they did get into power, it would not be possible to adopt the English system of taxation. Then what fault have they to find with the tariff? The fault they find, if any, is this, that as we have to levy by customs a revenue of \$19,500,000 from the people of this country, we levy it in a form that gives incidental protection to the manufacturers. Is not that the best possible form of levying the taxation that is required in this country? As the Finance Minister said, the idea is not to prohibit the importation of goods altogether so that everything must necessarily be manufactured in this country; but it is to place the duty at such a rate that articles can be imported and thereby prevent anything like a combination among the manufacturers. Articles may be imported and come into competition with those manufactured in the country, but we give the latter a slight advantage. Our Canadian manufacturers will have to compete with those of foreign countries, and make their products at least equally good to retain the

home market. They will have to improve their machinery and bring their manufactures up to the standard of those which can be imported. That is the policy of the present tariff as stated by the Finance Minister. We have taken particular pains to find out what is the feeling throughout the country on the question. As was promised by the Minister of Finance in his Budget Speech last year, we have consulted every manufacturer throughout the country, we have heard deputations from one end of the country to the other, representing the agricultural interests. We have consulted every agricultural section and every industry in the country, and the tariff is framed in such a manner that the gallant knight who represents South Oxford has not been able to point out a single fault in it. He has not at all criticised the details of the tariff, but has only spoken against the generalities of protection, finding fault with the principle on which it has been framed, calling it legalized robbery and everything of that kind. It is easy to see that the tariff is an astonishment to hon. gentlemen opposite. They admit that in certain particulars it is a pretty good one, they admit it is a great improvement; but they say that if they get into power they will wipe away every vestige of protection from it. Will they wipe out every vestige of protection on agricultural products grown in this country? Will they as the hon. gentleman suggested allow agricultural implements, binder twine, coal oil, and articles of that kind, to come into this country free? Hon. gentlemen opposite if they obtain power would reduce the protection on cotton goods and woollen goods produced in this country. But what has been the result of the protection afforded the manufacturers of those goods in Canada? It has been this, that cotton goods are produced as cheaply for their quality as are cottons in any other part of the world, notwithstanding the protection given, and in the city represented by the leader of the Opposition cottons are being manufactured solely for exportation, and every yard manufactured is sent to China. Woollen goods of better value than those manufactured in the country to the south of us are produced here, and they are as fair value as are woollens produced in any country on the face of the globe. We are manufacturing nearly every article in this country, and I might enumerate a dozen articles in a like position to cottons and woollens, but it is perhaps sufficient to enumerate those two leading industries. These manufacturers, notwithstanding the protective tariff, are producing their goods with the most improved machinery, a considerable portion of which is being made here; the artisans are all being trained in this country, and are being employed, and the people are obtaining the products at as low price here as elsewhere. Yet the hon. gentlemen opposite would strike down these industries, remove the protection afforded and close up the mills. Hon. gentlemen opposite speak

about the exodus from this country to the United States. If the policy proposed by hon. gentlemen opposite were carried into effect our people would flock to the United States by thousands, leaving this country, which would become a purely agricultural country, without mixed industries, and as the history of every nation in the world shows, a purely agricultural country is necessarily a poor country. If the hon. gentleman will make a comparison between States in the United States he will find that the value of the land increases in proportion to the industries in the State. Every acre of land is increased in value in proportion to the development of manufacturing industries. I can show the hon. gentlemen—but I will not trouble the House by quoting the figures—that the returns of the United States census prove conclusively that land values are largely in favour of centres of industry, and in the vicinity of cities where large manufacturing industries are established. But hon. gentlemen opposite propose to wipe out every industry. If hon. gentlemen opposite obtained power to-morrow they could not exist two months as a Government if they endeavoured to carry out their policy of wiping out all the industries of the country. Every writer on political economy, every one who advocates free trade, and honestly believes in it, admits that ruin would result if such a policy as is proposed by hon. gentlemen opposite, of wiping out the industries of the country, were carried out, after the industries had been established under the authority of a protective tariff, enacted by the majority of the people, although their views might be erroneous, and that, even under such conditions, it would be impossible to wipe out the industries altogether and sacrifice every man engaged in manufacturing in this country. Hon. gentlemen opposite have embodied that policy in the motion submitted to the people. They say to the people: taxation shall be levied, not as at present, according to a fair distribution, under which I must admit the burdens press a little heavily on the richer and easier class of the community, and fall comparatively lightly on the agricultural labourer and the agriculturist, but it shall be distributed, if hon. gentlemen opposite carry out their programme, and the promises they make in opposition, on the lines of a policy similar to that prevailing in Great Britain, and instead of distributing the burden of taxation somewhat according to the wealth of the people and upon those who are able to bear it, they will make it a per capita tax. Taking the importations of the country at the present day, and the revenues received, and calculating that hon. gentlemen opposite retain the duties on tea, coffee and sugar as they prevailed in 1878, the amount levied on the people would be \$9,250,000, of which we levy but a trifle at the present time. Hon. gentlemen opposite have a habit of sneering at agricultural protection. I remember that on one occasion the hon. mem-

ber for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) said in his speech that it was true that \$16,000,000 worth of agricultural products came into Canada, and he held that this was for the benefit of the country, because it inured to the carrying trade and increased the transport business on our inland waters. The policy of the Conservative party is, and has been, to keep the Canadian market for Canadian products, and in that policy they have entirely succeeded. They intend in the future to keep Canadian markets for Canadian farmers, and they will try to ensure that Canadian mechanics shall supply, at fair and reasonable prices, the articles which Canadian farmers use in their industry. The policy of the Government has been to develop our industries, and so successful has that policy been, that the time is coming soon when not only can our manufactures supply our own markets, but when they will be able to export to the markets of the world and to compete on fair and even terms with the manufacturers of any nation on the face of the globe. In Canada, nature has given us great facilities for manufactures. It is true in some places they have no coal, but nature provides another blessing in immense water power, which can be obtained at comparatively small cost. There is no reason why, by application of the sciences to our natural resources, we should not be able to produce as good and as cheap articles as there are in the world, and to compete successfully in foreign markets as well. For the last fourteen years, protection in Canada has so developed our manufactures that the Government now think that a fair reduction in the tariff can be ventured on. They believe that our people can compete with less protection than formerly, and to prove that, it can be pointed out that we are now sending agricultural implements to many portions of the world, and that we are sending our cotton fabrics to compete with the cottons of European countries in the Asiatic markets. The policy pursued by this Government has placed the necessities of life free on the tables of our people. Sugar is selling as cheaply to-day in the city of Montreal as it does in the city of New York. What a contrast is that with former times when hon. gentlemen opposite were in power. From 1874 to 1878, every sugar refinery in Canada was closed, and the people of this country had to pay the price which that article brought in the city of New York, plus the transport, plus the duty, and plus the commission. To-day we are getting sugar of a finer quality for half the money we had to pay for it in the years from 1874 to 1878. I will give hon. gentlemen opposite the exact figures on this matter, so that they may remember them if they will. In 1891 we abolished the sugar duties, and the public got the full advantage of that change. The price of granulated sugar in 1889, 1890 and 1891 averaged \$6.69 per one hundred pounds, and

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after the change of tariff, the average price in the years 1892 and 1893 was \$4.53. Let us contrast that with the years of the Liberal Administration in this country. In 1876, 1877 and 1878, during most of that time, no sugar refining was done in the country, and most of the trade in that article went to New York and Boston. The consumer in Montreal then paid the actual selling price in Boston and New York, plus the cost of transport, interest, insurance, commission, and duty. The average price of granulated sugar in Montreal in these three years of Liberal government was \$9.83 per one hundred pounds, while the average price for the same sugar in the years 1892 and 1893 was only \$4.36 per one hundred pounds. But, say hon. gentlemen opposite: These duties were put on for the purpose of putting money in the pockets of the bloated millionaires in the city of Montreal. Let us see what truth there is in that statement? Let us contrast the price of sugar in Montreal with the prices in New York. Here is the comparison between sugar of the same quality, namely, New York, extra granulated and Montreal extra granulated, the New York sugar having one-quarter of a cent per pound added for freight, as in the former case. The average price for the year 1892, delivered in Montreal in bond, New York sugar, \$4.92 per one hundred pounds; Montreal sugar, \$4.34 per one hundred pounds. The average price for the year 1893 was: New York sugar, \$5.17 per one hundred pounds; and Montreal sugar, \$4.93 per one hundred pounds. These facts prove that the people of this country have not paid one cent a barrel on account of the trifling protection left on sugar last year. The people are supplied with cottons in this country as cheaply as are the people of any country in the world, and the fact that we are able to export and compete in foreign markets and to make a profit shows that. I have it on the very best authority that the same thing obtains with regard to woollen goods, notwithstanding the duty on them. I have heard it from Englishmen who have been brought up in the woollen business in Yorkshire, the great manufacturing centre for woollen goods, and they tell me that the Canadian people receive as good quality and value for their money as do the people of England or anywhere else. Has not the promise that the Conservative party gave to the people of this country been literally fulfilled, namely, that the competition between manufacturers here would reduce prices, that the people can buy as cheaply, and cheaper, than if the goods were imported. The statement made by hon. gentlemen opposite that because there is a thirty per cent protective duty on articles coming into this country our people have to pay thirty per cent extra for them, is a most fallacious one. We have heard another extraordinary statement from gentlemen opposite; that, on account of the system of

protection, one thousand million dollars have been wrung from the people of this country. Is it not a proud thing, as the hon. member for Toronto (Mr. Cockburn) remarked to me, to belong to a little country of between four and five millions population, that is still in a prosperous condition, and whose agricultural classes can compare favourably with the people to the south of us, notwithstanding that, during the years of protection from 1878 to 1893, one thousand million dollars have been wrung out of their pockets. It is enough to state the proposition to see the absurdity of it. Where have the thousand million dollars gone? Have these bloated millionaires taken it out of Canada and invested it in a foreign country, or what has become of it? The absurdity of the statement is so ridiculous that it must be laughed at by every person, from one end of the country to the other, who has the least mathematical idea in his head. He has gone into the figures, and he cites by way of confirmation the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy). Is that the kind of stuff that these hon. gentlemen have been feeding the electorate of the country with during the recess? My fellow-countrymen, the people of Ontario at any rate, are an educated people, and nearly every boy who receives a mathematical education would be able, when he looked at the figures, to see at once the absurdity of the ridiculous statement made by the gallant knight who represents the riding of South Oxford. Perhaps I am detaining the House too long, and if I went over the whole ground covered by my notes I am afraid that it would take a much longer time than I care to occupy. I have listened for five hours to the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), to hear if possible some practical reason advanced why the tariff should be changed; but from beginning to end I have not heard a single suggestion. Not one word has he uttered indicating what he intended to do if he should get into power. We are left entirely to guess. The only thing we could gather from the statement the hon. gentleman made, and the amendment he moved, was that he and his supporters want to do away with every vestige of protection in the country. But let me tell them that the agricultural portion of our people will insist on having the markets of this country for themselves. We have had a petition presented to this House, signed by over a hundred thousand farmers, asking that the markets of this country be retained for their agricultural products, and I venture to say that the two Controllers, while consulting the agricultural portion of our people from one end of the country to the other, rarely met a farmer in any part of the country, no matter what his political proclivities were, who was not in favour of agricultural protection. Yet these hon. gentlemen, displaying the other side of the shield, and dwelling upon the deplorable condition of Canada,

express themselves as determined to remove every remnant and vestige of protection from the agricultural products and the manufacturers of the country. Do they intend to remove it gradually? No. Their statement is that they intend to remove it as soon as possible, even though it should ruin every man, who, on the faith of statements made again and again in Parliament, has invested his money in the industries of this country, by subjecting those industries to the competition of the whole world. Such a course, without cheapening a single article of production to the consumers of the country, would have the certain result of ruining those industries, and leaving our people to be simply producers of agricultural products, and even in supplying these to the artisans of our own country, our farmers would be subject to the competition of other countries. If the people of the country believe that these hon. gentlemen really intend to carry out this policy, I can assure them that they are much farther from power to-day than they have ever been before during the last fourteen years. I warned them that when the people of this country, especially the backbone of the party who supported them, knew what commercial union with the United States meant, what unrestricted reciprocity meant—when they discovered that it meant the parting with their independence and placing themselves under the control of the country to the south of us, and was inimical to the interests of the old land, which we have been brought up to love and revere, although they might be Reformers and Radicals, they would be found to adhere to the country to which their hopes and aspirations belong. I told them that when the people learned what the effect of their policy was, there would be a falling away from their ranks. Sir Oliver Mowat showed the extent of that falling off, and they were obliged to drop commercial union for unrestricted reciprocity, and now they are going to try to tickle the people with the idea of British free trade. I told them before that when the people understood the meaning of their policy they would never give them their support, and I tell them now, that if the people of the country come to understand their policy of to-day, as expressed in the speech and the amendment of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), there will be such a falling away from the ranks, that often as they have contradicted and changed their policy in the last five years, they will execute a right-about wheel more quickly than they have ever done before. I thank the House for the attention it has given me during the time I have occupied in addressing it on this question.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Mr. Speaker, I shall not at this late hour of the night detain the House at any great length; but will endeavour to reply as briefly as I can to the statements and arguments which have been

advanced by the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat. That hon. gentleman seems to have taken it for granted that he was defending the tariff that was in existence prior to yesterday evening. He seems to have overlooked the fact that some changes have been proposed. I think that was very evident from some of the remarks he favoured us with. I noticed that he opened his speech by congratulating the Finance Minister on the prosperity of the country. Well, I congratulate the Finance Minister on such prosperity as we have in the country; but I do not confine my congratulations to the Finance Minister; I congratulate the country as a whole. The hon. gentleman finds fault because he says that sentiment was not echoed from this side of the House. He complains that we portray the country as in a most deplorable condition, that we proclaim blue ruin, and are unable to see anything bright in the prospect. Well, this is a favourite statement of hon. gentlemen opposite. So oft-repeated, perhaps they themselves may believe it. Speaking for myself, I have always recognized that we are enjoying a certain degree of prosperity in Canada, and as a citizen of this country I rejoice in such measure of prosperity as we have. When I am forced to allude at times to the fact that we are not enjoying as great a degree of prosperity as we might, I do not consider that I am decrying the country, but only endeavouring to point out that we have entered upon a line of policy which is retarding its progress, and that a change of policy would bring about the increased prosperity desired by us all. That is the position we take, and it is a proper one. Now then, how will I substantiate the view I hold that the country has not made the progress which a country, situated as Canada is and possessed of the resources Canada possesses, should make. I will not give a standard of my own, because that would not be accepted by hon. gentlemen opposite, but I will give them a standard by which a rule may be laid down that they will accept to show what prosperity might reasonably be expected to prevail. Then I will ask them to judge by that rule if we have attained that degree of prosperity. I give them the authority of Sir John Macdonald and of Sir Charles Tupper. Sir John Macdonald, whom hon. gentlemen opposite will say was a lover of his country, said in this House, in the year 1880, that within ten years from that date we would have over 600,000 souls in the North-west provinces and in Manitoba. That, he said, was a very moderate estimate. He did not wish to speak in an exaggerated manner, but to confine himself within a narrow limit. In 1891, one year after the time in which, according to Sir John Macdonald, speaking in a moderate way, we should have 600,000 people in that country, the people were counted, and instead of 600,000 there was only a little over 200,000, or about one-third of his moderate estimate. I ask hon. gentle-

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men opposite to apply that rule laid down by Sir John Macdonald. I heard the same hon. gentleman say, supported by Sir Charles Tupper, in his place in this House, that out of that magnificent domain which we, as Canadians, feel proud of, from the sale of land to settlers, reasonably expected to enter that country and take up homesteads, we should have, by the year 1890, in the Public Treasury, after paying all the expenses of survey and management, the sum of \$69,000,000 net. What is the result? The hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) has pointed it out. When you take the debit and credit of the sales of land in the North-west, instead of having \$69,000,000 in the Treasury to ease the burdens of the people, the balance is, if anything, on the wrong side of the ledger. Now then, I have given hon. gentlemen opposite authorities which they will not deny—authorities speaking in a guarded manner of the possibilities of this country—and when we see how very far short we have come of attaining the degree of prosperity they anticipated, must hon. gentlemen opposite not be convinced that there must be something retarding our progress. Where is that cause? It is not in our soil. Our soil is equal to anything in the world. It is not owing to our climate. Our climate varies from the Atlantic to the Pacific, no doubt; but taken as a whole, where will you find a climate better adapted for the development of a race of hardy men—men of brains, brawn, and muscle, such as are to be found within the Dominion. We have a country possessed of great resources. Its soil will produce agricultural products of all kinds found in the temperate zone. Our fisheries are inexhaustible on the Atlantic and Pacific, and in our great lakes. We have mines and minerals in abundance, and have homes to offer to millions of people. How is it then that, with all these advantages, we have not attained to greater prosperity? There must be some operating cause, outside of natural causes, which has produced this result. We, on this side of the House, believe that one of the retarding influences has been the unwise administration of the Government and their unsound policy. While we have had prosperity to a certain extent, we have not had that prosperity we desire and have a right to expect, and it is owing to the injurious policy of the Government that we have not got it. That is the position we take. We desire to take steps to achieve better results in the future. In years gone by Divine Providence favoured us with abundant crops, and our exports were large, and brought wealth into the country. But that wealth, which should have resulted in enriching the people, has been taken by the Government out of the pockets of the people, and has been squandered in such a way that no good results to the people came from the expenditure. The hon. gentleman spoke next of the deficits that occurred when Sir Richard Cartwright

was Finance Minister. Well, there is no denying we had deficits from 1874 to 1878, and I see no necessity for being sensitive on that point at all. What does it mean? Simply, that, as the country was passing through a period of depression—a depression that was world-wide—the Government held that that was not a time to increase the burdens of the people, and, therefore, instead of increasing the tariff and thus laying greater burdens on the people, we maintained a low rate of taxation, economized expenditure as far as they could and carried over the slight deficits that remained—deficits that would have been balanced, had they remained in power, when trade had resumed its normal condition, by surpluses that would have accrued under the same rate of taxation that was in force during the hard times. Then the hon. gentleman found fault with us by saying that the question before us was one of ways and means, and that the hon. member for South Oxford had given no information on the subject. I thought that a very strange charge, because we on this side of the House had just been thinking that the Finance Minister, whose duty it was to give us information upon this subject, had failed to give us that information. The hon. Finance Minister was questioned again and again as to what the effect of the changed tax upon this or that article would be. His only answer was: Well, I cannot just say; I do not think it will make much difference either way. That is about all the information we could get from the Finance Minister with reference to the changes that were made. Therefore, if the hon. gentleman's charges, as against my hon. friend from South Oxford, had any weight, it must have a great deal more weight as against the hon. Finance Minister. The hon. gentleman said further, that we had certain fixed charges against the revenue, and that he would like to know how we were going to reduce the burdens resting upon the people. He said that we did not tell him this. I thought the hon. member for South Oxford did tell him. We propose to arrange the taxation in such a way that the burdens of the people will be reduced and yet more revenue raised. That is what I tell the hon. gentleman; that is what the hon. member for South Oxford will tell him. The tariff of gentlemen opposite is levied, not with a view of bringing revenue, but with a view of excluding revenue and yet leaving the burden upon the people all the same. The hon. gentleman said that we were responsible with them for the increase in the public debt—the expenditure upon the Canadian Pacific Railway and all. I do not know how he could make that out. If he had looked through the journals of the House and taken the recorded divisions of the House upon that subject, he would scarcely have dared to make that statement. The hon. gentleman went on to speak about a remark made by the member for South Oxford with reference to the manu-

facturers that were spoken of under the name of the Red Parlour, and he said that, if anything should bring a blush of shame to the cheeks of these manufacturers, it was to be charged with subscribing to the Tory fund. He denied what the hon. member for South Oxford had said. I have no personal knowledge in reference to the matter at all, but if the statement was false, as the hon. gentleman declared it to be, and if these manufacturers had never subscribed to this fund, the making of such a statement would hardly bring the blush of shame to their faces. It might arouse a feeling of indignation, but it could hardly bring up a blush of shame, because shame is only connected with guilt. Did the hon. gentleman use that word "shame" inadvisedly, or did he use it advisedly? That is the question I asked myself. I understood the position of the hon. member for South Oxford with reference to this matter to be this: If it be true that men come to the Government and ask for certain favours by way of legislation in the arrangement of the tariff by the operation of which they expect to be financially benefited, and the Finance Minister or any other member of the Government, or the Government as a whole, from corrupt motives, make themselves a party to benefiting that individual at the expense of the people, it would be an unblushing piece of corruption, even worse than anything that has been revealed by the investigations by committees of this House. I think hon. members of this House will agree with me in that. This matter is one which it behooves every member of the House to carefully consider—this question of the bearing of protection in such cases. If a man comes, hat in hand, and asks the Government for a special Act of Parliament in his favour—that is what it amounts to, for every one of these little items in the tariff favouring this or that manufacturer, is, in effect, if not in form, a separate Act of Parliament—can that man be considered as an independent member of this community and as free to exercise his right in a proper manner as a man who has not placed himself in that position? Then, the hon. gentleman told us that the tariff, as amended by the Government, was such as to give incidental protection, but the Finance Minister did not so describe it. Under a revenue tariff by which I understand a tariff that is levied for the purpose of raising a revenue—there may be incidental protection to the person manufacturing an article upon which a duty is levied. But in such a case the Government is not looking to the amount of protection that will be given to the individual; that protection is merely an incident of the tariff. But the hon. Finance Minister does not so describe the tariff which he has placed before us. He describes it as a protective tariff, which it is, a tariff levied, not with a view to raising a certain amount of revenue, but to providing rates upon manufactured articles sufficient to give the Canadian manufacturer the Canadian market for these goods. There is a

radical difference between the two principles. And, that I may not be charged with misrepresenting the Finance Minister, let me read just what he did say in reference to that matter :

I want to state here that the Government of to-day and the party which supports the Government to-day take their stand squarely and fairly upon the embodiment and upon the preservation of the principle of protection in the tariff, the degree of that protection to be according to the circumstances of industry, and the conditions of business and of trade at the present time.

The interest of the manufacturer is to be considered first and above all, and if any revenue accrue, that is a mere incident of the tariff. In another place the hon. Finance Minister said that they

Must take cognizance of the varying conditions of different industries and must mete out to them, on the principle which we have stated, the protection which is reasonably due to them and necessary in order to maintain them in their position in this country.

I quote these words to show the hon. gentleman that the Finance Minister did not say that he was adopting a revenue tariff which would give incidental protection. The Finance Minister stated over and over again, that they were adhering to the principle of the National Policy, and he took care to define that in different parts of his speech, so as to show that protection to the manufacturers of this country was his chief aim, and that, if any revenue accrued, it was simply an incident. Then he informed us that they had seen all the manufacturers, and that the tariff was right now, and had been right, for cottons and woollens, he said, were better and as cheap as in any other country. That was his broad statement in reference to that matter. Well, now, it struck me at the time, as it must have struck other gentlemen in the House, to ask, if cottons and woollens were as good and as cheap under the late tariff, before the changes were made, as those articles could be had in any other country, why have the changes been proposed? That is a question I would like to have answered by any hon. gentleman who may speak from the other side. That position was taken by the Minister of Finance and taken by the Minister of Railways. I ask him, then, what is the object of making these changes in the tariff? He next stated that if the Liberal party came into power they would wipe out every manufacturing industry in the country. Well, that is a very broad statement. Where does he find it? He does not find it in the resolution that embodies the policy of the Liberal party as submitted by the hon. member for South Oxford. Who is there warring upon the manufacturers of this country? Who are those gentlemen that assume to speak in the name of the manufacturers of this country? Who has given them authority to do so? We have had revenue tariffs in operation in

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this country before. Was every manufacturer wiped out under that tariff? I think I see manufacturers to the right and left of me who can testify that they were in business and doing well. I think some hon. gentlemen on this side of the House gave testimony before a committee of this House, and said that they were doing well. A great many agricultural implement manufacturers in the country were summoned before a committee of this House, and you can read the evidence they gave; they were all satisfied, and were doing well, and wanted no changes in the tariff. I could point you to the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia when the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie's Government was in power, and I can say that there was as much pride in the Canadian breast at the exhibition of our manufactures at Philadelphia as there was in gazing at the exhibition of Canadian manufactures in Chicago within the past year. Take your census returns, and what will you find? Manufacturing industries of all kinds were in existence all over the country, and scarcely a new manufacturing industry has been started since the inception of the National Policy. Some of the same kind have been started, I grant you, but that has been one of the courses that have followed in the wake of the National Policy. It creates a hot-bed, and brings capital into enterprises which glut the market. After a few years of prosperity the market became glutted, and millions of capital were sunk and lost, and property was sacrificed. Gentlemen who may have bought that property at a sacrifice are now able, perhaps, to make something out of what was lost by those who at first placed their money in the business. The hon. gentleman said that the taxes we had in 1878 were heavier than they are now. That is a very strange statement for any one to make. I want to give hon. gentlemen opposite what I consider is a true way of measuring this, because the mere assertion made on one side of the House or the other will carry no weight. I would ask those hon. gentlemen to turn to page 11 of the Trade and Navigation Returns, prepared, not by Mr. Laurier or by the member for South Oxford, but prepared by the Government themselves, and what is that statement? One of the columns shows the amount of Customs duties paid per head of the population. That is the way to measure your taxation. Take the taxes of 1878 and see how much was paid by the population then. You will find it was \$3.13 per head. Take the sum this last year, and it was \$4.26 per head. That only gives an idea of the taxation levied that went into the revenue. As to the other amount taken from the people which did not find its way into the revenue, the Minister of Railways laughed at the estimate of it made by the member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright); but that a large amount did not go into the revenue we are not forced to prove now by hon. gentlemen whose testimony will not be taken by

the other side of the House, because we are in the position since last night of being able to prove it by the statement of the Finance Minister himself, who said that during the early years of the adoption of the protective principle the manufacturers would take advantage of the rate of duty that was levied on the article, and charge that much more for it. The hon. member for South Oxford placed the sum at one thousand millions of dollars, and the Minister of Railways ridiculed the amount as absurd. I do not know that I place the amount at that figure, for I have no means of making a correct estimate. The Minister of Railways asked where was the thousand millions of dollars; if somebody lost the amount it must have gone somewhere and somebody must have got it. That does not necessarily follow. It might have cost the manufacturers more to produce the goods; they might not have had the thousand of millions, if we take that figure for illustration, in their pockets, but that amount might nevertheless have come out of the pockets of the consumers. The country can obtain some idea of the burden of taxation that has been placed on the people if a series of years is taken as a basis for obtaining a per capita calculation, such as that which the Minister of Trade and Commerce has furnished to Parliament. If hon. gentlemen will look ten years back they will find that over \$57,000,000 extra taxation has been wrung out of the people over and above what the Mackenzie Government would have taken out in the same length of time. So the House can get a measure and weigh the subject accurately in this light. There is no way in which these figures may be weakened. Hon. gentlemen may say: That will not do, because there were deficits under the Mackenzie regime and surpluses under their regime. Granted; but surpluses and deficits take their place in the public debt and manifest themselves one way or another, and when \$57,000,000 of extra taxation have been taken out of the people by this Administration in ten years more than would have been taken under the Mackenzie regime, there were also two million dollars a year added to the public debt more under hon. gentlemen opposite than during the Mackenzie Administration. Stated in that way, you have some idea of the excessive taxation that is wrung from the people of the country, and I am speaking now of the direct taxation, the receipts from which went into the Treasury. As to the indirect taxation, that which has gone to pay the manufacturers of the home products, whether they were not able to manufacture as cheaply or whether being able to manufacture as cheaply they took advantage to enrich themselves, a vast amount, whatever you may estimate it to be, was taken from the people in addition to the amount of \$57,000,000. It is a serious matter when you speak of \$57,000,000; and you are lost in the magnitude of the figures, and it is only when you make some comparisons that you gain some

idea of the sum. When I tell the House that during the last ten years the value of all our wheat raised in Canada and exported, together with the value of our flour ground in the Dominion, and also all oats and hay exported are put together, did not equal the amount of excessive taxation taken from the people under this tariff during the ten years, they can understand how the country has been impoverished and see pretty clearly the reason why the Dominion has not made the progress it should have done. Then the Minister of Railways passed on to sugar, and said we had our sugar as cheap as any people. The question occurs again. Then why alter the sugar duties? Will the hon. member from Halifax (Mr. Stairs) tell me why, when we were having sugar under the tariff in existence the day before yesterday as cheap, or even cheaper, as he said, than the people in New York were obtaining it, it was deemed necessary to alter the sugar duties; why does the Government now claim credit for altering them, and say that they are reducing the burdens of taxation? The very fact that they have altered the duties shows that they were cognizant of the fact that the duties were a burden on the country. What is the result of it, and how has it been brought about? Three years ago I offered a resolution in the House asking that sugars up to No. 16 Dutch standard in colour shall be admitted free of duty, and the duty on refined sugar reduced to half a cent a pound. The Finance Minister has adopted the resolution so far as admitting the sugar up to No. 16 was concerned, but has kept the duty on all refined sugars over that number, placing it at 64 cents per 100 lbs. instead of 80 cents, as previously. If the Finance Minister had been in his place, I would have asked him for some information on this point, but as the Controller of Customs is here, I will ask him this question. Is it the intention under the resolution that all sugars up to No. 16 Dutch standard in colour shall be admitted duty free? There are two clauses in the tariff, and one conflicts with the other.

Mr. WALLACE. I think the clauses are pretty clear, and refers only to sugars that are not refined sugars.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Then refined sugar however low in colour will not come in duty free.

Mr. WALLACE. I think so.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). One of the resolutions so enacts, but if the hon. gentleman will look at the free list schedule he will see it is not expressed, but it is simply stated that all sugars under No. 16 Dutch standard in colour shall come in free. I desire to ask the Controller of Customs further, if he knows what the American rule is in regard to this matter? They admit No. 16 free; do they admit all sugars?

Mr. WALLACE. I think not.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). My impression was that they did. I will read to the House the motion I submitted. The proposition was :

That all sugars above No. 14 Dutch standard in colour and refined sugars of all kinds, grades or standards, and all sugar syrups derived from refined sugars shall pay a specific duty of $\frac{1}{16}$ of a cent per pound.

I moved in amendment :

That all sugars No. 16 and under Dutch standard in colour shall be admitted free of duty and that the duty on all sugars over No. 16 Dutch standard in colour be reduced to one-half cent per pound.

The Finance Minister has moved in that direction, but has not gone the whole length of my proposition. The Government are granting, and I give them credit for it, some relief to the trade and conferring benefit on the consumers by admitting raw sugars up to No. 16 Dutch standard in colour, while before they excluded all under No. 14. That will let in some grocery sugars and give some relief. They have also reduced the duty from 80 cents on refined grade to 64 cents. But the question occurs, if sugars was so cheap before, what necessity exists for making the change? To ask the question is to answer it. Then the Minister of Railways declared he never heard of any principle being adopted by the member from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). The amendment proposed had just been read to the House, and the hon. Minister could ascertain what its terms were. The hon. Minister also spoke of the Opposition seeking to wipe out all manufacturing at one fell blow. If the hon. gentleman had read the amendment he would have found that such was not our intention, and that we did not desire to do anything unjust, although the hon. gentleman could perhaps scarcely conceive of a Liberal Administration so acting in any case or under any circumstances. The amendment enunciating the policy of the hon. members on this side of the House is one that is endorsed by the country. What had been the policy of the hon. gentlemen opposite? The Minister of Finance in his opening remarks spoke of the National Policy and its enactment, stating that it had a history. Yes, it had a history; and what is that history? Its history was the coming into power through promises and pledges, not fulfilled, the party of the hon. gentleman opposite, who levied an increased rate of taxation year after year and granted benefits and favours to manufacturers. So the hon. gentlemen opposite proceeded, until at length in the history of their policy a time arrived when they began to find that the people were not at their back as they had calculated they were in days gone by; a feeling of panic took possession of the hon. gentlemen opposite, and last session they promised they would have a committee in-

Mr. PATERSON (Brant).

interview manufacturers to see if any reductions could be made, and this year we have the history of the inquiry in the resolutions introduced to the House, forced from the hon. gentlemen opposite, by which some amendments and changes were made granting relief in certain directions, on account of a feeling prevailing in the country that the people would no longer submit to the unjust system of taxation that the National Policy had imposed on them. To-night the Opposition stand in the position of knowing that every concession made in the tariff for which hon. gentlemen opposite claim credit is a concession demanded by the Opposition in a formal manner and refused by hon. gentlemen year after year. The Minister of Finance has told us that he is relieving the burdens of the people to the extent of a million and a half dollars per year by the reductions that he has made, slight as they are, in the tariff. I ask hon. gentlemen opposite, and I ask the country to weigh the amount that has been taken out of them during these last fifteen years, if the slight reductions that have been made on a few articles give them a relief of one and a half million dollars in one year. They can measure the amount of taxation that has been imposed upon them in that way. We find that the speeches of the Ministers this year vary a little—though that of the Minister of Railways did not—from their speeches of previous years. We find the Minister of Finance saying that he was proposing certain changes, but that the principle of the National Policy would be maintained. He told us that the National Policy was very perfect, which led the leader of the Opposition to ask him: Why, if it was so perfect, he intended to change it. As the Finance Minister came near the point in his speech where he was to announce that this perfect piece of machinery was to be taken in pieces somewhat, and its parts changed, he deemed it necessary to assume an apologetic tone and he said: He did it, and made these changes with some difficulty, because of two reasons. One reason was: That a state of depression existed in the country at the present time, and the other: That we were in the face of a falling revenue; and yet he said: We cling to the principle of the National Policy in its entirety, that policy which has a history. Well, what was the history of the inception of the National Policy? Then, a period of depression was existing; then there was a revenue that was short of the requirements, and the remedy then proposed by the National Policy to obviate these difficulties was to double up the taxation. But now, under the same condition of things prevailing, the Finance Minister says: Our policy is to reduce the taxation on certain things. Hon. gentlemen will see that their programme varies somewhat. I am not desirous of reading extracts, nor will I do so further than just to read one made by a member of the Government, which will give us what

has been the reiterated statement which was reiterated by the Minister of Railways to-night. This member of the Government speaking away back in the year 1888 said :

I have repeated and I repeat it again, that the National Policy has reduced the price of everything manufactured in this country. Yes, I could go over the list of one hundred articles in common use in this country : cotton goods, woollen goods, iron goods, agricultural implements, everything that is consumed by the farmers, by the artisans, by all classes of the people, and I could demonstrate one after the other that all these articles are reduced in price on account of the National Policy.

And now we find these gentlemen reducing the protection that is upon certain articles, and saying, that they are going to relieve the country ; while if their previous statements were correct, they benefited the people of this country by their National Policy, making it thereby a means of cheapening the goods that they were using. We heard the Minister of Finance boasting because our trade with Great Britain had increased. We rejoice with him in the increase of trade with Great Britain. We rejoice in the increase of trade with any country ; but for my part I feel that there is a little drawback to the joy which we experience in the extension of our trade with Great Britain, because as I conceive, it has in measure resulted from the fact that another and a better market nearer by has been closed to us, for much we have to sell. Therefore it is that our products, that under more favourable conditions would find a market to the south of us, being shut out from that market, had to find the market that is open for the products of all the world in England ; but they had to take the price that was there offered. The desire of the Liberal party has been, as expressed by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), as embodied in the resolution which contains the policy of the Liberal party ; that we desire an extension of the trade of this country with all nations, but especially with the United States and Great Britain. I believe, Sir, that freer trade relations with the people to the south of us would result in greater prosperity to this country, and we believe it our bounden duty, and the duty of the members of this Government and of any other Government, to do all that they can in a legitimate and honourable way to promote freedom of trade between these two countries. There is a point in the tariff that I would like to ask a little information upon, and that is, with reference to the bounty on iron. If I understood the Finance Minister aright, he said that bounty was to be continued for five years, and if, during the term of five years, any new industry was started in that line, that there should be a continuation to that establishment of the increase of that bounty for five years from the date of its inception. I would ask the Controller of Customs, in the absence

of the Finance Minister : Do I understand that it is the policy of the Government, when the present established iron works that are entitled to claim this bounty, will have it for five years from now ; and, say, at the end of four years from now another new establishment starts, that they shall have it five years from that time, but that the present established manufacturers shall not have the benefit of it, say, to the end of the five years ?

Some hon. MEMBERS. Answer.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Perhaps the Minister of Railways, who wanted the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) to give some information on the tariff, would oblige by answering the question.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I do not think it is usual to ask questions of that kind in the course of a debate such as this. When we are in committee, the freedom of committee makes it more convenient, and is the proper time for such questions.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). I beg the First Minister's pardon, but the rule he has laid down is something entirely different from anything I ever witnessed for twenty-one years in Parliament. I never knew anything like it. The idea of the Government introducing tariff measures upon which there is no one present who can answer such a simple question, seems to me marvellous. It is especially so in the light of the Minister of Railways complaining that the member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) had not gone into the whole matter in detail and given some information in connection with it. It would seem that the members of the Government certainly require information on the subject.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. That is not the question. It is not a fact that there is nobody present to give information or to answer the question. The hon. gentleman commenced to ask two or three questions about sugar, and they were answered. If the hon. gentleman yields the floor, I presume another gentleman will take it.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Answer.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The hon. gentleman, perhaps, did not understand me. My point was, that it is not consistent with the practice of the House, as regards debate, for an hon. member, in the course of his speech, to put a question to another member of the House. If he does so, it would seem that he should surrender the floor, and the hon. gentleman who takes the floor will continue the debate.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I must remark that this is the first time that I have ever heard such an objection taken, when we have been debating a measure of this kind in Ways and Means, and the first

time that I have ever known the Government who introduced such a measure to refuse to give information to an hon. member without his surrendering the floor.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The hon. gentleman knows that he has frequently agreed that the House should go into committee in order that the members might have the freedom that the hon. member for South Brant (Mr. Paterson) claims that he should have without the House going into committee.

Mr. CASEY. Notwithstanding the opinion of the hon. First Minister, it has been the custom, for twenty-two years past, to answer a question casually asked in the course of a speech.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. One or two questions have been answered already, and no objection has been taken; but if there is to be a regular cross-examination, that is another matter.

Mr. CASEY. The hon. gentleman does not like to be cross-examined on his own measure. That seems to be the objection.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. At the proper stage, when the proper time comes for cross-examination, we will not object.

Mr. SPEAKER. It seems to me that it is not improper for the hon. gentleman to ask the question. The Government may or may not answer it.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Mr. Speaker, the hon. gentleman shall be answered, and answered fully, at the proper time.

Mr. PATERSON. I have to rejoice that, owing to Mr. Speaker's parliamentary knowledge, I am permitted to take the floor again, which I would not have been permitted to do under the ruling of the hon. First Minister.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Not at all. The hon. gentleman quite misunderstood me.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). I will not detain the House much longer. The desirable thing seems to be that we should go into the committee, where we shall get the information that we want. I will simply say to the hon. First Minister that if he thinks I wished to embarrass the Government, he is entirely wrong. I was not sure as to the meaning of the tariff with reference to the sugar duties; and it was no desire to entrap anybody, but with a pure desire to get information that I asked the question. I looked over the 'Citizen,' which was the only means I had of ascertaining what the tariff was, and I found that the wording in regard to the free articles of sugar conflicted with the wording in regard to the dutiable articles, and I asked the question in the hope of having the matter explained. I had a right to expect that the Controller of Customs, who is supposed to know something of these matters in the absence of the Finance Minister, would have been able to answer me; and I had a right to expect that the Finance Min-

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT.

ister, if he is well—I hope he is not absent through illness—would be present in the House to answer a question like that. But, Sir, the impression on the minds of the people of this country—an impression which is growing stronger day by day—is that this country is governed by a number of men who are not possessed of business ability to manage the affairs of the country. If there is one feeling that has taken possession of the country more firmly and strongly than another, it is that the men sitting on the Treasury benches are unable to grasp the real condition of the country and to manage its affairs as they ought to be managed. Their action shows their want of ability. They were not able to make up their minds on the tariff last year; that was the first awakening of the country to the fact. With a hundred odd supporters behind them, they could not confer with them in order to find out what changes should be made; but they had to appoint a commission to go through the country, hither and thither; and Parliament has to be delayed to the last moment before they can make up their minds to introduce a tariff measure. And when it is introduced, what do we find? Clerical errors made; members of the Government sitting in their seats, from the First Minister down, unable to state the particulars of the tariff or the items contained in it. Not having furnished the members of the House with a printed list from which they could see for themselves, when information is asked of them, they are not able to give it, but instead, when a member asks for information, they try to deprive him of the floor on false pretenses. Sir, that is their line. But before this tariff discussion is over, we will endeavour in committee to get the information that we have not been able to get at the present time. After refusing the advice and instruction given by the Opposition year after year, by formal resolutions moved in this House, the Government now, years after, come down prepared to eat their own votes and their own speeches, because they know that the people have found out that what the Opposition years ago declared for is in the interest of the country, and they are doing from dread what they did not dare to do before. They present the spectacle in one session of having a royal commissioner sent to negotiate a treaty with a foreign power—a treaty negotiated in the name of the Government and to be ratified by this Parliament—and the hon. gentleman leading the Government declaring that he could not see any good that there was in the treaty, and that he did not know whether they would ratify it or not. Twelve months have gone by, and still they do not know whether they should ratify this treaty or not, until they see a committee of wine growers, and another committee from some other part of Canada, to tell them what they should do about it. With the view of extending foreign trade, they send missions here and missions there, and expend public money for

the purpose, without having any return from it all; the volume of trade during the last few years being not much greater than it was during the revenue period fifteen years ago. Cramped and confined as the trade of Canada is, they have been spending millions of money; and they have been going hither and thither throughout the country, trying to tickle the people's ears with tales of this and tales of that, while to-day business is depressed, commerce hampered, and men out of employment to as great an extent, I venture to say, as ever before in this country. While a wave of distress is sweeping over the country, these hon. gentlemen sit there and claim credit for what little prosperity we enjoy. I feel that we are more indebted to Providence in giving us the products of our natural resources than to their management of the finances of the country. Sir, I will not take up any more time. There will be an opportunity to speak on this question when we get into committee. I will therefore take my seat, just simply remarking that I think that in the conduct of the business of this House, we should have opportunities for discussing intelligently these Ways and Means, when, as the hon. Minister of Railways said, there will be some person present to give us information as to what the propositions of the Government are and as to what they expect to achieve by the amendments they have brought down.

Mr. WALLACE. I move the adjournment of the debate, and before doing so I beg to inform the hon. gentleman who has taken his seat, and who waxed so eloquent in the latter part of his speech over an imaginary grievance, that if he had gone to his box he would have got the printed information which was in every member's box at four or five o'clock in the afternoon.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Not so.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 11.45.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, 29th March, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE DEBATES.

Mr. LaRIVIERE moved:

That the First Report of the Committee appointed to supervise the Official Report of the Debates of this House during the present session be concurred in, with the exception of paragraphs 2 and 3 thereof.

He said: This report comprises four items: 1st, that Mr. A. C. Campbell be appointed

to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of the late Thomas J. Richardson; 2nd, that a certain gratuity be given to the widow of the late Mr. Richardson; 3rd, that an extra allowance be granted the amanuenses for their work last session; 4th, that the quorum of the committee be reduced from 8 to 5 members. The motion I now make is in respect to the first and last items, namely, the recommendation in favour of the appointment of Mr. Campbell, and a reduction of the quorum of the committee.

Motion agreed to, and report concurred in.

RETURNS ORDERED.

Return, showing: 1. How many students have graduated from the Royal Military College since its establishment? 2. How many of these graduates are now in the public service of Canada, and how many in the service of the Imperial Government? 3. How much has been expended on capital account and how much on income since the college was established? 4. How many students graduated in 1893? 5. How many students are now in attendance? 6. What is the total amount of salaries paid each year, of all persons employed in connection with such college? 7. Who is the commandant of the college? What is his salary: what perquisites, if any in the way of free residence, maintenance thereof, supplies, servants or otherwise, does he enjoy? 8. Was a residence for the use of the commandant purchased? If so, what was the purchase money, and what amount has been expended thereon by the Government since the purchase.—(Mr. Mulock.)

Statement showing the amount expended in the province of Nova Scotia since 1878, by counties, on railways, harbours, breakwaters, wharfs and all other public works in said province.—(Mr. Fraser.)

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 14) to amend the Railway Act.—(Mr. Mulock.)

Bill (No. 15) to amend the Act respecting the Senate and the House of Commons.—(Mr. Mulock.)

PREVENTION OF LOTTERIES.

Mr. CHARLTON moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 16) to amend the Criminal Code, 1892, for the purpose of more effectually preventing lotteries.

Mr. LAURIER. Explain.

Mr. CHARLTON. The object of the Bill is to prohibit church raffles and lotteries which are permitted under paragraph "b" of subsection 6 of section 201 of the Criminal Code of 1892; also to strike out paragraph "c" of the same subsection and section, which permits the drawing of paintings, art lotteries, under which a lottery has been established, where prizes are issued to the amount of \$100,000. The prizes draw paintings, and the drawer of the painting is permitted to cash the nominal value of

it at 50 cents on the dollar. The lottery is nothing more or less than a cash lottery; not as honestly managed as the celebrated lottery of Louisiana, because the discount in this case is 50 per cent instead of 30 per cent as in the other. It is used as a lottery pure and simple, and for that reason I think we are called upon to repeal the clause which permits it.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

CIVIL SERVICE—SUPERANNUATION.

Mr. McMULLEN moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 17) to amend the Civil Service Superannuation Act.

Mr. MULLOCK. Explain.

Mr. McMULLEN. The intention of the Bill is to provide that the superannuation system shall not apply to any person taken into the Civil Service after the passing of the Act. It also provides that those who are now in the Civil Service shall not have the right to elect whether they will continue to participate in the rights of superannuation, or whether they will elect to comply with the provisions of this proposed Act. It also provides that the sum now deducted from the salary of civil servants shall continue to be deducted, and shall bear interest at the rate of 4 per cent on each year, and shall remain at the credit of the civil servant, and shall be paid to him when he retires from the service, or to his legal representatives in the case of his dying in the service. It also provides that it shall in no way affect the rights of those who are now upon the superannuated list.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

FISHERY OVERSEER TIMOTHY McQUEEN.

Mr. CAMPBELL asked, 1. Whether the Government has dispensed with the services of Timothy McQueen, fishery overseer in the county of Kent, Ontario? What were the reasons that induced the Government to dismiss this officer? 3. Has a successor been appointed in his place? If so, when was he appointed? What is his name, and what is his salary?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. 1. The services of Timothy McQueen, overseer, Kent County, Ont., were dispensed with. 2. For failing to prevent illegal fishing in his district and for assisting in a meeting called to protest against the action of the Department of Marine and Fisheries; seining in the River Thames having been prohibited. 3. Mr. Theodore Peltier, of Dover South, was appointed in Mr. McQueen's place on the 2nd November, 1892, at a salary of \$150 per annum, being the same as that of his predecessor.

Mr. CHARLTON.

ACCOUNT OF THE EXCHANGE BANK.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT asked, Has the final dividend on account of the Exchange Bank been paid, and if so, what sum remains due to the Government? Have any proceedings been taken to recover the amount due to the Government from the guarantor of the original deposit?

Mr. FOSTER. The answer to the first question is yes; \$81,309.63 remains due to the Government. No proceedings have been taken.

MANUALS FOR THE MILITIA.

Mr. HUGHES asked, Why have copies of the new Infantry Drill, 1893, been issued only to officers commanding corps and to officers commanding companies, to the exclusion of field officers and adjutants? To what corps and to what officers in each corps have the Manual of Firing and Bayonet Exercises been issued? Why have they not been issued to the officers in general?

Mr. PATTERSON (Huron). I gave instruction some time ago that every officer and non-commissioned officer in the active force should be furnished with copies of these books free of charge. If the order has not been carried out, it is because the supply ran short; but additional books have been ordered, and as soon as they are received the officers and non-commissioned officers will be supplied.

MARTINI-METFORD RIFLES.

Mr. HUGHES asked, 1. What number, if any, Martini-Metford or other new rifles, have been purchased for the militia by the Government during the years 1892-93 and 1893-94? 2. To what corps and under what conditions are those rifles to be issued? 3. Are any further contracts for new rifles made?

Mr. PATTERSON (Huron) Arrangements have been made for the purchase of 91 stand of arms of the Martini-Metford rifles. As none of the new rifles have been yet received in the country, the other questions are somewhat premature.

SUB-COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS, CAMPBELLFORD.

Mr. McMULLEN asked, 1. If one William Morton, a sub-collector of customs at Campbellford, was suspended for a misappropriation of funds? If so, what was the amount of the misappropriation? 2. Was the said Morton reappointed, and was he again suspended or dismissed for shortage in funds collected, and to what amount? 3. Were his sureties called on to pay the amount of his misappropriation? If so, was the amount collected from his sureties? If not, why not, and what amount yet remains unpaid? 4.

Who were his sureties? 5. Who has been appointed in his place and at what salary? 6. Does the present appointee perform the duties of the position or are they performed by a substitute?

Mr. WALLACE. When the inspector made his inspection at Campbellford in 1892, on the 1st of August, he found the sub-collector to be addicted to the excessive use of intoxicating liquors and that his accounts showed a shortage of \$138.21. The officer was placed under suspension. He reformed his habits, immediately made good the amount which was found to be deficient through carelessness, owing to his irregular habits, and on his promising to give up the use of liquor, was reappointed. On the 31st of October, 1893, the records showed that he was behind in his payments \$832.80, and he was dismissed. He was called upon for the amount, but failed to make it good. The matter was, therefore, placed in the hands of the Department of Justice, who have instituted proceedings to recover the sum from the sureties. That is the way the matter stands at present. The sureties are H. Dunham and R. Stillman. S. H. Wilson, of the special staff, who is in receipt of a salary of \$600, was appointed temporarily to his place; and, as soon as the inspection was completed, the accounts straightened out and the back work caught up. Mr. Henry Dunham was appointed at a salary of \$400 per annum, being the same rate as that paid to the former sub-collector. I understand that Mr. Dunham performs the duties.

RETIREMENT OF LIEUT.-COL. VILLIERS.

Mr. HUGHES asked. Under what authority and for what cause was Lieut.-Col. Villiers, late one of the Deputy Adjutants General of Canada, placed on the retired list?

Mr. PATTERSON (Huron). Lieut.-Col. Villiers was placed on the retired list by order of His Excellency the Governor General in Council, upon the recommendation of the General Officer Commanding, on account of his advanced age.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

House resumed adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Foster:

That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair for the House to go into Committee of Ways and Means; and the motion of Sir Richard Cartwright in amendment thereto.

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Speaker, before the House adjourned last evening, the hon. member for South Brant (Mr. Paterson) became highly indignant because some of the questions he propounded were not answered. I do not see that hon. member in his place at the moment, but I desire to say that he was

informed the day before on the very questions about which he desired the information last night. I will take up a little time of the House by reading from the report of the proceedings of the day before, in reference to a question asked by the hon. member in connection with the bounties paid for the production of iron:

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Will the old concerns go on for five years?

Mr. FOSTER. They go on five years from this date.

Mr. CHARLTON. How will it be in the case of one starting four years from this date?

Mr. FOSTER. It will have the five years' bounty in the same way.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). That one concern, but not the others?

Mr. FOSTER. Not the others.

So that the whole information which the hon. member was so anxious to obtain last night he had already obtained from the hon. Finance Minister. Sir, I was much struck with the brilliant display of fireworks that the hon. member for South Brant presented before the House when he considered himself refused the information that he had already in his possession. He made a long and laboured speech, in which he did not attack the new tariff now submitted by the Government to the House, because it is one which I believe will commend itself to the people of Canada, and I believe he knows it. But, Sir, what was the hon. gentleman's claim? He claimed that this tariff was due to the Opposition—that every concession contained in it had been forced from the Government by the demands of the Opposition. Sir, I repudiate such an assertion. The demands made by the Opposition, during the last half dozen years, were, as the House well knows, demands for Reciprocity and Commercial Union with the United States.

An hon. MEMBER. Not at all.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; and that we should give to the United States as a natural consequence of their Unrestricted Reciprocity or Commercial Union, the control of the fiscal affairs of this country, and should discriminate against Great Britain; and the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) has again during the last few days announced this to be their policy. These were the proposals made by the Opposition in this House; and when the hon. member for South Brant says that we are borrowing their ammunition, we are in a position to repudiate the charge. We have no sympathy with their objects as laid down in their speeches and resolutions; and the tariff now submitted to the House and the country for approval does not contain one word on the lines laid down by hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House. On the contrary, we have carried out the policy ad-

vocated by us successfully before the country during the last fifteen years. We adopted that policy in 1878. The people endorsed it then and have repeatedly endorsed it since, and it is the same policy we are continuing to-day. What has been the policy of the Opposition? It has been one of change from year to year, according as the varying circumstances of their wretched condition demanded, and it has varied in each province of the Dominion to suit the political exigencies of each particular province. Our policy has, on the contrary, been one for the whole Dominion, on the lines laid down in 1878 and steadfastly adhered to ever since. It may be asked, why then make any changes as you are doing? The answer is, there is no policy that is perfect. We are not perfect ourselves, although the country admits that we are a great deal nearer perfection than hon. gentlemen opposite.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. By gerrymander.

Mr. WALLACE. No, sir; not by gerrymander, but by the majority of the votes of the people. The hon. gentleman himself would need a gerrymandered constituency to elect him. I say that we have not changed our policy, but we have adapted the tariff to the changing circumstances and necessities of the country. The conditions have changed, prices have varied, some manufactures have prospered and adapted themselves to the conditions required in the country. Some have not been so successful; and we have, after the most careful examination of every interest—not the manufacturing interest alone, but the mining, farming, and every other interest—after a careful examination into their wants, conditions and circumstances, we have brought down this policy for the approval of this House; and I am gratified to see in the papers to-day that the bankers of this country—the great barometers of the prosperity of the country—have signified their approval of this policy as one calculated, not to demoralize or injure, but to promote every industry in this country. Now, Mr. Speaker, the hon. member for South Brant (Mr. Paterson) said that we had adopted resolutions forced upon us. He said that the Opposition had led the way, and he particularly referred to the question of sugar. Two years ago, he said, he had made a motion in this House in the line of the change in the sugar duties which we have adopted to-day. Well, if the hon. member for South Brant refers to his policy, and the policy of those acting with him, in recent years, I have already said that we repudiate it. But if he refers to many years before, when he held different opinions, we can endorse, to some extent, at any rate, the views he then held. It may be interesting, more particularly to the younger members of the House, to be informed what were the views of the hon. member for South Brant (Mr. Paterson) before he was coerced by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir

Mr. WALLACE.

Richard Cartwright). Why, the hon. member for South Brant said then that he was a friend of the farmers and bound to give them more protection. In one speech he said:

If he thought that the Administration—that is the Administration of Mr. Mackenzie, of which the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) was Finance Minister—if he thought that Administration was about to retrograde in regard to incidental protection and sweep away the duties he would withdraw his confidence from it, but they had no intimation that such a step was contemplated, and, in point of fact, the contrary was announced.

He said still further:

No doubt throughout the length and breadth of the country this question—the question of protection to agriculture—agitates all classes of our community, how their interests may be bettered, and especially on the part of the farmers for improvement in their condition. The subject is stirring them to their very depths. At my last election when my opponent told them that they need not expect any protection from the Reform Government, I had to assure them that whenever this subject came up in the House I would raise my voice in their behalf.

When did the hon. gentleman ever raise his voice? Perhaps he raised his voice, as the hon. member for Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) once remarked, almost sufficiently to raise the roof. But did he raise his voice in behalf of protection to the agricultural interests of the country to which he had solemnly pledged himself? The record shows that whenever protection to the agricultural interests was proposed, he was always to be found, when he did vote, voting against it. So I might go on quoting the opinions of the hon. gentleman in days gone by. With reference to our hon. friend from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) when he could not abuse the tariff, he did what lawyers are said to do when they have a bad case. He abused the plaintiff's attorney. The hon. gentleman gave his attention to abusing the Finance Minister. Quite the contrary course he took in a recent speech, when inviting an hon. member for this House to join his party, or, at least, referring to him as having joined that party—he then said to the members of the Opposition: You must not jeer at the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy); you must not say anything against him, though the temptation may be great; but you must welcome him in. I will read a few words of what he did say on that occasion, for the edification of the House. In a speech delivered at the Liberal convention held in Ottawa last June, the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) said:

Now, I would like to say a word or two as to our Conservative friends who of late have become free-traders, or perhaps more correctly speaking, the advocates of a revenue tariff. I have noticed in certain quarters a disposition on the part of

some of our friends—a natural disposition perhaps—rather to jeer at those gentlemen, who, after all said and done, have merely come back—or forward, whichever way you choose to take it—to the position the Reform party occupied in 1878. You must remember that there is more joy among the angels over one Conservative sinner that repenteth than over ninety and nine just Liberals that need no repentance. Now, from whatever cause it springs, or whatever may be the reason for it, I am exceedingly glad of the change in these men, and I welcome them with the greatest possible pleasure.

In this language, the hon. gentleman welcomed the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) into his ranks, and I am sure, Mr. Speaker, I will be pardoned for emphasizing his reference to the cause for the changed front of these gentlemen.

Now, the hon. member for South Brant (Mr. Paterson) referred to the expenditure of this country. The hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) also referred to it at great length. The Tories, he said, promised us an economical government. Well, Sir, we did, and we are giving it to the country. I shall prove this statement. I shall ask the House to compare our expenditure with that of the Grit Government in the various local legislatures, and see which has redeemed the pledge of economy. The hon. member for South Brant, a year ago, I believe, made the statement: that two millions more were added each year to the public debt during the Tory regime than during the Mackenzie regime. Now, Mr. Speaker, what are the facts with regard to the increase of the public debt? The increase in the public debt during the five years the Reform party was in power was almost exactly forty millions of dollars, or at the rate of eight millions of dollars per annum. The increase of the public debt in the fifteen years of Conservative rule, since that time, has been ninety-eight millions. But, Sir, of this total amount ten millions of dollars represent debts of the provinces which were simply assumed by the Dominion under the Conservative rule; so that the real addition to the debt was eighty-eight millions of dollars. And, if you hold the Conservatives responsible for all the expenditure—and we are quite willing to bear that responsibility—you find that the actual facts are that less than six millions of dollars a year was added to the public debt under Conservative rule, as compared with eight millions of dollars a year added under Reform rule. In our period we have built the Canadian Pacific Railway, enlarged canals, built and bonused other railroads, and opened up and developed every portion of the Dominion. Sir, we further find that, during the time the Reform party were in power, and even after they were removed from office, they made it their boast that the whole increase of the public debt during their regime was because of liabilities incurred by the Conservative party before the first Conserva-

tive Government was put out. What does that mean, Mr. Speaker? It means that, during the five years the Reformers were in power, they never initiated a public work, they never expended a dollar to improve the condition of the affairs of this country. And, Sir, the people realized that, and at the very first opportunity they declared their condemnation of such a policy. They said: We do not want a Government that makes it a proud boast that they have never spent a dollar to improve the condition of the people: we want a Government that will undertake so to direct the affairs of the country that the condition of the country shall be made better. Therefore, they applied to the leader of the Conservative party, who listened to their request and assumed the reins of power; and the Conservative party have successfully governed this country ever since. Now, Mr. Speaker, with regard to the annual expenditure, what do we find? We find that, notwithstanding all the services required for the effective carrying on of the affairs of the country, during the last five years the public expenditures on consolidated revenue account have stood at about the same amount—about thirty-six and three-quarters millions of dollars per annum. In 1889 the expenditure was \$36,917,000; in 1893 it was \$36,814,000, and in the years intervening it has stood practically at the same figures. And how about the public indebtedness? Notwithstanding that we have assumed great responsibilities, notwithstanding that we have carried almost to completion the Sault Ste. Marie Canal, a most important link in the chain of our navigation; notwithstanding that we are enlarging the canals along the St. Lawrence route; notwithstanding that we are promoting public works and railways in every part of the Dominion these past five years—still the public debt increased by only \$4,000,000. In 1889 the total was \$237,500,000, and in 1893, five years later, it was \$241,500,000. Of this increase more than about half was to be accounted for by the fact that we obtained a loan at a lower rate of interest than before, so that amount of that loan is only an imaginary increase of the public debt, the actual increase being not more than \$2,500,000, or at the rate of about \$500,000 per annum for the period of five years; and this, notwithstanding that we have been carrying on these great public works and in this and every way promoting the prosperity of the country as well as we possibly could. But what is the record of gentlemen opposite or their friends during the past five years, as shown by the financial returns of the various provinces? I take from the year 1888 to the year 1892, not having the returns for last year. By those returns I find that the aggregate annual expenditure of the provinces, almost every one of which was under the administration of hon. gentlemen opposite or their political friends, increased from \$9,600,000 to \$12,200,000—an increase of \$2,600,000, or about 27 per cent. During the same time, as I have

shown, the increase of expenditure by the Dominion Government was exactly nothing at all. In view of these facts, we need have no hesitation in asking the people to decide which political party has most faithfully and economically administered the affairs under its charge. Mr. Speaker, a good deal has been said about the condition of the people of this country. No more important subject could engage the attention of Parliament. I think the annual inquiry into the condition of the affairs of the country, the taking stock of the position and the planning for the future which takes place each year in the form of this Budget debate, does much to advance the interests of the country. It has been said by hon. gentlemen opposite, that this country is going backward; that, in particular, the farming interests of this country are retrograding and are not so prosperous as in years gone by, and that, as a whole, the country is not so prosperous as it would be if under their control. Let us examine the facts, Mr. Speaker. I have here a speech delivered by the hon. member for South Oxford, in 1877, when he occupied the position of Finance Minister. In that speech he laid down a number of rules, by which, he said, we could judge of the prosperity of the country. Sir, we accept the rules and conditions which the hon. gentleman then laid down; we say that we believe these are proper rules by which to estimate the prosperity of the people and the condition of affairs in this country. I will read a short portion from the hon. gentleman's Budget speech of 1877:

I find that the general increase in various matters which are usually considered reliable signs of the advancement of the population in wealth have been very marked. For instance, it is very well known that the amount of circulation of a country, at different periods, affords a very tolerable indication of the volume of business done therein; and I find that whereas on the 1st January, 1868, our total circulation amounted to nearly \$14,000,000, at the same period of the year 1877 that circulation had increased to \$26,000,000 or by nearly 100 per cent. Similarly within the same period, the bank deposits in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec have increased from \$29,689,000 to a no less sum than \$70,450,000, the absolute increase in that case being 130 per cent; and the deposit in Government savings banks from \$1,686,000 to \$7,178,000, an increase of fully 400 per cent, which is specially valuable as showing the growth of habits of thrift and frugality among our population. And although I have not accurate statistics on the subject of life insurance, I believe I am correct in saying that within the past five or six years the gross amount of policies of life insurance outstanding in Canada has increased from \$35,000,000 to about \$85,000,000.

In this statement he has included the 6½ years of Conservative rule from 1867 till 1873, when there was prosperity, with the years of adversity when he guided the helm. I say, Sir, that we accept the standards which the hon. gentleman sets up for judging the condition of the country—the amount of

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bank deposits, the note circulation and the amount of life insurance. In January, 1879, the public deposits amounted to 91 millions; in January, 1894, they amounted to 242 millions, or an increase of 151 millions, nearly 165 per cent. Our note circulation in banks in the same period increased from 24 millions to 42 millions, or an increase of 75 per cent. Life insurance increased in the same period from \$84,750,000 to \$261,000,000, or an increase of over 300 per cent. So that, according to the test which the hon. gentleman himself lays down for ascertaining the prosperity of the country, this country has been not only fairly prosperous, but exceedingly prosperous during those fifteen years. Now, I will give you another evidence of the condition of our affairs. I do not think it does any good to magnify unduly the prosperity of the people, and I am equally sure that it does a great deal of injury to this country when gentlemen can be found—

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). What about 1876?

Mr. WALLACE—when gentlemen can be found in this country who make it their business continually to decry the condition of affairs. The hon. member for Bothwell speaks of 1876. Well, was he not at the time chairman of a committee appointed by the Mackenzie Government to consider into the causes of the depression of business that then existed in this country? Did they not acknowledge it themselves, and did he not, for one, try to find a remedy? But not only were they unsuccessful in finding a remedy, they even failed to make a serious attempt to find a remedy for the condition of affairs that then existed.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Do you object to the truth being told?

Mr. WALLACE. I want the truth to be told, but I object to extravagant untruth being told. I am going to tell the hon. gentleman the truth from impartial witnesses. I will quote, first, the opinion of Mr. Walker, general manager of the Bank of Commerce. Mr. Walker, I believe, is not a political friend of ours, but he is a business man, and desires to see the business interests of this country in a prosperous position. He has, perhaps, more opportunities of ascertaining the business state of the people of this country, of farmers, of mechanics and of business men generally, than any other man outside those lines. The Bank of Commerce has its branches and its ramifications over all portions of the province of Ontario. This is what he says:

The wide range of machines and other articles manufactured to aid the farmer in his operations, constitute such an important share of our manufactures, that we have regarded the extent to which the farmer buys and pays for such goods as fair evidence for or against his prosperity. Quoting from sales and collections running into several millions of dollars, we find that in Ontario farmers paid their paper without renewal to the extent of over 96 per cent.

If we turn to the agricultural interests of Ontario, whether the farmers complain or not, we can find little that is not satisfactory. From every part of Ontario our managers make pretty much the same report. The farmers have more than offset the low price for grain by the high prices for cheese and hogs. Or, we are told that the farmers owing to the low prices of wheat are year after year turning their attention more to dairying, cattle grazing, fattening hogs, or fruit growing. Again, we are told that in many counties the farmers are still holding last year's wheat and in some localities two or three years' crops of wheat. This may be a very foolish thing for a farmer to do, but let us bear in mind that he is financially able to do it. From the same counties we have the information—in fact there are very few exceptions throughout Ontario—that the deposits in banks are increasing, that farmers' notes for implements are promptly paid, that he does not want to borrow from the banks, and is meeting the interest—and to some extent reducing the principal—on his mortgages also, that there is no demand for mortgage loans, and that upon mortgages subject to repayment many good farmers are demanding a reduction in the rate of interest.

That is the opinion of one well qualified to know the facts. He is head of the second largest bank in the Dominion of Canada, and is responsible to hundreds and thousands of people for a correct report of the business of the country. Now, we have other evidence which I intend to submit. Mr. Joseph Jeffery, president of the Ontario Loan and Debenture Company, wrote to the 'Globe' last August as follows:—

Statements are often made in the papers which give the impression that the people of the whole country, particularly the farmers, are groaning under heavy mortgage indebtedness. This is not true. Take, for example, this county (Middlesex). I am positive that in this city (London) and surrounding country not one property in ten is mortgaged and no doubt the same can be said of most of the old-settled portions of the country. The experience of this company is that farmers are paying off their loans and that very few are borrowing. We, in common with all the loan companies in this part of Ontario, find it difficult to obtain farm loans. They have largely decreased, and other investments have in part taken their place.

The president of the Western Canada Loan and Savings Company, at the annual meeting in Toronto, on February 15th last, spoke as follows:—

Improved farms are more in demand and bring better prices, and with the greater attention now being paid to dairying and stock-raising, and a better and more intelligent system of farming which is now being adopted, we may hope that farm property in Ontario will ere long recover to a great extent its former value.

Now, Sir, an hon. gentleman opposite said that we objected to speak the truth. Does he say that these gentlemen are not speaking the truth? Our friends opposite do not dare to quote these remarks to show the real state of affairs. I believe this is the real

condition of affairs in this country, and it is a satisfactory one, if we compare it with the condition of the same class of people in any other country to-day. But I have further evidence to submit to this House which hon. gentlemen opposite cannot dispute, and that is the evidence of the Ontario Government. They have a special commissioner whose object it is, at great expense and with much trouble, to ascertain the condition of the farmers of this country. From various sources it is his business to procure returns of the value of farm property, of farm implements, of farm buildings and farm stock; and I intend to submit his report to this House, in answer to the statement made by the hon. member for South Oxford yesterday. He made the statement that every acre of farm land in Ontario had depreciated \$10 per acre. The hon. member for Bothwell nods his head in approval. Well, I will quote for his benefit from Sir Oliver Mowat, for whom that hon. gentleman has a high regard.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). But you have not.

Mr. WALLACE. I am not submitting the evidence to myself. I am submitting it to the hon. gentlemen on the other side.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). It is not honest to submit bad evidence.

Mr. WALLACE. If he says it is bad evidence he is condemning his leader in Ontario.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). But you say it is.

Mr. WALLACE. I have not said so. I say that although a man may have many bad qualities, we may still extract some truth from him, and I think we have got some truth here. Now, this report contains a comparison made between the years 1882 and 1892; 1882, I believe, was the year in which the Ontario Government began to make these reports. I will quote the first year covered by the report and the last year, which will surely be sufficient to give a general idea of the condition of affairs during that period of ten years. The report says that the value of farm lands in Ontario, in 1882, was six hundred and thirty-two millions; in 1892 it had decreased to six hundred and fifteen millions, or an actual decrease of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. That is Mr. Mowat's report. The value of buildings in 1882 was one hundred and thirty-two millions; in 1892 it was one hundred and ninety-five millions, or an increase of 45 per cent in the value of farm buildings. In 1882 implements were valued at \$37,029,815; in 1892 at \$51,000,000, or an increase of 40 per cent during the decade. Live stock was valued in 1882 at \$80,540,720; in 1892 at \$117,501,495, or 45 per cent of an increase. I submit this evidence to hon. gentlemen and they can accept it, or reject it as worthless, but it is the evidence procured by the Mowat Government at very great expense. I think the evidence is pretty nearly an accurate

representation of the truth. It shows an increase in the value of farms, buildings, stock and implements of \$97,300,000.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Did the increase take place during that period?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). So the brick houses and the wooden buildings have been increasing in value as they become older.

Mr. WALLACE. That may be a very clever remark on the part of the hon. gentleman, but if he travels through the country he will see that the old log and wooden houses are being replaced by substantial brick ones.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). What do you allow for the improvements?

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Mowat says the buildings have increased in value by \$63,000,000 during that period.

I should like to ask the hon. gentleman opposite to name any other industry in this country that has increased during the same period to the extent of \$97,000,000. Have cotton goods increased in value? They have decreased largely. The same remark applies to woollen goods, and in regard to iron there has also been a decrease. Yet we find the net results as regards the farming community in Ontario is an increase of \$97,000,000.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Then you are not helping the distress with your tariff?

Mr. WALLACE. We are promoting the prosperity of this country, and these figures show it. I have further evidence at hand. There is a Liberal Government, I believe, in power in the province of New Brunswick.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) No.

Mr. WALLACE. I know that the Premier of the Government attended and took a prominent part in the Reform Convention that was held in Ottawa last summer. Surely he did not go there under false pretenses.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) There is a majority of Conservatives in the Government.

Mr. WALLACE. I am glad to hear that, for it shows there is some hope for New Brunswick. Mr. Mitchell is the Provincial Treasurer, and he delivered his Budget speech on March 21st.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) And he is a good Tory too.

Mr. WALLACE. He said:

He felt on the present occasion he could congratulate the House and the country on the prosperous conditions of affairs generally. The past year has been a fairly prosperous one. The farmers had had good crops and hundreds were returning to the province, from countries where want and destitution prevailed, satisfied that after all there were many worse countries in the world than New Brunswick. The people of this province should be

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happy in the knowledge that hunger and famine were unknown here, that every man who desired work could secure it, at good wages.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. They were thankful for small mercies.

Mr. WALLACE. That is a pretty good report for New Brunswick. What is the condition of affairs in other countries? The Minister of Agriculture in England, addressing a deputation of agriculturists, spoke as follows—

Mr. LANDERKIN. He is out of office now, and he is a Tory.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, he is a Tory. The hon. member from South Grey (Mr. Landerkin) is out of office now, and he is not a Tory, and indeed the Tories would not have him. Mr. Chaplin, addressing a deputation of agriculturists lately, said:

He recognized with pleasure that there were among the deputation a large proportion of genuine and unmistakable representatives of the class who earned their livelihood by actual labour on the land. They lived in times when the agricultural interests of Great Britain had been passing through a period of great depression by which landlords and owners of the land, tenant farmers and occupiers and those who gained their livelihood by actual work on the land had been sorely affected in a greater or less degree. There was no one connected with the land but felt the effect of the strain of that depression, the consequences and gravity of which could not be estimated.

That is the condition of affairs in the old country, where they have the blessings of free trade, and where they have the policy which hon. gentlemen opposite would have us adopt here, but which I think we are not yet prepared to adopt.

Mr. LANDERKIN. That is treasonable towards the mother country.

Mr. WALLACE. Hon. gentlemen opposite have been speaking at great length in the country, but not quite so much lately as formerly, about the inestimable blessings of free trade with the United States. We as the Conservative party have been advocating the desirability of extending our trade relations with every country, but not at the sacrifice of our honour and our interests. We are willing, as our tariff from one end to the other shows, to promote trade with the United States on fair and equitable terms, which will meet with the approval of the people of this country, but we are not prepared to sacrifice ourselves in any way.

Mr. MULOCK. To stab her in her vital parts.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. gentleman is fond of quoting from the editor of the 'Globe'; he appears to be very familiar with that traitorous pamphlet published by Farrer, pointing out to Americans how they could inflict the greatest injury upon Cana-

dians, or as he puts it—"stab her in her most vital parts."

Our trade with foreign countries is principally with Great Britain and the United States.

An hon. MEMBER. Hear, hear.

Mr. WALLACE. I say our farmers are desirous of promoting trade with the United States, if we can do it fairly and honourably, and in the propositions we have laid before the House we propose to trade our barley for American corn on fair and reasonable terms. In the other resolutions we are prepared to meet the Americans half-way and equitably, and in the tariff throughout, which provides for a lower rate of duty than the United States tariff, we have indicated our intention of doing everything that is reasonable and proper to promote trade with the United States. But the importance of that trade has been very greatly exaggerated. The fact is that year by year our trade with the United States has been decreasing, while year by year our trade with Great Britain has enormously increased.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). No, no.

Mr. WALLACE. Does the hon. gentleman mean to say it has not increased?

Mr. CHARLTON. Yes.

Mr. WALLACE. I will quote the figures, and the House will be able to judge. Our exports of agricultural products and animals and their products to the United States during the last year of the Mackenzie Government was \$13,144,405; in 1890, \$13,485,727; in 1891, \$11,608,225; in 1892, \$8,509,703.

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

Mr. WALLACE. Our exports of domestic produce to the United States, which was, as I have said, \$8,509,703 in 1892, and \$8,083,955 in 1893. It was estimated by a very prominent member of the Opposition, Mr. James Young, and a similar estimate was made by Mr. Archibald Blue, a commissioner of the Ontario Government, that the products of the Canadian farms amounted to \$400,000,000 per annum. Of this \$400,000,000 about \$54,000,000 worth last year were exported into foreign countries, and of this latter sum \$8,000,000 in round numbers were sent to the United States, and how much to Great Britain? Over \$42,000,000 were sent to Great Britain, and not one-fifth of that amount to the United States.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Will the hon. gentleman state our exports to the United States?

Mr. WALLACE. Our exports of farm products to the United States were in 1879, \$13,000,000; in 1890, \$13,500,000; in 1892, \$8,500,000; and in 1893, \$8,000,000 worth.

Mr. LISTER. What are the total exports?

Mr. WALLACE. The total exports to the United States in the year 1893 were \$33,000,000 worth, and to Great Britain there were \$58,000,000 worth, or \$25,000,000 more than to the United States. Now, Sir, the United States, as every hon. gentleman knows, are competitors against our agricultural products in all the markets of the world. They grow the same articles that we do; they supply themselves and more than supply themselves, and their surplus products are sent to Great Britain and to other foreign markets in competition with ours. It is admitted that our products, whether of mineral or of cereals, are of better quality than those out of the United States, and therefore they command higher prices. In many instances the animals or the cereals of Canada on account of their superior qualities, are in demand in the United States, although that country's products, whether of minerals or of cereals, are as of good a quality.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I am sorry to interrupt the hon. gentleman, but I want to ask a question. Did I understand him to say that that was our total exports to the United States in 1892?

Mr. WALLACE. Of agricultural products.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I did not know you limited it to that.

Mr. WALLACE. I quoted both the agricultural products and the total exports. The agricultural products, I said, were \$8,000,000 in 1893. The total exports from Canada to the United States in 1893, not only of agricultural products, but of lumber and of every other product which we have to export, amounted to \$33,800,000, and I also said that our exports to Great Britain were \$25,000,000 more than that, or \$58,500,000.

Mr. CHARLTON. Would the hon. gentleman repeat the statement with regard to the export of the agricultural products for the different years?

Mr. WALLACE. I quoted the figures for the years 1879, 1890 and 1891. I have my figures here and they are correct, but I cannot help it if I cannot drive them into the heads of hon. gentlemen. These figures surprise hon. gentlemen opposite, and I do not wonder at it; they go up and down the country always expressing intense interest in the farmers, but have never apparently taken the trouble to inquire where his most advantageous markets are located. If they possessed the knowledge and have refrained from using it, what can have been the cause but to seek to induce one of the most important classes in the country that their interests lie in forwarding some commercial reciprocity fad, which, as an actual fact, would be injurious to them. I have already repeated the figures twice, and they will be published in the 'Hansard', and the hon. gentleman will see that they are correct.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) They seem to differ with the Trade and Navigation Returns.

Mr. WALLACE. The figures I have given are correct. The export of agricultural products, both of animals and cereals from Canada to the United States last year amounted to \$8,083,000, and to Great Britain they were \$42,495,000. That is the relative value of the two markets.

Mr. CHARLTON. What were they in 1879?

Mr. WALLACE. In 1879, the exports to Great Britain were \$19,000,000, and to the United States they were \$13,000,000. Now the volume of exports has changed, and to-day amount to \$42,000,000 to Great Britain and \$8,000,000 to the United States. I give those figures in round numbers. Our market with Great Britain is increasing enormously year by year. Look back to the last four years and what do you find as regards the development of our trade in this direction? Four years ago our trade with Great Britain in the products of the farm was \$22,000,000, the following year it was \$26,000,000; the next year it was \$39,000,000, and last year it was \$42,500,000.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). They have no McKinley Bill in Great Britain.

Mr. WALLACE. No, nor they are not going to have one either, because the members of the Reform party have not so much influence with the British Government as they have at Washington. Now, we will take a few items of the products of the Canadian farm and see where they go after we have supplied the wants of our own people in this country. The following figures will show this to the hon. gentleman. Here are the relative exports to Great Britain and to the United States:

| | To Great Britain. | To U.S. |
|--------------|-------------------|-------------|
| Cattle..... | \$ 7,402,208 | \$ 11,032 |
| Meats..... | 3,019,842 | 9,880 |
| Butter..... | 1,118,614 | 7,539 |
| Cheese..... | 13,360,237 | 23,578 |
| Wheat..... | 6,666,382 | 246,568 |
| Oats..... | 2,137,145 | 22,223 |
| Pease..... | 1,795,758 | 427,136 |
| Flour..... | 851,026 | 7,030 |
| Apples..... | 2,247,482 | 447,249 |
| Oatmeal..... | 503,294 | 115,962 |
| Totals..... | \$39,101,988 | \$1,318,197 |

Or, summing up these articles I have enumerated, \$39,100,000 worth went to Great Britain and \$1,300,000 went to the United States, or more than thirty times as much were sent to Great Britain as to the United States. An hon. gentleman opposite asked me what about horses. I will tell him. In 1890 were sent to Great Britain \$17,900 worth, and in 1893 we had increased that trade to \$274,000 worth. In 1890 we sent of eggs to Great Britain \$820, and last year we sent \$538,000 worth, and the trade

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is still growing. In 1890 we sent of barley to Great Britain \$12,000 worth, and last year we sent \$278,000. In 1890 we sent of hay to Great Britain \$109,000 worth, and last year we sent \$515,000, or nearly five times as much. Adding these four articles, against which the McKinley Bill was most pointedly directed, we find that four years ago our total exports to Great Britain of these articles was \$140,000, and that last year they had increased nearly twelve-fold, or \$1,607,000. In that fact we have some signs of hope even in these very articles which were most injuriously affected by the operation of the McKinley Bill, for we have the evidence here that we have opened up a profitable market with Great Britain in the same commodities. The hon. gentleman opposite last night quoted figures to apparently sustain his statement that we were discriminating in our policy against Great Britain. Sir, I deny that. It is true that many articles come from the United States into Canada; but why was that? It is because they were the raw materials of our manufactures, such as cotton, manilla, and other raw material which are free of duty. But, Sir, what about the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite when they were in office, discriminating against Great Britain? In 1878, the imports from Great Britain amounted to \$37,000,000, and the duty paid was \$6,445,000, or exactly 17½ per cent. The imports from the United States during the same year were \$48,600,000, and the duty paid was \$4,794,000, or 9¾ per cent on imports coming from the United States, as against 17½ per cent imposed on British products. They imposed nearly twice as much duty on products from Great Britain as they did on products coming from the United States, and yet these hon. gentlemen say we are discriminating against Great Britain. I notice, Mr. Speaker, that the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) did not pay much attention to the census, and to what he calls the exodus from this country this year as he has done on former occasions; though he did repeat his old platitudes, his old stories, and his old calculations, which are utterly devoid of accuracy, as I shall attempt to prove. What are the facts? The hon. gentleman says that the natural increase of population in Canada should be 2½ per cent per annum, while the records show that that is far too high. It is too high, if you take Great Britain, the United States, or other countries as the standard. But, Sir, applying the same rule and the same calculations to the census of the United States that the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) has applied to Canada—and I think hon. gentlemen will say that that is fair—what do we find? The population of the United States in 1880 was 50,200,000; the increase at 2½ per cent would be 13,500,000; the immigration was 5,850,000, which would have made the population

of the United States in 1890 69,550,000. But the census returns showed only 62,500,000 people actually in the United States in 1890. What became of the other 7,000,000 people? Applying the same argument to the United States as the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) applied to Canada, there must have been an exodus of 7,000,000 people from the United States. Where have they gone—to Africa, or to Manitoba? This clearly shows the absurdity of the whole calculation of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). A short time ago I read with pleasure an editorial from the 'Daily Telegraph,' of St. John, N.B., a Liberal organ, but one which is evidently patriotic, which has the interest of the country at heart, and which I am sure has no sympathy with the assertions made by hon. gentlemen opposite with regard to the distressed condition of affairs in Canada. I will read a portion of the article, to which, I am sure, the hon. member for Charlotte (Mr. Gillmor) will listen with pleasure. It says:

The other day we commented on the fact that a large number of natives of New Brunswick, who had gone to the United States to improve their condition, were returning to their former homes, considerably poorer as well as wiser by reason of their experience. The homeward rush from the States still continues, and we are informed that about 120 persons daily pass through St. John station on their return to the Maritime Provinces. If account were taken of those who are returning to homes on the western side of the river, or the up-river counties, it would probably be found that at least 200 persons a day are coming into the province alone. When the other channels of communication, by which persons reach the Maritime Provinces, are taken into account, such as the International steamships to this port, and the boats running to Yarmouth, Annapolis and Halifax, it will be seen that the returning wave of population is of very large dimensions and must make a very appreciable difference in the industrial condition of the Maritime Provinces, especially when it is considered that the majority of these people are young men in the prime of their vigour. There is no doubt that many of them had substantial reasons for going, in the lack of encouragement to remain at home, while many of them were frightened out of the country by the jeremiads of foolish newspaper writers—

And politicians too, they might have said—

—whose limited brain power enabled them to discern no other way of obtaining a political advantage but by depicting Canada as a lost and ruined country. We expect to see in New Brunswick during the next few years a surprising development in the utilization of our natural resources, and the increase of our trade, and while no doubt young men will continue to go abroad to seek their fortune, it will not be for the lack of work at home, and most of them after a trial of a foreign land, as hewers of wood and drawers of water for strangers, will be glad to return and spend the remainder of their days in their native province.

I commend that article, written by a Liberal in politics, to the kind consideration of hon. gentlemen opposite. Now, I have a return here, made out not long ago in my own department in answer to a request, showing the number of families of immigrants registered at several customs ports in the Eastern Townships during the calendar year 1893, with their nationality and the value of their effects. At the port of Sherbrooke the number of families was 778; at Rimouski, 253, their nationality Canadian; at Coaticook, 97, nine-tenths French-Canadian; at Hemmingford, 26, 11 English and 15 French-speaking Canadian; at Potton, 20, 13 Canadian and 7 American; and at Sutton, 471, nine-tenths Canadian, or a total in that part of Canada of 1,645 families. We have not the return of the number in each family, but if we take five to be the average, it means that 8,225 people, most of them returning Canadians, have come into that portion of the province of Quebec during the last year. But let me give another test of the accuracy of the statements made by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). From the American census returns he gives the number of Canadians in the United States in the years 1870, 1880 and 1890. But what do those figures show? They show that the percentage of Canadians in the United States in the ten years preceding 1870 had increased 34½ per cent; in the ten years preceding 1880, five years of which time hon. gentlemen opposite were in power, they had increased 45½ per cent, and in the ten years preceding 1890 they had increased 36½ per cent. Now, Mr. Speaker, I only wish to say, in conclusion, what I said at the beginning, that this Government has honestly and fairly undertaken to redeem the pledges made by the hon. Premier about fifteen months ago, and repeated in Parliament during last session. It was stated then that the Government would revise the tariff, would change any conditions that were found to be inequitable, and would ascertain, by a thorough examination of every industry and every class of the population, what the people of this country required. Sir, we have done so. The hon. member for South Brant (Mr. Paterson) would sneer at the members of the Government going up and down this country in order to make inquiries. It is true, Mr. Speaker, that is not what hon. gentlemen opposite did when they were in power. When they were in power everybody had to come to see them, and if they were not in extremely good humour, the people could not see them when they got here. The hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) has informed us that when people came to see him in regard to the tariff he told them to pay a visit to his Satanic Majesty. Well, Sir, the people did not take his advice, and they have not done so since. They went back and resolved that they would put in a Government in sympathy with the people of this country,

willing to redress any grievances that existed, and ready to devote themselves to the people's welfare. We have done so. In every line of our tariff, the policy and the principle of protection was held steadily in view. We believe that this country can only be built up by adhering to the policy of protection—the policy of giving employment to our own people by encouraging the farming, manufacturing, mining, fishing and other industries. This is what we have attempted to do; and I believe that when the new tariff comes into operation, the affairs of this country will be conducted even more successfully than in the past. We have confidence in the people. What is there in the Grit proposals to attract them? Read over the resolutions. There is not one line of hope or confidence, not one line of what will attract the young men of the country to their side; and the young men are not going over to the side of hon. gentlemen opposite. They are adhering to the policy of the Conservative party, because it is one of hope and confidence in the future of the country. We have continued that policy in our new tariff, and have no hesitation in appealing to the members of this House and the people outside for the approval of the policy now submitted to the House and country.

Mr. CHARLTON. The hon. Controller of Customs made some statements in the course of his remarks, to one or two of which I shall allude in a preliminary way before entering upon the lines of the discussion which I propose to pursue to-day. At the outset of his speech, the hon. gentleman informed us that the chief demand of the Opposition, so far as their policy is concerned, had been, and still was, for commercial union with the United States. Sir, the hon. gentleman was not warranted in making that assertion. It is utterly destitute of foundation. The Liberal party of Canada have never formulated any such policy. No resolution is on record proposed by any member of the Liberal party in this House in favour of commercial union with the United States. And the assertion of the hon. gentleman, if not made in ignorance, was made purposely to prejudice the people of the country with regard to the policy of the party now in Opposition. Individual members of the party may possibly have expressed their individual opinions as being favourable, in the abstract, to such a policy, but it has not been advocated or sanctioned by the party. It has never been advanced by the party. The party does not stand upon, and never did stand upon, that policy. The policy of the Liberal party with regard to reciprocity has been in favour of a wide measure of reciprocal trade with the United States. What the extent of that measure of reciprocal trade might be has never been and cannot be defined, because, before doing so it would be neces-

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sary to enter into communication with the United States in order to ascertain to what extent both countries could agree to such reciprocity. And the Liberal party is not disposed to go further in the way of making concessions to the United States than is absolutely necessary in order to get concessions from the United States beneficial to our interests.

The hon. gentleman, while lauding the present tariff and the general policy of the Government, told us that some manufacturers in this country have prospered, and inadvertently mentioned that some have not. I shall later on prove satisfactorily that the manufacturing industries of Canada were, on the whole, more prosperous in 1878 than in 1893. And when the hon. gentleman tells us that some only of the manufacturing industries of this country have prospered under the operation of the National Policy, I tell him that the great mass of them are not in as good and healthy a position to-day as they were when the National Policy was first instituted.

The hon. gentleman says that the changes now proposed in our tariff are not in the direction of demands made by the Liberal party. I affirm the contrary. I say that these changes are in the direction of demands made by the Liberal party. I say that they are in consequence of demands made by the Liberal party—in consequence of the education the country has received at the hands of the Liberal party, which has created a sentiment in the country that demanded these changes. And in consequence of that sentiment and in obedience to those demands made by the people thus educated, the Government were compelled to make these concessions in the line of the Liberal policy. The concessions they have made do not go as far as the Liberal party would go, but every step taken has been taken in the direction of Liberal demands; and not a step would have been taken but for the influence exerted by the Opposition upon public sentiment, which influence has reacted upon the Government.

My hon. friend the Minister of Finance, my hon. friend the Controller of Customs, and other members of the Government, visited, during the past year, various parts of the country. They made their journey ostensibly for the purpose of learning what were the necessities of the public and what it was best to do in the public interest. That was the ostensible purpose. Do you suppose, Mr. Speaker, that that was the real purpose. You and I, Sir, both know better. The people at large may possibly believe such a statement, but we understand political movements too well to be deceived by it. Let me reproduce a scene which probably did transpire more than once between the Minister of Finance and individuals whom he met representing manufacturing interests. We will suppose that he has called some of these gentlemen in-

terested in manufacturing to meet him in the city of Toronto, for instance, and they have gathered together. The reporters are not invited because it is not a public, but a private meeting. The information is not for the public at large, but the Minister of Finance simply meets a few of his manufacturing friends, who perhaps have given contributions in the past to prosecute electioneering work. The inquiry opens. How do you suppose it proceeds? The Minister of Finance proceeds to inform these gentlemen why he has called them together. He says: My friends, you must be aware that a considerable change in public sentiment has taken place. You must know that great pressure is brought to bear on the Government for tariff concessions. The Government feels this pressure; the Government feels it has got to do something; and I have called you together in order to discuss this matter with you and find out how big a cut you can stand. Now, we have got to do something. The people demand something, and if we go to the country without some concessions in this tariff policy, we will be inevitably defeated. And I want you to look the situation in the face, fairly and squarely, and to realize that unless you determine to make some sacrifice, unless you are prepared to remit some of the taxes we have imposed for your benefit, unless you will act liberally and fairly to us, and consent to forego some of the burdens imposed on the people in your behalf, you will fall into worse hands than ours—you will fall into the hands of the Philistines. It is for you to determine whether you will permit us to make such concessions to public sentiment as may, to some extent, meet the public demands, or whether you will insist upon our occupying the position we now occupy with regard to your interests and thus drive us from power. The manufacturers have taken this into consideration. They are astute men, as a rule. They would naturally say: Well, half a loaf is better than no bread; we cannot afford to leave our friends who made this tariff for us, who have always regulated it to suit us, who have invariably met our demands hitherto (and would do it to-day if they could) to be driven from power; we must permit some concessions. And then and there the Minister of Finance and the representatives of the manufacturing interests would decide how far they could go, the understanding being governed, not by considerations of public interest, but, on the part of the Government, by considerations of how much they could be allowed to do, and, on the part of the manufacturers, by considerations of how much it would be absolutely necessary to allow the Government to do. That is the way these concessions have been arrived at and arranged. The manufacturing interests cannot reasonably find fault with the consideration the hon. gentleman has given to them, but there are other business in-

terests of far greater importance to the welfare of the country than the manufacturing interests that have not received that consideration from the hon. gentleman to which they were entitled. The farmers of this country, the lumbermen, the fishermen, the mine owners, the labourers of the country—all these interests, Sir, have received scant consideration at the hands of the Government, whose thought has been directed almost exclusively to the welfare of one interest—the manufacturing interest of this country. Had they looked around they could have seen, with regard to the farmer, shrunken values in land, and in some of his principal articles of production; they might have seen farmers feeding wheat to hogs, because it was cheaper feed than any coarse grain; they might have seen the farmers suffering severely the pinch of hard times. And yet the Government has not been disposed to extend a helping hand to this great industry, but has reserved all its favours, and all its consideration for one interest which is infinitely less important to the country, infinitely smaller than this great agricultural interest of Canada. Sir, my friend, the Controller of Customs mentions it as a matter of congratulation that there is no starvation, there is no want in New Brunswick.

Mr. LISTER. No famine.

Mr. CHARLTON. And no famine. Certainly that is a matter for us to congratulate ourselves upon. There is food enough, but there is not prosperity among these people.

Now the Government has pursued a policy, whenever a manufacturing interest would present a claim for removal of duties upon the raw product it used in its business, to listen to those demands. I have here a list of Orders in Council by which the Government, from time to time, has removed the duty on various articles which enter as raw material into manufacture in this country. For instance, here is an Order in Council of Nov. 6th, 1885, removing the duty from crucible steel. Here is another of the same date removing the duty from lastings and mohair cloth to be used in the manufacture of buttons. Another, dated July 5th, 1886, removing the duty from hatters' bands, bindings, tips, and sides, and linings, both tips and sides imported for the use of hatters; another of July 17th, 1886, removing the duty from steel strip for buckthorns, and plain strip fencing; another of July 17th, removing the duty from wire rope, imported for use in ship building; another of July 20th, 1886, removing the duty from twisted brass and copper wire, used by boot and shoemakers; another of Nov. 18th, 1886, removing the duty from yarn, spun from the hair of the alpaca or angora goat, to be used in the manufacture of braid; another of Nov. 16th, removing the duty from felles

of hickory wood, imported for the use of my hon. friend from Leeds (Mr. Taylor) and other gentlemen engaged in carriage-making.

Mr. BERGIN. Do not the farmers use these materials ?

Mr. CHARLTON. Unquestionably they do in some cases, but the duties are removed for the benefit of the manufacturers, and because these articles are required by the manufacturers in their business.

Mr. BERGIN. So that the farmers may buy the manufactured articles at a lower rate.

Mr. CHARLTON. I have here another Order in Council of Dec. 6th, 1888, removing the duty from homo spring steel smaller than No. 9 and not smaller than No. 15, used in the manufacture of mattresses ; another of July 1st, 1887, removing the duty from sweat leathers imported into Canada for the use of harness-making ; another of July 2nd, 1887, removing the duty from square reeds, rawhide centres, textile leather or rubber heads, thumbs and tips, and steel iron or nickel caps for whip ends, imported for use in whip making ; another of Nov. 22nd, 1887, removing the duty from copper rollers used by print makers ; another of July 11th, 1888, removing the duty from steel, No. 12 gauge, and down to No. 30 gauge, imported for manufacturing purposes ; another of July 7th, 1888, removing the duty from yarns, woollens, and worsted, imported into Canada for manufacturing purposes ; another of July 11th, 1888, removing the duty from jute, jute yarn, cotton yarn, finer than No. 40, imported for manufacturing purposes. These Orders in Council have been passed for the purpose of cheapening the raw material of the manufacturers interested, who have come to the Government and represented that their interest was burdened by these taxes. And yet here has been the greatest industry of this country, the most important interest in the country, asking the Government to remove the duties from its raw material—the corn it feeds to its cattle, the harvesters, the mowers, the barbed wire, the coal oil, the binding twine, the thousand and one articles that are the raw material of this great industry—and, year after year, the Government has turned a deaf ear to their entreaties, while, in all the instances that I have mentioned, when manufacturing interests have gone to the Government, their wants have been instantly recognized, and their petitions granted. Now, Sir, I say that the farming interest of this country has not been fairly dealt with by the Government, and the Government does not deserve, at the hands of this great interest, confidence or thanks for the eleventh hour repentance so small in its fruits, which does not remove, but, only in some cases, mitigates the burdens under which the agricultural interest has struggled. The farming interest asked for the removal of the

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duty on coal oil. The Government has not removed that duty, but has permitted it to remain at from eighty to one hundred per cent. The farmers asked for the removal of the duty on barbed wire, and the Government has lowered it by half. They asked for the removal of the duty on binder twine, and the Government has done nothing with regard to it. The Government, it is true, has placed agricultural implements in the 20 per cent list, but it continues the power with which the customs officer is invested of making a re-entry, and thus practically putting his own valuation on the article, disregarding the invoice which represents its actual cost, a provision under which the customs officer, if he chooses, can make the actual duty 35 per cent, though the nominal duty is only 20 per cent. The Government refuses to make the provision it ought to make for the entering of these articles at the actual cost, without putting such dangerous and arbitrary power into the hands of the customs officers. The Government imposes a duty of 30 per cent on nails, 35 per cent on axes, spades, shovels, forks, keeps corn on the dutiable list, professes to have cheapened the cost of sugar, and it has taken off a miserable 16-100 of a cent on the protection afforded to the refiner of sugar, and the mitigation of the burden with regard to sugar will never be appreciable to the farmers of Canada. In the United States, under the Wilson Bill, the protection accorded to the refiner is about 3-10 of a cent per pound, here it is 6-100 of a cent a pound. It is held in the United States that the retention of that protection of 3-10 of a cent is an outrage, and is contrary to the interests of the consuming population of that country. If that is so, it is a double outrage on the people of Canada to retain the protection of more than 6-10 of a cent a pound as is done by this tariff.

Now, the American Committee having in charge the tariff of that country, has made an offer to this country and to other countries with regard to agricultural implements. It places on the free list agricultural implements, including ploughs, tooth and disc harrows, harvesters, reapers, agricultural drills, planters, mowers, horse rakes, cultivators and threshing machines—all these are placed upon the free list, with this proviso :

Provided that all the articles mentioned in paragraph 591, when imported from any country which lays an import duty on like articles coming from the United States, shall be subject to the duties existing prior to the passage of this Act.

Mr. BERGIN. Does the hon. gentleman wish to give the House the impression that that has become law ?

Mr. CHARLTON. I do not. I wish to give the House the impression that this is a provision of the Wilson Bill, having passed the ordeal of the House of Representatives, hav-

ing passed the ordeal of the Finance Committee of the Senate, and is now before the Senate of the United States. I wish to say, and I would have said, had the hon. gentleman given me time, that that provision will undoubtedly be incorporated in the Bill when it is crystallized into law. Now, I asked the Finance Minister the other night what he proposed to do, not with regard to this matter, not assuming that it was a fixed fact, but what he proposed to do in the event of this becoming the law of the United States, and in the event of the boon being offered to Canada of having the privilege of buying agricultural implements free of duty, if the Government of Canada would reciprocate and allow the manufactures of the United States to come into the markets of Canada free of duty. I got very little satisfaction from the hon. gentleman, and I assume that he does not propose to give that boon to the farmers of Canada, and that we will in the future, as we have done in the past, continue to pay a duty upon American implements because the Government will not admit American implements into Canada free of duty under an offer to reciprocate on the part of the United States by admitting our implements into that country free of duty.

Mr. BERGIN. The hon. gentleman has stated that this provision will "undoubtedly" be crystallized into law. Now, I want to get from the hon. gentleman what authority he has to make that statement?

Mr. CHARLTON. If I used the word "undoubtedly" I will qualify it by saying I believe it will be, I may say that in all probability it will; and if the hon. gentleman will wait long enough to know whether it will be or not, he will know whether I was mistaken or not.

The Controller of Customs told us in the course of his speech that the Government are anxious to promote wider trade relations with all the world, and that they are perfectly willing, nay more than willing, that they are anxious to secure broader trade relations with the United States upon fair and equitable terms. Now, with all due respect to the hon. gentleman, I beg to say that I believe he is totally mistaken, and I further believe that the Government have made no honest effort to obtain reciprocity, not since 1891, not since 1878 when they came into power. I further believe that they manifested, in all their arrangements with the United States looking towards reciprocity, a degree of enmity and bad feeling towards that country that was exactly calculated to secure for us, not reciprocity, but a failure to secure reciprocity upon any terms that we offered or admitted. It will be remembered that in 1891 when this Parliament was dissolved and a reason was assigned for that dissolution—it was necessary to assign some reason—the Government asserted through their organs that they

were engaged in negotiating reciprocity with the United States, that in consequence of the near approach of the time when that treaty would be consummated, they dissolved the House and appealed to the people in order that they might refer that treaty to a Parliament fresh from the people, and not to a moribund House. Well, Sir, we all know now that that assertion was utterly destitute of truth, that no such negotiations were in progress. In fact, five days before the dissolution took place, we had the explicit declaration of the Secretary of State of the United States that no such negotiations were in progress, we had his explicit denial of the rumours floating in the press that such negotiations had been undertaken or were in progress at all; and our Government went to the country upon that pretext, which was utterly destitute of truth, that pretext which was a political falsehood of the blackest dye; and they stole from the Liberal party of Canada its stock in trade, stole its clothes, stole its professed principles, and having stolen those principles, or having induced the people to believe that they stood upon the same ground, they basely betrayed the people by making no attempt to secure reciprocity at all. Will hon. gentlemen tell us that when they went down to Washington the first time and remained there for a few hours, and were told to go home about their business by President Harrison, they were in the line of obtaining reciprocity with the United States. Do they mean to tell us that their approaches to the United States have been of a character to secure the confidence and good-will of that Government? They will hardly have the hardihood to say that. Of course, they wanted to have it appear that they were working in the direction of their pledges and promises, and when they did finally secure an interview with the Secretary of State of the United States on the 10th February following, the Secretary of State asked them to make proposals, and they told him that they wanted to secure a reciprocity treaty on the lines of the old treaty of 1854,—on the lines of the treaty of 1854—when every Government of the United States, every public man of the United States, had declared that such a treaty was impossible, when James G. Blaine, in his letter of 29th January, 1891, had distinctly stated that a reciprocity treaty confined to natural products was inadmissible and would not be entertained. Yet these gentlemen go down there, and with unparalleled effrontery tell Mr. Blaine, in face of his explicit declaration that they never need to come with such a proposal, in face of the fact that the United States Government had rejected all overtures of that kind for fifteen years—they go down and tell Mr. Blaine: We want to get a reciprocity treaty on the lines of the old treaty of 1854. What did Mr. Blaine say? He certainly must have been a very courteous gentleman, for he said to them: Gentlemen, we cannot entertain a

proposal for a reciprocity treaty that does not include a list of manufactured articles.

An hon. MEMBER. Commercial Union

Mr. CHARLTON. Not commercial union, but that did not include a list of manufactured articles. Now, we had a treaty negotiated by the British Minister in 1874, that received the assent of the British Government, and which did include a list of manufactured articles, which included a list of many score of manufactured articles, a list. I verily believe, as wide in its scope as it would have been necessary to make a list upon the occasion when the hon. gentlemen were in Washington—not commercial union, but a list of manufactured goods to be admitted into Canada in lieu of the advantage that the United States were willing to grant to Canada of admitting the productions of this Dominion to that country. Hon. gentlemen might, at least, have seen how far it was necessary to go. They might, at least, have inquired from Mr. Blaine: How wide do you wish this to be? Did they do that? Did they make any negotiations in that line whatever? If Mr. Blaine is to be believed, they asked permission to consider the question over night, and came back the next day and said they would not consider such a proposition at all. Then they returned here, and the Minister of Finance published a statement which is in direct contradiction of the statement of the gentleman who succeeded Mr. Blaine as Secretary of State, who was privy to all these negotiations—I refer to Secretary of State Foster. As I pointed out last year, that probably an honest misunderstanding arose, that during informal conversation Mr. Foster, the Canadian Finance Minister, explained to Mr. Blain, Secretary of State, that if they were to admit manufactures to and fro, they would not in all respects stand on an equal footing. For instance, with respect to woollen manufactures, the United States imposed a duty on wool and Canada did not; and Mr. Blaine said, that with respect to such articles, it would be necessary to have a uniform tariff—as it unquestionably would be—and our Finance Minister subsequently asserted that Mr. Blaine made it a condition of entering into reciprocal negotiations that there should be a uniform tariff in all particulars, which was not what Mr. Blaine said or what he meant, but was, no doubt, an unintentional misrepresentation of the actual state of the case on the part of the Canadian Minister of Finance. We did not get reciprocity, and the Canadian Government did not want it. The Government do not want reciprocity to-day; it would not suit their clients, the combines of the country; they do not want our manufacturers to have competition in the few or many manufactured articles it would be necessary to admit here on a preferential basis from the United States.

Mr. CHARLTON.

We now come to the next stage of the matter, with respect to the declaration of the Controller of Customs as to the anxiety of the Government to secure reciprocity of fair and equal terms—the conduct of the Government in the matter of the Wilson Bill. The Minister of Finance said the other night that the United States Government had been wrestling with this question of tariff for a year and a half. It never was submitted to their Congress until last December, for this is the first session since the presidential election, and it has been under consideration by the House of Representatives and the Senate, not a year, but since December last. Here was a new party coming into power that made professions of its desire to enlarge the free list very greatly, which made professions of a desire to reduce the duties all round. Here was a Government favourable to reciprocal trade relations and negotiations. Here was a golden opportunity to secure concessions. Did our Government embrace that opportunity? Have they been represented in Washington since the Tariff Bill came under consideration in Congress, by any agent, confidential or otherwise? You may search Washington with a candle and you will not find that the Canadian Government has had anybody to look after its interests and the interests of our people, or that they have made any attempt to secure concessions to Canadian interests. They have practically said they would not turn over their hands to secure any concessions from the Democratic Administration of the United States—and I defy contradiction from the Finance Minister. They have made no such attempts whatever. Here was a Bill introduced that proposed to give us free ore, free coal, free wool and free lumber, and to reduce largely the duties in the agricultural schedule and remove many of those duties; and surely, if the Canadian Government had been anxious to secure concessions, great or small, with respect to those tariff changes, they would have looked after this matter, and would, at least, have sent a confidential agent or commissioner to Washington to see if anything could be done. They have not done it. There was a disposition on the part of the governing party in the United States to make very great modifications. It would have required, in my opinion, but slight efforts in the direction of concessions on the part of the Government of Canada to have secured the placing on the free list of all the articles in the agricultural schedule; it would have required slight efforts at modification and reciprocity, on the part of Canada, to have made highly probable the securing of the boon of free ore, free coal, free wool and free lumber. We may get part of them. We certainly will not get free ore or free coal, probably we will not get free wool, and the Government have neglected the opportunity presented. They have failed to make any effort to secure the great boon to Canada which would have re-

sulted from concessions on this line. They have made no concessions, they have made no attempt to offer concessions, they have made no overtures, they have done nothing whatever; they let the matter drift, and really did not care. In fact, they did not want reciprocity. Their enmity to anything like reciprocity is clearly shown in their conduct in this matter, and for the Controller of Customs to stand here and say that this Government is in favour of a fair and equitable arrangement with the United States for reciprocal trade relations, is simply a piece of effrontery, in face of the record of the Government. It may be, and I hope it will be, that we will get important concessions in the American Tariff Bill, but I want to point out at this stage that, whatever these concessions may be, that however great they may be, they will be less desirable than the same concessions would be if obtained by treaty, for this reason: If we negotiate a reciprocity treaty with the United States, it is for a term of years, and we have a guarantee under its provisions that, during the term of years it is to continue, there will be no doubt and uncertainty as to whether the articles covered by the treaty will continue to remain on the free list; we have an assurance that they will. But if the United States Congress places a list of articles on the free list by legislative action, we have no guarantee that they will be permitted to remain on that list; the list may continue during the life of the Congress or during the life of this Administration; it may be sanctioned by the succeeding Administration, and it may all be swept to the winds in one or two years from to-day. And so the industries of this country cannot build upon these concessions, because they lack the element of permanency. They cannot make a calculation, and any legislative concession of this kind is of small value in comparison with a concession made upon the basis of a solemn treaty to continue for a fixed term of years. With the changed condition of things in the United States, and with a new party coming into power professedly in favour of freer trade relations and the mitigation of tariff restrictions; the Government, if their professions had been honest and true, could not and would not have failed again to have made the attempt that they professed to have made before, to secure reciprocal trade relations with that country. Now, Sir, why do we need reciprocity? My hon. friend the Controller of Customs stated, evidently with a feeling of satisfaction: that whereas our agricultural exports to the States in 1879 were \$13,000,000, in 1893 they had shrunk to \$8,000,000. He seemed to be greatly gratified over that fact. He does not want to trade with such a country. I remember some years ago that the then Minister of Customs (Mr. Bowell) congratulated himself that the trade with that pestiferous nest of Democrats was diminishing. That shows the animus of the Government; it sticks out like the cloven foot once in a while, and they cannot con-

ceal it; they do not want to trade with the country to the south of us. It is true, Sir, that our trade is increasing with Great Britain; but it is also true that it is a matter of very great importance to us to secure access to the American markets, and for this reason: that there are a great many articles that we do sell, and must sell, almost exclusively to the people of the United States, and that we cannot find a market for in Great Britain or elsewhere. It is a matter of importance to the Canadian people to have these markets opened to us, for if restrictions were removed the United States market would prove to be infinitely more valuable to us than any other market.

Mr. BERGIN. So you say.

Mr. CHARLTON. I say so, and I will prove it. It is our exclusive market for mine products. We have enormous mineral resources in Canada. We are selling comparatively nothing in the line of iron ore; we are selling nothing in the line of quarry products, although the United States consumes \$25,000,000 worth annually, and the whole of the north shore of our great inland seas is lined with the most valuable quarries. The United States is our exclusive market for wood pulp, tan bark, fresh fish, horses, stock cattle, barley, poultry—

Mr. FERGUSON (Grenville). Not for poultry.

Mr. CHARLTON. It would be if we had the duties off. We are selling at a disadvantage because we cannot get into the market where we could sell at an advantage. It is our exclusive market for sheep, hides, hay, malt, potatoes, roots, vegetables, and I might go on at length to quote the different commodities. I went through the Trade and Navigation Returns the other day, and I presume I checked off 150 articles that were exported to the United States, in excess of the quantity exported to all other countries in the world. Now, Sir, large as our trade is with the United States, it is vastly less than it would be but for the restrictions. I am going to prove to my hon. friend from Cornwall (Mr. Bergin), from evidence that ought to be satisfactory to him, and will be satisfactory to any candid mind: that our trade with that country would be greater than with any other country in the world if the restrictions were removed. We fortunately have one brief period of free trade in natural products between Canada and the United States to illustrate our arguments. During the twelve years that the treaty was in force, from 1854 to 1866 our exports to the United States of the natural products of Canada increased four-fold, and we ended in 1866 with an export to the United States, in round numbers, of \$40,000,000 worth of these natural products. What were those exports to the United States last year? They amounted to \$43,923,000, and of that amount \$3,482,000 were inland short returns. You may deduct

that sum from the total amount in order to make a comparison with 1866, and that leaves \$40,441,000 for the year 1893, or, in twenty-seven years our export trade in natural products with the United States has not increased at all, while in twelve years, under reciprocity, it increased four-fold.

Mr. BERGIN. Was not that during the American war, when they were obliged to import from this Dominion?

Mr. CHARLTON. The American war commenced in 1861, and ended in 1864. The treaty commenced in 1854, and ended in 1866, and I trust that my hon. friend is not so ignorant of history as to suppose that the rebellion lasted for twelve years; it lasted four years, and the year 1866 was two years after its close.

Mr. BERGIN. It was during the war that that trade increased.

Mr. CHARLTON. While to-day our trade is stationary in regard to these products, our exports of bullion to the United States last year amounted to \$4,133,000, which figures in the total exports to that country, and if you take out the export of bullion you will find that our exports of natural products to the United States in 1893 were \$4,000,000 less than they were in 1866. Now, Sir, suppose that the ratio of increase that held from 1854 to 1866 had been continued under the continuance of the treaty, until 1893, and is there any reason to suppose that that trade would not have continued to increase? Is there any reason to suppose that we would not be exporting to the United States to-day, under such a condition, \$100,000,000 a year, instead of the paltry \$36,000,000 worth, which we exported last year, besides bullion and coin? Here are these hon. gentlemen opposite professing to be desirous of promoting the interests of the country, falsely professing to be in favour of a fair and equitable trade arrangement with the United States, setting their faces like flint against the consummation of such a treaty, and with the result that the export trade of this country with the United States to-day is \$60,000,000 a year less than it would have been if that treaty had continued in force? Sir, if the people of this country understood the magnitude and gravity of this matter—and they are fast beginning to apprehend it—they would turn these hon. gentlemen out of office the first chance they got, and I think they will. Now, Sir, we imported from the United States last year for consumption \$58,221,000 worth, and the balance of trade against this country last year in its trade with the United States was \$14,289,000 worth. We paid them that \$4,133,000 in bullion, and in addition to that there was the balance of trade against us of fourteen million and a quarter, and we paid that out of a portion of the surplus of the balance in trade in our favour with Great Britain. Do you tell me, Mr. Speaker, that this great country, with its opulence of

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natural resources, stretching from ocean to ocean, with all the wealth undeveloped that it possesses, with its intelligent and vigorous population, with the markets of 60,000,000 of people at its door, with 6,000,000 of people in United States cities almost within telephone call of us,—can I be told that we shall be unable to pay for our imports from the United States, with the products of the mine, and forest, and the fishery, and the field, if we had increased intercourse into that country? No, Sir, it is absurd to make such a statement, and the condition of trade between these two countries illustrates most eloquently, the short-sighted, fatuitous policy that is pursued and has been pursued by the Government of this country. We are doing something in the line of trying for foreign trade, are we? My hon. friend the Minister of Finance went down to the West Indies once. He was going to open up trade with the coloured people of Jamaica, but how much did it amount to? The Minister of Commerce has been in Australia lately. They are looking to the ends of the earth for development of trade, when trade is right at our doors, and is ready to be grasped the moment we are ready to take it. Our trade with Australia now is about \$500,000 a year, and how much are you going to increase it. Put on a line of steamships; subsidize it with an annual grant of half a million dollars; and you might bring the trade up to a million dollars a year. All these devices are adopted for the purpose of amusing the people. They are humbugs; they are deceptions; they are resorted to only for that purpose. The members of the Government know, for they are intelligent men, that they ought to secure reciprocity; they know that they can secure reciprocity; they know that if the people of this country had been fully alive to the importance of that trade, they would have secured reciprocity; and they are seeking by these paltry devices to divert the attention of the people from the great boon that is within their grasp. So much, Sir, with reference to the reciprocity question, called forth by the assertion made by the Controller of Customs, that we have been making honest efforts to get it. They have been making dishonest pretenses to get it, and they do not want it at all.

Now, Sir, a few words with regard to the National Policy. You would not acknowledge it, Mr. Speaker, but you know it as well as I do: the National Policy is a humbug—an arrant, first-class humbug. It reminds me of the story of the professor of entomology. The boys thought one day that they would deceive the old man, and they fixed up a bug with brass wire legs and red gauze wings and glass beads for eyes, and put it before him and asked him to classify it. The old professor looked at it for a moment through his spectacles, and then he said: "Young gentlemen, the species of bug that this specimen belongs to is commonly called the humbug." That is the class to which the

National Policy belongs. We have long heard the praises of this National Policy sung. We have been told the effect that it has had in developing our national resources—that our manufacturing industries owe their existence to this policy; that it had called them up from the vasty deep, planted them on their feet, developed them, made them prosperous; the whole manufacturing interest has been originated and coddled and fostered and fed and brought to its present proportions by the National Policy. Had we no manufactories in this country before the National Policy was inaugurated? Had we none in 1871, when the census was taken? I asked the Finance Minister the other night some questions about the wages paid by these industries, but he was ignorant about it. According to the census of 1871, we had in that year 187,942 operatives; the wages paid were \$40,851,000; the raw materials consumed in manufacturing amounted to \$124,907,000; and the products of the manufactories amounted to \$221,000,000. That was almost as great a development of the manufacturing industries in proportion to the population of the country as we have to-day; that great development had grown up under a revenue tariff of 15 per cent; and yet these hon. gentlemen tell us that the manufacturing industries of Canada have been created by the National Policy.

Mr. FERGUSON (Grenville). No, they were only revived. You killed them in your time.

Mr. CHARLTON. Did we? That is a good assertion to make. We had a good deal of discussion about this matter in 1878, when our friends on the other side asserted that the country was in such a sad state of depression. Why, Mr. Speaker, there was a boom in agriculture in 1878 compared with the condition of things existing to-day. The assertion was made at that time our manufactories were in a languishing condition, just ready to give up the ghost. I remember that, in connection with the discussions that took place on the subject, I took the pains to get statements from a large number of the leading manufacturing industries of the Dominion. Some of them hedged a little; they were conservative, and they did not like to give me the information I asked for; but some of them did give it. I got letters from twenty of the chief establishments in the various lines of manufacturing in this country. One cotton mill gave me the information that it paid a dividend that year of 10 per cent. Another cotton mill said that they had made no dividend, but I learned afterwards that they had taken a handsome sum from their earnings and applied it to the purchase of plant. One foundry, with a capital of \$180,000, reported: "No dividend in consequence of bad debts and heavy losses." A woollen mill reported a dividend of 7 per cent; another 8 per cent. One sewing machine manufactory said they had made a little more than would be interest on their investment. I

suppose we may say a dividend of 8 per cent. One carriage manufactory said their business was "fairly remunerative." One clothing establishment said they might have made more by going into the note shaving business, which perhaps meant that they had made 20 per cent. At any rate, it is quite evident that their business was profitable. One large agricultural implement factory said their business in that year was the largest they had ever had. Another said their profits were highly satisfactory. A large foundry in the west stated that the return on their capital had been 20 per cent. Another large implement factory had a return of 23 per cent, another 40 per cent, another 20 per cent; another said their profits were satisfactory; and all said they did not want any more protection. One knitting factory said: "Holding our own, others in the same line about in the same condition." One agricultural implement manufactory reported, "Usual profits 30 per cent; no faith in protection." This is the summary of these twenty establishments; six had paid dividends of 20 per cent and upwards; two returned the profits as satisfactory; two paid 10 per cent dividend; six paid from 6 to 8 per cent; one had the dividend reduced as compared with former years; and two paid no dividend, one of which was the cotton mill that had bought more plant out of its earnings. This was the condition of these twenty establishments in the year 1878, that year of depression, when we were told that every one of our manufacturing industries was ready to fall to pieces. Suppose we compare that condition with the condition of things that existed in the New England States, when protection had been the policy for sixteen years. I have looked up the record for the same year, of forty-eight New England establishments, having a combined capital of \$52,320,000. Of these, sixteen reported no dividend; two only in Canada had made the same report. Nine reported a dividend of less than 6 per cent; no establishment in Canada made the same report. Eight reported a dividend of 6 per cent; only two in Canada reported a dividend so low. Seven only reported a dividend of 10 per cent and upwards, against eight out of the twenty in Canada. This comparison shows the condition of these forty-eight manufacturing establishments in highly protected New England to have been infinitely worse than the condition of the manufacturing establishments in the Dominion of Canada under a revenue of 15 per cent, and such a showing, with all the depression which existed in this country at that time, is a safe rejoinder to the assertion that our manufacturing interests were in a depressed and ruinous condition. The question of employment, the question of wages paid, the question of raw material used, the question of output—in all these matters I propose to institute a comparison between the tariffs of 1871, 1881 and 1891.

Practically two of these decades were entirely under a revenue tariff policy. The tariff was changed in 1879. The census returns are given in 1881, but any effect that might have been produced by these tariff changes between the time of enacting the tariff and the taking of the census in 1881 could not have been considerable. So that practically two of these periods were under a revenue tariff policy, and the period from 1881 to 1891 was under a protective policy. Take the number of employees and wages paid. In 1871 the employees numbered 187,942. In 1891 they numbered 254,935, showing an increase of 66,993 under a revenue tariff policy, or an increase of 36 per cent. In 1891 the number of employees amounted to 367,865, or an increase of 112,930, the percentage of increase in the decade ending that year being 44 per cent, against 36 per cent in the decade finishing 1881. In making this comparison, it is proper at this point to observe that the census of 1891 is a misleading one. That census gives as manufacturing establishments almost every place where an industrial occupation was pursued by a single individual. A tinker at a cross-road was put down as an industrial establishment. A cobbler in a cellar, with no stock in trade but his little kit of tools and the sole and upper leather he used in mending boots and shoes, was an industrial establishment. The seamstress in a garret, working alone at needle work, was an industrial establishment. Consequently the lists were stuffed and unreliable; and under these circumstances, I verily believe that the increase indicated by these returns of 44 per cent against 36 per cent should lead us fairly to the inference that the increase between 1871 and 1881 was actually greater than that between 1881 and 1891.

Mr. SPROULE. Were not instructions given in 1891 the same as in 1881?

Mr. CHARLTON. Whatever the instructions were, the mode of taking was different, and the census was a fraud as regards these industrial establishments. The wages paid in 1871, according to the census of 1871, amounted to \$40,851,009, and in 1881 they amounted to \$59,429,002, showing an increase of \$18,577,993, or 45½ per cent. Now, the average wage of each operative in 1871 was \$217, and in 1881, still under a revenue tariff policy, it was \$233. The wages paid in 1891, according to the census returns, amounted to \$99,762,441, an increase of \$40,333,439, or 67 per cent. But here again the returns are misleading on account of that stuffing process I have referred to. The average wages paid in 1891 were \$244. Thus there was an increase of \$16 in 1881 over 1871, and an increase of \$11 between 1881 and 1891. Now, with regard to raw material and the output. The value of the raw material was, in 1871, \$124,907,846. In 1881 it was \$179,918,593, and in 1891 it was \$255,983,219. The increase between 1871

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and 1881 was 44 per cent, and between 1881 and 1891 42 per cent. Or, there was an increase of 2 per cent less in the decade under protection than in the previous decade under a revenue tariff. That little fact lets the cat out of the bag. It shows the stuffing and manipulations of these census figures—a process which could not be applied to the raw material, because these bogus concerns, such as tinkers, cobblers dressmakers and others, do not use much raw material. So that we have in that statement something on which we can base a correct comparison. And it shows that the increase of raw material in the decade ending 1891 as compared with the previous decade was 42 per cent, as against 44 per cent of an increase in the previous decade over that ending 1871. In the decade ending 1871 the total value of products was \$221,617,773. In the decade ending 1881 the total value of products was \$309,676,068, still under a revenue tariff policy, showing an increase of \$88,058,295, or 40 per cent. In the decade ending 1891, the total value of products was \$475,445,705, or an increase of \$165,769,637 over the previous decade, or 43 per cent. I am sorry the Finance Minister has gone. Here is the answer to the assertion that the National Policy created our manufacturing interests and increased their prosperity. Here are the hard facts given by the census returns, which show that in 1871 we had an extensive manufacturing system in this country, embracing all the branches pursued to-day. They show also that in 1881, while we had barely ceased to be under the operation of a revenue tariff, there had been a large increase in the number of employees, wages paid, raw material used, and manufactured output. They show further, that the decade ending 1891, the ratio increase in raw material was less than in the previous decade ending 1881. So much for the false assertion that the manufacturing interests of Canada owe anything to the National Policy. Sir, it is an unmitigated humbug, and the Government that rests its fortunes upon that policy is a Government that deserves defeat.

Mr. SPROULE. The National Policy keeps you in opposition.

Mr. CHARLTON. Very true. The National Policy may be doing a great many things that are bad for the country, and one of the worst is keeping those who would give honest government out of office.

This National Policy made a good many promises to the farmers, every one of which was a dire delusion. It promised higher prices. Did it give them? What was the average prices of products when Mr. Mackenzie was in office? The average price of wheat during those five years was \$1.11 per bushel. To-day the farmers are feeding their wheat to the hogs, as it is not worth over 50 to 55 cents a bushel. The average price of barley was 85 cents per bushel. To-day is it worth

40 cents? The average price of oats was 42 cents per bushel. The average price of pease was 71 cents per bushel. Dressed hogs averaged \$7. Wool averaged 34 cents a pound. And so on through the list. The farmers, who were receiving these prices, were promised an Utopia under the National Policy. They were to be immeasurably benefited. The farmers have suffered, but the party in power to-day has benefited by this miserable delusion, this humbug palmed off upon the people for the benefit of a few. The people swallowed the bait and have suffered the consequences. With whom must our farmer compete to-day? Can he get protection? He goes into the foreign market and competes with the coolie of India; he competes with the Italian and Spanish-American of the Argentine Republic. He competes with the recently-emancipated serf of Russia; he competes with the labourer of Hungary—he competes with all the low-paid and miserably-fed labour of the world, and he must sell below the price accepted by these labourers or he cannot command a market. When he has to buy, what is his fate? Can he buy where he sells; can he buy cheap because he is obliged to sell cheap? Not at all; he must buy in a restricted market; he must buy in a protected market; he must buy in a market where every article he wants to use is enhanced in price for the benefit of some monopolist or favourite of the Government. He is compelled to sell cheap and to buy dear. He is, as I have often said, like Issachar, a strong ass bowed down between two burdens. He is an ass because he submits to it, and the burdens resting upon him are low prices on the one hand, and high prices on the other, both evils aggravated by the policy of the Government of the day. Now, we have heard a good deal about the depression that existed in 1878, and comparisons are made between that time and the glorious times we have had since. We had a howl at that time about the exodus. We were told that the country was being depopulated by the policy of Mr. Mackenzie and his colleagues in office, and it was declared that we must apply a remedy for this evil, and that remedy must be the National Policy. The Controller of Customs said to-day that my hon. friend on my right (Sir Richard Cartwright) in making his calculation that the natural increase of Canada ought to be $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent per annum, was far wide of the mark. Sir, he was not wide of the mark. The natural increase of population in the United States from 1790 to 1850 was over 30 per cent in each decade. In one of those decades the increase was 34 per cent. In the decade between 1850 and 1860, it was 28 per cent. To tell us that a young and vigorous country like Canada, with a population such as ours, with resources such as ours with room for the expansion of population that we have, ought not to have a

natural increase as great as that of the United States during the first seventy years of its existence, is to tell us something that is manifestly preposterous. The fact that we increased 17 per cent in one decade, and in the next increased only 12 per cent is to prove that there has been an enormous drain upon the population of this country. The exodus must have run up to hundreds of thousands of the native-born population of the country in order to account for our low rate of increase of population. In addition, there is the drain of the immigrant population, which has come to us in hundreds of thousands, but has left us, as our native-born population has been doing. Yes, Sir, my hon. friend was right; he was within the mark; his statement will bear investigation, and it may well challenge investigation.

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

Mr. CHARLTON. Mr. Speaker, at six, o'clock, when you left the Chair, I was referring to the question of the exodus of native-born Canadians to the United States during the term of the Mackenzie Government, and to the charges made by the then Opposition that the policy of the Liberal Government was one which promoted emigration to that country; and I was referring also to the promises made that if the party now occupying the Treasury benches were brought into power, the policy they would inaugurate would result in checking that exodus, and would have the further result of bringing back to Canada many thousands of her sons who had left the shores of this country. Well, Sir, these promises have not been fulfilled. On the contrary, the policy adopted by the gentlemen who came into power in 1878 seems to have been one calculated to aggravate the evil of which these gentlemen complained, and for which they promised to furnish a remedy if they were intrusted by the people with their confidence. We have several sources of information as to the extent of the exodus of our sons from Canadian shores. One is, the United States census returns, giving the nationalities of foreigners resident in that country. I have reason to believe, Sir, that the returns of native Canadians in the United States are very largely below the mark, as many Canadians there choose to profess to be native Americans and do not declare themselves to the census enumerators to be natives of British America. Nevertheless, the last census returns give the number of Canadians in that country at one million. The United States customs officials, for a term of years, professed to furnish statistics as to the number of Canadian immigrants crossing the border into the United States. These statistics were confessedly lacking in accuracy,

but a comparison of these figures for two periods would furnish a fair comparison, because the relative inaccuracy would undoubtedly be about the same for one period as for another. From these custom-house statistics, it seems that the emigration of native Canadians from Canada into the United States as enumerated by these officials, for the five years from 1874 to 1878, inclusive, was 124,863, or an average of 24,972 per annum. These statistics were continued until the year 1886, and, according to the tables, the number of Canadians passing into the United States as permanent residents, between 1879 and 1885, inclusive, was 522,214, or an annual average in the latter period of 74,000, or about three times as many as in the former period. I say, Mr. Speaker, that I do not claim that these statistics are strictly accurate, that they are more than approximately accurate. Still, that they show conclusively that the tide of emigration from Canada to the United States was greater in the latter period than in the former. Now, Sir, in the light of these facts the assertion made by hon. gentlemen that they would check the exodus and would bring back numbers of native Canadians who had gone to the United States was an absurd promise. They failed to perform what they had promised. On the contrary, the evil of which they complained, and for which they professed to be able to furnish a remedy was greatly aggravated by their policy. We had in the United States in 1890, native Canadians, and children born to native Canadians in that country, to the number of not less than 2,400,000. The statistics for 1880 gave 712,000 as the number of Canadians in the United States, and 939,000 as the number of children of Canadian parents in that country. Upon that basis, we must have had in the United States in 1890, native Canadians, and the children of native Canadians to the number of 2,400,000, and our population, of course, is that much the less than it would have been but for the exodus. Then we have the grandchildren of Canadians, and the great grandchildren of Canadians, who emigrated to the United States in earlier years; we have the immigrants who left Canada at various periods, and their descendants. Altogether it is capable of mathematical demonstration, it has been demonstrated, and can be demonstrated again that if there had been no exodus from Canada since Confederation the population of this country would have exceeded nine millions instead of falling short of five millions.

Now, I wish to say a word with regard to the assertion made by the Minister of Finance that the burdens imposed by the American tariff, even under the Wilson Bill, if it passes, substantially in the shape in which it stands at present, are greater than under the Canadian tariff, and that the Wilson Bill will furnish a higher degree of protection than our tariff. The hon gentleman asserted

that the burdens borne by the American people through the imposition of customs duties were greater than the burdens borne by the Canadian people. He asserted that the average rate of duties before the passage of the McKinley Bill was 45 per cent, and, even at the lowest rate of duties, it was 23 per cent, on the whole importations of the country. There is one criterion by which to test the accuracy of the hon. gentleman's statement—an infallible criterion—and that is to ascertain what the total taxation of the United States from customs is, and what the per capita tax is; then turn to Canada and ascertain likewise, the total customs taxation and the per capita ratio of that tax here. That comparison must settle the question. How does the matter show by that comparison? The total customs taxation of the United States last year was \$203,355,000; the per capita tax was \$3.08. The customs taxes of Canada last year amounted to \$21,161,000. The per capita tax was \$4.26, while it was \$3.08 in the United States, or \$1.18 more than in the United States per capita, a difference of 35 per cent. That disposes of the hon. gentleman's assertion. That proves that he has made assertions in this House calculated to mislead the country, that he has either made this assertion in ignorance of the true state of the case, or for the purpose of producing an effect upon public sentiment that the facts do not warrant.

Now, the hon. gentleman made some other references. He spoke in a jocular and sneering tone of that unwelcome visitor of Reform Governments, the deficit. That matter has been referred to before, it was referred to by the hon. member for South Oxford, and I wish to say only one more word about it. I wish to point out that the inference which we were supposed to draw from the hon. gentleman's remarks, that a deficit was an unwelcomed Reform visitor, or peculiar to Reform Administrations, was an insinuation without foundation, and not based upon the truth. The Liberal Government had deficits from 1875 to 1878, in the aggregate amounting to \$4,489,000 in round numbers. But did the Government of which the hon. Minister is a member, ever face a deficit? They met deficits between the years 1878-79 and 1887-88, of \$12,365,000; they met deficits of three dollars to every one dollar of deficit confronting the Reform Government; and yet the Minister of Finance, standing upon his feet here, makes reference to deficits as something peculiar to the administration of affairs by a Liberal Government, and as an unwelcomed visitor that we alone had to entertain. Why is that effrontery? Well, it is dealing with facts and presuming upon popular ignorance in a manner that I think betrays a good deal of hardihood, to say the least. Now, with regard to this question of deficits, I suppose that the Reform Government could have corrected them by imposing additional taxes—no

doubt they could. Their tariff was a moderate revenue tariff, their policy was to maintain their tariff at the figure of a moderate revenue tariff. They unfortunately held office during a period of great financial depression, a period of depression commencing in 1874 and lasting till 1879. The revenues continually shrank. That Government practiced the most rigid economy; it increased its expenditure, chargeable to the consolidated fund, \$186,000 in five years, by a careful analysis of the accounts and adjusting them so as to apply to the term they came into office and the term they went out. During that time they had to meet increased expenditures of interest charges of nearly a million dollars. Now, the Liberal Government decided that the depression of trade was temporary, they decided that an increase of revenue was certain to come when that depression passed away, that it was better to tide over the difficulty by the strictest economy and by facing small deficits, than to increase the burdens resting on the country to such an extent that when the revival came they would have more revenue than they required. And so they kept on, waiting for the revival, practicing economy, and refraining from putting upon the shoulders of the people unnecessary burdens. If they had remained in office do you suppose that their expectations would have been realized? Do you suppose that when the depression passed away in 1879 and the trade of this country assumed its normal condition, that the revenue under the tariff of 1876 would have increased to a sufficient extent to meet the expenditures of the Government upon the economical basis that it practised? Well, Sir, beyond question it would; and although we cannot point to the results that would have followed, because the tariff in the meantime was changed, yet we can draw a reasonable inference from the experience of the United States. They did not change their tariff, their fiscal conditions were very much the same as ours would have been, our revenue would have been affected by the same general causes. Now, the revenue that country derived from customs in 1878-79 was one hundred and thirty-seven millions and a-quarter. In 1879-80 the revival came, the United States resumed specie payment, and trade improved, and the customs revenue of the United States in 1879-80, rose to one hundred and eighty-six millions and a half. Now, if the same conditions of trade had governed the case in Canada, and if the tariff of 1876 had continued in force until 1879-80, the increase would have been nearly in the same proportion, that is, from \$12,900,000 in 1878-79 to \$17,540,000 in 1879-80; it would have given the Mackenzie Government, in 1879-80, \$2,702,000 revenue more than the deficit of the last year they were in office. The expectations of the Finance Minister would have been fully realized, and there was no necessity, in view of the future revival of trade that was sure to come, for increasing the

tariff, and the Finance Minister of that day acted upon the soundest fiscal policy in refusing to do so.

Now, one word about the matter of the debt. My hon. friend the Controller of Customs informs us to-day that the debt of Canada increased \$40,000,000 under the Mackenzie regime. Very true. We commenced Confederation with a net debt of \$75,728,000; the net debt of this country on the 30th June last, was \$241,681,000, an increase of \$166,000,000 in round numbers. Now, Mr. Speaker, I make the assertion here in my place in Parliament, that the Conservative Governments of this country, the Conservative Government that held office from Confederation till 1873, and the Conservative Government that resumed office in 1878, and continued until the present time, are responsible for every dollar of that debt; the Liberal Government is not responsible for one farthing of that increase. Why, the Controller of Customs himself tacitly admitted that when he said that Mr. Mackenzie never originated any policy at all that involved expenditure. Certainly he never did. He came into office, and he found that they were pledged to certain expenditures, and he had to go on and carry out the obligations that his predecessors had incurred. His Finance Minister, now Sir Richard Cartwright, in his speech on the Budget, in the session following the downfall of the Liberal Government from office, made these remarks with reference to this matter:

Suffice to say now, that the [very first step which I took when becoming Finance Minister was to ascertain what were the engagements which Canada would require to defray, in order to do all that the hon. gentleman had pledged to do, and without charging more than the \$30,000,000 which he, himself, assumed to be the total cost of the Pacific Railway, I found that, instead of \$60,000,000 being required to meet our engagements, we would require to provide \$91,000,000.

The Liberal Government came into power with obligations amounting to \$91,000,000 resting upon their shoulders; they were obliged to go on and carry out those engagements, the enlargement of canals, the completion of the Intercolonial Railway, the completion of contracts here in Ottawa, and the expenditure upon the Pacific Railway, and in doing these things, I repeat, that for every dollar of that forty millions increase of debt that accrued during their administration, the Conservative Government of this country were responsible, as they are now responsible to the people of Canada for the existence of every dollar of that \$241,686,000 of debt that rests upon our shoulders, and if our friends on the other side would deal honestly with this question, they would admit the truth of this assertion. The debt amounts to \$50 per head for every man, woman and child in this Dominion. Was it necessary, was it prudent, to increase the debt of the country by the amount

it was increased? I say no. I affirm, that we incurred a scale of expenditure befitting a nation of fifteen millions, that we are too ambitious, that we place on ourselves burdens that make us stagger under their weight, that this debt, with its interest charge of \$9,800,000 last year, is an incubus on the prosperity of Canada of the most serious imaginable character. For what purpose did we spend that money? On a system of canals—perhaps they were necessary—on public works of various kinds that were not necessary; on bonuses to miserable little railways for the purpose of buying ridings, squandering money in a thousand different ways, expending money by bucketsful and by millions in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway, when we could have adopted a scheme that would have given us that railway for half the cost incurred. All these hare-brained schemes for building works sufficient to equip a nation of fifteen millions, all these rash and unjustifiable schemes imposed on the people of this country this enormous debt that renders it practically impossible to give them such a kind of government, as regards economy, as we should possess.

Then, we have the growth of the expenditure. We commenced the first year after Confederation with an expenditure charged to the Consolidated Fund of \$13,486,000. That expenditure last year was \$36,884,000. While our population has increased barely 50 per cent, our expenditure has increased 300 per cent; we have increased our expenditure six times faster than our population and our resources have increased, and the Government that will go at that pace is a Government that is rushing the country to ruin. My hon. friend from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) last night made a comparison between our expenditure and that of the United States. I wish to make three comparisons of a more ample character, one between 1800, another between 1830, and another between 1860 and our present condition. The United States in 1800 had a population of 5,308,000, well on to half a million more than our present population. Their total expenditure was \$10,777,000, less than one-third of ours, and they had an army, navy, diplomatic service and all the expenses pertaining to a nation to defray, and we have none of those. In 1830 they had a population of 12,820,000, with an expenditure of \$24,354,000; with a population two and a half times greater than ours their expenditure was only two-thirds as great as ours. In 1860, with a population of 31,183,000, their total expenditure was \$56,054,000, and the previous year it had been but \$48,000,000. These figures illustrate the fact that our affairs have been managed in a way, extravagant, reckless and ruinous in its character.

The Minister of Finance told the House that the period from 1879 to 1893 was the brightest and most progressive in our history. Well, I suppose he feels so. He has been on the

Mr. CHARLTON.

Treasury benches during a part of that time and he and a good many other gentlemen who have been enjoying the sweets of office may feel so. You know that there is a passage in the Scriptures which says: "Dot the wild ass bray when at grass, or lower the ox over his fodder?" Hon. gentlemen opposite are at grass and are feeding at the public crib, and they feel these are very bright and prosperous days for them. But are these times prosperous to the country with its depleted population, with its depressed industries, with its population increasing during the last decade less than 12 per cent, when the normal increase shall have been 30 per cent? No, they were not prosperous times for the country. The hon. gentlemen opposite remind me of a story regarding a doctor. He was called in to see a man's wife, and the man asked him how his wife was. The doctor replied that his wife was getting along very well. He came next day and the man again asked him how his wife was, and the doctor replied she was progressing favourably. He called the next day and was again asked how she was progressing, and the doctor said, "There is a marked improvement." That night the wife died. Some neighbours asked what was the matter and the man said he could not exactly tell but, as near as he could make out from the doctor's description of the case, she died of too much improvement. That is about what is the matter with this country. It is dying of too much of this improvement, this brightness and progressiveness, with members of the Treasury benches drawing salaries and feeding on boodle, it is a bright and prosperous time in their history.

Mr. BERGIN. Where does the laugh come in?

Mr. CHARLTON. I cannot delay to perform a surgical operation on the hon. gentleman to get a joke into his brain, as I have no time to-night. In the next breath, the Minister of Finance admitted the truth of the charge we have been making, for he said that Canadians had been driven out of Canada by thousands in consequence of Grit misrepresentations. He admitted the exodus, but he did not properly state the cause. He alleged that thousands had been driven away by Grit misrepresentations. Do hon. gentlemen suppose that to be the fact? No, these people were tired of unjust laws, of oppression, of taxes, of boodle, of shamelessness, of Caron squirms, and left it to the Tories, who are misruling it and rushing it to ruin.

I have been asked what is our policy. I will state very briefly what I understand some of the features of our policy to be. We want a Government in power that will give the same consideration to farmers, lumbermen, labourers, fishermen, and the great mass of the producing community as they are disposed to give to manufacturers. We want a policy that will give fair-play and

even-handed justice, and no special favours. That is the kind of policy we want. We want a Government that will not talk about economy and let it end in mere talk, but a Government that will practise economy, a Government that will reduce burdens, not to a paltry extent, but will give the country some adequate measure of relief. We want a Government that will make an honest effort to secure reciprocity, a Government that will not abuse and deceive the people by a game of deception and false promises and pretenses with regard to their policy, but a Government that will make an honest effort to secure this greatest of all attainable boons for the people of this country. Do the hon. gentlemen suppose that this Government is capable of doing this? Can the leopard change its spots; can the Ethiopian change his skin? Can this Government become an honest, respectable, prudent, economical Government worthy of the confidence of the people of Canada? Well, I do not know. I suppose miracles might be performed, but the age of miracles is passed, and you take such a Government as this, a Government of timber limit distributors, of Yankee gerrymander imitators, of franchise list stuffers, of expense incurrers, of debt creators, of tax advancers, of money squanderers, of contract sweaters, of bonus tollers, of boodle conspirators, of inquiry dodgers; why, such a Government never can be respectable. It is never to be dreamed of that they can be, and a people that expect to reform such a Government or ever to enjoy the blessing of good government under them, is a people that is doomed to be deceived. Their offences, Sir, are rank and smell to Heaven, and the sooner the people of this country can get rid of them the better.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). Mr. Speaker, I can promise the House one thing at least, which I am sure hon. gentlemen will be very glad to hear, and that is that I shall not take up much of the time of the House as the hon. member who has just preceded me has done. Sir, the present is a very important period in the history of the country, and before this House there is a measure of perhaps vaster importance than any that has ever been brought down by the Government since the year 1879. I, for one believe that the people of this country are fairly well seized of the facts concerning the National Policy and the changes in the tariff which are now proposed; and, Sir, believing that I have some idea of business, hoping at least that I have; I know very well that the business interests of this country demand that the decision of the House, upon this question, should be come to at the earliest possible moment. Therefore, I shall not take up so much time as my hon. friend who preceded me. I believe, Sir, that the Conservative party of this country can at least claim the credit of fulfilling its pledges. I believe that if there is one point of difference between the

two parties, the one in power and the other striving to attain power, it is that we of the Conservative party have never made a pledge to the people of Canada which we have not fulfilled. Talk about the National Policy as you like. Talk about it if you will in the terms we have just heard from the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton); I retort and tell him that at least we have been consistent. Ours has been a consistent policy, and not like theirs; a rag on every bush. I tell my hon. friend, too, and I tell hon. gentlemen upon the other side of the House: that before they ever acquire or obtain the confidence of the people of this country, they must change their methods and they must learn the important fact: That they cannot chew meal and whistle at the same time. If I understood the hon. member (Mr. Charlton) aright, when he began his address this afternoon, and endeavoured to refute the remark made by the Controller of Customs: that our opponents, the Liberal party, had tied themselves to commercial union; the hon. gentleman (Mr. Charlton) declared that that was not true, that the Liberal party of this country had never taken that attitude and that no Liberal of any distinction in the party had ever done so. Well, Sir, the hon. gentleman said a moment ago that the Ethiopian cannot change his skin nor the leopard its spots, and the hon. gentleman himself is the best illustration of that adage whom I have ever known. Why, Sir, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Charlton) himself made a speech—and it just so happens that I have it in my hand, not at all supposing that the hon. member would allude to it—he made a speech just about the time that Mr. Wiman—and I mention that gentleman's name without the slightest disrespect at all—was in this country in the year 1888. It was that period when commercial union was having its fling in this country and when the Liberal party was standing up to it almost to a man.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). Yes, and I will prove it before I get through.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) You have a big contract on hand.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). I will accept the hon. member for Prince Edward Island. Here is a quotation from a speech of the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) at that time:

Mr. Charlton first proceeded to explain the meaning of the term commercial union. It was, he said, simply a customs union between two or more independent States, where a common tariff and excise laws were adopted, and the revenue collected after deducting expenses, the balance was divided among the participants upon the basis of population or any other basis that might be agreed upon while all trade restrictions between them were removed.

The hon. gentleman was paving the way for that; he was trying to form public opinion

upon it in one of our western counties. He continued :

The application of the principle between Canada and the United States would require that the two countries should have the same excise rates and the same tariff upon imports from all other countries.

That is just exactly what Mr. Wiman argued. I am reading words that came from the lips of the hon. member (Mr. Charlton), who, when contradicting the declaration of my hon. friend, the Controller of Customs, declared : that no man of any distinction in his party had ever allied himself to commercial union. Then, Sir, it follows that you have no place in the ranks of your own party.

Mr. CHARLTON. I beg the hon. gentleman's pardon. I think what I said was : That the party never committed itself by resolution or otherwise, although individual members of the party might have done so.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). I have not 'Hansard' to refer to, but I listened to you with great attention on that point, and I believe my memory is right, because I had a distinct recollection of your utterances on the occasion to which I allude.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Are not you getting too direct now ?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). Then I will direct myself to the hon. gentleman who has just reminded me that perhaps I should have addressed the Chair. I think it was the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) himself, who in 1888, that period when commercial union was in the air, moved in this House :

That it is highly desirable that the largest possible freedom of commercial intercourse should obtain between the Dominion of Canada and the United States and that it is expedient that all articles manufactured in, or the natural products of either of the said countries, should be admitted free of duty into the ports of the other, (articles subject to duty or excise or of internal revenue alone excepted). That it is further expedient that the Government of the Dominion should take steps at an early date to ascertain on what terms and conditions, arrangements can be effected with the United States for the purpose of securing full and unrestricted reciprocity of trade therewith.

If unrestricted reciprocity does not mean : trade without any restrictions whatever, then I am at a loss to understand the plain meaning of two English words very common and very much used. It may be said by hon. gentlemen—it was said by my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition to the Minister of Finance, when he was making his speech : Why do you alter this policy, why do you change it all ? Well, Sir, I believe it has been the practice of this Government ever since the inception of that policy, to make changes from time to time, as the necessities

Mr. WOOD (Brockville).

of the case required it. I believe, Sir, that that fact cannot be contradicted. A tariff, after all, is but the emanation of human minds, and we cannot control or guide the future. Circumstances differ ; prices vary ; new conditions of trade arise ; new industries spring up ; and all these have a varying effect upon an existing tariff. If any man should declare that a tariff ought to be perpetual and ought not to be changed in any respect, I would simply say that it would be an outrage for a people to pay taxes in order to keep up asylums and to allow him to run at large. I never met a man who would take that position. Now, Mr. Speaker, I will not take time to go over the different items, or to show the different respects in which we have made changes in this tariff since it became the law of the land. That has been done by those who have preceded me. I will say, this, however, that from its very inception, the principle that has been always kept in view has been that stated on the floor of this House by our late lamented chief, Sir John Macdonald, in that historic resolution which declared that the Customs duties should be so readjusted that, whilst producing a sufficient revenue to meet the necessities of the country, they would at the same time afford a degree of protection to the manufactures of the country. Sir, a careful examination of the policy of the Liberal-Conservative party during the fourteen or fifteen years of the existence of this tariff, will show, as I have said, that we have been true to the record in that respect. But with regard to our opponents, I have only mentioned one departure in their policy, that is, the demand for commercial union. I do not propose to go over all the various changes that have taken place in their policy. But I do say that the policy contained in the amendment submitted to the House last night by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) is the most indefinite that I have ever yet seen. It simply proposes nothing that you can get at and argue from. During the whole course of this debate, notwithstanding all that they have said about the changes which the Government have made in this tariff, there has not come from hon. gentlemen opposite one single suggestion or one single word as to any change that we should make in it. Until they come down to some practical basis on which they can place their policy before the country, they may expect to continue in Opposition. Now, Mr. Speaker, the work involved in amending this tariff has not by any means been light. I believe that those who were intrusted with the preliminary work in connection with it have at least tried to do the best they could. We have an example in the United States of the great difficulty involved in any such undertaking ; and, in view of what we see in that country, I think that we may say with pardonable pride that we

have not allowed the grass to grow under our feet in fulfilling the great task that we have had in hand. I think that all Canadians, whether Grit or Tory, and of whatever nationality, must view with pride the fact that we have met the wishes of the people and have fulfilled our pledges to the extent that we have done. Be the result popular or unpopular, in the interest of the country or not, we have done it at once, in obedience to what we believed to be the feeling in the country. What progress has been made in the country to the south of us, either in point of time or in point of carrying out the solemn pledges that the reigning party there gave to the people? We can all unite in pointing to the immense superiority of the institutions of our country to those of the United States in regard to giving to the people good, sound remedial legislation, and giving it promptly and effectually. Now, in the work of revising the tariff the principle of protection has been kept steadily in view. There were several prominent features of the question to which our attention and the attention of the country had been drawn. The great iron industry of the country was one of the first things that needed consideration. The question that arose was this: was the iron industry of this country to be destroyed or not? Should we, after having made the attempt that we did to develop that great industry—and every nation in the world that has ever amounted to any thing has developed such an industry by a heavy rate of protection—should we continue that protection, or allow that industry to go to the wall? I believe the great consensus of opinion throughout this entire country is that that great industry, for the encouragement of which we possess all the elements of success, ought not to be allowed to perish. It was so decided; and we have come down with the scale of iron duties so distributed that while we give additional protection to the iron makers of the country, we at the same time arrange it so that it involves a cheapening of the iron products to the farmers. This has been the basis of what we have done in respect to the iron interest of Nova Scotia; and I have reason to believe and hope that before very long in many other parts of the country we shall see blast furnaces erected. I am aware that that hope has been held out before; but I believe that now, in the altered condition of affairs, we are in a better position for the erection and carrying on of blast furnaces in the province of Ontario or any other part of Canada than we ever were before. The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), who preceded me, surprised me beyond expression this afternoon when he stated that the National Policy had never done anything for the farmers. I very well remember that when that policy was introduced the rate of interest on ordinary mortgages ran from 8 to 10 or 11 per cent. There is not a man on either side of this House that will deny that fact. To-day, if a farmer goes

into any town in the province of Ontario at least, and offers a fair investment on his farm, if he goes in the morning, before twelve o'clock at noon, there will be a half-a-dozen lawyers trying to get that mortgage at 5 or 5½ per cent. Now, what has brought that about?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The National Policy of course.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). The National Policy of course. I am not foolish enough to think that any one policy can make up for brains, activity, energy, and application; but I do mean to say that the National Policy has been a very important factor in bringing about that state of things. At all events, we must admit that it is not to blame for bringing interest down from 10½ to 5 or 6 per cent. The hon. gentleman will not say that. I might go on with a comparison, which has often been made in this House, regarding investments in the different banks throughout the country. Speaking for that part of the province of Ontario, known as Eastern Ontario, from which I come, I say that the people there are prosperous, contented, and happy. On making inquiry, as I have done, at the different banks, I learned that the deposits made by the farmers exceed now what they have ever been before. I make that statement, and am prepared, if required, to give the names of the bankers, some of whom are not in touch with me in politics, who will bear it out. I say further, that there are less mortgages on farming property in that portion of the province than ever before. When my hon. friend says that nothing we have ever done has helped the farmers, I wish to draw his attention to the following comparison of duties on the different kinds of farm produce, during the time his friends were in power and since that time.

The Canadian Tariff.

| | 1878. | 1893. |
|--|----------------|----------------|
| Potatoes..... | 10c. per bush. | 15c. per bush. |
| Wheat..... | Free. | 15c. do |
| Barley..... | Free. | 15c. do |
| Oats..... | Free. | 10c. do |
| Pease..... | Free. | 10c. do |
| Beans..... | Free. | 15c. do |
| Flour..... | Free. | 75c. per bbl. |
| Pork..... | 1c. per lb. | 1½c. per lb. |
| Eggs..... | Free. | 5c. per doz. |
| Apples..... | 10 per cent. | 40c. per bbl. |
| Bacon and hams | 2c. per lb. | 3c. per lb. |
| Hops..... | 5c. per lb. | 6c. per lb. |
| Indian corn ... | Free. | 7½ per bushel. |
| Beef, mutton, corn, cattle, sheep, hogs, all in the same proportion. | | |

Now, if that is no benefit to the farmers, I have nothing more to say upon that head. The hon. gentleman can go out to the country and try and convince them it is not. In the changes brought down by the Minister of Finance the other day, I submit that the interests of the farmers have been kept

in view. I submit that, with regard to no particular class of the people, was the Government more concerned than the farming community. We realize the vast importance of the farming interest. At the same time we know that although the farming interest is paramount to that of every other class, nevertheless the farmer is a reasonable being, quite willing to live and let live, quite willing to do what he can to assist manufacturing industries in so far as regards giving them a fair measure of protection. This afternoon, my hon. friend, the Controller of Customs, gave \$400,000,000 as the total products of the farms. I think perhaps he underestimated the amount. The paper to which he alluded was one prepared by the Dominion statistician at the request of the Hon. John Young, once Provincial Treasurer of Ontario; and it was proved by Mr. Young that about \$500,000,000 would represent the entire products of the farms. Out of that \$500,000,000 worth, it is interesting to know that only a little more than one-tenth is exported. What does that prove? It proves conclusively the immense advantage of the home market. Too much attention may be paid to the foreign market. Two elections occurred in 1891, won by our opponents—two memorable contests that were surprises to us on this side of the House. One was in Welland and the other in North Essex. Now, if you will just follow me for one moment I think I can draw from these a lesson which will prove to any reasonable person the immense advantage of a home market. Each of these localities juts into a large American city—the county of Welland into Buffalo, and the county of North Essex into Detroit. Now, we are not legislating here for any two constituencies, so that whilst I admit, under some circumstances, there might be some advantage to the home market, the very same reason applies to the county of York in its relation to the city of Toronto, and it applies too in the case of almost every interior town; and the last census discloses this fact that the urban or city population has increased about 600,000. We have added by this policy that amount to the consuming element in these different places, and to that extent we have helped the farmer. I was not surprised on reflection that these two constituencies were lost to us then. But I draw from that fact this argument, that if we were to depart altogether from the policy of protection we would find it utterly impossible to maintain the same population in the towns, our local markets would suffer, and the farmers would suffer in consequence. But why argue the question of free trade or protection? When you ask hon. gentlemen opposite if they are in favour of free trade, you cannot get an answer. They may say they would have it in some distant period—in the millennium period—but that is many years hence. You could not get an hon. gentleman on that side to say

Mr. Wood (Brockville).

that he would do his best to bring about free trade, if his party were in power tomorrow. They dare not crystallize such a policy into a resolution. No doubt in the country, in the ranks of hon. gentlemen there are many who believe they are free traders, and that if they once get into power they would sweep down the tariff wall between this country and the other side. But I am very much mistaken if the people are not rapidly coming to the conclusion that our opponents are not as practical as men should be who are striving to attain power in this country, and to govern the country on a business basis. The hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) referred also to what he called commission hunters, and spoke the other day of the two Controllers as the devil's advocates. With regard to commissions, if we wanted an example, I certainly could point to the Hon. Sir Oliver Mowat, the chief of the Ontario party, at all events; and I do not know that any Government ever held the reins of power in any one province, which has followed the system of appointing commissions to a greater extent than the Government of Sir Oliver. One of his recent acts, I believe, has been to appoint a commission to see whether the fee system is all right. We are well aware that, in 1878, there was in this country a very strong feeling, a feeling that was observed by almost everybody, in favour of tariff reform; not tariff reform on a descending scale, but tariff reform rather on an ascending scale. To this fact gentlemen on the other side resolutely shut their eyes. They turned deaf ears to those who came to them. They knew it all and would give no relief. They went to the wall—they went into opposition and they have been there ever since. Now, we do not adopt that course. Whether our action has been right or wrong in point of policy or as a matter of right; we, realizing, as expressed by the Finance Minister a year ago, that there was a feeling among the people in favour of some change, decided that an investigation should be made. We took exactly the course that has been taken by almost every Government in the world when it wished to ascertain the true state of public opinion—we went among the people, and if the hon. member for South Oxford wants the report of the Controllers, I tell him he can have them.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Let us have them.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). And that at no very great cost.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Let us have them.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). Move for them in the usual way.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It is your duty to present them; you have been paid out of the public fund.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). Mr. Speaker, I submit that the course taken by the Government resulting in the changes which have been announced by the Finance Minister, after the most careful investigation, is perfectly consistent with the course we have pursued year after year since the National Policy came into force. Personally, my opinion is that, as between expansion of trade with the United States on the one hand and expansion of trade with Great Britain on the other hand, our interest lies in the increase of our trade with Great Britain. In saying this I have not the least desire or disposition to belittle our advantages in trading with our neighbour. But if I have read at all correctly the history of the United States and of their actions toward ourselves, I am right in saying that they have been actuated by no other motive than one—and properly so—that one motive being the desire to advance the interests of the United States. The speech of the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) to-day was based, as the speeches of so many other hon. gentlemen on his side are, upon the delusion that if they get into power they can influence the Government of the United States. Well, perhaps they can; but I do not believe that even he could do it. They legislate entirely in their own interest, and not in the interest of Canada. Now, Mr. Speaker, following out the question of the condition of the farmer, I desire to draw the attention of the House again, though it has been referred to by other speakers, to the value of our trade with the United States and with Great Britain relatively. I shall not go into that question exhaustively at all. But, as I see it, one of the widest distinctions between the policies of the two parties—so far as I can make out, the policy of the hon. gentlemen opposite and ourselves—is that they, in all their arguments and all their policy, point southward, while we, in all that we propose so far as expanding trade is concerned, proceed upon the theory that the best business interests of this country require that we should seek rather to direct the current of our trade towards Great Britain. I have here the figures showing the exports of animals and agricultural produce to Great Britain and the United States respectively for the last four years :

| | Great Britain. | United States. |
|-----------|----------------|----------------|
| 1890..... | \$ 22,240,548 | \$ 13,485,727 |
| 1891..... | 26,245,171 | 11,608,225 |
| 1892..... | 39,187,861 | 8,509,703 |
| 1893..... | 42,495,261 | 8,083,955 |
| | \$130,168,841 | \$41,687,610 |

Mr. Speaker, we are, as has been stated before competitors with the United States in almost everything that the soil can produce. We have in this country, I believe, the climate and other conditions to produce the best cereals, and the best things the earth can produce as well : and I hold that this country is destined not only to develop its resources for internal trade, but at length to compete successfully with the United States in the

markets of the world. People talk about our protection as if the system had existed here for thirty or forty years. But, compare us in this respect with other countries. I do not think that people realize what has been so often referred to, that under enactments in force two hundred years ago in Great Britain, it was almost a criminal offence for an English artisan to leave his country and seek employment in a foreign workshop. England came down to free trade. Certainly. But the prediction of Cobden that within twenty or thirty years every other nation would adopt the same principle has never been fulfilled ; to-day she stands almost alone as an example of a free trade nation. In the United States they have had a period of protection of thirty or forty years. In this country many of the industries affected by the tariff we have brought down have not yet had more than six or eight years' protection, yet you ask us to stand upon an even footing with these older nations that have had protection for so many years. If I understood the remarks of my hon. friend from North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), the great difference between the policy he advocates and the policy we advocate is that, while we retain the semblance of protection, he would adopt a revenue tariff, making free trade his ultimate goal. You nod your head—I am right in that. Then you would dispense with every vestige of protection—am I right there ? You do not nod your head this time.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I think we have made it plain enough—read the resolution.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). Let me say a word, Mr. Speaker, about the increase of the exports of agricultural produce, notwithstanding the McKinley Bill. This is a very important feature of our trade since the passage of that Bill. I admit that we were hit by that tariff—it would be nonsense not to say so. But we were not hit so hard that we did not recover very quickly, and we did it simply by diverting our trade from the United States to Great Britain. We did not do that through any desire to injure them, but because they had struck a blow at us. They put the duty on barley ; we did not. The arguments of hon. gentlemen in this House and on the platform all tend to the fallacious and erroneous idea that we are to blame for all this ; but it was the doing of the United States. The following figures show the exports of cereals from Canada to all countries before and since the McKinley tariff came into operation :—

| | 1890. | 1893. |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|
| Barley | \$ 4,600,409 | \$ 944,355 |
| Oats | 256,156 | 2,553,910 |
| Pease | 1,884,912 | 2,578,632 |
| Beans | 250,044 | 355,682 |
| Wheat | 338,861 | 7,060,033 |
| Buckwheat | 24,028 | 277,681 |
| Totals | \$7,404,410 | \$13,770,293 |

Now, if the United States ever did anything that was to the benefit of this country, it was in passing the McKinley Bill, enacted, I think, in a spirit of unfriendliness, at all events, not in a neighbourly spirit. But it had this effect, the effect that was once predicted by the hon. member for South Oxford when he was addressing an audience, I think, in Prince Edward Island, it had the effect of showing us what our people could do if driven into a corner. Now, Sir, our opponents met in the city of Ottawa last summer, and they passed certain resolutions. I have looked over those resolutions very carefully. It was a very large gathering, no doubt. The weather was very warm, but nevertheless they worked very hard, and produced what is called a policy. You cannot, of course, expect that they are going to be very definite. Too much cannot be expected of a political leader or party in Opposition, but what that policy lacks is just what their policy always did lack: that degree of definiteness, which, after all, is necessary to satisfy the people before you can expect them to turn a ruling party out of office. I turn to some of the planks, and I find one regarding the Senate. Now, it is popularly supposed that the Liberal party is in favour of wiping out the Senate.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I beg your pardon.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). I am glad to get an expression from one hon. gentleman on the other side to the effect that such is not the case. But you say you want to change the constitution of the Senate in such a way and in such an extent as will make it more representative of the people. Now, I will be glad to hear, during the course of this debate, or during this session, just in what particular you propose to alter its character. I am inclined to think that you have made that a plank in your platform with a very big reservation, namely, that it will be a subject for consideration when you get into power. Now, Sir, much has been said on the subject of coal oil, and that is a point I omitted to mention when I was speaking of the proposed changes in the tariff. I would remind hon. gentlemen opposite that the protection afforded this industry was largely owing to the legislation of hon. gentlemen opposite. I would remind them of something that they perhaps do not know, that when they came into power there was an excise duty of 5 cents per gallon on coal oil, and they wiped it out. I would say furthermore that in the visits of myself and colleagues to the farmers this summer we heard no great complaint among them on the subject of coal oil. We found that they appreciated the legislation that had taken place in that regard, and the efforts that had been made to cheapen that product to the consumer. I believe that the provisions in the proposed Bill, if it passes this House, will greatly improve the regulations concerning that article, and greatly cheapen

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it to the farmer. I have only a word or two to say about the exodus, and then I have done. We have heard a great deal about that, session after session, and year after year. I need not remind my hon. friends opposite of a fact which they know very well, that undoubtedly much of the apparent loss of population during the last ten years was due to a change in the mode of taking the census. The hon. member for Queen's, P.E.I. (Mr. Davies), himself, had admitted as much. I think that a sufficient degree of importance has never yet been given to that fact by the people. Sir, I submit that it is unfair to compare the census returns of 1881 and 1891 for the reason I have stated; but I will say this, that I have never yet met any man who could convince me that by the adoption of free trade, or anything approaching it, you could retain all our population in this country, and prevent any exodus. We are told that free trade will develop our minerals; we were told so this afternoon. I never yet knew a valuable mine in this country of any kind that has remained undeveloped for the want of capital, if the mineral was there. I grant you that in regard to one product, that of iron ore, we might be benefited; but, speaking generally, let hon. gentlemen point out a single gold mine, or silver mine, or any other mines of importance, or of real and genuine value, and there will be no want of capital to work it.

Mr. CHARLTON. How about copper mines?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). Will you tell me to what extent they are developed in this country? The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) to-night endeavoured to prove by an elaborate calculation, based upon a method of mathematical reasoning, that I did not quite understand, that an immense number of Canadians were living in the United States. Well, if he goes on in the same way for another session or two he will prove that almost every man in the United States is a Canadian. I do not undertake to say that his figures are not right; but I have never yet heard from him or from any other member on that side of the House, a single argument to prove, by inference or by any other kind of logic, that if you had free trade or unrestricted reciprocity you would not have even a greater exodus from this country to the United States. I believe that the adoption of the National Policy in this country was the one means that prevented a much greater exodus than that which has taken place. I have not the slightest doubt that had it not been for the adoption of that policy at that particular junction in our history, the exodus to the United States would have been greater than we have ever seen it yet. I say that the condition of things prior to the adoption of that policy were favourable to an exodus. We know that the workshops were being closed, we

know that deputation after deputation were coming here. I know this is an old story, but we must repeat the old stories sometimes when circumstances require. People were coming here from all parts of the country only to be met with discouragement. The country swept the then Government out of power. Why? Were the people all fools, then? Admitting they were fools once, they were not fools again in 1882.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. No. They were gerrymandered that time.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). I am very glad the hon. gentleman has mentioned that matter. That assertion served his purpose very well for some years. But, in 1891, his party gained in the province of Ontario, which, as alleged by him, was gerrymandered. Owing to the unfortunate attitude taken by the press of the country and hon. gentlemen opposite, the people of that province believed that they suffered from certain ills, which were imagined, and that the panacea for all such ills was free trade. What was the result? We suffered loss in Ontario, especially in the west; but down by the sea in the Maritime Provinces, where the knife had never entered, where no gerrymander had taken place, hon. gentlemen opposite were nailed to the cross. Since that time I have heard very little about the gerrymander; but if the hon. gentleman wishes to hear more, I refer him to his provincial political chief, Sir Oliver Mowat. In conclusion, I simply desire to say this, that as a Canadian I have faith in the country, I believe in the destiny of Canada, and I have never wavered in that belief, and I will do hon. gentlemen opposite the justice to say that if they got into power to-morrow they would find that the best course they could adopt for the interests of the people of Canada would be to follow in the footsteps of those that had preceded them. I believe that Canada has a future ahead of her far greater than that which lies behind.

Mr. McMULLEN. I cannot allow this opportunity afforded me, as the representative of an agricultural constituency, to pass without offering a few observations on this very important question, and I must say that I have a very easy task to perform in answering the hon. gentleman who had just taken his seat. He commenced by discussing the question of potatoes, and he went from that to the Senate, then he came back to coal oil, and he wound up by referring to the exodus. Those were the four points to which he confined his remarks. In the first place, he said that the great question was the question of ins and outs, one party was in power and the other was out of power. The hon. gentlemen opposite are in power, they occupy the Treasury Benches, and they are willing to sacrifice any principle if the country will only allow them to stay there. As I have stated on more than one occasion in this House, they very much

resemble a wooden weathercock on top of a barn. It always points the way the wind blows, and they are quite willing to turn in any direction they think will be popular and allow them to remain where they are. One session they will advocate a certain line of action, and the next session they will swallow all their previous professions as they have done on the question of sugar duties. Last year they were opposed to admitting sugar up to No. 16 Dutch standard, although the West Indies were very anxious to establish trade with Canada, if the Dominion would only accept from them sugars up to that grade. Hon. gentlemen opposite would not do that; but this year they find in order to meet public sentiment and comply with the expressed and pronounced will of the people for a reduction in tariff, that it is desirable to come down and accept sugars up to No. 16 Dutch standard. The Controller of Inland Revenue has taken credit to himself and his colleagues for the very arduous duties they performed in their peregrinations throughout this Dominion getting information with respect to proposed changes in the tariff. This is rather amusing. Although hon. gentlemen opposite are in this House backed by 80, 90, or 100 followers, they are so entirely ignorant of the views of their constituents as regards the changes that should be made in the tariff that the Finance Minister and two of the Solomons with whom he has surrounded himself, had to start on a mission throughout this Dominion to find out what the people wanted. Their followers were not in a position to tell them, the Government could not trust them for information, and even the hon. and intelligent representative for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) was not able to convince the Government that the people in the North-west wanted a change, and the Finance Minister, with the Minister of Agriculture, took occasion to visit the North-west and gather the information for themselves. What a compliment this was to the hon. and intelligent representative from West Assiniboia and the constituents who sent him to this House. If I were a supporter of a Government that treated me and my constituents in that fashion, I would have as little confidence in it as they had in me. It is nothing short of a positive insult to every constituency represented by a Conservative that the Government should have gone round gathering information and ignoring the representatives sent by the different constituencies to this House. Still the Controller of Inland Revenue took great credit to himself and those associated with him for the meritorious duties they performed in that regard. The hon. gentlemen opposite are fond of following British precedents. I should like them to point out in British history any case in which the Government adopted the course which the hon. gentlemen opposite have pursued in peddling around, seeking to find out what changes the people wanted in order to be

able to meet public sentiment. They cannot find any such instance, there is not one on record. The hon. Controller of Inland Revenue spoke with respect to the iron duties. It is quite clear from the changes made in the iron duties that hon. gentlemen opposite are not going to lower the price of iron. They will probably encourage the production of iron in Canada by taxing scrap iron. I have no objection to have blast furnaces established here, for we have mountains of iron, and I should be pleased to see our iron resources developed. But if the hon. gentlemen opposite are anxious under the operation of the policy to develop our iron resources, they should do it by a bounty and not by a duty. Why should the farmer be bound to bear enormous burdens in order to develop our iron mines by means of duty? I contend that if the Government are going to develop the iron industry, the men who do not use iron as well as those who use iron should be called upon to contribute. If they had followed the example set them by the United States, they would have rather tried to develop our resources in iron, entirely or nearly so by a bounty, without placing it in such a shape that a very large responsibility and a largely increased tax falls upon our farmers. The hon. gentleman states that farmers are now able to borrow money at less interest than they could years ago. That is very true, but does the hon. gentleman claim that the National Policy has a right to be credited with that? Why, Sir, centuries after this, after the National Policy has been dead and buried and forgotten, if it ever should rise from its grave and read the epitaphs engraved on its tombstone by the present Government and its supporters, it will be surprised and astounded that it was ever the father of so much good to Canada as they gave it credit for. Hon. gentlemen opposite give the National Policy credit for everything. They gave it credit for the reduced rates of interest on money, for the prosperity they say exists in the country, for keeping the people in the country when they are fleeing from it, and for anything and everything that they can possibly lay their tongues upon. They have told us in this debate, and they have told us frequently before, about the home market, but the fact is, the home market is a delusion. It is a delusion that President Cleveland, one of the greatest statesmen on this continent, has described in the following words. Addressing the Secretary of the Farmers' Alliance of the United States, Mr. Cleveland said:

Struggle as they may, our farmers cannot escape the conditions which fix the prices of what they produce, and according to the rates which prevail on foreign markets flooded with the competition of countries enjoying a freer exchange of trade than we. The plausible pretensions of the blessings of the home market should not deceive our oppressed and impoverished agriculturists. There is no market for them which does not take

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its instructions from the seaboard, and the seaboard transmits the word of the foreign markets.

In dealing with the question of the home market, President Cleveland, who has been elected to the highest position of that great republic, points out to the farmers of the United States, that the value of their product is not enhanced by the protection that is supposed to be given, but that the intrinsic value of their product is fixed by the price that can be got for it in the foreign market. That is a principle that cannot be successfully controverted. The hon. member for Brockville (Mr. Wood) said something with regard to our country. We have, unquestionably, a grand country; we feel proud of the country in which we live; we believe we live in a country the climate and soil of which is equal to any other on the American continent; we claim that if this country were blessed with an economical and prudent Government, and with a capable Government, that its future would be a bright and glorious one. But we claim also, that during the last fifteen years the policy adopted in Canada has vastly retarded our progress. We have not been able to keep our population within our borders; they have been fleeing from us. We have not made that progress that we would have made had the people not been crippled and shackled by the policy that has been enforced here. Had our people been left severely alone by the Government and allowed to work out their own destiny, had they been left free to buy where they could to the best advantage and to sell where they could sell to the best advantage, restricted only by the necessities of revenue, the condition of this country would be immensely better than it is. The hon. gentleman has told us that Canada is not responsible for the McKinley Bill. He may say so, but, after all, there is a certain percentage of responsibility for it resting upon the occupants of the Treasury benches. For instance, what did they do when the United States allowed fresh fruit to come into their country duty free? For two years they worried along before they agreed to take the duty off fresh fruit, and when at last they did so, in order to satisfy those who were claiming protection on that commodity, they put a duty on the baskets. These gentlemen pursued from time to time a foolishly irritating course towards the United States, winding up with their discrimination in canal tolls, which eventually drove the States into a course with regard to Canada which resulted in the lamentable national relationship these two countries now occupy. Hon. gentlemen opposite brag that we have a British market. It is a grand thing, Sir, that we have got even that, because it is about the only thing that the National Policy has not robbed us of. What is our position to-day? Owing to the pernicious, crotchety, cranky course the Government has adopted against the people to the south of us, we have a tariff wall of, say, 35 per cent between us and the Ameri-

can market ; we have virtually a mountain raised 35 miles high, which our producers cannot get over. What market have we north of us ? We have not a customer until we go to the north pole. Where are our customers now ? We have got to go 3,500 miles east to get to the European customers, or 5,000 west to get to the western customers. I would ask any intelligent farmer, I would ask any intelligent citizen of any city, or any intelligent inhabitant of any town : What hope can there be for progress or prosperity when you separate any town, or city, or farmer, or country from the rest of the world in such a manner as that ? Place a farmer in a position that on one side of his farm he has a mountain and on the other a muskeg ; let him be 35 miles from his customers east, and 50 miles from a customer west, and what would be the value of a farm that was so located ? What would be the value of a city or town that was so circumstanced ? Yet, hon. gentlemen opposite have got Canada in that very position to-day by the course they have adopted, that irritating course which brought about the enactment of the McKinley Bill. I shall now make reference to some of the points touched upon by the Minister of Finance. In the opening of his speech, the hon. gentleman said that in a certain time, up to the month of December, the revenue of the country had kept well up to the ordinary amount, but then it began to fall off, and it fell off in consequence of the anticipated changes that would take place in the tariff. I would like to ask if the Minister of Finance can point to any other country in which a Finance Minister ever pursued such an impolitic and extraordinary course as he did, in publicly announcing a year ago that a decided change would take place in the tariff ? You will not find an English Minister of Finance getting up in the House of Commons in England and announcing that it is the intention of the Government to make very considerable changes in the tariff at the next session of Parliament. He would understand that to do so would be to throw into confusion the whole trade of the country. But our Minister of Finance had no hesitation in declaring that he and his colleagues intended to make changes in the tariff ; and then he comes down and announces that very serious reductions in the revenue have occurred in December, January, and February. It is not much wonder, because the people were waiting to see what changes were going to be made ; and the Minister himself is unquestionably responsible for any reduction that has taken place in the revenue. Then, he refers with pride to the fact that last year we sent \$49,000,000 worth of produce to Great Britain, while we sent only \$3,000,000 worth to the United States. The hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat (Mr. Wood, Brockville), also referred to that fact with considerable pride, as evidence that we are working up an extensive trade with Great

Britain, while our trade with the United States is being restricted, and is growing beautifully less every year. Why is it that that is the case ? Simply because our people are forced to send their produce to Great Britain because they cannot send it anywhere else. They cannot send it to the United States. Place this country in the position in which it was before the McKinley Bill was passed, and you will find that the trade of this country with the United States will rapidly increase ; but since the passage of the McKinley Bill it has very seriously decreased, to the great loss of our people. Before the introduction of that Bill, barley and horses were extensively purchased in this country and shipped to the United States. But to-day the stables of our farmers are full of horses, for which they have no market ; and hon. gentlemen opposite have not done anything, and have not intimated their intention to do anything, in the direction of helping the farmers in the unfortunate position in which they are placed in that respect. We have something like 750,000 farmers in this country ; and I venture to say that 500,000 of those farmers have each at least two horses that they would be glad to dispose of ; that is a million horses in this country for which there is no market. I admit that the introduction of electricity has somewhat reduced the demand and the price of horses. The Controller of Customs says that there has been an increase in the number sent to England. But the number sent there are a mere bagatelle compared with the number that our people would be glad to sell. I myself proposed last year that in order to encourage the export of our surplus stock of horses, the Government should offer a bounty. I thought, when the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce was going to Australia, that he was probably going to hunt up a market for horses ; but I carefully read his speech delivered before the Board of Trade in Toronto on his return, and I found that, instead of having any encouragement for the farmers, he did not say a single word with regard to helping them. The whole object of his trip was to find an outlet in Australia for the manufactured goods of this country. He drew attention to the very large trade that was done there by the Massey-Harris Company. We are very glad of that ; but from the beginning to the end of his statement there was not one word said with regard to any advantage that his trip might have for the farmers of this country. Now, the hon. Minister of Finance tried very hard to confuse the public mind on the question of commercial union. Ever since that has been suggested, hon. gentlemen opposite have tried to frighten the people of this country as to what might be the outcome of establishing a relation of that kind between Canada and the United States. They have endeavoured to show that we would be entirely under the control of the United States ; but while

commercial union was a policy suggested by Mr. Wiman, it never has been adopted by any member of the Reform party that I know of. The hon. Controller of Inland Revenue (Mr. Wood), who read to the House some words that were spoken by the hon. member of North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), after all failed to satisfy any intelligent mind that my hon. friend advocated the adoption of that principle. The Minister of Finance said that in the inception of protection the price of articles must necessarily be largely increased. That is very true. If we look back to the period when protection was introduced into this country, we shall see the position in which it placed the consumers. In 1880 our customs taxation was \$14,130,000; in 1886, it was \$19,448,000, or an increase in six years of \$5,318,000, of taxes taken out of the people's pockets. In 1889 our customs taxation was \$23,971,351, or an increase over the taxation of 1886, of \$4,523,351. In the nine years, from 1880 to 1889, the customs taxation jumped up by over a million a year, the gross increase in those years being \$9,841,351. That clearly shows that in the inception of the National Policy the people of this country were subjected to an enormous drain in the shape of increased taxation. I was amused that the very next word uttered by the Finance Minister was that the National Policy had not laid a heavy hand on the consumers of this country, but that it had dealt very gently with them. Well, Sir, if he would for a moment take a retrospective view of the operations of that policy during the years that it has been in existence, ready as he is to make statements wide of the mark in order to bolster up the National Policy, he would not have dared to make that statement. Then, the next thing he did was to compliment the people of this country that they did not pay any duty on their wool. They had free wool, they had free meat, and they had free dairy products. This statement brings me back some years to the time when the Finance Minister delivered one of his first budget speeches in this House. I can well remember the picture he drew to show to the people how thankful they ought to feel that they were not taxed in many ways. He commenced his little ditty on that occasion by describing how the farmer took his own sheep and clipped it himself; how he took the wool down to the little carding mill, run by the rivulet at the foot of his farm; how there it was carded; how he took it to his own industrious wife, and she spun the yarn, then how the little weaver, with his hand-shuttle, wove it; how he brought it thence to the fulling mill, and had it full-ed, and finally, how he took it back to his own house, got the country tailor to take the measure of all the inmates, and had garments made to cover them all. Then the hon. gentleman exclaimed: I would like to know what taxes that man pays. That whole picture is in keeping with his sug-

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gestion of to-day, that our farmers should be exceedingly thankful because our Finance Minister has not, in the changes he has made in the tariff, put a tax upon wool, butter and cheese. But if the National Policy remains in force ten years longer, and if the Government are driven to extremes for the purpose of raising revenue, I would not at all be surprised—should the Finance Minister continue to occupy the position he now holds—to see him put a tax upon wool, butter and cheese. He will be driven to the necessity of putting a tax on everything, and no doubt along with everything else, he would tax the air we breathe, if he possibly could. The hon. gentleman said that the people make the Government understand what they want, and the Government are quick to give effect to their wishes. Well, Sir, the people in 1891, by their votes, plainly and clearly indicated that they wanted reciprocity. The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) has clearly and distinctly pointed out the treacherous advantage which was taken of the people on that occasion, when the Government dissolved the House and went to the country on the pretence of getting a verdict in favour of reciprocity with the United States. It cannot be too often reiterated, both in and outside the House, that by a gross abuse of power, the Government dissolved Parliament on the pretext that they were going to send a delegation to Washington to make a treaty with the United States. The people unwisely accepted their invitation, and returned a Government majority, anticipating that the Government would carry out its programme. But the people were fooled and deceived. There was no treaty and no honest attempt to obtain one. The farmers realize fully that it would be very much better had they more extended relations with the United States. They can well remember the advantages they enjoyed from 1854 to 1866 under the old reciprocity treaty. Those who are old enough to cast their eyes back upon the experience of those years express themselves in the strongest terms in favour of a renewal of the privileges we then enjoyed. And those who have not had that experience are still aware of the advantages that were enjoyed before the passage of the McKinley Bill, and know that an extended trade with the United States would be a decided advantage to us. Our farmers are not able to compete in the open British market with the cheap labour of the world. As the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) has said, how can you expect the Canadian farmer, who has to pay a dollar a day to an ordinary labouring man, to compete with the coolie of India, who can be hired at sixpence per day. How can you expect that he will be able to compete with the cheap labour of Europe in the production of those commodities which he has to sell in the British market against the open competition of the world? Were the American market open to us to-morrow, it would

give us, not the very lowest prices the world can afford to pay for those commodities, but it would give us in many cases fancy prices. The hon. gentleman, speaking of the shipment of eggs to England, said a very large trade was growing in that direction. Why, take the experience of this country before the passage of the McKinley Bill, and what do you find? Did we then ship any eggs to Europe? No. And why? Because the American market was the best market for this commodity. It was the most convenient and lucrative market, and to that market we would go to-morrow, were it open to us, in preference to the English market. Let me briefly refer to the question of sugar, in the duty on which the Finance Minister has made some reduction. He has admitted 16 Dutch standard free, and has also reduced the protection on granulated sugar from 8-10 cent to 64-100 of a cent—64 cents on a 100 pounds. Now, on last year's importations and consumption of sugar the people paid 8-10 of a cent on 252,000,000 pounds, or \$2,016,000. This they paid to the refiners of this country for refining the sugar, because it was sold up to the point at which it would be sold if we had to import it and pay the duty. He has taken a little slice off the sugar refined, in order to cultivate popularity with the consumers, and suppose we consume the same quantity next year that we did last, the people will still pay \$1,600,000 to the refiners for refining the sugar we use. That is a pretty considerable sum which the people will have to pay for refining the sugar in this country. Another point the Minister of Finance spoke of was the deputations that are rushing to Washington from all parts of the United States for the purpose of urging that protection should still be respected in the United States, although the Democratic party had been elected on the platform that protection was a fraud. We all know from experience—we all know from the twisting and truckling to influences hon. gentlemen opposite have exhibited, that protection will die hard. It always does; it died hard in England. It took a long time, and a terrible struggle before the people of that country were relieved from the tyranny of protection. It will die hard in the United States. There are a great many Democrats, no doubt, interested in manufactures, who would like to see protection, notwithstanding the declaration of their party in favour of free trade. They have a personal interest in the matter. Why, at the introduction of protection into Canada we knew that the Reform party lost a considerable number of supporters who went over to the Tories on that question—not because of their conscientious conviction that protection was the best thing for the country, but from their personal conviction that it was the best thing for themselves. The result was that they left the Reform party and joined the ranks of the Tory party in order that they might have the ad-

vantage that protection would give them. In the United States, no doubt, they must experience something of the same kind as we have experienced here. No doubt protection will die hard in the United States as it dies hard in Canada. The hon. Finance Minister said that under the operation of the National Policy the free list was growing very large. There are some things on the free list that, in my humble opinion, might be well subjected to a duty. Take, for instance, diamonds; they come into this country duty free. What a matter of congratulation it must be to every farmer in the country to think that when he wants to present his wife with a diamond ring he can do so without being called upon to pay duty. Again, paintings that come in to decorate the lordly palaces of millionaires in Montreal and Toronto, come in free. But wall paper, up to this time, has paid from 45 to 60 per cent. The Government has reduced that to 35 per cent. I notice also that wire for piano strings comes in free, but wire for fencing is subject to a very considerable duty. Again, twine for fishing purposes and for making fishing tackle comes in free, but twine for farming purposes—binding twine—is subject to a duty of 12½ per cent. I had expected that the Finance Minister would place the consumers of twine upon an equal footing, and that he would say to the fishermen: If we tax the farmer for his twine, as a matter of simple justice, we must tax you. But the hon. gentleman knows that the fishermen are a very intelligent lot of people. I do not say but the farmers are the same. But the fishermen have been shrewd enough to secure this advantage. Were hon. members from the Maritime Provinces obliged to go to the fishermen with the information that there had been a duty of 10 or 12 per cent put on fishing twine and fishing tackle, they would have great difficulty in getting the fishermen's votes. But the farmers also are becoming enlightened on this subject. I am glad to see, for instance, that the Patrons of Industry have declared very distinctly their determination that the duty upon binding twine and the duty upon coal oil shall be reduced. Another thing the Finance Minister has done which, no doubt, he thinks very clever. He has offered the United States the opportunity to send corn free to us if they will give us the opportunity to send barley into their country free. This action is along a line of proposed reciprocity which the Americans have declared they will not accept upon any condition. If there is any one thing the Americans want to-day more than another, it is an outlet for their manufactured goods. The Americans export but a very small percentage of the entire products of the soil; and, in the course of a few years, if their population continues to grow as it has grown within the last few years, a small percentage of corn and a considerable quantity of cotton will be about the only articles of raw material which they

will export. They do not consider it a favour of any country to receive from them corn free of duty. They will only laugh at the Finance Minister for placing corn upon our free list upon the condition that they shall admit barley free. They have already answered him upon that point; they have told him that the only ground upon which they are disposed to enter into trade relations with us in respect of the products of the soil, of the fisheries, of the forest, and of the mine, is that Canada shall admit free a list of manufactured goods. Why, consider the state of affairs during the time when we had in force the policy which the Finance Minister would renew—the time of the old Reciprocity Treaty, from 1854 to 1866. We know very well that during that time we sent more than twice as much to the United States as they sent to us. But, Sir, take even the period from 1887 to 1890—that is just before the passage of the McKinley Bill. The products of the farm sent to us by the Americans were \$5,842,272. The leading items making up this amount were pork, lard, corn, and flour. During the same time, the exports from Canada to the United States, the products of the farm, were \$16,561,447, of which the leading items were horses, sheep, barley, and eggs. The Americans have these facts and figures before their eyes, and can any man expect them, as sensible, intelligent people, to enter into a trade arrangement with us to exchange commodities of the farm of which we send to them three times as much as they send us. I desire to say a word with regard to carriages. The Finance Minister said last night that when he was announcing the change with regard to carriages, he announced that democrat carriages were to be admitted into Canada at a duty of 25 per cent; but—I do not know whether it was because of the towering influence of the whip on the Conservative side, or what was the cause—he had found that he had made a clerical error and that the duty was to be 35 per cent. Under the old tariff, democrat wagons up to the value of \$50 were charged a duty of \$10 each, and 20 per cent. But they removed them from that category and made them subject to a duty of 35 per cent, and democrats that were worth \$100 they have kept up to 35 per cent, notwithstanding the fact that we imported only twenty-nine under the value of \$100, and five over the value of \$100. It is very singular what clerical errors are made. The fact is, we cannot come to any other conclusion than influences that make him do things, that the Finance Minister is subject to when he is giving his tariff speech that he would, perhaps, prefer not to do. Hon. gentlemen opposite have spoken of free trade in England. If they want to get a lesson of what free trade has done for England, let them compare her operations under free trade with her operations under protection, and they will very soon come to the conclusion that free trade has done a very great

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deal for England. If we consider the rapid growth of her trade under free trade, we will see that it has been a boon for that nation. In 1885 the aggregate trade of Great Britain was £642,000,000; in 1889 it was 742 millions, or an increase of 100 millions. But the best way to judge of England's position is to take her financial condition when she adopted free trade, and compare it with her position today. In 1837, when Queen Victoria ascended the Throne, the debt of England was £850,000,000 sterling. In 1846 she adopted free trade, and after that date she had the Russian war, she had her Indian mutiny, and she had other wars that cost her millions of money. She paid the cost of all those wars, and from the date that she adopted free trade down to the present time she has reduced her national debt by \$900,000,000. That is a pretty good record of the effects of free trade in England. We would like to get our national debt reduced, but we will never get it reduced under protection. The experience of every country under protection has shown that their national debt has increased instead of decreased. Now, if we want to follow the noble example that has been set us by England, let us adopt the principle of permitting our people to trade in any part of the world they like, with the least possible restriction, and to sell their commodities in any part of the world where they can secure the best markets for them, and take off the shackles at home. We have a climate unquestionably equal to any in the world; we have a soil that is rich, and which would sustain a wealthy, thrifty and peaceable people, were we permitted to enjoy the privileges that we would enjoy under a system of free trade. But we are not permitted to do that, and our people have suffered the results. Now, Sir, hon. gentlemen opposite speak of the difficulties of cutting down the tariff. I contend that, if the Finance Minister wishes to be in a position to meet the demands that are made, and will continue to be made, upon him by interests which have got a footing in this country, he had better use the pruning-knife very vigorously upon those expenditures that the people of this country can well do without. Enormous expenditures have been carried on for years that we can well dispense with. There is no difficulty whatever in very considerably reducing the annual expenditure, if hon. gentlemen opposite are only willing. We want to abolish the Franchise Act, that costs the country \$200,000 a year. We want to abolish the superannuation system, that costs this country \$200,000 a year. We want also to abolish the bounty we are paying to the sugar-refiners of over a million and a half a year, money that is taken out of the pockets of the people and never reaches the Treasury of this country. We want to abolish the Senate. We want to dispense with the services of five Ministers out of the fifteen we have now. We honestly admit, that if the brains of the fifteen were compressed into ten heads, they would still do no more than make ten ordinary men.

I think we could well do with ten, and dispense with five of them. That would save us \$200,000 a year. Then, we can save \$200,000 a year on immigration. We have squandered an enormous amount of money on immigration—three millions and a half of money spent in ten years to bring people into this country, and, when we come to enumerate our population, we cannot find them in the country. If that has been our experience during the last ten years, we had better abolish the expenditure under the head of immigration. Then, we have a military school at Kingston that costs an enormous amount of money. We spend a million and a quarter each year under the head of militia. We have a commandant in charge of the school at Kingston to whom we pay \$4,000 or \$5,000 a year, and we find him a house that has cost us \$12,000, and we pay all the necessary perquisites and pickings that give him a very comfortable limit. I do not know anything that he has done for us for which he is entitled to credit, but I notice that he has been training some carrier pigeons for his own amusement. These were very valuable vehicles of news 200 years ago before telegraphs were introduced. I see that he has one pigeon that flew all the way from Ottawa to Kingston. That was a wonderful feat for a pigeon to perform, and the people of the country are paying \$4,000 a year to a man to train carrier pigeons to perform that kind of work. Well, if that is all he has done—and I do not see anything else he has done—we can well dispense with his services and the services of many more, and save half a million a year to the country. We can also reduce the expenditure on public works; we can reduce the expenditure on legislation; we can reduce the expenditure upon the Mounted Police. Why, we spent, year before last, \$701,000 on the Mounted Police in the North-west, and last year a little less. I am glad to notice that it is coming down a little. I think we could well dispense with those Mounted Police, if they are kept there under the impression that the Indians and Half-breeds of the North-west are going to pounce upon and murder all the people that have gone there to settle. If that is the reason the Government are keeping up the Mounted Police, they are labouring under a very serious delusion, because the Indians and Half-breeds have no more idea of going to war with the white settlers of the North-west than the rats and mice of Ottawa have of going to war with the cats and dogs. I admit that the Minister of Trade and Commerce intimated, when he had a seat in this House, that the Mounted Police did very valuable work in the way of acting as preventive officers to prevent smuggling into the North-west. Sir, the best way to cure that kind of thing is to bring our tariff down below the American tariff. Put all the responsibility upon the Americans of preventing goods being smuggled from Canada into the United States, by reducing our tariff, and

you will not need the Mounted Police. I tell you, more than that, the five millions of people in Canada are not able to bear the enormous expense that will have to be borne if we are going to keep up a full staff of preventive officers from the Atlantic to the Pacific to prevent goods from being smuggled from the United States into Canada. I say, also, that we will never get extended trade relations with the United States until we bring our tariff down low enough to place the onus upon the Americans of preventing smuggling from Canada into the United States. The moment the United States understand that they have got to keep up an enormous preventive force along the whole frontier to prevent goods from being smuggled from Canada into the United States, that moment they will come down to easy terms with regard to an interchange of trade; and they will never do it until our Government adopt that course. If the Finance Minister will do that, he will secure for us better trade relations with the United States than we have got at the present moment. Now, the Controller of Inland Revenue drew some attention to our trade with the United States as it existed after the passage of the McKinley Bill. Allow me to give the House a little information as to the enormous change that has taken place in the exportation of commodities from this country to the United States in 1890, the last year before the passage of the McKinley Bill, and in 1892, after that Bill had become law. Of horses, horned cattle, poultry, eggs, wool, flax, apples, barley, split peas, hay, malt, potatoes and vegetables, we sent in 1890 \$10,570,486 worth. That was the last year before the McKinley Bill. In 1892 we sent these commodities only to the value of \$4,079,246, or a drop of six and a half millions of the produce of the different kinds enumerated within those two years. I think that shows clearly the direction in which our trade with the United States has fallen off; that clearly gives the reason why we have only sent \$3,000,000 worth last year in place of \$10,000,000 worth before the McKinley Bill became law. I desire to refer to a few points adverted to by the Finance Minister in his eulogy with respect to the financial position of this country, and the position of the farmers. Every hon. gentleman declares that the farmers of this country are prosperous. When the hon. gentleman visited my county, and went through the riding, he complimented all the farmers on their comfortable houses and the evidences of comfort that were apparent. He appeared to think that the outward evidence of some comfort was proof of their financial position and prosperity. A doctor driving along a road might as well judge of the health of the inmates of the house by its outward appearance as to judge of the financial condition of the farmers by the outward appearance of their dwellings. A doctor might say that no sickness could

prevail in that house, for it was a very fine and comfortable one, while some member of the family might be at the point of death. The Minister rides through the riding and observes some evidences of comfort, and forthwith he comes to the conclusion that every man is well-off. If you will examine the condition of the farmers to-day you will find that over ten million dollars worth of fat cattle are seeking buyers for export. The farmers of the western part of the province of Ontario are at their wit's end to know what they are going to do with respect to exporting fat cattle this spring. What has the Government done to open up that market? They have truly done nothing. While the American Government has sent experienced veterinaries into every port in England where American cattle are unloaded, for the purpose of looking after the cattle trade there, and while they have also guarded their interests with respect to the cattle trade with Germany, not a single veterinary has been appointed by Canada to the ports of debarkation in England to inspect cattle, report upon their condition, and protect the privileges we have enjoyed in that market. But we have a High Commissioner in London. He lives there, and enjoys all the advantages of a lordly life, at a cost of about \$20,000 a year. What good is he as regards protecting the interests of our cattle trade? On one occasion he is supposed to have spoken a word in regard to the landing of a cargo of cattle, and whenever the question of the High Commissioner's salary and expenses has come before the House this action has been trotted out as evidence of the desirability of continuing the Commissioner in England. If our Government were anxious to protect the English market for the farmers of this country they would have placed in the ports where our cattle were landed experienced veterinaries to look after our interests. They have not done so. They have been pressed to do so by the cattle trade, they have been written to do so, and I have the proofs that they have not done anything to protect Canada in the English markets, that they never put forth a single effort or appointed one veterinary to watch Canadian interests, but left them to the mercy of English veterinaries. In that respect the Government have not discharged the duties which the farmers might reasonably expect they would perform in order to protect them in the English market. In regard to the price of wheat, I can testify to the truth of the remarks of the hon. member from North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). The farmers in our section are feeding wheat to cattle, rather than sell it at one cent per pound. Again, peas are selling at 50 and 55 cents, barley at 30 and 35 cents, oats at 30 and 32 cents, and potatoes at 25 and 40 cents, live hogs at 4½ cents per pound, and hay at \$6 a ton. I would like to know how it can be possibly expected that our farmers receiving such prices can be considered to be prospering and making money. The farm-

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ers of Western Ontario were never driven to their wit's end to make ends meet to such a degree as they are to-day. It is a blessing that money is so cheap, but if the farmers spoke the sentiments of their minds they would declare that their experience had never been so severe as during the last five years as regards the prices obtained for their commodities, and to-day they are at a loss to know how to turn in order to pay their way. Yet the Finance Minister, because he occupies a distinguished position at a salary of \$7,000 a year and perquisites, has come to the conclusion that the farmers are contented and are well off. The Liberal party has been fighting a noble and determined fight for the last fifteen years. They fought against the National Policy at its inception and from that time to this they have endeavoured to expose the pernicious results of the adoption of that policy. Let me ask what has the National Policy done? It has carried rottenness and corruption to every department of this Dominion; it has demoralized our people, it has caused investigations from time to time, the results of which have excited surprise and wonder throughout the British Empire; so much so that the British press, both radical and tory, has declared that the blackened record of Canada was a disgrace. What have we got from it. We have got one man who has been picked out as a scapegoat and sent over to this side of the House to occupy a vacant Tory seat—and there he sits, a fossilized corruptionist, a living example of what exists amongst the men with whom he associated; men who have been blackened by their own acts, men so guilty that they are afraid to allow the people's representatives to investigate the crimes that would undoubtedly be fastened upon them as the result of an investigation by a committee of this House. What did the First Minister tell us when we asked that we should be allowed to investigate Section "B" scandal? He said: That the Minister at the head of the department had been back to his constituency who had justified the acts he was guilty of, if guilty of any. On this plea the House was not permitted to examine into that transaction at all. The people of this country are sick and tired of the condition of things existing, and they have now set their teeth with a determination, no matter who shall suffer, that these scandals shall be no longer perpetuated. Whoever occupies the Treasury benches of this country, we should be willing as patriotic men and honest men to shake hands across the chasm that separates us as to party, and we should be able, no matter what Government be in power, to say that the affairs of Canada must be honestly conducted. I hope that we have seen an end of the scandals and an end of the boodling, and when the history of Canada comes to be written, I sincerely trust that the historian will have to confine to the years of protection all the black spots upon our history. I

believe that when we get rid of this protective system, we will be on the high road to prosperity, that our country will progress, that our population will increase, that we will become a progressive nation and that our people will reap in the future the advantages of the climate we enjoy, of the soil we inherit, and the advantage of being an important section of the British Empire. I do not desire further to detain the House. There are one or two things that I might draw attention to, but I shall reserve them for the opportunity which will present itself in connection with the resolution I have on the notice paper. I do hope that this discussion with regard to the tariff changes shall have a beneficial effect throughout the country. The Government unquestionably has made a change in the right direction and we are glad they have done so; but, Sir, I contend that they have not shown that generosity with the United States which they should have shown. What have they done in the matter of agricultural implements? Take the position which the Canadian manufacturer of these implements will occupy in relation to the American manufacturer. If the Wilson Bill becomes law, and in all probability it will, the Canadian manufacturer can send his implements unrestricted into the markets of the United States. Massey-Harris can manufacture his binders and his mowers, send them without duty into the United States and after he has enjoyed the advantages of that market, he can bring back the remnant of his stock, re-enter them as the product of Canada, and re-enter them duty free. Then he has the whole Canadian market to himself while at the same time he has free access to the American market. I would like to know if such a proposal as that, is any indication on the part of this Government of a disposition to encourage extended trade relations with the United States. I believe that such a policy clearly proves that the Government has no desire to cultivate extended trade relations with the people south of us. It shows, that while the United States is holding out to us the olive branch by removing the duty from agricultural implements, our Government answer their offer by putting a duty of 20 per cent on American implements coming in here. That policy only tends to irritate and annoy the people of the United States, and if, before the Wilson Bill becomes law they reimpose a similar duty upon Canadian implements entering the United States, they will only mete out to us the same measure we have meted out to them. Why is it, as we are told by hon. gentlemen opposite, that our Canadian manufacturer cannot compete with the manufacturer of the United States? Is not labour as cheap in Canada as it is there, is not living as cheap to the Canadian as to the United States citizen; then in the name of fortune, I ask, why is it that the Canadian manufacturer cannot compete with them? It is not

Sir, that he cannot compete, but that he does not want to. He wants to hold the market that he now enjoys. We have about 750,000 farmers in this country, and suppose that 500,000 farmers each require a binder, and suppose that the Massey-Harris Company turn out 40,000 a year—I believe they turned out that number last year—it would take them about twelve years to supply each farmer with a binder. That shows what an enormous market, and what an enormous advantage they enjoy. I am pleased to see the Massey-Harris Company prosper, I am glad to see them do well; but I do not want to see them hold the market of this country under their thumb to such an extent that they can put a price upon what they produce in excess of its real value. There is no class of the community that requires to be released from burdens as much as the farming class at the present moment, and the least that the Government should have done for them is to give them their agricultural implements free of duty. Had the duty been removed entirely, and had the farmers been permitted to take their implements from the United States if they choose to do so, it would have been a boon to the North-west, it would have been a boon to Ontario and to the farmers of Canada generally. I am sorry, Mr. Speaker, to have detained the House so long, but I felt it my duty to present these remarks on behalf of the constituents I have the honour to represent.

Mr. HAZEN moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 10.55 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, 30th March, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

SELECT STANDING COMMITTEES.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON presented the Report of the Special Committee appointed to prepare and report lists of members to compose the Select Standing Committees of this House, as follows:—

No. 1.—ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS.

Messieurs:

Adams,
Amyot,

Laurier,
Lavergne,

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|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Baker, | Leclair, |
| Beausoleil, | Lister, |
| Bruneau, | McCarthy, |
| Caron (Sir Adolphe), | McDonald (Victoria), |
| Choquette, | McLeod, |
| Coatsworth, | Martin, |
| Costigan, | Masson, |
| Curran, | Mills (Bothwell), |
| Daly, | Moncrieff, |
| Davies, | Mulock, |
| Desaulniers, | Northrup, |
| Dickey, | Ouimet, |
| Edgar, | Patterson (Huron), |
| Flint, | Pelletier, |
| Fraser, | Préfontaine, |
| Girouard (Jacques-Cartier), | Thompson (Sir John), |
| Ives, | Tupper (Sir C. Hibbert), |
| Langelier, | Weldon, and |
| Langevin (Sir Hector), | Wood (Brockville).—42. |

No. 2.—ON EXPIRING LAWS.

Messieurs :

| | |
|---------------------------|----------------------|
| Bain (Soulanges), | Harwood, |
| Belley, | Haslam, |
| Bennett, | Henderson, |
| Boston, | Hutchins, |
| Cameron, | Legris, |
| Carroll, | McDonald (Victoria), |
| Corbould, | Pridham, |
| Dawson, | Pope, |
| Delisle, | Reid, |
| Dugas, | Robillard, |
| Ferguson (Renfrew), | Ryckman, |
| Flint, | Simard, |
| Gillies, | Somerville, |
| Girouard (Two Mountains), | Temple, and |
| Grieve, | Tyrwhitt.—30. |

And that the quorum of the said Committee do consist of seven members.

No. 3.—ON RAILWAYS, CANALS AND TELEGRAPH LINES.

Messieurs :

| | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Adams, | Joncas, |
| Allan, | Kaulbach, |
| Amyot, | Kenney, |
| Bain (Soulanges), | Lachapelle, |
| Baird, | Landerkin, |
| Baker, | Langelier, |
| Barnard, | Langevin (Sir Hector), |
| Beausoleil, | LaRivière, |
| Bécharde, | Laurier, |
| Belley, | Lavergne, |
| Bennett, | Leclair, |
| Bergeron, | Leduc, |
| Bergin, | Lépine, |
| Bernier, | Lippé, |
| Borden, | Lister, |
| Boston, | Livingstone, |
| Bourassa, | Macdonald (King's), |
| Bowman, | Macdonell (Algoma), |
| Boyd, | Macleon (York), |
| Boyle, | McAlister, |
| Brown, | McCarthy, |
| Bruneau, | McDonald (Assiniboia), |
| Bryson, | McDougald (Pictou), |
| Burnham, | McDougall (Cape Breton), |
| Calvin, | McInerney, |
| Cameron, | McKay, |
| Campbell, | McKeen, |
| Carignan, | McLean (King's), |
| Carling (Sir John), | McLennan, |
| Carpenter, | McLeod, |
| Caron (Sir Adolphe), | McMillan, |
| Cartwright (Sir Richard), | McMullen, |
| Casey, | Madill, |
| Charlton, | Mara, |
| Choquette, | Martin, |
| Christie, | Masson, |
| Cleveland, | Metcalfe, |
| Coatsworth, | Mignault, |
| Cochrane, | Mills (Annapolis), |
| Cockburn, | Mills (Bothwell), |
| Corbould, | Montague, |
| Corby, | Mulock, |
| Costigan, | Northrup, |
| Craig, | Ouimet, |
| Curran, | Patterson (Brant), |
| Daly, | Patterson (Colchester), |

Sir JOHN THOMPSON.

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| Davies, | Perry, |
| Davin, | Pope, |
| Davis, | Préfontaine, |
| Delisle, | Prior, |
| Denison, | Proulx, |
| Desaulniers, | Putnam, |
| Devlin, | Reid, |
| Dickey, | Rider, |
| Dupont, | Robillard, |
| Edgar, | Roome, |
| Fairbairn, | Ross (Dundas), |
| Fauvel, | Ross (Lisgar), |
| Ferguson (Leeds & Gren.), | Ryckman, |
| Fraser, | Sanborn, |
| Fréchette, | Scriver, |
| Frémont, | Simard, |
| Geoffrion, | Smith (Ontario), |
| Gibson, | Smith (Sir Donald), |
| Gillies, | Sproule, |
| Girouard (Jacques-Cartier), | Stairs, |
| Girouard (Two Mountains), | Stevenson, |
| Godbout, | Sutherland, |
| Grandbois, | Tarte, |
| Grant (Sir James), | Temple, |
| Guay, | Thompson (Sir John), |
| Guillet, | Tisdale, |
| Haggart, | Turcotte, |
| Harwood, | Tyrwhitt, |
| Hazen, | Vaillancourt, |
| Hearn, | Wallace, |
| Henderson, | Weldon, |
| Hodgins, | White (Cardwell), |
| Hughes, | White (Shelburne), |
| Ingram, | Wilmot, |
| Innes, | Wood (Brockville), |
| Ives, | Wood (Westmoreland), and |
| Jeannotte, | Yeo.—166. |

No. 4.—MISCELLANEOUS PRIVATE BILLS.

Messieurs :

| | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Allan, | Hodgins, |
| Bain (Soulanges), | Ives, |
| Baker, | Joncas, |
| Barnard, | Kenny, |
| Beith, | LaRivière, |
| Belley, | Lavergne, |
| Bennett, | Leduc, |
| Borden, | Legris, |
| Bourassa, | Lépine, |
| Boyd, | Macdonald (Huron), |
| Brodeur, | Macdonell (Algoma), |
| Campbell, | McAlister, |
| Carpenter, | McDougall (Cape Breton), |
| Caron (Sir Adolphe), | McInerney, |
| Carroll, | McKay, |
| Casey, | McKeen, |
| Chesley, | Madill, |
| Choquette, | Marshall, |
| Cleveland, | Mignault, |
| Cochrane, | Miller, |
| Corbould, | Moncrieff, |
| Corby, | Monet, |
| Craig, | Northrup, |
| Davies, | Ouimet, |
| Delisle, | Pelletier, |
| Denison, | Prior, |
| Dickey, | Proulx, |
| Dupont, | Robillard, |
| Edwards, | Roome, |
| Fairbairn, | Rosamond, |
| Frémont, | Ross (Dundas), |
| Geoffrion, | Smith (Ontario), |
| Gillmor, | Stairs, |
| Girouard (Jacques-Cartier), | Vaillancourt, |
| Guillet, | Weldon, |
| Harwood, | White (Shelburne), and |
| Hazen, | Yeo.—74. |

And that the quorum of the said Committee do consist of seven members.

No. 5.—ON STANDING ORDERS.

Messieurs :

| | |
|-------------------|------------|
| Bain (Wentworth), | Macdowall, |
| Bergeron, | McInerney, |
| Bourassa, | McKeen, |
| Bowers, | McNeill, |
| Brodeur, | Marshall, |
| Brown, | Masson, |

Burnham,
Cargill,
Colter,
Desaulniers,
Dyer,
Earle,
Featherston,
Ferguson (Leeds & Gren.)
Ferguson (Renfrew),
Gillmor,
Girouard (Two Mountains),
Grieve,
Hodgins,
Hughes,
Hutchins,
Ingram,
Lavergne,

Miller,
Mills (Annapolis),
Monet,
O'Brien,
Paterson (Brant),
Patterson (Colchester),
Perry,
Pridham,
Rinfret,
Rosamond,
Rowand,
Scriver,
Semple,
Stevenson,
Wilmot,
Wilson, and
Wood (Brockville).—46.

And that the quorum of the said Committee do consist of seven members.

No. 6.—ON PRINTING.

Messieurs :

Amyot,
Bergin,
Bourassa,
Charlton,
Costigan,
Davin,
Grandbois,
Innes,
Kaulbach,
Landerkin,
LaRivière,

Lépine,
Maclean (York),
McLean (King's),
McMullen,
Putnam,
Rider,
Somerville,
Stevenson,
Sutherland,
Taylor, and
Tisdale.—22.

No. 7.—ON PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

Messieurs :

Adams,
Baker,
Béchar, d,
Belley,
Bergeron,
Bergin,
Boyle,
Bryson,
Cameron,
Campbell,
Caron (Sir Adolphe),
Carscallen,
Cartwright (Sir Richard),
Charlton,
Chesley,
Coatsworth,
Cochrane,
Corby,
Costigan,
Daly,
Davies,
Devlin,
Ferguson (Leeds & Gren.),
Forbes,
Foster,
Fraser,
Gibson,
Haggart,
Haslam,
Hearn,
Hughes,
Jeannotte,

Joncas,
Landerkin,
Langelier,
Lister,
Lowell,
Macdonald (Huron),
Macdonell (Algoma),
McDougald (Pictou),
McGregor,
McKay,
McMullen,
Madill,
Mills (Annapolis),
Mills (Bothwell),
Moncrieff,
Montague,
Mulock,
Ouimet,
Paterson (Brant),
Rinfret,
Scriver,
Somerville,
Sproule,
Tarte,
Taylor,
Tisdale,
Tupper (Sir C. Hibbert),
Wallace,
White (Cardwell),
Wood (Brockville), and
Wood (Westmoreland).—63.

And that the quorum of the said Committee do consist of nine members.

No. 8.—ON BANKING AND COMMERCE.

Messieurs :

Allan,
Amyot,
Bain (Wentworth),
Baird,
Barnard,
Beausoleil,
Béchar, d,
Beith,
Bernier,
Borden,
Bowers,

Ives,
Joncas,
Kaulbach,
Kenny,
Lachapelle,
Landerkin,
Langelier,
Langevin (Sir Hector),
Laurier,
Livingston,
Lowell,

Bowman,
Boyd,
Boyle,
Bruneau,
Burnham,
Calvin,
Cargill,
Carignan,
Carling (Sir John),
Caron (Sir Adolphe),
Carscallen,
Cartwright (Sir Richard),
Charlton,
Chesley,
Cleveland,
Coatsworth,
Cochrane,
Cockburn,
Colter,
Corby,
Craig,
Curran,
Daly,
Davies,
Devlin,
Dickey,
Dugas,
Dyer,
Earle,
Edgar,
Edwards,
Featherston,
Flint,
Forbes,
Foster,
Fraser,
Fréchette,
Geoffrion,
Gibson,
Gillies,
Girouard (Jacques-Cartier),
Grant (Sir James),
Guay,
Guillet,
Haggart,
Hazen,
Hearn,
Henderson,
Ingram,

Macdonald (King's),
Macdowall,
McAlister,
McCarthy,
McDonald (Victoria),
McDougald (Pictou),
McDougald (Cape Breton),
McKay,
McLennan,
McLeod,
McNeill,
Mara,
Martin,
Masson,
Metcalfé,
Mills (Bothwell),
Moncrieff,
Mulock,
Northrup,
O'Brien,
Ouimet,
Paterson (Brant),
Patterson (Huron),
Pelletier,
Pope,
Préfontaine,
Prior,
Putman,
Rider,
Rowand,
Ryckman,
Sanborn,
Scriver,
Semple,
Smith (Sir Donald),
Stairs,
Sutherland,
Temple,
Thompson (Sir John),
Tisdale,
Turcotte,
Wallace,
Welsh,
White (Cardwell),
White (Shelburne),
Wilson,
Wood (Westmoreland), and
Yeo.—120.

And that the quorum of the said Committee do consist of nine members.

No. 9.—ON AGRICULTURE AND COLONIZATION.

Messieurs :

Bain (Soulanges),
Bain (Wentworth),
Beith,
Bergeron,
Bernier,
Boston,
Bowers,
Bowman,
Boyd,
Brodeur,
Burnham,
Cameron,
Campbell,
Cargill,
Carignan,
Carling (Sir John),
Carpenter,
Casey,
Choquette,
Christie,
Cleveland,
Cochrane,
Corbould,
Daly,
Davin,
Davis,
Dawson,
Desaulniers,
Dugas,
Dupont,
Dyer,
Earle,
Edwards,
Fairbairn,
Fauvel,

Ingram,
Innes,
Jeannotte,
Joncas,
LaRivière,
Leclair,
Leduc,
Legris,
Lépine,
Lippé,
Livingston,
Macdonald (Huron),
Macdonald (King's),
Macdowall,
McDonald (Assiniboia),
McGregor,
McLean (King's),
McLennan,
McMillan,
McNeill,
Mara,
Marshall,
Metcalfé,
Mignault,
Miller,
Montague,
O'Brien,
Paterson (Brant),
Patterson (Colchester),
Perry,
Pope,
Pridham,
Proulx,
Putnam,
Reid,
Rinfret,

| | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Feathersen, | Robillard, |
| Ferguson (Leeds & Gren.), | Roome. |
| Ferguson (Renfrew), | Rosamond. |
| Forbes, | Ross (Dundas), |
| Fréchette, | Ross (Lisgar), |
| Gibson, | Rowand, |
| Gillies, | Sanborn, |
| Gillmor, | Semple. |
| Girouard (Two Mountains), | Smith (Ontario), |
| Godbout, | Sproule, |
| Grieve, | Sutherland, |
| Guay, | Taylor. |
| Harwood, | Turcotte. |
| Henderson, | Tyrwhitt, |
| Hodgins, | Wilmot, |
| Hughes, | Wilson, and |
| Hutchins, | Wood (Westmoreland).—106. |

And that the quorum of the said Committee do consist of seven members.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved :

That the Report of the Special Committee appointed to report Lists of Members of this House be concurred in.

Motion agreed to, and Report concurred in.

PUNISHMENT OF SEDUCTION AND ABDUCTION.

Mr. CHARLTON moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 18) to amend chapter 29 of 55 and 56 Victoria, for the purpose of making more effectual provision for the punishment of seduction and abduction. He said : The Bill proposes to raise the age of consent from 16 to 18 years. It proposes to make the minimum age of the male who is liable to punishment for seduction under promise of marriage, 18 years instead of 21 ; and it proposes to place women who are not heiresses upon the same footing as women who are heiresses, in the matter of abduction.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

FIRST READING.

Bill (No. 19) to amend the Weights and Measures Act.—(Mr. Wilson.)

MR. ODILON PELLETIER.

Mr. DELISLE asked, Whether the Government have made any payment to Mr. Odilon Pelletier, of St. Roch des Aulnaies, county of L'Islet, for services in connection with the Department of Marine and Fisheries ? If so, what sums have been paid to him since 1st January, 1893 ? How long has he been so employed by the Government ?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I will give the hon. gentleman a more positive answer hereafter, but I do not think Mr. Odilon Pelletier is in the employ of the Marine Department or has received anything for his services.

MR. EUGENE PELLETIER.

Mr. DELISLE asked, Is Mr. Eugene Pelletier, of Ottawa, and formerly of St. Roch

Sir JOHN THOMPSON.

des Aulnaies, employed by Government, in the Department of Agriculture ? If so, how long has he been so employed, and what is his salary ?

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Eugene Pelletier is not in the employ of the Department of Agriculture.

MR. ESDRAS LABEL.

Mr. DELISLE asked, Is Mr. Esdras Lebel, of St. Roch des Aulnaies, employed by the Government, in the Department of Marine and Fisheries ? If so, how long has he been so employed, what is his salary, and how much has he received from the Government since his appointment ?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Mr. Lebel is in the employ of the Department of Marine and Fisheries ; he has been employed since April last, and has received \$1,400 since the date of his appointment.

Mr. MULOCK. What is his salary ?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. \$1,400. It can hardly be called a salary. It is paid to him under the terms of a contract, by which he performs certain services for that amount.

THE BRITISH CATTLE EMBARGO.

Mr. FAIRBAIRN asked, Whether the Government have received an official intimation of the intention of the Imperial Government to remove the embargo that is at present imposed upon the importation of Canadian cattle into Great Britain, in time for the commencement of the spring exports ?

Mr. FOSTER. No official information has yet been received.

PRINTING OF THE TARIFF.

Mr. LANDERKIN. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I would like to inquire of the Finance Minister if it is the intention to have the tariff printed, with the old tariff and the new tariff side by side ? It would be very convenient for the use of members. It is so printed in the newspapers, and I think it would be well to have it printed in the same way in the Sessional Papers.

Mr. FOSTER. I think that might be done for the convenience of members by the time the House goes into committee. It would be useful in the discussion of the items then ; but until that time it is not necessary.

THE INSOLVENCY LAW.

Mr. FLINT. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I would like to ask the Government if the new Insolvency Act could not be placed in the hands of members before it reaches this House in the due course of

legislation. I understand that it is to be introduced in the Senate.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I would not like to answer that question until the Bill is introduced.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). An unsettled problem.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No; but the hon. gentleman assures that the Bill will be introduced in the Senate. I am not willing to assent to that at this moment.

Mr. LANDERKIN. The delegates have not all been heard from.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes, they have all been heard from.

RETURNS ORDERED.

Papers and correspondence in connection with the establishment of a Government cattle ranch near Fort Macleod, North-west Territories, including the purchase of cattle for said ranch; the disposal of said cattle, and the management and disposition made of said ranch. Also a statement showing the amount of moneys paid for cattle placed upon said ranch, and for all other expenses incurred in connection with the same; also the total amount of moneys received for the sale of cattle from said ranch, and all other sources in connection with the same: which statement shall show the balance to the credit or debit of said ranch on the first day of January last, and shall further give the names of all parties indebted to said ranch account for cattle purchased or for any other property or material, with the amount due from each of said parties, if any.—(Mr. Charlton.)

Return showing amount of land grants made from public lands in Manitoba and the North-west Territories of Canada since 1st January, A.D. 1880, to religious denominations, religious sects, religious corporations, and churches; with details as to date of each grant, area of the same, and name of denomination, sect, corporation, or church, to which each several grant was made.—(Mr. Charlton.)

Copies of all correspondence between the Government and George Goodwin in connection with the transfer of his contracts or any of his contracts on the Soulanges Canal.—(Mr. Charlton.)

Return showing the number of homesteads taken up in Manitoba during the years 1892 and 1893, and the number of homesteads cancelled in Manitoba during said years, in each case showing the municipalities in which the homesteads were located.—(Mr. Martin.)

Return showing the names of all persons employed in connection with the Chicago exhibit, their duties and amount paid them, and a detailed statement showing the cost of the exhibit.—(Mr. Martin.)

Return showing the names of all prisoners who have died in penitentiaries in Canada during the last ten years, with the cause of death and the length of their last sickness in each case.—(Mr. Martin.)

Return showing the sums paid by the Government for the expenses in detail of each of the

Ministers and Controllers in connection with their trips investigating the operation of the Tariff.—(Mr. Martin.)

Copies of all papers, petitions, letters, reports, minutes and Orders in Council respecting the School Law of Prince Edward Island, intituled "The Public Schools Act, 1877."—(Mr. Leclair.)

Copies of all correspondence and Orders in Council relative to a Canadian-Australian cable, not already laid before this House.—(Sir Hector Langevin.)

Copies of all correspondence, instructions, Orders in Council and reports about the boundary line between Alaska and British Columbia, not already laid before this House.—(Sir Hector Langevin.)

Statement showing the working of the Civil Service Insurance, how many civil servants have insured their lives in such insurance, and for what amounts respectively, without giving their names.—(Sir Hector Langevin.)

Complete list of the revising officers under the Franchise Act, giving their names, their electoral divisions, and when appointed.—(Sir Hector Langevin.)

Copies of all contracts for the erection of the Curran Bridge, and all works in connection therewith; of all correspondence relating thereto, between any department or officer, and any contractor or other person; of all recommendations and reports to the Government or any member thereof, or any department, relating to such contract, or to any variations or departures from the original contracts; of all Orders in Council relating to such work, contracts, variations or modifications; of all reports, letters and communications of inspectors, engineers of the Government, or any member of the Government, relating to the manner in which such work was being carried out, including expenditure and claims not settled; of all complaints and charges (with dates when made) in regard to such works, and of all official reports on such complaints and charges. Also, a statement showing the estimated expenditure for the construction of said Curran Bridge, and of the actual expenditure thereon, and of the amount of unsettled claims for such works. Also, copies of all communications, reports and Orders in Council relating to any inquiry into any matters connected with said contracts, works, complaints and charges, of all evidence taken on such inquiries, and of any findings on the evidence or otherwise, and of all papers showing any decision arrived at by the Government, or any member of the Government, or officer of the Government, on any question so inquired into. Also, a statement showing if any work still remains to be done to complete said works, and the estimated cost of same.—(Mr. Gibson.)

Return giving total cost of all Government buildings in Manitoba and the North-west, including additions, repairs, furniture and heating of each, date of construction and full costs of each, and for what purpose constructed; also amounts expended on bridges, roads, piers, &c., from 30th June, 1890, to 30th June, 1893.—(Mr. McMullen.)

Return giving the total cost of the Cockburn Island wharf and dock (Lake Huron); the name of the contractor or contractors; the date of its completion; the number of sailing vessels that have called; the quantity of freight imported and ex-

ported since its completion; the number of steamers that made during the season regular calls at the wharf since its completion.—(Mr. McMullen.)

Copies of all charges brought to the attention of the Government or any department since 1891 in regard to any matters connected with the Kingston Penitentiary, and the British Columbia Penitentiary; of all appointment of persons to make investigations into any of such charges, including their instructions; of all correspondence between any of such persons and any member of the Government or department; of all evidence taken on any such inquiries; of all reports thereon, including any schedules in connection with such reports; and of all other documents and papers relating to any alleged irregularities in connection with the management of said institutions since 1891.—(Mr. Mulock.)

Copy of all correspondence between the Government, or any department or officer, and Mr. Connor, for the supply of plant, or equipment of any kind, for the manufacture of binder twine in Kingston Penitentiary, and of all contracts entered into between him and the Government for such supply.—(Mr. Mulock.)

Copies of all memorials, correspondence, documents and other papers (since the last return) relating to the importation of American cattle alive into Canada, or of the shipment of Canadian cattle to Europe, *via* American ports.—(Mr. Mulock.)

Return of all correspondence, telegrams, reports to Council, Orders in Council, or departmental orders or instructions relative to the employment of certified captains or mates on steamers plying in the waters or ferries of the Dominion, or to the running of such steamers or ferries without such captains or mates.—(Mr. Davies.)

Copies of all reports made to the Department of the Interior or to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs as to the value of the Thousand Islands and any offers received for the purchase of the same.—(Mr. Mills, Bothwell.)

Return showing the quantity of butter manufactured at the experimental creameries, established at Elgin and Woodstock, in the province of Ontario, from the time they were established up to the 1st January, 1894; the number of sales made; where sold, and the amounts realized. Copies of all letters, reports, or other correspondence, especially the report of Clement & Son, of Glasgow, relating to the prices realized, and the condition of the goods when put upon the market. The amounts of money spent, and the different purposes for which the money was used.—(Mr. McMillan for Mr. McMullen.)

Statement showing the various amounts paid by way of bounty on pig iron produced in Canada, the quantities produced, and the parties to whom the bounty was paid, and the province in which their works are situated, since the date of the last return.—(Mr. Edgar.)

Papers, correspondence, telegrams, reports to, or Orders in Council or departmental orders not already brought down to Parliament, relative to the purchase of the Harris property in St. John for the Intercolonial Railway, or the payment of the purchase moneys therefor or relative to the uses or purposes to which that property has since been applied. Also for a list of all claimants to the

Sir JOHN THOMPSON.

title of said property or any interest therein, together with the amounts paid to them respectively, and a summary or abstract of all the deeds or agreements taken from the claimants respectively. Also for a statement of all moneys since laid out upon such property, and its total cost up to date.—(Mr. Davies.)

Return of all papers and correspondence relative to a claim for compensation for railway damages made by one Charles Coffin, of Midgell, Prince Edward Island, in the Railway Department of the Government.—(Mr. Davies.)

Return of all papers, correspondence, telegrams, reports and Orders in Council, together with all departmental orders relating to the discharge from office as superintendent of St. Paul's Island and keeper of Ingonish Island, of Mr. Samuel Campbell, or relating to his superannuation allowance.—(Mr. Davies.)

Copies of all letters, papers and statements in connection with awarding contract to William H. Davis & Sons for constructing a dam at Sheik's Island, in connection with the Cornwall Canal.—(Mr. Charlton.)

Return showing (by provinces) the value of mining machinery admitted free of duty since the year 1890.—(Mr. Mara.)

Return showing amount and value of Indian corn imported in each year since 1889, upon which a drawback of 90 per cent of the duty has been paid under the provisions of Order in Council, June 12th, 1890, permitting the payment of such drawback upon imported Indian corn when kiln-dried and used for human food; said return to give the importations by provinces.—(Mr. Charlton.)

Return showing amount and value of iron and steel imported for bridge construction into Canada in each year since 1886, under the rates of duty in force prior to May 13th, 1887, as provided by Order in Council of July 6th, 1887.—(Mr. Charlton.)

Return giving:—1. The names of all members of the Legislature of Ontario who received money for duties performed for the Dominion Government since 1879; 2. The amount paid to each; 3. The nature of the work performed.—(Mr. Macdonald, Huron.)

Statement of all timber licenses granted since January 1st, 1888, showing the date of each grant, the location, the area of the same, the name of the grantee, the bonus, if any, paid upon the same, whether disposed of:—(a.) At public auction duly advertised, where the public were invited to compete; (b.) At auction where only applicants for the berth or limit were invited to bid; (c.) By private application; (d.) If in neither of the ways above mentioned, then stating in what way disposal and grant was made. Also a summary statement giving total area granted, and total amount of bonuses received.—(Mr. Charlton.)

Return of the sentence imposed by the Supreme Court of the province of New Brunswick upon John V. Ellis, editor of the St. John "Globe," in the past year, for an alleged contempt of court; together with the names of the judges composing the court at the time the sentence was imposed.—(Mr. Davies.)

Return giving:—1. The names of all members and ex-members of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario who received appointments from the Dominion Government since 1879; 2. The position to which they were appointed, and the date of their appointment; 3. The salary of each in his respective office.—(Mr. Macdonald, Huron.)

Return showing the sums of money paid to Mr. A. F. Wood, Government valuator, for services, maintenance and transport during the years 1891–1892–1893, and the particular pieces of land or other property valued during those years.—(Mr. McMullen.)

EXPORTS TO THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. CHARLTON moved for :

Return showing the exports to the United States for the last fiscal year, of articles, the export of which to the United States exceeds in value the export of the same to all other countries, which return shall give: 1st. A detailed classification of the description of articles, commodities or wares, under the general subdivisions of the products of the mines, products of the fisheries, animals and their products, agricultural products and manufactures, coming within the scope of the inquiry; 2. The value of each class of articles exported to the United States and exported to all other countries; 3. The totals and value under each general subdivision exported to the United States and exported to all other countries; 4. The grand total of values under all the general subdivisions exported to the United States and exported to all other countries.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Stand.

Mr. CHARLTON. This return, if it is to be got out, should be taken in hand before long.

Mr. FOSTER. I would ask the hon. gentleman whether the information he asks for here is of such a nature that it cannot be taken from the Trade and Navigation Returns that have been brought down?

Mr. CHARLTON. I presume not, but the work of compiling the information is rather more than a private member would care to undertake. The information would be a matter of public interest and public importance, and I think it is perfectly proper to ask the Government to compile the information asked for in this motion, even if it can all be collated from the Trade and Navigation Returns, as I presume it can.

Mr. FOSTER. It seems to me there will scarcely be any end to that sort of thing, if we allow public money to be expended in obtaining particular excerpts or summaries of information contained in full and complete returns.

Mr. CHARLTON. I consider this is a matter of particular importance.

Motion allowed to stand.

MAPLE SUGAR.

Mr. RIDER. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I desire to inquire from the

Finance Minister how he proposes to deal with maple sugar, whether he will consider it as refined or raw sugar?

Mr. FOSTER. So far as I can see just now, I think that it would come in under the "raw sugars" or under the "unenumerated." I would not like to say which yet, but I will look into the items.

Mr. RIDER. Will the hon. Minister of Finance be able to inform the House shortly with regard to that as it affects a very considerable product?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

The House again resumed the adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Foster:

That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair for the House to go into Committee of Ways and Means; and the motion of Sir Richard Cartwright in amendment thereto.

Mr. HAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I trust, Sir, that neither you nor the members of this honourable House will consider it unfitting, coming as I do from the same province as the hon. Minister of Finance, that I should preface the remarks which I propose to make upon this occasion by congratulating that hon. gentleman on the very satisfactory Budget which he was able to bring down to this House, and upon the bold and scientific tariff that he has placed before the House for its consideration; a tariff, Sir, which so far as I am able to judge from the expressions of public opinion as formulated in the press of this country and as heard from other sources, gives satisfaction, and very general satisfaction to the people of Canada. Not only does it give satisfaction to the people of this country, but I am sure that I am safe in saying that it gives satisfaction to the people of the mother country as well; and judging from the tone and colour of the debate in this House so far, I feel that that tariff is of such a character that the hon. gentlemen who sit on the Opposition benches have very little indeed to say against it in the way of criticism. Mr. Speaker, we, in the Maritime Provinces—we, especially from the province of New Brunswick, though I think that feeling is shared also by the people of the other provinces generally—feel that we have just reason to be proud of the hon. gentleman who at the present time occupies the high and important position of Minister of Finance of the Dominion of Canada. We feel proud of the fact, that from the time of his entrance into public life he has given to the service of his country, integrity, most undoubted industry, and statescraft of a very high order. It is a pleasure to us to look back over the history of the past, to look back to the year 1878 when the gentlemen opposite occupied the Treasury benches, and when the people were so dissatis-

fied with their policy of inaction, with their "fly on the wheel" policy, that they asked them in the most emphatic terms to step down and out and to give way to a Liberal-Conservative Government. Then, Sir, at that time, in the session of 1879, when a new era dawned upon this country, and when a new state of affairs was inaugurated; the statesman whose duty it was to bring that new policy before the country was one of the predecessors of my hon. friend the present Finance Minister, and a gentleman also from the province of New Brunswick. We from the lower provinces are proud of the fact, that after fourteen years of success under the National Policy, and after that policy has been ratified three times at the polls by a large majority of our people; that now when conditions have changed, now when trade has changed, now when values have changed, now when changes have taken place in the transport and carrying business of the country—we are proud, Sir, that it has fallen to the lot of a New Brunswicker, still maintaining the basic and fundamental principles that underlie the tariff of 1878, to bring down to this House these changes and modifications which the altered conditions and circumstances of the times since then, have made necessary. Also do we feel proud; so warmly has that tariff been received in this country that the changes which he has proposed; the tariff as largely amended under his direction, bids fair to be quite as popular, if not even more popular in this country, than the National Policy in its original shape, as announced to this House of Parliament in 1879 by the then Finance Minister, Sir Leonard Tilley. Mr. Speaker, I think there must have been a feeling of great disappointment in this country at the attitude which was taken by hon. gentlemen opposite in discussing—if I might so use the term—the tariff that has been laid before this House. It might fairly have been expected of hon. gentlemen opposite; if this tariff did not meet their views, if this tariff did not suit their wishes, that they themselves would have taken this House and the country into their confidence and would in fair and honest terms have informed this House and informed this country, what tariff they themselves would propose should they come into power. They should have told us what better tariff they would propose to take the place of the one which is now before us. I say without hesitation that the people of this country demand something of that sort from these hon. gentlemen opposite, and they demand it irrespective of party. Allow me to say, for I think I can say it correctly, that those in the country who are opposed to the present tariff will not be contented with the Opposition in this House simply moving an amendment that is a mere play upon words, but that they will insist that the Opposition shall take the House and the country into their

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confidence and tell what tariff they would propose, what tariff they would think preferable to the one now before the country. Hon. gentlemen opposite should also give the details of their ideal tariff so that the country may know how they would propose, if they ever come into power, to make up the necessary amount of revenue. That much, Sir, I think hon. gentlemen opposite owe this country, and I trust that they will give that information before the debate is concluded. If hon. gentlemen opposite object to this tariff, what tariff do they propose? As I have said, they have simply offered an amendment which is a mere play upon words, an amendment which might mean nothing or anything, and which gives the country no idea of what tariff policy hon. gentlemen opposite prefer to the present one. It would be only fair, for instance, Mr. Speaker, that they should let this country know—if they are not in favour of raising the revenue of the country by the method proposed and by the taxation and imposts of the present tariff—how they are prepared to do it. Is it their intention to return to the tariff that was in force before 1878? Is it their intention once more to place a duty of 5 or 6 cents a pound upon tea, and of 2 or 3 cents a pound upon coffee? Is it their intention once more to impose duties upon raw material? If it is not, I say, that in all fairness and with all sincerity and candour, they should let the country know what their views on these matters are. Or, are they prepared to go in for a policy of absolute free trade, to take away the incidental protection that exists to the present tariff; are they willing to do that and to say to the ratepayers of the country: We will have absolute free trade and what money we want for the maintenance of the public service of Canada we are prepared to raise by a policy of direct taxation. That would be the manly and bold and statesmanlike course for the hon. gentlemen opposite to take. But, Sir, judging from the tenor of the debate so far, I feel that we cannot with reason expect that any such course will be taken by them. Rather are we led to believe that these hon. gentlemen will continue, still continue to be only critics, and to assume the role of iconoclasts, finding fault with everything and offering nothing in return. I think that this country must have been very much disappointed indeed, especially with the speech which the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), the financial critic of the Opposition, delivered in answer to the hon. Minister of Finance. It might naturally have been expected that the hon. gentleman would deal with the question in a somewhat different way from that in which he did deal with it. We might reasonably have expected that he would point out the effect which the changes made in the tariff would have on the trade and commerce of the country. But, instead

of doing that, the hon. gentleman, as has been his custom for many years past, delved into ancient history and delivered to this House the very same old speech that I have heard from him for four successive sessions, and which has been heard a dozen times or more by members of longer standing than myself who are sitting here to-day. I think that must have been a source of disappointment to the country. It was practically the same old speech, only that the hon. gentleman rather outdid himself, rather out-Heroded Herod, in the strength of the adjectives ne used and the abuse he directed against the Finance Minister. Among the "Orient pearls at random strung," which the hon. gentleman scattered broadcast over the House and the country—

Mr. LANDERKIN. Hear, hear.

Mr. HAZEN. I am glad the hon. gentleman appreciates the fact also—we learned that the Finance Minister was full of audacity, that there was scandalous mismanagement, that the tariff was a scheme of fraud, that there was brought into the question fraud and falsehood, theft and corruption. These and many kindred expressions much too numerous to mention, fell from the hon. gentleman as thick as those autumnal leaves which, we are told, strew the brooks of Vallambrosa. When I first heard that speech from the hon. gentleman, four years ago, as a young member of this House, I felt shocked and pained and surprised that an hon. gentleman occupying the high position he does in this country, a gentleman of his reputation and standing, should use such extraordinary and extravagant language, and utter such gross inaccuracies as the hon. gentleman then did. But, Mr. Speaker, since then I have got used to that speech; in fact, I am coming to regard it somewhat as an old familiar friend; and I think that some of us on this side of the House would feel almost as lost in Parliament, if we failed to hear that speech delivered here every year, as we would feel at witnessing in a theatre the play of Hamlet with the character of the Prince of Denmark left out. If he failed to hear that speech delivered, I think we would begin to fear that evil days were about to overtake the Conservative party of this country. Our wish, therefore, is that the hon. gentleman may long live to continue to address that speech to the members of the House of Commons. But, Mr. Speaker, hon. gentlemen opposite, some of them at least, have taken the ground, to adopt the expression used many years ago in England, that the Government have "caught the Whigs in bathing and have stolen away their clothes." Mr. Speaker, I do not think we can be justly accused of being to-day arrayed in the clothes of hon. gentlemen opposite. If we were, we would certainly present a most motley and extraordinary appearance. As has been said, we would have

a coat of many colours. If we had stolen the clothes of hon. gentlemen opposite, and arrayed ourselves in them, we would have a coat of unrestricted reciprocity, a waistcoat of continental free trade, and, inside and nearest our heart, the garment of commercial union; and we do not want to be arrayed in any such garments as those. If we had stolen the clothes of hon. gentlemen opposite, and arrayed ourselves in them, we would be to-day before this country asking for a tariff uniform with that of the United States; we would be throwing down all the barriers between Canada and the United States, and allowing the combines of the United States to make this country a slaughter market for their surplus products, as they did before 1879, and enabling them to interfere with the employment and wages of the artisans and labourers, and with the home market of the agriculturists in this country. Mr. Speaker, we put no such platform before the public as that. That was the platform of the party opposite in the last election. Shortly before that election, down in the city of Halifax, the hon. leader of the Opposition, said that their party had nailed the flag of unrestricted reciprocity to the mast, and by that policy they proposed to stand or fall. Fortunately for this country, that policy was not accepted. But if they had been in a position to carry out their pledges—and I do not know that they ever took back that announcement by their leader—during the past year, when a terrible depression prevailed in the United States, we would have had this country in a worse position than it was before 1878, we would have had a policy prevailing that would have made our people what they were once before, hewers of wood and drawers of water for the great republic. The Conservative party comes before the country to-day with no such unpatriotic policy as that; but they say that fourteen years have now passed since the introduction of the National Policy; the conditions have changed in many respects; and it is, therefore, desirable that many changes should be made in the tariff in order to adapt it to the changed conditions of the time. Under the protective policy which has been in force, many industries which were weakly infants fourteen years ago, have become strong and vigorous and do not need as much protection as they had at first; other industries which it was hoped to create—and I say it frankly and freely—have been found to be unsuitable to the conditions of this country; and therefore, though that policy was adopted, and the people repeatedly endorsed it as an unqualified success, yet I think it the duty of wise statesmen, under these circumstances, to bring the tariff more into line with the conditions and feelings of the age. In doing that, we have not stolen the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite, we have not stolen their clothes. Now, Mr. Speaker, in addressing this House in the vehement and unpatriotic language which he used with reference to

the Government, the hon. member for South Oxford referred to the present Minister of Finance as a tariff tinker. Well, Sir, if there is one subject more than another on which the hon. member for South Oxford is able to speak with authority, I think it is the subject of tariff tinkering; for, from the day he entered office in 1873 until the day that the people of this country asked him to relinquish the seals of office in 1878, the hon. gentleman's management of the finances of this country was one long-continued operation of tariff tinkering; and so greatly did his policy of that day interfere with the consuming power of the people—one year putting a tax on tea, and another year on coffee—that, from the time he went into power until he left it, he was constantly engaged in raising increased revenue by taxing the necessaries of life. But so poor a tinker was he that he was unable to stop the leaks in the governmental kettle, and everything he put into it ran out as fast as he put it in. I think, therefore, that if any one is an authority on the subject of tariff tinkering, it would be the hon. member for South Oxford. But the hon. gentleman adopted a new role on this occasion, and for him it is a very extraordinary role: he even had a kind and sympathetic word to say for the manufacturers of this country. Hitherto the hon. gentleman has spoken of the manufacturers of this country as if they were a set of thieves and highway robbers. He has, I think, spoken of them in plain Anglo-Saxon as thieves. He has spoken of them as monopolists and has usually used the adjective vile in connection with it. But on this occasion a change has come over the spirit of the hon. gentleman's dream, and he has a kind and sympathetic word to say for the manufacturers of the country. I do not know whether he is going to become their champion or not; but he appeals for fair-play to the manufacturers. Formerly we were told that these men went to the Red Parlour and subscribed liberally to the election funds of the Government party. Now we find that what money they have subscribed to election funds has been extorted from them—not only extorted from them, but extorted by the most forcible, the most vile, means possible. It has been extorted from them, Sir, at the very point of the bayonet. What a splendid subject this would be for a grand historical painting. The poor manufacturer with his knees shaking, trembling with fear, and the Government, with their bayonets drawn charging at him, and demanding that he should give up what money he has. This, Sir, might be a very beautiful picture except for the fact that it would be lacking in the essential element of truth. Time and time again has the assertion of hon. gentlemen opposite been met by the contrary statement, which the Minister of Railways made in this House the other night, that the manufacturing interests in this coun-

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try have never expended on elections more money than would pay the cost of campaign literature. Still, over and over again without one tittle of evidence to support his assertion, the hon. gentleman goes on repeating it; and judging from the success with which his statements have been received throughout the country, I think it will be a very short time indeed if he repeats it often again before the people generally will make up their minds that there never was such an institution in the country as the Red Parlour at all. The hon. gentleman persists in alleging that the Government owes its success to what he calls "wholesale gerrymander," despite the fact, which cannot be gainsaid, that after the last election the majority returned to support the Government came from those provinces in the east and west where the county lines had been maintained and no gerrymander had in the slightest degree occurred. Yet, despite that fact, on every occasion, the hon. gentleman persists in alluding to the results of the elections of 1891 as due to wholesale gerrymander. Passing on, Sir, from that subject, the hon. gentleman displays himself in a new role in the House—the hon. gentleman is particularly solicitous, particularly anxious—I cannot understand his new-born solicitude—for the well-being of what to-day he is polite enough to call the great provinces of the west. He is to-day also particularly solicitous for the welfare of those provinces by the sea from which I have the honour to come. What a change has come over the spirit of the hon. gentleman's dream. About three years ago, the hon. gentleman, after the general elections of 1891, could not find language insulting enough in which to allude to the Maritime Provinces, and what he is now pleased to call the great provinces of the west. Then they were in his eyes nothing but the minor provinces of the confederacy. They were, in his beautiful and graphic language, nothing but the shreds and patches and the ragged remnants of the confederacy. Can it be the fact that the occasion when he used that language was just after the general elections, and that it was the defeat under which he was then smarting that prompted it? And can it be that the fact that elections are not many months distant now has caused a change in the hon. gentleman's feelings? Why, from the time the hon. gentleman has had a seat in this House, he has never missed an opportunity of running down the Maritime Provinces. There has scarcely ever been a vote for the expenditure of public money in those provinces which the hon. gentleman has not condemned. Time and time again has he insulted the people of those provinces in the most extravagant terms. They were a people who had no regard for principle. They were a people who regarded more the payment of money in hand or the promise of immediate

and extensive railway subsidies than any political principle. Perhaps the hon. gentleman, if that were true, found a similar state of affairs existing in the district in which is situated the town of Napanee, on the occasion when he made that historic speech some years ago, in which he admitted to the people that he had bought them twice, but did not propose to buy them the third time. Time and again he has taken that role with regard to the Maritime Provinces. I well remember after the death of Sir John Macdonald and after the formation of the new Government under the premiership of Sir John Abbott, the hon. gentleman rising in his place to discuss that Ministry, and endeavouring to excite sectional feeling and jealousy by declaring that the Maritime Provinces in the Cabinet representation, were an easy first, that Quebec was a fair second, and the western provinces nowhere. On every occasion the hon. gentleman eagerly seized the opportunity to strike the Maritime Provinces below the belt. To what then must we attribute the change of feeling, the change of base, in the hon. gentleman now? It certainly seems to me that this is one of those occasions when we have to suspect the hon. gentleman, even when he comes to us bearing gifts. We have to beware of the Greeks even when they come with gifts in their hands. The hon. gentleman comes too late in the day to gain the respect of the Maritime Provinces by any professions of sympathy. These provinces have had enough experience of his conduct in the past towards them to beware of his present professions of sympathy, and the people of these provinces may well exclaim, on hearing them: If we have to depend upon the sympathy of the hon. member then may God help the Maritime Provinces. But the sympathy of the hon. gentleman is based entirely on a mistaken idea of the facts. He says there is stagnation in the lower provinces. He cries out that there is blue ruin in those provinces, that the people are fleeing from them in large numbers to the United States. Is the hon. gentleman's statement correct? I propose to adduce evidence to the contrary which the hon. gentleman himself will not question. For my authority and evidence I will not go to Tory sources, but to Liberal sources. And I think I will be able to prove out of the mouths of his own supporters that the statement he has made that stagnation exists in the Maritime Provinces is a most extravagant assertion utterly unfounded on fact. In discussing the condition of affairs in the lower provinces, I do not propose to paint them as being *couleur de rose*. There cannot possibly be, it is not reasonable to expect that there could be a general world-wide depression in business circles and that at the same time small portion of the globe, the Maritime Provinces, should entirely escape. But what I am satisfied I can prove out of the mouths of the hon. gentleman's own friends is the

fact that in those provinces during the past year when depression was so rampant and widespread in other parts of the world, we have enjoyed a fair average degree of comfort and prosperity, and have been, in comparison with other countries, prosperous to a considerable degree. The first authority to which I will call the attention of the hon. gentleman is the Liberal Premier of the province of New Brunswick. In the speech delivered on the 15th March at the opening of the Legislature of New Brunswick by the Lieutenant-Governor—the speech placed in His Honour's hand by the Premier of that province—himself a Liberal and a gentleman who occupied a very prominent place at the recent Liberal convention, in the city of Ottawa, contained these words:

It is fitting that we should acknowledge, in a spirit of gratitude and thankfulness, to the Giver of all good things, that while other countries have experienced and are still suffering the most distressing consequences of a disordered business condition, we in New Brunswick have enjoyed almost complete immunity from the worst phases of these exceptional troubles.

An hon. MEMBER. Hear, hear.

Mr. HAZEN. I am glad my hon. friend recognizes the authority. It is true that the shipping and lumber business of the country have not recovered from the depression to which, for some time past they have been subject, but evidence is not wanting that improvement in both these departments of our industrial life may be hoped for at an early period.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Hear, hear.

Mr. HAZEN. The hon. gentleman expresses some comfort at the statement with regard to the shipping and lumber interest, with which the policy of this Government has no more to do than the policy of the Government of Madagascar. The hon. gentleman, however, did not express much comfort at the statement that the people of New Brunswick enjoyed complete immunity from the worst phase of those troubles in other countries. Yesterday, in this House, my hon. friend the Controller of Customs quoted the speech of the hon. Provincial Secretary for New Brunswick, somewhat in the same direction. I will not bore the House by again quoting the speech here, but I will read to the House an extract from a speech made by Mr. Wells, the member for the Liberal county of Westmoreland, who moved the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne. Mr. Wells said:

While it is a general complaint that times are dull, it must be acknowledged that we have no such depression as exists in the bordering republic and in England. In this respect we have cause to be thankful that we have not been burdened with tens of thousands of unemployed, nor heard the wail of woe and want, but have pursued the even tenor of

our way during the past year, with the assurance that we have better prospects ahead.

Very likely, my hon. friends opposite will say that this is not a proper authority. Yesterday, when my hon. friend the Controller of Customs quoted from the utterances of a member of the New Brunswick Government, the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies, P.E.I.) said: That is not a Grit Government; that is a Government in which there are Conservatives, and a majority of the members of the House of Assembly supporting the Attorney General and the present Government, are members of the Conservative party.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I merely corrected a misapprehension he was under—that was all.

Mr. HAZEN. He may have imbued the idea of the members of one section of the Liberal party in New Brunswick, who are of opinion that the hon. gentleman's administration has not been in the interests of the Liberal party in the province of New Brunswick, that he has at times appointed Conservatives to office, and that he has a number of Conservatives in his Ministry. But, whether he regards it as a Liberal Government or not, the Attorney General of that Government was a good enough Liberal to be lionized in the Liberal convention and to be made one of the vice-chairmen; and I think he is second in command in the Maritime Provinces—by resolution of that convention—to my hon. friend from Queen's (Mr. Davies, P.E.I.) Now, Sir, I would quote an authority against which I feel perfectly confident the hon. gentlemen opposite will not say one word. The authority I propose to quote now, Mr. Speaker, is a gentleman who we have the authority of the hon. leader of the Opposition, given during this session, for saying, is a great man. I propose to quote the Premier of the province of Nova Scotia—perhaps not quite so great a man as he was a little while ago, as his prestige has been somewhat shattered by the result of the recent elections and by the fact that he himself escaped defeat in Halifax barely by the skin of his teeth, and would have been overwhelmingly defeated had he not passed an Act taking the franchise from the members of a very large and respectable element in the community. But, in the eyes of hon. gentlemen opposite, no doubt, he is still a great man. He was certainly a great man at the Liberal convention. I desire to read to yourself, Mr. Speaker, and to this House what that great man said in the Speech he placed in the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor of the province of Nova Scotia at the opening of the last session of the Provincial Legislature. He says:

While the condition of business throughout Nova Scotia leaves much to be desired in the way of improvement, we can rejoice that during the year the people engaged in the various branches of

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industry have had a moderate measure of success from their labours, and our province has escaped—

And this I commend to the attention of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), who was talking about the stagnation in the Maritime Provinces:

—the severe depression created in some parts of the continent by financial disturbances.

Let me cite one more Nova Scotian authority to the hon. gentlemen before I sit down. I am sure they will pardon me if I delay a moment in doing so. The Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne in the Legislature of the province of Nova Scotia was moved by a most staunch and strong supporter of the Liberal party in this country. I propose to read to you from that hon. gentleman's speech to show what he thought of the condition of business in the province of Nova Scotia. I ask hon. gentlemen opposite to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest. This is what he said as to the condition of business:

He thought we had reason to congratulate ourselves at the present time upon the prosperity enjoyed by our fair province. He doubted whether there was a place in North America containing the same number of square miles of territory and the same population that enjoyed the same measure of prosperity as the province of Nova Scotia. There was less poverty and want here than in any other place that could be named, and, in this particular, there was great cause for encouragement.

This, Sir, was Mr. Hunt, a Liberal member of the Legislative Assembly of the province of Nova Scotia. I would advise my hon. friend, before he undertakes again to talk stagnation existing in the Maritime Provinces, to go down to the Maritime Provinces and talk with his own friends there. If anything will convert the hon. gentleman that conversation will convert him, and he will come back in a very different frame of mind from that in which he goes down, and will cease from eternally singing his song of blue ruin and stagnation.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Does the hon. gentleman contend that there is any important measure of prosperity there?

Mr. HAZEN. I contend, as I said at the outset—and if the hon. gentleman had listened to me (and I cannot but think he did listen to me)—he would have known what I said. I said that I did not propose to paint the condition of affairs in the Maritime Provinces in extravagant language of praise or in the colours of the rose. But I said I did propose to show the House, by comparison with any other country—and how better can you judge of a country's condition than by comparison with other countries—and out of the mouths of witnesses who are friends of hon. gentlemen opposite themselves, that the lower provinces had enjoyed a very fair measure of prosperity during the past year. Mr. Speaker, I feel that this House will agree

with me, that I have made good my promise by the proof I have given. The Legislature of the province of Prince Edward Island, represented by my hon. friend from Queen's (Mr. Davies, P.E.I.), met two days ago. I have not yet seen the Speech from the Throne which was delivered there, but I doubt very much if the Liberal leader of the Government of the province of Prince Edward Island has put into that Speech anything that will weaken the effect of the evidence of the other authorities I quote. But, Mr. Speaker, I find—pursuing this subject a little further—that it is not only in the Maritime Provinces that we find the Local Governments declaring that they have cause for thankfulness for the condition of affairs during the past year. I pursued the question a little further and took up the Speech from the Throne made by the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba at the opening of the Legislative Assembly on the 11th January, this year. There are no Tories in the Government of that province. The leader is a staunch and strong Liberal, an active member of the Liberal party of the Dominion of Canada. What do I find is the Speech which the Premier of Manitoba puts into the mouth of the Lieutenant-Governor of that province at the opening of the Legislature on 11th January, 1894? I find that His Honour says:

It is a matter of satisfaction to know that in the general depression which has existed throughout the world and especially throughout this continent during the past year, Manitoba compares more than favourably with other countries.

Mr. Speaker, where are we to find this stagnation, this blue ruin? We certainly cannot find it in the evidence which the Premiers of these provinces put before the people of this country. I go further and reach the province of Ontario, and I find that Ontario, at the opening of the present session of the Legislative Assembly, the Lieutenant-Governor was made to say:

The signal success of the province at the World's Columbian Exposition has been a matter of just pride and satisfaction to our people. By our exhibits of live stock, grain, fruit, honey, cheese, minerals, timber, natural history and education, we have shown that Ontario possesses great natural resources, and in their development has kept pace with wealthier and more populous countries.

That is the province of Ontario, which we are led to believe by Liberal newspapers in the lower provinces has been going completely to the dogs. But we find that, according to the testimony of Sir Oliver Mowat, the leader in Ontario provincial politics of my hon. friends opposite, Ontario has been keeping pace with more populous countries. We must look further yet to find this stagnation, and, in looking further, I look to see what the Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia said at the opening of the Legislative Assembly of that province. I do not quote this as an authority that will

be accepted as unimpeachable by my hon. friend opposite, because the Government of that province is now a Conservative Government; still, I find that the Government of the province of British Columbia used these words in opening the session of the Legislature of British Columbia this year:

Notwithstanding the reduction in the market price of silver, the mines of the West Kootenay district in consequence of the high grade of these ores, have shown a healthy development. The agricultural and horticultural reports from the various districts show a satisfactory improvement both as to the area under cultivation and the modes of culture. Our fishing industry has produced results larger than in any previous year. Although the past year has been one of great commercial depression throughout the world, the revenue of the province has closely approximated the estimate notwithstanding the diversion of considerable sums of money to newly formed municipalities.

If we look at the reports of the Provincial Governments, Liberal and Conservative alike, from one end of this country to the other, we fail to find that stagnation which the hon. member for South Oxford says exists in this country. Now, I have another authority which I feel sure will appeal to the hon. gentlemen opposite, especially to the hon. member for South Oxford, even more strongly than any authority that I have yet quoted on the subject. It is only a few years ago that the hon. gentleman went down to Boston, and he told the men of Boston, in public banquet assembled, that if they only had free trade with Canada, Boston would become the entrepot of a great commerce which no man could take away from them. Sir, the hon. gentleman has been wounded in the house of his friends. I hold in my hand an extract from the Buffalo 'Express' of two days ago, and what do I find that paper say with regard to the state of affairs in Canada? It says:

While the United States has been suffering the evil of hard times Canada has been practically unaffected.

That is testimony from the 'Express' which the hon. member for South Oxford will appreciate.

The 'Express' has noted this fact before, as shown by the reports of failures made by the commercial agencies. It proves beyond question that our troubles have been internal and not external. Canada has had a settled protective policy and a settled financial policy. The United States has been and is agitated by the double threat of a free trade tariff and a free silver currency inflation. That is the only difference. The causes of American hard times can be found in the causes of Canada's escape from them.

A still stronger authority yet I will cite before I leave this branch of the subject. I will site from a newspaper published yesterday morning in that very city of Boston which the policy of my hon. friend opposite

was to make the entrepot of Canadian trade, I quote from an article in the Boston 'Advertiser':

The protective policy has done so much for Canada in the past that the Government has no hesitation in declaring an intention to stick to that policy. While the United States under a threat of a revenue tariff has passed through one of the worst years of financial depression recorded in American history, Canada while declining to make any trial of a revenue tariff has been comparatively prosperous. Both countries export and import products of a similar nature. Canada as well as the United States sends heavy cargoes of agricultural products abroad and imports sugar, tea and manufactured European goods; but while the United States has suffered severely in the past six months Canada has increased the deposits in savings banks, has had a generally prosperous year and has kept up her foreign trade with but a small loss as compared with the startling decrease in the trade of the United States. These facts speak more loudly than volumes of mere theory.

Well might hon. gentlemen opposite exclaim in the language of the Psalmist, after hearing this last quotation: "Yea, mine own familiar friend, in whom I trusted, which did eat of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me." There was another authority on the subject which I intended to cite to this House, but the hon. Controller of Customs has saved me the trouble of doing so, and that was the authority of the leading Liberal organ in the province of New Brunswick, the authority of an organ owned and controlled by a gentleman who, until a few years ago, occupied an honoured place on the Liberal benches opposite, a gentleman whose position was so conspicuous in the ranks of his party that when the party leadership was put into commission, he was selected to be one of the commissioners. The publisher of the leading Liberal organ in that province took the ground that there was no exodus from New Brunswick, and that the people, after having been lured from their comfortable homes in that province, probably by the idle vapourings of Liberal platform speakers, and by the newspapers of hon. gentlemen opposite, were returning in great numbers, and were passing through the station at St. John by hundreds every day. The management of that paper, being wiser in its day and generation than hon. members occupying seats to the left of you, Mr. Speaker, saw that the way to gain the confidence of the electorate of the province of New Brunswick for the Liberal party was not by pursuing the old threadbare and worn-out course of running down the country by crying blue ruin and shouting out about the exodus, but the method was to tell the plain unvarnished truth, and to put the facts fairly before the people. I feel that when the Liberal party throughout the Dominion adopts the policy that has been adopted by their leading organ in the province of New Brunswick, the Conservative party will have much greater rea-

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son to fear the results than they have had during the past fourteen years. There are several more authorities that I want to bring before this House. First of all, I want to read you a statement made at the meeting of the Canadian Bank of Commerce last year, by the president of that bank. Hon. gentlemen opposite will not regard that as an expression of opinion from a Tory source. Mr. Cox, the president of the bank, is not a supporter of this Government; his political sympathies, I understand, are with the hon. gentlemen opposite. Do his words show that there is stagnation and great depression in this country? At the last annual meeting of the bank, he used these words:

In the bank we see the balance sheets of very many different kinds of business, and of many different men in the same kinds of business; a very trifling minority may have fallen behind in capital during the past year, but we have remarked more than once at the board table that at no time in recent years has the improvement in capital as shown by the surplus in the customers' balance sheets, been so general. Looking around us, while every caution is necessary, we do not see anything in the outlook which is not hopeful for Canada.

Mr. B. E. Walker, the general manager of the bank, in his address, used language which, although it was quoted yesterday by the Controller of Customs, I am going to ask the House to hear again. Mr. Walker, not a Tory partisan, in his address, spoke as follows:—

Quoting from sales and collections running into several millions of dollars, we find that in Ontario farmers paid their paper without renewal to the extent of over ninety-six per cent. In the Northwest, where the year is admitted to be unfavourable, and where renewals are always required more or less, the payments were under sixty per cent. From every part of Ontario our managers make pretty much the same report. The farmers have more than offset the low price for grain by the high prices for cheese and hogs. For, we are told that the farmers, owing to the low prices of wheat are, year after year, turning their attention more to dairying, cattle grazing, fattening hogs, and fruit growing. Again, we are told that in many counties the farmers are still holding last year's wheat, and in some localities two or three years' crops of wheat. This may be a very foolish thing for a farmer to do, but let us bear in mind that he is financially able to do it. From the same counties we have the information—in fact there are very few exceptions throughout Ontario—that the deposits in banks are increasing, that farmers' notes for implements are promptly paid, that he does not want to borrow from the banks, and is meeting the interest and to some extent reducing the principal on his mortgages. Also that there is no demand for mortgage loans, and that upon mortgages subject to repayment many good farmers are demanding a reduction in the rate of interest. Looking around us, while every caution is necessary, we do not see anything in the outlook which is not hopeful for Canada.

I leave this condition of affairs in the upper provinces, and come back once more to my own province of New Brunswick, the province where, according to the hon. member from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), starvation is stalking abroad, and poverty is knocking at the door of the palaces of the rich and the cottages of the poor; I return to my own province of New Brunswick, which that hon. gentleman went out of his way to insult gratuitously by attacking one of the courts of the country, composed of as high-minded and able men as ever sat on the bench in any country in the world—a matter which we will have an opportunity later to deal with—I come back to my province and desire to look for a few moments at the situation of the people there. I propose to pass in review before you, Mr. Speaker, and this House the deposits in the savings banks in New Brunswick. Hon. gentlemen opposite may say that the savings in the banks are not infallible evidence of prosperity and comfort and thrift among the people.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). Hear, hear.

Mr. HAZEN. The hon. member for East Huron (Mr. Macdonald) says, "Hear, hear." I have great respect for the opinions and views of the hon. member for East Huron, but I regret that on this occasion I have to disagree with the hon. gentleman, and to say to him that in so far as the deposits in the savings banks are concerned, which cover small deposits made to a very large extent out of the earnings of the labouring people, agriculturists and mechanics of the country, they are evidences of thrift and prosperity, and prove that the people are going ahead. They are not like deposits made in the large chartered banks. It is, perhaps, a fair statement to make in regard to those deposits that they are not always evidence of prosperity, but rather that the public have no confidence in the general investments of the country, and in its manufacturing concerns, and prefer to place their money in the chartered banks, especially when they are paying 3 or 4 per cent interest. While I admit that an argument of that kind may apply to the chartered banks, I deny 'in toto' that it can be applied to savings banks. Let me quote the figures for the benefit of hon. gentlemen opposite, especially for the benefit of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), for, if we are to believe his statement, the people in the lower provinces are in a state of penury and abject want. What do we find to have been the increase in the deposits in the savings banks since the hon. gentleman ceased to mix and muddle the finances of this country? I find that in the savings banks in St. John, when the hon. gentleman went out of power and left the Finance Department in 1878, there were deposited there, of small earnings, the amount of \$1,093,377. I find on 30th June, 1893, the amount deposited in that bank was \$3,

717,494, or three times as much as was lying there when the hon. gentleman went out of power in 1878. I find that at Bathurst, the shire town of Gloucester, the deposits increased from \$36,373 in 1878 to \$131,592 in 1893. In the town of Chatham, the deposits were \$129,749 in 1878, and increased to \$254,258 in 1893. In the little town of Dalhousie, in the county represented by my hon. friend from Restigouche, the amount was \$107,677 on 30th June, 1878, and it increased more than three-fold, to \$354,205 in 1893. I may say that this amount represents the savings of the fishermen, farmers and lumbermen who live in that vicinity. In Dorchester, on 30th June, 1878, the deposits were \$6,512, and they increased to \$93,991 in 1893, and that notwithstanding the fact that the commercial centre of the county of Westmoreland has been practically removed from the town of Dorchester to Moncton. In Fredericton an enormous increase occurred, it being over six-fold within that period of time. There on 30th June, 1878, the deposits amounted to \$94,135, and on 30th June, 1893, they reached \$577,430. In Newcastle they were \$85,291 on 30th June, 1878, and increased to \$224,789 in 1893. At St. Andrews the deposits in the savings bank, which were \$96,919 in 1878, increased to \$321,435 in 1893. For Sussex we have no returns for 1878; the deposits were \$143,722 in 1891, \$151,026 in 1893. At Woodstock, where the deposits were \$61,795 in 1878, they increased nearly eight times, and in 1893 were \$474,980. Those deposits in Woodstock, I have no hesitation in stating here, though I have no accurate information on the subject, are largely the savings of the farmers and agriculturists who live in Carleton and Victoria. Thus we find that whereas there was the sum of \$1,711,831 standing at the credit of depositors in the Government savings banks in 1878, in 1893 that sum had increased to \$6,300,304. I think I have said enough to satisfy this House that so far as the province of New Brunswick is concerned—and the same remark applies to the other Maritime Provinces—it is not in a state of starvation, penury and want, as has been represented to this House by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). I tell the hon. gentleman that the people of that province resent the insult cast upon its people by the hon. gentleman in this House, and I warn the hon. gentleman that the speech he delivered a few evenings ago has done more to destroy the chances of his party in New Brunswick at the approaching election than any other means he could possibly have devised. Passing on—there were other matters on which I desired to speak, but I must not trespass too long on the time of the House—from that branch of the subject with the inquiry first, Would we have had this state of affairs in New Brunswick or in any part of Canada had we adopted the suicidal policy advocated by hon. gentlemen opposite, and allowed the products of a foreign country, without let

or hindrance, to flow into and compete with the products of our own people, those products coming from a country which had erected a high tariff wall against us, involving the highest protection the world ever knew—passing on with that inquiry, I will deal for a moment with the statement made by the hon. member from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), that protection, extravagance and corruption always go hand in hand. The hon. gentleman said: Put us in power; we do not want a protective tariff, and we can raise a revenue without it, for we will be most economical, and will put an end to this era of extravagance, which has prevailed in this country from 1878. Let us for a few moments carefully analyze that statement made by the hon. gentleman opposite. The only one of the hon. gentlemen opposite who has paid the slightest attention to that branch of the question was my hon. friend who preceded me, and who showed, to his own satisfaction, that there need be no expenditure if all the public services were abolished. That would be certainly a very radical means of doing away with the expenditure of the country. It was only a wonder to me when the hon. gentleman enumerated the many public institutions and services to be abolished that he did not also wish to abolish the House of Commons itself. I feel that it would have been included possibly in the hon. gentleman's list had it not involved too great a personal sacrifice to himself. But take every item of expenditure that the hon. gentleman proposed to do away with last night, abolish the militia, abolish the Military College, if you will, abolish the Senate, abolish all those different services of the country, which the hon. gentleman proposes to abolish, and the hon. gentleman will not save the amount which his leader has pledged in increased subsidies to the provinces if he comes into power. In the campaign of 1891, be it remembered that the hon. leader of the Opposition pledged himself to his friend and supporter, the hon. Mr. Mercier, the then Premier of the province of Quebec: that he accepted the terms of the Quebec conference and that he would carry them into effect if he came into power at Ottawa. The terms of that conference meant additional imposition every year on the Federal exchequer of this country, of a sum, in round numbers, of \$2,000,000. I can therefore assure my hon. friend who spoke before me (Mr. McMullen), that even if he effects the savings which he thinks—but I may remark that no such policy has yet been advocated by any of the gentlemen on the front benches opposite—he cannot save an amount which would make up the deficiency of revenue that will be caused by the promise of his leader to carry out the platform of the Quebec conference; a promise which he has never yet denied. Is that the way to have economy in this country? Let us look at the condition of affairs in these provinces of the

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Confederation where we have Liberal Governments in power. In the province of New Brunswick, which has a Liberal for its leader, and that hon. gentleman a few years ago rode into power on the promise of retrenchment and reform—shortly before his advent to power, in a speech which he delivered in the House of Assembly, he said that by prudent and careful management of the finances direct taxation in the province of New Brunswick could be averted for a period of thirty years. Why, Sir, since he has come into power, we find that under his control and management of the finances the debt of the province has increased by many hundreds of thousands of dollars; and already forms of direct taxation have been imposed. But it may be said to me by hon. gentlemen opposite, who wish to escape from the position: There are as many Conservatives as Liberals in the Government of New Brunswick. Then let me refer them once more to a purely Liberal Government, the Liberal Government of the province of Nova Scotia, a Government which also came into power on promises of retrenchment and reform, and which since the few years they have been in power—if I have my figures correct, and I think I have—added in the vicinity of \$3,000,000 to the public debt of the province. What kind of economy is that under Liberal administration? There is very little encouragement in all that for those who hope that the accession of a Liberal Government to power will bring increased economy; a Government which would probably include within its ranks the hon. gentleman who is now Prime Minister of the province of Nova Scotia, for we found after the Ottawa convention, the Liberal papers heralding from one part of the country to the other, that that hon. gentleman was too confined in the narrow sphere of Nova Scotia politics, and that his proper place was the position of a Cabinet Minister in Ottawa. Very little satisfaction is to be got from that state of affairs from those who hope for an economic Liberal Government. I do not say that these figures I have given are absolutely correct, but I say that they are very near the mark. Now, Mr. Speaker, we turn from that, to another Liberal Government, the Government of Prince Edward Island. We find there that since the accession of the Liberal Government to power the provincial debt has been greatly increased, and already direct taxation has to be resorted to for the purpose of raising a revenue. In the other provinces of the Dominion, ruled by Liberal Governments; the province of Manitoba for instance, their public debt has also been largely increased. So I think, Sir, that if we expect that an economic management of public affairs is to set in by reason of the advent of the Liberal party to power, we will be very seriously mistaken. The hon. member who addressed the House last evening suggested amongst other economic re-

forms. that the Cabinet should be reduced from fifteen members to ten. There is very little prospect I must say of such a reduction being made if the Liberal party succeed at the polls. All the time they were in power before, from 1873 to 1878, though year after year their Minister of Finance had to admit to Parliament that the expenditure of the country had not been enough to meet the revenue; yet there was no move during all these years to make any saving in the public expenses of the country by reducing the members of their Cabinet from the number of thirteen. If they should come into power to-day, can we expect any reduction in this line, considering the large number of aspirants for Cabinet positions which it is natural to suppose will be in their ranks. In view of the probable fact that their Finance Minister's deficits have been turned into surpluses by ours can we reasonably expect that the number of their Cabinet Ministers will be reduced? Rather, reasoning by analogy, we might expect that there would be an increase of the number of Ministers in a Liberal Administration. I wish to place one more instance before this House of the administration of affairs by a Liberal Government. For a few years, not a very long period of time, we had a Liberal Government controlling the destinies of the province of Quebec, and during the few short years they were in power we saw the debt of the province increased from \$7,000,000 to \$20,000,000, or an increase of twelve or thirteen million dollars. If a Liberal Government were formed here in Ottawa, formed of similar material to the men who compose the Liberal Government of the provinces of the Dominion, how could we expect any retrenchment, or saving, or any economy in the public expenditure? What do we find in this Dominion at the present time? I say unhesitatingly that the finances of this country are being wisely, prudently, and economically administered, and the danger of the present Government is, that there may be greater dissatisfaction in the country, because of their great economy than if they were more lavish of expenditure. Under the administration of the present Minister of Finance there never was a time in the history of Canada—I say it advisedly—when the finances of this country were more prudently, economically and wisely administered than is the case at the present time. We have now arrived at a stage when the increase of public debt has practically ceased; we have all our great public works constructed and yet the burden of the debt to-day is very little greater upon our shoulders than it was when hon. gentlemen opposite left power in 1878. Returning now, Mr. Speaker, to the other branch of the subject with which I was dealing. The hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) told us the other night that protection and corruption were twin evils, and that if his party came into

power they would put down any corruption there was in the country. Let us again examine the record of the party of which the hon. gentleman is a prominent leader. Was this country free from scandals and corruption during the five years that the Liberal party held power? No, Sir, there was at that time the most luxuriant crop of scandals in Canada that this country has ever known. Was the province of Quebec free from corruption during the period that a Liberal Government controlled the reins of power there? Is the province of Nova Scotia free from corruption or scandal during the regime of the present Liberal Government?

Mr. FORBES. Yes.

Mr. HAZEN. My hon. friend says yes. Let us see by the record whether he or I am right. What has the Government of Nova Scotia done? They have borrowed sums of money which they have spent upon the roads of the country to be washed into the ditches by the rains falling in the spring. This, for the purpose of gaining political support; and before the recent elections in Nova Scotia—let me call the attention of hon. gentlemen opposite to this when they talk about corruption in public affairs—before the recent elections in Nova Scotia we had Orders in Council passed by the Government of Nova Scotia devoting very large sums in railway subsidies, just on the eve of that election, to a narrow gauge railway and a broad gauge railway running into the county of Shelburne for the express purpose of securing the defeat of Mr. Cahan, the leader of the Opposition party. Have we had no scandals in the province of Nova Scotia in connection with the expenditure of the by-road money? Turning again to the province of New Brunswick, we find that at the present time, it has appeared before the House of Assembly, that two of the Liberal supporters of the Attorney General, one of whom was his colleague in the last election in the country, for the purpose of raising the wind for campaign purposes, deliberately sold an office for the sum of \$200.

An hon. MEMBER. Have you got any record of that?

Mr. HAZEN. Does the hon. gentleman want the record? Perhaps if he does I can give it to him. Let me read the correspondence which is also before the Local Assembly. The first of it bears the letter-heading of the office to which the Attorney General belongs. It reads:

A. C. BLAIR, Attorney General; J. H. BARRY,
BLAIR and BARRY, Attorneys and Solicitors,
Fredericton, New Brunswick.

FREDERICTON, N.B.,
16th January, 1890.

DEAR QUINN,—It is of the utmost importance that you should hand me to-day the cheque we were speaking of yesterday. Our calculations were

based on your doing this, and I do not know what the consequences will be if we are disappointed.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) J. H. BARRY.

Mr. Barry was the partner of the Attorney General. The next document is the receipt for the \$200, which is as follows:—

FREDERICTON, N.B.

13th February, 1890.

\$200.

Received from William H. Quinn the sum of \$200 towards the election fund; not to be used until appointment is arranged, and if no appointment made, then to be returned.

(Sgd.) WILLIAM WILSON.

A leading member of the Liberal party in the province of New Brunswick, one of the orators put forward at the Liberal convention at Ottawa, and a colleague of the Attorney General of the province. I think my hon. friend the member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) will have to come down and give them a Napanee speech. Unfortunately, it appears that the goods were not delivered; the man did not get the office, in which case the money was to be paid back. Now, I will read the sequence:

WILLIAM WILSON, Esq., M.P.P.:

DEAR SIR.—After waiting and begging for over one year for the position in Mr. Allen's office, which Mr. Blair promised me in my store, it now seems I will not get it. I gave the money with that object, and it was the only office vacant at that time. Please send me a cheque for the money and interest, as I don't feel inclined to give the money for engraving clerk.

(Sgd.) WILLIAM QUINN.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Mr. Blair is in bad company.

Mr. HAZEN. I am afraid he is. These three men are all Liberals together. It is evident that Mr. Blair was in very bad company at the time; but in justice to him I wish to say that it does not appear, except inferentially, that he had any connection with the operation. I wonder, too, if we are to look for a lack of corruption in a party one of whose provincial leaders at the last general election was generous enough to send to the city of St. John a cheque for \$5,000 for the purpose of electing the Liberal candidate. I think, as we look at the record of that party in Nova Scotia, in Quebec, in New Brunswick, and in the Dominion when they were in power here, that we cannot help coming to the conclusion that the cause of purity is not to be promoted by placing hon. gentlemen opposite in power again. But, Mr. Speaker, I am willing to take the ground, and to argue it in this House or on any public platform, that the present Government has not been an extravagant Government. What do we find the present rate of taxation to be as

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compared with what it was when hon. gentlemen opposite were in power? I find that when they went out of power in 1878 the per capita taxation in Canada amounted to \$4.37. In 1892, after the Liberal-Conservative Government had been in power for fourteen years, the per capita taxation, according to the last returns that I can obtain, was \$5.81 per head, an increase of only \$1.44 per head in those fifteen years. Now, I think it would be well to inquire how the rate compares with the rate per capita in Great Britain and in the other colonies of Great Britain. In the United Kingdom the taxation is \$9.62 per head; in Mauritius is \$5.77 per head, in the Cape of Good Hope \$4.86, in Newfoundland \$6.79, in Bermuda \$7.37, in Trinidad \$7.87, in Victoria \$15.35, in New South Wales \$12.14, in South Australia \$12, in Queensland \$17.64, in Western Australia \$22.05, in Tasmania \$15.39, in New Zealand \$16.91, in Australasia \$14.74. In comparison with the other British possessions, I think we have little reason to find fault with the per capita rate of taxation in Canada; and that rate, although at present so low, will, I think, be further reduced to a considerable degree under the operation of the present Tariff Bill. If we look at the net debt of Canada, what do we find? We find that in 1878, when hon. gentlemen opposite went out of power, the net debt of Canada per head amounted to \$34.41, in 1892 it amounted to \$49.22, an increase of \$14.81. I do not think that is a serious increase in our public debt, considering that we have practically completed the canal system of the older provinces, built the Canadian Pacific Railway, completed the Intercolonial Railway, and erected splendid public buildings in almost every town in this country. Let me ask, would this country, for the sake of avoiding an increase of \$14.81 per capita in the public debt of the Dominion, be willing to return to the state of affairs that existed before, and blot out the Canadian Pacific Railway, blot out the canal system of Ontario and Quebec, blot out the Intercolonial Railway, and take away the splendid buildings dotting this country from one end to the other? I feel that these expenditures were justifiable expenditures, prudently and honestly made. Again, let us institute a comparison between the per capita debt of Canada and the per capita debt of the United Kingdom and those of the other British colonies. While our net debt in 1892 amounted to \$49.22 per head, that of the United Kingdom amounted to \$86.54, that of New South Wales to \$225.65, that of Victoria to \$185.56, that of South Australia to \$330.73, that of Western Australia to \$157.75, that of Queensland to \$365.61, that of Tasmania to \$235.93, and that of New Zealand to \$292.61. It is said that comparisons are odious; but I think that comparison is not odious to us. It shows beyond peradventure the prudence and care exercised in the management of the finances of the Dominion of Canada,

that to-day we have a very complete system of public works, a very complete system of railways and canals, that our public services have been all properly maintained, and that our credit has also been maintained; because there is no colony of the British Empire whose bonds command the same high value in the money markets of the world as those of Canada. We have done all that, and have yet kept our public debt within reasonable bounds, it being less than one-fifth per head of that of any of the Australian colonies. Then, the customs taxes in 1878, the last year of hon. gentlemen opposite, we find, amounted to \$3.13 per head; in 1892, after fifteen years operation of the National Policy, they amounted to \$4.18 per head, a tax rate that will be further reduced as a result of the changes at present proposed in the tariff. When we come to analyze the professions of economy made by hon. gentlemen opposite, and their boast that when they get into power the era of extravagance will be at an end, and the reign of economy will commence, we find that under their regime, it cost \$5.58 to collect every hundred dollars of revenue, whereas, in 1892, under the management of the hon. gentlemen now occupying the Treasury benches, it cost \$4.39 to collect every hundred dollars of revenue, a difference in favour of the economy of this Government of \$1.19, a sum amounting in the whole to nearly a quarter of a million dollars a year. Now, Mr. Speaker, I would like to say just a few words with respect to the tariff itself. I may be excused for not having referred to it earlier in my speech, because hon. gentlemen opposite, with the exception of my hon. friend who last spoke, made no reference to it at all. My hon. friend from North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) engaged in a discussion on the advantages of reciprocity with the United States. I do not, and never have, belittled the advantages that would result to this country if we had a fair reciprocity with the United States—a treaty based on terms fair and honourable to us in Canada as well as to the Americans; a treaty which did not amount to a practical renunciation of our political independence, and to the handing over of the control of our tariff to the United States Congress. I have never undertaken to belittle the advantages of a treaty of that character, and do not propose to do so at present. But I do not think the hon. gentleman was altogether disingenuous and fair in the method he adopted of dealing with the condition of Canada during the period from 1854 to 1866, when we had a reciprocity treaty with the United States. The hon. gentleman must bear in mind that there were many exceptional circumstances then, which, of themselves, would have caused an increase of trade in Canada without any reciprocity. In the first place, the Crimean war occurred during that period. The armies of Europe had taken the field, many people were torn

from their ordinary occupations, an impetus was given to our lumbering interest, and in many other ways our trade was stimulated. During that period also the Grand Trunk Railway was built in Canada, and millions of dollars were spent throughout the provinces of Ontario and Quebec in its construction. During that period also occurred the civil war in the United States, during which hundreds of thousands of men were called from the fields and the workshops to take up arms in behalf of their country. Those people, taken from the fields and workshops, had to be replaced; their labour had to be replaced; and naturally that occasioned an increased demand for the products of the Canadian workshops and farms. And yet, with all those exceptional advantages, we know that the year 1857 was one of the hardest years which ever existed in the upper provinces of the Dominion. The American people have since returned to their fields and their workshops; and instead of there being a large population in the United States anxious to buy the products of our fields and workshops, of all sorts and descriptions, we find the artisans and farmers of that country are to-day such large producers that they not only produce enough for home consumption, but export millions of dollars worth of manufactured goods and agricultural produce to the outside world, and only require certain lines of our products. Our present tariff, it seems to me, will meet with favour in this country. I think that the hon. Minister of Finance completely took the wind out of the sails of the Opposition by his speech. So far hon. gentlemen opposite have not attempted any serious criticism of the tariff, and until they do that and take the people into their confidence—until they tell the people what they propose themselves, what improvements they would suggest in the tariff, the country will not be prepared to accept any doctrine they may advance. The tariff itself will be an advantage to this country. I think that the way the dry goods tariff is arranged—imposing ad valorem instead of specific duties—is a distinct advantage, and one which, perhaps, might have been made at an earlier date with advantage to the country. This change to ad valorem duties, abolishing the specific duties, practically reduces the duties to a very considerable extent, while at the same time giving sufficient protection to insure the continuance of cotton manufacturing and the manufacture of fabrics and textiles. The great advantage that I see, however, in the change in the tariff is this, that it can no more be said, with the faintest semblance of justification, that it operates in favour of the rich as against the poor. No doubt the lower grades of goods, being heavier than the more expensive grades, the specific duties were, to a limited extent, open to the charge frequently made by hon. gentlemen opposite, that they operated in favour of the rich as against the poor, and the change to ad valorem duties, pure and

simple, does away with that charge as an issue between the Government and the Opposition. It will certainly take from the Opposition the opportunity of dilating by the hour, as a famed leader of theirs did when addressing a meeting in New Brunswick, on the question of how many inches a poor man was justified in devoting to the tail of his shirt. That question has passed out of the range of politics. The change in the duties on sugar is also in the interests of the country, and the same remark applies to the tariff with regard to hardware and many other items. I shall not take up the time of the House further in discussing the items seriatim. No one claims perfection for the measure, because perfection is not to be found in human affairs. But when the matter comes to be considered in committee, no doubt certain changes will be made, and no doubt suggestions offered from both sides will be considered; and I have no doubt that it will finally be adopted in such a shape as to be more acceptable to the public than a free trade tariff or any tariff for revenue could possibly be. I must not take up the time of the House further in discussing this matter. The amendment of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), as I have said, is simply a play upon words. It gives us nothing substantial; it lays down no policy; it advances no new political theory or doctrine. And I am confident the people will regard it as simply a piece of political tactics, so framed as to enable the Opposition to declare to the people, in any particular locality in which the spokesman of the party may have occasion to lay down their views, that, if unproven, they would frame a tariff so as to suit that particular locality. I thank you, Mr. Speaker, and hon. gentlemen, for the attentive hearing you have given me. I trust that under the new tariff our country may go on prospering more and more. I trust that any sectional or sectarian feeling in the country may be allayed by our wise, statesmanlike, and progressive legislation. I trust that we, in this Dominion, having in view the interests of our young nationality, will remember, wherever we may be, that first and last and all the time, in heart and soul and feeling, we are Canadians; and that the one aim and object of all will be, as loyal Canadians, to have all elements in the country so blended, that the thistle and the shamrock and the rose and the lily of France may be entwined in one beautiful and harmonious whole with the maple leaf of Canada.

Mr. LANDERKIN. This being the first time I have addressed the House this session, I hope, Mr. Speaker, you will excuse me if I make any clerical errors. Even if I should make a clerical error—I do not know whether I would have the sanction of your approval, Sir—but I have a precedent. The Minister of Finance made two clerical errors, and those were of such a size that a wagon

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with a load of starch passed through in one of them unperceived. I think I may call, therefore, for the sympathy of the hon. Minister in the observations that I shall make. I might say that I have listened with a great deal of pleasure to the speech of the hon. gentleman. I admire the city of St. John. I admire that beautiful province of New Brunswick. I admire the provinces of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, and all the Maritime Provinces. We have some good men from those provinces here. I do not admire all the men we have here from those provinces now. But still I am quite willing to listen to them, and am pleased to listen to them. The hon. member for St. John (Mr. Hazen) alluded to the speech of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) as being an old speech. The hon. gentleman is not a very old member. He has spoken here two or three times; and now I would like to ask him to tell me how many times I have heard his speech. Do you know, Mr. Speaker, I think I like that speech better every time I hear it. It is a most happy speech, and I think the hon. gentleman is improving in his delivery; I think his delivery is getting freer every session. I do not know whether that is the result of parliamentary life, for I have been here a great many sessions and have listened to a great many able speeches; and you, Mr. Speaker, have been here a great many sessions and have listened to a great many able speeches, and I do not know whether we improve as much as we ought to do. Just look at the giants that preceded you, Mr. Speaker. Probably, if you had listened as attentively as some other members have listened, some other gentleman might be called upon to preside at our session who would not bring that grace and dignity to the position that our present Speaker has brought to it, and for which we all admire him. But then new men must form the Government. It is true, as the Premier has said, they stand by the old principles, but they are new men. No doubt, that is the reason they have such hope in the country; for youth is always hopeful. They imagine that they are possessed of more experience than those who have been here for years and years. I remember when the member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) came into this House twenty years ago. All the Tory newspapers in the land said they welcomed him to his seat because he was to be the brains of the party. The brains of the party! And, as a supporter of the principles of reform, I welcomed him because I thought brains was what they were most in need of at that time. I remember when the First Minister came here. The member for North Simcoe came here twenty years ago, but age and experience do not count with this Government. Somebody who was trained in a boarding-school and has just got out is the man to handle the finances of the country in

order to give the business people confidence in our financial institutions. I remember when the First Minister came here about eight years ago. I was reading a speech of the hon. gentleman only the other day. There was never any doubt at first, and for many years about the loyalty of the member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), to the Conservative party. Why, if I had been called upon to select one Conservative in this country—more, if I had been called upon to select a sound Tory—the hon. member for North Simcoe is the man I would have selected. And when I heard him read out of the party at Belleville by the First Minister, who had only been in this House eight years—and who passed sentence upon him apparently because he (the Premier) had once been a judge—when I heard it declared that the hon. member for North Simcoe must carry on his nefarious work outside of the Conservative party—well, it did strike me as something peculiar. I believe the Tories believe in vested rights. Why was it then that the First Minister took away the vested rights of the member for North Simcoe and declined to have him any longer in the party? Now, the hon. member for St. John (Mr. Hazen), spoke for an hour and a half—was I going to say on the tariff? If I had said so, it would have been a clerical error. He spoke for an hour and a half and never mentioned any article of the tariff until the last—unless there be one exception. For the first ten minutes of his speech he undoubtedly exercised a good deal of discrimination in dealing with taffy—taffy for the Government, taffy for the Finance Minister: so much taffy for the latter that I was going to ask the hon. Finance Minister what was the duty on taffy, and whether he was going to increase that duty or to make taffy free.

Mr. FOSTER. I think we will make it free.

Mr. LANDERKIN. If it was to be free, I could indulge in it a little myself. The hon. member for St. John told us about the happy, contented and prosperous condition of the people of St. John and of New Brunswick, and of the great progress they had made during the last ten years. I fancy the hon. member has been so much engaged in his briefs that he has not attended to the political records. He made a great deal of the advancement of property in St. John. Perhaps that arose from his knowledge of what was made in the sale of the Harris estate to the Government. It may be that he built this whole part of his speech on that one sale. Two hundred thousand dollars was paid for a few feet of land in the city of St. John which was sold to the Government. There is another thing I wish to call the hon. gentleman's attention to. When he read his letter about Blair, I observed he was very kind and very considerate. The Minister of Railways was out; the Post-

master General was out; the hon. member for Three Rivers (Sir Hector Langevin) was out. It was very kind. I do not know whether the First Minister was out and whether he also was spared the reading of those letters. But the hon. gentleman from St. John has cast a terrible slur upon the province of New Brunswick. He gives us to understand that Mr. Blair bought up the whole province for \$200. I have not heard anything so bad as that in all the blue ruin that has been spoken in this country. Think of it; the whole province of New Brunswick bought by Mr. Blair for \$200! When I heard the hon. gentleman I thought of suggesting to the Government the idea of sending the member for Centre Toronto (Mr. Cockburn) to see if he could not find out about it. That hon. gentleman went down two or three years ago to investigate some matters in Quebec. I believe it was a joint matter between the Postmaster General and Mercier; but the hon. member for Toronto did not take much cognizance of the Postmaster General; his business was particularly with Honoré Mercier. I remember that when he came back he declared himself astonished at the extravagance and corruption in the province of Quebec, because he found that actually Mr. Mercier had a house to live in. The hon. gentleman was satisfied in his own mind that Mr. Mercier must have been a corrupt man because he lived in a house. I hope the members of our Government are all safely housed; I hope they have even their city and country houses.

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

Mr. LANDERKIN. Mr. Speaker, when you left the Chair I was referring to the speech delivered by the hon. member for St. John (Mr. Hazen). The hon. gentleman pointed out the great prosperity that was to be found in the beautiful province of New Brunswick. He also spoke of the corruption existing in the Local Government of that province, and in the Local Governments of other provinces. In so far as Local Governments are concerned, the hon. gentleman evinced considerable aptitude in discovering where there was anything wrong in the administration of public affairs. But, singular to relate, the hon. gentleman has not discovered anything wrong since he came to Ottawa. The only thing that he brought before this House was a matter of \$200 that was supposed to have been used at the last general election for the province of New Brunswick, and he read about that amidst great applause from the gentlemen on the other side. But, ever since he came here he has seen no reason to doubt that we have an honest Government, that we have a Government that would not take public money and apply it to any purpose other than that for which it was intended by Parliament. The hon. gentleman

also spoke of the prosperity of the province. Let me draw the attention of the hon. gentleman to the fact that we have had a census taken in the province of New Brunswick. That census was not taken by gentlemen on this side of the House, but by gentlemen now occupying the Treasury benches. And what did it show? Why, it showed that in the city and county of St. John, so ably represented by my hon. friend and two colleagues, two is to be taken, and one is to be left, and this is provided for under the gerrymander of the Minister of Justice. The question for them to decide is who are to be taken and who is to be left. If the people of the city and county of St. John will do their duty, they will leave them all at home, and will send gentlemen here who will support a policy that will have a tendency to develop not only the city of St. John, but also the county of St. John, the province of New Brunswick and the Dominion at large. There is one thing I admire the hon. gentleman for, besides his taffy—and he had a wonderful stock of that on hand which he administered to the member for Kings, the Finance Minister. You would have thought the hon. gentleman was going to draw more money than Mr. Blair did in the province of New Brunswick before the next general election, judging by the taffy he indulged in in the first portion of his speech. Ten years before we had the National Policy we had a census taken, and taken, not by hon. gentlemen on this side of the House, but by hon. gentlemen on the other side. And that census showed that the province of New Brunswick had increased in its population in ten years by nearly 50,000 souls. But, since we had the National Policy—the great National Policy, that has built up our industries, that has given prosperity to our people, that has made the country bloom and blossom like the rose—what has been the increase in that province? The population of the province in 1881 was 321,233. In 1891 the population was 321,263, an increase, under the beneficent National Policy of 30 souls. And the hon. gentleman is delighted with that prosperity, which he attributed to this policy. But he did not tell us whether greater prosperity would come under the old policy or under the present hybrid policy. Now, I think perhaps it might be well for the House to go into Committee of the Whole in order to see which of these Conservative members we are to reject by the gerrymander, made necessary by the fact that the population has fallen off so that they cannot afford to pay three members, and must reduce the number to two. There was an election there some time ago; one gentleman, a member of this House, having been elevated to a judgeship of some kind or other. The Government brought out a candidate, but he did not succeed, and, consequently, we have here a gentleman representing that constituency, elected in opposition to the machine. We would like to see that hon. gentleman ex-

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ercise a little independence in this House and show the Government that if they do not administer the affairs of the country as they ought, he will no longer be with them. Now, Sir, it is very remarkable that in the formation of this Government, the Prime Minister thought it incumbent upon him, even when the population was not increasing, to add three more members to his Government—not to the Cabinet, but to the Ministry. The Prime Minister has two Controllers and one Solicitor General. The hon. gentleman is unable to manage the Department of Justice alone, so he has called in a very able lawyer in the person of my hon. friend, the Solicitor General. I understand the Solicitor General has had a good deal of experience in certain kinds of cases in Montreal, cases particularly interesting to the Government. I believe he is a splendid solicitor for bridges. I understand that he has had a great deal of experience in that line, and, though it may have been expensive to the country at times, still his ability has shone forth. It was necessary for the Minister of Justice to have a capable Solicitor General with him. The other day I was going by the Privy Council Chamber. I saw the two Controllers and the Solicitor General sitting outside. They were apparently tugging the door. I overheard their conversation—and I was not eaves-dropping, either. They were complaining bitterly because they could not get in. The question of the tariff was before the Government, and they thought they ought to have a voice in the discussion. The Controller of Customs says: I have a large following behind me in this country. The Solicitor General says: So have I. But they did not get in. They had their hats in their hands, and I understood afterwards that they were waiting for the free lunch that is served there during tariff discussions. The Solicitor-General said to the Controller of Customs:

Men sometimes are masters of their fates;
The fault is not in our stars,
But in ourselves, that we are underlings.

I recollect when hon. gentlemen were about forming a Government. I do not know whether the member for St. John (Mr. Hazen) was here or not, I wish the Prime Minister were here now, and anything I may say regarding hon. gentlemen I do not desire to say offensively. I will relate a little history, and do so in as easy and friendly a manner as I possibly can, but I will be true to history. I hope hon. gentlemen opposite will not think there is any blue ruin in this; if so, I did not make the blue ruin, they are responsible for that. I remember a speech delivered by the Prime Minister, and I will refer to that speech now in order that the House may understand to what I may desire to call attention. This was a speech delivered by the First Minister after his return from Paris. I suppose all hon. members have heard that he was at Paris, and I am sure all have heard the member

for Centre Toronto (Mr. Cockburn) was in Chicago. The speech to which I refer was delivered by the Prime Minister in Belleville. He went there on the occasion of the demonstration given for the member for West Hastings (Mr. Corby). I am sure it was on behalf of a very worthy member, and the Prime Minister went there, and took all his combination with him. The Prime Minister spoke of the death of the honoured chieftain Sir John Macdonald, and then he spoke of the death of Sir John Abbott, and he said that right on the accession of Sir John Abbott to the leadership came a tremendous attack on the Conservative party by the Opposition, the longest sustained and most bitter in Canada; in that dark hour no man stood firmer in the ranks and responded more promptly when the bugle sounded than the man they honoured that night, Harry Corby. In that dark hour, when we made a bitter attack! The Premier's memory is not so good as are the memories of the hon. gentlemen who spoke on the tariff. I heard the same arguments presented by hon. gentlemen on the tariff as they used twenty years ago. They have remarkably good memories, but the Premier had not a remarkably good memory. Does not the Premier know the attack was made on the Government and on the old principle by one of themselves, by the secretary of their association, if I understand rightly? Do they not remember that when Sir John Macdonald was in his declining days, and it was considered by the people of the country, and by his friends, that the termination of his life was only a question of a few days, that a conspiracy was made to defeat the man who had stood by Sir John Macdonald for thirty years, Sir Hector Langevin? Who were prominent in the fight, who lead it? The present Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, aided and abetted in a very diplomatic way by the present First Minister. Were they better than Sir Hector? Those hon. gentlemen who attended the committee and watched the conduct and action of the present First Minister will remember how gently, during the time of Sir John Macdonald's illness, the Minister of Justice was inserting his knife into the political body of his colleague. Is there any hon. member who did not see that? And when at last death removed the old Chieftain, he plunged it to the very hilt. Why? Sir Hector Langevin stood between the Minister of Justice and his ambition. Now, there were difficulties in the Cabinet at that time. One of those difficulties which occurred reminds me of an historic scene in the past. They held a meeting of the Cabinet. The member for Three Rivers was away at an interview with His Excellency the Governor General; the Postmaster General was in Quebec—I believe he had to see Angers. They held a meeting of the Cabinet, I say, and this thing was smelling all over the country. It was not a question of a few

hundred dollars—an! I draw the attention of the hon. member from St. John (Mr. Hazen) to this point—it was a question of about two million dollars that had been stolen from the people. The question to be decided then was, who was to be the scapegoat? They were all in the same boat, one as bad as the other. I tell the Postmaster General this because he was not there, and it was during his absence and the absence of the member from Three Rivers, that the members of the Cabinet had a conference. The record is not taken down in the minutes, but I imagine it was something like this: A gentleman who was true to his leader—I refer to the then Minister of Inland Revenue, now Secretary of State (Mr. Costigan) spoke up in Council and said:

Shall no man else be touched but only Sir Hector?

The Minister of Trade and Commerce, who is now in the other House, Mr. Mackenzie Bowell—I suppose I can so speak of him without making any clerical error, said:

Costigan, well urged; I think it is not meet Sir Adolphe, so well beloved of Sir Hector, Should outlive Sir Hector: we shall find of him A shrewd contriver; and you know his means. If he improve them, may well stretch so far As to annoy us all; which to prevent Let Sir Adolphe and Sir Hector fall together.

Skill and diplomacy in destroying showed forth in Sir John Thompson, who said:

Our course will seem too bloody, Mackenzie Bowell,

To cut the head off and then hack the limbs,
Like wrath in death, and envy afterwards;
For Sir Adolphe is but a limb of Sir Hector,
Let us be sacrificers, but not butchers, Mackenzie.

We all stand up against the spirit of Sir Hector,
And in the spirit of men there is no blood;
O, that we then could come by Sir Hector's purse
And not dismember Sir Hector! But, alas,
Sir Hector must bleed for it! And, gentle friends,

Let's kill him boldly, but not wrathfully;
Let's carve him as a dish fit for the gods,
Not hew him as a carcass fit for hounds;
And let our hearts, as subtle masters do,
Stir up their servants to an act of rage,
And after seem to chide 'em. This shall mark
Our purpose necessary, and not envious;
Which so appearing to the common eyes,
We shall be called purgers, not murderers,
And for Sir Adolphe, think not of him;
For he can do no more than Sir Hector's arm
When Sir Hector's head is off.

Then Bowell rose again in Council and said:

Yet I do fear him;
For in th' ingrafted love he bears to Sir Hector.

Then Thompson said:

Do not think of him:
If he love Sir Hector, all he can do,
Is to himself—take thought and die for Sir Hector:

And that were much he should ; for he is given
To sports, to wildness, and much company.

Then Haggart comes in. He said :

There is no fear of him ; he need not die
Until we get our vouchers that he holds.

The reappearance of the Postmaster General and of the Minister of Public Works cut short the controversy, and, I understand they then took up the question of the subsidy of the Lake St. John railway. Now, Mr. Speaker, hon. gentlemen on that side of the House claim that they have a policy, and they say that we have no policy, and although they tell us that we have had this policy and that policy and the other policy for years ; they say they do not understand our policy. Why, Sir, they do not wish to understand our policy. Our policy is for freedom and for liberty ; our policy is calculated to give every man in this Dominion every cent he earns, and by our policy we do not provide, as they do, that one man shall get the money that another man earns by reason of any legislation. We are bound to fight them on this ground, we are bound to fight it whether we win or whether we lose ; whether in defeat or whether in victory we are going to stand up for the people and to stand up for their rights, and not delegate from the people any right which they possess under our constitution. The Government have a peculiar way of doing things. One of them will say : That if they were to take down the tariff barriers any lower we would have Canada made a slaughter market, that this country would be ruined and destroyed by goods coming in from the American market, and in the next breath they will tell you about all the victories that were won by Canadian farmers in competition with all the world at Chicago. I would like to ask any hon. gentleman in this House—if it be the case, and it is—that our farmers at the Chicago exhibition carried off the palm from the world ; what do our farmers want but the markets of the world in order to succeed. Is that not clear to the apprehension of every member of this House ? What have our farmers to fear ? They have only to fear restriction, and they have only to fear being shut out from the markets of the world. They met the peoples of all countries, and in open competition at the world's exhibition they came out triumphant. And now the Ministers—those men who have been in public life two, three or four years, with the exception of a few of them—think that they know better what would suit the farmers of this country and the people of this country than men who have devoted a lifetime to the study of these questions and to the study of matters that tend to develop a country. Why, if the Ministers would only examine their own reports, if they would examine the census for a moment, they would be convinced that Canada requires a

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change of policy. We want a thorough and radical change of policy and we must have it if we wish our country to improve and to progress. With everything that hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House have said in favour of Canada, in favour of the industries of Canada, in favour of the resources of Canada, in favour of the intelligence of our people, I heartily agree, and I am glad to endorse it. I am just as strong in acknowledgment and in defence of our rights and in admiration of our institutions and of our resources as any man in this House ; but I am convinced that the time has arrived when a radical change of policy must come. In the province of New Brunswick, during the last ten years, the policy of this Government has taken away, not only the natural increase of population, but every immigrant that came into the province ; and the idea of any member from New Brunswick getting up and defending, in this House, such a policy as that is something that I cannot understand. I tell you that the fact is this : That under those circumstances, members have a heavy responsibility resting upon them, in that they neglect to draw the attention of the Government to the existence of such a state of things in their province. Now, to show the supporters of the Government the esteem and respect that the Government have for their opinions, let me draw your attention to another matter. You remember that last session there was some talk about a revision of the tariff. The Government talked about revising the tariff, but they could not trust the opinion or advice of any of their followers in this House. They doubted the judgment of these hon. gentlemen. They had no faith in them ; they were too old, some of them, they had been in public life too long, they understood the country apparently too well, and the Government did not want to consult them. To use a rather vulgar phrase, the Government sat upon them and told them that their opinions and their advice would be disregarded. So what did the Government do ? They sent out the Minister of Finance ; about three years ago, he taught a school in Fredericton, taught a young ladies' school, did that gentleman who is in charge of our finances. They sent the Minister of Agriculture with him, and then they sent out the two Controllers. They went down to Montreal to get information that they could not get from the members for Montreal ; the members for Montreal did not count. They had the Solicitor General here, but what did he know about the tariff ? His attention was to be directed to law ; law questions and bridge contracts and all that kind of thing had to come under his supervision so that he could not devote any attention so as to give the Government advice on what his constituents needed. They went to Montreal and two or three other cities, and they held secret conferences with their supporters to find out how much they could stand of a reduction, and

how much they would advance if they did not reduce. After they went among their friends, then they grew a little bolder, and they tell us that they went out in two sections. The Minister of Finance and the Minister of Agriculture being well qualified to look into these things, went to the east and to the west; and the Controller of Customs and the Controller of Inland Revenue, I believe, confined their attentions to the province of Ontario. The two controllers went there to sit down and to listen to what the people had to say, and to what the people wanted. Did they do that? Did they seek to enquire from the people what changes they wanted in the tariff? What did the papers say about it? As soon as these two Controllers went together and met the people, they would call a witness, and if the witness gave any evidence they did not like, then they would heckle the witness, and it became so common an occurrence that the Conservative papers, meeting after meeting, used to say: Another triumph and victory for the Controllers. They had badgered the farmers and they had badgered others that came before them, and they had a triumph and a victory at this place and that place. Well, the combination of Minister held meetings through the provinces, and they came to my riding, but they were not satisfied with one meeting, and so they held two meetings. They were so much attached to me that they thought they could give me two meetings. That did not exactly satisfy the Government. It appears that what the Ministers had said did not go down; there was something peculiar there. Then the Controller of Customs and the Controller of Inland Revenue were sent back on the back-track of the Ministers, and had a meeting at the same place where the Ministers had been; and there they tackled and badgered the people. If I might offer a suggestion to the Controller of Inland Revenue, I think, he is infinitely better at law than he is on tariffs. As long as he sticks to law, he will do well; he ought to take the Solicitor General's place; but when he takes hold of the tariff, I tell you he gets very much mixed. They went around to see the people. Of course, there was the member for Leeds (Mr. Ferguson) and the member for Cornwall (Mr. Bergin)—what did they know about the tariff? What advice could they give to the Ministry? There was the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy)—what suggestion could he make? Or the hon. member for Muskoka (Mr. O'Brien)—what could he say about it? Or the hon. member for Victoria (Mr. Fairbairn)? Or the hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Ross)? What could any of these men propose? They knew nothing of the tariff; the Ministers would not believe them. They had to go and see the people for themselves in order to find out what they wanted—what was necessary in the

interest of the country. There is one matter that I want to draw the attention of the Government to, and it is this. I have examined the Trade and Navigation returns, and I find that the duty on coal oil is very excessive. I find that a gentleman, who imported several carloads of coal oil, imported one carload on January 5, 1892, the value of which was \$224.77 and the duty \$233.50. On February 6, 1892, he imported another carload valued at \$202.38, on which the duty was \$240.50. On September 13, 1892, he imported another carload, the invoice price of which was \$183.75 and the duty \$225.15. On November 29, 1892, he imported another carload, the invoice price of which was \$184.86 and the duty \$229.03. On January 26, 1893, he imported a carload, the invoice price of which was \$181.41, and the duty \$231. Now, according to the theory which the Conservatives used to put forward that the foreigners paid the duty, I find by the Trade and Navigation Returns that in two years the United States sold us \$970,000 worth of coal oil, and they paid \$990,000 of duty, as well as the freight, in order to get the privilege of selling it to us. That is, taking the Conservative argument, the Americans were so anxious to sell their goods in Canada that they paid \$990,000 in order to sell us \$970,000 worth. I wonder why it is that the Government have not had their attention called to this. They are making a great change in the tariff. The Minister of Finance the other night spoke for two hours in praise of the tariff; told us of its beauties and excellencies; told us what it had done—how it had developed the various industries of this country; told us of the terrible depression that had existed before it came into force. But still, after telling us all this—how perfect, how good, and how useful this tariff was in developing the resources of the country—he comes along and changes it in a few particulars. He hacks it a little here and a little there. He is not going to make much alteration in it or give much relief to the country. They talk about the depression that existed under the old system. Let them take the census returns and examine them for themselves, and they will find that the day when the blight came on Canada was the day when our taxes were increased by the National Policy. National Policy! It has never been a National Policy. It is scarcely a ward policy. It does not deserve the name of National Policy. It is a sectional policy, a provincial policy, a narrow policy, it is a fraud on the people of this country, and ever has been. When they got into power, they got in on what they called the N.P. resolution. What was that? It was one line after another of blue ruin; one line after another of decrying this country. No men have decried this country but the men who introduced the system that has brought ruin and disaster upon many people in this country, that has driven people out of every

province in this Dominion. We have not kept our natural increase; we have not kept the immigrants that we have brought here. I tell these hon. gentlemen—whether they can fortify themselves against the wishes of the people by their gerrymanders, their franchise Act, or their tariff system—that the people of this country are determined, and if they are true to themselves they will never rest until they rise in their might and sweep this policy of protection away. Now, I will read to you the policy of the leader of the Government when he is on the public platform, and then I will read to you the policy of my leader when he is on the public platform, and then leave this House and the country to judge which of these gentlemen takes the right view as to what the future of this country should be. The leader of the Government made a speech at Antigonish, in his native county, which he represents in this House; and in that speech, as reported in the 'Empire'—and I presume it did not do him any injustice—the hon. gentleman said:

Now, the Grits are very anxious that we should say something about Winnipeg, and I am going to oblige them this afternoon. We lost Winnipeg, and they gained it. We are not hoggish. We don't want the whole House of Commons. A parliamentary majority of 63 is good enough for us every time. It was proper to let the Grits enjoy a thanksgiving rooster, after patiently waiting for it for so many years. Of the 64 bye-elections during the present Parliament, the Government has carried four out of every five, and our majority has gone up from 23 to 63. Under these gratifying circumstances, we should not begrudge them the little rooster. A victorious general, after a battle, said: 'Another such victory, and we are lost.' Another such victory as that at Winnipeg, and the Grits are ruined. When we started off in the bye-election fights, the Grits captured Richelieu. They did so by the aid of Thomas McGreevy and Nicholas Connolly, whom the Government were prosecuting, but they paid dearly for Richelieu during the subsequent contests, and Winnipeg will be a very costly thing for the Grits before they settle their bill. After extracting all the plunder he could from Mercier, Tarte became Laurier's standard-bearer in Richelieu, and was victorious by the aid of McGreevy and Connolly. Tarte proclaimed himself as the great patriot who was going to rectify the wrongs of his fellow-countrymen in the North-west, and now Joseph Martin, the originator of all the trouble, the man who has set race against race and creed against creed, and against whom the party's bitterest shafts have been levelled, is cordially congratulated on his election by Mr. Tarte's chieftain, Mr. Laurier. (Laughter.) "Stealing their clothes, indeed," exclaimed the Premier. "I like to see the colour on both sides of the clothes I wear. I don't wear yellow on one side and black on the other. Mr. Laurier is perfectly welcome to his black Tarte and yellow Martin." (Laughter and applause.) He (Sir John Thompson) would be the last man to thrust religion into politics, though some people were busily engaged doing that elsewhere.

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The Premier proceeded to relate the facts regarding Martin's determined effort to strike down the Catholic schools of Manitoba and the subsequent reference of the appeal of the minority to the courts, as the law provided. Yet, because he had carried out the law proposed by Mr. Blake, and unanimously adopted by both houses of Parliament, insidious efforts were made to condemn him as trying to subvert Manitoba legislation; while in Nova Scotia paltry attempts were made to make it appear that he was selling his conscience and betraying those who worship at the same shrine as himself; but the generosity, intelligence and sense of fair play of his fellow-countrymen would never allow these miserable attempts to succeed.

Now, I would ask who was Minister of Justice when that Bill was introduced? Does that Bill take away any right from any class or creed of this country? I would ask the Minister of Justice that question. I would ask every member in this House, if that Bill took away any rights, where was the Minister of Justice if he allowed that Bill to go without veto, then he must share alike with Mr. Martin any responsibility or blame that may be attached to it. That is the exact position. Why did he go down before his constituents of that class or creed in order to inflame them and throw the blame of his own act upon Mr. Martin? The right hon. gentleman was Minister of Justice then. If there was a wrong done or intended, what right had he to go into the county of Antigonish and lay the blame at the door of another man, when he had not the moral courage to disallow it. I am not discussing the merits of this measure, but am taking the First Minister on his own words; and I say if hon. gentlemen opposite have an idea that one policy in one province and another in another is ever going to build up this Dominion, they never made a greater mistake. I am a Protestant, and thank God I am too strong in my Protestantism not to protest in this House against sectarianism. As long as I have been in this House, on every occasion, I have stood firm to my principles. I believe that every man should worship according to his own conscience, and I believe that the man who goes to his constituency and tries to trade on the religious sensibilities of his constituents in order to inflame them is doing a worse act than the Minister of Finance is doing in his tariff, and that is unlimited in its capacity for evil. Now, I will read you what the leader of the Opposition said, and show you the difference between the two men. The leader of the Opposition spoke in Quebec, and here is what he said:

Before going further, let me say, and I am happy to be able to make the statement in this old French city of Quebec, to be able to proclaim that the basis and aim of our ideas and hopes as Liberals are that we are before and above all Canadians; Canadians in the fullest acceptance of the terms: Canadians at Quebec, Canadians at Toronto, and Canadians from the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the famous mountains

whose feet are kissed by the waves of the Pacific and whose crests are refreshed by the balmy breezes from the Orient. (Prolonged applause.) Our great object is the development of the work of confederation; it is to draw closer, bind and cement together the different elements scattered over the face of the whole of British North America, and to weld them into one nation. (Hear, hear.) This is, as I understand it, the role of the Liberal party in the confederation, and as long as I shall have the honour to take a part in the shaping of our destinies this is the ideal towards which it shall gravitate. (Applause.)

In another portion he says :

You know, gentlemen, as well as I do, that the citizens of Quebec have seen the day when their splendid harbour was their joy and their pride. That was the time when, at all seasons of the year, the banks of the River St. Charles resounded with the blows of the carpenter's axe, when from June to September the waters of the north brought them the square timber from St. Maurice, the Gatineau, the Ottawa and even the Georgian Bay, when from the opening of navigation in the spring to its close in the fall a forest of masts greeted the eye from Lévis to Sillery, and when seamen and raftsmen crowded each other in the streets of the Lower Town, the one conveying to us the products of European civilization, and the other the spoils of our virgin forests. (Applause.) That time was, but it exists no longer, except as a memory of a prosperous period, and as I speak at this moment, under the reign of Sir John Thompson, Mr. Angers and Sir Adolphe Caron, the port of Quebec, even in its most active season, is as deserted, empty and lonely as in the time of Donnacona. (Applause.)

Now, I will just read what the First Minister said in reference to the condition of the country, when the late respected and lamented Mr. Mackenzie, held the reins of power; and I shall leave it to the House and the country to judge the fairness of the men who made these different utterances. Speaking at Belleville, the right hon. the First Minister said :

I remember as well as every one of you can, the hopeless state in which this country was fifteen years ago. Every industry paralyzed, every wheel of activity stopped, the revenue frustrated, the trade falling off millions every year. The facts are undisputed to this day. They are incapable of dispute because the ex-Finance Minister, Sir Richard Cartwright, declared in the House of Commons that the state was like a ship lying to in a storm. The people of every part of this country at that time asked the Government for something better than something lying to in the storm, but they were refused redress and refused hope until almost from the place in which I stand the notes of a new policy were sounded which gave hope and political life to the people of this Dominion from one end of it to the other.

Note the tone of that and compare it with the tone of the other. Consider the national aspirations of the gentlemen at the head of the respective parties in this country, and I appeal to the people of this country to say

which they like the better of the two. I will read you what my leader says at the close of his speech :

" True to the double blood that was poured into my veins by my father, an old soldier, and my mother, a Vendean." Let us also be true to our double origin, true to the memory and the reverence of the great nation from whom we have sprung, and true also to the great nation who have given us freedom. (Applause). And, in all the difficulties, all the pains, and all the vicissitudes of our situation, let us always remember that love is better than hatred, and faith better than doubt, and let hope in our future destinies be the pillar of fire to guide us in our career. (Enthusiastic and prolonged applause).

I think I could safely leave my speech here, merely pointing to the declarations of my leader and saying that I subscribe to every line and every word in that address. I ask hon. gentlemen on the other side if they can subscribe to the speech made by the First Minister in the riding of Antigonish, which he represents. Now, our friends on the other side have peculiar ways of doing things. The Premier spoke of the assistance the Opposition gave to his Government when he was absent. There is no wonder that he did so, because during the—I hope the Controller of Customs will not run off; I have a little to say to him. I want to refer to his sedition in the absence of the Premier.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Come back! Come back!

Mr. LANDERKIN. There was a question that came up in the House during the absence of the Premier. It was the question of the speech delivered by the Controller of Customs. Why, the Controller of Customs last session was going to march upon Ulster. Now he has marched out. I was going to suggest a campaign for him. I do not know whether the Premier, when he was in the old country, went to Ulster to select the battle ground for the Controller of Customs. The Controller was going there to overthrow the Queen, Lords and Commons, if they passed a Bill he did not like. He said he would, and everybody knew he would if he said it. He was going over there to do that. I was going to select another mission for him. You know we had a Behring Sea arbitration, and that, as a result, our seal fishermen were not allowed to fish for seals in Behring Sea. This was the way of it: You remember that when the present Minister of Finance first came out of the boarding-school he was made Minister of Marine here, and he went on so with the American fishermen down on the Atlantic Coast and so irritated the Yankees that they would not allow our people to fish in Behring Sea. The hon. gentleman is responsible for that. But I do not blame him, for he was young and had not had any experience. He got out of the position, but he did not get out in

time. And then they put a worse man in the place. I was going to suggest to the gallant Controller of Customs that he should fit out an armament and go up to Behring Sea and guard our poor fishermen. That would be better than going to Ulster. That would suit the country better; it would be truer to our policy on this side—the policy of standing by Canada. Now, we have had that award, and you know the result of it. The hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) told you about that award; told you how your interests had been slaughtered by it; told you how the seal fishers of this country had had their rights taken away. Well, it is singular that this Government and this House intrusted such a case to the young stripling Minister of Marine. Is there any nation under Heaven that would do a thing like that except Canada? Is there in Canada any Government except this one that would do such a thing as that—sending to take charge of such a case a young, inexperienced head of a department, and one who had been put in charge of the department, not on account of his own virtues, but on account of the virtues his father is regarded as having possessed? The sealers are there and out of employment; they are not allowed to catch seals. But then, of course, there are some compensating advantages to the poor sealers who are out of employment, who are selling their kits and their outfits, and whose families are starving—why, Charley Tupper has been knighted. What a consolation to these people to know that Charley Tupper has ceased to exist and that Sir Hibbert Tupper begins his career from the ruins of their business and from the loss of the seal fishing trade to this country. There is another little matter I should like to refer to, and then I think I shall conclude. I see the Minister of War (Mr. Patterson) is getting warlike. He was at Windsor not long ago. They gave a banquet there to Attorney General Casgrain of Quebec, who at one time belonged to Windsor; I believe he was born there, and is the son of the Senator from that district. Now, I want to show you how broad the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite is. I will read from an article in reference to this matter from the 'Toronto Mail.' No one will doubt that article, because the 'Mail' used to be a great organ of the party of hon. gentlemen opposite—and I do not know exactly what it is now. The article is headed: "A Significant Speech," and it refers to the banquet given to Attorney General Casgrain:

¶ Shortly after he entered the Ministry he was banqueted at an hotel here and in unmeasured terms he denounced the P.P.A., which at that time was not heard of in Canada far beyond Windsor, and could therefore, he supposed, be safely attacked.

I would like to get the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) to listen to

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this, as the question is one in which he takes a deep interest. I would just like hon. gentlemen opposite to consider these things and see if they cannot soften down a little and arrive at some conclusion satisfactory to the whole Conservative party.—

Last night he took quite the opposite view. He referred to the fact that Ontario and its people are denounced almost every Sunday at the church doors throughout the province of Quebec, and spoke at length of the aggression of the Church in that province. He concluded a patriotic and fiery speech by stating that Ontario people would be cravens indeed did they fail to resent the conduct of French Canada.

Well, here is the Attorney General of Quebec in reply to that. I will give you his speech in Montreal, in the presence of a good many members of this House, just to show you how united they all are. The Solicitor General is not here, and the Minister of Trade and Commerce cannot get in here now; he is of no use on these questions. Here is what the Attorney General of Quebec says:

A terrible wind is now blowing even at the very doors of the province of Quebec; and the storm is so strong that it is shaking confederation to its very foundation. It is a difficult and delicate question, which I am now taking up, and I wish to say that I am now speaking only as a citizen of Canada. I am now speaking of the question of separate schools in the North-west. Confederation was the result of a compromise. In order to protect our fellow countrymen, who had carried the seed of civilization to the North-west, we stipulated that they should always have the right to separate schools. Now, I contend that no one has the right to do indirectly what the law forbids to do directly. No one had the right to deprive the Catholics of the North-west of their separate schools. The hon. Mr. Haultain, the Premier of the North-west Territories, understood that perfectly well. That is why he went in a roundabout way. He overhauled all the ordinances relating to the schools, and while the new ordinance reaffirms the right of Catholics to separate schools it makes these dependent on such conditions that they are virtually suppressed. So that Mr. Haultain has done indirectly what he could not do directly. The question put to the Federal Government was whether the law should be disallowed. We have the right to insist that the protection given our countrymen shall be respected. If the understanding arrived at when confederation was formed can be violated by one party, then that contract is only a paper which can be torn at will. The Federal Government has the right, and I will say has the duty, to disallow all laws contrary to the general interest of the Dominion, and such is the new ordinance. Speaking for myself, I say that fanaticism has long enough had its way. We have had enough of the McCarthys, O'Briens and of the P. P. A., which wanted to ostracise everything that is Catholic. We are citizens and useful citizens of this country. I can claim to be a moderater on these questions. I fought the Riel agitation. But when it comes to decide the

question whether Catholics have rights in this country, I say that it is time to be up and doing. I appeal to all moderate men irrespective of creed. Fanatics are not the majority of this country, and if to prove it, it is necessary to make a daring move (coup d'état) let it be made. The man who will make it shall have the united support of the province of Quebec. We do not want a Mercier to lead us. We shall find in the bosom of the Conservative party men to lead us, and enough soldiers to win victory. If to succeed it becomes necessary to call around our flag all moderate men, we will do it and we will again go over the work of confederation. If we allow the sacred rights of our countrymen to be violated, we will vainly work for the progress of this province.

That speech was delivered on the 28th of February, 1894. Now, if he is going to war I would like to make a suggestion to the Government. I scarcely ever make a suggestion to the Government, but I would suggest that they let the Minister of War and the Attorney General of Quebec fight it out, and could we not by some means get the Controller of Customs to act as referee for them? I think probably that would be the best way we could take to produce a fusion in that party. Is it not a nice thing to see men trading on religious prejudices in this fashion? I tell you there are a great many men who trade in religious prejudices for revenue only; and until this country recognizes the fact that all questions should be settled according to their merits, this country will never be well governed. It is truly a sad spectacle to see the leading men of the Conservative party trying to stir up religious strifes in the two portions of this Dominion, instead of preaching, as the leader of the Opposition has done all through his career, that love is better than hate, that he who endeavours to secure to every man the right to exercise his convictions is the only true patriot, and the only sound politician.

Mr. HASLAM. I would crave the indulgence of the House for a few minutes while I make a few remarks, which I can promise will be brief. I believe that every speaker who has preceded me has endeavoured to reply, to some extent, to the speaker that preceded him. I hope that the House will pardon me if I decline to do that. I do not think it is necessary to tell the House that there is not so very much to reply to. There have been a great many assertions made and a great many speculations indulged in by hon. gentlemen opposite. For instance, one hon. gentleman opposite, in calculating the loss to Canada through emigration, went on to estimate the number of young men who had left Canada in fifteen years, and for the purposes of his argument, he converted those young men into fathers, grandfathers, and great grandfathers in the short space of fifteen years. I will promise not to enter into any speculation so wild and so far-reaching as that. There is one point,

however, which I wish to discuss, that is of special interest to the people of Canada, and that is the price of wheat. It is a burning question to-day, and a question that has been discussed on the floor of this House from every point of view. Now, I think I will indulge in a little speculation upon that subject. We will assume, for instance, that the hon. gentlemen who now occupy the Opposition benches had remained in power, that they had been able to carry out their grand scheme of a national highway composed of magnificent water stretches, innumerable portages, and endless pieces of wagon roads. If the people of the North-west were to-day dependent upon a highway such as that, in case of an emergency, and for practical use on the railways of the United States, what would the price of wheat be in the North-west? In the North-west to-day I believe no one will assert that wheat is sold for less than 50 cents per bushel. On the other hand, at Spokane Falls, in eastern Washington, at the junction of a great number of American railroads, three weeks ago wheat was sold for 25 cents per bushel, No. 1 wheat. I do not think the price from that time to the present has increased one cent. If Canadians had no other way of reaching the market, except what the American railroad system would give them, could they expect any more than 25 cents a bushel for wheat in the North-west? I think that any man who examines the position, unbiassed by political prejudices, must come to the conclusion that wheat in the North-west, under those circumstances, would not be over 25 cents per bushel. There is another view that we might take of this question. From the period of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway to the present time, how much capital, and how much money derived from the prices of products raised in the North-west, would have gone to the coffers of the American railway system, if we had not the Canadian Pacific Railway? If the American railway system was a financial success to-day it would have been Canadian capital and enterprise that made it so, and that money would have come out of the income of the farmers of the North-west. The farmer can safely say to-day that he is getting 25 cents per bushel more for his wheat than he would have obtained had the circumstances remained as they were and the policy of the Government been carried out. Again, it has been asserted from the Opposition benches, from almost every member who has taken part in the debate, that if free trade had been adopted by the country it would have given us free access to the markets of the world, and as a matter of course our people would have had the benefit of reciprocal trade. I think that is a statement that no sane man would make if he took the trouble to examine the conditions as they are to-day, and as they have been for the last fifty years. Here

is Great Britain, with a population of 32,000,000 or over, a people that has the greatest amount of money at command among the nations of the world, a people that has the largest commerce, a people that is the greatest purchaser, and has the greatest amount of cash with which to purchase. These people have been avowed and declared free traders for the last fifty years, or within two years of that period, and up to the present time they have not been able to induce one nation to follow their example and throw open their markets to Great Britain on a fair and equitable basis. One or two hon. gentlemen opposite indulge in some mathematical problems. Some undertake to solve these problems by the ordinary rules of arithmetic, some soared higher, and tried to solve them by algebra; but here is a problem that not only every member of this House, but every man in the Dominion, and every one who has the welfare of Canada at heart, would be glad to have solved, namely, if Great Britain, with all her wealth, population and ability, and everything else in her favour, has not succeeded during fifty years in getting one nation to throw open its ports for free imports, how long would it take Canada, with 5,000,000 of people, who, according to hon. gentlemen opposite, are tax-ridden and down-trodden, to induce one, two, or ten nations, as opposite gentlemen promised, to open their ports to us. We are told, again, that the protective policy of the Dominion is responsible for the decrease in land values. If that be the case, we must come to the conclusion that a free trade policy would enhance land values, or if not, keep them at a standstill. I take that as the position of hon. gentlemen opposite, and that is certainly the assertion they have boldly and fearlessly made, it is well for us to examine the land values in the only free trade country in the world, Great Britain. It is well in these matters to cite the authority for statements made, the authorities from which I quote are the "Statistical Abstracts of the United Kingdom," page 32, and "Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics," page 341. According to these authorities, from 1880 to 1891, land values decreased in England and Scotland £11,853,976. If free trade maintains land values, how did that decrease occur? Then, again, it is asserted that free trade increases the quantity of manufactured articles. Before we accept that statement, it will be well for us to examine the products of Great Britain and the United States from 1885 to 1891. The figures are large, and probably may prove wearisome to hon. members, but I will take the year 1885 as showing the products of pig iron in Great Britain. That is the basis of manufactures in the iron industry, and in Great Britain you might say of all industries, for that is accepted as an indication of the extent of trade. In Great Britain in 1885 the production of pig iron was 7,415,469 tons. In the United States the production was 4-

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529,869 tons. Hon. members will mark that the reduction in Great Britain was very nearly double what it was in the United States. In 1889 there was the largest production that Great Britain had from 1885, to 1891, the production in Great Britain being 8,322,824 tons. In the United States in 1890 the production was 10,307,028 tons, or a production over 2,000,000 greater than Great Britain, or in other words the increase or difference between the smallest and largest year from 1885 to 1891 was 5,777,159 tons in the United States, the protective country, while in Great Britain, a free trade country, the increase was only 907,305 tons, or the increase in the United States was almost 5,000,000 tons more than in Great Britain. If free trade gives the impetus to all industries, why does this condition exist in these two countries, one the highest protected country, the other a free trade country? I know that hon. gentlemen opposite will furnish an answer that will be satisfactory to themselves, at least, and that is that the expansion of trade in the United States was due to the large home market, but I shall be able to answer that argument in a few minutes. Of Bessemer steel, which is another article of importance, the production in 1885 was 1,701,762 tons, and in 1890 the production was 4,131,535 tons, while in Great Britain in 1885 the production was 1,304,127 tons, and in 1890, 2,014,843 tons. You will mark the stride that the production of Bessemer steel made in the United States in comparison with the production of Great Britain. From the year 1890 up to the present, the growth of that trade in the United States has been much larger in proportion than it was previously. The increased growth is due to the improved methods in the manufacture of that article. The difference between the largest and smallest year of production in the protected country was \$2,129,773, while the increase in the free trade country was only \$836,664. I mentioned a few moments ago that hon. gentlemen opposite would, no doubt say that this extension of trade was due to the large home market; but there is another phase of the question which is a complete refutation of that contention. Take the articles exported, the manufactures of iron and steel, as an article that should be the fairest test of the exporting capabilities of both countries, and an article which represents a large amount of money, we will single out locomotives. In 1886 the export of locomotives from the United States was to the value of \$333,393, and in 1891, which was the largest year of exports for both countries, the export of locomotives from the United States was valued at \$2,424,363, while Great Britain exported in that year \$1,848,462, or, in other words, the increase in the exports of locomotives in the United States was \$2,090,970, whilst in Great Britain the gain was only \$189,166, or, the increase of that trade in the United States was eleven and a half times greater than that of Great Britain. I do

not think that it is necessary for me to elaborate on these facts at all, because they are incontrovertible, and if free trade is the benefit to this country or to any other country that the gentlemen on the opposite benches assert that it is, this comparative condition of things that I have indicated between the United States and Great Britain could not exist. If Great Britain, with the advantage and the start that it had in the manufacturing industries with her wealth and with all her industries long established in this direction, cannot hold her own in the commercial world, how can it be supposed that the Dominion of Canada, just starting in life, with hardly an industry in real good working order—for they are all to a certain extent in their infancy—how are we to believe or to suppose for one instant, that Canada could maintain even the position she has to-day in the face of such a condition of things as exist between Great Britain and the United States? There is another argument made by hon. gentlemen opposite which I think will not bear the light of day, and that is: That protection increases to the consumer the price of the article manufactured in the protected country. That is not so. There is not much use in my saying that it is not the case without giving proof, and so I will give these hon. gentlemen opposite an opportunity of testing my assertion for themselves. Let them get any competent engineer—I care not who he is, so he is master of his business—let him draw up the specifications and plans for a good, substantial stationary engine and boiler, and furnish the manufacturers of Canada—say, for instance, Peterborough—with a copy of these specifications; and furnish them to the manufacturers in Pennsylvania—let us take Erie, for instance—and also furnish these specifications to the manufacturers in Great Britain. I have tried this myself; I speak from what I know, so that it is not hearsay. The difference between the prices at the factories of an engine and boiler, say 35 horse-power, made to the specification, between Canada and the United States is something like \$300 less, in favour of the Canadian manufacturer; throw the duty out of the question altogether—you cannot lay the English article down in Canada for the same price as you have it made here. There is another view of this question which probably does not present itself to the minds of a great many people, and it is this: The country that has no protection has sometimes a very great difficulty in maintaining even its own markets. Let us take a case in point to prove this. Some years ago there was a strike amongst the glassworkers of Great Britain which extended over all the trade. Previous to that time there were a great many glass factories in England, for England lead the world in that industry; but to-day I venture to say that in England or in Great Britain there is not 10 per cent of the glass used there which is of home manufacture. Over 90 per cent of the glass used at the pre-

sent time in Great Britain is manufactured in Belgium, and not only that, but the glass that is used in the Dominion of Canada, and the glass that is used all over the world, is manufactured in the same country. Now, why are not the English glass-makers able even to get into their own market? The reason is: These men, before they can secure the home market, have to cut prices lower, have to get their men to work for lower wages and have to produce the article at a lower rate than even the Belgian manufacturer does. They have only the advantage of the bare freight, which, for such a short distance, amounts to nothing. Now, the difficulties that they have to contend with in that one operation are these: The glass factories, to be profitable, have to run on a very large scale; and before any English manufacturer is able to compete, and get his money back, he has first to contract with his employees at a lower rate of wages than he ever did before; he has to make that contract for a long period of time—longer than any English workman would care for; and he has to put in a plant more extensive than any sane man would invest the necessary capital for; on the bare chance of getting back a business that he might not be able to hold after he got it. Another instance, we all look upon Great Britain as the centre, and the best and cheapest place in the world, for the manufacture of iron and steel and their products. A person would naturally think that a country like Great Britain, with its wealth and all its other advantages, would be able to supply even its own market with those goods. I know that it is not able; I know that it does not do so. I import a good deal; and when I can do it I am loyal enough to Great Britain and her institutions to import from there. Last summer I wanted a small quantity of steel rails, only a little over a hundred tons, and I sent to London for them. They were bought there and shipped to me, and what were they when I got them? They were German rails, manufactured by Krupp in Germany, with Krupp's stamp and name on them. If free trade had all the advantages that hon. gentlemen opposite claim that it has, could that condition of things exist? I do not believe it possibly could. They may have some means of arriving at their conclusions that is altogether foreign to me, though, from a business point of view, I must confess, I cannot understand it. These are only a few articles, but they fairly represent the divergence of trade from the free trade country to the protected countries that is going on every day. There is another industry in regard to which I have not time to go into statistics, that is the boot and shoe trade. If you examine the boots and shoes that are sold and worn in Great Britain to-day, you will find that a very large percentage of them—some of the British manufacturers themselves say over 30 per cent—are manufactured in Massachusetts. It

cannot be said that the protected country has so many advantages over the free trade country, in the way of location, cost of materials, and so on, as to produce that result. There must be another cause, and I think it is not far to look for; I believe it lies in this fact, that the protected country always has a market within itself—a market which enables it to keep its industries up to a certain point of efficiency, and a market that is sure; while in the free trade country there is nothing sure, it depends always entirely on the fluctuations of trade in the outside world. There is nothing that will give it any chance of competing, in case of an emergency, such as labour difficulties, strikes, or any internal trouble of that kind that may occur in the country. It has no chance of getting that trade back unless by cutting deeper, and doing work at a lower price than any other country that it competes with; for it is competing with the world. Great Britain has to compete with the world, and the world is getting the better of it every day. Now, I do not think it would be wise for me to go any further. I did not expect to have anything to say to-night, nor for a number of nights; but, under the circumstances, I thought it might be better for me to get through with what I had to say. I am not a political speaker; I speak purely and simply from a business standpoint. Now, I will take my seat and allow hon. gentlemen opposite to draw their own conclusions. If I have made any statement that any reliable authority will not bear out, I would be very pleased that they would let me know it.

Mr. PERRY moved the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. FOSTER. I think it is too early to adjourn the House. We are in the midst of a very important discussion, and the country is waiting for the ending of it. I think we had better go on.

Mr. PERRY. It is not my intention, Mr. Speaker, to speak at any length this evening. We have heard a great deal of discussion here on this important question—I may say the all-important question to the taxpayers of this country. The Finance Minister has delivered himself of a speech of something over five hours, I suppose to his own satisfaction and to the satisfaction of some of his supporters. I presume that they are not all of his opinion. They were not all of his opinion last year, and I am sure that they are not all of his opinion this year; because the reduction of the tariff now proposed to the House is not what a good many hon. members on the other side of the House, as well as on this side, would wish them to be, and far from satisfactory to the taxpayers of this country. Sir, the Government have hardly been consistent with their own record in this matter. They are political thieves; they have stolen part

of the policy of the Liberal party, and why? Because they have been driven to it by the arguments advanced from this side of the House last session and the session before, and by the meetings of indignation that were held through the country during the last recess. They got alarmed, though they endeavoured to keep up the policy of procrastination. Last session many of their friends—the hon. member for Frontenac (Mr. Calvin) for instance—said it was absolutely necessary there should be no procrastination in revising the tariff on the lines of a tariff revenue. We found several other gentlemen on that side making motions asking that certain articles be placed on the free list. How was it possible then that hon. gentlemen opposite can be unanimous on this occasion? We found the hon. member for Inverness (Mr. Cameron) frequently, on the floor of this House, warning the Government not to dare to take one brick out of the structure of the National Policy. I would ask him how he can to-day stand alongside and support the Minister of Finance, who has pulled out not one but several bricks, without expecting to see the whole structure come tumbling about his head.

Mr. CAMERON (Inverness). Name one of the bricks.

Mr. PERRY. The Government got afraid after the demands of the House last session. They endeavoured to obtain secret information from the people. They began first to hold their meetings with closed doors, but the Liberal press and a good many of the Conservative papers as well, became indignant and said: If you keep up this system of seeking for information with closed doors we must oppose it; the country is alarmed and indignant at such conduct. And the Government had to open their doors. I remember quite well in July or August that two of the most prominent members of the Government travelled all the way to the little province of Prince Edward Island. The Minister of Finance was one, and the other was no less a personage than the Minister of Agriculture (Senator Angers). It was quite necessary that the Minister of Agriculture should make his appearance there, because there is a considerable French population in Prince Edward Island. And he found it very convenient to be present on the occasion of a tea party at the beautiful settlement of Mascouche, composed principally of French settlers. I was not aware that those two gentlemen were coming there, or even that the Government had adopted the system of sending out these flying angels over the country to seek information; and when I saw these two gentlemen on the platform, I at first could hardly believe my eyes. The Minister of Finance made a speech in which he was careful not to say a word about agriculture or fishing or any other industry, but confined himself to con-

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gratulating Mascouche on the fine turnout it made, on the fine looking, healthy people it possessed, and he expressed the hope that the result of the tea party would enable them to wipe off the debt of the church they had just finished. But the Minister of Agriculture took another stand. He began to lecture the people on the best mode of farming. He spoke of the advantages of mixed farming, and went on to tell them something about cows. If the farmers of Prince Edward Island, he said, fed their cows better and housed them better, every cow—he made no reserve—every cow, whether good or bad, would give during the year a net profit of \$45. The intelligent people of Mascouche, more especially the young people, were so disgusted with this statement that they left the meeting. Well, I suppose the Minister of Agriculture is very prosperous himself. The Finance Minister has told us that the country is in a flourishing condition, and he admits that he has been robbing the taxpayers at the rate of \$1,500,000 for the last fourteen years. Now, if this policy had been inaugurated by the Liberal party, why we would only say: it is the policy of the Liberal party; it is the child of its father. But when we find these gentlemen coming forward and boasting of their policy, and in the same breath acknowledging that they have done wrong for fourteen or fifteen years, I cannot understand it. They say the country has been prosperous under the National Policy. If it has, why do they not continue the same treatment? If the country has been prospering under this system of national imposition, which the Government have imposed on the people, why not continue the same treatment? Surely it is too bad to abandon it. The country is no doubt prosperous, as far as the fourteen Ministers of the Crown are concerned, with their \$8,000 a year, but not so prosperous with the poor people who are taxed to pay the salaries of these officials, and extra fees besides to them for going through the country, and endeavouring to delude the country. The Controllers of Customs and Inland Revenue had a little trip up west and I would like to know how much that trip cost the taxpayers. No doubt it has cost a good deal. In fact it is costing a good deal to pay them \$5,000 a year, and I am not aware what return they give. It cost the taxpayers \$5,000 a year for the services of the Solicitor General, whose office was never known heretofore to exist since confederation. And what has that hon. gentleman done? How many thousand dollars has he saved to the taxpayers by taking hold of legal cases in which the Dominion Government is interested? I am not aware that even in the celebrated McGreevy-Connolly case he pleaded on behalf of the Government. I believe that, on the contrary, he skedaddled. I believe he was not seen in court half as often as he was seen in jail after these two unfortunate men were de-

tained there, striving, no doubt, to extract from them papers—but it is as well not to dwell further on this point. I do not know whether the Controller of Customs is a lawyer or not, but if he is not he must have had his instructions from the Government before he left this part of the country to go up west and catechise the farmers and merchants and traders in that country. I can tell him, from the very questions he put that he could never on the spur of the moment—for his brains are not much brighter than those of ordinary men—have put those questions unless he was primed in advance, unless he had the firearm in his pocket with a bullet in it, he could never at that particular time have asked the questions he put to these people. I find that he came in contact with a gentleman named Mr. Marr in a place called Markham. This is taken from a Conservative paper. Henry C. Marr, of Markham, said that in Cleveland he had seen good horses selling at from \$20 to \$80 apiece. But it turns out that this gentleman is importing horses from the United States for breeding purposes only, on which there is no duty, and consequently he does not care whether the duty is taken off or put on. But when they got down still further they found a rustic customer, no doubt he was a Liberal. His name is E. C. Pearson, of Etobicoke. The first question asked this gentleman by the Controller of Customs was this: "How about the duty on corn?" Now, this shows that the Government were under the impression that the great body of the people do not want the duty on corn to be removed. These gentlemen had corn on the brain; perhaps they had something else in some other part of the body, possibly whisky. The very first question the Controller of Customs asked this man was about the duty on corn. Well, this man is a farmer, he grows a lot of coarse grain, and the Controller of Customs, very cunningly, like a fox, thought that as this man grew a lot of coarse grain he would want the duty left on corn in order that he might have a market for his own. But this man answered:

I would like to see it removed. I raise coarse grain for feeding, but if the duty were removed I would buy corn. I am a free trader.

Now, this man, though a farmer, and very likely a good farmer, was quite willing to have the duty taken off corn, and to buy corn. He was not afraid of competition in the market from his neighbours in the United States, or anywhere else. Now, that is just the policy of the Liberal party. Give every man a chance to sell his produce in the best market, and allow him to buy his goods in the cheapest market he can find. Well, they asked him another question, and recollect that the questions are put very artfully, very lawyer-like. If the Controller of Customs is not a lawyer, he got his cue from a lawyer, perhaps from the Minister of Railways. He asks this question:

If there was free trade there would be direct taxation.

There is the bugaboo. That is what the Controller of Customs was holding over the head of these people, to frighten them, he threatens direct taxation. Well, this witness answered :

We could have an excise duty.

In the next question the Controller of Customs tries to suggest an answer. He asks :

Q. You could not pay an excise duty on whisky without an equal customs duty. Now if you buy a farm for \$6,000 and pay half down and borrow the rest from some millionaire, you would pay all the taxation while he would pay nothing. Would that be fair ?

Now, I will ask any man of common sense on the opposite side of the House, is that a fair question to ask ? Here you see the threat, the lash of the whip held over the head of that man, in the prospect of direct taxation, if he would not submit to allow the duty to be left upon those articles. He answers this way :

No, but I do not think it would go that way. It goes too much that way now. I favour the English system.

Q. Then you would have the duties again put on coffee, tea, and things which are not produced in the country ?

Now, recollect that is a very tender point—threatening this farmer to put a duty on tea, coffee and other things of the same nature. The answer is this :

We do not get the benefit of the removal of the duty on coffee.

Q. Yes, you do. There is no duty on green coffee, and there is no roasted coffee imported, it all comes in free, and what more can we do ?

A. But it is all roasted when it is sold, and we have to pay for it.

By this time the Controller of Inland Revenue thought that his friend the Controller of Customs was getting the worst of it, and he came to his rescue with this question :

The roasting is not an expensive process, and we let it all in free?—A. Well, the tariff gives the roasters of coffee a chance to roast their customers as well.

That ended this part of the inquiry. Now, they turn up again in a day or two somewhere else, I forget the name of the place, where the evidence of Mr. Robert Crawford is taken down. I do not know whether it is correct or not, I would not have much confidence in it if it is like the last census returns, where we were told that in Prince Edward Island there were 173 boot and shoe factories, and when the Government were asked for details as to where those factories were, and the number of hands employed, they were dumb, they could not give the information, because the factories were not there. Evidence of a similar nature was

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given by Mr. Robert Crawford, Secretary of the Richview Patrons of Industry, who advised the removal of the duty from corn. Mr. Wood asked him this question :

Q. Are you in favour of direct taxation ?

Now, just fancy, Mr. Speaker, the Government asking a man whether he was in favour of direct taxation ! Why, you might as well ask a man to cut his own throat as to ask him if he is in favour of direct taxation. It is ridiculous, and I am surprised that a man of the character of the Controller of Inland Revenue should ask such a frivolous question. Well, this is the answer :

A. No.

Q. Do you think the duty should be removed from pork?—A. I would meet the Americans half way and remove the duty, if they did.

Q. Is that your view regarding agricultural implements?—A. Yes.

Have the Government done so ? What is the use of taking this information, what is the use of saddling an enormous expense upon this country in sending these two gentlemen up and down the Dominion to get information, if the Government does not act upon that information ? Why, Sir, it is the height of hypocrisy. The question is asked :

You would not take off the duty unless they did ? The price, you know, is higher than here.

Which is false. I have documents here taken from the Trade and Navigation Returns for both Canada and the United States to show that farm implements are sold from 15 to 20 per cent cheaper in the United States than they are in Canada. This is the answer :

Well, that would be all the better. I would take it off what they admitted free.

Q. Would that work fairly ? Now, in the case of—A. I object to this cross-examination. A man who is a politician can raise quibbles and make objections that will puzzle a farmer every time.

This was all the satisfaction this man got. He was right in castigating the Controller of Inland Revenue for his impertinent question. This man was, like myself, a farmer, and a hard-working man, and he was not able to compete with the cunning and shrewdness, and knowledge of the law, which the Controller of Inland Revenue possessed. I stated a moment ago that the prices of farm implements were less in the United States than they are in Canada. I have figures taken from the blue-books, showing that in Lacolle, in the province of Quebec, peas were worth 60 cents per bushel, when in Champlain, New York, they were worth 75 cents a bushel. I want to show that the same products are worth more in the United States than they are here, on account of this barrier to civilization in the shape of a protective tariff, without which our products would bring us more than they do now. Here are a few figures concerning farm products :

| | Lacolle, Que. | Champlain, N. Y. |
|---------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Beans, per bush... | \$ 1 40 | \$ 1 75 |
| Oats do .. | 0 36 | 0 40 |
| Barley do .. | 0 43 | 0 50 |
| Hay, per ton . | 8 00 to \$10 00 | 10 00 to \$12 00 |
| Butter, per lb..... | 0 22 to 0 22 | 0 26 to 0 28 |
| Eggs, per dozen... | 0 14 | 0 17 |
| Potatoes, per bag.. | 0 40 | 0 60 |
| Turkeys, per lb.... | 0 08 to 0 09 | 0 10 to 0 11 |

Now, I want to show this House how much cheaper farm implements can be bought in the United States than in Canada. Mowers sell in Canada from \$50 to \$60; in the United States from \$40 to \$45. Self-dumping hay rakes, \$30 in Quebec, and from \$20 to \$23 in New York. Reapers, \$75 in Quebec; \$50 to \$60 in New York. Ploughs, \$7.50 to \$15 in Quebec; \$6.50 to \$14 in New York. Disc-harrows, \$30 in Quebec; \$20 in New York. That shows the advantage it would be to the people of this country if they had free trade with the United States in natural products and in agricultural implements. Take the case of a farmer in Prince Edward Island, for instance, who comes up to Ontario to buy his binder, or reaper, or mower. He pays the price of the articles, \$60 or \$75, whatever it may be, and when the time of payment comes he has to carry his produce across the line and sell it under an almost prohibitory tariff to the people of the United States, and out of every hundred dollars worth he loses \$55 or \$60, which goes into the revenue of the United States, and when he comes back to Canada to buy his machinery, he is handicapped by a tariff of 20 per cent. Let any man consider these things, and he will see how hard it is for the poor farmers of this country to live. I do not pretend to speak for the minority in this country who are so well protected by the tariff; I do not pretend to speak for Senator Drummond, who is at the head of the great sugar factory in this country, nor do I pretend to speak for 10 per cent of the population who are protected against the other 90 per cent. Now, Sir, we heard this afternoon a speech from the hon. member for St. John city and county, New Brunswick (Mr. Hazen). He could not leave the little province of Prince Edward Island alone. He had to travel over there. How he got there I do not know, for we have had no mail communication from the Island these last four or five days. I may say that he did not go by the tunnel, for that is not built, and I am afraid it never will be. But this hon. gentleman went there in a dream; he got the nightmare, and when he came back he told us that in Prince Edward Island they had a Liberal Government which had run the country into debt, and now they had to have recourse to direct taxation to pay the debt. Now, let me tell him that the Liberal Government have not yet been three years in power in Prince Edward Island. That province has been under a Tory Government from 1879 to 1891, and during that time they gobbled up the whole resources of the province, and ran it into debt to the ex-

tent of \$300,000 or \$400,000. They took \$200,000 out of the capital of Prince Edward Island, and when they walked out of power they left the province in debt for over \$200,000, and now these poor Liberals, the hard-working people of that Island, have got to be taxed to pay that debt. Let the hon. member for St. John put that in his pipe and smoke it. The Tories so mismanaged our provincial affairs that they were not satisfied with gobbling up everything they could find, but they began to steal the land office in Prince Edward Island; they stole several thousand dollars from that source, and the people of the Island, when the election came on, drove them from power. The leader of that Government, in 1891, tried once more to beat my hon. friend from Queen's county, P.E.I. (Mr. Davies), but he was defeated, and was consoled by being pitchforked into the Senate of this Dominion, where a great many more of his class are put. Such is the history of Tory mismanagement, and Tory robbery in Prince Edward Island. They have run the province into debt, and have left that dirty, nasty legacy to the Liberals, who must now have recourse to direct taxation in order to pay the debt. The Liberals in Prince Edward Island are honest men, who like to pay their debts. We are not coming on our marrow bones to this Government to ask them to help us to pay our debts, we are going to stand on our own dignity. The member for St. John (Mr. Hazen) was out of his latitude at the time he made the statement. The leader of the Liberal Government in Prince Edward Island (Mr. Peters) attended the Reform convention at Ottawa with myself. It was the happiest time I ever had in my life to come here and see Liberal delegates gathered from north, east, south and west, every one willing to forego his own private view, nationality, or creed, for the time being, and pull the oar to carry the political ship into its proper harbour. They were unanimous on one point, and that was to be true Canadians and live and work for the welfare of the Dominion. Mr. Peters was here on that occasion and spoke at the convention, endorsing the policy of the leader of the Opposition in the House. Mr. Peters then returned home and held meetings, and told the people of the Island what he had done, and his endorsement of the policy of the Liberal leader. What was the result of the elections held on 13th December last? When Mr. Peters took the reins of Government in 1891, he had a majority of only one, and his opponents thought they would be able to out-vote him during the session, but they failed. At the recent elections, Mr. Peters was returned with twenty-four members against six. If this result gives comfort to Cabinet Ministers, they are free to accept it. These facts go to show that the hon. member for St. John (Mr. Hazen) must be more careful in making attacks upon the

people of Prince Edward Island, who are always willing and able to pay their debts by earnings derived from hard toil, and not by efforts to take money out of the pockets of their neighbours. Our people earn their money by the sweat of their brow. We pay our way and are able to rely on our own resources. Let the Government leave us alone, and place no barriers in the way of free trade, and trade with other markets. We were told when the McKinley Bill became law that five cents per dozen on eggs as a duty was of no consequence, because we would be able to send our eggs to England. I know several gentlemen in Ontario shipped eggs to England, and lost everything. We were told on one occasion that a gentleman sent a lot to the English market, sold a few of them, and the balance he presented to the High Commissioner in London, and they were used in the kitchen.

An hon. MEMBER. Name the man.

Mr. PERRY. If the Government are honest and sincere they will furnish information as to how many thousand dozen of eggs were sent to England in October, November and December last. Perhaps none were shipped to that market. We have still to sell our eggs across the line, notwithstanding the five cents duty. I shall be told that it is not the fault of the Government but of the United States Government. In our tariff I find a tax of five cents per dozen levied on eggs from the United States, and twenty-five cents per bushel on potatoes; but who ever heard of potatoes or eggs coming here from the United States? All we in the Island wish is to be left alone. We are loyal subjects, and we contribute nearly one million dollars into the treasury, and receive very little over six hundred thousand dollars a year in return. These are undeniable facts which can be proved, and still the Canadian Government were not satisfied with extracting from the people of the Island four hundred thousand dollars more than they expend there, but to seek to impose more burdens on them. When I hear the member for St. John (Mr. Hazen) declare that the Liberals of Prince Edward Island have run the country in debt, I wonder why he did not refer to the province of Quebec, which, since Confederation has been under the administration of Tories, with the exception of two short periods. They have run the province into debt thirty millions. Why did not the hon. gentleman state how prosperous Ontario had been under the administration of that man of unblemished character, Sir Oliver Mowat, under whose administration there was a surplus of between five and six millions. Why did not the hon. gentleman state that the national debt of Canada under the administration since 1879 had increased about 150 per cent? What have we obtained in return? No further proof of the unsatisfactory position of affairs need be quoted than the case of the two unfortunate men who were incar-

Mr. PERRY.

cerated not long ago. I am not going into the question as to why they were released from jail, but I do not think it is to the credit of the Government to prosecute men for high crimes, obtain a jury and judge to sentence the men for twelve months, and afterwards release them on the pretence that they were sick. Any men in jail would be sick—they need not be so high in station as McGreevy and Connolly to feel sick and sore regarding their incarceration. We find that Judge Rose, in passing sentence, said: "I am sorry for you, gentlemen. Why? Because others who were more guilty than you are should be in the same box." These facts must be well known to the Minister of Justice and members of the Cabinet, nevertheless, they have taken the responsibility on themselves to recommend their release, and I am sure His Excellency must have chuckled when he signed the papers. From my standpoint, I do not give the Government any thanks for the small reduction they have made in the tariff. In fact, if hon. members felt as I do, they would say that the Minister was giving even that relief with a grudge. We could see that every time he read an article upon which he had lowered the duty, he did not like it. Therefore, in my opinion, he is entitled to no credit, because the Government have been forced to do what they have done, and, if I am not much mistaken, they will be forced into another remodelling of the tariff before twelve months are over. The country is indignant because it has not got what it is asking for. The Government have muddled up the affairs of this country in every way. They muddled the tariff, they muddled and endangered the friendship between this people and the United States, and I am sorry to say that their policy has had the effect of bringing about a disturbance in this country which may, perhaps, tear Confederation into pieces. The Government have acted in a double-dealing way, they have not been straightforward. Let us take the article of sugar, because of the reduction of the duty on which, hon. gentlemen opposite tell us that the consumers have derived a great deal of profit. It is true that the tariff which is now brought before the House, lowers the duty on sugar, but that tariff is not passed yet, and I am not sure whether it will not, because there are a great many bolters on the other side of the House, and maybe they will kick. Sugar is admitted duty free up to 16 Dutch standard, but, when refined sugar is imported, it is to be taxed 64 cents per hundred pounds, or 16 cents less than under the old tariff. Now, if the 80 cents duty in the old tariff was prohibitory, and we know that it was, because the 64 cents duty will have just the same effect. That is where the monopoly is staring us still, and that is where the poison still comes in. The amount of sugar consumed by the population of this country is about 344,000,000 pounds a year, and on this, at the rate of 64 cents per hundred pounds, the consumer will have to pay

\$2,201,600 more than if there was no duty at all. Recollect, Mr. Speaker, that we, the consumers, are paying that much more for our sugar than we should pay. Senator Drummond, who is at the head of the sugar manufacturing in this country, says that over 1,900 men are employed in that industry. Now, let us say that there are 2,000 men engaged, and their wages will come to \$700,000 a year, or thereabout. Take that from the \$2,201,600, and it will leave a balance of \$1,501,600. Would it not be better at once for the people of Canada who use sugar to pay these labourers the \$700,000 and to save the \$1,501,600? Be it remembered that this immense sum does not go into the Treasury of this country, but that it goes into the pockets of Senator Drummond and his brother manufacturers. That is the result of the policy of the Government. Why did they not allow our manufacturers to export sugar to the United States, if they thought proper? I am doubtful to-day if we cannot go to the United States and import our sugar and pay the 64 cents per hundred pounds duty for it, but we know that the manufacturers of this country so far have not attempted to send their sugar across the borders. The Government have told us that they have reduced the duty on agricultural implements to 20 per cent. What a great godsend to the farmers. Why did they not take the duty off altogether and provide that the moment that the Americans allowed our implements in duty free, we would do the same thing towards them? The Government have not done that; they must be death on the farmers; I believe they do not expect the vote of the farmers at the next election. The tariff which is now before this House, is not what the people expected, and it will not succeed as the bait by which the present Government want to catch the fish they are after, namely, the votes of the people. The people know that the Government would not have gone even so far if they could have helped it, and they know now that they have been robbed of \$1,500,000 a year for the last fourteen years. They know, too, that the money they have just contributed has not gone to a good purpose, but that it has been squandered in the Red Parlour, and that the million dollars which those two men were sent to jail for, was stolen from the people. The people know, too, that a great deal of their money has been sunk in the River St. Lawrence at Quebec and all over the country. What guarantee have the people that, if these gentlemen opposite are returned to power at the next election—which I do not expect they will—they will not go back to the old principle of protecting the manufacturers? There is no doubt in my mind that there is a secret understanding between the combines and the Government that the Government is not willing to do justice to the country. What did my friend the Minister of Finance answer me, when I asked him were there any borings done last summer across the Straits of Nor-

thumberland? I asked him, was it the intention of the Government to have borings done this year, and he said it was. Now, what is this for? Perhaps it is that we are on the eve of a general election, and I suppose the tunnel horse is going to be ridden down there again. I am afraid, if that is the case, the Government will be just as unfortunate as ex-Senator Howlan was when he tried his hand. I may have some more to say upon these different items of the tariff, when they are taken up seriatim, but I cannot finish without saying that my friend the member for St. John (Mr. Hazen) has been guilty of a gross attack, an unwarrantable attack, and an attack that cannot be borne out by true statements against the people of Prince Edward Island.

Mr. DAVIN moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 10.50 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, 2nd April, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

RETURN ORDERED.

1. The number of gallons of coal oil imported from the United States in tank cars, since the privilege was given to import in this way, up to the present time? 2. The points in Canada to which the imports were made, and the number of gallons imported to each place? 3. The import value per imperial gallon of the oil imported in tank cars, and the total duty collected? 4. The total importation in imperial gallons of coal oil imported in vessels other than tank cars during the same period? 5. The import price of the coal oil thus imported, and the amount of duty paid? 6. The amount of duty paid upon the barrels or other vessels which contained the oil, and the amount paid for inspection?—(Mr. Macdonald, Huron.)

JOINT COMMITTEE ON PRINTING.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved:

That a Message be ordered to be sent to the Senate informing their Honours that this House will unite with them in the formation of a Joint Committee of both Houses on the subject of the Printing of Parliament, and that the members of the Select Standing Committee on Printing, viz.:—Messieurs Amyot, Bergin, Bourassa, Charlton, Costi-

gau, Davin, Grandbois, Innes, Kaulbach, Landerkin, LaRivière, Lépine, Maclean (York), McLean (King's), McMullen, Putnam, Rider, Somerville, Stevenson, Sutherland, Taylor and Tisdale will act as members on the part of the House on said Joint Committee on the Printing of Parliament.

Motion agreed to.

THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved :

That a Select Committee, composed of Sir Adolphe Caron and Messieurs Amyot, Cockburn, Davies, Davin, Edgar, Fraser, Laurier, McNeill, Mills (Bothwell), O'Brien, Rinfret, Sriver, Weldon and White (Shelburne), be appointed to assist Mr. Speaker in the direction of the Library of Parliament so far as the interests of this House are concerned, and to act as members of a Joint Committee of both Houses on the Library.

Motion agreed to.

VACANT SENATORSHIPS.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Has the right hon. First Minister got the information as to the length of time several of the senatorships, now vacant, have remained vacant, which the hon. gentleman promised us the other day ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I have asked for the information and will have it in a day or two.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Is it so difficult to obtain ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I do not think so.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. So many of them, of course.

ODILON PELLETIER.

Mr. FAUVEL (for Mr. Delisle) asked, Whether the Government have made any payment to Mr. Odilon Pelletier, of St. Roch des Aulnaies, county of L'Islet, for services in connection with the Department of Marine and Fisheries ? If so, what sums have been paid to him since 1st January, 1893 ? How long has he been so employed by the Government ?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. He received \$137.32 for forty-two cords of wood supplied to the lightships. That was the only payment made to him during 1893.

JOSEPH TREMBLAY, C.E.

Mr. FAUVEL (for Mr. Delisle) asked, Is Mr. Joseph Tremblay, C.E., of St. Roch des Aulnaies, in the employment of the Government, and if so, how long has he been so employed ? What is his employment ? What is his salary, and what sum is he allowed for travelling expenses ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. He is not in the employ of the Government. He was employed last summer for a period of six months and eighteen days, as engineer in charge of the works in the counties of Temiscouata and L'Islet, in the province of Quebec. His salary was at the rate of \$4 per diem. No allowance for travelling expenses, only his actual expenses being paid by the department.

JULES PELLETIER.

Mr. FAUVEL (for Mr. Delisle) asked, Whether Mr. Jules Pelletier, formerly of St. Roch des Aulnaies, and now of Quebec, is employed by the Government, in the Post Office Department, and if so, how long has he been employed, and what is his salary ?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Mr. Pierre Alphonse Jules Pelletier has been employed as a temporary letter carrier in the Quebec post office, since 19th August, 1893. He has passed the required Civil Service examination. His salary is at the rate of \$300 per annum.

ADMISSION OF COAL OIL IN TANKS.

Mr. LANDERKIN asked, At how many places in Ontario, where coal oil is admitted in tanks, is it now barrelled ?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). Coal oil which is admitted in tanks in Ontario is barrelled at the undermentioned places :—London, St. Thomas, Petrolia, Stratford, Hamilton, Toronto, Toronto Junction, Chippewa, Whitby, Peterborough, Port Hope, Belleville, Kingston, Brockville, Smith's Falls and Ottawa.

GOVERNMENT BUILDING, VICTORIA, B.C.

Mr. MARTIN asked, 1. What is the intention of the Government respecting the erection of a new Government building in Victoria, British Columbia ? 2. Has a site been purchased, and if so, where, from whom, and at what price ? 3. Were the two representatives in this House for Victoria, or either of them interested in the site purchased, and to what extent ? 4. What departments are to use the new building, and when will work be commenced upon it ?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. It is intended to construct the building to accommodate the services of the Post Office, Customs and Inland Revenue Departments. The site has been purchased, and is composed of that block of land situated between Government, Courtney and Water streets. Price paid, \$75,000. The owners are the Canada Western Hotel Co., and the deed has been passed in the name of the company. The department has not been made aware of the name of the persons composing the company. Work will be commenced probably during the next fiscal year.

FRANKED MAIL MATTER FROM THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. GILLMOR asked, Whether any legislative papers or documents, franked by a member or members of Congress of the United States, have come into Canada by the ordinary mail routes, and have been ordered by the Postmaster General to be sent to Ottawa and thereby prevented reaching their original destination? If so, what is the reason for such action?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Certain packets of printed papers franked by a member of Congress were received in this country from the United States and were sent to the Dead Letter Office as not being prepaid by stamps and not being legislative papers or documents.

ADMISSION OF COAL OIL IN TANKS.

Mr. LANDERKIN asked, At how many places in Ontario, where coal oil is admitted in tanks, is it now barrelled? What is the name of each place?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). I would ask the hon. gentleman to allow that to stand.

Mr. LANDERKIN. This question is similar to the other only the name of each place is asked for here instead of in the other. But I understand that the hon. Minister in his answer before stated that in all the other places he mentioned coal oil was barrelled now.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). No; that is not the case. All the places to which coal oil is taken in tank cars do not take advantage of the provision respecting barrelling.

Mr. LANDERKIN. Then I will allow this to stand.

JUDICIAL DISTRICT OF PONTIAC.

Mr. DEVLIN asked, Have the Government received notification from the Government of the province of Quebec, of the erection and official opening of the judicial district of Pontiac? Is it the intention of the Government to appoint a judge for the district of Pontiac? If so, when?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. We have received no such notification. It is not the present intention of the Government to ask for a vote for the salary of a judge.

MONTREAL DIVISION POST OFFICE INSPECTORSHIP.

Mr. GUAY (for Mr. Brodeur). (Translation.) Has the post office inspector for the Montreal Division been superannuated, or is he merely on temporary leave of absence? If superannuated, when did his superannuation take effect, and why has not his successor been appointed? If he is simply on leave, when is he to resume the discharge of his duties?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. In reply to the hon. member, I will say that Mr. E. F. King, ex-post office inspector for the Montreal Division, has been superannuated by an order in council passed on the 7th of December, 1893. His superannuation took effect on the 1st of September, 1893. The appointment of his successor is under the consideration of the Government.

MR. B. LOISELLE.

Mr. GUAY (for Mr. Brodeur). (Translation.) 1. Is the Government aware that the complaint which caused (according to the statement made by the Government to this House on the 14th September, 1891) the dismissal of Mr. B. Loisel as postmaster of Ste. Angèle de Monnoir, has been declared by the courts to be false and malicious? 2. If so, is it the intention of the Government to reinstate Mr. Loisel in his position, or to order an inquiry into the matter? 3. Is it the intention of the Government to lay before the House, this session, the papers in relation to the said dismissal, the same having been ordered on the 7th March, 1892?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. 1. The department is informed that Mr. Loisel has taken an action against the person who had accused him of embezzlement as postmaster. Also, the department has been informed that judgment has been pronounced in favour of Mr. Loisel. 2. Another postmaster having been appointed in the place of Mr. Loisel, it is impossible to reinstate Mr. Loisel in his position. It is not the intention of the Government to order another inquiry into the matter. 3. The papers in relation to the dismissal, being confidential, cannot be laid before the House, according to an order in council prohibiting the production of those papers. That order in council has been passed in 1886.

MANITOBA SCHOOL CASE.

Mr. GUAY (for Mr. Brodeur) asked, Is it the intention of the Government to submit for the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England, the questions already submitted to the Supreme Court, in relation to the subject of the Manitoba schools?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The questions involve considerations as to what party or parties have the right to appeal to the decision of the Privy Council, and what party or parties may or may not desire to appeal. As to these points we have not full information at the present time.

SALARIES OF THE JUDGES.

Mr. GUAY (for Mr. Brodeur) asked, Is it the intention of the Government during this session to increase the salaries of the judges?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It is not the intention of the Government to bring down any general measures on that subject.

MAILS IN NOVA SCOTIA.

Mr. FRASER asked. Do the Government propose to provide for better communication between Canso, Arichat, Guysboro', and Mulgrave, during the present session, by giving a daily service to Canso and Arichat, and tri-weekly to Guysboro' and Port Hood? 2. Who was the contractor for carrying the mails from Hawkesbury to Sydney, C.B., since 1890? What was the yearly payment? 3. When did the contract terminate? How were the mails carried after the contract ceased, and by whom? Who was the responsible party, and what was the remuneration? 4. Has any contract been entered into since 1890 for carrying said mails? If so, who is the contractor? How many tenders were put in? What were the names of the tenderers? What is the remuneration, and is payment made to the contractor? How many days were given the contractor for entering on the work, after the date of opening the tenders? How many horses were necessary for carrying the mails and passengers under the first and second contracts, respectively?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. In answer to the hon. gentleman, I desire to state that the mail service to Canso, Arichat, Guysboro' and Mulgrave post offices is already daily. Inquiry will be made as to the desirability of increasing the service to Port Hood. In reply to the hon. gentleman's second question the contractor is James Morrison, and the price paid for the service \$9,000. The contract terminated on the 31st December, 1893. The mails were carried in the same manner as before by James Morrison, whose contract was renewed until 1st March, when it was transferred to Metzler Morrison. The parties mentioned had the responsibility of the service. There was no change made in the rate of payment. Since 1890 the contract has been in the hands of James Morrison at \$9,000 a year, and the payment has been made to him up to 1st March, 1894. On the 15th December last tenders were invited, receivable until 26th January last. Two tenders were received, one of which was withdrawn. The service is still being carried on under a temporary agreement with the late contractor, now Metzler Morrison. The department has no information as to the number of horses employed by Mr. Morrison.

POSTMASTER OF OWEN SOUND.

Mr. GRIEVE asked. Whether the position of postmaster in the Owen Sound post office is now vacant? If so, who is in charge at present? If no appointment has been made, what is the cause of delay?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. 1. The postmastership of Owen Sound is now vacant. 2.

GUAY.

The widow of the late postmaster is temporarily in charge, with the help of the assistant to the late postmaster. 3. No appointment to the office has yet been made. 4. The matter is under consideration.

LETTER POSTAGE.

Mr. GRIEVE asked, Whether it is the intention of the Government to reduce letter postage from three to two cents?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. It is not the intention of the Government to reduce letter postage from three to two cents.

REGISTERED LETTERS.

Mr. GRIEVE asked, Whether it is the intention of the Government to reduce the fee now charged for registered letters? If not, is it intended to guarantee the safe delivery of all registered letters and their contents?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. It is not intended to reduce the fee now charged for registered letters. It is not intended to guarantee the safe delivery of all registered letters and their contents.

POST OFFICE, WESTON, N.B.

Mr. COLTER asked, Whether the Postmaster General has authorized the establishing of a post office in Weston, in the county of Carleton, New Brunswick? If so, when was it authorized, and when will it be open?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. The establishment of a post office in Weston, county of Carleton, New Brunswick, has not been authorized.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I would like to inquire of the Minister of Finance whether he will be good enough to direct the Public Accounts Committee to be summoned at the earliest moment. We have been nearly three weeks in session, and that committee has not been organized yet—nor, I suppose, have the other committees. Last year there was a great deal of inconvenience caused by delay in summoning the committee, and the very short time it was allowed to sit. On the present occasion it is desirable that we should have it summoned as early as possible.

Mr. FOSTER. I will communicate with the chairman of that committee.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I was not aware that you had even got a chairman.

Mr. LAURIER. The committee has not been organized yet.

Mr. FOSTER. I will have it called as soon as possible.

TEA AND COFFEE DUTIES.

Mr. KENNY. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I desire to ask the Government a question in reference to the item of tea in the new tariff. Is it to be understood that under the proposed tariff, importations of tea, in order to be free, must come direct without transshipment from the country of growth and production?

Mr. FOSTER. In answer to the hon. gentleman, I would say that it was not the intention of the Government to preclude the shipments of tea from the country of growth and production, from coming in free of duty, even though they were transhipped at another port—merely on the ground of transshipment.

Mr. LAURIER. That is another clerical error, then.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, if the hon. gentleman interprets it that way.

Mr. LAURIER. I interpret it that way because there is a wide difference between the language of the resolution and the language of the statute.

Mr. FOSTER. There is no statute as yet.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. That is precisely what the statute was decided to mean.

Mr. LAURIER. The language has not been quoted here yet.

Mr. McKAY. May I ask the Minister of Finance if it is to be understood that the present tariff on tea and coffee is to be exactly the same as the old tariff?

Mr. FOSTER. The announcement I made to the hon. gentleman for Halifax (Mr. Kenny) may not have been clear. Coffee will be treated in exactly the same way as tea. It is not the intention that the fact of transshipment shall be a bar to the entry of either tea or coffee, free of duty.

CATTLE DISEASE IN GREY COUNTY.

Mr. LANDERKIN. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I would like to make an announcement to the Government of a matter that has been brought to my notice by Mr. George Binnie, reeve of the township of Glenelg. He informs me that a serious disease has broken out among the cattle in that township, and a great many have died. He further informs me that in the township of Artemesia and in the township of Osprey the disease has been very fatal among the cattle. In the letter received from Mr. McKechnie, M.P.P., is inclosed another letter from Mr. Telford, to the same effect. There is no doubt that the loss has been very heavy, and the people are anxious that the Government should take some steps, if it is in their power to do so, to prevent the spread of the disease and to prevent the loss of their cattle. Mr. Binnie, in his

letter as reeve of the township, and on behalf of the people of the township, is most anxious that a commissioner should be sent there in order to investigate, and to let the people know the best steps they can take in order to prevent the spread of this disease. I spoke to the Controller of Customs about the matter, and I also referred the letters to the Minister of Finance, who, I understand, is acting for the Department of Agriculture. I would be pleased to know, if it is within the province of that department, whether any steps will be taken to let the people know what is best to be done to prevent the spread of the disease, and to save the valuable property of the people in those three townships.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I understand the Minister of Finance received the letter which the hon. gentleman refers to, and communicated it to the Department of Agriculture. I have not had an opportunity of being acquainted with the facts, but I will make inquiry at once. The hon. gentleman did not state what disease it was.

Mr. LANDERKIN. The people do not understand the disease, and consequently do not understand what treatment they should pursue, and how the cattle should be fed.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I will have the matter inquired into at once.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

House again resumed the adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Foster :

That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair for the House to go into Committee of Ways and Means; and the motion of Sir Richard Cartwright in amendment thereto.

Mr. DAVIN. Mr. Speaker, seeing that I took some small part in the advocacy of tariff reform, it would probably be not quite proper that I should give a silent vote on the amendment proposed by the hon. member for South Oxford. When I look at the amendment of that hon. gentleman, I cannot but see that it is in entire keeping with the speech with which he introduced it, because that speech, as I shall show in a passing way, was inconsistent with itself; and if the House will permit me, before further dealing with the tariff, I will show wherein the motion of the hon. member for South Oxford is inconsistent. The first paragraph, when analyzed, affirms that it is impossible to get rid of excessive and unfair taxation if that should be attempted on the principle of protection. That is the first proposition. The second proposition is a proposition that could only properly come from a protectionist. Let me read it to the House :

That the highest interests of Canada demand the adoption of a sound fiscal policy which, while not doing injustice to any class, will promote domestic

and foreign trade, and hasten the return of prosperity to the people.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Hear, hear.

Mr. DAVIN. I did not know that either free traders, or revenue tariff men, believed that you could propound a tariff that would promote foreign and domestic trade. But their theory, I thought, was this, that you should propound a tariff that would let the trade of the country take care of itself. Well, then comes a revenue tariff proposition, the third paragraph :

That to that end the tariff should be reduced to the needs of honest economical and efficient government, should have eliminated from it the principle of protection to particular industries at the expense of the community at large, and should be imposed for revenue only.

The fourth paragraph propounds the proposition :

That it should be so adjusted as to make free or bear as lightly as possible upon the necessaries of life and to promote freer trade.

Why, Sir, what are generally termed the necessaries of life in tariff discussion, are free in this tariff.

Mr. MULOCK. Is coal oil a necessary of life ?

Mr. DAVIN. While proceeding in the direction of freeing the necessaries of life, what the proposition means is this, if it means anything, that if the member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), should assume charge of the finances, he would do what any revenue man would consistently do, namely, draw a great part of his revenue from tea, sugar and coffee. Every economic writer, both on the side of free trade and on the side of revenue tariff, as well as on the side of protection, declares that, allowing what are called the necessaries of life to come in untaxed, giving a free breakfast table, to use Mr. Bright's phrase, is essentially a protective measure, whereas taxing tea and sugar, and, in fact, the breakfast table, that belongs, to tariff for revenue, and as we see in England, to free trade.

Mr. MULOCK. Will the hon. gentleman allow me to ask him a question ?

Mr. DAVIN. Certainly ; a hundred.

Mr. MULOCK. Does the hon. gentleman say that, under the present tariff, the necessaries of life are free ?

Mr. DAVIN. I say that, under the present tariff, what are commonly called the necessaries of life are free, and I shall be glad, when the hon. gentleman speaks, if he will show how, as the hon. gentleman who proposed this motion, has not done, he could get the revenue needed for carrying on the business of Canada without taxing articles which according to his interpretation of the phrase, "necessaries of life," would come within

Mr. DAVIN.

that category. I will go further than that. I will promise to vote with the hon. gentleman, when it comes to a division, if the ablest amongst them will rise and show how the wit of man could raise the revenue necessary for carrying on the affairs of Canada at this moment by customs and excise, without having in the customs tariff, as my hon. friend the Finance Minister suggested, some of the elements of protection. At the first glance of this tariff, those of us who advocated certain reductions in the interest of the farmer were disappointed. We had hoped that, for instance, agricultural implements would be free, that one or two other articles would be free ; but, when I came to examine the tariff as a whole, I came to this conclusion, and I will endeavour to show that is the case before I sit down, that those for whom we agitated last session and the session before, have received a great deal more than if we had been successful last year and had induced the Finance Minister to give us that comparatively contracted measure of reform which we urged upon him at that time. The Finance Minister and the Government generally, instead of doing what we asked then, took a course of which, at the time, I did not approve. They said : We will not do that ; on the contrary, we will postpone this matter for a year ; some of our members will go and see the manufacturers and the farmers, and we will make ourselves acquainted with the exact condition of affairs. There were excuses, I confess, for their taking that course, because those who spoke, as representatives of the people, uttered a divided voice in this House. Some said they wanted a tariff reform in the direction embodied in the motion which I had the honour to place on the motion paper. Others said they did not think such a reform was needed, that the farmers were perfectly content. Under those circumstances, it was perfectly natural that the Government should say that they must come into direct contact with the people of the country. Another idea, evidently, came into the minds of the Government. It occurred to them that, if they made any move, and it was so stated by the Prime Minister, I think, there must be a general revision, that the time had come to revise the tariff, and a general revision should be made and the only way that it could be done was by doing, but more thoroughly, what Sir Leonard Tilley did in 1879, go about the country, come into contact with the various industries and ascertain exactly how they were progressing, and how much reduction could be made with loyalty to the principle on which hon. gentlemen stood, as a Government, and with justice to the industries that had been called into being by that policy. The hon. Minister of Finance and Senator Angers came west ; and, from the moment they touched the west, there was one universal voice in favour of certain reductions or certain abolitions in regard to duties on articles used by the farmers. The result of their coming west was, that one of

the papers opposed to me attacked me, as if the coming west of those gentlemen showed that the Government had no confidence in what I represented in this House. But I pointed out to those who attacked me as I point out now that it was most natural, seeing that the voice coming from the west was divided, the Ministers should take the course they took. We had a meeting at Regina, and Mr. Bole, a prominent farmer, spoke at it. The hon. Finance Minister was so struck with the ability and exhaustiveness of the speech made by Mr. Bole, that he turned round to me and asked who he was, and expressed the opinion, which he held in common with all who heard that gentleman, that the speech was a thoughtful one, and that, evidently, he was well posted. Mr. Bole asked for a reduction in certain directions, he asked for certain duties to be swept away; and this is what he said in the hearing of the Finance Minister:

As to implements, there was a great difference of opinion, but he believed the time had come when the duty should be reduced. 35 per cent was a protection duty. It should be reduced to 15 or 17½ per cent. It was all right to protect them when they were infant industries, but the day had arrived to reduce the duties.

I think I remember that the hon. gentleman who leads the Opposition in this House, stated, when he discussed this question, that any reduction which had to be made should be made gradually; and, in fact, I stated to hon. gentlemen on the Reform side of the House, in discussing this very tariff, that if the parties had crossed the House, if the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) stood in front of the chair occupied at this moment by the Finance Minister, he would not, he dared not, have brought down duties lower than those embodied in this tariff. Here is a book written by F. W. Taussig, Assistant Professor of Political Economy in Harvard University. It is written against the tariff in the United States; it is written from a free trade point of view; yet here is what he said:

Certainly it is to be wished that changes from a system which has been in force for 25 years and to which the industrial organization has more or less completely adapted itself, ought to be made slowly and with caution. It would be a great mistake, fortunately not one likely to be committed, if a headlong reduction like that of 1833 were again to be attempted, and were again to overshoot the mark. A great change in the character of our industrial system, in order to be safe must be gradual and tentative, and is not likely to be fully carried out in less time than has elapsed since the present system was begun.

Mr. Fawcett in his book on "Protection and Free Trade" makes the same general statement. Now, Sir, that being so, in the interests of the country at large and looking at it rationally from the local standpoint that I looked at it last year, I cannot but say: that this measure of tariff reform which has

been given us by the Government is indeed a very large step in the right direction; far larger than we anticipated as I will show, and far larger I think than my hon. friend, the leader of the Opposition, anticipated. I remember well when Sir Leonard Tilley propounded the policy of the Government in 1879. At that time there used to be a seat on each side of the Speaker, and Sir John Macdonald had brought me in to sit on the right, and I was able to see the face of Mr. Mackenzie who used, I think, occupy the chair which my hon. and learned friend, the leader of the Opposition, occupies at the present moment. And, as Sir Leonard Tilley unfolded the scheme of adequate protection as it struck him, as he showed that the Government were determined to carry out fully its pledges made on the hustings in 1878, there was disappointment written on the face of the then leader of the Liberal party. I was one of the humblest of the little propaganda that went about the country in 1878, and the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) was ungracious enough to say: That we went about like a lot of quacks telling the people that we were about to do things that had never come to pass. The Liberal party thought in 1879 that the Government would not dare to carry out these pledges, and my hon. friend from South Oxford has been giving us revelations, or "soi-disant" revelations of what occurred. How Mr. Mackenzie went over to Sir Charles Tupper and said: Were you not going to do so and so if our policy had been different? Why, Sir, I have been assured on the very best authority that Mr. Mackenzie had a speech in his desk, and that the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) had a speech in his desk full of denunciations against Sir John Macdonald's Government for want of faith in not carrying out the policy that they had promised on platform after platform. And I do think, that in those musings, and those rhetorical dreams that bear such excellent fruit, when the leader of the Opposition discourses in golden accents to this House—I cannot but think, that many a happy sentence and many a caustic epigram were evolved that are now wasted and gone; epigrams attacking the Government suggestions that they would give us tariff reform. My hon. friend from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) dealt with the tariff question, my hon. friend from Wellington (Mr. McMullen) also dealt with it; and although my hon. friend from Huron (Mr. McMillan) has not yet spoken on this matter he spoke in anticipation of what was going to be done, and he rather let the cat out of the bag as to what the expectations of his party were, for that he actually complained that certain things were not done in regard to iron which we now find are done in this tariff. I remember reading in Charles Lamb about his school days in the Blue-coat Hospital School, that Coleridge, an exceedingly handsome youth,

when walking out with him, played a prank on a fishwife, and you know that fishwives in London or elsewhere are not the most polite. Coleridge played a prank on the fishwife, and she turned around to maledict him—I cannot exactly say what she said in such polite ears as this Assembly over which you preside, Mr. Speaker, or what she wanted to say—but instead of blasting, she blest the beautiful face of Coleridge when she saw it. And so my hon. friend from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), who certainly is not given to blessing, who deals out his maledictions in all directions and gives vent to his wild and severe opinions upon all and sundry on every possible occasion, has not cursed this tariff; on the contrary, he has given it a grudging benediction. In fact, the only class of persons that the hon. gentleman has never exercised his dreadfully black judgment upon are those who sit behind him; and when he is, so to speak, cursing the Conservative party and all its members, I long sometimes that in a moment, in one short moment of frenzy, he would turn around and, forgetting the bonds that bind him to the party behind him, give us his candid opinion of his friends. Sir, if the hon. gentleman would only do that, I am persuaded that strong as the opinions have been that we have heard as against ourselves, they would prove to be mild compared with those that have been harboured so long in that thunderous bosom against his own party. The hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), however, has told us that there are good points about this tariff. He says that he freely acknowledges that, and my hon. friend from Wellington (Mr. McMullen) says: It is a move in the right direction; and my hon. friend from Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) puts on it the highest eulogy possible, for he says: It is a child of his own. As I, Sir, greatly approve of this tariff as a whole, I am constrained to say that we are about to dispute the claim of fatherhood made by the hon. member for Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). I am not going to waste the time of the House by discussing the question as to whether these gentlemen have any such claim as they make out. They say, and the 'Globe' also speaking of the tariff says: That the good points in it, the reductions, were all suggested by the Liberals. Why, did not some of the Conservatives advocate some of these things? and before ever my hon. friend took up binder twine, and before ever we heard particular changes advocated from the Liberal side of the House—and we have only heard of one or two—the Conservatives in other parts of the country advocated these changes. I shall not discuss that question for it is a small one; it is lighter than dust in the balance compared with the practical question for us to discuss here: Is this or is it not a good tariff? If it is a good tariff, or if it is an approach to a good tariff—just to take the standpoint of my hon. friend for a

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moment—surely the proper thing for us to do is to go into committee and like business men discuss it point after point, and see wherein we can improve it. I stated that the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) was not only inconsistent in his motion but inconsistent in his speech. What did he say? In one part he said, You have the maximum of disturbance with the minimum of relief; in another part he said: You have only made trifling changes. If you have the maximum of disturbance in the tariff, you must have made great inroads on the protected manufacturers; and if so, my friends, the farmers, must have fared pretty well. Now, Sir, I complain a little of what the hon. member for South Oxford said, though, mark you, it was really a eulogy on this tariff; but I complain still more of the fact that his remarks were echoed by a more conscientious man—my hon. friend from North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). I am not constrained to weigh nicely what the hon. member for South Oxford says; because, as Mr. Disraeli said of Lord Salisbury, he is a great master of gibes and flouts and jeers; but my hon. friend from North Norfolk is a man who weighs his words, not merely in the nice balance of the apothecary, but in the balance of the sanctuary; and yet my hon. friend, echoing what was said by the hon. member for South Oxford, says that he does not think that the Government will carry out this tariff. I doubt very much, says the hon. member for South Oxford, if the Government will carry out this tariff; it is so good, it goes so far, it does so much for the farmer. He tries to infect the farmers with that notion. That suggestion is unworthy of this House, and unworthy of the hon. member for South Oxford, and the hon. member for North Norfolk. It is a suggestion that the men who occupy the foremost positions in this country are ready to commit one of the basest, most dastardly, and most treacherous acts possible. And, Sir, it suggests more than that; it suggests that some thirteen or fourteen men would go spontaneously crazy, almost—that, having got themselves once more entrenched in power by appealing to the people, they would turn round and betray and abandon the men who placed them in power, and show themselves damned in the eyes of the historian for all time. Why, Sir, the thing is preposterous. I believe it is not unfair, under these circumstances, that I should ask, how persons with a cross-fishing motion like this intend to legislate? Examine the motion; you cannot get at the kernel of it. One paragraph says one thing to one set of men, and another paragraph another thing to another set. In fact, the hon. member for South Oxford, in one part of his speech, seemed to say to the manufacturers: The Government have gone too far; your friends have betrayed you; you have been wounded in the house of your friends; I have been

abusing you for years like pickpockets. but if you turn to me I will do something for you. But the hon. gentleman could hardly maintain himself in that mood very long, because in a short time he said the Government did not mind throwing over the minor thieves if they could keep the greater ones on their side. I remember that George Lord Littleton says, "love will hope where wisdom would despair." Well, Sir, ambition will hope where reason would despond, and it is quite clear that all this fighting is not at all in the interest of the farmer, or in the interest of the country, but is carried on solely in the hope that the hon. member for South Oxford should once more have his finger in the pie of our finances, and the Reform party should once again be in power. That is the whole object. But we may well ask, and I will ask the country: Suppose they did come into power, what guarantee have we that they would carry out the principles enunciated in this motion? A well known jingle of a popular poet tells us that when the Whigs are out of power they are very noisy, but that

As bees on flowers alighting cease to hum,
So settling into office Whigs grow dumb.

Now, Sir, the present leader of the Reform party used to edit a paper called 'Le Defricheur'; and I need hardly say that he did so with such skill as we would expect from a man of his literary feeling and scholarship. He will remember that in 1864 the Rouges of Lower Canada laid down a platform, that in 1872 that platform was adopted in the very county which, at that time, he represented in the local House, and that he was advocating the various planks of it in his paper. What were those planks? I will not read them all; I will read only the most interesting—only those that remain still new, shining untarnished by wear or tear. One was election of Senators; the third was the reduction of the number of Ministers of the Crown; the fourth, diminution of the Governor General's salary; the fifth, diminution of the number of Government employees; the sixth, reorganization of the militia; the seventh, amelioration of our means of communication in the St. Lawrence; the eighth, opposition to the construction of the Pacific Railway, so long as the North-west is not sufficiently colonized; and the eleventh was—what do you think?—protection to home industries. My hon. and learned friend shakes his head. To borrow a joke that was made by Daniel O'Connell, you will remember, Mr. Speaker.—well versed as you are in all sorts of parliamentary and forensic lore—that when arguing before a jury, and the presiding judge shook his head in dissent from the law that he was expounding, O'Connell said, "Gentlemen, his Lordship shakes his head; but when his Lordship shakes his head, there's nothing in it." My hon. friend entered the House of Commons in 1876 and in 1877, and became Minister of Inland Revenue in Mr. Mackenzie's

Government; but did we ever hear a word of these reforms from the Mackenzie Government while my hon. friend was a member of it? I need hardly tell you that they did not touch the question of the election of Senators; they did not reduce the number of Cabinet Ministers, nor the Governor General's salary, nor the number of public employees, but added \$300,000 a year to the public burdens under that head; they did not reorganize the militia; they had no policy with regard to the St. Lawrence or any other route; and they began to build the Pacific Railway before there were three farmers in the North-west. During all that time my hon. friend never spoke one word in regard to those things that his eloquent pen was dilating upon in 1872.

Mr. LAURIER. If the hon. gentleman will pardon me: my paper was dead in 1872.

Mr. DAVIN. I may be incorrect in saying that he advocated them in 1872 in his paper; but he did advocate them in his paper, and in 1872 in his speeches. I may say this, that it shows a failure of medical and surgical skill on my part, from a literary standpoint, not to know that it was dead, and it is a wonder that it lived even as long as it did. What happened, actually? Going aside a little, and yielding, so to speak, to the spirit of this debate up to the present moment, I ask: What was done for the country during those four years? and what could we expect to be done if they had remained longer in power? I was reading the other day the speech made by the hon. member for South Oxford in 1878, when he was Minister of Finance. It is not necessary for me to inflict a long quotation from it on the House; I do not, as a rule, you know, quote much. But I will say this, that all you have to do is to take up the speech made by the hon. member, when he was Finance Minister in 1878. That speech was one note of despair in regard to doing anything for the North-west or for the Dominion. When Mr. Tilley, afterwards Sir Leonard Tilley, brought in his Budget speech, what did the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) say then? What he did say then shows the value of his criticism on the present budget. He told the manufacturers that they would have competition a hundred times worse, under the tariff of Sir Leonard Tilley, than they had under the former tariff it was to supersede. Not only that, he said they would have the most vehement domestic competition, and he described the ruinous financial evil consequent on the protective tariff of Sir Leonard Tilley. If you go westward, he said, you have a very long stretch of country which for many years, cannot be bridged over by railway, and we are dependent for the means of keeping up communication with the North-west, at best for several years, on the privilege of passing through a foreign country. He had no anticipation then of seeing the completion of

the Canadian Pacific Railway, which, three years later, was completed by the Government of Sir John Macdonald. Such a thing as the feasibility of that enterprise never entered his head; and if the hon. gentleman had continued in office we should have no Pacific Railway to-day, and the North-west would still be an unknown region, an unknown quantity, so far as the Dominion is concerned. Therefore, when he denounces this tariff, when he says it gives the maximum of disturbance and the minimum of relief—when he prophesies all sorts of evil results from the tariff—all we have to do is to remember his doubts at the period to which I refer. The hon. gentleman is a doubter who has never had ground for his doubts. He is worse than Thomas, for Thomas, when he got grounds for belief, believed. He is worse than Cassandra, for she prophesied the truth and was doomed not to be believed. But my hon. friend is not only not believed, but time mocks at his prophesies. Therefore when he tells us this tariff may not be carried out, that fact alone—even if we did not know the men on the Treasury benches; even if we did not know that no rational men could propose the policy which the Minister of Finance has proposed, and then after an election go back on it—the bare fact that it is the hon. member for South Oxford who doubts is sufficient to warrant us in coming to the conclusion, safe and sound, that carried out it will be in every detail. I appeal to my hon. friend from North York (Mr. Mulock), who took an interest—it is true he came late in the day into the field of labour, but late as he came, we acknowledge his exertions and he will have his reward as though he came in at an earlier hour—I appeal to him whether we have not got a good deal. I asked myself, when I began to analyze this tariff, what does the farmer get? First, he gets a reduction of 15 per cent on his implements. You have therefore at present a duty of but 20 per cent on these and with the prospect of cheap iron in the States, I believe it will be found that the competition from there will probably be just as free and just as strong as if the duty had been entirely removed. I will come to the reasons by and by why no rational man could have expected the entire removal of that duty. Then we have lumber free, which is a tremendous boon to the North-west and Manitoba. We had a combine there. We had 20 per cent on lumber, which was paid by every man who built a house. Now, that lumber is free, and that is an immense boon. Not only that, but the laths and tar paper and everything that goes into the building of houses—which, from the standpoint of the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock), is of course a necessary of life, though not what is usually called a necessary of life among political economists—have had the duty entirely taken off. What has been done in the matter of sugar is, I believe, also a great boon to the farmers

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of the North-west. I will not trust myself to discuss that question, but will do what I believe I have never done before in this House. I will read from a newspaper article to strengthen my position. In making this exception in this case, I shall tell the House the reason why. The newspaper is the 'Mail.' It so happens that Mr. Bunting, who used formerly to have a seat in this House, and who manages this paper, is, we all know, an authority on sugar. What he does not know about sugar is not worth knowing. That he is thoroughly posted, I have personal knowledge, because I was once on the editorial staff of that newspaper, before and after Mr. Bunting was connected with it. In this article, Mr. Bunting says that the greatest advantages to the consumer will result from these sugar duties, that yellow refined sugar cannot fail to be cheaper, that the trader will have a great advantage under it; and he goes on to show that a great boon has been conferred on consumers, and that the changes should have an expanding effect on the consumption of sugar during the coming fruit season. I have given these as some of the larger items. There are twenty-seven items in the tariff relating specially to the farmers—tar paper, axle grease, whips, axes, scythes, hay knives, threshers, separators, buckthorn fencing, hubs, and spikes, felloes, etc., and for the cowboys, jiggers, stirrups, saddle trees, cheap Morgan trees, etc., etc., free instead of 10 per cent. So that, Sir, when you add to that what has been done, you already have a set-off to the 20 per cent that remains on the implements and for the half of the old duty that remains on barbed wire. But I go further than that: The farmer, as a rule has a wife, or he ought to have—every man ought to have. Now, Mr. Speaker, I have here a list of fifty odd articles, all touching the domestic life of the farmer. I shall not read this list, but I will say that the duty upon every one has been either lowered or abolished, and that these changes will materially lower the cost of living to the farmer of the North-west. For instance, the hon. member for South Oxford may in future have the consolation of knowing that he is washing his hands in cheaper delf and that when he comes to be buried, he can be buried in a casket that comes in under a lower duty. Then, Sir, when you come to the industrial portion of the community, I have here a list of sixty-six articles, the reduction of duties upon which will cheapen production and will therefore result in a reduction of the cost of living to the farmer of the North-west. And when you put these into the scales, the 20 per cent on implements and $\frac{3}{4}$ -cent per pound that remains on barbed wire, kick the beam. Now, Sir, I come to a point on which I congratulate the Minister of Finance specially. I am not aware whether I can make the claim with certainty, but I think I was the first man in the House to move in the matter of bringing before the

Minister the necessity of allowing books for universities, previously taxed, to come in free. I think the placing of these books on the free list is a great concession to higher education. I shall not now discuss the general question of the duty on books, but in regard to this particular matter, on behalf of those who take an interest in higher education, and those who take an interest in university life, I thank the hon. Minister for the concession. Now, Sir, I may be permitted to ask a question of the Opposition who have been discussing this matter of tariff reform. The whole tone of what they say is this: That a tariff somehow is responsible for any want of prosperity that may exist in a country at the time when that tariff prevails. They cannot deny that such is the tone of their speeches. Yet, in the same breath with which he conveyed this idea, the hon. member for South Oxford will tell you that it is an absurd proposition. And, Sir, it is absurd, it is demonstrably absurd. It is demonstrable that tariffs have nothing whatever to do with what are called commercial crises.

Mr. LAURIER. Hear, hear.

Mr. DAVIN. I do not know whether that is a cheer of assent or a cheer of derision.

Mr. LAURIER. That is a recantation.

Mr. DAVIN. On your part?

Mr. LAURIER. On your part.

Mr. DAVIN. No, I will not say I never recant, but I will say I never have any need of recanting. But, as I pointed out in the earlier part of my remarks, my hon. friend must have recanted.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. DAVIN. If hon. members on the Opposition side agree with it, why then is the argument stated in such a way as to suggest that if there is a low price for wheat, the tariff must be responsible. Take the remark of my hon. friend from Wellington (Mr. McMullen). He would have us believe that when there is a low price for any given commodity such as wheat, the tariff is responsible for that. But if you had absolutely free trade, such as they have in England—or, for I will not discuss the technical point, such as they aim at in England; we should have the same price for wheat. Why then should the hon. gentlemen take the tone they do? Is it for want of something to say, or is it to throw dust in the eyes of simple people? I do not know; but, as I say, it is demonstrable that a tariff has nothing to do with financial crises. Take, for instance, the years between 1874 and 1878. You had depressions during those four years over the whole world. There was depression, stringent and strong, in England, a free trade country. You had depression in Canada. You had depression very severe and drastic in the United States. Well, in the United

States you had the highest tariff ever imposed up to that time in any country; in England you had free trade. My hon. friend from South Oxford talks as if the present depression that has swept over the United States, is due in some way to their bad banking system. But, even bad banking systems, Sir, do not necessarily produce crises. What produces crises, depressions and financial disasters, is over-speculation,—wild speculation. Sir, we have an instance to demonstrate that a good banking system will not save a people from this result of bad speculation, in the crises of 1637 in Holland. The people of Holland at that time went as wild over tulip speculation as ever Englishmen did over the South Sea bubble. No less than thirteen thousand florins was paid for a single bulb. Men went shares in single bulbs; men sold bulbs that did not exist. Men who had not as much as a flower-pot in their possession sold bulbs at fabulous prices, and these the bulbs of tulips, which, while beautiful, are not the most attractive of flowers. After this period of wild speculation the crash came. In Holland at that time they had no paper currency whatever and its banking system had been always noted for its soundness. If our friends contend that any financial depression existing here is due to the tariff, they ought to point out how the tariff has produced these evils of which they complain. Now, Sir, let me say one word about why I think it reasonable that we should be content with the 20 per cent duty upon implements. That reason is this, that, owing to the tariff of 1887 the Finance Minister's hands were tied in regard to iron. I hold, as you know, Sir, that iron ought to be free, as being the raw material of so many things. But, suppose we had as a free trader a Finance Minister, he would have to deal with a very grave question. You had protected these industries and fostered them—how then could he do other than move slowly? Of course, you know my views still further. If I were to protect raw material at all, I would protect it by a bonus pure and simple. The 'Globe' newspaper, which is very able and well written—never so well written as it is at present—discussed this question of a bonus, and it seems to think there is no difference between a bonus protecting a raw material industry and a customs. Let me point out what the difference is. We will suppose that a bonus is sufficient to encourage the manufacture of a given commodity, that it is sufficient to enable the manufacturer to compete with the outside world, that bonus will not affect the international price of the commodity to the consumer.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The Government pays the duty instead of receiving it, that is the difference.

Mr. DAVIN. Is that what the hon. gentleman always contends? The hon. gentle-

man contends in regard to protection that the Government does not receive the duty at all, but that the manufacturer receives it.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Not on the imported articles.

Mr. DAVIN. What would happen would be this: The community would give a certain premium; it would come to the conclusion that it was worth while to give a certain premium to encourage a given industry. Those who deal in that raw material would buy at the international price. I am only contending now, and I am sure the hon. member for Bothwell will agree with me, that there is a radical difference between encouraging an industry by protection in the shape of customs and by protection in the shape of a bonus. There is a complete difference, and I just mention it because, in my view of a tariff, under no circumstances would I ever put such a customs duty on raw material as was placed on iron in 1887; but once it was placed there, the hand of any Finance Minister is more or less tied, he cannot give you the heroic remedy that he might otherwise do, and partly because of such a criticism as the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) makes. That is the kind of criticism that would be made all over the country. The hon. gentleman must know as well as I do that if there is anything to be paid for encouraging an industry under the circumstances the community at large would pay less under a bonus than under a customs protection. However, I merely mention that in passing, to point out that as long as a duty was to be placed on iron it was impossible for the Finance Minister to go further than he has gone in regard to reducing the duty on implements. Now, Sir, I have no fear whatever that the farmers of the North-west, bearing in mind what has been done by this extended reform in our tariff, will not be well content with the reduction on implements, and on those other things that we fought for, from year to year. I remember that in 1888 or 1889 a dinner happened to be given at Regina, when I was going away, and a gentleman spoke at that banquet, whom my hon. friend the Finance Minister heard speak on a Regina platform last year when he was up there. This important question of protection had come up, and this gentleman who stated at the Regina meeting what I may say I had laid down when I was editing the Regina 'Leader' in 1883, that the North-west did not receive directly any benefit from protection, and I took up especially this very question of lumber. At that time the Government was doing a great deal to open up the North-west; they were spending large sums for that work, and Mr. George Brown, whom my hon. friend the Finance Minister heard speak last year, stated at that banquet, that the people of the North-west did not take so contracted a view of the tariff that they could not consider what was for the

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benefit of the whole Dominion of Canada. Sir, I will say this, that any view that stops short of regarding this country as an organic whole, that stops short of regarding it as an organism, just like a human organism, that looks to the benefit of any single member of that organism as against the rest, takes a narrower view than is consistent with even local wisdom, above all, consistent with patriotism to the country in which he happens to live. We must rise above that. As one of our most fascinating writers says, it is not Cape Breton, it is not Nova Scotia, it is not New Brunswick, it is not Quebec, it is not Ontario, it is not Manitoba, it is not British Columbia, it is not the North-west but all these together, the Dominion of Canada, that we must think of when we are considering what is best in a matter of this kind; because you cannot have a tariff for the North-west, you cannot have a tariff for Quebec, you cannot have a tariff for the lower provinces, but you must have a tariff for the whole Dominion. Sir, I believe that under the circumstances this tariff approaches as nearly as possible at the present time to that organic harmony in which, if one member suffers, in the language of the great Apostle, all suffer, and if one member rejoices all rejoice. From that point of view, I feel that this tariff we are discussing here to-day, this tariff that we have been asked to condemn by a motion introduced in a speech which declares that it has some good points, a motion supported by speeches which yet say the tariff has gone a long way in the right direction, a motion supported, also, by a leading paper that has emphatically declared that a good deal has been well done in that tariff—I say, Sir, that tariff is one that it is impossible for me to condemn, as I am asked to do by the motion of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). Speaking as a North-west man, looking at what has been done in the direction of easing the burden upon the farmer, and making living cheaper to him, easing the burden upon the mechanic, and making the domestic life of both classes easier—looking at all that, I say that the tariff placed before us goes beyond what I had anticipated, it goes beyond what I believe the member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) would have dared to attempt if he had been in power, and taking into account not only the interest of any one locality, but the interests of that locality combined with the interests of the Dominion at large, you have here a tariff that is one of the boldest and sagest that has been proposed in my memory, in Canada; it is one of the boldest things that have been done in the history of tariffs—and I recall what has been done by Mr. Gladstone—it is a bold, a sage and a liberal measure, and it will have my undivided support.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). In following the eloquent gentleman from the North-west (Mr. Davin), I beg leave to draw the attention

of the House to some remarks that he has been pleased to make. He is of a different opinion to what he held a few years ago. He appears to have a new policy every time he comes to this House. When he came here at first he did not believe in altering one single article in the tariff; he believed that every article must stand as a part of the whole, and that if one was removed the whole fabric would fall. In 1890 he spoke so strongly in regard to the well-being and prosperity of the farmers up there, that he stated there were no complaints among them. He said they were purchasing everything at as low rates as on the other side of the line. The hon. gentleman does not deny it, and no doubt he remembers it well. He stated in his speech that at a meeting where a large number of farmers were present from Dakota, consulting with some of the farmers in Regina, on comparing prices, it was declared that the farmers of his country received those articles at a cheaper rate than did the farmers south of the line. The following year the hon. gentleman came back again with a different impression, not from conviction, but from force of circumstances. The farmers were oppressed, they were heavily taxed, they were paying actually more for the articles they were purchasing than were the farmers south of the line, and the farmers called a meeting, and demanded that their respected representative should attend, and give an account of himself. In regard to these very articles upon which they got much cheaper prices than did farmers south of the line, the hon. gentleman had to acknowledge, before a large meeting of his constituents, that there were many articles for which the farmers of Manitoba were paying higher than did the farmers south. One article specially mentioned was binding twine, and the hon. gentleman had to promise that he would not do as he did the year before, vote against free binding twine, and last year the hon. gentleman came to this House and made an eloquent speech, and submitted a motion that binding twine be placed on the free list. He also moved that agricultural implements be placed on the free list; also that coal oil be placed on the free list. The hon. gentleman then made an excellent speech in regard to coal oil, but during the long speech he has delivered this afternoon he never made a single reference to that question, which he made the subject of a separate speech last year. The hon. gentleman may think that perhaps he has not so spoken, but I have the very words which the hon. gentleman used in those debates under my hand, and in order to prove them to the hon. gentleman, and to hon. members in the House, and to show that the hon. gentleman is not consistent in the policy he advocates, I intend to present the different views he has entertained on these questions. The hon. gentleman said last year that it was impossible to protect the farm-

ers; that if anybody believed the farmers could be protected he would like to hear them prove it. Let me give his own words, because they are more flowery than mine, and perhaps more to the point, when I am dealing with the hon. gentleman's remarks. The hon. gentleman, speaking on the resolution moved by the hon. member for Compton (Mr. Pope) said, on February 8th, 1893, as recorded on page 465 of 'Hansard':

I have to say on behalf of the great farming country from whence I come that it is difficult indeed to show that we gain by the National policy.

Yet the hon. gentleman comes back this year and holds up the National Policy as a panacea for all the ills of the people of this country, although last year he stated that he could not see that the National Policy ever did any good to the people of the North-west from which he came.

An hon. MEMBER. How did he vote last year?

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). He spoke all right last year, but voted all wrong. The hon. gentleman made his speech from the Liberal standpoint, but he would not for a moment vote against his party, and when the question came up he voted with it. The hon. gentleman further went on to say:

In fact the proposition that you can protect the farmer is a proposition that would seem to me to be a very difficult one to prove.

Now, it appears that during the year that has passed, the hon. gentleman has proved to himself, and has come to this House to give his new experience, that the effect of the National Policy is in a contrary direction. The hon. gentleman further proceeded to say:

Above all other things it is difficult to protect the farmer who is a producer of wheat, and for the reason that he produces a surplus; and the moment he produces a large surplus and has to export it, how are you going to protect him?

Does not the farmer of the North-west produce a large surplus of wheat? Has not that country produced about twelve million bushels last year; and yet the hon. gentleman is willing to stand up as a representative of the North-west and declare that the farmers cannot be protected, and yet he supports a tariff that proposes to levy heavy duties on them, and does not protect them in producing the wheat. Is that the position which a representative of the North-west should take in discussing a question having special reference to the country from which he comes? But the hon. gentleman told us how he could protect the farmers, and gave expression to sound Liberal principles in the following remarks:—

I maintain the only way you can protect the farmer is, not by levying duties on wheat or other things of which he produces a surplus, but the way

to protect him is to give him those articles he has to use on the farm at the lowest prices.

Is not that what the Liberals of this country have been urging, that the tariff on agricultural implements should be taken off, or be made very much lower than it is, that the duty on coal oil should be reduced almost one-half, that the duties on other goods for farmers that go into the North-west to feed the poor people who have gone there to build homes for themselves, should be reduced? But to-day he does not consider any article as coming within the terms "necessaries of life," with the exception of wheat and other food products. How could the hon. gentleman go out on the prairie in the middle of winter without coat or clothes? Such, indeed, are as necessary as the food of the table; nevertheless, under the term "necessaries of life" the hon. gentleman does not include clothing, boots and shoes, and other articles that are as necessary for the existence of a man and his family as the articles consumed as food. But the hon. gentleman stated, two years ago, how cheaply they got articles out there, and I want to read the expressions of his opinion at that time. Speaking on the binding twine question in this House on July 6th, 1891, as recorded at page 1892 of the 'Hansard,' he said:

We have the sons and brothers of these farmers (the hon. gentleman is speaking of the farmers of Canada generally) in the North-west. Is it to be supposed for one moment that if they have given more, as compared with prices in Dakota, for binding twine, I would not have heard a complaint. I have never heard in my constituency one word of complaint as to the prices paid for twine. We have had within a few weeks in Regina, a large number of farmers from Dakota, who were comparing the prices in Dakota and Regina and they declared that in regard to all things the farmers use on the farm and in their business down to the clothes they wear and the food they eat, the farmers in the North-west compare advantageously with those in Dakota. If that be so, why did the cry come from Manitoba and the North-west for two or three years against the excessive duties levied by the Dominion Government on those articles? Why did the farmers send a memorial signed by them to the Government showing the excessive prices paid for agricultural implements and many other articles of necessity, and asking the Government to reduce the duty, so that they might be able to live in the North-west? Why was it that during the election in Winnipeg a large proportion of the Liberal-Conservatives, who always supported the Government heretofore, supported a candidate opposed to the Government, to send him here as a protest? Because the heavy taxes levied upon the goods that they consume, made them so expensive to them. I would ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) to listen to what one of the Regina deputation said last summer to the Minister of Finance, when he visited that city. It is

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron).

the very gentleman whose name the hon. member mentioned. Mr. George Brown, a man, whom he said had stated in a patriotic manner the following:—We know we are a part of the great Dominion, we know we must be subject to taxation in order to meet the expenditure necessary to carry on the affairs of the country, and, although we have to pay high for those things, we are so patriotic that we will continue to assume the burdens, in the interests of the manufacturers of the eastern country. That is what the hon. member (Mr. Davin) said that George Brown had said; but this is what the papers say that he said:

We sell the two great staples, cattle and wheat, in Liverpool. If wheat is low in price, then the only way the farmer can be helped is to enable him to produce cheaply. When the farmer takes a bushel and a peck of wheat to town and this buys only a gallon of oil the conditions are not very good.

Not one single sentence was said to-day by the representative of the North-west country in regard to the burdens in that respect at all. The hon. gentleman was present at the meeting, he heard the expression made use of by Mr. Brown before the Minister of Finance, and yet not one solitary protest came from him to-day in favour of the very people that he represents here. Mr. George Brown went on:

When the farmer has to take a load of wheat to bring back a ton of coal, the conditions are not very good. In a country where coal was \$7.50 a ton, in Winnipeg, and \$9 or \$10 here, the conditions are not good.

Here was a strong Conservative, willing to support and to say every possible word in favour of the Government, but he was so constrained by the circumstances by which he was surrounded, by the conditions of the country, of which he was a citizen, that he was forced to give public expression of his disapprobation of that system which bore so heavily upon the farmers. I could go on still further to show that the gentlemen who support the Government from the North-west do not give us an honest, upright, intelligent view of the condition of the farmers of that country. I know from observation, and from practical experience and information that I get from persons with whom I am acquainted there, that at the present time they deem themselves heavily burdened by this system of protection which has continued for so many years. The hon. member for Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) evidently has not much faith in the Government. He asked them last year to reduce the duty on agricultural implements, on binder twine, on coal oil and several other things, and now he tells us boldly, that he has got more than he anticipated. It shows that he had no confidence in the men who govern this country, when he asked them for certain reductions, and now says that the lim-

ited reductions he has received are far beyond his anticipations. I am sometimes greatly astonished, will I say at the impudence of people—I think that is the only word that comes to me now to express exactly what I mean. Here is this hon. gentleman to-day congratulating the Government for raising the standard of raw sugar from No. 14 to No. 16 Dutch standard, to come in free, which he says will effect a large saving to the consumers. Two years ago, when the duties were reduced on sugar, the Liberal party expressed the opinion then that the standard should be raised to 16, as was the case in the United States, and that hon. gentleman was the very man who spoke against it and voted against it, and now he comes back, with an audacity that I have no words to express, and congratulates the Conservative party for giving what the Liberal party then asked them to do. Mr. Speaker, I have another hon. gentleman to deal with, and I am very glad he is in his seat. I want to deal for a short time with the Controller of Customs, and I hope he will give his attention, because he is a limb of the Government, though he does not belong to the trunk.

Mr. MULOCK. A sort of a mouldering branch.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). He is one of the limbs of the Government. He made statements here the other night that I want to contradict boldly. I wish not only to contradict them, but I wish to disprove them as well. He started out in his speech with a statement which he knew to be false.

Mr. DAVIN. Order.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). I am in perfect order. I know he knew it to be false.

Mr. DAVIN. Mr. Speaker, is it in order to say that an hon. member knew a thing to be false?

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). He knew it to be false, because he could not help knowing it to be false.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). I do not say he lied, but certainly he had a knowledge of it.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman knows very well that he cannot impute any motives to a member of the House in that manner. I think the hon. gentleman is not in order when he made the statement, "knowing it to be false."

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). I made no statement that you can construe into my saying that he lied.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman has not got the right to say that a member of the House made a false statement knowing it to be false.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). He made a statement that he ought to know was false, and I will tell you what it was. He made the statement, that the policy of the Liberal party was commercial union. If he did not know that to be false, he ought to have known it, because it is false. I will challenge him to-day, or I will challenge any member on that side of the House, or in any part of the country, to point out a single individual, or to quote a line or a paragraph wherein the Liberal party have expressed themselves in favour of commercial union. We have expressed ourselves in favour of freer trade with the United States. That is a different thing altogether, but the Controller of Customs went on to say, that the Liberal party wished to place our whole trade question in the hands of the Government at Washington, and that we would lose control of our own affairs. I challenge him again, or I challenge any other man to show one line or one sentence or one expression, made by any Liberal member of this House speaking for the party.

Mr. McNEILL. Do you say, in favour of commercial union?

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). In favour of commercial union.

Mr. McNEILL. I will show you.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). The hon. member for Bruce (Mr. McNeill) might show where some individuals might have expressed themselves.

Mr. McNEILL. Ah. You said any member of the House.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). Any member of the House, as speaking for the party.

Mr. McNEILL. Ah.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). Well now, do you suppose that the party is responsible for the expressions made use of by any one individual in the country? Suppose I charge the Conservative party with being in favour of annexation, and went on to show that one of their number, Mr. Sol White, of Windsor, was in favour of annexation, would that prove that the Conservative party were in favour of it. I hope that, when the Conservatives charge the Liberal party with being responsible for any policy, they will find out first whether the Liberal party has accepted that policy or not. Therefore, the Controller of Customs should know, before he made the charge, that it was false.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Will the hon. member for Bruce (Mr. McNeill) accept that principle?

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). Certainly he will; he cannot help it.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Will the hon. member for Bruce accept the principle that the expressions of any one member of a party

should commit the whole party to a line of policy ?

Mr. McNEILL. What does the hon. gentleman ask ? I did not hear him.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). The hon. member for Prince Edward Island (Mr. Davies) asked : Are you willing to accept as your policy anything that one of the Conservative party may say on the public platform outside : are you an annexationist because Sol White, one of your colleagues, was an annexationist ?

Mr. McNEILL. I may just answer the hon. gentleman in this way: that the Conservative Association of North Bruce passed a resolution to the effect, that no person who was an annexationist could be a member of that association.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Are you willing to accept for your own party the line of argument you try to apply to your opponents ? That is the question.

Mr. McNEILL. My hon. friend is not at all fair. The hon. gentleman who has the floor challenged any member on this side of the House to point to any statement made by any member of the House on his side in favour of commercial union, and I said I could point out such statements. He may not have intended it, but that is what he said. If my hon. friend from Prince Edward Island (Mr. Davies) desires to repudiate the statements made by the hon. gentleman sitting next to him, and if he desires to say that they do not at all represent the views of the party, then the two hon. gentlemen can settle the matter between themselves.

Mr. CHARLTON. May I inquire what statements the hon. gentleman refers to, if he alludes to me ?

Mr. McNEILL. The hon. gentleman who has just spoken is the hon. gentleman I refer to, and I say that I can point out, in speeches made by him, statements in favour of commercial union.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). The hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill) knows very well that I was speaking here in my place, not of individuals at all, but of the policy of the Liberal party ; and I challenged the hon. gentleman to read any line or expression or speech wherein the Liberal party endorsed commercial union. If he can do that, I am willing to hear what he has to say.

Mr. McNEILL. That is not the statement I refer to.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. McNEILL. I am in order. If Mr. Speaker says I am not, I will sit down ; but I have a right to put myself right. I am replying to a certain statement, and that statement only.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron.) Now, Sir.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron).

the hon. Controller of Customs the other day said that we had decried the country, and that the prosperity existing in the country was known and seen of all men. He went on to prove that the country was prosperous, from figures which he said Sir Oliver Mowat had placed before him ; and, holding a report of the Bureau of Industries in his hand, he said : " I am going to prove by figures which are not mine, but which have been placed there by Sir Oliver Mowat and his Government, that hon. gentlemen opposite have been decrying the country." Then he went on to quote figures, and I wish to show the House just how much the hon. gentleman knows of the figures he undertook to quote. He stated that in 1882 the value of the farm property of the province of Ontario, exclusive of buildings, was \$632,000,000, and that in 1892 the value was \$615,000,000, a reduction of only 2½ per cent. " Now," says the hon. gentleman, " there are the figures of Sir Oliver Mowat, and yet these men have been telling you time and time again that the reduction in the value of farm lands in this country has been from 16 to 20 and even 25 per cent, and I leave the matter to be settled among themselves." That statement appeared very nice to those who did not know the facts. When I tell him that in 1882 there were 201,000 farmers in Ontario, and that in 1892 there were 241,000, does he suppose that the 40,000 additional farmers added nothing to the value of the farm lands of the province ? And when I tell him again that, according to the various assessors of the province, there were, in 1882, 19,000,000 acres occupied, and, in 1892, 21,000,000 acres, does he mean to say that the 2,000,000 acres additional brought under settlement added nothing to the value of the land in 1892 ? Need I tell him, either, that there were 1,750,000 acres more cleared land in 1882 than in 1892 ? When we consider that it costs about \$20 an acre to clear land, we have \$35,000,000 added to the value on that account ; and, as the land settled upon between the years 1882 and 1892 is worth at least \$10 an acre, we have an additional value of \$20,000,000 on that account ; and without counting the improvements made on farm lands in the way of drainage, reclaiming wet lands, and in many other ways, we have, in 1892, \$55,000,000 more value than in 1882. Therefore, without taking this increase into account, the value of farm lands in Ontario to-day is \$72,600,000 less than it ought to be, if the lands had maintained the value they had in 1882. To those facts I challenge contradiction. Those gentlemen who should have known the facts, and should, above all others, have represented them to the House in a reasonable and proper way, sought to mislead the House by quoting the two sets of figures, the one in 1882 and one in 1892. But, Sir, the Controller of Customs also went on to show that the farmers were very prosperous. I am

not here to decry the farmers or my country. I am a Canadian; all the interests I have are in Canada; and, as I have often said, Canada to me is first and last. I put the interests of Canada above those of every other country. Speaking of my country, I say there are no five million people in any other country in the world who possess the same energy, industry and intelligence as do Canadians. And there is no country which possesses such great storehouses of wealth of every description. I praise my country, but I condemn the policy by which it is governed. I assert that the policy we have had for the last sixteen years has not been in the interests of the farming community, but has burdened the people by very heavy taxation, when it could not assist them, according to the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin), in any one particular. We are told that, being representative of the farmers, we have no right to find fault with or deplore their condition. Supposing I said to the Controller of Customs that his property was depreciating, and that he was not doing as well in business as he used to do, and suppose he were to corroborate all that I said, would you believe him? You certainly would, and you would believe him before you would me, if I contradicted him. And when I stand in this House and tell you the condition in which the farmers are, and when the farmers substantiate and corroborate and reiterate my words—when, from their own position, knowing their own interests and their own surroundings, they say that their condition is not what it should be, should not that be sufficient to establish the accuracy of my statements? We can give figures to prove that the farmers are not fairly treated under the National Policy. I regretted the other day, when speaking, that I had not the figures which would apply to Canada at the time. I submitted figures to show the condition of the United States under their protective system. I showed how the large capitalists of the country were centralizing themselves exclusively in those states and sections where manufacturing industries were carried on to the detriment of other sections of the country. We are asked sometimes why farm lands are decreasing in value. They are decreasing in value for the same reason that other stocks decrease, because the return from the capital invested is becoming so small that no person will purchase at the high prices they would give when the profits was greater. That is quite natural. Just consider the following statement. According to the census of 1891:—

THE MANUFACTURERS' CONDITION.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|
| The capital invested amounted to..... | \$353,837,000 |
| Value of product | 475,446,000 |
| Cost of raw material..... | 255,983,000 |
| Cost of labour..... | 99,763,000 |
| Number of hands..... | 367,865 |

| | |
|--|---------------|
| Amount of profit after deducting raw material..... | \$219,463,000 |
| Amount of profit, per hand employed... | 596 |
| Average wages paid each hand..... | 272 |
| Net amount of profit, deducting material and wages, per each hand..... | 324 |
| On capital—34 per cent. | |

Just take the other side and contrast the farmer's investment for the year 1892, taken from the report of the Bureau of Industry, with the manufacturer's given above:—

| | |
|--|---------------|
| Capital invested..... | \$979,979,000 |
| Value of products, all the crops of every kind..... | 110,563,000 |
| Live stock sold or killed for sale, either on the farm or to others..... | 32,454,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 143,017,000 |
| | LESS |
| Cost of seed..... | \$12,050,000 |
| Cost of feeding animals sold, and killed and sold..... | 16,000,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 28,050,000 |
| Net proceeds | 114,967,000 |

Now, there are 241,000 farmholders in the country. It would require the labour of another man on an average on each farm, which makes 483,400 hands. Divide the net proceeds by this number of hands, gives the sum of \$238, which is the amount made per hand on the farm, while the average wage for farm labourers was \$253 a year. The owner of the land making out of his investment and labour \$15 less than the labourer that he employed to assist him, while the manufacturer makes \$324 profit on every hand employed by him. In the face of such a statement as that, how can it be argued that this National Policy, inaugurated so many years ago, is in the interests of the farmer. But I am going to put the farmers themselves into the witness-box, for it is sometimes said that politicians misrepresent matters. There is a society in the west called the Grangers, which embrace a very large proportion of the farmers. Of late years the farmers have fallen into the Patrons and other associations of a similar character. Some few weeks ago a Grangers' convention was held at Toronto, consisting of delegates from the various Grange organizations in different parts of the country, and an executive committee was ordered to submit this petition which I held in my hand to the Government. I will read the first paragraph in which they describe their own condition:

That fifteen years experience of a protective trade policy had shown no improvement in the condition of the farmer. Prices on nearly all kinds of farm products have shrunk. Farms have declined in value until many are unsaleable and an enormous mortgage debt has been rolled up upon them, in many cases beyond redemption.

Those are the words of the farmers themselves, who ought to know their own condition, whose delegates made a study of the subject and met at Toronto to talk this matter over, and who gave instructions to a

special committee to put the facts together and petition the Government, impressing upon it the condition of the agricultural community and asking for relief. Will anyone, after that, say that I am decrying the condition of the farmers, when we hear their own voices calling for relief, informing the world that their property has almost become unsaleable, that they are burdened with taxation and cannot meet their obligations, that they have to borrow money on their chattels in order to try and make both ends meet. There is another point. The hon. gentleman took very strange methods to prove the prosperity of the farming community. One was the statement that the rate of interest was reduced. Did you ever, Sir, hear of low interest during good times? I pause for a reply. Look over for the last twenty-five or thirty years in the history of Canada and point out the most prosperous times, when all classes were prosperous. Was money low then? It was high? Why? Because the avenues of trade and commerce, now depressed, were opened up. Every man who had a few dollars to invest or loan could obtain a high interest, because the borrowers could make reasonable profits. When the times became hard, however, the moneys invested were drawn in, and deposited in the banks, and the rate of interest fell. To prove the soundness of the principle I have enunciated, I will quote the Finance Minister who said that when the Government reduced the rate of interest in the Government savings banks, a large number of people took out their money, a few years ago, because they could make more on it than the rate allowed by the Government, and more than they can make now. Those funds, which they thus invested, are now being withdrawn and deposited again in the Government savings banks at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest, because sources of investment are closing in other avenues of trade. You know, Sir, the history of protection. It never was adopted when the people were reasonably prosperous, but always in a period of financial depression. Look at the United States. In 1862, during the great war which disturbed the conditions of the country, protection came in at the back door to offer its assistance to provide money to meet the exigencies of war. But everybody was willing to accept protection, then. To-day, it may be asked: Why do they continue protection? It is easier by far to introduce protection than to get rid of it. When the manufacturers in that country found they could make money out of the protective system, they grasped the United States by the throat and prevented the people repealing these high duties. Do you suppose to-day that the people are to have their way through the Wilson Bill? Had the people's demands been listened to there would have been great reductions. Two years ago the people pronounced in favour of such a policy. But now

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron).

we find that the Wilson Bill is to be almost wholly a fizzle, because the manufacturers have taken the representatives by the throat, and, by means of the powerful influence they wield through the capital they have accumulated under the protective system, they have induced a number of the representatives and Senators to prevent the passing of such a Bill as the people demanded. Protection confers upon the manufacturers great privileges. It concentrates capital in the hands of a few, and these few will spend their capital like water in order to place in the legislature members who will carry out their behests. It was said yesterday, Mr. Speaker, that not one single word of fault was found with this revision of the tariff. Why should we find fault with the revision of the tariff so far as it has gone? We have been fighting for it for years, and at last we have driven the Government to bay. It was a case of "Hands up or your life," in the language of the Texan highway robber. The Government knew they must obey or lose their political life. But they hold their life only until they meet the electors, and then their existence will come to an end. It was a case of the burning prairie around them, the flame rushing towards them. To save themselves, they have tried to get out of the track of the fire by burning the prairie around them. But the fire of public opinion is sweeping on, made broader and fiercer by the knowledge of injury done and injustice wrought by many years of high taxation. The result will be that this Government will be swept away and more honest and capable men placed in their position. Sir, you remember a few years ago, gentlemen on the other side, including the Finance Minister, denounced the idea that protection increased the price of manufactured products. We were told we were getting these articles as cheap as if there was no protection at all. But, some two or three years ago, possibly in a moment of weakness, the hon. gentleman placed before this House a proposal which destroyed the platform on which his party had formerly stood. When he reduced the duty on sugar, he declared that he had lightened the burdens of the people: he said that he had, with one stroke of the pen, made such a change as involved the reduction of taxes to the people of this country by three and a half millions of dollars. How could he remove that burden unless that burden had previously existed? For twelve long years we had stood here demanding that taxation should be removed and the consumer relieved of this burden which he had borne in the interests of the refiner. What advantage has the refiner to-day that the refiner did not ten years ago enjoy? Has he not the same machinery in the factory? Does he not get his raw material on equally good terms? Does he not have the benefit of the same class of labour? Hon. gentlemen, at that time, declared that

they had taken three and a half millions from the burdens of the people, and now they can no longer argue on hustings and on platforms that the duty upon these articles is not a burden upon the people. The hon. Finance Minister gave himself completely away the other day by admitting that, in the initial stage of protection, manufacturers do take advantage of the duty. That is the first acknowledgment, as far as I know, that the hon. gentleman has made along that line, but he was forced to make it.

An hon. MEMBER. He was getting new life.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). Certainly; how could he help it with so much light being thrown upon the subject by this side. Can a man stand in the blaze of the sun's rays without being heated by them? Can gentlemen opposite stand in the blaze of arguments and philosophical discussion directed at them from this side without being, to some extent, enlightened? Surely they are not in the position of having their minds completely closed against everything of a philosophical character on these economic questions. Therefore, even if we did not get to the other side of the House, we have at least influenced those who are there, and thus have secured benefits which the people could not otherwise have gained. We have cultivated public opinion and brought its force and influence to bear upon gentlemen opposite until they were compelled to yield. Do you remember how, last year, the hon. member for Frontenac (Mr. Calvin) stood in his place and condemned the National Policy? Do you remember how the hon. member for Compton (Mr. Pope) stood up in his place and condemned the National Policy? Do you remember how the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin), who has accepted the National Policy to-day, denounced it in strong terms last year, and said that it did not protect the farmers? Do you remember when the hon. member for Richmond and Wolfe (Mr. Cleveland) condemned the National Policy last year? Do you remember how the hon. member for East Durham (Mr. Craig) rose in his place last year and declared that the time had come when there must be a change? And do you remember when another gentleman, at one time one of the leading men of the Conservative party, a man who, when he entered this House, was looked upon as the brains of the party, was looked upon as the coming premier of the country, the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), unable to endure any longer in silence the injury that was being done to the country, was constrained, from conscientious conviction to go back on his party? And do you know that this gentleman is the representative of a large party among the electors? The Government will be defeated through a combina-

tion of the circumstances, through the disaffection among their own friends, through the powerful influence of Mr. McCarthy and his friends, and also by the powerful association of farmers who have been compelled to organize to protect themselves against a policy onerous and unjust, and through the strong and philosophical discussion of these questions through the country by the Liberal party. Then the Government will lose its grasp upon power in this country, and men will be put there who are better able to discharge the duties required of them than those who have held the position for the last fifteen years. I know we are told that we have not found fault with the changes. For my part, I congratulate the country upon the changes that have been made; I congratulate the consumers upon the changes that have been made. The only thing I am sorry for is that the Government did not go further and make even greater changes, that I might congratulate the country still more upon the success achieved by the Liberal party, and while I congratulate the people at large, I congratulate the Liberal party as well upon the noble victory they have won by their continued and steadfast advocacy of the truth. While I am pleased that these reductions have been made, it must not be forgotten that, although the farmers and consumers generally will be benefited by these reductions, the manufacturers have a corresponding benefit also. Therefore, the consumers have every right to demand that the Government shall go further and give them still greater relief. Let me point out, Mr. Speaker, a few things I am dissatisfied about. I am dissatisfied that the Government has not seen fit to reduce the duties upon cotton more than they have done. Those duties range from 22½ to 32½ per cent. Raw cotton comes to the manufacturer free of duty. The duty as reduced gives the manufacturers a profit equal to one-fifth to one-third of the entire product.

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

After Recess.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). Mr. Speaker, when you left the Chair at six o'clock, I was about to point out that the cotton manufacturers of this country had received at the hands of the Government great care and protection during the last number of years at the expense of the consumers of cotton goods in this country. I was going on to show that the Finance Minister, although he was constrained by public opinion to reduce the protective duties on cotton manufactures in this country, will find that in the opinion of the people of this country the reduction has not been sufficient, and they will demand at the hands of the Government in power a larger

reduction in their interest than they have made. I believe that the cotton manufacturers of this country are still over-protected. It will be remembered that a few years ago two or three of the present large cotton industries bought up the smaller ones, and two very important and strong institutions have been established—I mean the Dominion Cotton Company and the Montreal Cotton Company. The Dominion Cotton Company a few years ago had such large dividends to give to the stockholders that they were almost ashamed to let the public see from any published document what their dividends were, and they contrived a method by which the public, to a large extent, was to be kept in the dark. They gave to each stockholder a full share of \$100 for the small sum of \$10, and by so doing increased the capital stock of the company just double what it was previous to that. Now, when I tell you that on that watered stock, a stock watered from 110 to 200, the quotations of the value of the stock, as published in the 'Empire' of Saturday last, were 122 asked by the stockholders and 119 offered by those who wished to purchase, you will be enabled to see at once that the profits must be very large in connection with the cotton industries when their stock sells at such an extraordinary figure. But the quotations in connection with the Montreal Cotton Company stand still higher; the quotation last Saturday was 135 asked, and 125 offered. Now, to my mind large profits must be derived from institutions whose stock is worth so much in the Canadian market; there must be larger dividends than there should be, and those dividends come from the extraordinary profits which these establishments are enabled to withdraw from the people. You know just as well as I do that the cotton manufacturers of this country have entered into a combine, and they regulate the entire market of Canada by either dismissing their men for a certain number of days, or weeks, or months, as the case may be, so that the market is relieved by lessening the product; or, on the other hand, they send a large proportion of their cottons away to be sold in foreign countries in competition with the cotton of other countries. In these ways, as soon as the market is eased in this country, they will do in future as they have done in the past, put up the price of cotton to the Canadian consumer. Therefore, there is an injustice done to the Canadian consumers, who, in the first place, have to pay these large profits on what they purchase here, and then they have to pay enough to make up for the deficiency of the profits which the manufacturers realize in sending their cotton to foreign countries to be sold in competition with foreign cottons. Therefore, I am in a position to say to-night that I am not pleased, and I do not think that a large proportion of the people of this country are pleased with the reductions on cottons. Although they may be gratified that so much has been taken off their shoulders,

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they are not satisfied with the present reduction, and will look forward to a greater reduction as soon as they have an opportunity of expressing themselves at the polls. Now, Sir, according to the very best authorities, basing my calculation upon the output of the Dominion Cotton Company, so much per spindle, I find that the total output of the cotton factories in this country is about \$14,000,000. Now, the duties up to the present time have given them power to charge on certain lines 30 and 35 per cent higher on their product than they would otherwise charge. Now, 30 per cent upon \$14,000,000 make about \$3,600,000, which the consumers of this country pay more than they would pay if the duty was removed, or one-third more than they would pay if the duty were brought down to 20 per cent, or one-half more than they would pay if the duty was brought down to 15 per cent, by reason of the increased prices placed upon this cotton and sold to the consumers of Canada. In addition to that they have to pay about \$1,200,000 duty on imported cottons. Not only that, but when we add the duty to the original price of the cotton, it becomes part and parcel of the original cost to the importer, and he places his percentage, 35 or 40 per cent, as the case may be, upon it, and thus again increases the cost. So when you add that to the increased prices paid to the manufacturers of cotton in this country, the consumers of Canada pay about \$4,000,000 in order to protect and sustain these men. Therefore I contend that the Government should deal more liberally with the consumers and a little less liberally with the manufacturers. But, of course, it was evident that they expected more influence and power, and money, from the manufacturing industries than they could expect from the poor farmers, who have no money to give and not much influence, comparatively, to wield during election times. I am not satisfied with the reduction in woollens. A large number of our people in a country like this with an inclement climate, have to purchase woollens to a very great extent, and therefore the bulk of their expenditure for clothing is for woollen goods. Notwithstanding that fact, we find the Government are not willing to reduce the duties below 25 per cent and 35 per cent on those articles. I speak in the name of the consumers, and find fault that the reduction has not been greater and the interests of the consumers have not been more closely looked after. Then, again, I am not satisfied with the reduction in the duty on agricultural implements, and hon. gentlemen opposite will find that the farmers will not be satisfied. When you consider that the manufacturers obtain a corresponding advantage in the shape of a reduction in a large portion of the material brought in and used as raw material, it is obvious that the reduction to the farmers, although large, is not so large as it should be. Under the present system the duties on agricultural machinery of all kinds should be

brought down to 15 per cent. I am glad of one change that has occurred, and it means a great victory gained by the Liberal party. We have been for years contending that the system of specific duties was unjust and indefensible, that it imposed heavier duties on the poorer people on account of the fact that the materials used by the rich people are those on which the specific duties are not so high. From year to year we impressed that fact on the Government and the country until we created a feeling in this House and outside of it that brought sufficient influence to bear on the Government to cause them to largely abandon specific duties. I remember year after year it was said: Why do you oppose specific duties? There are specific duties imposed in France, Germany, Belgium, and the United States, and therefore we are perfectly justified in placing specific duties on articles here, and it is much better than the ad valorem system. But now the Government have come to see that the country demands at their hands a change, and I am very glad that the change has come about. It will prove a relief to consumers, especially to those who consume the cheaper goods. We were told by the Finance Minister the other day, and he will remember it well, that this is a free country. I doubted it a little, but he said it was so. He said: Has not this policy been endorsed by the people consecutively at four elections; and if the policy was opposed to the public interests, why did not the people then defeat the party who framed it, and placed it on the statute-book? The answer is plain, and I am sure it will occur to hon. gentlemen opposite. In 1882, the first time the Conservative party went to the country after the National Policy was inaugurated, they did not appeal to the people on the basis of that policy. They know that as well as it is possible for me to tell them. In 1882 they passed the iniquitous Gerrymander Act, in respect of which one of their own men who supported it, has recanted, and announced publicly that it was passed for the purpose of legislating into office men by Act of Parliament rather than by the voice of the people. This country, hon. gentlemen are aware, was divided in such a manner that the Grits were hived and had no power of expressing themselves at the polls, and in 1882 I know that my own county was carved out for the purpose of meeting the requirements of the Conservative party. Sir John Macdonald, who introduced the Bill, did not divide Huron; the Conservatives in that county divided it, and sent a deputation from the county to press that division on the Premier, and the very division they suggested was the division that was carried out, and that was for political purposes. Therefore, the Government did not go before the same jury in 1882 as in 1878, and consequently the verdict of the people was thwarted by the legislation of the Tory party. A few years subsequently a new general election took place. Did the

Tory party go before the people on a square issue? They passed the iniquitous Franchise Act for the purpose of keeping Liberal voters off the list and placing their own friends on the list, and by appointing friendly revising officers, securing every possible advantage, and thus in 1887 the people at the general elections were again handicapped, notwithstanding the statement made the other day by the Finance Minister that we are a free people. But passing on we come to the general elections in 1891. Did the Conservatives go before the people on the merits of the National Policy? Not at all. Sir John Macdonald issued a proclamation that he was about to dissolve Parliament. For what purpose? That the Government was about negotiating a reciprocity treaty with the United States, and he wanted a Parliament fresh from the people in order to ratify the treaty that he was about to make between the two countries. Hon. gentlemen opposite who belong to the Maritime Provinces are very well aware that the Government did not go before the people of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick on the question of the National Policy. They will remember that at the cross-roads and on the fences there were placards calling on the people to vote for reciprocity and the Conservative party, leading the people to suppose the Government were about to negotiate the treaty with the United States, and desired the support of the people to carry out that treaty. So the hands of the people have been wholly and entirely tied by the legislative Acts of the Government in power. There is one fact that will prove the contention I put forward. In this House to-day from Ontario there are fifty-nine Conservatives and only thirty-three Liberal members. In that connection I might state that the returns for the last general election corrected by the returns of the by-elections show that 182,000 Liberal votes were polled and 186,000 Conservative votes. If our hands were not tied, and if we had the same power to manifest our influence at the polls as the Conservatives possessed, we would have about 45 members and the Liberal-Conservatives 46 or 47. That would be the position of parties as regards Ontario; but instead of those numbers we have thirty-three and hon. gentlemen opposite fifty-nine. Can any one explain on what principle this condition was brought about, except that we were unfairly treated in the constituencies. Another fact is, that for 3,159 Conservative votes polled they have a member in the House. Why should we have not a member for a like number of votes? The Liberals have a member for every 5,550 Liberal votes polled. These facts prove to a demonstration that the Liberal party has been so gerrymandered and so affected by the legislation of the Government that we have not had the power to exercise our proper influence at the polls, and that is the explanation of the fact that the hon. gentlemen opposite are in office to-day. The Finance Min-

ister the other day endeavoured to justify high tariffs of this country by quoting the high tariffs of other countries. That is the same as a boy justifying his error by saying that other boys commit the same offence. It is no justification for having a high tariff in Canada that the United States have a high tariff. We know the effects of the high tariff in the United States on the farmers. We have been told by hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House that the farmers across the border are ten times worse off than our farmers. They have had a high protective tariff in the United States for about thirty years, and consequently their farmers and labourers are in a worse condition than Canadians of the same class. We have only a half that period of protection in this country, but let the high tariff go on for another fifteen years in Canada and we will be in a far worse condition than we are at the present time. In all the speeches that have been made on the National Policy by hon. gentlemen opposite I have never heard the statement made that protection has increased the wages of the labouring classes of this country. As I understand that a large number of gentlemen on the other side have yet to speak on this question, I hope they will be prepared with figures to show that the labouring classes have been benefited at all by the operation of the National Policy. I find on looking over the average wages of farm labourers in Ontario that the average from 1882 to 1892 was \$161 a year, with board, and last year it was down to \$156, or \$5 lower. I will give you a sample of the increase of wages under free trade in England, and no protective country in the world can show anything like it. Under free trade in England the wages of farm and other labourers went up as follows: The wages of miners under free trade went up 50 per cent; factory hands, 20 to 30 per cent; carpenters, 63 per cent; masons, 47 per cent; bricklayers, 65 per cent; seamen, in Bristol, 66 per cent, in Glasgow, 55 per cent, in Liverpool, 25 to 70 per cent; unskilled labourers, 70 to 90 per cent, and the wages of farm labourers, 60 per cent. Can you show any protective country in the world where the wages of the different classes of the community have increased so rapidly as under the free trade policy of England? I see from the 'Globe' of to-day that there is a strike among the weavers down in the Maritime Provinces. It says:

The weavers of the Halifax cotton factory went on strike yesterday on account of a notice of a 10 per cent reduction in wages to take effect from April. The manager's version is: That about 110 weavers in the factory went out in consequence of a reduction of wages in some lines of goods. They were notified last week that a reduction would take place.

Here we are protecting industries in this country, up to 20 and 30 per cent, and

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sometimes to the tune of 40 and 50 per cent, and yet we find that the labourers are thrown out of employment or wages reduced in one of the hardest seasons of the year, when we know that the stocks of these companies are quoted in the different newspapers at from 120 to 135 per cent. If we are satisfied to cater to the interest of the manufacturers and against the consumers, it is time that the consumers should understand what position the Government takes. I want to say a few words on the iron tariff. I am not satisfied about that. The pruning-knife was applied to the iron duties, but, in my opinion, it was not inserted deep enough. The Minister of Finance stated the other day that we were on the eve of a great production of iron. His speech was almost as rosy and as hopeful as the speech of Sir Charles Tupper in 1887, when he stated that within the coming four years not less than 25,000 people would be engaged in the iron industries in Canada; but these four or five years have passed and gone, and there has been very little increase in the production of pig iron up to this last year. We were only producing 20,000 or 25,000 tons up to last year, when I am glad to say that the production increased to 48,000 tons. But how much do the Canadian people pay for this production? For this 48,000 tons we pay \$96,000 of a bounty. For the duty on the imported iron we pay \$253,000, and the increase of price, owing to the consumer of the home product by reason of the duty, was \$132,000, making a total of \$540,000, which it cost the Canadian people for the production of 48,000 tons of pig iron. Now, the cost of production in Canada of pig iron this last year was \$11.85 per ton, and it has cost the people of this country \$11.25 per ton to protect it. In view of that incontrovertible fact, I ask any intelligent man if we do not pay too high a price for the production of pig iron in this country. I am sure that the people of this country will not be satisfied to have pig iron protected as it is with \$4 a ton duty and \$2 a ton bounty to be paid out of their hard earnings. Again, there is an arrangement made to reduce the duty somewhat on puddled bar, which, I understand, is one degree higher in fineness than pig iron. But you will remember, Mr. Speaker, that while the Government proposes to reduce the duty from \$9 a ton to \$5 a ton, they propose also to give this \$2 a ton bounty for five years. There is hardly an article of the farmers' implements that is not composed largely of iron; it is the raw material of their industry, and they demand of Parliament that some greater reduction of duty shall be made in the tariff on this article. Mr. Speaker, I now come to another question and I hope that the hon. member from Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) will be here to assist me. I ask why did not the Government make some reduction in the extraordinary duty on coal

oil, which is now about 100 per cent, and in some cases over 100 per cent, if you include the duty on the barrel. I cannot conceive why any industry that is suitable to our country, should need a protective duty of 100 or 120 per cent. If the industry requires that high protection, it is certainly not adapted to this country, and we are only keeping it up at the expense of the consumers. Coal oil is an absolute necessity to every householder in this country, especially to the farmers, labourers of all classes, because in cities and towns, gas or electric light is the means of illuminating, and the richer people are not extensive users of coal oil. Therefore the poorer people of the country are compelled to bear this heavy burden of the coal oil tax. I will prove to you that it falls on their shoulders. Last year we imported of coal oil 5,980,000 gallons. The original cost of that was \$437,692; the duty we paid was \$430,565. The average price of the best American coal oil was 7½ cents per gallon, including the duty on the barrel, or without the barrel, duty was 6 4-9 cents net. Now, that duty of \$430,000 which we paid went into the exchequer, and that is all right enough; But we paid \$172,226 as profit to those who handle that oil. Thus, we paid in duty and profit \$602,791. Now, the Finance Minister says that he can get Canadian oil at from 9 to 11 cents per gallon in Petrolea, and that the oil men do not take advantage of the duty. A coal oil refiner told me last year that, on the best Canadian oil, they took advantage of the duty, and that they manufactured 2,000,000 gallons of the best No. 1 Canadian Water White, on which the rate of duty would enable the manufacturer to charge \$144,000 extra by reason of that duty, and that they manufactured 8,000,000 gallons of No. 2 inferior oil, on which they take the advantage of at least 3 cents a gallon, on account of the duty, which would come to \$240,000. The duty and extra profits on coal oil costs the Canadian consumers \$986,791, of which \$430,565 goes to the Government, and \$556,236 goes into the pockets of those who deal in oil—the manufacturer and the middleman. In view of these facts, I hold that it is the duty of the Government to relieve the consumers of this burden. The hon. Finance Minister said that they wanted some revenue. Well, I can point out a way in which revenue can be obtained, and with greater facility, and with greater advantage to the consumers. We often hear members on the other side speaking of free tea and free coffee, and a free breakfast table. I am sometimes nauseated when I hear such stuff. Is not tea a legitimate article of taxation? Why should we make tea free any more than any other article? Will any hon. gentleman on the other side tell me that? We import tea from foreign countries, and every person in this country, both the poor and the rich, uses tea; but every person does not use coal oil. Therefore, with

a reasonable duty, say 7 per cent, put on tea, which would be equal to 3 cents on coal oil, the consumer would be relieved to a great extent, and the Finance Minister would have more revenue in the exchequer. Now, I am coming to another article in which I am interested; that is, an article produced in the county from which I come, and I want the Finance Minister specially to note what I have to say. The salt interests of this country chiefly belong to the county of Huron. I understand that salt is placed on the free list, and that our salt-makers have now to compete with the American salt-makers of Michigan and Syracuse. I am glad to say that our salt-makers are perfectly willing to compete, provided they are placed upon a basis of equality with the American salt-makers. But, while the Finance Minister has not interfered with the oil industry in the southern portion of the western peninsula, he has placed on the free list the salt manufactured in the county of Huron, without making any corresponding reduction in any raw material used in the manufacture of salt. The salt-makers use for fuel bituminous coal, on which they are obliged to pay a duty of 60 cents per ton; and now what they ask the Government is this: If you place salt on the free list, be kind enough to place the coal that we use in the manufacture of the salt, also on the free list. The duty of 60 cents a ton is equal to 5 cents a barrel on all the salt produced; and, thus handicapped, our salt manufacturers are not able to compete with the salt-makers of Michigan, who use the refuse of saw-mills as fuel, nor with the salt-makers of Syracuse, who have coal free of duty. I would like the Finance Minister, in all earnestness to consider this matter. I am sorry the Minister of Militia is not in his place. He represents the West Riding of the county of Huron, and he will be held responsible for this, as sure as his name is what it is. I have a letter from one of the principal towns in his riding, written by an officer of the Salt Association, who is one of the strongest Conservatives in that town, in which letter he condemns in strong terms the action of the Government in placing salt on the free list without granting any corresponding reduction in the duty on the fuel the makers have to use. It is the duty of the representative of that riding to stand by its interests. He has stood by the interests of the county of Lambton, but he has forgotten the interests of his own county; and the salt men have to write to outsiders, representing other sections of the county, to get this matter brought to the attention of the Government. I will read a portion of this letter, which is headed, "The Canadian Salt Association," and is dated, "Clinton, March 28th, 1894":

Salt on the free list. Bituminous coal left at 60 cents per ton. This is a piece of the most damnable robbery—I use the language advisedly—ever performed politically. If it be urged that coal dust is free, we don't want it; we have no use for it. We

used all last year lump coal. The dust is dust, and valueless. We don't want their protection. Give us free coal, and we will compete with the Americans.

That is a good Canadian sentiment. These men say, give us a fair field; we want no favour. Is it not the duty of the Government to attend to the demand of that large interest, in which tens of thousands of dollars are invested? For years past it was crippled by the introduction of free salt from England and other countries. And now it is crippled because the same advantage is not given to it that is given to other industries whose product is placed on the free list. For instance, barbed wire is reduced three-quarters of a cent a pound, but the raw material from which barbed wire is made is reduced five-ninths of a cent per pound. Agricultural implements are reduced on one side, but the manufacturer gets a corresponding reduction on his raw material on the other side. But salt is placed on the free list without any corresponding reduction being granted on the raw material used in that industry. Now, I ask the Government, in the name of this large industry, in the name of right and justice, to place these men on a proper footing by removing the duty on coal. Does that duty help any person? Does it force Nova Scotia bituminous coal into the county of Huron? Not at all. If the Government do not wish to put all bituminous coal on the free list, let them at least put on the free list such coal as is imported for use in the salt wells. It is only fair to these men, who are striving to meet competition in the open market to enable them to do so on just and equitable terms. I ask the Government to do just and right with that struggling industry. I will draw my remarks to a close. I am sure that the country will be, to a certain extent, glad that such reductions have taken place. They are a part of the burden removed, but the people are not satisfied with the little that has been removed. They believe that the manufacturers have still too great protection, and that the country is not receiving what it should. But this is the first instalment, and if the Government do not, before the next general election, pay the balance due, the country will put men in power who will do what is right and just to develop the interests of the country.

Mr. McINERNEY. In entering the debate at this late stage, I do so without the faintest presumption that anything I may say will tend, in any material degree, to elucidate the question now under discussion, but rather impressed with the idea that as many members of this House as possible, and above all as many members of this House as have never yet put themselves on record, should at as early a date as possible declare their views on the great principles underlying the resolutions introduced by the Minister of

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron).

Finance, and the principles underlying the amendment thereto proposed by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). Now, I believe that the question for discussions at this stage—what is commonly known as the Budget—allows, and happily allows, as far as some gentlemen of the Opposition are concerned, a person to go very far afield. It gives one a sort of roving commission by which he can trace the records of the different parties, from the time of their inception, in this country, and follow them down through the history of their politics, fiscal and otherwise. It gives us—happily for members of the Opposition—great scope for discussion in that particular. Well, until the gentleman who has just taken his seat, addressed the House, I had not heard very much from hon. gentlemen of the Opposition touching the principles and the question really at issue between us. I have heard very little on those principles; I have heard very little with regard to the details which spring incidentally from those principles. But I have heard much and the House has heard much, ably and eloquently expressed by able men—some of the ablest men of this country—on questions really extraneous to the issue now before us. We have heard much on such questions as the question of reciprocity, the question of free trade, the question of blue ruin and its consideration, the question of extravagance of this Government, the question of combines and lastly we have heard them dilate, as they know how, having had much practice in that particular and that being particularly and almost exclusively their cry throughout the country—we have heard them dilate particularly on the extravagance and scandals of this Government. Why, Mr. Speaker, the party of my hon. friends live on scandals and like the worm, it takes its colour from what it feeds on. But not content with speaking on reciprocity, and on these questions I have alluded to, some of the hon. gentlemen—particularly the hon. member for South Grey (Mr. Landerkin), and the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright)—even went so far as to roam into the fields of poetry, and the way in which they quoted, parodied and misapplied Shakespeare was sufficient, in my mind, to make the bones of the great bard of Avon turn in their grave. Why they were altogether unaware, they seemed to pass by the appeal written on the stone slab above the dust of that great man—and they were not afraid to “move his bones.” Now, the hon. member for South Grey treated us to a very extensive quotation—a misapplication of a parody of a certain scene in Julius Caesar, by which he wished to illustrate a certain conspiracy, which he thought took place, not very long ago, in this country. Well, I think, if we on our part wished to talk about conspiracy and the fall of leaders, while he may say we lost our Caesar, we might retort that they lost their Alexander.

And I have heard it said that there was some conspiracy, in which perhaps the hon. member for South Grey may have taken some part, as he was in the Liberal party and in the House at that time. But the hon. member for South Grey does not impress me as very much of a conspirator. He has not the bearing or the air of a Cassius, but there is another character in Shakespeare—the one to which the leader of the Opposition likes from time to time to refer—that appears to me to suit most admirably the hon. gentleman who represents South Grey in this House. If he were among the Merry Wives of Windsor, he would fill a very big basket, and with the hon. member for Wellington (Mr. McMullen), as the sleek and slim Prince Hal, would make merry nights in the streets of the Capital. Now, the different speakers have spoken at various times of reciprocity. That is a subject which interests me to a considerable extent, and a subject on which I will admit I have had something to say in the past.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Hear, hear.

Mr. McINERNEY. My hon. friend says "hear, hear," but he and his friends are hardly willing to admit that they had something to say on it in the past. They seek to conceal that part of their political history. In speaking of reciprocity, I have not read aright the declarations in Parliament of the hon. leaders of the party to which I belong, if I have not come to the conclusion that the Conservative party is also in favour of whatever measure of reciprocity with the United States can be obtained, consistent with our honour, with protection to our industries, and the saving of the interests and rights of the people of this country. But this question of reciprocity has a history. To hear hon. gentlemen opposite speak on it, one who was not at all acquainted with its history, might take it for granted that if they only were in power, if they only possessed the seals of office, they could at a moment's warning at once satisfy the powers at Washington and induce them to pull down the tariff walls, "the Chinese walls" as they are pleased to call them, and bring about at once a treaty of unrestricted reciprocity. This is what these gentlemen have told the country, and they have told it either with a knowledge of the history of the question or in duplicity. I am prone to believe, from the high idea I have of the character of the leaders of the Opposition in this House, that they did it rather in ignorance of the history of this question than from any other motives. They really believed, I know, for several years that, if they were returned to power, they could so impress the governing power at Washington as to bring about a treaty of reciprocity in the best interests of this country. Sir, what is the history of this question and its treatment. We had a reciprocity

treaty from 1854 to 1866. The merits of that treaty and the results that flowed from it I will discuss by and by. But, Sir, after 1866 that treaty was brought to an end. It was brought to an end at that time, not on the part of the people of Canada, but on the part of the people of the neighbouring republic. Our neighbours came to the conclusion that it was in their interest to have that treaty in force no longer. But, above all things, I claim this—I claim it fairly before the people of this country, I claim it fearlessly in this House—that the sentiment that, above all others, actuated the people of the United States in the abrogation of that treaty, was a sentiment of unfriendliness to the people of this country was an attempt, continued from that day to this, to force the hands of the people of this country in such a way as to drive them into political union with the republic which lies to the south of us. That, Sir, I believe was the idea in the minds of the American people in 1866, when the Reciprocity Treaty of 1864 was abrogated. But, Sir, it must be remembered that in 1866, I think, immediately after the abrogation of the treaty, Hon. Alexander Galt, afterwards Sir Alexander Galt, and Mr. Howland, accompanied by delegates, both from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, went to Washington for the purpose of endeavouring to bring about a reciprocity treaty. But in their negotiation they failed. Then, Sir, in 1869, three years afterwards, Sir John Rose went to Washington in a like manner to enter into negotiations for a reciprocity treaty; and he failed. In 1874, while hon. gentlemen who are now in Opposition were in power, they sent one of the ablest men that ever belonged to their party, Hon. George Brown, to Washington to endeavour to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity. The offer he made was very broad and very generous, and drew from the people of Canada many complaints. But Mr. Brown failed in his endeavour. Now, Sir, I think it would be wise to recall at the present time the previous utterances of hon. gentlemen now in Opposition. While hon. gentlemen may say in this House that reciprocity does not mean unrestricted reciprocity, this was their main battle-cry, and was written on their banners in 1891. Though they may say they have forsaken that policy and gone back on it, I say that in every school-house in the country, when an electoral campaign is on hand, these gentlemen still proclaim the glorious results which they say will flow from unrestricted reciprocity. Now what was the proposal of Hon. George Brown in 1874? He was sent to Washington by the Liberal party on a mission of reciprocity. The proposal he made was a very wide and generous one; it was of such a liberal character that it called forth some unfavourable comment from the press in Canada. The following is a summary of the propositions, and, in order that I may not be accused of quoting from documents too unfavourable

to gentlemen on the other side, I will say that this is taken from the St. John 'Daily Telegraph,' one of their principal organs in the Maritime Provinces :

The proposition was that for 21 years there should be a free exchange in animals and their products, in the products of the farm, the forest, the mine, and the sea. In addition the following articles were to be struck from the dutiable list of both countries: agricultural implements, axles, boots and shoes, cottons, furniture, all kinds of vehicles, iron and ironware, lead, leather, machines, paper, type, presses, railroad cars, steel, tin, and tweeds. Further, the Atlantic fisheries were to be open to the United States without money compensation; reciprocal coasting was to be granted; the Canadian canals were to be enlarged so as to admit vessels 260 feet in length; the Canadian and American canals were to be free to the vessels of both nations; vessels of all kinds built in either country were to be entitled to registry in both countries; and both countries were to unite in deepening the Lake St. Clair channel, in lighting the waterways, and in propagating the fish.

Well, Sir, these propositions were not adopted; they were not favourably regarded by the people of the United States. In 1877, while the party now in Opposition were ruling this country, in the Dominion Board of Trade, a motion was presented, I think, by the late lamented Thomas White, asking the Government of that day to go down to Washington and endeavour to negotiate a reciprocity treaty in the interests of the people of this country. Well, Sir, nothing ever came of it. As soon as the party of hon. gentlemen opposite went out of power, and from that day down to the present, at different times, at various stages in the history of the question, the party now in power has made efforts in favour of a reasonable, a large and generous measure of reciprocity. And they have failed.

An hon. MEMBER. No, no.

Mr. McINERNEY. I hear somebody say "no." Sir, I have fresh in my mind the reading of a celebrated debate that took place in this House. Hon. gentlemen in Opposition in this House endeavoured to draw from the remark of Sir Charles Tupper the declaration that he had at Washington offered to make a treaty of unrestricted reciprocity. And I remember reading that Sir Charles Tupper declared that his offer was not an offer of unrestricted reciprocity, but an unrestricted offer of reciprocity; and he could not understand the intelligence of the man who could not see the difference between these two.

An hon. MEMBER. Nobody could see it.

Mr. McINERNEY. Nobody could see it? None are so blind as those who will not see. Now, not very long ago, and since the offer made by Sir Charles Tupper, the present

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Minister of Finance, with a deputation went to Washington and made an offer of reciprocity to the Government at Washington.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. McINERNEY. My hon. friends on the Opposition side say "hear, hear." The facts are fresh in everybody's mind. And, having heard the hon. member for Queen's, P.E.I. (Mr. Davies), in various places and at various times declare that the hon. Minister of Finance had not made any such offer as he stated in Parliament he had made, it was an extreme delight to me to hear the Finance Minister last session, in making his closing speech on the Budget, I think it was, prove to any unbiassed mind the truth of the assertions he had previously made. I felt, Sir, from his declarations then, I know from his declarations from time to time, declarations made in public and in private by the Minister of Finance, that he was the spokesman for his party in that particular case, and that on that question he was prepared, and is prepared to enter into negotiations for a reciprocity treaty that will not be repugnant to the honour and not fatal to the interests of the people of this country. Now the question of the merits of this treaty is one to which I will ask the attention of the House for just a few minutes. It has seemed a strange thing to me that those people in the Maritime Provinces, who opposed the confederation of the British North American provinces, and who did it on a principle, and impressed with the idea that it would be against their interests to enter a union and thereby fall into competition with the upper provinces, the then Canadian provinces, because then they would have against them the skill and capital and established manufactories of the upper provinces, and who will make use of this argument against this union even to the present day, cannot see the conclusion that must be forced upon them, if they would accept unrestricted reciprocity with the United States. In such a case they would be thrown practically into competition with sixty millions of people with unlimited capital, with the greatest skill of any people in the world and with manufactories that have been established and kept up by over forty years of protection. But in connection with this question of reciprocity, what strikes me again as peculiar is that while the party in power is charged with not obtaining reciprocity with the United States, the hon. gentlemen opposite, when their party was in power, from 1873 to 1878, were also unable to obtain reciprocity for this country. How can they blame the party in power for not obtaining it when they themselves were unable to obtain it during the five years they were in power, when they sent the ablest diplomats in their ranks—and I say this without wishing to disparage the other able men they had—when they sent the ablest men that ever belonged to the Liberal party in

this country, to negotiate for such a treaty? Why did they fail at that time? And why having failed when they were in power, do they now attempt to make capital against this Government and this party because they have failed in doing so? What were the reasons given in 1866 and 1874 by the Americans against entering into a treaty of reciprocity with Canada? They claimed that their national debt was so high, that they had to raise such a tremendous revenue for the purpose of paying the interest on that debt, that they could not afford even to allow the products of Canada to go into that country without paying a duty. Well, Sir, let us face this question manfully and honestly, and if it is necessary to bury it, let us bury it out of sight now and for ever. Sir, I cannot understand why a reason that was good in 1874 should not be just as good in 1894; for we know that the American Government since that time have, by the extensive additions to their pension list, added largely to the current expenses of the Government of that country; and their revenue, everybody knows it who reads, is not nearly so buoyant, is not nearly so great, as it was in 1874. Therefore, that less buoyant revenue, that larger expenditure, much larger by the additions to their pension list, have placed them in a position of saying now, much more strongly than they did in 1874: We want so much money to run this Government, we must have it off Canadian products the same as we have it off other countries in the world. Now, Sir, I have heard considerable discussion over the Wilson Bill that is now before the United States Congress. Some of the farmers in this country seem to think that they are going to receive great benefits from the Wilson Bill if its various provisions are crystallized into law. I have my doubts about that. I admit that it might be a good thing for this country to have the 5 cents duty taken off eggs which the farmers send into the United States; it might be a good thing for this country, perhaps, if the duty on potatoes were brought down from 25 to 15 cents a bushel; I admit that it might be a good thing for our farmers if the duty should be lowered on various other articles that they are able to export into the United States. But the events of the last few years have proved one thing conclusively to my mind and that is that it is not for the ultimate good of the Canadian farmer that the raw products of his farm should go freely into the United States market. The farmer is a peculiar being. With him, sufficient unto the day are the evils thereof. Far be it from me to say anything derogatory to their intelligence, but I say that the farmer of this country, if he can raise enough from day to day to keep him, is generally satisfied.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. McINERNEY. Hon. gentlemen say "hear, hear"—in derision, I suppose. It is

one of the finest traits, it is one of the finest incidents of agricultural life, that a man is satisfied with little; it is one of the finest features of agricultural life that the man who lives on a farm and digs his living out of the soil, is satisfied with what the soil will give him. He is not avaricious, he does not want the world and all its belongings—like some hon. gentlemen whom I see on the Opposition side of this House.

Mr. MULOCK. That is a kind of policy you want for the farmer—just let him live and have enough to eat.

Mr. McINERNEY. That is the kind of policy that the hon. gentleman who has just spoken wants for the farmers, as I will prove before I get through. The fact of our farmers being shut out from the markets of the United States has forced upon them a spirit of invention, has compelled them to seek new and better methods for turning the raw products of their farm into manufactured articles, and sending them to other markets. That is what this happy necessity has done for him for some years past; it has forced him to make a factory of his farm, it has forced him to turn the raw material on that farm into a manufactured article. A factory is set up on almost every farm all through this country. Everybody knows the proud position our farmers have taken in foreign markets in regard to cheese and butter. Why, Sir, I say it with some degree of pride, though not a sectionalist in any sense of the word, that the county from which I come had the honour, although a factory had only been established there for the short space of eighteen months, of carrying off the gold medal as the highest award for butter at the Chicago Exhibition. Now, that was a grand thing for a county in which the dairying business had only been established for a short time. Sir, I say without fear of contradiction—it has been impressed on my own mind by reasoning out the matter, by observing the course of events, and the results of our tariff position during the last few years—that the farmer of Canada, by the simple fact that he could not get his raw products into the markets of the United States, has risen to a higher plane, has become a better man and more self-reliant than he was at the time when he could sell his raw products in the markets of the United States. I make that proposition, and I say that it may not be altogether an unfortunate thing for the farmer of this country if he is not able to get his raw products across the border free of duty, for that will enable him to turn his attention to other more essential matters which he has neglected in the past. Now, hon. gentlemen opposite, from time to time, maintain that reciprocity can be easily obtained, and they claim it would be a good thing for Canada. Now, it is necessary that they should show how it would be a good thing for Canada. Putting out of the question alto-

gether, if you will, that grand and dominating idea, the Imperial idea, putting out of the question, if you wish, the honour of the people of this country, putting out of the question, if you will, the barren idea, as some people call the sentiment of nationality, that is growing strong and sturdy in the breasts of our people—putting that altogether aside for one moment, I wish to ask hon. gentlemen if they can prove to this House and to this country that this matter of reciprocity is one that would be to the material advantage of the people of this country, that would be to the economical advantage of the people of Canada. I fail to see it, and until it is proved to me, I must confess that I am not willing to accept that conclusion. Why? We have heard much in the past from hon. gentlemen opposite of the argument, that when it is shown that the imports of the country exceeded the exports, the country cannot be prosperous. The balance of trade argument has been used against this Administration from time to time by the hon. gentlemen of the Opposition.

Mr. GILLMOR. No.

Mr. McINERNEY. If that argument has not been used by the hon. gentleman from Charlotte (Mr. Gillmor), he is an honourable exception to the Opposition in this respect, and in many other respects.

Mr. LAURIER. No.

Mr. McINERNEY. He is an honest free trader, and you are not. The hon. member for Quebec East, so far as I can understand, has no central idea by which this country should be governed. Then, if we consider the question from the point of view of the balance of trade, what do we find? The hon. gentleman need not think I am quoting from a document prepared by a gentleman opposed to him, but I am quoting figures from a speech delivered by Hon. Benjamin Butterworth, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, in May, 1890. At that time Mr. Butterworth, who was a colleague of Mr. McKinley, then representing Ohio, had moved a reciprocity resolution in amendment to the McKinley Bill, and it was to back up his proposition, to endorse and support it, that he gave the figures I am quoting. We find from these figures that from 1854 to 1866, inclusive, the balance of trade against Canada, or rather against the British North America provinces, because at that time we had no Canada such as we have to-day, was in favour of the United States to the extent of \$74,830,221.

Mr. CHARLTON. That is wrong.

Mr. McINERNEY. If it would not weary the House, I would read the figures. I will, at all events, read part of the speech delivered by Mr. Butterworth. In that speech

Mr. McINERNEY.

there is one small error, because for 1864 Mr. Butterworth makes the imports from British North America provinces \$27,000,000 odd, and it is printed \$7,952,401. That is evidently a mistake, because they never fell in value below \$20,000,000 in any year from 1854 to 1866, and they could not have possibly been only \$7,000,000 odd. What did Mr. Butterworth say? In the course of his speech he said:

Now my friend and colleague was not accurate in his information touching the history of the legislation, the purpose of which was to establish reciprocal trade between United States and Canada, and his figures therefore are misleading and convey to this committee and the country an utterly erroneous impression touching the result of the commerce between United States and the provinces of Canada under the Reciprocity Treaty, 1854-1865. The impression conveyed to the Committee and the country was that the balance of trade was against us.

Mr. CHARLTON. He was mistaken nevertheless. At that period the balance of trade was in favour of Canada.

Mr. McINERNEY. I shall have to quote the figures to convince the doubting Thomases on the other side as to the facts I wish to establish. Mr. Butterworth further said:

At the time spoken of, while the Reciprocity Treaty was in force in the Dominion of Canada, that is the Confederation, had not been formed, but the provinces were none the less there and our trade was carried on with all these provinces, and instead of the balance of trade being against us as he asserts, it was more than \$50,000,000 in our favour: and more important still during the forty years ending with 1889 the balance of trade with Canada has been in our favour to the amount of more than \$250,000,000.

If hon. gentlemen of the Opposition do not believe these figures are accurate, I would like the figures to be printed in full in my remarks, and I will not trouble the House with them.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). You cannot have that done.

Mr. McINERNEY. I see that this was done by Mr. Butterworth himself, who said that in order to save the time of the House he would not read the figures, but would incorporate them in the report of his speech.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). They can do that in Congress.

Mr. MULOCK. We are under the British flag.

Mr. McINERNEY. Then I will take the time of the House to quote the figures:—

| Year. | Imported into United States from British North America possessions. | Imported into British North America possessions from United States. |
|-------|---|---|
| 1854 | \$ 8,784,412 | \$26,115,132 |
| 1855 | 15,118,289 | 34,362,188 |
| 1856 | 21,276,614 | 35,764,980 |
| 1857 | 22,108,916 | 27,788,238 |
| 1858 | 15,784,836 | 22,210,837 |
| 18 9 | 19,287,565 | 26,761,618 |
| 1860 | 23,572,797 | 25,871,399 |
| 1861 | 22,724,489 | 28,520,735 |
| 1862 | 18,515,685 | 30,373,212 |
| 1863 | 17,191,217 | 29,680,955 |
| 1864 | 29,608,736 | 27,952,401 |
| 1865 | 33,264,403 | 27,269,158 |
| 1866 | 48,528,628 | 27,905,984 |

The figures for 1864-65-66, conclusively prove and substantiate the argument made on the Government side of the House in connection with reciprocity during the various years. We admit there was during some years of the Reciprocity Treaty a fair degree of prosperity in this country, and that we did during certain years, from 1854 to 1866, ship largely to the United States. Taking these figures as a basis, hon. gentlemen will find that the only years in which we did ship to the United States more than we received from them were 1864-65-66. That is accounted for by the fact that at that time the American war had begun, that it was being carried on, and having lost from their workshops and from their fields, the brawn and the skill of their country, the people of the United States were compelled by the force of circumstances and the magnitude of that war, to send abroad at high rates and great prices for all the products they could possibly obtain for the purpose of feeding their immense army. I say that the figures given by Mr. Butterworth and now cited by me for the years 1864, 1865, and 1866 point that argument conclusively. The point that I wish to make in connection with these figures, is this, and the way I corrected the figures for 1865 shows: That from 1854 to 1866 the balance of trade was against Canada to the tune of \$74,830,251. I have spent considerably more time, Mr. Speaker, on that branch of the subject than I intended—

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Do you think that the period of the Reciprocity Treaty was an unmixed evil for Canada?

Mr. McINERNEY. I think it was an unmixed evil for Canada; I think that for many years the reciprocity treaty was one that did not do Canada any good, that it conferred little or no benefit on this country; and I ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davies): That if it was such a great thing for Canada as he claims, will he please tell me why, from 1873 to 1878, when the Liberal or Reform party were in power, they could not get a reciprocity treaty.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Will the hon. gentleman permit me to ask him just one question? Why, if reciprocity—

Mr. McINERNEY. That is an Irishman's way of answering a question..

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Why, if it was an unmixed evil, did the hon. gentleman the other day commend the Government for trying to obtain it?

Mr. McINERNEY. The hon. gentleman does not seem to apprehend the sense of my words. The treaty in force from 1854 to 1866 was a treaty based on different lines altogether from the proposal that my hon. friend the Finance Minister made in Washington. The Minister of Finance made a different proposition. He made his proposition, if I understand it, in this way: That the treaty that would be brought about under his proposition must be a treaty having an eye to the interests of the Empire in the first place, inasmuch as we should not put on duties against the interests of the United Kingdom; that it should be a treaty based on lines that would allow a living at least to the manufacturers of this country, and that it should be mainly on agricultural products, the raw products of this country, with such a list of manufactured articles as would be consistent with the best interests and prosperity of Canada. That was his proposition, and the treaty that was in force from 1854 to 1866 was very different.

Mr. LAURIER. I thought it was a renewal of the treaty of 1854 that they wanted.

Mr. McINERNEY. I do not think so, and I do not believe so.

Mr. LAURIER. But the Government say so.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No.

Mr. McINERNEY. I do not think the Government said so. I was present in this House during the last session of Parliament and I heard what was then said on both sides. I have endeavoured to make myself cognizant, by reading, of what has taken place and I must with all deference, contradict the leader of the Opposition by saying, that what he says now is not what the Minister of Finance said last session. Now, in 1878, after the party then governing the country had failed for five years to bring about reciprocity, at a time when this country was almost in despair, when the people were leaving it in all directions between 1873 and 1878, and rushing off to the manufacturing towns of New England; there was a policy proposed by the late Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald, which was accepted by the people and which has remained from that time to the present the settled fiscal policy of this Dominion. I wish to say a few words with reference to that policy.

Mr. McMULLEN. Did you keep the people at home?

Mr. McINERNEY. Yes, kept them at home in a much greater degree than your party kept them in the years between 1873 and

1878. kept those at home who would have gone out of the country in swarms if that policy had not been inaugurated. I ask any honest man, I ask any honest Reformer or Liberal: What would have been the condition of the workmen of Canada from 1878 to the present time unless factories, and means of wage-earning, and work had been given them under the blessings of the National Policy. Hon. gentlemen of the Opposition talk about the exodus. What did they ever do to stop the exodus, or what could they do to-morrow to stop the exodus? I assert boldly before the people of this country and in the presence of members of the Liberal party here, that the National Policy has done much—no matter how you deal with it in other respects—to keep in the country the brawn, and bone, and muscle, and brain of our people. I do not wish to be understood as denying that we have had an exodus. The point that I wish to make is: That the exodus has been less from 1878 to the present time than it would have been if the National Policy was not in force. That is incontrovertible. It is an axiom, it does not require proof. It is as true as this: That the square erected on the hypotenuse of a right angle triangle is equal to the square erected on the other two sides.

Mr. FORBES. The Liberal party is the square on the hypotenuse.

Mr. McINERNEY. The Liberal party is the square on the base; there is nothing upright at all about it.

Mr. FORBES. The hon. gentleman supported the Liberal party.

Mr. McINERNEY. The hon. gentleman did not.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Might I ask the hon. gentleman what year he began to lean over?

Mr. McINERNEY. I would ask the hon. member to ask the hon. gentleman who sits at his left (Sir Richard Cartwright) what year was it that he began to lean over? The hon. gentleman from Prince Edward Island may be of opinion that consistency is all on his side, but I state this in the presence of the House and in the presence of the country: That I never was a Liberal, that I never belonged to the Liberal party, so-called, that the elections I ran in this country, I ran as an independent, that even during my last election I ran as an independent; but that by the foolish policy adopted by hon. gentlemen on the Liberal side I have been diverted from their side of the House altogether upon these questions. I wish to tell hon. gentlemen here that I have endeavoured with a fair mind, impartially as I could, to study these questions out for myself. I have looked at the record of both parties, I have looked at the policies of both parties, I have endeavoured to study them and to study the men who

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compose both parties, and I am driven to the conclusion—much as I admire some gentlemen on the Opposition benches—I am driven to the conclusion that in men, in ideas, and in policy, the Government party far surpasses the other. Now, Mr. Speaker, having gone more extensively than perhaps I should have into the question of reciprocity, and the questions that arise from it incidentally, I would like to say a few words on the policy inaugurated in 1879. That policy was promulgated for the purpose of giving new hope to this country. That policy had for its aim, the purpose of giving at least an equal opportunity or a coign of vantage to the producers in Canada over any other country. It may have been, if you like, founded on a certain degree of selfishness; but it had first and above all as its central idea, the interests of this country at heart and in view. I do not think that at this late date there is much necessity to discuss the abstract question of protection and free trade. That has been pretty well threshed out both in the country and in the House, and where hon. gentlemen on the Opposition make a mistake, where the hon. gentleman from Charlotte (Mr. Gillmor) I think makes a mistake, is in treating this question of free trade and protection as an abstract question. This question can only be treated in the light of the conditions and circumstances of this country. It is not an academic question. This is a Legislature, not an academy, in which we are debating a subject of this nature, and we should have constantly and at all times in view the fact that it must be treated from the standpoint of the conditions surrounding us. Now, this policy arose out of the necessities of the situation in 1879. Our people were leaving us in crowds; they were going to the manufacturing centres of the United States. That policy was based upon the necessities of the time, because we had against us at that time what I can at least call American unfriendliness; we had to contend with the newness of the country, the want of capital, and the absence of skilled labour. To make up for the disadvantages of these conditions, it was necessary for us to look around and endeavour to find some plan for meeting them, and this policy was adopted. Now, has it done all that it was intended to do? That it has not performed all that was expected of it is no reason why it should be condemned; but if it has succeeded in any appreciable degree in fulfilling its purpose, then I claim it stands justified and self-approved before the people of Canada. What has it done? It has given our manufacturers a market; it has given us a buoyant revenue; it has built our great public works, or enabled us to build them; it has sustained, and even advanced the credit of the country. Was this country in 1879 to sit down by the wayside hopeless and despairing, or go forward to the fulfilment of its destiny? If this country was ever to become a great nation it was absolutely nec-

cessary that the great wheat fields we possessed in the west should be opened up. In order that the shortest and quickest route to the sea should be obtained for the products of that great territory, it became necessary that a great railway should be built at enormous cost, and, in undertaking that gigantic work, the only thing that enabled us to go into the markets of the world and borrow the necessary money was the fact that the National Policy had given us a largely increased revenue and kept up our national credit. This policy has been national, not only in a fiscal sense: it has been national in the broader sense. It has tended to unite the people of this country by many bonds. And its mission is not yet accomplished, for, having, by railway and canal—constructed at great expense, I admit, but still not greater than the needs of the country demanded—having carried to the seaboard the products of the west, there still remains to be accomplished a measure, which is in the air, which I have heard mooted, of granting a subsidy of three quarters of a million dollars to enable Canada to have a line of steamships across the Atlantic that will enter into fair and open competition with any other line on the face of the globe. This policy has done what? It has, if I may use the term, bridged the Pacific ocean; it has established a line of railway communication from Vancouver to Halifax; it will give us a fast line of steamers from Halifax, or some other Canadian port to England, and it will in time, I am convinced, put a belt around the world, if not, as 'Puck' said, in 60 minutes, at least in 60 days. We are so situated that that policy must be carried out, for this is a national policy, not only in its fiscal aspect, but because it has enabled this country to go forward in the construction of great public works, and to bind the provinces together as one. Now, I think it would be a very strong arraignment of the fiscal part of the National Policy if the contention of hon. gentlemen in Opposition could be proved that the policy is opposed to the interests of the poor man and in favour of the interests of the rich. It is not hard to prove that that is not the case. The figures to prove it have been read to this House already, and it is not necessary for me to read them again. But I will quote the tables for 1878, and compare them with the tables for 1892, to show the amount of taxation imposed on the necessaries of life for the poor. Taking those articles together—and they are very numerous—I find that in 1878 the necessaries of life, largely used by the poor, paid a duty of \$5,305,938, while in 1892 they paid a duty of only \$3,067,419. On tea the duty paid in 1878 was \$611,313, while in 1892 it was only \$8,261. Some person on the Opposition side of the House said to-day that tea was not a necessary of life, or as great a necessary as coal oil. That is the blind way in which these hon. gentlemen would seek to guide the legislation of this country. While it may not be said that tea is an absolute

necessary of life to the poor man, practically it has come to be so, much more than oil, because in the poorer districts of the larger towns and cities oil is not generally used for lighting purposes. Molasses, which is commonly used by the poor, paid a duty in 1878 to the amount of \$235,173, and in 1892 to the amount of only \$70,277. Sugar, which has now come to be looked upon by the poor man as one of the necessaries of life, paid duty in 1878 to the amount of \$2,515,656, while in 1892 it paid only \$77,828. And here it would not be out of place for me to say that I think one of the wisest features in the revision of the tariff which has been brought down to the House is this particular detail. By the removal of the duty on sugar up to 16 Dutch standard, the sugar that will be admitted free is a sugar that is generally used on the table of the poor man—ay, and on that of the middle classes too—as a prime necessary of life. Therefore, this change will be hailed as a boon to the poor people of the country. Now, cotton goods paid a higher duty in 1878 than in 1892, for in 1878 they paid a duty of \$1,243,340, and in 1892, \$1,115,257. If you turn, Sir, to fancy goods, you will find that while in 1878 they paid a duty of \$293,304, in 1892 they paid \$493,373. Fruits—not at all a necessary of life for the poor man—paid in 1878 a duty of \$182,062, and in 1892, \$516,073. Furs, largely used by the richer classes, paid, in 1878, duty to the amount of \$40,806, and in 1892, \$516,003. Gloves, chiefly kid, paid, in 1892, \$238,078. Gold, and silver goods paid, in 1878, \$40,496, and in 1892, \$72,156. Hats, chiefly silk, paid, in 1878, \$184,515, and in 1892, \$365,912. Jewellery paid, in 1878, \$46,404, and in 1892, \$57,718. Musical instruments paid, in 1878, \$87,868, and in 1892, \$169,368. Perfumery, in 1878, \$5,853; in 1892, \$10,585. Silks and satins, in 1878, \$246,669, and, in 1892, \$751,452. And so I might go on through the whole list. I shall finish by taking up tobacco and cigars. In 1878 they paid duties, \$1,770,032, and in 1893, \$3,326,590. Taking all the articles enumerated in the list, the luxuries of life, used principally by the wealthier classes, paid, in 1878, only \$7,379,488, and in 1892, \$13,974,877. From this one thing is abundantly clear, and that is that the point made against the tariff that it bore most heavily on the poor man is not true. That brings me, having spoken of the policy in operation from 1878 down to the present, to the revision with which we have to deal just now. I may say here that there are in the Opposition, gentlemen with varying opinions with regard to fiscal policy. The hon. member for Charlotte (Mr. Gillmor) differs as widely as the poles asunder from the hon. gentleman from Queen's (Mr. Davies).

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) No.

Mr. McINERNEY. Well, one is an out-and-out free trader, and the other does not tell us exactly what he is. He prides himself

on the fact that he never pronounced himself an unrestricted reciprocity man, or a commercial unionist. Well, these gentlemen opposite have varying doctrines, as, I admit, parties in Opposition will have, naturally. I also admit that we on this side have varying degrees of doctrine on the question of protection. We have high protection men, as there are high protection men in the country behind us, and we have men who still cling to the doctrine of protection, but want the tariff brought as low as possible, as long as it will allow the manufacturers to have a fair living and supply the home markets. When the revision of the tariff came up, it must have been expected that numbers of gentlemen supporting the Government would make known their views. And they did so. Hon. gentlemen have taunted us with saying that the Government did not consult their supporters in this House. Sir, they did consult them. They promised their supporters in this House and in the country that they would take them into their confidence, that they would at the earliest possible moment, go round the country, see what the manufacturing industries would stand, and what could be taken off in the interest of the poor man and the agriculturist. The Government did that, and they have brought down a tariff, which, I think, must meet with the approval of all who give it fair consideration. Has not the tariff, in its present condition, a tendency to favour the poor man? I think it has. In taking off the specific duties, and imposing ad valorem duties alone, it goes a long way in that direction. If a poor man buys a hundred yards of cloth, he will, under a specific duty, pay a higher rate than does the rich man who buys the same quantity of cloth, but of more valuable material. But when the ad valorem system alone is imposed, each one is taxed according to the value of the thing he buys.

Mr. EDWARDS. They have been fifteen years finding that out.

Mr. McINERNEY. You do not give them credit for finding it out now; and if they had found it out fifteen years ago, you would still be finding fault. As the hon. member for Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) said, but one thing will satisfy hon. gentlemen opposite and that is that they should occupy the Treasury benches. Now, the fact that the duties have been reduced on the low grades of woollens and cottons, which are largely used by the poor man, will operate to his advantage. The fact that the duty on coal oil has been taken down by the Government in fifteen months to the tune of one-half what it was—

Mr. MULOCK. Oh, oh.

Mr. McINERNEY. Yes; last year the Government did take off to the tune of one-half. They have taken the duty off binder twine to the same extent. And as these

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things are called the necessaries of life by hon. gentlemen opposite, they should be content with what the Government has done in this respect. The Government have also favoured the farmer in this tariff. There is a cut in the duty on agricultural implements from 35 to 20 per cent, which must be a great boon to the farmers of the Northwest. And I am informed by the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) that the taking off the duty on lumber has knocked on the head the combine that existed in the west, and will be a great boon also to the people going into building operations in that part of the country. Now, I have no doubt that if the Government would go down to the Maritime Provinces to-morrow with the duty on flour removed the people down there would be much better pleased than to have the duty retained. I admit that if we could come down and say the duty on coal oil has been removed altogether, they would be pleased much more than now to see it on. I suppose if you went to the farmers of Ontario and told them that the duty was removed on flour, they would not be as well pleased as if it were kept on. And if we went to the coal miners of Nova Scotia and told them the duty was removed from soft coal, they would not be at all satisfied, so that the different sections must come to this final conclusion, that every part of the country must be taken into consideration in the framing of the tariff, and every section cannot have just what it wants. The widest interests of the country, the national interests of the country must be taken into consideration. I think it may safely be said that that is the view in which the National Policy has been received and approved by the people of the Maritime Provinces. They said: It is true that it does weigh upon us somewhat; still, for the advancement of this country, and in order to carry out the national idea, the ambitious idea we have that this country shall become great, we are willing to make our share of the sacrifice. It has often been stated, and it was stated early in this debate by hon. gentlemen in Opposition, that the combines and manufacturers alone were consulted in private with regard to this tariff, and that they alone were benefited. How can hon. gentlemen, as honest men, make such statements, in the face of the fact, that in the revision that has taken place there has been a large cut in cottons and woollens, and a large cut against manufacturers of agricultural implements? Why, Sir, these changes are made against their interests, against their selfish interests, and we Government supporters, who are for the lowest tariff consistent with a fair living for the manufacturer in this country, hold this as a tariff for the farmer, the agriculturist and the labourer of this country. We have heard all through the country cries about sugar barons and cotton lords. But, Sir, how is that consistent with the fact that a change has been made affecting the interests of the

manufacturer of sugar, under which sugar up to 16 Dutch Standard is allowed to come in free? Is that in the interests of the sugar barons? The same thing is to be found with regard to the nail manufacturer; the same thing with regard to the so-called cotton lords. While we view protection as the basic principle of the fiscal policy of this country, we must see that the revenue of the country is not too much impaired. This is a point to which I desire to give just a few minutes' consideration. I cannot understand any tariff based upon the free trade principle advocated by members of the Opposition that would enable hon. gentlemen, if they came into power to-morrow, to raise sufficient revenues to cover the expenditures of this country. The revenue of this country must be at least \$35,000,000. Gentlemen of the Opposition wail that it should have remained at about \$23,000,000. But they must face the situation as it is, and, should they come into power to-morrow, they would be obliged to recognize that the condition they had to face would not be that of fifteen or sixteen years ago. What is the situation at the present time? We have to face a fixed expenditure of \$25,000,000. The interest on the public debt amounts to \$10,000,000; then, \$2,000,000 must be put into the sinking fund yearly; the sum of \$4,000,000 goes for provincial subsidies and \$9,000,000 for the collection of our revenue—for our customs and excise officers, for operating our railways and canals, for our post office system and for other services of that kind. Beyond that \$25,000,000 we must raise at least \$10,000,000, or allow the public service of the country to become impaired. We must raise for the support of our Indians, who are given to us as wards, about \$1,000,000 a year. We must raise for the lighthouses that stretch along our coast and up our principal rivers, from \$500,000 to \$1,000,000 a year. About \$1,400,000 is necessary to keep up our militia. Then, for civil government and the administration of the various departments we need an additional sum, which will make up \$10,000,000. What would hon. gentlemen in opposition do if they got into power to-morrow? Take away the amount that is expended from year to year on the lighthouses of the country? Take away the amount expended on the Indians of the country? Take away the amount expended in protecting the fisheries? Take away the amount expended on Civil Government? Even if they did appreciably lower the expenditures in this last particular, they would have to raise at least thirty-five million dollars in order to meet the cost of governing and running the country. Now, Mr. Speaker, I cannot conceive of any fiscal policy they could adopt that would take the place of the policy that is now before the country. They might follow the example of some of their friends who are Premiers of some of the provinces; they might do as the Hon. Mr. Peters did in Prince Edward Island; they

who are such great friends of the farmers, might put the entire tax upon land, make every acre of land in the country pay a tax; they might emulate the example set them by Mr. Peters, the Liberal Premier of Prince Edward Island, and introduce such a system as that. They might impose direct taxation all along the line, but in that I do not think they would succeed. Now, they have gone back on every policy they ever had. They have gone back and buried free trade, they have gone back on commercial union, they have gone back on unrestricted reciprocity, they have gone back on freer trade, which they proposed last year; and they now stand simply and solely for a revenue tariff. There was a very good story told last year by the Minister of Railways and Canals, in some part of the west, when he said that hon. gentlemen in opposition, with regard to their policies, were like the colony of Sierra Leone with regard to their governors; they always had two, one that they were bringing out alive, and the other that they were sending home dead. Now, it appears to me that is a good illustration of the method of hon. gentlemen opposite. There is another thing that strikes me. They are like the Egyptians who only judge their kings after they are dead. The hon. gentlemen pursue the same method with their policies. After a policy is dead they then hold a post-mortem upon it, and pronounce that it was never any good, and more than that, they seek to disown it. There is no doubt at all in my mind that hon. gentlemen opposite will be driven to pronounce the same judgment upon their new policy. When they go to the country the issue will be clearly drawn. The fight between the two parties will be on that question. If hon. gentlemen opposite are at all consistent they will go to the country on a tariff-for-revenue-policy only, while the Government of the day will go to the country on a tariff having for its central idea protection to the industries and the products of the land. Nobody can be in doubt as to what the result will be. The Opposition will go to the country on a revenue tariff policy that will be the sun in the centre of their solar system, and they will have for nebulous comets floating round through their cloudy sky, creed cries and sectional cries, they will seek to raise prejudices on the question of the North-west schools, they will seek to raise the prejudices of the people of Ontario against the people of Quebec on those questions, and in this way they will endeavour, without having, perhaps, any well defined policy to put before the country, to snatch a verdict from the people. But they will not succeed, they will not come within measurable distance of success, unless their opponents should emulate them in the latter part of their policy. They will not succeed, because the Conservative party, strong in its rank and file, great in its leaders, honest in its ideas, fixed in its principles, will not be buried in the Aceldama of fanaticism;

but on the contrary, their appeal will be to moderate men in all sections of the land, their appeal will be to moderate men of every creed and nationality, on an honest policy, a policy that has always been successful, a policy that has proved itself invincible. Standing upon an honest policy appealing to moderate men of every section of the country, this party will put its foot upon sectionalism and prejudice of every kind, national or religious; and standing under the banner of protection, will fight the great battle before the electors, and in the hour of trial I am certain they will vindicate their policy, and consecrate the triumph of the national idea in the triumph of the National Policy.

Mr. CARROLL. I sincerely congratulate the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat on his eloquent speech. This is not the first time I have had occasion to admire the eloquence of the hon. gentleman. In 1891, when I was fresh out of Laval University, in Quebec, I had occasion to listen to the very eloquent remarks of the hon. gentleman, but then his remarks were in favour of the policy of the hon. leader of the Opposition.

Mr. McINERNEY. What was the policy of the leader of the Opposition?

Mr. CARROLL. I will tell you in a moment. Then, Mr. Speaker, I had occasion to admire the eloquence of the hon. gentleman; to-day, not only have I to admire his eloquence, but the fixity of his principles and the independence of his character, which no party whip can control. The hon. gentleman has gone so far as to attempt to prove the good effects of the Conservative policy. I will not go so far as that, and I will be shorter in my remarks. Hon. gentlemen on the Ministerial side of the House have expressed their views on the commercial policy of the Government. The Finance Minister has outlined the policy of his Government, and has stated what that policy should be for the future. The Finance Minister has spoken on the subject with his usual clearness. Of course, it is the duty of a good Prime Minister to look at the bright side of things, and, above all, to present this bright side to the country. Nobody will blame him for this, for in so doing he plays his role admirably. He has told us that his policy for the last years have been realized, and that his forecasts for the future should also be borne out. He has also indulged in a pompous eulogy of the policy pursued by his party during the last fifteen years. But he has lost a little of his former self-confidence. In 1891 those who raised their voices in favour of freer trade were almost enemies of their country; this year the case is quite altered, and the story altogether different. The Government has told us it intended to reform the tariff. This reform, satisfactory to some, the most

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of whom are Ministerialists, will not be so to some other friends of the Government, who must, to-day, feel how much truth there is in the old saying that "there is many a slip betwixt the cup and the lip." The member for Assiniboia especially. I thought, wanted to drink a long draught from the cup which contained this reform, but he has been able only to wet his lips with it and he declares himself satisfied. Harassed on all sides, the Ministry does not know where to turn. Within the past eight months, several of the Ministers have spoken in all the provinces, one declaring himself in favour of a radical reform of the tariff, and another pompously proclaiming that the Ministerial party would sink or swim with what has been, and is still, termed the National Policy. The reason for this divergency of opinion at different times is not difficult to understand. As the political barometer rose or fell the Ministers varied. As the deputations presented opposite views, the Government wavered and leaned now to the one side and now to the other. As the Controllers controlled the farmers or failed to control them, the Government controlled or did not control itself. And we can boldly assert that, for the past twelve months and upwards, the Ministry has hesitated in its trade policy, advancing and backing to try and adapt it to every popular wind; now wanting reform, and now repudiating it. It was and is evidently looking for a compass which will help it to steer safely between the requirements of its friends and the legitimate demands of the consumers. During the past year, especially, the Ministers have had no policy. Whether on the head of reform of the tariff or of social or administrative questions, their policy has possessed no fixed character; everything has been left to chance and to uncertainty. They are like the Ministers of Louis Philippe, of whom Cormenin said: "Unskilful and timid steersmen, they hide themselves in bay, and dare not venture into the open sea." The Government wants to make a compromise with the different classes of our people, but in all compromises there is something or somebody sacrificed. And unfortunately the victims in the present instance will again be those who have been the victims for the last fifteen years. The hon. member for Kent referred to the progress of our country, of that great country which stretches from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific, and to the splendid results obtained at the Columbian Exposition, seeming to claim as a title of glory for the Government the successes won there by the Canadian exhibitors. Canada, undoubtedly, figured admirably at the Chicago Exhibiton and all Canadians rejoice at the fact. For my own part I confess that it is not without a sentiment of pride that I have noticed the triumphs won by them over competitors of the entire world. And I fully and heartily approve the

outlay incurred by the Government for the purposes of that exhibition, at which the arts, sciences, and human genius manifested themselves in so many forms. But the merit of our successes does not belong to the Ministry, but rather to the workers with hand and brain, by whom our country is so justly honoured. The Chicago Exhibition was a great object lesson for the benefit of all mankind. The salient feature of that exhibition was the bringing together of all the products of the globe, and the opportunity which this afforded to us to compare these different products, and to study the special aptitudes of the different peoples through their finest and most varied handiwork. It demonstrated the fact that the mechanical processes are the same all over, and that everywhere, also the tendency is to substitute the power of machinery for the skill of the artisan. It also emphasized with irresistible force the advantage of cheap raw materials, and the consequent inconveniences of the systems of customs, which burdens them with taxes, while proving at the same time the profits to be derived from the nations by free trade. It pointed, too, a great lesson against the prejudices fostered by the politicians of the protectionist school in order to maintain an insurmountable and perpetual line of demarkation between the peoples. We had the spectacle of the latter, represented by their foremost manufacturers, distributing with the strictest impartiality the rewards adjudged to merits, loyally recognizing superiority wherever found, with one hand raising the veil from the future by no longer considering labour from the narrow standpoint of nationalities, but from the lofty pedestal of the triumphant principles of freedom of trade. This lesson was given to all the peoples, but more particularly to those who, at all cost, wish to maintain the barriers of prohibition and restriction. What has been the result of the Government's policy during the last fifteen years? What advantages has the country in general derived from the present tariff? I will not go into details, which have been well threshed out, but my impression is protection is the root of the evil. The protectionists of the Tory school take, whenever they think they can find them, the arguments which they use in favour of the economic system which they call the National Policy, and one of their favourite sayings is, that free trade, or freer trade, by abolishing or reducing the customs duties, would deprive the Treasury of its chief source of revenue. Granted that, as a matter of fact, the revenues from the customs count for a very large sum in the public receipts. This argument, which appears forcible at first sight, nevertheless does not logically flow from their economic theories. The aim of the Tory economists is well defined. They want the country to produce all that is needed for home consumption, and to obtain their object they impose upon foreign products such high

duties that they cannot compete with the domestic products. The acknowledged object of their policy is, therefore, to exclude foreign products, for if these products do not come into the country, if the object is attained, our customs will yield us no more revenue, the imports alone paying customs duties. The experience of latter years is appealed to in vain. If the customs have yielded and still yield millions to the Treasury, it is because the prohibitive system has not yet fulfilled its mission, and because, in spite of the high duties, the consumers are forced to import what they require; so that the retention of the protective system necessarily and forcibly involves a waiting for the attainment of the end looked forward to by the protectionists, and doing without foreign merchandise. But when the supporters of this system shall have put the crown upon their works, what will become of the customs, a system of expensive administration yielding nothing to the public chest? Will we be less taxed then? No. If the State derives nothing from them, the taxes will not be the less heavy, but the proceeds will go into other hands. The millions which the State will lose will go into the pocket of a few private individuals, which means that protection openly violates the right of property. Its effect is to create taxes which do not benefit the public treasury, but on the contrary only benefit private parties, and from this point of view such taxes are unjust. If it is permissible for a State to force its citizens to sacrifice a portion of their incomes for the general good, it is certainly not permissible for a State to deprive one citizen of the smallest portion of his property and appropriate it to the benefit of another. This is not mere theory. Practical examples are numerous. But we are told that an essential element of our population, the workingmen, benefit by this state of things. Let us, for a moment, look at this aspect of the question. Let us take for example the article of sugar. If we produce all the sugar needed for home consumption, refineries will be required and the workingmen will get employment, that is to say, they will get all the employment that the refiners can give them. But how much will this amount to? It is admitted that if we continue to shut our doors against foreign countries, the latter will sooner or later return us the compliment by retaliating. We shall therefore remain with our limited market of 5,000,000 of souls, which can be more than supplied by five or six refineries, employing at the most 1,500 or 2,000 hands, while 6,000 perhaps would be demanding employment. And what would be the result of this? The refiners, besieged by so many thousands of workingmen out of employment, would only pay whatever wages they pleased, the workingmen preferring to be content with low wages rather than earn nothing at all. Thus, not only would the workingman lose a large

portion of the wages out of which he has to pay a tax to his employer, but, as the supply of labour would be far in excess of the demand, he would also have to submit to a reduction of his salary. Here again it is not theory, but facts which prove my contention. We are annually losing by emigration thousands of our citizens, who are expatriating themselves through their inability to find work at home, and yet, notwithstanding this wholesale exodus, wages have not increased and are not increasing. In proof of this it is only necessary to recall the labour programme which triumphed with Mr. Lépine in Montreal East in 1891. The leading plank in this platform demanded the passing of a law for the protection of the wages of the workingman. Consequently, since he asks for legislation that will guarantee him sufficient wages to live upon, protection has not improved his lot. And this deplorable condition of the poorer classes will not improve under that regime. What we need to improve the situation is a vigorous trade that will stimulate our industries. Protection lays an embargo on this trade by proclaiming that we must trade within ourselves, and the foreigner must be shut out of the country. Under this system the producer gains in two ways: on the sale of his products, and on the cost of production, while the consumer and the workingman lose on the price of purchase and in wages. Not only does this apply to the consumer, properly so called, but the protective system produces disastrous effects, even upon many of those who praise its advantages. But the Ministerial orators and papers have told us that if the American Government closes against us the doors of their market, we can export to England. No tariff law can affect the price of the articles which we send to England, where they are admitted free of duty. That the hon. gentleman does not want reciprocity is shown by the fact that since 1891 the Government has made, or seemed to make, efforts to secure a reciprocity treaty with the United States. More than that. In 1891 the ex-Premier, the late Sir John Macdonald, dissolved Parliament on the pretext of consulting the people in regard to the advisability of concluding a treaty of reciprocity in natural products with the United States. The result of the negotiations by our Ministers on the other side of the boundary line is well known. That it is the fault of the Canadian Government that no agreement is possible was shown conclusively last session. Every one admits and regrets the disastrous effects of the bad understanding which prevails between the two countries. We have a surplus of products, and the natural outlet for it is not the markets of Australia or the West Indies, but the market of the United States. Then, protection has proved of no benefit to the farmers. It has enhanced the price of everything which they have to buy. Cotton and woollen goods, as well as agricultural

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implements, are very high priced. On the other hand, its effect has been not only to diminish, but to virtually destroy the price of what they sell. The Government seemed to understand the unfortunate position to which the most important class of our population has been reduced, but it should not be astonished at it. It is simply reaping what it has sown. For the sake of a mere ephemeral election success, it did not hesitate to appeal to popular prejudices which are so easily aroused. And, during many years, instead of pursuing a policy calculated to bring the two countries closer together in the bonds of peace, one of abuse has been followed. While our party were loyally seeking to come to the rescue of the tiller of the soil, our Ministers and their friends were going through the country appealing to the spirit of nationality and to the loyalty of our farmers. The spirit of nationality and the loyalty of our people are certainly sentiments that even in exaggerated form are honourable, when they have good faith for their basis, but for some years past the politicians have made use of the noblest passions of men for the sake of power. For a certain number of years also, the Government's policy has encouraged the ever-increasing tendency to look to it for favours. Assuredly our population are not lacking in personal dignity and national pride, and it is always more or less painful for an individual to apply to another individual for favour and protection. But, the moment the Government is in question, the case alters and it really seems as if it is regarded as the universal dispenser of all good things to every one. It is truly deplorable to have to note that a great many never think for a moment that the favours so granted must be taken from some quarter, and that there is no Sacramento from which gold can be drawn full handed. We have entered upon a disastrous path under the influence of a far too prevalent thirst for public employment. The diminution of unshackled activity tends more and more to wean the people from the habit of personal effort and the sense of personal responsibility. It leads them to shirk as much as possible all individual initiative, and to look to the Government for everything. Manufacturers, officials, contractors, furnishers, all are supplicants, and all look to the Budget. One wants places, and another premiums; one public grants and another restrictions. A portion of the social body is always demanding, in one shape or another, its pound of flesh from the Budget, forgetting that the Budget can only return what they themselves give to it, and overlooking the fact that the generosity of power can never equal their avidity. The manufacturers take first rank in this class, and are the most eager in the chase after the spoils. Every one has seen by the newspaper reports the complaints which these gentlemen have been making to the Ministry, and the Finance Minister's

speech shows that he was unable to resist their appeals. They admit, therefore, that they are unable to withstand competition, that their raw material is inferior, and that their manufactured products are equally so. For there is only this reason which can lead them to fear competition. I cannot understand this inferiority in a country so young and so fruitful in the varied wealth of land and sea as ours is. Our mines and forests, our rivers and our fertile soil do not yield inferior products, and the disturbing persistency of the manufacturers can consequently have but one object—to enrich themselves at the expense of the many. Another effect of the protective system has been to encourage smuggling, which in many quarters has become a regular industry, employing the activity of a large number of persons, undertaking operations of all kinds, and possessing its go-betweens, its brokers, and its intermediaries, among whom customs officers have often been found. Smuggling habituates the people to violate the laws, and to throw upon the good laws a part of the discredit forcibly provoked by bad ones. It constitutes an inequality in the cost of production, and gives an advantage to those who break the law over those who respect it. It necessitates the maintenance, at great expense, by the Government of an excess of customs officers, who are thus doubly unproductive. It has the painful drawback that the courts inflict punishment that shock public sentiment for infringement of laws that are condemned by a large number. The reports show that, far from decreasing, the smuggling trade is on the increase, and it is impossible to calculate the enormous amount annually lost by the treasury. One collector has already expressed an opinion to the effect that half a million yearly is diverted from the revenue and goes into the pockets of the smuggler. And in a country like ours it is almost impossible to keep up a sufficiently large number of preventive officers to put an end to this illegal traffic. Protection has also resulted in withdrawing from the cultivation of the land the capital formerly invested therein, and diverting it into channels of manufacturing industry. The capitalists are perfectly right, from their own standpoint, in doing this. It is admitted to-day that the returns from the cultivation of the land do not yield five per cent on the capital invested, and this is the reason why such an enormous displacement of the national wealth, as has been noted for some years past, has taken place. This explains the constant and regular dispeopling of our rural districts, and the exodus towards the manufacturing centres, which is, perhaps, the greatest ill under which our country labours. Canada is essentially an agricultural country, and the words of the Minister fully applied to it, as fully as they did to the Kingdom of France. "Agriculture is the foundation of our wealth." Our agriculture is not yet very

developed. Improved machinery has penetrated to the most distant settlements, but has not yet become general. The labourer does not extract from the soil all that it is capable of yielding, and it is the duty of the Government to take under its fostering wing the mother industry, without which all the others are as nothing, to stimulate and encourage it, and to take such measures as will keep the strong, laborious and virile youth of our rural districts at home. I do not pretend that protection is the sole cause of the exodus from the rural districts, but, instead of commencing by protecting the foundation of our wealth, manufacturing industries have monopolized all our protection. It is said that the exodus from the rural districts to the cities is not confined to this country, but that all countries are suffering from it, and that there is an incomprehensible force which attracts the people of the rural districts to the cities. There is some truth in this, but like causes produce like effects. It is unfortunately the tendency of the people of our age. But, on the other hand, who is to blame for it, if not those who, by their legislation, have favoured this tendency? In his glowing eulogy of our great riches, the Finance Minister did not forget our railways. True, they have been an instrument of progress. They have bound together the different provinces, but they have also been used as a powerful instrument to strengthen the weak and confirm the strong. Of the railway subsidies for fifteen years past, the Government has always utilized a part to create electoral funds, those indispensable sinews of the Ministerial war. We have seen parties entirely impecunious float companies, apply to Parliament, obtain charters to construct railways—parties who did not subscribe one cent to capital getting appointed to the presidency of companies, some fine day selling out their charter and retiring from business, after having secured incomes out of the public funds and having given nothing to the public in return. This policy has caused a loss to the country of millions, which have been absorbed by such companies as I have described, and which have also served to strengthen the faltering faith of a number of federal electors. We have only been able to learn something of these operations when the friends have quarrelled among themselves, and yet, though in that way only a corner of the veil has been lifted, we have been allowed to get a glimpse at the gigantic corruption which ravaged this country for a number of years. I did not intend to follow my hon. friend from Kent, N.B. (Mr. McInerney), in his argument, but he has gone a little too far. He said that we appealed to prejudices. No, Sir, the Liberal party has no prejudices, but they accuse the Government of not having taken a firm stand on questions which indirectly affect the economic conditions of this Dominion. Be it rightly or wrongly, a portion of the

population of this Dominion is diverted from going from the east to the west because of the laws regarding education. I am not prejudiced in any way, but my opinions on this question are these: They are the opinions of an ex-Finance Minister who played an important role in this country. Sir Alexander T. Galt once said:

There could not be a greater injustice than that which would force a population to educate its children in a manner opposed to its religious beliefs.

And the ex-Finance Minister was right, for teaching is society in labour; it is the morals, the sentiments, the tendencies, and the works of the generations which hasten towards the threshold of the future. It is impossible to encroach on these tendencies without striking a blow at freedom. What then is the reason which caused the Manitoba Government to act as it has? The interest of the province, will say its defenders—the interest of the province, the interest of the country. Such arguments have ever been used, and by unrestrained rulers abused. Under ancient systems the interest of the country served to justify all the abuses of force committed by a powerful republic, to the detriment of weaker nations. It is in the name of the country's interest that treaties entered into by Roman Republics on the morrow of unexpected reverses were annulled and considered not binding by the Roman people. It is in the name of this same interest that allied powers, on the most futile pretexts, assimilated conquered nations, and treated them as such. When the Greek and Roman tribunes were scattered and the Agora and Forum deserted, the unrestrained masters justified all by the means of the same argument. Why, it is the same argument which prompted the St. Bartholomew and the revocation of the edict of Nantes. In presence of this pretended interest of the state all reasons must disappear. It is the supreme law of the Romans of old, and unfortunately it is the same law that obtains in parts of this country. Sir, I blame the Government, but the Government is not only to blame. A portion of the press of this country has rendered the task of this Government all the more difficult. The influence of the press is well known. The press is the weapon and the sinew of modern society. A French writer said in 1830 that it was in France more a social necessity than a political institution. Since these words were spoken the child of that time has become a veritable giant, who, with its two agents, steam and electricity, is henceforth to sway the world. The press is the indispensable support of our political institutions. It exercises a supreme influence over the minds and movements of men, and if it had in this instance generally given its support to the right, it would have greatly promoted the solution of the question. I want to read to this House an extract from an article written in Scribner's Magazine, by

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Mr. Putnam, the American editor, relating to the question of language and school:

When a native of New York, in the course of a half hour's confinement on an elevated railway train can detect in the speech of his fellow-prisoners a half dozen languages besides his own, he may be fairly confident of the cosmopolitan character of the people of his town. It is not an uncommon thing in such enforced intimacy to overhear French, German, Italian, Scandinavian, Spanish, Chinese, and perhaps one of the obscure tongues that Asia Minor contributes. It happened to me only recently on a Sunday afternoon, when possibly the holiday habit had brought out the foreign elements in disproportionate force. One fact in the polyglot entertainment struck me—the frequency with which, in the babbling stream of every foreign tongue—even the Chinese—an occasional English word would be perceptible; most often it was the "yes" or "no," or some minor phrase of the syllable or two. Clearly these were the signs of a half-conscious adjustment of the speakers to their environment, an adjustment barely begun, but which I like to think must go on with important results.

But how fast and how far? That is an interesting question. Many of these people who come to us have shown pretty bitter hatred towards each other at home. The German and the Frenchman, the Frenchman and the Italian, the Irish and the English, the English and French Canadians, have for a long time now cherished that 'bad blood' and spilled some now and again in war or in riot. Will they learn to live in peace with each other and with us, and come to be a fairly steady-going and contented and well-to-do people? I am inclined to think that in the long run they will. My confidence is not altogether in the beneficent effect of 'free institutions,' though these count for much, but also in that 'wholesome neglect' which is the permanent character of our political organization. It is fortunate for us that we have not put the management of the infinitely varied interest of our people in any one set of hands, but have been able to let them gather in groups. * * * We do not, perhaps, have as much national feeling as is desirable, and our life, as a people, is not so picturesque, but on the whole it is not a bad arrangement for the old-fashioned purpose of the greatest good of the greatest number.

Sir, these sentiments, I hope—not only I hope, but I am sure—are the sentiments of the Liberal party in Canada. They were the sentiments of Lafontaine and Baldwin, of Blake and Dorion, those pioneers of these principles in Canada. I am sure that they are the sentiments of those who sit beside me under the leadership of one who, if he were not in his place in this House to-night, I would proclaim as the greatest among those who have preached the gospel of peace and goodwill in this Dominion of Canada. Our commercial policy has been attacked; our social policy has been attacked; but, Sir, the Liberal party, though success has not always crowned its efforts, will continue in the path that seems to us to be the straight and the right one, never forgetting that in the long run the immutable truth will prevail.

Mr. SEMPLE. Mr. Speaker, I have listened with a great deal of pleasure to the speech that was so well delivered by the hon. member for Kent (Mr. McInerney). I also admired very much the speech of the hon. member for St. John (Mr. Hazen). I think it was remarkable that two hon. gentlemen bearing every evidence of the greatest prosperity should speak on behalf of a province in which there appears to be to a certain extent a lack of prosperity. No doubt it was to show the contrast, and if a person wanted counsellors to speak on his behalf, those hon. gentlemen, who spoke so well, would no doubt be the very best exponents of a bad case that could be got. I do not intend to follow in the line of those hon. gentlemen; but I propose to speak from the farmer's standpoint, on that branch of the subject with which I am best acquainted. The hon. Finance Minister, in his Budget speech, gave expression to an old and exploded theory, which was given up by the farmers years ago. He stated that in 1877, 1878 and 1879 about \$10,500,000 more, on the average, was exported from the United States to Canada than in the last three years. Well, Sir, I took the trouble to investigate the subject, and I found that there was no basis for that statement. I remember hearing that same statement made about the time the National Policy was originally propounded. It was said a great deal of grain—Indian corn, oats and wheat—comes into Canada from the United States, and if we can only shut this out, we shall be conferring a benefit on the farmers of this country. They had the opportunity to do so, but it had not the effect intended, for since then prices have got lower nearly every year. I shall just show the effect that the import of about \$10,000,000 a year from the United States had on the country, and I think that should be enough to explode the theory of hon. gentlemen opposite if any one believed in it. The Minister of Finance told us that in the last three years about \$10,500,000 less of the products of the United States were imported to this country than during the last three years under a revenue tariff, and dilated on the benefit that was to the farmer. Now, we imported into Canada in 1878, 5,635,403 bushels of wheat, value \$6,510,131, costing at the rate of \$1.15 a bushel. The same year we exported to Great Britain, not the produce of Canada, 4,112,894 bushels, value \$6,253,703, which was sold at \$1.52 per bushel. In this direction there was a gain of 37 cents per bushel to those handling that grain, or \$1,521,770. Then there was Indian corn, the importation of which they said was a disadvantage to the farmer. In the same year there was imported of Indian corn from the United States 7,387,590 bushels, value \$3,535,579, purchased at a cost of 47 cents per bushel. Then we exported corn, not the produce of Canada, to the amount of 3,986,905 bushels, value \$2,677,752, bringing 67 cents per bushel, or a gain of .20 cents per

bushel, making in all \$797,380. We also exported peas, the product of Canada, to Great Britain, 1,684,991 bushels, value \$1,429,425, at 85 cents per bushel. Therefore, instead of these importations being a disadvantage to the farmer it was an advantage. It brought in money to the shippers and forwarders, and a large number of people were engaged in the handling of that grain. It is also well known that until the National Policy was propounded, we never heard that this importation of grain was injurious to Canada, and it was only when the National Policy was first advanced that this pretension was put forward. The only effect of the duties has been to stop our produce merchants from buying where they could buy cheaply. In the United States they have not as good barns on the farms on their prairies as we have in this country. Consequently it is an advantage for them to sell early to the Canadians, who buy cheaply and hold the grain for a profit. But now our merchants have to sell in bond nearly the same amount of goods come in as before, only they have to sell in bond, and if they wish to sell a hundred barrels of oatmeal they have to pay 10 cents duty on each bushel of oats imported. This causes the farmer to pay \$1 a barrel more for his oatmeal to the miller in each case. In fact, he has to pay a larger price than could be realized by the miller in the markets of Great Britain. When I heard the speech of the Finance Minister in dealing with the reductions in the tariff I was very glad to hear that a reduction was made in agricultural implements from 35 to 20 per cent. The Montreal 'Gazette,' which supports the Government, says this is virtually a revenue tariff. Well, as such, we must commend that tariff. What the Liberal party has always contended for is a revenue tariff as much as possible. The Government are doing what the Liberal party has contended for ever since 1878 in that respect. The Minister of Railways and Canals said that no fault has been found with the tariff except in a general way—that the Opposition specified no articles on which they wished the duty reduced. I will remind him of two articles—binder twine and barbed wire. The article of binder twine was discussed in this House last session to a large extent, and it is unfair to the farming community that while the Government have boasted that raw material of all kinds should be free to the manufacturers, and that the fishermen should have their salt and fishing tackle free, the binder twine is not free, although it is the raw material of the farmers; his grain cannot be put into the barn until it is used. I note that the United States Congress has put binder twine on the free list, so that even in the United States more regard is had for the farmer than in this country. While the duty on agricultural implements is being reduced, the duty on binder twine and barbed wire shows conclusively that the protective principle is main-

tained in those respects, and this tariff is therefore nothing but a mongrel tariff. Barbed wire is a very important article ; in the older provinces, when the first fence begins to fall down, people need to have the barbed wire as cheap as possible. The hon. member for Assiniboia (Mr. Davin), in an eloquent speech last session, showed conclusively that in Manitoba and the North-west, 6 cents and 7 cents had to be paid, and of that 1½ cents was due to the duty. Now, Sir, only a small portion of the binding twine used in this country is imported, the duties paid amounting to only about \$33,000 in round numbers. The amount for barbed wire and buckthorn wire collected does not amount to \$6,000. So that there is less than \$40,000 of revenue from barbed wire and binding twine. This makes it plain that it is not for the purpose of revenue that the Government maintains this duty, but to afford protection to the manufacturers at the expense of the consumers, who are obliged to buy large quantities of these goods. I am very glad, Sir, that some of the Conservatives have agreed with us in the statements that we have made. The hon. member for Assiniboia has pointed out that you cannot protect wheat ; that the price of wheat depends upon the price at Liverpool. So it is, Sir, with all the produce that goes to Liverpool. The hon. Controller of Customs gave some figures of these exports, specifying the articles and showing that the total was about \$39,000,000. When that produce reaches Liverpool it must compete with what is sent there from every portion of the world. And if the farmer is thus called upon to face the competitions of the market abroad, why should he be called upon to give to manufacturers the protection which cannot be given to himself. A celebrated writer in the United States said truly that the only protection any person required in the United States was protection against the violence of others—this applies to all countries. All the people in a country cannot be benefited equally by protection. When protection is granted to a manufacturer it necessarily means that an undue advantage is given to him, and the profits or advantages he gets must be the result of excessive charges he has been able to collect from the consumers of the country. I was very glad to read the remarks of the Finance Minister when he spoke about the boon he was about to confer on Manitoba. I shall read his words and then ask an opportunity to make a few comments :—

With reference to woods, logs and round, un-manufactured timber, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act ; firewood, handle bolts, railroad ties, ship timber and ship-planking not specially provided for in this act, and other woods as mentioned in the schedule, are free. This a special concession and I hope will prove a useful one in Manitoba and the North-west. There was no

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one feature of our examination into the condition of things in that part of the country, which impressed itself so forcibly on my mind as the combine which existed for the distribution and sale of lumber. Every town was parcelled out. One or two men were selected, to whom was given the monopoly of selling in each place. The prices were fixed, and if they sold a fraction of a cent under the fixed prices, their privilege was taken away and given to somebody else. That monopoly bore heavily on the people in that country, where lumber is so essentially necessary in the making of barns and houses, and I came to the conclusion that if possible help would be given by putting lumber upon the free list, and that has been done.

That is what every Liberal has always declared, that the effectual way to meet and abolish the combines was to abolish their monopoly by taking off the duty, just as the Finance Minister has done in this case. It will be remembered that a few years ago a committee was appointed by this House to investigate the subject of the combines. A great deal of evidence was taken before that committee, which proved that combines existed, and, as Parliament felt that this should not be, a law was passed, the best that the skill of Parliament could devise, in order to kill these combines. That law has now been in force for a number of years, but we do not hear of its having much effect. Had the Government simply taken off the duty, the law would have been unnecessary, for the combines could not have existed without the protection afforded them by the duty. When this policy is followed combines will cease and consumers will be able to buy their goods at the true market value. Now, Sir, it has been said that Great Britain is almost our only market and that our trade with that market is increasing every year. To a certain extent that is true. I would like to read a table I have prepared on this subject. While it is true that Great Britain is the natural market for a large number of staple articles that the farmer has to sell, it is likewise true that it is not the most profitable market for many other articles produced by the farmers. For our wheat, peas, oats, cheese, butter, bacon, horned cattle and apples England is the proper market, as the following report will show :

| | Exports. | Value. |
|------------------------------|-------------|------------|
| | Bushels. | £ |
| Wheat—Great Britain | 8,617,967 | 6,666,382 |
| United States | 454,633 | 246,568 |
| Peas—Great Britain | 2,429,669 | 1,727,496 |
| United States | 457,856 | 422,922 |
| Oats—Great Britain | 6,261,258 | 2,137,145 |
| United States | 63,300 | 23,635 |
| | Lbs. | |
| Cheese—Great Britain | 133,559,110 | 13,360,237 |
| United States | 163,664 | 23,578 |

| | Exports. | Value. |
|--------------------------|------------|-----------|
| | Bushels. | \$ |
| Butter—Great Britain.... | 6,076,757 | 1,118,614 |
| United States.... | 41,323 | 7,539 |
| Bacon—Great Britain.... | 17,274,676 | 1,828,555 |
| United States.... | 2,132 | 288 |
| | No. | |
| Horned cattle—G. Britain | 99,904 | 7,402,208 |
| U. States. | 402 | 11,032 |

In the item of apples, we exported last year to Great Britain 946,063 barrels, of the value of \$2,247,482; to the United States we exported 28,302 barrels, of the value of \$447,249. These are the staple articles the natural market for which is Great Britain. We expect this state of things will continue; but, while that is the case, every farmer who has studied the question knows very well that there is a large number of articles the proper market for which is the United States. I will read from the Trade and Navigation Returns a list of a number of articles the proper market for which is the United States, showing our exports to both Great Britain and the United States:

| | Exports. | Value. |
|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| | No. | \$ |
| Horses—United States.... | 10,606 | 1,123,339 |
| Great Britain.... | 1,946 | 274,310 |
| | | 990,443 |
| Sheep—United States.... | 337,718 | 1,088,814 |
| Great Britain.... | 14,821 | 133,222 |
| | Bush. | |
| Barley—United States.... | 1,431,398 | 638,271 |
| Great Britain.... | 550,695 | 278,515 |
| | Tons. | |
| Hay—United States.... | 94,282 | \$54,958 |
| Great Britain.... | 50,892 | 515,461 |
| | Bush. | |
| Potatoes—United States.. | 800,225 | 259,176 |
| Great Britain.. | 5,876 | 2,645 |
| Vegetables—United States | | 165,837 |
| Great Britain | | 25 |
| | Doz. | |
| Eggs—United States.... | 2,664,942 | 324,355 |
| Great Britain.... | 4,104,632 | 538,944. |
| Poultry—United States.... | | 52,114 |
| Great Britain.... | | 5,304 |

Mr. McNEILL. Does the hon. gentleman happen to know how much barley was exported from the United States to England last year?

Mr. SEMPLE. I do not know. That is

another question that concerns the United States more than this country.

Mr. McNEILL. I did not desire to interrupt the hon. gentleman, but I wished to remind him of the fact that the United States is exporting an enormous quantity of barley to England at the present time.

Mr. SEMPLE. Well, we are only concerned as to the trade between Canada and the United States. But I tell the hon. gentleman, that the McKinley tariff has ruined the barley market in this country. Although the Government has taken credit for putting a duty on the pork, and flour, and beef that has come into Canada, it was a blue day for the Dominion of Canada when that Act was passed in 1890. The United States and Canada generally copy each other. The action of the McKinley tariff has destroyed our barley market. The barley that was sold to all countries last year amounted to less than one million dollars, while Ontario alone in 1889, before the McKinley tariff, exported to the United States barley to the value of \$6,300,000, in round numbers. We have lost on our barley, in one year, over \$5,000,000; we have lost on horses over \$1,000,000 yearly; we have lost on eggs \$1,000,000 yearly. Now, I could hardly understand why it was that the Controller of Inland Revenue made this statement in his address:

Now, if the United States ever did anything that was for the benefit of this country, it was the passing of the McKinley Bill, enacted, I think, in a spirit of unfriendliness, at all events, not in a neighbourly spirit.

The hon. gentleman, if reports are correct, has been all over the country asking the farmers what they need. It seemed to me that the farmers that came before him had been loaded up for the occasion, because I have not met a single farmer opposed to tariff reform who does not say that it is to our advantage to have trade as free as possible with our neighbours across the line. The United States is our natural market for many articles. It is a convenient market—we can raise what they need, and what they buy from us is the best article obtainable at the cheapest price; and this trade is carried on notwithstanding the erection of almost a prohibitory wall between the two countries, the imposition of duties amounting to \$4 per ton on hay, \$30 on a horse worth \$100, \$45 on one worth \$150 and \$60 on one worth \$200. Nevertheless our farmers find their best market in the United States, with its almost prohibitory limit, although there is a free market in England. On every sheep a duty is levied of 75 cents, and yet over \$1,000,000 worth is sold yearly in the American market. On potatoes 25 cents per bushel duty. There was a time when the National Policy had some advocates in the country, but they are

less in numbers daily. That is the reason why the Government have endeavoured to make it appear to the people that they are going to reduce the tariff. The people certainly want tariff reduction. Hon. gentlemen opposite have acknowledged in unmistakable language that the reduction of the tariff gives goods at cheaper rates to consumers. Hon. members heard the Finance Minister make the statement last session that \$3,500,000 were taken from the people in burdens of taxation. We have been further informed this session that a further reduction has been made of \$1,500,000, or a total of \$5,000,000. If \$5,000,000 have been taken off in two years, it would indicate that over \$70,000,000 have been extracted from the pockets of the consumers since the inception of the National Policy. If \$70,000,000 were so taken from the people in that time and only reductions made in duties on sugar and a few other articles, how much greater would the reduction have been if the tariff had been brought down to the basis of revenue requirements. However, we must be thankful for small mercies. The Government is advancing in a correct direction, and so long as it continues in that direction, it will be a matter of consolation to members of the Opposition. Hon. gentlemen opposite are certainly carrying out the views which the Opposition have long advocated, and we only hope that they will go further as opportunity may occur. We shall be glad to see the principles we advocate to-day carried into effect, whether we are in opposition or not, so long as the country is benefited and the prosperity of the people increased.

Mr. SPROULE moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

VACANCIES IN THE SENATE.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I was asked to-day to give the dates of the vacancies that occurred in the Senate. I find that one of the existing vacancies took place in 1890, two in 1891, one in 1892, two in 1893 and one in 1894.

Mr. LAURIER. Will the hon. gentleman please give the dates of the appointments of their successors?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes, as soon as the appointments are made.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 11.20 p.m.

Mr. SEMPLE.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, 3rd April, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 20) respecting the Wood Mountain and Qu'Appelle Railway Company.—(Mr. McDonald, Assiniboia.)

Bill (No. 21) to incorporate the St. Clair and Erie Ship Canal Company.—(Mr. Tisdale.)

Bill (No. 22) respecting the Winnipeg and Hudson Bay Railway Company, and to change the name thereof to the Winnipeg Great Northern Railway Company.—(Mr. Ross, Lisgar.)

Bill (No. 24) to reduce, from twelve to seven, the number of Grand Jurors necessary to find a true bill in the province of Ontario.—(Mr. Edgar.)

EDMONTON TRAMWAY.

Mr. DAVIS (Alberta) moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 23) respecting ordinance No. 32 of 1893, of the North-west Territories, empowering the municipality of the town of Edmonton to construct and operate a tramway.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I would like to inquire of the First Minister, as a matter of legal opinion, whether tramways are not within the authority of the North-west Council. Railways, of course, are not; but I should have imagined that tramways might be within their authority.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. There are no words in the Act by which the distinction could be made, I fancy; and the application is made here, probably, on account of a doubt as to the power of the North-west Assembly.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

ADMISSION OF COAL OIL IN TANKS.

Mr. LANDERKIN asked, At how many places in Ontario where coal oil is admitted in tanks, is it now barrelled? What is the name of each place?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). Coal oil which is admitted in tanks in Ontario is barrelled at the undermentioned places: London, St. Thomas, Detroit, Stratford, Hamilton, Toronto, Toronto Junction, Chippewa, Whitby, Peterboro', Port Hope, Belleville, Kingston, Brockville, Smith's Falls and Ottawa—in all, 16.

INVERNESS, N.S., MAILS.

Mr. FRASER asked, What were the amounts paid per month to H. A. Archibald, mail contractor, for carrying mails in the county of Inverness, during the last twelve months ending the 28th day of February last? Was the work done by contract?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Payment was not made to Mr. Archibald by the month but by the quarter. The last payment was for the quarter ended 31st December, 1893. The aggregate amount paid was \$2,447.45. The work was done partly by contract, partly by temporary agreement pending contract.

BALANCE DUE THE MISSISSAUGAS.

Mr. PATERSON (Prant) asked, What is the amount of the Indian Trust Fund at the credit of the Mississaugas of the Credit, as per Auditor General's Report and Report of Department of Indian Affairs, respectively? Is there a difference in the balances of these two reports? What is the amount of such difference, which balance is the correct one, and how is the difference to be explained?

Mr. DALY. The balance at the credit of the Mississaugas, per Report of Department of Indian Affairs, June 30th, 1893, was: Capital, \$113,636.14; interest, \$706.97; total, \$114,343.11. The balance per Auditor General's Report, June 30th, 1893, was \$86,344.24. There is a difference of \$27,998.87. The balance as per Auditor General's Report is correct. An Order in Council of the 30th June, 1884, authorized the Department of Indian Affairs to credit the Mississaugas of the Credit with \$68,672.01, an amount due the tribe by the old province of Canada for land sold. That amount was accordingly credited to these Indians in the books of the department, and they were allowed interest thereon. But the Auditor General took no action on the Order in Council, and hence the difference in the showing of his report and that of the Department of Indian Affairs as to the balance at the credit of the Mississaugas. On a report from the Auditor General, the Treasury Board directed, on the 31st March last, that, as the amount had not been collected by the Dominion Government, but formed one of the unsettled accounts between the late province of Canada and the Dominion, the original entry made by the Department of Indian Affairs should be reversed and the over-expenditure of interest made good if possible. The question of the liability of the old province of Canada for the amount is now before the arbitrators appointed to settle the disputed accounts.

POST OFFICE OF ST. ROCH, QUEBEC.

Mr. CHOQUETTE (Translation) asked, 1. Who is the owner of the property leased by the Government for the post office of St. Roch,

Quebec? 2. What is the rental? 3. To whom is the said rent paid? 4. Since what date has the lease existed?

Sir A. P. CARON (Translation.) 1. The lease of the property for the post office of St. Roch, Quebec, was signed by the Postmaster General and Felix Eugène Turcotte. 2. The rental is \$700 a year. 3. The rent is paid to Mr. F. E. Turcotte. 4. The lease exists since the 1st of May, 1893.

CATTLE DISEASE IN GREY.

Mr. FAIRBAIRN. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I would like from the Government some information respecting a statement made yesterday by the hon. member for South Grey (Mr. Landerkin), that the cattle disease was prevalent in the county of Grey. That is a very damaging statement, and is calculated to do a great deal of harm to the farmers throughout this country who are engaged in cattle raising. I feel individually concerned in this matter as well as publicly, and I want to know if the Government are prepared to make any statement of facts contradicting the allegation that this disease exists among our cattle.

Mr. FOSTER. In answer to the hon. gentleman's question, I wish to say that the hon. member for Grey simply revived an old matter which had already been attended to. About a month ago the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) sent in a report containing a diagnosis of the symptoms of a disease amongst cattle in that county, undoubtedly the same as referred to by the hon. member for South Grey (Mr. Landerkin). The letter was immediately referred to Prof. Andrew Smith, of Toronto, the Chief Veterinary Inspector of the Department of Agriculture for the province of Ontario, who was instructed to make an immediate investigation and report. Prof. Smith did so, replying that he had previous notice of the disease referred to, stating that he had been in communication, both personally and by letter, with veterinary surgeons practising in the district, in relation to such disease. He reported that the disease was confined to the limbs and feet, that it was due to local causes. He said he had been examining the provender, and had in that discovered the probable cause, namely, gangrenous ergotism. He added that there was no cause for alarm, and that he would make a further investigation and report. This morning the following telegram was received from Prof. Smith:—

Toronto, April 3, 1894.

To the Minister of Agriculture:

I notice that the subject of cattle disease in the county of Grey was brought up in the House yesterday. The disease is non-contagious, and due to local causes, and there is no cause for alarm.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Before the Government Orders are called, I want to inquire if any steps have been taken by the Minister of Finance to cause the Committee of Public Accounts to be organized?

Mr. FOSTER. The committee will be organized on Thursday morning.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

House resumed the adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Foster:

That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair for the House to go into Committee of Ways and Means; and the motion of Sir Richard Cartwright in amendment thereto.

Mr. SPOULE. Mr. Speaker, in addressing myself to the subject before this House. I wish, first, to congratulate the hon. Minister of Finance upon the clear, lucid and satisfactory statements that he has given to this House, and through this House to the country, of the financial condition of Canada. I also wish to congratulate the Minister of Finance and his colleagues upon the assiduity with which they have addressed themselves to the subject since the last session of Parliament, in fulfilment of the promises then made to go through the country and ascertain what changes could be made in the tariff in the interests of the people of the country. I congratulate them on the success which has attended that effort. I also congratulate them on the fact that their most able critics in this House, in the onslaught they have made on the Budget speech, have been up to the present time unable to find any great flaw in it; and that the consensus of opinion on the Opposition side of the House has been that the tariff proposals were in the right direction, and that, although they did not go so far as they anticipated, still they admit candidly, some of them, others very reluctantly, that the changes which are made in the tariff are in the right direction. But there was another subject which sprang up in the course of this debate, and which I will take the earliest opportunity to refer to, and that is the disposition of hon. members upon that side of the House to deny the record which they placed before the country a few years ago, and the emphatic statement that was made by several hon. gentlemen in Opposition, notably by the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen), the hon. member for East Huron (Mr. Macdonald), and, I think, by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), and also by the hon. member for Queen's, P.E.I. (Mr. Davies), all denying that the Liberal party ever advocated commercial union, or accepted it as their platform and presented it as such to the people. It will be necessary for

Mr. FOSTER.

me for a short time to make a comparison between the platforms of the hon. gentlemen at various times in the history of the politics of the country. I take the present platform of 1894, and it is amusing, in view of the different resolutions that are on record to-day in the 'Hansard,' setting forth to the electorate of Canada the views of those gentlemen upon the condition of the country, the needs of the country, and the different policies which the country has required from time to time. The last one which they presented to the House only a few days ago reads as follows:—

That, while recognizing in the reductions proposed an admission to that extent of the evils inflicted upon the people by the system of high protective duties, this House is nevertheless of the opinion that the amendments suggested, being based upon the principle of protection and not solely upon the requirements of public service, are inadequate to afford satisfactory relief from the burdens of excessive and unfair taxation:

That the highest interests of Canada demand the adoption of a sound fiscal policy which, while not doing injustice to any class, will promote domestic and foreign trade and hasten the return of prosperity to our people:

That, to that end, the tariff should be reduced to the needs of honest, economical and efficient government, should have eliminated from it the principle of protection to particular industries at the expense of the community at large and should be imposed for revenue only.

Now, that may all be simmered down to two features, the elimination of protection in every form, and a tariff for revenue purposes. That is the platform that hon. gentlemen are pleased to present to the country to-day as containing their views regarding the needs of Canada. Now, let us look at their platform of last year. I find that their platform of last year is entirely different from the one they have at the present time. It is as follows:—

That the present customs tariff bears heavily and unjustly upon the great consuming classes of the Dominion and should be at once thoroughly reformed in the direction of freer trade.

It was not a revenue tariff, it was not free trade then, but it was to be in the direction of freer trade.

And that the amount of taxes collected be limited to the sum required to meet the necessities of the Government efficiently and economically administered.

That was different from the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite to-day. To-day it is absence of protection and revenue tariff; last year it was reform of the tariff on the lines of the policy laid down by the Democratic party in the United States, from which hon. gentlemen opposite hoped so much. A portion of that resolution is exactly in the words of the platform laid down by the Democratic party. But we go back to the

previous occasion when they formulated their platform. How far does that platform accord with the views expressed by them to-day. It was as follows:—

That it is highly desirable that the largest possible freedom of commercial intercourse should obtain between the Dominion of Canada and the United States, and that it is expedient that all articles manufactured in or the natural product of either of the said countries should be admitted free of duty into the ports of the other (articles subject to duties of excise or of internal revenue alone excepted).

That was not a revenue tariff: it was practically a free trade tariff, not a freer trade tariff, but entirely a free trade tariff.

That it is further expedient that the Government of the Dominion should take steps at an early date to ascertain on what terms and conditions arrangements can be effected with the United States for the purpose of securing full and unrestricted reciprocity of trade therewith.

We say that is commercial union. Hon. gentlemen opposite deny it, and it will be necessary for me to quote the opinions expressed by hon. gentlemen opposite in confirmation of the statement I have made. But for a moment I should like to draw attention to the distinction between these three policies. We have to-day the elimination of protection while not doing away with the customs tariff, and we have a plea for a revenue tariff only. We had last year a declaration in favour of freer trade with the raising of the revenue that was consistent with the economical administration of affairs of this country. And the year before that we had unrestricted reciprocity, or a proposal to admit the goods of the United States into this country without any restriction whatever or any customs duty whatever, so far as it could be mutually agreed upon, a tariff framed upon the distinct line that not only the natural products but the manufactured goods of the United States should be admitted into this country free, while they expected the same treatment would be accorded in the United States to our goods. In considering this matter a short time, I will first draw the attention of the House to a pamphlet which was distributed very largely during the last elections. The copy I hold in my hand was addressed to a constituent of the hon. member for Kent, with the compliments of Mr. Campbell. It is entitled "Facts and Figures for Farmers," and it was evidently prepared with a view to educate the public mind of Canada, especially the farmers, up to the platform laid down by the Liberal party. It was issued to the people in 1891. I take up the paragraphs relating to the Liberal platform; and how does the pamphlet read? I find the following:—

The Conservative party now in power in Canada, by an amended tariff (just now made more than ever offensive), by a harsh interpretation of the Fisheries Treaty; by denying trading and bonding facilities

freely granted by the United States: by canal discrimination, and by a general policy of restriction, has made the commercial attitude of Canada one of direct antagonism to that of the United States. Meantime our neighbours just now propose to double the duties heretofore exacted on agricultural products, and thus practically shut out of the United States markets our Canadian commerce who derived more than half their income from this source. In view of this most serious condition of affairs, the Liberal party present as the only alternative, in the shape of an immediate and prominent remedy, the policy of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, which it is believed can be secured. The issue between the Conservative party and the Liberal party before the people of Canada is therefore plain and decisive. As a contribution to the information preparatory to this trouble, and in order that the advantages and possibilities of this Liberal policy may be plainly apprehended, the compilation of extracts in the following pages is submitted.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. From what is the hon. gentleman reading?

Mr. SPROULE. I am reading from "Facts and Figures," a pamphlet addressed by the Liberal party to the electors of Ontario during the electoral campaign in 1891. The pamphlet further says:

It will be borne in mind that the speeches from which these extracts are made were delivered long in anticipation of the present threatened action of Congress; but the force of the arguments adduced is rendered doubly strong by the certain result that will follow. As the securing of unrestricted reciprocity in the face of the threat of Congress to double the duties against Canadian products, this may be said, that those who, in the United States, keep the closest watch of the trend of public opinion, and are best informed as to the real situation of affairs, firmly believe that this great boon will be secured, if only the people of Canada express a strong desire for it. This they can do by the election of a Parliament who will respond to the terms of the Bill which was introduced into Congress by Mr. Butterworth (printed in the appendix), or by accepting the resolutions recently unanimously adopted by the Committee of Foreign Affairs, of which the Honourable R. R. Hitt is chairman, and which report, it is believed, would be adopted by both branches of Congress.

They told the people of Canada that if they elected members of the Reform party to Parliament this is the tariff they would obtain. This policy was formulated upon the line of Mr. Butterworth's Bill or the Hitt resolutions, and those resolutions embodied the views of the Reform party, and hon. gentlemen opposite were satisfied that if the electors would return them to power they would secure unrestricted reciprocity. The pamphlet further says:

Recent events indicate the desire by a large section of the American people for a change in their policy, regarding the unshackling of commerce on the continent of America, both North and South, and many indications point to a possibility of the

most intimate commercial relations between the United States and her near-by neighbours. In this Canada will participate, if only her people express a desire for the same. The resolution adopted by the Committee of Foreign Affairs is in the following simple words, and if made effective, in the spirit with which it has been presented, will have consequences to Canada of the highest moment :

“ Resolved, that whenever it shall be duly certified to the President of the United States that the Government of the Dominion of Canada has declared a desire to enter into such commercial arrangements with the United States as will result in the complete removal of all duties upon trade between Canada and the United States, he shall appoint three commissioners, to meet those who may be designated to represent the Government of Canada, to consider the best method of extending the trade relations between Canada and the United States, and to ascertain on what terms greater freedom of intercourse between the two countries can best be secured, and said commissioners shall report to the President, who shall lay the report before Congress.”

That is what they say in their address.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. In whose address ?

Mr. SPROULE. In the address of the Liberal party called “ Facts and Figures,” which was distributed to the farmers of Canada with a view to lead them to vote for the Reform party, because that party were prepared if returned to power to adopt this tariff policy. They go on to tell what the farmers’ mission was in shaping its policy :

If, while maintaining here in Canada a complete and separate political existence, and working out her own destiny as best she may, Canada can make such a commercial bargain with the United States as will permit her to remove the customs line that has hitherto retarded her, if she can gain all the material advantages of a union that shall be commercial and not political, why should she not do so ? If the consequence of that union should be to perpetuate British connection, if its consummation should remove the only argument that exists on behalf of annexation, what greater purpose can be achieved than by carrying it out ? The stupendous consequences that have followed in the United States from a freedom of trade between those great commonwealths would follow in Canada, if between the United States and Canada a perfect freedom existed. A development of resources so varied as Canada possesses, a growth in population equal to that which elsewhere on the continent has taken place, an increase in wealth in enterprise, in all that goes to make up a nation, is to-day within the grasp of Canada.

By whom shall this advantage be achieved ? By what class shall the effort be made to bring about this great revolution ? Certainly by the class it would most benefit ; and who, more than all others, but the farmers of Canada.

And all the farmers were advised to vote for it. Now, that is the way they speak of it in their instructions to the farmers of Canada.

Mr. SPROULE.

In another part of the pamphlet, in explaining it, they say :

It is well to consider that so far as Great Britain, as a nation, is concerned, nothing could happen so advantageously to her as a complete customs union between the English-speaking people of the continent of North America.

Remember that they use the words, “ complete customs union.” They quote again the Hitt resolution which I have already read, and they refer to the Butterworth Bill, and they say it is on the lines of these two that they are appealing to the electorate of Canada. But hon. gentlemen opposite say that they did not endorse commercial union, and that it is not their policy. I have quoted the resolution of 1888, and, in turning to the pages of ‘ Hansard ’ for 1891, what do I find ? We have been told by the Liberal members in this House that no prominent member of the Reform party either endorsed that policy of commercial union, or gave it to the country as theirs. It is, therefore, worth while to look, for a short time, at what these hon. gentlemen have said upon that subject.

Mr. CHARLTON. If I may be permitted to interrupt the hon. gentleman, may I ask that if he is through with the document from which he is reading, he would allow us to look at it

Mr. SPROULE. I am not through yet. It is too good to let go so early. I think the hon. gentlemen have plenty in their own desks if they will only use them. I take as the most important of those who have given an expression of opinion on this matter, the leader of the Opposition, because I suppose he ought to be the exponent or mouth-piece of his party, and I find in the ‘ Hansard ’ of June, 1891, that a quotation is made from the speech of the Hon. Mr. Laurier at a meeting held in Abbotsford the previous October, and he describes what he understands unrestricted reciprocity to be. He says :

This policy involves full and absolute reciprocity, not only in natural products, but also in manufactured articles, without any restrictions whatever. When the Liberal party comes into power, it will send commissioners to Washington—

It will be a long time before these commissioners go to Washington.

When the Liberal party comes into power, it will send commissioners to Washington, according to the principles affirmed by the Cartwright resolutions of 1888, to propose a mutual agreement by which there will be free trade along the whole line.

To-day their policy is not free trade, but it is a revenue tariff. Last year their policy was freer trade, and before that, it was unrestricted free trade. Mr. Laurier continued:

Doing away with restrictions, vexatious and detrimental to both countries alike, and removing the customs houses that go so far to cause friction

between two countries, designed by nature to exist side by side in friendly relations.

That was what the leader of the Liberal party said. The Hon. Mr. Laurier was in favour of striking down the customs houses along the whole line, and yet we are told that no prominent member of that party advocated commercial union. He goes on to say :

With commercial union between the two countries, we could dispense with the standing army, for, under the new relations that would be established between ourselves and our neighbours, there would be no necessity for one. We could do away with our custom-house officers, and they would have to seek other fields of usefulness.

Is that not explicit enough? Is that not an answer to the denials of the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), the hon. member for Wellington (Mr. McMullen), the hon. member for East Huron (Mr. Macdonald), and the other hon. gentlemen who made the denial the other night? If they want anything more specific than that statement from the leader of the Opposition, I would like to know where you could find it. Now, let us see what was the interpretation of the Liberal policy by outsiders, who are not members of this House. Goldwin Smith says :

The proposed assimilation of tariff, on the seaboard, is simply an arrangement to prevent reciprocal smuggling.

Let me show once more that commercial union and unrestricted reciprocity mean the same thing, and that Liberals understood it to mean the same thing, and that they endeavoured to educate the farmers of this country in the belief that it was the same thing, namely, the removal of the customs line between Canada and the United States. Again, Goldwin Smith says :

Commercial union would, of course, involve assimilation of tariffs, which, however, would present no insurmountable obstacle to negotiation. It would also involve an assimilation of the liquor (excise) duties.

Mr. LAURIER. Will the hon. gentleman pardon me for a moment. He referred to me a moment ago as having expressed myself in favour of commercial union. I once before corrected that in the House, and I stated that I never used any such expression at any time. The report that was made of these words was made at a meeting held in Abbotsford. I spoke in French, and there was not a single French reporter there. I never made use of any such expression. My hon. friend from Iberville (Mr. Béchard) was there, and knows what I state now to be a fact. It is seldom that I correct anything that is attributed to me in the press, but I stated in the House once before that I never made use of any such language as the hon. gentleman quoted, and I repeat my denial here.

Mr. BECHARD. Mr. Speaker, if I may be permitted, I wish to add a word to support the statement now made by the hon. leader of the Opposition. I was present at that meeting in Abbotsford. The leader of the Opposition spoke in French, and I spoke also, and there was not even a mention made of the words "commercial union."

Mr. SPROULE. As I never before heard the hon. gentleman contradict this as an unfair report of his speech, therefore, I cannot be blamed for quoting it again, especially as it appears in the 'Hansard.' I am, therefore, glad that he has made the contradiction, because I do not wish either to mislead the public or to misrepresent him, and therefore I allow the matter to pass with his explanation. But, Mr. Speaker, I want to prove and I think I can clearly prove it, that there is practically no distinction between unrestricted reciprocity and commercial union, and that it means one and the same thing. They are convertible terms, they are synonymous terms, and to prove that, I will give the authority of quite as able men in public life, both as parliamentarians and statesmen, as the hon. member who has just now contradicted me. I may be allowed to say just here that in this pamphlet to the farmers of Canada, it is stated that the Liberal policy is upon the lines of the Hitt resolution or the Butterworth Bill, and we might naturally ask what did Mr. Butterworth understand by commercial union, and what did Mr. Hitt understand by it? Mr. Hitt's resolution, the very resolution that they told the farmers they would get what they wanted by carrying it out, explains it thus :

The adoption by both countries of precisely the same tariff of duties or taxes to be levied on goods coming from abroad, abolishing altogether our line of customs houses on the north, by which we collect tariff duties on goods coming from Canada, and they abolishing their customs houses along the same line by which they collect duties on goods we send into Canada, and having intercourse as unrestricted between this country and Canada as it is between the States. The line of customs houses would follow the sea, and include both countries.

That is exactly what the Liberals have said with regard to unrestricted reciprocity. They have told us that commercial intercourse between Canada and the States should be as free and unrestricted as it is to-day between the different states of the union, that the line of customs-houses should follow the sea and include both countries. The Butterworth Bill and the Hitt resolution were the principles upon which they based their policy and upon which they were educating the people. Now, Mr. Butterworth says :

The adoption of the system proposed would involve the assimilation of tariffs, rates and internal revenue taxes, and possibly an arrangement for pooling receipts from customs, and a division on some equitable basis.

Now I come to another member of the Reform party, who, I think, may fairly be considered an authority in this House. I refer to the hon. member for Queen's, P.E.I.; and I see, by the way, that he is highly eulogised by Mr. Peters down there as one of the great powers of the House. I find that the hon. member made this statement before the Charlottetown Board of Trade—

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) That was contradicted twice.

Mr. SPROULE. This is what the hon. gentleman said:

Unrestricted reciprocity would differ from commercial union in this respect, that while it would be perfectly free trade between the two countries, each country would have the right to frame its own tariff as regards the rest of the world. Canada, for instance, might have a 25 per cent tariff while that of the United States might be one of 35 per cent. The immediate consequence would be that imports to the United States, instead of being carried to the great ports of the United States, would be taken to the States by the way of Montreal. To this the States, whose people are not arrant fools, would never consent, and unrestricted reciprocity, although it would suit as well as commercial union, was, therefore, impracticable.

And, therefore, commercial union was the only thing to be aimed at. Now, I have a pamphlet here, in which I find some plain talk on commercial union by Mr. Thomas Shaw, the permanent secretary of the Central Farmers' Institute of Ontario; and, by the way, the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), in a speech delivered in 1888 in this House, claimed that forty-eight of the farmers' institutes of Canada had practically pronounced in favour of this principle of unrestricted reciprocity or commercial union. But, before referring to Mr. Shaw's statement, I may be allowed to quote a statement made by the hon. member for North Norfolk himself. Whether he is considered an authority or not on the other side of the House I will not question. At Jarvis, Ont., in 1887, the hon. gentleman made the following statement regarding commercial union:—

It was simply a customs union between two or more independent states where a common tariff and excise laws were adopted, and the revenue collected, after deducting expenses of collection, was divided among the participants upon the basis of population or any other basis that might be agreed upon, while all trade restrictions between them were removed. The application of the principle between Canada and United States would require that the two countries should have the same excise rates and the same tariff upon imports from all other countries should be divided upon conditions hereafter to be arranged, that the customs line between the two countries from ocean to ocean should be removed, and that trade between Canada and the United States should be in every respect as free and untrammelled as trade between the different states of the American Union was at the present moment.

Mr. SPROULE.

Mr. CHARLTON. Will the hon. gentleman allow me one word of explanation? At Jarvis, I was proceeding to define to the audience that I was addressing what constituted commercial union and what constituted reciprocity; and the statement I made, which is repeated by the hon. gentleman, was not an advocacy of commercial union, but a definition to the audience of what commercial union was.

Mr. SPROULE. Well, I will give the hon. gentleman one of his own definitions in this House. The hon. gentleman is one of those kaleidoscopic political economists who, every time they open their mouth, show a change of scene; but in the main, he always keeps in view the same principle of unrestricted reciprocity or commercial union. Here is what he said:

Mr. CHARLTON. I might as well define what I understand commercial union to mean. The definition read by the Minister of the Interior, quoted from the speech made by me in Haldimand, is exactly what I do understand commercial union to mean. I understand commercial union to mean an arrangement between two or more powers or as many more as chose to join—for instance, the commercial union of Germany embraced all the German states—

That union in Germany was a commercial union, established for the perfect freedom of commerce among the German states, just as he says unrestricted reciprocity means as perfect freedom of commerce between Canada and the United States, as exists to-day among the different states of the Union:

—an arrangement made between two or more countries whereby they adopt a common tariff and common excise laws, abolish all commercial restrictions between themselves, abolish all customs lines between themselves, collect a revenue at any point where the goods may be entered from any country not a member of the union; throw that whole revenue into one common fund and divide that fund.

That was the same line on which he advocated the principle before the people of the country; and surely I am not misquoting him when I quote this as what he understands by commercial union. I have also a statement of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) as follows:—

There is no doubt whatever in my mind, also, that we cannot overlook the risk that does undoubtedly arise, that increased commercial intercourse with the United States may strengthen the hands of those who desire to see our political system absorbed in theirs.

And further he goes on to say:

I have no hesitation in saying, frankly, that if the United States are willing to deal with us on equitable terms the advantages to both countries, and especially to us, are so great that scarcely any sacrifice is too severe to secure them. I am as averse as any man can be to annexation, or to resign

our political independence, but I cannot shut my eyes to the facts. We have greatly misused our advantages, we have been foolish in our expenditures, we have no means of satisfying the just demands of large portions of the Dominion, except through such an arrangement as commercial union.

There is the position of the hon. member for South Oxford; and in the face of it, will any hon. gentleman say that no member of the Reform party ever advocated commercial union?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. May I ask what the hon. gentleman is quoting from?

Mr. SPROULE. I have quoted from the 'Hansard.'

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Where? What year, and what occasion?

Mr. SPROULE. It is a quotation from a speech of the hon. gentleman, made in 1888 at Ingersol, and quoted in this House by the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill); the hon. gentleman can find it for himself. Now, I take up the pamphlet of Mr. Shaw, the secretary of the Central Farmers' Institute, who endeavoured to enlighten the electorate on behalf of the Reform party on the subject of unrestricted reciprocity. He refers to a resolution passed by the Farmers' Institute, and what does that resolution say:

In the opinion of this Institute, a removal of all the restrictions on trade between the Dominion of Canada and the United States is desirable, either by reciprocity or otherwise.

Commercial union, unrestricted reciprocity, or otherwise. Then, the resolution expresses the opinion that if we cannot get that, the Dominion Government should suggest to the Government of Great Britain:

The expediency of entering into a commercial union with her colonies with regard to food supplies and imposing a protective tariff against all foreign countries.

Then Mr. Shaw goes on to say:

Commercial union between Canada and the United States implies a free interchange of all the products of both countries of whatsoever nature, whether of the waters, the soil, the sea and the mines. It would involve (1) an assimilation of tariff against all other countries; (2) of internal revenue taxes; and (3) very probably an arrangement for pooling receipts and customs, and distributing the same.

In this way he held that it would involve the abolition of all custom-houses between the two countries. Further, he says:

There is really no difference between what is implied by the use of the terms Commercial Union and Unrestricted Reciprocity in this case, for the latter involves an assimilation of tariffs and internal revenue, as well as the former. The terms are synonymous and interchangeable.

He recognized no difference between the two terms. Do hon. gentlemen opposite want anything stronger than that? Then, I take up the letter of Mr. Blake, written at the time he abandoned the party, because it had adopted unrestricted reciprocity, or, what he understood to be the same thing, commercial union, and what does he say about it:

The absence of agreement would give to each country power to disturb at will the industrial system of the other; and unrestricted reciprocity without an agreed assimilation of duties is an unsubstantial dream.

No politician ever believed it could be worked out. Again, he goes on to say:

Since any practical arrangement does substantially involve, not only differential duties but a common tariff, unrestricted reciprocity in these its redeeming features is difficult to distinguish from Commercial Union. And Commercial Union establishing a common tariff, abolishing international customs-houses and dividing the total duties between the two countries, in agreed proportions—is the more available perhaps, the only available plan

Then, further on, he says:

What is the position of the people of Canada, —our hopes and our fears alike would draw one way. We would then indeed be "looking to Washington." Nor is there any fair comparison in this respect between the new and the old reciprocal arrangements.

We would then, he says, speaking of the policy of unrestricted reciprocity, indeed be looking to Washington. Then I go on further, and find that he speaks of unrestricted reciprocity as follows:—

Without needless lengthy recapitulation, you will see, by contrasting my views with those of the present advocates of free trade with the States, several serious questions of a difficulty and difference—for example, uniformity of tariff and its control; deficiency of revenue and its supply—on which I am unable to adopt their opinions.

Then he goes on to say:

Assuming that absolute free trade with the United States; best described as commercial union, because every one knows then what it means—may and ought to come, I believe that it can and should come, only as an incident or at any rate as a well understood precursor of political union; for which indeed we should be able to make better terms, before than after the surrender of our commercial independence. Then, so believing—believing that the decision of the trade question involves a constitutional issue for which you are unprepared, and with which you do not conceive yourselves to be dealing—how can I properly recommend you now to decide on Commercial Union.

Do not decide, he says, on commercial union, the policy laid down by the Reform party, and because of which he was abandoning the party. He winds up his letter as follows:—

Since I cannot help, to hurt as little as I may : and therefore, to go down with my own little ship in silence, bearing for the moment all consequent misconstructions, and leaving, till the ides of March be past, the explanation of my action.

If there is anything plainer than that needed to show what we are to understand by unrestricted reciprocity, I should like to know it. I have given quotations from Mr. Blake, who was the leader of the party then, and who abandoned the party because of its policy. I have given quotations from speeches of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), the hon. member for Queen's, P.E.I. (Mr. Davies), the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) and some others ; and I have gone outside that and taken up the Butterworth Bill and the resolutions recommended to Canada as the solution of our commercial difficulties at that time, and upon which the Opposition asked the electors of Canada to return them to power. And I find it understood in every instance that commercial union and unrestricted reciprocity are one and the same thing. There is a little sheet which I intended to present to the House to-day, but on which I find I cannot lay my hands just now. It is the fly-sheet which was distributed in Bruce, at the time of Mr. Cargill's last election. It was headed, "Vote for Truax and commercial union." Then it goes on to say what commercial union means—It means \$50 more for every horse you sell ; 30 cents per bushel more for every bushel of barley you sell ; and it sums up the whole by calling on the people to vote for commercial union and Mr. Truax and the Reform party. I was told that some innocent farmer was simple enough to believe this fly-sheet and to vote for Mr. Truax. Mr. Truax got in, and the next day this honest farmer came into the town of Walkerton with a horse, for which he would have accepted the week before \$100, and wanted \$150 for it. He returned, convinced that no reliance was to be placed in the statements of that fly-sheet, intended to dupe the electors of that riding. I shall now leave this subject, and, with the permission of the House, will address myself for a short time to the amendment. They ask that the protective tariff be done away with and a revenue tariff substituted. Let us see what the tariff changes in Canada have been for a long time. I find that the tariff to-day is simply and strictly a revenue tariff, with incidental protection—what the people of Canada want. It is a tariff calculated to raise revenue without unnecessarily bearing heavily on any class of the community, and at the same time protecting Canadian industries against foreign competition. It is a national tariff. It is a National Policy and a Canadian policy, and it is also a revenue tariff. I have here a little work, very nicely compiled, giving the changes in the tariff for a great many years past. What does this work say :

Mr. SPROULE.

The first tariff enforced, in 1849, was a revenue tariff, it was 12½ per cent on certain classes of goods and 2½ on heavier goods such as iron. In 1856 the duty on general merchandise was raised to 15 per cent because they wanted more revenue, and on leather it was raised to 20 per cent.

If I understood the hon. member for Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) correctly last year, he said that in 1879, for the first time, a protective tariff was introduced as the policy of this country. But I find that as far back as 1858 the Hon. Mr. Cayley, Inspector General, then submitted what he was pleased to call an incidentally protective tariff, calculated to protect the interests of Canada. The inauguration of a protective policy was announced for the purpose of developing home manufactures and for that purpose a 20 per cent list of articles was enumerated. And the manufactures of leather as boots, shoes, harness and saddlery, and clothing or wearing apparel made by hand or machinery was made. The tariff of 1859 was an increase of duty on the same lines. It was a further carrying out of the aim and purpose of protection, begun in 1858, and it was done for the double purpose of raising revenue—because if you look at the Trade and Navigation Returns you will find that the revenue was falling very fast—for the purpose of raising additional revenue and also for the purpose of protecting the interest of Canada. The principal difference was in the advance on goods unenumerated in 1859 to 20 per cent instead of 15 per cent. During the seven years between 1859 and 1866, when the tariff was again changed, the advance in manufactures was very great in Canada. The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) the other night said that manufactures in Canada had grown during that period. And he forgot to tell the members of this House and the people of the country that there was a protective tariff then, and that, in consequence of that protective tariff, the development of the manufactures of the country had gone on. The change in 1866 was a reduction to 15 per cent on those lines that had paid 20 per cent and 25 per cent before. The changes of 1867 and the Act of April, 1868, were a further carrying out of the purposes of the Act of 1866. If I had time I would show that because the revenue would allow it they reduced the burden upon the people of the country, and they thought the manufacturers had got a fair footing and were able to stand alone, comparatively speaking, without the rate of protection given them under the previous Acts. Under the Act of 1870 the principal changes made were a reduction of the duties on live animals to 10 per cent ad valorem. Before that they were : Horses, \$15 per head ; horned cattle, \$10 per head ; swine, \$2 per head. In 1870 to meet the exigencies of revenue, all customs duties were increased 5 per cent, or 1-20 of their amount. The revenue was falling off, and they were

obliged to raise the tariff rates. The change that attracted most attention was the imposition of a duty on natural products, such as coal and coke. Salt, except imported from the United Kingdom or British possessions, or for the use of the Sea Gulf fisheries, per bushel of 56 pounds, 5 cents, equal to 25 cents a barrel of 280 pounds. Hops, 5 cents per pound; rice, 1 cent per pound; wheat, 4 cents per bushel; peas, beans, barley, rye, oats, Indian corn, buckwheat, 3 cents per bushel; flour of wheat and flour of rye, 25 cents per barrel; Indian meal and oatmeal, 15 cents per barrel. In 1871 these duties were struck off, as also was the 1-20 added to all duties in 1870 to raise revenue. In 1874 the Reform party was in power, and they found it necessary to put on a tariff in order to raise a revenue. What did Sir Richard Cartwright, who was then the Finance Minister, do in order to raise that revenue? We heard it said the other night that this present tariff was based upon no principle of political economy. The hon. gentleman seems to consider himself an authority upon economic science, and retorted across the floor of the House that hon. gentlemen on this side had better learn the A B C of political economy before they undertook to teach hon. gentlemen opposite. The hon. gentleman said this tariff was based upon no principle; that it was not a revenue tariff; that it was not distinctly a protective tariff; that it was not a tariff of specific duties nor a tariff of ad valorem duties. He condemned the old tariff on the ground that it was made up largely of specific duties, declaring that specific duties bore heavily upon the poor man and therefore were wrong. One would suppose that a gentleman who knew a wrong, and had the opportunity to correct it, would not commit that wrong himself. The hon. gentleman had the privilege of amending that wrong when he made the tariff of 1874, and you would have expected him, Mr. Speaker, if he understood political economy, to raise the taxes upon an ad valorem basis, seeing that that is the one which he says is correct. But what did he do when he was called upon to raise the duty? Did he follow what he says is the true principle of political economy? He raised the duties 2½ per cent on all unenumerated articles, and, upon those lines which constitute, as we believe, the necessaries of life, such as tea and coffee, he laid a specific duty. He first raised the duty on tea to 4 cents a pound, and afterwards increased it to 6 cents a pound. So the hon. gentleman, when he had an opportunity to show his knowledge of political economy, and his ability to make a tariff suitable to the country, and based upon sound principle, instead of doing as he says now the Finance Minister ought to do, based his tariff on the very lines which he condemns in this House. He placed these duties on a specific basis. And what did

that mean? The ordinary tea in use by the masses of the people at that time cost 25 cents a pound, while the better grades of tea, including fine Young Hyson, ran up to \$1 a pound. The poor man, when he invested a dollar in tea, bought 4 pounds. On this he paid a duty of 6 cents a pound, or 24 cents for the 4 pounds, being a tax of 24 per cent on the tea, while the rich man, buying one pound of tea for \$1, paid only 6 cents in taxation, or 6 per cent, as against 24 per cent paid by the poor man. The hon. gentleman is not in his seat to hear what I say. The hon. gentleman usually goes out when his own inconsistencies are being pointed out from this side of the House. He feels so high above the common member of this House and the common citizen of the country that he becomes indignant at criticism and will not listen to it. The hon. gentleman condemns this tariff because it is not intended for revenue purposes alone, and declares that the policy of his party is to have a tariff for revenue purposes only. What kind of tariff would these hon. gentlemen impose for revenue purposes? Would it not follow the lines of this tariff of 1877, and place a specific duty upon those articles that are regarded as the necessaries of life? What would be more likely to be effective in raising revenue than duties on such articles as tea and coffee, which are used by the poor as well as by the rich. Moreover, we find that the hon. gentleman made such a tariff when he had the power to make tariffs. When he was in power he imposed these specific duties, but now he argues for ad valorem duties and condemns the specific duties because they have been embodied in a tariff made by this Government. Then the hon. gentleman goes on to say that this is a tariff that gives a maximum of disturbance with a minimum of relief. He declares that it was a mutilated and mangled, a hare-lipped, split-nosed, squint-eyed monstrosity. He described the tariff of 1879 in somewhat similar terms. These tariffs never suited his ideas of what was right, and they never will, so long as they come from this side of the House. He admits in one breath the changes are in the right direction, but in the same breath he declares that the tariff is wrong because it is not based upon any principle of political economy. Then he leaves the tariff and does not see it after that, but goes back to his old and popular theme of the exodus of the people, the shrinkage of values, reduced population, hard times, the tariff still favouring a few millionaires at the expense of the poor people of the country, and so on. Then we have the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), and he also says that the tariff has resulted in an exodus of the people, and declares that it means dear living, shrunken values, the reduction of the population of the country. Then we come to the hon. member for North Brant (Mr.

Paterson), and he gives credit to the Government for putting sugar up to 16 Dutch standard on the free list. That hon. gentleman, like a number of his friends, when the tariff touches some line affecting himself, is very anxious to see the free list extended, and thinks the revenue can be more easily raised by a tax on some other article. He wants his raw material of manufacture free. He is engaged in confectionery manufacture, and is connected with the combine of biscuit manufacturers in this country. The hon. member for East Huron (Mr. Macdonald) was not satisfied to wait until the changes were made, but, fearing that he would not have another opportunity at the old National Policy, he devoted an hour and a half in telling us what it had accomplished before the Budget Speech was made. The hon. gentleman said: We would have beaten you in the last election had the contest been a fair one. We would have had 53 members from Ontario instead of the number we have if our hands had not been tied by the Gerrymander and the Franchise Act. Well, I can tell the hon. gentleman that it would have been well for him and his party if we had been able to go further, and besides tying their hands, to have tied their tongues also, because it was their tongues that did them the harm, it was their tongues that kept them where they were, that converted the electorate to the Conservative side, and the electorate will keep the Reformers in Opposition for a long time. He says that the output of cotton has only been three or four millions last year, that the tariff has not done much good to the people of Canada, and therefore the tariff is all wrong. I find by the statistical record that the output of cotton last year was \$8,451,000, instead of being only three or four millions. Then he says: "I challenge the supporters of the Government, or any one of them, to show that wages have increased during the time of the National Policy." Well, the same statistical record says there was an increase in the amount of wages paid in 1891 over 1881 of \$40,333,439; in 1891 the wages averaged \$272 per head, as compared with \$233 per head in 1881. Is that not a specific answer to the contention of the hon. gentleman that wages have not increased? The record says:

All variations of condition being considered, it would appear that there was an advance in the rate of wages during the decade of about 16 per cent.

Now, I think that is a sufficient answer to that point. Then I take the speech of the Liberal member for Centre Wellington (Mr. Semple). He says that they were always in favour of a tariff for revenue. Now, I have shown by their own resolutions that they were not in favour of a revenue tariff. When they espoused the policy of unrestricted re-

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reciprocity, that could not mean a revenue tariff, because it did away with the whole of the tariff. When they made their platform freer trade, that was not a revenue tariff; but no doubt they have at last got down to a revenue tariff. Now, I will take the tariff as it is. Is that tariff what the country wants? I am surprised that these hon. gentlemen to-day wish to hide in oblivion the different platforms they have presented to the people of the country. One after another, their platforms have done duty for the time being, but these successive policies have only relegated them again to the cold shade of Opposition. But now, because they did not answer their purpose, they would like to bury them away where they can never more be found. It seems to me they would like to do with them as was done with the body of Moses. He was never allowed to take his people into the promised land, and because their platform of unrestricted reciprocity did not bring them into the promised land, the Treasury benches in this House, they would now like to bury it away in some unknown mountain where no Grit could go to worship at its shrine, and where there would be no tombstone erected over its grave to tell the tale. They do not want it buried on this side of Jordan's stream, because it did not answer their purpose in bringing them into the promised land, but instead it left them in the cold shades of Opposition. Whether it was because it had failed to lead them into the promised land, or whether they were afraid that it might be resurrected again to do duty, we are not prepared to say; but at any rate, they are attempting to bury it in oblivion. But like Banquo's ghost it will not down, it will up again, and it is before the electorate of the country to-day. The memory of the people is not so short as that they will forget it, and they will resurrect it from time to time, and give these hon. gentlemen the benefit of a reminder. Now, we might reasonably ask to-day: Is the tariff what the country needs? The country asked, through the Patrons of Industry, for a reduction in the tariff of certain lines. Well, the Government has given it. The country asked for a reduction in the burdens of living, and the Government has given it. This tariff reduces the burdens of living on many lines. The country asked for a reduction of protection, believing that the manufacturers who had enjoyed a moderate protection for fifteen years, were now able to stand without that protection, or with a less protection than was given them in 1879; and the Government has reduced it. Last year the Government was asked to reduce that tariff at once, and after carefully examining the situation, and sending out the Controllers through the country to ascertain what the condition of the people is and what they want, to see where the shoe pinches, where the tariff bears heavily upon them, the Government has now decided to reduce the tariff. The hon. member for

North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) said: If the Government had not sufficient confidence in me as a representative of the people to tell the Government what my constituents want, I would have as little confidence in them. One or two other members have pronounced the same opinion. But what do their friends do in Ontario? Have they not submitted a plebiscite to the people to ascertain what the people want? They do not think that the representatives of the people in the Local Legislature are able to tell the Mowat Government what the people want, and so the Liberal Government submitted a plebiscite to the people for the purpose of gaining an opinion, much in the same way as the Controller of Customs and the Controller of Inland Revenue have gone through this country in order to ascertain what the people wanted. Now, we find that the tariff was raised in 1879 for two purposes—for the purpose of raising a larger revenue, and for the purpose of protecting the industries of the people. It did protect the industries of the people, and it raised a higher revenue, and by the assistance of the higher revenue, we were able to build the Canadian Pacific Railway, we were able to build the highways of commerce that have cheapened the cost of transport of the products of this country to the markets of the world, we were able to improve our harbours, our canals and our breakwaters. Therefore, the tariff enabled the farmers of Canada to benefit by the increased advantages that accrued to them by public improvements in these various lines, and when the tariff had done that, then the Government said: As there is no longer an urgent necessity for that high tariff to protect the manufacturers, because they have been able to build up their various industries, and as the people demand a reduction, we will give them a reduction. Now, what is that tariff to-day? I say it is intended to be a revenue tariff. It may or may not meet the expectations of the Minister of Finance, but he expects it will be a revenue tariff, and in order that they may lessen the burdens of the people as much as possible, the Government have reduced the proposed expenditure for the coming year as compared with last year, to the extent of nearly four million dollars in the main estimates, so as to keep the expenditure within the revenue. Then I say this is a national tariff, it is a tariff for the benefit of Canada as a nation against all the world. What is more, it is a Canadian tariff in contradistinction to the various tariffs proposed by the hon. members opposite; it is a tariff calculated to protect the Canadian farmer, to protect the Canadian manufacturer, to protect the Canadian artisan and the Canadian labourer against those of every other country of the world. Then I say it is a protective tariff. Now, Sir, I cannot understand why the hon. member who leads the Opposition and his friends, pronounce so unmistakably their undying antipathy to protection. Would it

not be natural in a young country, or in a young family, or in anything that is young and helpless, to throw around it the needed protection which we are able to give it? Would it not be the right thing to do? If by any means the Government could raise the necessary revenue and at the same time give incidental protection to the interests of Canada, would it not be natural for them to do it? The hon. member for South Oxford, in these resolutions, proclaims his undying hatred to protection, and, therefore, we know very well what these hon. gentlemen would do if they got into power tomorrow, they would undoubtedly do away with protection, and would leave the Canadian people at the mercy of every country in the world. Then I say this is a poor man's tariff. Why? Because it reduces the cost of the necessaries of life by taking the duty off tea, and sugar, and coffee, and various other lines, by reducing the duty on clothing, and various other necessities that are consumed by the people. Above all, this is a farmer's tariff, it is a reduction on everything he uses. Now, the farmers above all others were asking that this tariff be reduced, and the Government, in obedience to their request, have endeavoured to make this tariff specially a farmer's tariff. While the labourer benefits by it, and while the artisan benefits by it, still the manufacturer benefits by it also. While the commercial people of Canada benefit by it, above all the farmers of Canada benefit by it. Why do I say so? Because that tariff maintains a high protection upon everything that the farmer has to sell. It maintains the duty upon horses, sheep, swine, wheat, oats, peas and barley, Indian corn, rye, seeds, beef, pork, hay, butter, cheese, lard, oleomargarine and every other line of products. The duty on every product in which the farmer is interested is kept nearly as high as it was before. I shall have a word or two to say with respect to the duty on pork, which to my mind needs a little change, but I have no doubt it will receive that attention which its importance deserves before we have done with this resolution. But the tariff does more than that. It reduces the duties on those lines of articles that farmers most largely use. I have said already that this is a farmers' tariff. The Patrons of Industry asked reductions in various lines. Those reductions have been given them. This is an agricultural tariff. Why? Because taking the reductions in duties last year and this year they embrace agricultural implements, harness, wagons, reapers, mowers and binders, rakes, seed-drills, cultivators, threshing machines, harrows, ploughs, spades, shovels, rakes, forks, hoes, hardware, nails, barbed wire, hinges, binding twine, coal oil, clothing, cottons, woollens, tea, sugar and coffee. If the farmers use much more than the goods belong to outside lines. The tariff keeps the duties on silks, satins, feathers, flowers and all

those lines that are consumed by the rich people of the country ; also on wines, champagne, whisky, brandy, tobacco and such articles which do not represent the necessities of life. It maintains the duty on those, and gives to the farmers reductions on the lines most needed and most used by them, and at the same time it substantially protects them in regard to the industry in which they are engaged. Some will say, and some have said, that the duty does the farmer no good. Parliament raised the duty on pork a few years ago, and I have some little complaint to make that the Government have now changed the duty, but I hope the matter will be adjusted before the debate is closed.

Mr. FORBES. Does the hon. gentleman want to raise it higher ?

Mr. SPROULE. I will tell the hon. gentleman after a little while ; we want the duty to be no worse for the farmer than it was before. In 1889 we found that large quantities of pork came into Canada, no less than 27,155,430 pounds having been brought in for consumption. We raised the duty. What was the result ? In the year 1893, instead of 27,155,430 being brought into Canada only 4,630,000 pounds were brought in. The duty kept out 23,000,000 pounds, and that gave the Canadian farmer the home market for his product to that extent at least. Then it will naturally be asked, how does the farmer profit by the duty ? Canada very largely developed her output in that line of production. While we kept out 23,000,000 pounds of pork by raising the duty, on some varieties to 1½ cents per pound, and on others to 3 cents per pound, we exported in 1889 7,492,082 pounds of bacon, ham, pork and lard. But in 1893, in addition to supplying the 23,000,000 pounds that were formerly sent in, we exported 23,116,993 pounds, showing a development during that time of enormous proportions. When we gave the farmer the home market and the protection he demanded, pork raising became one of the most profitable lines in which a farmer could engage, at all events that and the dairying interests. To-day the farmers are not interfered with by the tariff, and I am glad to have been able to arrive at the conclusion that this is above all others a farmers' tariff, a tariff from which the farmers and the people will obtain benefit. I will not say anything in regard to the duty on pork at present, because when we reach committee and the item comes up for consideration, I will state what change, in my opinion, should be made in it in the farmers' interests. I ask on behalf of the farmers to have the duty as good as the old duty, I do not ask anything better. They were satisfied with the duty and did well under it, they did not ask any change, and they do not ask any change to-day. I have received a telegram from the President of the Central Farmers' Institute in East Grey, which I think expresses the views of the farmers and the gratitude of

Mr. SPROULE.

the farmers in respect to the revision of the tariff. The telegram reads :

MARKDALE, 31st March, 1894.

We thank the Government most sincerely for the consideration given the farmers in the revision of the tariff and believe it will be generally satisfactory.

THOS. KELLS.

This is a tariff satisfactory to the farmers, and it is one framed principally with a view to their interests. What they asked has been given them. At the same time the protection afforded them has not been taken away, a protection which they desired to be continued, as it has proved advantageous to their interests. The tariff also reduces the cost of the necessities of life, it reduces the duties on agricultural implements 15 per cent and other reductions have been made which will prove specially beneficial to the farmers of Manitoba and the North-west, because I believe the manufacturers to-day are turning out implements as low as they can be produced, whether the tariff is high or low, and I do not anticipate that the farmers of Ontario will receive much benefit, from the reduction in this particular line but the change will prove very beneficial to the farmers of the North-west. We are, therefore, justified in defending the tariff and maintaining that it is a proper tariff for Canada. In view of the fact that the tariff is in harmony with the people's requirements, that is what the Patrons of Industry, the Farmers' Institutes and the whole body of farmers want, that it is in harmony with their views, we are bound to support it, and I am prepared to vote against the motion submitted by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), believing as I do, that if the principle it propounds were introduced into any policy and carried out, it would prove detrimental to the interests of the people, not only as regards manufacturers, but as artisans and the labouring classes, as well as the farmers. Believing it would prove detrimental to the agriculturists I am prepared to vote against that resolution, and to support the Government in carrying out the wise and able legislation which they have propounded in their policy, which I believe, and which the farmers believe, is conducive to the interests of all the people, but more especially the interests of the farmers of Canada.

Mr. McMILLAN. I have been very much pleased with the speech of the hon. member for South Grey (Mr. Sproule), in whose opinions a great change has occurred as compared with those previously expressed on the floor of this House. This is the first time he has admitted that a reduction in the tariff will cheapen goods to the farmers. Not only has the hon. gentleman made that statement, but the Finance Minister the other day for the first time admitted that goods were increased in price almost by the total

amount of the duties. That was a great change as compared with the statement made in 1891. I desire at the outset to refer briefly to a few of the statements made by the hon. member for South Grey. The hon. gentleman quoted opinions expressed by Mr. Thomas Shaw. But the Liberals are no more responsible for the views of Mr. Shaw on the tariff than hon. gentlemen opposite are responsible for views expressed by Mr. Sol. White in favour of annexation. Mr. White, however, was a leader in the ranks of the Conservatives, he was the lieutenant of the leader of the Opposition in the Ontario Legislature, and he gave utterance to sentiments in favour of annexation, sentiments to which no member on this side of the House ever gave utterance. Why did they not tell us what the Hon. Edward Blake said about the National Policy? He said: It left us with a depleted treasury, and an enormous debt, a decreased population, lower standards of political morality, and he admitted that reciprocity with the United States would give us a meed of prosperity beyond anything else he knew of. Why do not hon. gentlemen opposite tell us fairly and honestly what prominent and responsible men have said about that policy of theirs. The hon. member for Grey (Mr. Sproule) has stated often in years gone by, that agricultural implements are just as cheap in Canada as they were in any other country, and that the National Policy did not raise the price. I am, therefore, greatly astonished that he should turn around today and eat up his utterances for the last fifteen years, and state now that the new tariff was a farmers' tariff, and a blessing to the workingmen of this country. I admit, Mr. Speaker, that we have a measure of redress in the changes proposed under the new tariff, but let me ask, what has brought these changes? They have been brought about by the teaching of the members of the Opposition upon every platform in the country, and on the floor of this House for the last fifteen years. It is the members of the Liberal party who educated the people to ask for a change in the tariff which at last they have obtained, although in a very small degree. We have been told time and again by members of the Government that the tariff would be retained in its integrity. Nay, Sir, an hon. gentleman occupying a prominent position in the Government stated that they would stick by the National Policy in its integrity, that they would not give way one iota, although the whole sixty of the majority they had in the House were swept away. These are idle vaporings, and when it comes to the test, and when they find that the people of this country are in earnest, and that the Patrons of Industry all over this country are determined to have changes, the Conservative Ministers turn their back upon the National Policy and make these changes. The hon. member for South Grey (Mr. Sproule) referred to the Patrons of

Industry. What have the Patrons asked? They asked a tariff for revenue only, and so adjusted as to fall as far as possible upon the luxuries, and not upon the necessities of life. Have the Government put a tariff upon the luxuries, or have they still retained it on the necessities of life? I say that, in that respect the demand of the Patrons has not been granted. Will the Government give the Patrons what they ask? Will they do away with the bonusing of railways by Government grants, as contrary to the public interests? Will they give the preparation of the Dominion voters' lists to the municipal officers? Since the Government have taken the position that this is a farmers' tariff, and that the farmers have obtained all that they require, why do they not pay some attention to the platform of the Patrons of Industry? Let them do away with the Gerrymander Act. They tell us that four times have they appealed to the country successfully, but let me tell them that they have never honestly appealed to the country on the National Policy except in 1878. That is the only fair appeal they ever made to the country, and there is no doubt they carried the country then. In 1882 did they appeal to the country fairly and squarely? No; they appealed to it on a Gerrymander Act that was intended for the purpose of keeping the Conservatives in power. My own county was gerrymandered in order that they might hold two of the ridings, but they have been grievously disappointed in that, because they only held one, and that for but a short time. There are other things which the Patrons of Industry want. They want one thing which we are all agreed upon, and that is, British connection. But, Sir, they want also the reservation of the land for the actual settlers in the North-west. Have the Government in times past reserved the land for the actual settler? No; I was astonished the other day when I heard in the House that in that great north-western county which we would all like to see flourish, over forty millions of acres of the best land were in the hands of corporations and railway companies. The Patrons want purity of administration, and independence of Parliament. That is something that is very badly required in this country. We were told last night that the Liberal party delighted in scandals, and loved to dwell upon them, and we were also told by the hon. member for St. John (Mr. Hazen) that in his province they had attempted to sell a Government position for \$200 in order to raise an election fund in the interests of the Reform party there. Let me say that the hon. member for St. John (Mr. Hazen) who brought that up was guilty of a grave misdemeanour in this House, when we consider what the purity of Parliament is. Let me refer to the selling of the position of lock-keeper and lighthouse-keeper in East Northumberland, one position for \$200, another for \$150, and another for \$125, and

when the guilty individuals in that transaction were sought to be punished before this House, the hon. member for St. John (Mr. Hazen) voted that they were guilty of no crime. We know what he has done in the past, and we know what he would do if he were in power, so that it ill becomes any individual who has justified such acts of the Government to come before this House and say anything about scandals. I was much amused last night at the member for Kent (Mr. McInerney) stating that we delighted in scandals and loved to dwell upon them. Does the hon. gentleman not know that the Government to-day hold their place in a great measure by reason of the proceeds of these scandals which were brought to light in this House, and for the participation in which two men have lately been relieved by the intercession of the Minister of Justice, from a punishment which the judge said it was too bad that it should be inflicted when more grievous offenders went unpunished? The hon. gentleman referred to our statements that if the Reform party should get into power, we would be able to get a reciprocity treaty with the United States. I may tell him that I have every reason to believe, that if the Reform party did get into power the blessing of reciprocity would be obtained for Canada. In treating of the history of reciprocity, he forgot to go back to 1888 when the Canadian Government refused to obey the reciprocity clauses in their own tariff schedule, at a time when the United States removed a certain number of articles included in that statute from the tariff list. And when pressure was brought to bear from Washington, when the leader of the Opposition put the question to the then First Minister: If they would not obey their own tariff statute and remove these goods from the tariff list of Canada, the answer was a most direct "No"; and he was cheered to the echo by every member on the Government side of the House. But a grave change came over them in a short time. In less than five days afterwards, Sir Charles Tupper stated in this House that a change had come over the views and feelings of the Government of Canada with respect to this tariff Bill. He told us that they had passed an Order in Council the night before that the duties were to be removed, and that an announcement would be published in the official Gazette the next day, to the following effect:—That these duties had been removed and that the Government of Canada awaited the further action of the Government of the United States in the same direction. Let me say, Mr. Speaker, and I say it advisedly, that every improvement the Government have ever made in the National Policy, and every time they have ever made an advance in the direction of reciprocity, they have done so for the purpose of keeping themselves in possession of the Treasury benches. That shows for what purpose the National

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Policy was introduced. An hon. gentleman who was high in the counsels of the Government at that time has told us plainly on the floor of this House, that it was adopted in order that the Conservative party might get into power. I heard statements made here the other day with regard to hon. gentlemen on this side of the House having had speeches prepared contrary to those which they delivered; but I believe it is true that the leaders of the Conservative party came to this House in the session of 1878 with speeches prepared against an increase of duties which they believed the Government of the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie was going to impose at that time.

Mr. CHARLTON. That was in 1876.

Mr. McMILLAN. Be that as it may, there is not the least doubt in my mind that it is a fact. I remember when hon. gentlemen on the Treasury benches had to swallow their own utterances with respect to the removal of the duties on certain goods that were admitted free in the United States. When Sir Charles Tupper announced that those articles were to be put on the free list, there was not a single cheer on the other side of the House, but a great many wry faces. I hold that the McKinley tariff was to a great extent, due to the action of the Canadian Government in reimposing those duties which they had removed in 1888. We were also told by the hon. member for Kent, N.B., that the Finance Minister's declaration showed that the Government were willing to enter into a treaty for the exchange of natural products and a short list of manufactured articles. Why, Sir, the hon. gentleman does not seem to understand the position of the matter. No such declaration was made by the Finance Minister. On the contrary, when he came back from Washington, he told us that he was unable to negotiate such a treaty. During the last summer, at a picnic at Clinton, in the county of Huron, standing close to the platform, I was astonished to hear the First Minister attempt to make the people believe that the Government favoured reciprocity, not only in natural products, but in a small list of manufactured goods. The hon. member for Kent further stated last night, that the Opposition believed that we could get a reciprocity treaty, if we got into power. I believe, Sir, that the Opposition, if in power, could in a very short time obtain a reciprocity treaty with the United States on fair terms. Why do I say that? Because the United States Government, at the time our representatives went to Washington in 1892, offered to take into consideration the question of a reciprocity treaty, if our Ministers would admit a list of manufactured goods along with natural products. I have here a statement of what took place at the first conference, contained in a message from the President of the United States, informing the Senate relative to the negotiations for reciprocal trade

with Canada. The report of Secretary Blaine says :

At the first conference on February 10, the Commissioners stated that they were authorized by the Canadian Government to propose the renewal of the reciprocity treaty of 1854 (which was terminated in 1866 by the action of the Congress of the United States), with such modifications and extensions as the altered circumstances of both countries and their respective interests might seem to require.

In answer to an inquiry, the Commissioners stated that the modifications or extensions contemplated in the schedules of articles should be confined to natural products, and should not embrace manufactured articles.

There was a plain statement made to the Government of the United States by the commissioners who went down from Canada, although they knew well before they went there that the Government of the United States would not be prepared to discuss reciprocity in natural products alone. We can all remember the letter that Secretary Blaine wrote to Congressman Baker in regard to that question, in which he said that the Government of the United States could not enter into any treaty unless manufactured goods were included. This report of Secretary Blaine further says :

The Commissioners were informed that the Government of the United States would not be prepared to renew the treaty of 1854 nor to agree to any commercial reciprocity which should be confined to natural products alone ; and that, in view of the great development of industrial interests of the United States and of the changed conditions of the commercial relations of the two countries since the treaty of 1854 was negotiated, it was regarded of essential importance that a list of manufactured goods should be included in the schedules of articles for free or favoured exchange in any reciprocity arrangements which might be made.

There is the evidence, Mr. Speaker, that if the Opposition were in power to-day, they could obtain a reciprocity treaty with the Government of the United States on fair and honourable terms, provided that we were willing to include a list of manufactured goods. But there is the evidence that no such list was offered by the commissioners from Canada. I believe, Sir, that reciprocity would be one of the greatest benefits that could be conferred on the agriculturists of this country. Let me state, notwithstanding what the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) has said, that it is an impossibility for any tariff to protect the farmer on his products, so long as he has to seek a foreign market for his surplus. I see the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) looking in my face. I was astonished at his utterance, when he challenged any one to say that the necessaries of life are taxed by this tariff. Does he not know that the farmers of his constituency are taxed 75 cents on every barrel of flour they get for their wheat ? Or that they are taxed 50 cents on

every barrel of oatmeal they get ? He knows that the farmers of that country complain loudly that they are being wronged in not being allowed to get in grain and flour free of duty ? They feel it keenly. I have been among them, and I know their feelings as well as the hon. gentleman. The hon. gentleman ought to know that the tariff imposes a high duty on flour, which to them is a raw material.

Mr. DAVIN. May I ask the hon. gentleman a question ? Does he mean to say, that when a farmer north of Regina brings wheat to the mill to be ground, he pays a customs duty on the flour he takes away ?

Mr. McMILLAN. I mean to say, that he pays no customs duty, but there is a customs duty on the flour coming into the country.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Mr. McMILLAN. Hold on a minute. Does the hon. gentleman not know that the day has gone by when farmers take their wheat to the mill, get it ground, and take away the grist ? To-day the miller takes the farmer's wheat at its market price, and gives him in return flour at the market price of flour. If the duty on flour was of no benefit to the millers, why have they come to the Government to get it increased or continued ? The hon. member for Kent last night told us that it would not be for the benefit of the Canadian farmer to have the duty taken off flour. He says that the farmers in Ontario do not want the duty taken off flour. Let me tell him that he knows very little of the conditions and the feelings and the aspirations of the Ontario farmer. Such a slander as he cast at the farmers of this country I have never yet heard. He said that the farmer was satisfied with his condition, and in the next breath made the statement that the farmer was satisfied with the bare necessities of life. Why, Sir, he sank the farmers to the level almost of beasts of burden. The farmer, according to the hon. gentleman, has no aspirations, no desires beyond the gratifying of his primitive wants. In fact, the hon. gentleman seems to imagine himself back in the period of two hundred years ago, like Rip Van Winkle, when he came out of Sleepy Hollow. He seems to imagine us back in the old days of serfdom, when the tiller of the soil was considered as part and parcel of the land and the chattel of the landowner. If the hon. gentleman represented a constituency in Ontario, east or west, after giving utterance to such a sentiment, his constituents would, at the first opportunity, send him back to that obscurity from which he should never have emerged. The farmers of this Dominion, Sir, are as intelligent as any other class. They have the aspirations of the intellect, aspirations towards improvement, and desires for greater comfort in their surroundings, just as much as have any other

class in the community. But there is a certain class of persons—confined, I am glad to say, to the Conservative party—who look upon the farmers as not belonging to the same race as themselves, but as made to be used and moulded by them just as potters mould their clay. The Finance Minister gave utterance to a similar sentiment when he told us in 1891 that the farmer paid no duty on anything he had—that his furniture in his house was made from the timber grown in his woods, that his farm implements were made of the same timber. But he has got a lesson since then. He now finds that farm implements are not made of timber but of metal, and has made a very small reduction in the duties. It has taken a long time to convince hon. gentlemen opposite, and the Minister of Finance in particular, that the farmer pays the duty. They have now given up that position, and admit, as far as the farmers are concerned, the prices of the goods they consume are increased by a sum equal to the amount of duty. As a farmer, I am glad that the Government have taken the first step in the direction of taking the duty off some of the necessaries of life. I am glad they have reduced the duty on agricultural implements, but let me say this, there is no class of the community on which the tariff bears so heavily as it does on the farmer and the workingman. We pay taxes on all the other necessaries on which the rest of the community pay taxes. We have no other recourse but to pay them. The wholesale man, when he buys goods in England, pays the duty, but adds the duty to the price of the goods and charges a profit on it. The retailer also adds his profit, but the farmer and the workingman have no remedy. There is no protection for them under the tariff. They have to pay very high duties on all the necessaries of life besides a high duty on agricultural implements. The Minister of Finance said that the Government had dealt very leniently with the farmer, and told us that we did not enjoy those benefits under the Mackenzie Government which we enjoy to-day. Let me say, for the information of the Minister of Finance, that we had advantages under the Mackenzie Government of which we were quickly deprived when that Government went out of office. There was a clause then in the tariff allowing agricultural implements to be brought in free when imported by agricultural societies. That was a boon which was very soon taken away from us. As a representative of a farming community, I ask for no special legislation. All we ask is to be dealt with as we were by the Mackenzie Government, and not be called on to pay taxes under the false guise of protection. In 1878 the Mackenzie Government was defeated at the polls. But since then there has not been a general election fought out on its merits in a manly, honourable manner. In 1882 we had the Gerrymander Bill; in 1887 we had the Fran-

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chise Act; and at the last election the great plank in the Government platform was their statement that they intended going to Washington to get reciprocity. Let me say here that the Minister of Militia (Mr. Patterson) in West Huron, within a mile of a place called St. Augustine, told the farmers at the by-election in 1892, when he was elected to his seat in West Huron, that the Government would take the duty off from binder twine and agricultural implements. When I made the representations I did in this House, concerning the way in which the election was carried in West Huron, the hon. gentleman came to me the following day and spoke to me about the matter. When I accused him of telling the farmers that the duty would be taken off agricultural implements and binder twine, he replied not to whistle until we were out of the wood, that the session was not over. He tried to make me believe, by that statement, that the Government were likely to take action in that direction. That is the way the Government carried the election in 1891. So far as the condition of Canadian farmers is concerned to-day, there is not another class in the community which has felt the depression to such an extent. The Finance Minister admits that this is a very bad time to revise the tariff, for the simple reason that there is depression in manufacturing circles at present. What is the cause of that depression? It was brought about by the reduced prices and small crops which the farmers had been getting for a long time. Let me state what the value of produce has been, during the year 1892, per acre of land:

| | | |
|---------------------|---------|-----------|
| Fall wheat. | \$14 92 | per acre. |
| Spring wheat..... | 8 00 | do |
| Oats... | 10 70 | do |
| Barley..... | 10 15 | do |
| Peas | 11 00 | do |

These are the principal crops the farmers raise for export; and if we accept the statement given by the farmers themselves as to the cost of production in Ontario—and the farmers of Ontario give a higher cost of production than those of the United States, because we cultivate our land better and get more out of it—the farmers suffered on every acre of fall wheat a loss of \$4; spring wheat, \$6; oats, \$4; barley, \$4.50; and peas, \$4.53. Until the McKinley Bill came into force, barley was one of the best paying crops we had, but, of course, that Bill killed the export. Now we are told to go into mixed farming. I agree that mixed farming is a great benefit to the country, but let me say, as a farmer, that there is no mixed farming into which we can go at once. We must change our system gradually and not rapidly. The conditions of the farmer will not allow of a rapid change. When we go into mixed farming, the only difference is that we feed the crops we raise into our animals, and sell the animals instead of the crops. I want any hon. member on the other side

of the House—and there are practical farmers on that side as well as on this—to rise in his place and tell the House how the farmer with these prices is to advance himself to a flourishing, thriving condition such as we have heard described. It is very well for hon. gentlemen who know nothing about these matters to rise and talk to this House, but let any practical farmer show me why the farmer should be satisfied with these prices and these markets. The conditions being as they are, I contend that it is the duty of the Government to give the farmers just as much relief as it is possible for them to give. It must not be forgotten that agriculture is the principal industry in this country. Out of a total export of something like \$110,000,000, the agricultural products and animals and their products amounted to \$53,000,000. In the same time the export of manufactured goods was only \$7,693,000. Why, Sir, we farmers exported nearly eight times as much as did the manufacturers. And, even so far as the manufacturers are concerned, to what country are we to look for an extension of our export trade, provided that conditions are such as to enable them to send out their goods? Must we look to China, Japan or Australia? Not at all, Mr. Speaker. Out of the total export of \$7,693,000 of manufactures, Great Britain took \$2,454,000, and the United States took \$3,563,000. This shows, if it shows anything, that the United States is the best field even for our manufactured goods. We had been told a great deal of the benefits we were to receive and of the benefits we have received from the increase of our population. The Controller of Customs spoke of Toronto, and showed what a benefit it was to the farmers to have an increase of population there, to consume the surplus products of the farm. Could not the hon. gentleman go a little further, could not the hon. gentleman look to the other side of the boundary line and see what a benefit we should derive in the same way if we had reciprocity with the United States? We have Buffalo at our very doors, with a population of 265,554 inhabitants; we have Detroit on our border, with 205,876; we have Rochester, very little inland, with a population of 153,896; we have Cleveland right on the lakes, with 261,000 souls; we have Milwaukee, with regard to which we are advantageously situated, with 204,461 of a population. Then we have New York, which is nearly as close to us in the province of Ontario as is Quebec, and which contains a population of 1,710,715, and Brooklyn, with 853,945. Here is a total city population of over 2,500,000, lying very close to the people of Ontario, and attention to which on our part would leave the markets of Montreal and Quebec to the farmers of Quebec. How much better it would be for the farmers of Ontario to be given free access to this great market upon their very border than to pay \$750,000 for a fast line of steamships to carry their goods across

the ocean. Let me say, Mr. Speaker, that at the present time the farmer is in a critical condition in more ways than one. The class accustomed to fattening cattle have 70,000 or 80,000 cattle, which they are preparing for the old country market during the summer, and, contrary to all our experience, there is not a single buyer making an offer for any of these animals. Is it not the duty of the Government to give us all the relief they possibly can? I was saying, Mr. Speaker, that the Controller of Customs had got up and had attempted to show the increase that had taken place in farm values within the last ten years. Sir, I shall not go over the whole of these figures; they were ably gone over by my colleague for East Huron (Mr. Macdonald). This increase in the acreage of cleared land in the last ten years is \$1,859,390, which, at \$20 per acre, would amount to about \$37,000,000. Then we must allow something for the general improvements that have taken place, not only in the farm buildings, but in ditching, draining and so on, which computed at any fair rate, will amount to \$20,000,000. These figures show a decrease in value of farm lands of \$5,416,000. Altogether there must be a reduction of over \$65,000,000 in the value of farm property proper. A good deal has been said of the improvements that have been taking place in the farm buildings, and there is a great deal of truth in it. But the time has come when no farmer in Ontario can carry on his farming operations unless he has commodious and well equipped buildings. The time has gone past when farming can be carried on in the slipshod manner of former years. And let me say this: that many of our farmers who now have fine buildings have been obliged to burden their farms in order to get the necessary accommodation to enable them to construct these buildings so necessary for the carrying on of their operations. We have been told that at the inception of a protective policy a higher protection is required than is required afterwards when manufacturing industries have been established on a firm foundation. Such, Sir, was not the case in Canada under this policy. If the Finance Minister had gone back to the earlier figures he would have seen that the National Policy was not imposed at its highest in 1879. In 1880 cotton clothing was only 30 per cent, but when it came to 1889 the rate was raised to 35 per cent. Printed cottons were only 28 per cent, in 1889, 32 per cent. Implements were only 25 per cent in 1880, and in 1889 they were 35 per cent. And in 1889 woollen goods were raised from 7½ cents a pound and 20 per cent ad valorem to 10 cents a pound and 20 per cent ad valorem. Now, Sir, respecting the statement we have heard time and again upon the floor of this House, that when this Government came in deficits disappeared—it has been ably shown that deficits have been greater since they came in. But they have had surpluses

also, and let me ask if these surpluses have been a benefit to Canada, if the result has been to raise Canada in the estimation of people of other countries? We know, Sir, that if a lavish amount of money was taken into the treasury there was also a lavish expenditure. We know that large sums were taken out of the treasury and given as extras to the contractors, and we know that large sums went back into the hands of Ministers in order to enable them to secure their position in the country. And what was the effect of this upon the people of Canada, and upon the reputation of our people abroad? Has it added to Canada's good name? Has it raised Canada in the esteem of the people of the British Empire, where we all wish to stand well? Let me read what a Tory paper said on the subject. I quote from the *St. James' Gazette*:

The existence of an organized system of corruption among public officials in Canada has been conclusively proved, and like everything else on the American continent the bribery has been colossal.

There is one statement made in the British press; here is an even more graphic statement of the case from the *'Graphic Despatch'*:

The secret of Sir John Macdonald's electoral victories is out. On this side of the water surprise has often been expressed at the patience with which our Canadian cousins submitted to the Tory protectionist rule of that prince of political intriguers. There is now, alas, no difficulty in explaining that curious situation. Sir John's Government rested on a stupendous and all-pervading system of bribery and corruption. Even Tammany Hall smells sweet and clean in comparison with the huge stinkpot of Sir John's Government.

If that is the result of the large amount of surpluses which went to a certain extent into the Treasury of this country, I for one do not envy this Government. Now, the Finance Minister told us that our crops had been protected, that twelve million dollars worth of agricultural products had been kept out of Canada by the National Policy. Now, for the third or fourth time I will have to repeat that the National Policy has not protected the farmer, it has not increased the price of his farm products. We remember that in 1882 this Government appointed a Commission, called Dr. Orton's Commission. I have gone through the report of that Commission and examined it carefully, and I find that in 1878 spring wheat in New York was \$1.15 and in Montreal it was \$1.29, 14 cents higher in Montreal than in New York. When we come to 1881, it was \$1.26 in New York and \$1.32 in Montreal, only 6 cents higher in Montreal, whereas it was 14 cents higher before the National Policy was imposed. Now, in 1878, oats were 32.66 cents per bushel in New York and 29.50 cents in Montreal. In 1881 they were 45.83 cents in New York and 39 cents in Montreal. In 1878 there was a difference of 3.16 cents; whereas in 1881

there was a difference of 6.83, or nearly 7 cents a bushel, showing conclusively that the farmer had not been benefited by the adoption of the National Policy, according to a committee of their own choosing. Barley in 1878, in New York, was 75½ cents; in Montreal it was 85½ cents per bushel. When we come to 1881, it was \$1.16 in New York, and only 83 cents in Montreal, or 33 cents of a difference, as against 11 cents before the National Policy was imposed. Now, we will take prices at Toronto and Buffalo, and what do we find? And let me state here that these figures are taken from the Year-book, an abstract and record of 1886, showing the fall that has taken place in the price of wheat in Canada and the United States from 1881 to 1886. In 1881, wheat in Montreal was \$1.33; in the United States it was \$1.11, 22 cents per bushel higher in Canada than in the United States. In 1882 it was \$1.30 in Montreal, and \$1.18 in the United States, only 12 cents higher in Canada. When we come to 1883, we find it was \$1.14 in Montreal and \$1.12 in the United States, only 2 cents higher in Canada. In 1886 it was 85 cents in Montreal and 87 cents in the United States; so that while wheat, under this blessed National Policy that protects the farmer, had fallen in the United States 24 cents a bushel, it had fallen in Canada 48 cents a bushel. Will any member of the Government, or any of their supporters, attempt to show us how that change has taken place under the National Policy? On the 19th January, 1892, I find that spring wheat in Toronto was 87½ cents a bushel; in Buffalo it was 91½ cents, 4 cents more in Buffalo than it was in Toronto. Oats were 34½ cents in Toronto, and 40 cents in Buffalo, a difference of 5½ cents. That is the way the farmers of Canada are protected. If the farmers of this country were allowed free intercourse with the United States, if they were allowed to take their products over the line freely, prices would very soon be assimilated, and to our advantage in almost every case. In 1889, I find that wheat in Toronto was 61 cents, on the 23rd March, and on the same date it was only 61 cents in Buffalo. I find that oats in Toronto was 40 cents a bushel, and 38 cents a bushel in Buffalo; so that down to the present time the prices were almost exactly similar. Let me say that the reason why oats were 2 cents higher in Canada is that they weigh two pounds to the bushel more here than in the United States. Now, it is said that the United States are not the best market for our produce. I have a statement here made up from the Trade and Navigation Returns for 1889, at a time that the National Policy was swimming quietly and peaceably along, at a time when there was no excitement with respect to McKinley Bills or any other Bills; and I want to show by that statement that without reciprocity with the United States, that country still

takes the most of the agricultural produce of the Canadian farmer apart from our animals and their products. We all want to get the markets of the United States, and we still want to retain the British market, believing that for some kinds of produce the British market is best, especially for our cattle, for our wheat, for our cheese and for some others of our products.

STATEMENT of Agricultural Products Exported to Great Britain and the United States, July 1st, 1889.

| | To Great Britain. | To United States. |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| | £ | £ |
| Dominion | 3,674,055 | 9,125,707 |
| Ontario | 880,879 | 7,720,457 |
| Quebec | 2,438,519 | 934,367 |
| Nova Scotia | 351,043 | 141,899 |
| New Brunswick | 2,093 | 142,026 |
| Manitoba | 759 | 85,684 |
| British Columbia | 750 | 13,505 |
| Prince Edward Island | 12 | 87,769 |

From this table it will be seen that our exports to the United States were nearly three times the amount that we exported to Great Britain. These figures show conclusively that the United States are our best market for many articles of agricultural produce, and for some kinds of animals and their products. In barley, we sent to the British market 934,501 bushels, or \$654,603 worth. Let me say that in barley, we have lost the market of the United States since the McKinley Bill to the extent of over five million dollars. We have lost on barley and eggs a market taking yearly \$6,801,000.31, a market that was the most profitable to the farmers of Ontario. I hold that the McKinley Bill was certainly to a great extent the offspring of the action of the Government in regard to American vessels and their action on other public questions. I have no doubt whatever that the United States Government remembered all those matters in framing the McKinley tariff. Have the farmers of this country been well protected? American hides come into this country free, and they were brought in to the value of \$1,731,000. There was a time when the farmers could get full value for their hides; but they are almost unsaleable at the present time. Undoubtedly the United States is the best market for our farmers. It is at our door. We do not need to establish a fast line of steamers or to give bounties to a steamship company to secure that market. It is a market which is available the whole year, and the farmers of Ontario have felt keenly the loss of that market, especially for their eggs. On account of being shut out of the American market, farmers in the western portion of the province have been compelled to sell their eggs during the entire winter

at 10 cents per dozen. We have been told that we enjoyed protection as regards our horses. Since the McKinley tariff shut out our horses from the American market, Ontario farmers have almost given up breeding horses for sale or export. Although the English market has taken large numbers of them, it is not so favourable a market as the United States. Any person who knows anything about shipping animals is aware that our horses can be sent across the line without any great danger, but many of our finest animals, especially those which are nervous and highly strung, are lost on the ocean voyage to England, and great risk is involved in making these shipments. Our best market has been lost to us through the McKinley Bill, especially for the sale of our barley, horses, eggs, lambs, hay, poultry and other lines of produce. The farmers have been told a great deal about the cheapness of goods they require, and it has been stated that they have not been so cheap for fourteen years, and that yet they will be cheaper still. We have further been told that the transport provided for the farmers is the very best enjoyed by the people of any country in the world. But the rates of transport have pressed very heavily on the farmers in many respects. I have often shipped cattle east, and have found that cattle were being shipped from Chicago to Montreal, a distance of 1,000 miles, for \$50 per car, while I was called upon to pay \$54 per car for a distance of 400 miles. Is that giving the farmers cheap transport? Do the people of the North-west imagine they are getting the cheapest transport that can be given? While I was there a year ago last fall I travelled from Regina to Prince Albert, and saw strings of teams freighting goods between those points, because the rate was cheaper, and the railway was only being used for carrying quick despatch freight. At Edmonton I was told the people were accustomed to pay 75 cents per 100 pounds for freight from Calgary, a distance of 270 miles, before the railway was built, and either the whole of that sum or at least one-half would be taken out in trade. Now the railway company charge 82 cents per 100 pounds, the whole amount of which must be paid in cash, and goes out of the country. That is the great benefit that the farmers are enjoying with respect to cheap transport. We have always been told that we are obtaining goods cheaper under the National Policy than at any period of our history, and the attempt has been made to cause it to appear as if reduced prices had been brought about by the National Policy. Let me quote a few figures to show that there has been a corresponding reduction throughout the world. From 1870 to 1874, in Britain, a ton of pig iron was worth £4 10s. 9d., from 1885 it was worth £2 5s. 7d., or a fraction over one-half. Railway iron was worth from 1870 to 1874 £10 7s., from 1885 to 1889 £4 17s. 1d., less than half it cost during the

previous period. Steel that cost £12 1s. 1d. in 1874 cost in 1887 only £4 12s. When we come to flannels (and these figures are taken from the statistical tables of British manufactures), we find that in 1889 the cost was 11 66-100d., in 1892 8d., a very large reduction indeed. Cottons in 1878 were 4d., while in 1892 they were 2 90-100d. These reductions have taken place in almost every country where manufactures are established, but the people of Canada have not been benefited to the extent of the improvement that has been made in manufacturing in other countries.

It being Six o'clock the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, before recess I was saying that the National Policy did not protect the farmers and that it could not protect them, and I repeat that that policy has borne very heavily upon the agriculturists and upon the workingmen of this country. It has taken very large sums of money out of their pockets, and, although the Finance Minister told us that, after the policy had been established for a length of time, the natural tendency would be that keen competition would cut down prices, yet such has not been the case. I know of no competition in almost any line of manufactured goods in Canada by which prices have been kept down. Let me quote the statement of one who has been well acquainted with the National Policy from its inception, a gentleman who, perhaps, had one of the largest shares in bringing it about when it was first imposed—I mean the member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy). He says:

Of that \$265,000,000 of goods manufactured in Canada, are the people of Canada paying more for, than they would pay if it were not for the protective policy? If it be true that \$265,000,000 manufactured in Canada in addition to the large importations we make—if it be true that these prices are dearer than they would be but for the protective policy—it is for us here to see, and for the people of this country to determine, how much more we are paying than we would pay but for the system I refer to. I will not attempt to put that into figures but perhaps one would not be far out if it were said that taking quality and price into consideration—because I do not think the comparison would be true unless you take into consideration quality as well as price—about 30 per cent of that \$265,000,000 is paid by the people of this country in addition to what they would have to pay but for this protective policy.

Be it remembered that that is upon goods manufactured in this country, and that it does not include imported goods, upon which a very heavy duty also is paid, and which the people have to bear their share of. When we inquire into these things and see that we are paying these large sums of money, we must ask in vain: Where is that keen compe-

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tion that should have been brought about by the National Policy, and why has it not cheapened goods to the consumer? We find, Sir, the authority I have quoted states further:

He ventures to say that there is hardly an industry, certainly not one of the great industries, so to speak, which have been fostered by the protective policy, that is not now in one way or another in a combination and in which in other words there is not a practical monopoly.

We have it brought to our attention every day that all our great industries are now a practical monopoly. Only the other day I chanced to take up a paper, and I saw in it a statement which caused astonishment to me that it should have been allowed to see the light of day; but, in conversation with a gentleman of the press, he told me that the statement I referred to was never intended for the public, that it found its way into a printer's office, that it was intended for the owner of the office, and not for publication, but through some mishap it fell into the hands of one of the printers and had been accidentally published. That statement was to the effect that one of the cotton companies had declared a dividend of 15 per cent upon their capital of \$1,200,000, and that \$750,000 was laid by for the benefit of the shareholders, in addition to the dividend. That is one of the strongest evidences that competition has not brought down the price of goods, and it shows the immense amount of money that protection has taken out of the pockets of the people. How much is each individual in Canada taxed on account of this larger amount that we have to pay for that \$265,000,000 of goods manufactured in Canada? Why, Sir, it amounts to the sum of \$16 per capita of the whole population, or \$80 a head for a family of five. I will show how this affects the country. I will take my own county, where we have 64,190 of a population, and this policy takes annually out of their pockets \$1,027,040. It takes out of the three ridings of Huron—because the county of Huron is composed of two townships and an incorporated town more than is included in the ridings—it takes out of the three ridings \$930,752. In the west riding of Huron, with a population of 20,020 people, it takes out of their pockets \$320,320; in the east riding of Huron, with a population of 18,968 people, it takes out of their pockets \$303,488; in the south riding of Huron, which I have the honour to represent, with a population of 19,184, the large sum of \$306,944 is taken out of the pockets of the people on these goods manufactured in Canada, and that immense sum of money goes directly into the pockets of the manufacturers of this country. Now, with regard to the townships which I have the honour to represent. The township of Hay, with a population of 4,244, pays the sum of \$68,904 annually; the town of Hullett, where I live myself, with a population of 3,281, pays \$52,496 annually to go into the pockets

of the combinesters, manufacturers and monopolists of this country. The township of McKillop, with a population of 3,086, pays \$49,376 annually into the pockets of the combinesters, for which the people receive no benefit in return. The township of Tuckersmith, with a population of 2,867, pays \$45,872 annually; the township of Stanley, with a population of 2,470, pays \$39,540; the township of Seaforth, with a population of 2,641, pays \$42,256, and the village of Bayfield, with a population of 595, pays the sum of \$10,520. These are enormous sums taken out of the pockets of the people of this country, for which we derive no corresponding benefit. Now, Sir, what is the total amount of taxation that the people of this country have to pay? We find that the taxation on customs and inland revenue that was paid in 1892 was \$5.81 per capita, so that in a family of five it amounted to \$27.05 taxation, which goes into the Treasury, in addition to the tax, as you may call it, of \$80 per family which goes into the pockets of the manufacturers and combinesters, or in all a total sum of \$107 per family taken out of the people in taxation; while they really only get the benefit of the \$27.05. These are very large sums of money taken out of the pockets of the people, for which they receive no corresponding benefit. Now, we have been told time and again that the Government of the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie was a Government of deficits. It is true that in the last four years of that Government there were deficits to the tune of \$3,426,958; but during two years of the Government of the late Sir John Macdonald there were deficits to the tune of \$8,074,630; which were entailed by the carelessness—nay, the criminal neglect—of those occupying the Treasury benches in failing to satisfy the just claims of the inhabitants of the North-west. Hon. members claim that the Government have a surplus at the present time. It is true, they have had surpluses amounting in five years to \$9,495,000. You would expect that an economical Government would have reduced the debt of the country by a corresponding amount; but have they done so? No, Sir, the debt of the country is steadily increasing. When the Government of the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie took up the reins of power in 1874, the amount of customs duties per capita paid by the people of Canada was \$3.74; the year they went out of power it was reduced to \$3.13 per head, a reduction of 61 cents per head. Now, we find that the customs taxes imposed by the present Government, instead of being \$3.13 per head, amounted to \$5 per head in 1890, \$4.83 in 1891, and \$4.18 in 1892, or an average of \$4.67, which is \$1.45 per capita in excess of what was imposed in the last year of the Mackenzie Government. This is equal to \$6,546,000, taken from the pockets of the people of this country in a single year or, if we take the average population for the 14 years under the present Government, we find that \$50-

\$1,706 of customs duties has been taken out of the pockets of the people of Canada more than would have been taken if the Mackenzie Government had remained in power. Now, it has been said that the farmers are not willing that the manufacturers of this country should have a chance. Let me say as a farmer, and giving expression here to the views of the farmers, that we want to see every industry in this country fairly prosperous; but we do not want to see any industry taking large sums of money out of the pockets of the people for which no corresponding return is given. We have a very important industry in the western portion of Ontario, which I fear is going to be ruined by the changes which have been made by the Government in their present revision of the tariff; I mean the salt manufacturing industry. Since the duty on salt was reduced two or three years ago, the salt manufacturers of Western Ontario have just barely been making the business pay. The American salt manufacturers have been taking a large portion of the trade. In the United States there was a duty of 8 cents per hundred pounds on all salt shipped in bulk; but when shipped in packages—barrels or bags—the duty was 12 cents per hundred pounds; while in Canada we had a duty of only 5 cents per hundred pounds on salt in bulk and 7½ cents in bags, barrels or other packages. During the fiscal year ending the 30th of June, 1893, the large quantity of 20,163,000 pounds of salt was imported into Canada, of which 9,608,392 pounds came from the United States, while the total quantity of salt exported from Canada in the same year amounted to only 4,010 pounds, showing conclusively that the salt manufacturers of the Dominion of Canada, and of Ontario especially, were not in a sufficiently prosperous condition under the late tariff even to keep their own market. But now, since salt has been placed on the free list while the salt manufacturers have to pay 60 cents per ton of duties on the coal they use, there is not the slightest doubt in my mind that, unless some relief is given, that industry will go down. If I speak thus on behalf of the salt manufacturers it is not because they have been supporters of mine; for those of them in the riding which I represent are all politically opposed to me. But I care not whether they are political opponents or friends; I want to see every legitimate industry in this country prosper, and I want the Government to give the salt manufacturers this much relief at least: That if they will not take the duty from coal entirely, they will at least remove it from such coal as is required in the manufacture of salt. But I am of opinion that the salt manufacturers require a great deal more relief than that from the hands of the Government. I think that the industry to be successful should have the duty taken off the plates in which they dry the salt, as well as from the nuts, bolts, rods, and tub-

ing that they use. In asking this measure of justice for the salt manufacturers, I only ask that the same privilege be extended to them that is extended to other manufacturers in the country, of getting their raw material free of duty. It is a very important industry, and one which largely benefits the whole community, especially the farmers. I remember the time when we had to pay \$3 a barrel for salt in the county of Huron, and although at times the manufacturers in that industry entered into a combine and attempted to charge extravagant prices that was but for a short time, and I am convinced, from personal knowledge of the industry from its earliest infancy in the county of Huron, that more money has been lost in that county than has ever been gained in profits by all the salt manufacturers in the Dominion. I therefore think the Government ought to give that relief to the salt manufacturers to which they are justly entitled. There is no industry of greater benefit to the farmers. It has furnished us with a valuable manure cheaply at our own doors. We are often told by Government supporters that we are continually decrying our own country. Sir, I deny that charge. I have been going among the farmers for the last six years, and in my opinion there is not a spot on the continent of America which can compare with this Canada of ours. I hold that the province of Ontario is the garden of the continent of North America. I hold that we have advantages there which perhaps no other locality enjoys. We can raise better crops, but no doubt a great deal is due to the superior intelligence of our agriculturists and the advanced system they pursue. I want a tariff that will give to every individual the just reward of his labours. I do not want a tariff imposed which will take one third of my earnings and put them into the pockets of a company, or a combine, or an individual who never earned a cent. I want a tariff so framed that the taxation imposed under it will go solely into the treasury of the country. If, after sixteen years of protection, our industries are not capable of standing alone, if we have some hot-bed industries to which the conditions of the country are not naturally suited, the sooner these industries disappear the better both for the people and the manufacturers themselves. We want a policy that will be just to all parties and to all industries. I, as a farmer, ask no favour of the Government for the agricultural community at the expense of any other class, but I ask the Government to remove all legislation which bears unjustly upon the farmers and takes large sums of money from them without giving them any corresponding benefit. Twelve months ago I said that there was a little cloud in the west. That cloud has spread, and that is one of the reasons why the Government has seen fit to reduce the duties in the way they have done. They know that the farmers have entered into an

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association among themselves, and are determined that no government shall rule which does not give attention to their interest. Those farmers have sent a deputation here, and they are watching with an eagle eye the course of the Government. I approve of the reduction made, but I say that we had a right to expect they would have been greater. Cotton goods are still charged 30 per cent. Let me tell you, Sir, what a duty of 30 per cent means to the consumer. When the wholesale man imports these goods he adds his profit to the duty as well as to the first cost. Then when those goods go into the hands of the retailer he also adds his profits to the wholesale prices, so that by the time they reach the consumer, that duty of 30 per cent is swelled to 46 per cent, at the very lowest calculation. And that increased cost has the fact of raising the prices of goods manufactured in this country to a similar extent. I shall not say much more at present, but I repeat we had a right to expect that the duty would have been taken off articles which we consume and of which we raised the raw material. The system adopted by the Government in years gone by, of allowing millers to bring in wheat in bond, make it into flour and ship it out in bond, had the effect of driving all the small millers from the province of Ontario, so that to-day you cannot find one of these small mills which we had twenty or thirty years ago. They have all gone into the hands of large corporations, and while there are many honourable men in those corporations who would not extort the whole amount they can under this system, still the system has had an injurious effect and should be reformed. Let me say that, so far as the reduction in duty upon agricultural implements is concerned, when the question was put to the Finance Minister whether the Government were going to allow those implements to come in at their invoice value, or whether they were going to allow the customs officers to put a revaluation on them, I was sorry to hear him reply that they would pursue the policy in the future which they had followed in the past. The customs officers thus have full power to put their own valuation on the implements imported, and thus nullify the effect of the reduction in the tariff. Thanking you, Sir, and the House for the kind attention which has been given to my remarks, I shall now resume my seat.

Mr. SMITH (Ontario). After the statement of the hon. member for South Huron (Mr. McMillan) that the farmers on this side of the House are ignorant and do not understand what they are talking about, I feel that I will have to throw myself especially upon the indulgence of the hon. gentlemen opposite, whilst I briefly address the House on questions with which I have been somewhat intimately connected during my whole life. I refer to those concerning farming operations. I do not propose to-

night to follow the hon. gentleman in his favourite role, not only in this House but upon the platform of the scandalmonger, because this is something which we can throw back. And when we consider the momentous issues involved in such a discussion as we are now engaged in, it would be unwise of any member of the House to waste his time in taking such a course. The hon. gentleman charged the Government with having been guilty of great extravagance; but I might remark that the hon. gentleman has spent a number of years in the receipt from the Ontario Government of public moneys, while going up and down the country talking in the interests of the farmers; and if his speech to-day is any example of what he talks to the farmers in Ontario I am not surprised that it should have taken the Opposition fifteen years to convince even the Tories of Canada that the tariff should be lowered. The hon. gentleman's whole speech to-night, with the exception of one noteworthy portion, was devoted to the abuse of the system of protection. He looked to the other side of the line and lauded the protection of that country. He wants us to throw down the barrier between Canada and the United States, and adopt a protective tariff, which is infinitely worse than anything we ever dreamed of here. But I wish to point to the last portion of the hon. gentleman's speech. It is not often in this House that we have witnessed the humiliating spectacle of a member spending nearly two hours in decrying protection—telling us that protection is a curse not only to the farmers but the people generally—and then, when his dog happens to be kicked, appealing to the Government to put a duty on salt. I say to the hon. gentleman that, in his place, had I the courage of my convictions, after taking the course that he took in the first part of his speech, I would have fought the battle out on that line, and said to the people of Huron that I was opposed to protection in every sense and intended to oppose protection to salt. But the moment some of his people are hurt, the hon. gentleman comes down here and whines and begs the Government to continue a protection to an industry, which, at one time in the history of Canada, was subject to one of the greatest combines ever formed here. That hon. gentleman will tell you, Sir, that combines are wrong, and yet to-night he has taken the unusual and unexampled course of defending that particular combine. A number of years ago, in the early days of the discussion of this question, as a young man taking some interest in public affairs, I thought it well that, at all events, I should form an opinion upon the propositions which had been submitted to Parliament by the late leader of the Conservative party. The proposition as put was that a readjustment of the tariff would benefit and foster the agricultural, mining, shipping, and manufacturing interests of the Dominion. Taken in that connection was the opinion—hesitat-

ingly expressed, it is true—by that great authority, Mr. John Stewart Mill, that a young and rising country might adopt a system of protection such as would assist them in naturalizing foreign industries. On looking into the matter I came to the conclusion, satisfactory to myself at all events, that this would be the best course for the Dominion of Canada. This was a young and rising country, thinly settled and lying alongside a great and highly protected country to the south of it. We had an industrious, intelligent and active people, and we had within our bounds almost inexhaustible resources and a climate almost unsurpassed in the world. Now, the point has been referred to that a desire has been expressed throughout Canada for a revision of the tariff. This has been led up to to a certain extent by the farmers institutes, pushed on by such gentlemen as the hon. gentleman for South Huron (Mr. McMillan), and, during the last two or three years, by the Patrons of Industry. We have heard a good deal about the Patrons of Industry and their platform here to-night, and, so far as a great deal of that platform is concerned, we have no quarrel with it. It will be within the recollection of members of this House that last year the hon. the Finance Minister gave a promise that a revision would take place if, after examination, it was found to be in the interests of the country. That pledge has been faithfully carried out; and, while opinions throughout the country may have differed as to what will be best, still I believe, take it altogether, that there was a strongly expressed opinion that the tariff should be lowered. The prices of all kinds of grain have been exceptionally low, and it was thought that, under these circumstances, the farmers should be favoured, if possible, in the reduction of the tariff. Of late years the farmers of this country have been competing not only against cheap labour, but against the labour saving results of railway extension in such countries as India, Egypt, the Argentine Republic, and Russia. The work done under the National Policy from time to time has been remarkable. Whilst both free trade countries and highly protected countries have suffered terribly during the past year, Canada, with a moderate protection, has been able to hold her own. We have greatly increased our production of cheese, butter, lard, and bacon. In this connection I desire to refer to the statement made by Professor Robertson in speaking a little to the south of us. When asked what a farmer on the other side of the line ought to do when he had to pay \$19 per ton for bran, and sell his butter at 14 cents, Professor Robertson advised him to come here and buy his bran at \$17 per ton and sell his butter for 24 cents. I desire to refer for a moment to the statement made by the hon. member, who has just taken his seat, with regard to the horse trade of Canada. I may say that considerable imports have been made into Canada from the United States.

These imports have been ranging from 1,700 horses during the past year to over 2,000 horses the year before, and you will find that the prices have run down from \$58 to \$46 per horse. It has been pointed out in this House on more than one occasion that the horse trade on the other side of the line has been lost to us. The hon. gentleman has exclaimed here, in tones as loud as it was possible for him to use, that this trade was of immense value to the people of Canada. On more than one occasion on the platform I have asked how it is that those animals that can be sent into the United States free—animals for breeding purposes—were as unsaleable there to-day as the cheaper horses, if not more so. The simple cause is that the United States is full and overflowing with horses and they are looking for markets everywhere. It is only the other day that a carload or two of horses came into Toronto from the United States to be sold. This proves that that trade is lost especially to the province of Ontario, and that there is nothing in it. The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), speaking in this House, compared the prices of grain during the years in which Mr. Mackenzie had control of the Government of this country and the present time. I need not refer particularly to the figures, because I admit the fact that prices are lower to-day than they were then. But I would like to ask the hon. gentleman, I would like to ask any hon. gentleman who may follow me, how it is that the farmers were able to export \$53,786,000 in 1893, whilst in 1878, with the prices quoted by the hon. member for North Norfolk, they only exported \$32,028,000, an increase in 1893 over 1878 of \$21,758,000. The hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) stated the other day that the rural population of the Dominion had not increased. I am prepared to accept that statement for the present. The population has increased during the past number of years by about 800,000.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) What number of years?

Mr. SMITH (Ont.) Between 1878 and 1893. These people must be living in our cities, towns, and villages, and, if the rural population has not increased, there must be 800,000 people more in 1893 than in 1878 fed by precisely the same number of farmers. Now, I find that the annual average export of farm products in each year from 1874 to 1878 was \$31,984,203, while the annual average between 1889 and 1893 was \$43,690,512, so that in these five years the farmers of Canada had exported \$60,000,000 more than they had in the same number of years of the former period. In connection with this I want to refer to a statement which may, perhaps, be misunderstood, at all events in my own riding. We have been changing our mode of farming, and I am sorry to admit that South

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Ontario, perhaps one of the finest agricultural constituencies to be found in this Dominion, has not changed its mode of farming as completely as some other counties have done, and to-day is suffering more than some others on account of continuing in the old methods. But notwithstanding that fact, the farmers of Canada to-day are in a better position than they were during the period when the Government of this country was controlled by the hon. gentlemen opposite. I would like to say that the National Policy has meant a great deal more than a simple tariff. It has meant the developments of our railways, it has meant that our cheese and butter, on account of the improved methods adopted in their manufacture, and the greater interest our people are taking in that industry by the establishment of our experimental stations, are to-day amongst the largest articles of export from this country. I might mention in this connection the wonderful results which we achieved in Chicago in some of those articles; and whilst it is true that we were not afraid of the world there, that we more than held our own, our exhibit reflects, it appears to me, a great deal of credit upon our farmers, upon their intelligence and upon their industry. Hon. gentlemen opposite claim that protection has been but of little value in connection with many of the articles that we produce, such as butter, cheese, pork, beef and coarse grains. Well, if protection has not done any good on these articles, it has done the farmer no good in anything. Sir, if you take the statements made at different meetings held throughout the province of Ontario last fall, you will scarcely find a single farmer asking that the duty should be taken off one of these articles. And why? Simply because, whether he may have been Grit or Tory, he knew down in his heart that he had made money out of the protective duties imposed upon these articles. Now, let me for a moment refer to the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite. They tell us that they have a policy. The hon. member for South Grey (Mr. Landerkin), in speaking the other day, screeched out that they had a policy, that it was one of liberty and freedom. When he was speaking in that way I could not help but think that their policy resembled a great deal the principles of the bandits in the Western States, where a man chooses and takes what he pleases. That would be the course pursued by hon. gentlemen opposite if they got into power; they would simply take our policy and mutilate it in such a way that it would be of no service to any one. It was strongly pointed out this afternoon by the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule), that it would mean taking the duties off the necessaries of life, the products of the farm, such as cheese, butter, pork, beef and coarse grains. But it would do a great deal more; it would still leave a duty on what the farmer would have to buy. Now, reference has been made to im-

plements, and some speakers have contended that the duties should have been lowered still more upon implements. I do not think we can complain much of the prices we pay for agricultural implements to-day. The best implements are as low in Canada as they are on the other side. It is true that in many of the tests which have taken place Canada has been able to hold her own, but there might be one difficulty that I may mention. I do not know whether our Canadian people are to blame for it, but they have, perhaps, come to the conclusion, owing to the whisperings of the people to the south of us, that our machines are not as good as the American machines; and the Americans will tell you, on the other hand, that our machines are simply imitations of theirs. Then we would have to fight the Americans in our own markets, and we would be at a still greater disadvantage in going into theirs. Now, if the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite were pursued, if they were to adopt a tariff for revenue only, they would have to take a very different course from what they have taken in the past. Judging them from their achievements when in office, one would not accuse them of being great economists. They not only increased the public debt at a very rapid rate, but they met with deficits year after year. Now, the hon. member for Wellington (Mr. McMullen), told us the other night that he would economize. He would economize by doing away with the Franchise Act, that cost us, he said, about \$200,000; that is to say, he would place us in the hands of his friends of the Ontario Government, he would place us at their mercy, and every man who held office under the Dominion would be disfranchised. Are the Parliament and people of Canada prepared to give up their rights and liberties in that respect, and place themselves in the hands of their opponents in the province of Ontario, even if they could save \$200,000 a year? Then he says he would do away with the Mounted Police. Well, I do not know very much about the Mounted Police, but this I do know, that the management of our Northwest affairs has been more successful than that of our neighbours to the south of us. We have none of the terrible tales to tell of Indian troubles that the people of the United States have to tell in connection with the management of their Indians. Our Mounted Police from first to last have been able to keep peace in our North-west, and I do not believe that the people of Canada to-day are prepared to do away with that service. I do not say that in the near or distant future, the time may not come when we may be able to do away with the Mounted Police, but to-day this country is not prepared to do away with it. Now, hon. gentlemen opposite have not stated their policy, they dare not state their policy. If they were honest men, if they had the interest of their country at heart, they would be

prepared to come down with a policy in black and white upon the tariff, so that it could be compared with what we are offering the country. But they are not willing to do that, they prefer to deal in generalities and to tell us that they want a tariff for revenue only, when at the same time they know from their past record that it would be impossible to carry on the Government under such a tariff. I must say to the hon. gentlemen that if they were able to bring forth such a tariff, it would be like nothing in the Heavens above, or in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth. I want to make one statement more, and I refer to the speech of the member for South Huron (Mr. McMillan), who said that the farmers upon this side of the House are not honest, that we have not the interests of the farmers at heart. I may say to that hon. gentleman that as a farmer I yield to no man occupying a similar position on either side of the House, in my loyalty and devotion to the agricultural interests of Canada. They are as dear to me as they are to the hon. gentleman; and when they say that we do not know what we are talking about, I cannot but remember that the people of Canada have endorsed our policy upon different occasions for the past fifteen years. Although I do not think the new tariff is perfect, because it is human, and I reserve to myself the right when in Committee of the Whole to state my views regarding two or three matters, if I find it necessary, yet, taken altogether, from end to end, it is a policy that I believe is wholly and strongly in favour of the farmers of Canada. I believe that it will meet their wishes as much as any tariff it is possible to frame, that it will please the Patrons of Industry, who demand that we shall have a tariff for revenue only; and I may say this to the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat (Mr. McMillan), that although he stated that this tariff and the old tariff imposed burdens very grievous to bear, there is one matter in connection with the old tariff specially deserving notice, and it is, that the free goods have increased in value from thirty-one millions to forty-five millions, and dutiable goods have remained at about the same figure, seventy millions. I venture to assert that the duty has been paid in a large measure upon articles of luxury, and while the farmers have the right, as much as any other men, to wear and use articles of luxury, I make this statement, and it is very well known, that the farmers are not paying a very large proportion of the public revenue on the luxuries which are enumerated in the tariff, and it is very well they do not. I close with this statement, which I desire to repeat, that the tariff as now submitted to the House is, taken all in all, very strongly in favour of the farmers of Canada.

Mr. RINFRET. (Translation.) I have listened with much interest to the Budget speech delivered, a few days ago, by the

hon. the Minister of Finance, and I think I may say that the people of Canada at large will read with the same interest this financial statement which was for so long a time anxiously and impatiently waited for. It is a well known fact that for a long while there has been much discontent, not only in the Liberal party, but even among the friends of the hon. the Minister of Finance, against the protective policy and the high tariff which we have had for many years. This dissatisfaction was already at such a pitch at the last session that the hon. gentleman himself understood that public opinion was clamouring for a remodelling of the tariff and important changes in our fiscal legislation. For a reason or another, he deemed it his duty to postpone this readjustment to the present session. It must be owned that the dissatisfaction has only been spreading since last year, and it has even lately taken the proportions of a real agitation. Well, Mr. Speaker, I think I am in a position to state that those who were complaining of the tariff we have had up to now will not be more satisfied with the new tariff brought up to this House for their approval. Indeed, the changes proposed by the hon. gentleman amount to what? The duties have been raised upon certain things and lowered on many others. But this lowering is hardly perceptible, and there is no change which is calculated to impress the public sentiment. And I think I can, in all earnestness, apply here the word of Alphonse Karr: "The more it changes, the more it is the same thing." One need not review the details of the new tariff to show the unimportance of the changes proposed. To prove it, it is sufficient to quote two parts of the speech of the hon. the Minister of Finance. In the first part of his speech, he stated that whatever changes might be proposed, the protective principle will be maintained in its entirety. In the second part, when referring to the public expenditure, to the revenue required to meet it, he stated that of all necessity there ought to be a sufficient revenue to meet an expenditure of \$37,000,000. Mr. Speaker, if the protective principle is to be maintained in all its entirety, and if, on the other hand, the new tariff is to yield as much revenue as the late one, the changes proposed cannot amount to much. Whatever might be the differences of opinion which existed in the past, and still exist between the hon. the Minister of Finance and myself, there is a point as to which I am happy to meet with the hon. gentleman, that is the definition of the policies of both parties in this House. The hon. gentleman stated that the only difference of opinion that existed between us was this: Both parties acknowledge that there must be imposts so as to meet the public expenditure; there is no difference on that point. The difference between us and the Conservative party is that we are of opinion that just

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enough taxes should be imposed to meet the public expenditure, while the Conservative party profess, on the contrary, that they must moreover impose taxes in order to protect the manufacturing industries of Canada. Well, Mr. Speaker, I am willing to meet the hon. gentleman on this ground. The taxation in Canada amounted, in 1878, in round figures, to something like \$18,000,000. In these late years, it has reached the enormous figure of \$30,000,000. That is to say there was an increase of 65 per cent in the last fifteen years. We have had some opportunities in this House, my hon. friends on this side and myself, to oppose the large increase in the public expenditure. Many a time we have established that the public expenditure in Canada was increasing at too rapid a rate and that it undoubtedly exceeded the natural resources of the country. Yet it must be owned that since this expenditure exists, taxes must be imposed to meet it. But it must also be owned that the revenue required to meet this expenditure is already so large that we ought not to impose additional taxes in order to protect the manufactures of the country. I think I am able to show that the additional taxes imposed to protect the manufactures of the country represent nearly 50 per cent of the taxes required for the administration of the public affairs. For several years past the protective policy had the effect of giving rise in the country to a good many monopolies which, as a result, brought the people to pay large sums. Take, for instance, the cotton goods monopoly. The taxes paid upon that article imported from foreign countries amounted, on an average, during these last years, to \$1,150,000 out of an import of about four millions. The annual consumption of cotton goods is about \$16,000,000, by adding the article manufactured in the country. I had an opportunity to get some information upon that matter from the wholesale merchants of the city of Quebec, and here is what I was told—moreover, it could not be otherwise—I was told that the cotton goods manufactured in Canada sell at the same price as the cotton goods imported from foreign countries. Well, if that is well founded, it is plain that we pay taxes on the cotton goods manufactured in the country the same as on those imported from foreign countries. Mr. Speaker, if three times more cotton goods are manufactured in the country than are imported, it is easy to estimate that the taxation on that article alone was from three to four million dollars a year. Therefore, as to that sole monopoly, the taxation was over three million dollars a year. Here is another one: the woollen goods. Of course, the amount paid on that article was not so large, because its consumption is not as large. I do not wish to tire the House with figures, but I have made the computation, and I came to the conclusion that the amount paid by the people to uphold this monopoly, amounts to two or three million dollars a

year. The same conclusion may be drawn as regards the manufactured iron goods. The taxes paid on those articles amounted to two or three million dollars, simply to pay the monopoly of the iron manufacturers. The hon. the Minister of Finance proposes a slight decrease on the agricultural implements. The duty upon these was 35 per cent and he decreases it to 20 per cent. We must thank him for this decrease; but, when he made it, he was well aware that that duty of 20 per cent, so far as the province of Quebec and the province of Ontario are concerned, and, even the whole Dominion of Canada, with the exception of the North-west, where conditions are different, he was aware, I repeat, that that duty of 20 per cent was a prohibitive duty, and that it in no way affected the condition of the Canadian manufacturers. Mr. Speaker, I have just examined three of the principal monopolies maintained by the protective policy. I might add several others to them; there are monopolies on cordage, on sugar, on coal oil. They are very many. I will only say a word with respect to the sugar monopoly. The duties upon sugar were lessened last year, they were eight-tenths of a cent per pound; they are lessened this year to six-tenths; that duty of eight-tenths of a cent did not seem large, yet here is the effect it had last year. The consumption of the country has reached—I do not guarantee the figure as I am speaking from memory—something like 345,000,000 pounds. The duty collected being eight-tenths, it represents two million five hundred thousand dollars collected from the consumers. Out of this enormous amount, less than \$100,000 went to the Public Treasury, the balance, that is to say, about \$2,400,000 falling into the manufacturers pockets. Let us now take the question of the consumption of coal oil. It is a sure thing, according to the best estimates, that some sixteen to twenty millions of gallons of coal oil are consumed annually in Canada, upon which the Government imposes a duty of 7½ cents per gallon. This represents, perhaps, one million dollars and a half for the duty only. Well, only a third of that amount goes into the Public Treasury, the balance being pocketed by the manufacturers who work that product. Mr. Speaker, I was anxious to examine some of the articles upon which the people are called upon to pay taxes much higher than would be supposed by the amount deposited in the Public Treasury, because the manufacturers raise an enormous amount, thanks to these so-called protective duties. The conclusion to which I came is that the people of Canada has paid taxes to the amount of at least fifteen million dollars for the only sake of maintaining and enriching the manufacturers. That amount of fifteen million dollars of taxes represents one-third of the whole taxation imposed upon the country by the present Government. According to the best estimates, I think we can state without any exaggeration, that since fifteen years

the charges upon the people were doubled without any necessity with regard to the public requirements, for the only object of protecting the manufacturers and to the prejudice of the consumers. It must be owned that this is a most serious and momentous question. Now, Mr. Speaker, allow me to say a word about the exodus of our compatriots to the United States. I heard the hon. the Minister of Finance and some other members on the other side of the House say that that exodus had nothing to do with the National Policy introduced in 1879. If protection had nothing to do with that exodus, how is it that it is even now larger than before? Yet, according to their account, the protective system was to do away with it. I think I am in a position to establish the counterpart of the contention repeatedly put forward during this debate, namely, that the protective system did not increase that exodus. Prior to the adoption of the National Policy, it is true that a number of our compatriots were crossing the line each year to go and work in the United States, but there is not a man, knowing what is going on and making inquiries, who does not know that the exodus of the Canadians to the United States doubled and even trebled these last years. True, the taxation is not the only reason that led them to emigrate, but I think it is one of the reasons. Here is how I explain the matter. We all know that it is chiefly heads of numerous families who take to the United States and we know that in our rural districts, it is no uncommon thing to find heads of families of eight or ten children. Well, the increase alone of the taxes representing at least from thirty to forty dollars a head, which these heads of families have to pay in addition, gives in eight or ten years a total amount of from four to five hundred dollars. It must be confessed that this is a very appreciable amount. It is a well known fact that a farmer who owes five hundred dollars on his farm, owing to the accumulating of deficits caused by an increase in his expenses, is bound to go to the United States, there to work with his family so as to be able to pay his debts. There is no other means for him of getting rid of his debts but going out of the country. Well, that debt of five hundred dollars, by what is it formed if not by an equal amount of five hundred dollars raised out of the revenues of the consumers in order that the manufacturers might benefit by it? I observed that the hon. the Minister of Finance, in spite of the speeches we heard on this question for many years, had not, the other day, when he made his Budget speech, as much enthusiasm in referring to protection as his predecessors when they extolled the protective system. I remember, Mr. Speaker, the fervid speeches of Sir Leonard Tilley, of Sir Charles Tupper on the National Policy. Notwithstanding all the ability that distinguishes him, the hon. the Minister of Finance did not seem full

of that enthusiasm which actuated Messrs. Tupper and Tilley when they came and extolled before us the prosperity of the country, the benefits of the protective system. They spoke with such warmth that we were almost tempted to think that they themselves believed in the truth of the words they uttered. But when the facts are far away, when the impression of the moment is dispelled, we can better appreciate, and with more steadiness of judgment and truth. If we go back to the first years which followed the establishment of the protective system, would you know, Mr. Speaker, the conclusion to which any business man must come? Well, it is this: There was in 1880 and in 1882 a revival of business, but we must not forget that we were just coming out of a great period of depression. That depression extended to all Europe and to the United States. Canada suffered by it as every other country did. We may say now that it is that depression that chiefly contributed to induce the people to overthrow the Government of Mr. Mackenzie. That depression having disappeared from Europe and elsewhere, it is plain that it could not but disappear from Canada. The disappearance of that depression was the first and chief cause of this revival of business. But it must neither be forgotten, Mr. Speaker—I am speaking of the years referred to a moment ago—it must not be forgotten that the Government were engaged in the building of the Pacific Railway. For three or four years, they had to make loans to the amount of fifty or sixty millions to cover this extraordinary expenditure. To that must be added the amounts contracted for by the company themselves, amounts which they expended in the building of their road. Besides, there was also the building of other railways in different provinces which required a considerable capital move. In short, if we take into consideration the amounts borrowed by the Dominion Government, and by various railway companies, it is easy to understand that not less than two hundred and fifty million dollars must have been expended in the space of two or three years. There is nothing astonishing that that should have had the result of reviving a great activity in the affairs and giving a new life to the trade of Canada. Now the condition is much changed. For several years past the situation was far from being as brilliant and flourishing, now that all the loans are completed and that, instead of causing capital to come into the country, we find our money crossing the ocean to pay the interests on the loans made during those years. Another cause which is not much felt in the cities, but which has a great influence in the rural districts, is the following one: when speaking, a moment ago, of the exodus of our compatriots to the United States, I stated that a great number of them flew to the other side of the border for the purpose of earning money

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in order to pay their debts. Several have succeeded and sent money here. For several years past, I have travelled several times through my county, and I thought it my duty to avail myself of these visits to talk with the merchants about these matters; and here is what they said to me: Every fall, people who went to the United States send us money to pay their debts. Besides, the amounts thus paid to the merchants, large sums are sent to relatives living in our rural districts. The money thus sent from the United States was another cause of the revival that made itself felt in business, by making money more plentiful. Those who contend that the protective policy had anything to do with this prosperity are, I am not afraid to say it, but visionaries, for they have nothing on which they could earnestly base such a contention. The simple imposition of taxes upon a people cannot in any way enrich the same people, and there is no cause, other than those I have referred to, that goes to explain the prosperity which existed during a time. It is plain the policy of the Government never had the result its friends claim for it. The hon. the Minister of Finance contended, in his Budget speech, that the condition of the people had much improved during the last ten years. He relied for that statement on the census. It is a big volume that was quoted several times since a year ago. I saw my hon. friends on this side of the House quoting it to show that the National Policy was a calamity for the country. The hon. gentleman grounded his statement on a singular fact. He alleges the fact that the manufactures of the country have increased from 44,000 to 75,000. He ought to have remembered that during last session, a number of young and inquisitive members, among whom was my hon. friend the member for Richelieu (Mr. Bruneau), asked him some very interesting questions, indeed. They asked him to name the manufactures referred to in the census for each of their counties, and the very enumeration of such manufactures caused the House to burst out laughing. It is perfectly clear that this increase in number simply took place in the manufactures called home manufactures. And I might name among them the brick-yards, foundries, cheese factories, butter-dairies, saw-mills, furniture and leather factories. In the county of Lotbinière, there was an increase in the number of manufactures, since a great number of cheese factories were established there during the last ten years. Besides, some brick-yards were built. I might add some other manufactures, although I do not remember them all at present.

An hon. MEMBER. The dressmakers have also increased in number.

Mr. RINFRET. (Translation.) But I will ask the hon. gentleman how he can reasonably fancy that the protective system had

anything to do with that? He is perfectly aware that the protective policy is wholly foreign to such manufactures and industries. In every country in the world, in Great Britain, in the United States, and everywhere such manufactures are seen, whatever might be the fiscal policy in force. As to the manufactures which were protected by the tariff in our country, I think we could not figure their increase by some dozens. And can it be said that they have earnestly prospered when we hear the hon. gentleman, after fifteen years of that system, coming and asking some more protection for those manufactures? A good story, which we had a right to believe dead and buried, is that of the agricultural policy of the hon. gentleman. He spoke about protecting oats. He referred to the establishment of a national market for our breadstuffs. Mr. Speaker, if I had any advice to give him, it would be never to refer to that story again. For, what was the effect of protection on our grains and breadstuffs? He intimated, if I well understood the tenor of his speech, that we were on the eve of having a national market for our grains and breadstuffs. This national market never comes to light and the prices of our grains and breadstuffs go on decreasing. Indeed, those who sit in this House ever since 1879 are aware that unceasingly, in all the speeches that were delivered, quotations of the prices of grains were given to us. Now, the hon. gentlemen opposite are no more heard quoting the prices of grains for the reason that these prices have fallen 20 per cent. I never had the habit of proffering false charges against my opponents. I am free to confess that it is no fault of the men in power if the prices of grains and breadstuffs have fallen; but there is one thing sure, and that is that they have utterly failed in the promises they made to the people on that point, and that they were beguiled with respect to their hopes. I might say that, should not the farmers have, to indemnify themselves, the butter and cheese dairies, perhaps half of them would be compelled to desert their farms and take to the United States. There is but one way to protect the farmers, we have repeatedly proclaimed it in this House, it is to give to them a market for the sale of their produce. We have pointed to the hon. gentlemen opposite that the only way to protect the farmers was to procure for them a market for the sale of hay, horses, potatoes and a great many other products of theirs, and that that market only existed in the United States. As to the price of grains and breadstuffs, it is determined now by the Liverpool market and any legislation we might pass as to that could not affect it in the least, save, perhaps, as regards barley and corn. The hon. the Minister of Finance, after his recent journeying through the Dominion to collect information, seems a little more reconciled than he was formerly with the idea of a reciprocity with the United States, and I observe that

he spoke less forcibly than usual against it. He no more contends now that those who are in favour of reciprocity are disloyal to Great Britain; he proceeds with more caution. But I can tell him that as long as the governing party will be the present one, we will not have reciprocity with the United States for two reasons: In the first place, because the Washington Government do not trust them enough to negotiate with them. Two years ago, we might have concluded a treaty should not the Dominion Government have deemed proper to deceive the Washington Government and to dishonestly conduct the negotiations. There is this further reason: that even though the Washington Government should wish to negotiate a reciprocity treaty with the Dominion, the manufacturers of the country, who are masters, would not allow them. So that those people who are in favour of reciprocity, the farmers and the consumers at large, have but one thing to do: and that is to vote against the present Government and let my hon. friend the member for Quebec East (Mr. Laurier) come into power. Another objection I wish to make against the National Policy, one of the evil effects of protection to manufacturers is that it considerably increases the revenue and incites, consequently, the Government to much extravagances. I had many an opportunity to condemn certain wild expenditures made by the Government, especially those with respect to the settlement of the North-west. According to Sir Charles Tupper, the National Policy had two distinct parts, two particular objects in view: the first was to help in the establishment of manufactures in the country, the second to assist in the building of the Pacific railway and the development of the North-west Territories. As stated by me in this House, in my county and elsewhere, these extravagances had no justification. I repeatedly denounced the excessive expenditures indulged in by the Government in the North-west. I considered them as a folly, to a certain extent, and I think the events have shown that I was not wrong. What was going on there during the years I refer to? Then, they did not mind the expense the moment it was for the North-west. There went the surpluses of the Public Treasury. It is impossible to give the precise figures, for all these expenses are not entered separately in the Public Accounts, a number of them are mixed with other expenses; at all events, I think I am right in saying that they amounted to not less than three millions or three millions and a half, only for the additional interest we have to pay on the public debt increased by loans with respect to the building of railways and the development of the North-west. The expenses for Crown lands, police, increase of the expenses in the Interior Department here—all those amounts put together form a total in the neighbourhood of six, seven, we might even say eight million dollars a

year, by including the interest on the money spent in the building of the Pacific Railway. With this estimate of the expenses applied to the development of the North-west, there is no exaggeration in saying that if we deduct from them the revenue yielded to us by the North-west, the surplus of expenses over revenue is still as large as the sum total of the public expenditure of the province of Quebec. We find ourselves in this singular position, that we, of the province of Quebec, pay a direct tax because our ordinary revenues are not sufficient to meet the expenses, and, while we are compelled to cut down the amount appropriated to the development of our provincial resources, we have, moreover, to bear the burden of the extraordinary expenses made in the North-west. It is distressing to find that these wild expenses in the remote provinces of the west are paid by the high taxes imposed upon the voters of a province which has not the revenues necessary to the development of its own resources. Here, Mr. Speaker, I have something to say, and it is that in view of the course which is pursued persistently in these Territories and in Manitoba, where the separate schools and the use of the French language are abolished, should the Government come and ask us to make for the North-west the expenses made in the past, how many would there be amongst us who would be willing to make these sacrifices anew? I stated a moment ago, that I denounced these expenses as extravagant. I now think that not only was I right when I stated that they were extravagant, but, moreover, that we must feel humiliated for having made them, after the treatment we have received. That which occurs now-a-days there will have a great influence on the future of this country. How could it be possible for French-Canadians to go there as long as their rights are not acknowledged. I know that now is not the time to discuss these delicate questions. Yet, it is a matter in which the people of the province of Quebec are interested to the highest extent, and I cannot refrain from availing myself of this opportunity to make these remarks. I will further add that when we denounced these expenses we were a thousand times right, and the subsequent facts have unhappily but too much justified these denunciations. Some hon. members opposite asked what was our platform. They boast of having a platform and say we have none. The platform of the Liberal party was more than once given out, and again at the great Liberal convention, held in this very city last summer. I do not wish to examine in detail the articles of this platform, but I will sum it up in two words. We want all the classes of the community to have their share in the public revenues, and the imposts to be distributed with equity and justice. We intend to impose only just such taxes as are necessary to provide for the public expenses.

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It is a very short platform as concerns our fiscal policy; it is summed up in a few words; but it is so much grounded on justice that I hope it will be finally agreed to by the voters of the Dominion.

Mr. FRECHETTE. (Translation.) Mr. Speaker, I have but a few remarks to offer in answer to the hon. member you have just heard. I feel happy to take part in a discussion followed with so much interest, for several days past, by this House and the country at large, for I feel I would be wanting in my duty to my constituents should I not state my views with respect to the present condition of the country. The hon. member for Lotbinière (Mr. Rinfret) represents a county adjoining my own, and as a neighbour, I think I should not be hard on him. He stated that there had been no progress in the province of Quebec since the introduction of the protection policy. I will ask that hon. gentleman if it is not a fact that the people are better off now than under the administration of Mr. Mackenzie? They talk about the exodus of our compatriots to the United States, but this exodus is nothing new. It began in 1840, and it was larger between 1840 and 1857 than at any other time. It is therefore not a new thing. The hon. gentleman spoke against the duties upon grains, but he carefully avoided speaking of the duties upon cheese. Should we take away that duty of three cents a pound upon cheese, we would be touching upon a very serious question for the province of Quebec, for it would greatly affect the dairy industry which has taken such a development in our province since ten or twelve years. The hon. member also contended that the protective tariff only protected but the manufacturers. It is all the contrary that is true. True the manufacturers are protected, but it must not be forgotten they employ operatives to work their manufactures. Should these manufacturers not be protected by the Government's policy, how could they employ these operatives who earn in the manufactures the bread of their families? By protecting to a reasonable extent the industries of the country, we protect the farmers as well. The tariff as proposed is much more favourable to the farmers and workmen than to the manufacturers. I avail myself of this opportunity, Mr. Speaker, to congratulate the Government and the hon. the Minister of Finance in particular upon having brought forward so satisfactory a Budget, showing for the year 1892-93 a surplus of over \$1,350,000.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| The receipts were for 1892-93. . . . | \$38,168,608 |
| And the expenses were. | 36,814,052 |

Leaving a surplus of. \$1,354,556

Well, Mr. Speaker, my hon. friends opposite are not satisfied with this result; it does not make them cheerful, they who, under the Liberal administration, from 1874 to 1878.

had but one surplus, and even that was left to them by the Conservatives. It was the same thing with the Liberal party in Quebec. I will show, Mr. Speaker, the deficits accumulated by the Government of Mr. Mackenzie while they were in power. I have to quote as to that point some figures which are summed up in the following table:—

LIBERAL RULE.

| | Surplus. | Deficit. |
|-----------------|----------|-----------|
| | \$ | \$ |
| Years 1875..... | 935,644 | |
| 1876..... | | 1,900,785 |
| 1877..... | | 1,460,027 |
| 1878..... | | 1,128,147 |
| 1879..... | | 1,543,228 |
| | 935,644 | 7,032,187 |
| Deficit..... | | 6,096,543 |

CONSERVATIVE RULE.

| | Surplus. | Deficit. |
|-----------------|------------|------------|
| | \$ | \$ |
| Years 1880..... | | 1,543,228 |
| 1881..... | 4,132,743 | |
| 1882..... | 6,316,352 | |
| 1883..... | 7,064,492 | |
| 1884..... | 754,225 | |
| 1885..... | | 2,240,059 |
| 1886..... | | 5,834,572 |
| 1887..... | 97,313 | |
| 1888..... | | 810,032 |
| 1889..... | 1,865,035 | |
| 1890..... | 3,885,894 | |
| 1891..... | 2,235,743 | |
| 1892..... | 155,977 | |
| 1893..... | 1,354,556 | |
| | 28,861,870 | 10,437,889 |
| | 18,425,000 | |

As can be seen, during the fourteen years of the Conservative administration there were surpluses of revenues amounting to over \$18,000,000, after deducting the deficits. I say it would be unfair to condemn an administration which thus carry on the affairs of the country. It is certain that there is no government who commit no faults, but when we come out with such figures, I don't see how the opposing party can manage to cause the people to believe that we have a deficit. The year 1878 was a hard one. Money was

at an exorbitant price and very hard to get at that; the rate was 10 per cent. The manufactures were closed down. Under the Mackenzie rule, the farm products did not sell. Following are some data with respect to the present value of our farm products. The hon. members opposite take delight in denying that our farmers get a good price for their products; it looks as if they were paid by their counties to come here and disparage the country. I do not know whether it is profitable to these to send here people to vilify it. I say that the agricultural produce sell to-day better than they sold before protection was introduced. Let us take pork, for instance; it is sold at \$7.50 to \$8.50 per 100 pounds; butter, 18 to 22 cents a pound; cheese, 9 to 10 cents; oats, 45 to 50 cents a bushel; beef, \$5 to \$6 per 100 pounds; muttons, \$2 to \$3 each. It is shown by these figures that the market for farmers is preferable to-day to that of 1878. Let us now see what the farmer has to pay for what he buys now. Flour is at \$4 a barrel; tea, first quality, 30c. to 40c. per pound; sugar, 5c. to 6c.; weaving cotton, 25c. to 30c. a pound; gray cotton, 5c. to 10c. a yard; bleached cotton, 5c. to 10c.; tweeds, 30c. to 75c.; bar iron, \$2.10 per 100 lbs.; nails, \$2.50 to \$3 per 100 lbs.; horse rake, \$20; mowers, \$50; shoes, glasses and paint, 25 per cent less than under the Mackenzie rule. Let us now examine the prices of these same articles during the years that lapsed between 1873 and 1878: Pork, \$5 to \$6 per 100 pounds; butter, 12c. to 15c. per pound; oats, 35c. to 40c. a bushel; muttons, \$2.50 a head; beef, \$4 to \$5 per 100 pounds. As can be seen, agricultural products sold at lower prices before the working of the protective tariff than now. And never was the dairy industry, the industry of butter and cheese, spoken of at that time. My hon. friend from Lotbinière (Mr. Rinfret) spoke much about cheese. He ought to be in favour of protection, for I say that the increase in the production of cheese was due to it, and if we had free trade with the United States, the Americans would flood our market with their produce and kill that industry.

Mr. RINFRET. (Translation.) Does the hon. member ask me a question? Does he ask what my views are with respect to protection?

Mr. FRECHETTE. (Translation.) No. I did not ask you that. From 1873 to 1878, flour was sold at \$7 to \$8 a barrel; tea, 50c. to 60c. a pound; sugar, 8c. to 12c. a pound; coffee, 50c.; coal oil, 30c. to 40c.; nails, 5c. to 6c.; tweeds, 60c. to \$1.25 a yard; gray cotton, 10c. to 15c.; bleached cotton, 10c. to 15c.; cotton prints, 12c. to 14c.; weaving cotton, 40c. to 50c. a pound; horse rake, \$30; mowers, \$75; bar iron, \$4 per 100 pounds; scythes, forks, axes and paint were 25 per cent higher than

before the establishment of our manufactures. Thus, the competition between manufactures had the effect of cutting down the price of these articles notwithstanding the duties that were imposed. The workingmen of our country have nothing to complain of. They earn fair wages. The wages of the workingmen to-day, compared with those paid prior to 1878, are 25 per cent higher, and they have steady work, and everywhere, the labourers of the province of Quebec—I know nothing of their condition in the province of Ontario—live very comfortably with the wages they earn; they are not rich, but they can buy the necessaries, and at cheap prices, owing to the changes made to the tariff. They have nothing to complain of, and they do not complain either. That is seen at election times. Well, Mr. Speaker, I well know we will never succeed in contenting the hon. members opposite. They still clamour that the country is drifting to bankruptcy and ruin. I think they were made indeed to cry out thus: that it is with them a mania to proclaim the ruin of the country, to depreciate it and to sacrifice their fellow-citizens to party interests. That is the great disease they are suffering from. Allow me, Mr. Speaker, to say a word about the dairy industry. We cannot too much admire the growth taken by this industry during these last years, as shown by the success it has attained at the great Chicago Fair. The fact is that out of one hundred and thirty-two prizes granted, the dairy industry of the Dominion took one hundred and twenty-six. I say that we ought to be pleased with such a success, and congratulate ourselves upon it. It was a thorough success. Certainly these one hundred and twenty-six prizes do not go to show that the province of Quebec or the whole Dominion are drifting to ruin, to bankruptcy, as stated by the hon. gentlemen opposite. Our fisheries, our lumber and minerals also took prizes at the great Chicago Fair. In my county there are twenty-four cheese factories which, last autumn, produced a million pounds of cheese. This cheese was sold at 9 cents a pound, totalling \$90,000. There are also in my county three butter dairies. They produced fifty thousand pounds of butter, sold at 20 cents a pound, making \$10,000. There is \$100,000 for that single industry. It is, therefore, Mr. Speaker, an industry worth consideration, is it not? And to what is it due? Is it not to the policy of the Dominion Government—a policy which caused them to establish these magnificent experimental farms, spreading among our agricultural class the knowledge required to attain so satisfactory results? It seems to me a government ought not to be condemned when they so well do their duty. All that, Mr. Speaker, does not go to show either that the country is drifting to ruin and to bankruptcy, as contended by the Liberals. On the contrary, I think it is a magnificent result. Last year, again, our

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exports of cheese amounted to \$13,000,000. I have no doubt that this figure will still be increased, owing to our experimental farms. I say that the Government are in duty bound to do all that they can possibly do to prevent the Americans from using our cheese marks to pass theirs on the European markets as Canadian cheese. The Government are bound to take the necessary measures to prevent our neighbours from securing our cheese marks in order to sell their products in Great Britain by giving them out as Canadian cheese. I know this was promised, at the last session, by the hon. the Minister of Finance. I hope he has not forgotten that promise, and that he will see to it as early as possible, for it is an important matter. I will now quote some figures, Mr. Speaker, to show the progress realized by the country since we have the protective system. The figures I am going to quote are very encouraging, as you can judge by yourself. We have now over ten thousand miles of railway more than in 1878. Does that show that we are going backwards? Is it not, on the contrary, an evidence that we are moving in the right direction, for, were we not prosperous, how could we increase the number of miles of our railways? A country building so much railways is certainly not on the eve of going into bankruptcy. The number of passengers carried by our railways, last year, was eight millions, and the latter had over seventeen million tons of freight. Their earnings exceeded thirty-three million dollars. It is a result which does not show that our condition is not prosperous. The hon. members opposite contended that the number of our manufactures had decreased. Let us compare the figures contained in the census and see if there is any truth in that contention. Let us take the figures of 1881 and compare them with those of 1891. In 1881, we had 49,933 manufactures; in 1891, we had 75,768. It is an increase of 25,845 in ten years, or 51 per cent. Does that furnish to my hon. friends opposite any ground for stating that the country is drifting to ruin? I think the very contrary is true. The capital engaged in manufactures in 1881 was \$165,000,000. In 1891, it amounted to \$333,000,000. That gives an increase in ten years of \$188,000,000, or 114 per cent. If my hon. friends opposite would take the trouble to inquire, to look at the figures, they could see as we do the facts I put before you, Mr. Speaker. Let us now see that which has reference to the number of people employed in these manufactures. In 1881, there were 254,000 persons employed in the various industries, while in 1891, there were 367,000, or an increase of 113,000. That gives 44 per cent more in favour of 1891. We must bear in mind, by the way, that these people employed in the manufactures are consumers of the produce grown by the farmers. The United States have their agricultural produce which they sell to their working classes.

It ought to be the same thing in Canada. Do not these people employed in the manufactures form a market for the farmers of all the provinces? Let us now see what has been the value of the production of manufactures. In 1881, it amounted to \$309,000,000; in 1891, to \$475,000,000, an increase of \$165,000,000, or 53 per cent in ten years. When a country manufactures more products than it requires for its consumption, one cannot say that that country becomes impoverished. When a farmer reaps more than what is required for his consumption, is it not a fact that he enriches himself by the sale of the surplus of his harvest? It is the same thing for the manufacturer. Another evidence. Mr. Speaker, of the prosperity of our people is to be found in the savings they make. Well, on the 28th of February last, there was in our Government savings banks, or other banks of the same kind, an amount of \$242,645,358, or nearly fifty dollars per head. In 1878, these deposits only amounted to \$87,000,000. We are passing through a period of depression. But, speaking of depression, I observe that my hon. friends did not refer this year to the United States. Yet, they used not to spare us that comparison. I remember that, last year, half of the debate on the Budget was taken up by references to the prosperity of the United States. This year they dared not refer to it. Go to the United States, go to Portland, Biddeford, Maine, Fall River, etc., and you will see half of the people in the poor-houses. It is true, unhappily, and I am not stating it to take any glory out of it. In the United States more than three hundred and thirty banks closed their doors. Is it an evidence of prosperity when banks thus close down? Moreover, thirty thousand miles of railways were given to be sold by the Receiver, inasmuch as they were unable to pay their working expenses. That is a prosperous condition, is it not? That is the country to which they wish to annex us at any price. Half of the manufacturers closed down or lowered the wages they were paying. The operatives there work two or three days a week. That is the condition of affairs in the United States. Well, notwithstanding the depression we have had, our banks kept standing up and our manufactures are working; there is the difference. Would we be better off with annexation? I say no. Our Canadian families are coming back by full car loads to our country. I passed the other day at Richmond; I saw there seven families who were coming back from the United States and they told me: it is better to remain in this country at 25 cents a day than go to the United States. Since 1883, the Conservative Government have lessened the duties on Canadian tobacco. We all remember that in 1878, the Mackenzie Government had put a duty of five cents per pound on that tobacco. Who took that duty away? The Conservative party. Who took away the duties on

tea, coffee, sugar, newspapers, coal? The Conservative party. My hon. friend spoke about coal oil; well, it was sold from 40 cents to 50 cents in 1878. It is now sold at 15 cents an Imperial gallon. Is there any cause for complaint? Suppose for a moment that the oil mills at Petrolia should be closed down and that we should be at the mercy of the Americans, what would happen? Within three months we would pay for it from 25 to 30 cents, and they would sell us common oil and keep the good one for themselves. I am glad to congratulate the Government upon having in a bill readjusting the tariff, inserted a clause under which they will be authorized to put corn on the free list whenever the United States let our barley come in free. The present Government cut down the duties on lumber, iron, nails and agricultural implements. But there is more than that; who built the great railways, the canals, especially the Sault St. Marie Canal, who built the Intercolonial and the public buildings? Who purchased the North-west Territories? It is the Conservative party. I remember very well that the Opposition stated the Government were giving \$1,400,000 for lands that were worth nothing, for an iceberg. Mr. Speaker, the Liberals were opposed to all the great works that do honour to a young country like ours. It is true our public debt ran to \$242,000,000, but we have assets to show. When a merchant has a stock worth \$10,000, if he owes only \$7,000 or \$8,000, I say he is not poor. Besides, we must bear in mind that the Government subsidized the railways. I was pleased to hear the hon. the Minister of Railways state, in the course of his speech the other night, that railways would receive new subsidies this year. Well, I suppose, and I have reason to believe that the Hereford railway, that is the railway from Lime Ridge to Lévis, through the counties of Wolfe, Megantic and Lotbinière, the three finest agricultural counties of the province, in which are to be found a great quantity of timber of all kinds, mines and magnificent water powers, will have its share of the subsidies. I am greatly interested in the future of this railway. It must not be forgotten that subsidies were promised to me by the lamented Sir John A. Macdonald in 1878. These promises were repeated by the present Ministers. Moreover, I reiterated my application on the very first day of the session. I am satisfied that the National Policy was a genuine success and that it is the agricultural class to whom it has been the most benefit. I am willing to show that they it were who were the most protected. It is neither myself, nor the lawyer, nor the notary, nor the professional man, who benefit by it, it is the farmer. For the farmer is not supposed to buy what he requires for his living. Are we not living more comfortably now than fourteen years ago? I appeal on this point to the hon. members opposite. I remember those times. I lived in the county where I am still re-

siding, and I say that the farmers are living fifty per cent better than in 1878, although we pay now one hundred per cent more than then for educational purposes. Where is the money found to meet those expenses? It must come from somewhere. Well, that means, in my opinion, that we are not as poor as during those times. I had an opportunity to visit several counties since a few years. I went travelling through England, Ireland, France, Italy, New England, Manitoba, the North-west Territories and British Columbia. I am not referring to these travels to praise myself; what I wish to say is that I had an opportunity to examine these countries, and I must say, advantageously to Canada, that there is nowhere a more prosperous country, and one where I better like living than in Canada. All what these countries produce we can produce, but farming is not as flourishing there as here. Our railway system is perfect; our laws are good—we are protected; our educational system is perfect; our government system is good, especially as managed by the hon. Ministers who are in power, and after mature consideration, I come to the conclusion that our country is the best in the whole world. I will conclude, Mr. Speaker, by saying that the National Policy will be preserved long enough to allow my little four years old child to grow and be strong enough to bear some distress whenever the Liberals come into power, which I well hope they will never do.

Mr. FORBES In rising to speak on this important subject of the tariff, I shall ask the indulgence of the House for but a short time, and further, I may say, I shall endeavour to confine myself to the subject under discussion and not follow the practice of hon. gentlemen opposite who have never yet expressed any sentiment with regard to or given their approval of the tariff actually presented to the House. Before proceeding to discuss the question immediately before the House, I may be pardoned for referring to some of the remarks made by the junior member for St. John (Mr. Hazen), as well as to observations made by other hon. gentlemen opposite, who went beyond the question before the House, and referred to matters with which they had very little acquaintance, and upon which they spoke more in rashness than with malice aforethought. The member for St. John (Mr. Hazen) referred to the fact that the Liberals were administering public affairs in the lower provinces, and the hon. gentleman asked what the Liberals would do if they got into power in Federal politics, and declared they could do nothing better than had been done by their predecessors if Federal affairs were administered by politicians like those who are now governing the maritime provinces, and he referred to Mr. Fielding, of Nova Scotia. The hon. gentleman had the assumption to charge that hon. gen-

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tleman with having used the public funds and increased the public debt of the province in a manner that was not justified by honest and fair government. The hon. gentleman declared that the leader of the Government in Nova Scotia had improperly increased the provincial debt by borrowing money for public roads, and that he had afterwards expended it for political purposes, and that the roads themselves had consequently suffered. Such was not the case, and the hon. gentleman should have known the facts before he made such a statement in this House. The Premier of Nova Scotia borrowed \$600,000 for public road purposes in Nova Scotia. This sum was wisely and honestly expended. The roads of the province were never in a better position than at the present time—and in much the same good state of repair they have been ever since this money has been spent. Further, as the hon. gentleman should be aware, the money was not raised on the votes solely of the Liberal members of the Assembly, because every member of the Tory Opposition in the House voted for the increase of the provincial debt for the purpose for which it had been expended, except one member, Mr. Andrews, of Annapolis, and when he went back to his constituents for re-election he was ordered to remain at home. The hon. gentleman referred to the debt of Nova Scotia as having been largely increased by the Liberals, and mentioned that it was a matter for regret, and he affirmed that if we got into power we would so conduct the business of the country as to follow the example of Mr. Fielding of Nova Scotia. The debt of Nova Scotia, I may say for the information of the hon. gentleman, is very much less than the debt of any other province of the Dominion, except Ontario. The net debt of Quebec is equal to \$10.43 per head, New Brunswick \$5.89, British Columbia \$6.58, Manitoba \$4.43, Nova Scotia \$3, and this result was brought about after twelve years of administration of affairs by the Liberal party. If the hon. gentleman can show such a record in connection with the administration of the affairs of Canada by the Conservative party, he may be justified in drawing a comparison. But what is the Federal net debt? It is equal to \$43.81 per head of the population. Yet the hon. gentleman would call the attention of the House to the fact that Nova Scotia, governed by the Liberals, was unwisely governed, and that a similar condition would follow the administration of federal affairs by the Liberal party. I desire to refer also to a statement made by the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin). That hon. gentleman made an eloquent appeal on behalf of the farmers. He would be the farmers' friend to-day and the Government's friend to-morrow, provided the Government did not attack the farmers' interest although he had denounced the Government in his newspaper, and this was done after he

had denounced the Government in this House by moving a resolution, or giving notice of a resolution, to abolish the duties on the necessaries of life for his constituents in Assiniboia. Yet the hon. gentleman continued to vote straight, because he has a Government paper, which I have no doubt represents the interests of the party, and he draws from the funds of the Dominion Government large sums on advertising contracts.

Mr. DAVIN. Mr. Speaker I rise to a point of order. The hon. gentleman, I think, has no right to make a statement on assumption, and I may say that it is a pure piece of assumption altogether, because there is no truth in it.

Mr. FORBES. If the hon. gentleman has not yet been paid his bill for advertising it is time he was, and I have no doubt he will receive his cheque in due time. The hon. gentleman at one time was not at all in favour of the Government or its policy, and he wrote a letter and it was published in his paper called the 'Regina Leader.' This letter was written about the close of last session, and is as follows:—

The session is over. A very peculiar session, unique in its brevity. The Opposition are jubilant; very confident of success, and speak of sweeping the country. At this moment they might do it, so discredited is the Government by reason of inherent and universal weakness. It must be remembered that for nearly half the session one strong man has been away, and that man the premier. But some Tory members of Parliament will say it would have been worse were he here. There can be no doubt that some private members abstained from bringing up questions in consequence of his absence. Still the Government was discounted by the want of a certain weight, not an ascendancy, which belongs to him. Then Tupper was away. Well, Tupper has lots of fight and can make a big blazon, but he cannot debate. I conclude these two men's absence was a loss, but that the loss was counter-balanced by the embargo Thompson's sabsence placed on certain members, among them a western member, who had an important motion to move he would not move in Thompson's absence. The session leaves the Government weak. The Government does not realize the way the country regards it. The country is ready to spew it out of its mouth, and unless Sir John Thompson reorganizes, not according to the dictates of faction, but according to the wishes of the people, this Government will be swept out of existence.

Mr. DAVIN. Did the hon. gentleman say I wrote that?

Mr. FORBES. I may say that I have not the original manuscript to show that the hon. member for Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) wrote it, but it was published in his paper in the west and circulated throughout the east.

Mr. DAVIN. I rise to order, Mr. Speaker. The hon. gentleman stated at first that I wrote the letter to a paper, and it now seems

that he quotes a letter written to a paper, and he has no authority whatever for attributing it to me.

Mr. FORBES. Will the hon. gentleman deny that he wrote it?

Mr. DAVIN. I deny emphatically that I wrote the letter.

Mr. FORBES. The hon. gentleman controls the paper and controls the publication of it, and he surely must be responsible for the utterances of his own organ and this letter in its choice, terse language represents the feelings of the hon. gentleman at that time and strongly indicates the writer. It was written in April of last year, just at the close of the session and it is high time that he should repudiate it. Coming to the subject under discussion, I wish to refer to some remarks made by the Minister of Marine and Fisheries when he was in the province of Nova Scotia after his return from Paris. He deemed it advisable in the interests of the Government to endeavour to show that the country was experiencing a tremendous period of prosperity, that everything was glorious; that the rivers were running with logs, lumber and fish; that the exports and imports were increasing, and he went to his own county of Pictou and made a speech which I will venture to say was not graced by an original thought. It is made up of twenty-five or thirty excerpts from speeches made by Liberal members of Parliament, and outside of that it contains simply nothing. He made quotations from what he presumed to be correct figures, according to the blue-books, although I doubt if they are, and I shall claim the indulgence of the House for a moment while I analyze them. As an evidence of prosperity in Nova Scotia he drew a comparison between the tons of shipping outwards and inwards in the years of 1878 and 1893. It is ridiculous that such a thing should be done by a Minister of the Crown. A junior member of this House or a person inexperienced in political warfare might be excused, but it is hardly creditable that the Minister of Marine and Fisheries should attempt to befool the people of the province of Nova Scotia. He said that the difference between the two years I have mentioned in tonnage, inwards and outwards in the province of Nova Scotia, represented nearly 5,000,000 tons. Did he presume that the province of Nova Scotia was going to stand still for fifteen years, or was he entitled to gloat over the fact that we had not receded in our trade during that time? Does the Minister not know that these figures for the year 1892, as well as those for 1878, but especially those for the year 1892 refer to tonnage inwards or outwards from the several ports? A vessel might call at Sydney for a load of coal and she might touch at Halifax, Lunenburg, Bridgewater, Liverpool, Shelburne, Yarmouth and Digby before she completes the discharge of her cargo, and at every one of these ports

she will be entered as of so much tonnage. A cargo of potatoes may be taken from Wolfville, in the county of King's, carried to Boston, and that vessel may get coal at Sydney and go up the Bay of Fundy to discharge the coal at several ports, and that vessel would be entered five times at a certain tonnage. Therefore there is no logic at all in his argument in this respect, nor is there any force in it. The hon. Minister of Marine also spoke of the deposits in the banks as evidence of prosperity; but he failed to tell the people whether these were small deposits in the savings banks or large deposits in our financial institutions. If they are large deposits it would rather show a stagnation of trade and the want of means for the investment of the money of the people. It shows that they have locked up their money in banking institutions at 3 or 4 per cent, afraid to invest it, and afraid to trust the policy of the Government for the development of trade. I fail to see why the Minister should quote that as an evidence of prosperity. The hon. gentleman also cited the increased production of coal as an indication of prosperity. Let me ask him why should we not export more coal than we did fifteen years ago? The machinery for developing the mines is improving year after year: coal which was produced two years ago for about \$1.22 a ton, is produced to-day for from 80 cents and 85 cents free on board the vessel to 95, and why should there not be an increase in its production? That fact is more attributable to the policy of the Liberal Government in the province of Nova Scotia, than in any degree to the policy of this Government. Although the exports of home manufacturers have only grown \$300,000 in fifteen years in the province of Nova Scotia, yet he, the Minister, cited this again as an evidence of prosperity. He says that the imports of raw cotton into the province of Nova Scotia were only 5,667 pounds in 1878, and that they were 3,618,000 pounds in 1892, and according to him that indicates a large measure of prosperity in that province. We all know that a large quantity of that cotton was simply taken into port, landed on the cars and sent west to the cotton manufacturers in Montreal, or it may be, that it was manufactured in the mills in Nova Scotia, for export to China, but yet the Minister says that that indicates prosperity in the province of Nova Scotia. I fail to see that the statements made by the Minister indicate any degree of prosperity in our province. Let us come to what really does indicate a want of prosperity. No Maritime Province member has yet undertaken to show how the old National Policy, or how the new deformed Policy, with the old ragged and tattered garment of protection hanging to its limbs, has benefited, or is going to benefit those provinces. How are their great industries going to be prospered or benefited in the least degree by the policy of restriction? If we take the ship-

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ping industry, I will show the House, if it will bear with me, how the various protective taxes have affected it. From 1868 to 1874, inclusive, the average annual tonnage built in the Dominion of Canada, under the then low tariff, was 115,063 tons; from 1875 to 1879, inclusive, the days when the Liberal party were in power, the average was 138,193 tons. From 1880 to 1892, inclusive, the years during which the National Policy got in its work, the average annual tonnage built in Canada had fallen to 49,917 tons, a shrinkage of nearly 100,000 tons a year. And yet hon. gentlemen undertake to tell us that under the policy which they are supporting and advocating for this country, the great industry of shipping in the Maritime Provinces is increasing. In 1878, Canada built 101,506 tons of shipping, and there was a steady decline until in 1892 we built and registered only 28,773 tons. The province of Nova Scotia, in which I am more particularly interested, lost, as a province, in 1881, 741 tons; that is, the total amount of tonnage to the credit of Nova Scotia at the end of the year 1891 was 741 tons less than it was at the end of the previous year. But what about the province of New Brunswick, of which the hon. member for St. John (Mr. Hazen) and the hon. member for Kent (Mr. McInerney) have spoken so well, which they have spent hours in telling us is in a prosperous condition? They have told us that its native industries of shipping, farming, and fishing, are prospering, yielding large returns, and developing year by year. They want no change; they are satisfied to leave things as they are. But the fact is that in 1891 the province of New Brunswick lost 15,059 tons of shipping, and Prince Edward Island, 2,730 tons. In 1892, Nova Scotia lost 33,598 tons, New Brunswick, 11,187 tons, and Prince Edward Island, 610 tons. In 1893, Nova Scotia lost 31,575 tons, New Brunswick, 34,366, and Prince Edward Island, 2,730 tons. In 1892, Nova Scotia, the year 1893, which is just about closed, represents, at a valuation of \$30 per ton, a total loss to those provinces, and consequently to the Dominion, of no less than \$2,077,140. If such a state of affairs continues to exist for any length of time in the Maritime Provinces, where will this great industry find itself? What does this loss represent to the people of those provinces? Loss of labour to the artisans, the ship-builders, blacksmiths, carpenters, painters, sail-makers, riggers, boat-builders, sailors, officers, pilots and stevedores, in building, rigging, loading and discharging these vessels. Let it be borne in mind, further, that while Canada has suffered so great a decrease in shipping, directly attributable to the policy of restriction, that she has adopted, she is in good company; for her shipping has decreased with that of Holland, an effete and worn-out monarchy, that of Italy, and that of the United States in respect to her shipping, engaged in foreign tonnage; while, since 1890,

the tonnage of shipping has increased in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Denmark, Germany, Norway, Belgium, and France. Now, if it can be said that these things indicate a reasonable prosperity in the Maritime Provinces, I should like to know wherein we might expect to find stagnation. The hon. Controller of Customs, the other day, asked the House to be thankful that there was no stagnation or starvation in the provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, but that the people were able to get enough to eat and drink and wherewithal to be clothed; and the hon. member for Kent told us that we should be thankful that the farmers have enough to eat and drink. A condition of mere subsistence among the farmers was satisfactory to him as long as the Tory Government remained in power. But what about our other great industries, such as the fishing industry? None of these hon. gentlemen referred to that. Turn up the Government statistical year-book, and you will find that in 1873 Nova Scotia yielded \$6,577,000 worth of fish; in 1874, \$7,652,000 worth; while in 1884 the product had grown to \$8,763,000 worth. But in the year 1891, the product of the fisheries of Nova Scotia had fallen to \$7,000,000 worth; in 1892, \$6,340,000 worth; and in 1893, to \$6,100,000 worth. We find that there has been not only a stagnation in that great industry, but a positive retrogression; yet we are asked by the Government supporters to be thankful that we are allowed to live. Although our provincial industries may dry up and fade away, bless your stars, haven't we a Tory Government in power? We get no other comfort. We are told that some of the manufacturers of the Dominion have been benefited by the tariff; but we do not hear a word about our great fishing industry, though where can you find a more valuable industry, not merely to the Maritime Provinces, but to the whole Dominion? And I claim that I have a right to refer particularly to the natural industries of the Maritime Provinces. Other hon. members of this House have particularized the industries of their own provinces, and I claim that I have a perfect right to do the same. When necessary, I speak for the whole Dominion; I wish it were wisely governed and every one of its industries prosperous; but why should hon. gentlemen supporting the Government, and the Government themselves, single out two or three of the industries of the Maritime Provinces to be imposed upon and slaughtered, in order that two or three other industries of the Dominion may prosper and grow rich at their expense? I need not refer to the lumber industry, which is a national as well as a provincial industry. But I can say this as regards that industry, that the policy of the Government to-day is a policy of restriction. It does nothing to assist or develop it; but every article which enters into the consumption of the lumberman is taxed heavily for

the benefit of some other industry in the Dominion. There is no middle course taken; nor is the lumberman asked to abide by a fair or moderate tariff. You never hear a word said by the Government on his behalf. The farmer is right in looking after his own interests; but where is the man who reminds the Government of the fact that while they benefit the farmer by imposing a tax on pork, they are injuring the lumberman? You have increased the tax on pork, one of the prime necessities of the lumberman's business. Is it fair to harass and restrict his industry in that way? You give peculiar advantages to the fishing industry as regards pork, flour, and many other articles the fishermen use, which pay no duty, if used for deep-sea fishing. It is the only free trade industry in the country to-day, the only industry which is not hampered and restricted by the Tory tariff. The Government dare not tax the fisherman, because he would turn upon them and hurl them out of power as the lumberman and other workers in the national industries which make up the great body of the consumers, will do yet. The fishing industry enjoys only part of the advantages which the Liberal party always contend it should have, and to which it is fairly entitled.

Mr. McDUGALL. You always voted against it.

Mr. FORBES. Never. The hon. member for Cape Breton (Mr. McDougall) need not talk so fast. His corns are not pinched. The fishing industry, as I have said, enjoys great advantages in the line of free trade and non-restriction. That industry is a glaring attack on the policy of the Government and an open argument in favour of the policy of the Liberal party. I appeal to the same Government for fair play and equal rights to our other national and provincial industries. Why tax articles entering into the general use of the lumberman and the miner, and farmer and artisan, and single out the fishermen for the great benefits of the Liberal policy of freedom from taxation when prosecuting certain lines of their great industry? If we require further indication of the want of proper development and prosperity in the Maritime Provinces, we have only to go to the census. There we find in the whole Dominion a shortage of over 1,250,000 in population in ten years. In the Maritime Provinces, the very best counties in Nova Scotia have lost their people. The counties of Pictou and Antigonish, represented by two Cabinet Ministers, not only have lost their natural increase, but are actually short of the number of souls that were in them ten years before. And yet the Minister of Marine took occasion, when out west, to find fault with Canadians who had gone abroad to seek a living. He sneered at the young men who had been driven out of Canada and he sneered at their relations

who were left at home. He said: "We have not missed those people who have gone to the United States. We do not want faint hearts in this country." What right had he to make that remark. It is an insult to the brothers remaining behind, of those who were driven out of the country for want of employment, resulting from the restrictive policy of the Government. Yet they are called by the Minister of Marine "faint hearts," because they did not remain here and submit to a system of unfair and unjust taxation. If you take an article in any province and send it abroad, you must naturally bring back something in return, for unless you get a return cargo, your shipments must pay double freight. If the policy of this Government tends to restrict the importation of foreign goods, as it undoubtedly does, a shrinkage in our foreign trade is bound to follow. Such being the case, what else can happen but that the shipping industry must naturally dry up and become nil in a very short time. If you take a cargo, which would be the average surplus catch of one or several fishermen, either on the banks or on shore, and bring it to the best and only market we have, the American market, and it will fetch prices as follows:—

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------------|
| 50 bbls. mackerel at \$10..... | \$ 500 |
| 50 bbls. herring at \$5..... | 250 |
| 50 qtls. codfish at \$5..... | 250 |
| Total..... | 1,000 |

Then you have to deduct the American duty :

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Duty on mackerel \$2 per bbl..... | \$100 |
| do herring $\frac{3}{4}$ of a cent..... | 42 |
| do codfish $\frac{3}{4}$ of a cent..... | 42 |
| | \$184 |

Balance..... 816

That is the exporter of one of the greatest productions any one of the provinces of this Dominion has for export, loses \$184 in consequence of your policy, on his export cargo; because the purchasing market of the United States regulates the price. Now, the ship which carries this freight has her crew on board and her provisions for the voyage, and she must return either in ballast or with a cargo. We load her on return with the following goods suitable for our market :

| | |
|---|---------------|
| 500 gallons paraffine, costing 8 cents, duty 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents..... | \$ 37 50 |
| 100 bbls. flour, costing \$3.50, duty 75 cents .. | 75 00 |
| 225 cwt. cordage, costing 8 cents, duty 25 per cent..... | 50 00 |
| 10 bbls. pork, costing \$14, duty \$3..... | 30 00 |
| 10 bbls. beef, costing \$10, duty \$2..... | 20 00 |
| Total..... | 212 50 |

This shows you that the fisherman first has to pay \$184 to the American Government and then \$212 to the Canadian Government, or a total of \$396.50 is taken out of his \$1,000 on the very best article for export that any country ever produced. That

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amount taken right straight in cold cash for taxes out of the \$1,000, which the fisherman's goods brought in the American market, leaving him a poor \$604 as his return out of the selling price. How long can that industry stand that tremendous tax and wherein has the new policy tended to improve its condition? It has not improved it in the slightest degree. The tax on cordage used by the fishermen is increased 6 per cent by the new scheme. I trust this is not a sop to the hon. gentleman from Halifax (Mr. Stairs), who suffered a small reduction on binding twine last year. This tax will fall directly and heavily on the Maritime Provinces. This same illustration will apply to any other export, whether lumber or products of the farm or mine. Before proceeding further on this point, let me give an illustration of the operation of the tax on some articles necessarily imported, because not made in the country. The cost of dry goods, value \$100, under Liberal tariff :

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| Cost in England..... | \$100 00 |
| Duty..... | 17 50 |
| Cost of importing..... | 8 00 |
| Cost to wholesaler..... | \$125 50 |
| Add 15 p.c. profit..... | 18 82 |
| Cost to retailer..... | \$144 32 |
| Add 25 p. c. profit..... | 36 08 |
| Cost to consumer..... | \$180 40 |

Now, let me apply the same calculation to a similar parcel of dry goods imported under the National Policy at an average duty of 33 per cent—the cost of same goods under National Policy being identical in England or country of purchase :

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| Cost in England..... | \$100 00 |
| Duty..... | 33 00 |
| Cost of importing..... | 8 00 |
| Cost to wholesaler..... | \$141 00 |
| Add 15 p. c. profit..... | 21 15 |
| Cost to retailer..... | \$162 15 |
| Add 25 p. c. profit..... | 40 54 |
| Cost to consumer..... | \$202 69 |

That is, the consumer under the excessively high tariff of the present Government takes out of the consumer the sum of \$22.29 more than under the old tariff in force before the National Policy was brought into operation. There is also an increase in the duty on pork which will fall directly and heavily on the lumbering and fishing interest. With such a condition of affairs, it is safe to assume that the trade of the whole country, particularly of the Maritime Provinces, will still be more seriously handicapped. In 1879, the gross trade of the Dominion amounted to \$153,000,000, in 1892 it had grown to \$241,000,000, or an increase of \$88,000,000, in thirteen years under the National Policy. In 1868, the first year after confederation, the gross

trade of the Dominion was \$131,000,000, in 1874 it had grown to \$217,505,000 under a revenue tariff, showing a total increase of \$86,588,000 in five years. The average annual increase under the revenue tariff of the Liberal party, and that of the old Conservative party, before it took hold of this theory of protection, was \$14,000,000 per year, while the average annual increase under protection was only \$6,700,000. That shows plainly that the National Policy has tended to restrict business. Take it on the basis per head. In 1873 the trade per head of the Dominion was \$59.70. In 1891 it had fallen off to \$45.09 per head. In 1892 it was \$48.27. This shows a shrinkage of \$11 per head in the trade of this country in twenty years—an actual shrinkage. And yet the hon. Minister of Marine will come down to the province of Nova Scotia and hon. gentlemen will stand up in this House and tell us that we have no signs of stagnation, that everything is couleur de rose, that all our industries are extending, that our imports and our exports as well are increasing, that every industry is developing and everybody is happy. And all this in the face of figures compiled by themselves and by their own statisticians, which prove the contrary. Take the total increased trade last year. Our increase in trade with eight countries was \$13,138,552, while we decreased \$3,746,388 in our trade with seven other countries, the net result being an increase of \$9,392,164 in the whole trade of the Dominion. With what countries was that trade gained? We increased our trade with Great Britain \$973,922, with France \$325,991, with Italy \$170,664, with Belgium \$695,307, with Newfoundland \$743,940. This last was on account of the great fire, causing a demand for our lumber for rebuilding. Our increase in trade with South America was \$194,010, and with Switzerland \$65,431. Our trade with the United States increased \$10,019,387. The decreases in trade were with Germany, Spain, Portugal, Holland and the West Indies (the decrease with the last named being \$248,649, a direct maritime loss), China, Japan and other countries not enumerated, the total decrease being \$3,746,388, which, deducted from the total increase, leaves a net increase of \$9,392,164. This makes it clear that, had it not been for the ten millions of increased trade with the United States, our foreign trade would have shown an actual falling off of about one million dollars. Yet we are told that our natural market is not in the United States, and that we ought to do nothing to encourage trade with our neighbours to the south, as they have nothing that we want. Gentlemen within hearing of my voice will remember that upon the statute-book of this country stands what is known as the "Standing Offer." It has been there ever since 1879. Under that offer the Government bound itself to give free exchange

of trade based on the natural products of the country, when the United States agrees to do the same. Yet we have hon. members of this House representing the Government, knowing that on this question of reciprocity they are driven to the wall and are not sincere, knowing that their pretense of a desire for reciprocity is a hollow sham, now actually declaring that our trade with the United States is not worthy of consideration, in fact, that reciprocity would do us harm and not good. I have heard the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague), and the hon. member for Kent (Mr. McInerney), and the Finance Minister, elaborating the idea that the farmers did not want reciprocity with the United States, that our farmers were content with the products they raise themselves, that they were satisfied with the condition of affairs they have to-day, and all this in the face of the fact that, in spite of the tariff walls between the countries, the whole of our increased foreign trade is represented by our increased trade with the United States. Facts speak louder than words, and even the hon. gentlemen arrange their fanciful arguments and present them to this House in defence of positions which are wrong in themselves—they cannot be consistent in any policy for more than a year—they are driven now to attempt to defend their manifestly untenable position that reciprocity cannot do any good for this country. What was the expense to this country of increasing the trade with countries other than the United States? We grant subsidies amounting to over \$120,000 a year to steamboat lines running to the West Indies in order to increase our trade with those islands. And yet, in spite of this, our trade in that direction fell off \$248,000 last year, notwithstanding that we taxed ourselves, as I have said, \$120,000 a year to pay these subsidies. Now, this condition of affairs must be the direct result of the Government's trade policy. If hon. gentlemen would only permit trade to take its natural channels, the merchants, who know more about these things than the Government can possibly know, would push their trade in the direction in which it could be most easily increased and made most profitable, and I venture to say that in five years from now we should have such an increase in the regular exports of this country as to represent a very large development in our foreign trade. The steamboat trade feels the restrictions of the present Government's policy. The manager of the Beaver Line says:

I lay the blame of the present high cattle rates on the heavy tariff levied under the National Policy. Vessels are coming over only half full; in fact the National Policy is strangling the import trade and hence ships' earnings are entirely dependent on the export.

Mr. Torrance, of the Dominion Line, did not express dissent from Mr. Murray's views,

but seemed to consider the Government too much bound to the manufacturers to give much prospect of present relief. These are only the opinions of gentlemen interested in the trade. Whether they know more than the Finance Minister and the Controller of Customs about the trade of this country, about exports and imports and shipping, I leave hon. members of this House and the people at large to judge. There are the opinions of these experts, and it is only a matter of fairness that the moment you retard importation you must expect a charge of a double rate of freight upon the exports in order to compensate the shipper for the loss. We in the Maritime Provinces have four great industries—fishing, lumbering, mining and agricultural. In every one of these we produce a large surplus. Now, what has the Government done with its new tariff to affect these industries, or any of them? Take the item of coal oil, called kerosene. This article is really one of the raw products of these various industries and enters into the production of these articles which we export, and it forms besides a staple article of consumption amongst the masses of this country. They have raised that duty in various ways in times past, and they have not listened to the cry of gentlemen representing the views of the consumers in this House to any appreciable extent. They have at this time only reduced the tax on the barrel 20 cents. How does the duty stand to-day under the new tariff presented by the Government? Take a barrel of coal oil containing 48 gallons, or 40 gallons Imperial measure. The following table shows the cost to the consumer :

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--------|
| 48 gal. cask at 5 cts. per gal..... | \$2.40 |
| Duty 7½ on Imp. gal. 40..... | 2.85 |
| Duty on bbl | .20 |
| Inspection..... | .10 |
| Bbl. cost | 1.50 |
| | <hr/> |
| | \$7.05 |
| Less returned bbl. selling price..... | .60 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total cost to purchaser..... | \$6.45 |

Thus the duty represents a tax of about 165 per cent. Now, that is a direct tax upon the industries of the Maritime Provinces, as are many other taxes, such as those upon rope and cordage, corn, cornmeal, pork, rubber goods, ready-made clothing, woollens, cottons, dress goods, flour and sugar. These are direct taxes upon all the industries of the Maritime Provinces, as well as of the great industries of the Dominion. If the Government can tell me any reason why they should not have taken the duty off corn or cornmeal, I will undertake to be satisfied with it, if it is a reasonable and fair excuse or justification for the imposition of that duty. I have never yet heard any man attempt to justify it or explain the position of the Government in continuing the duty on corn and cornmeal. Nobody with an ounce of sense has ever pretended to put forth an argument in support

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of it. It is a thoroughly unjustifiable policy to put a tax upon the corn which comes in and to prevent the farmer from using it for fattening purposes. Why they put a tax upon cornmeal, goodness only knows; I do not. You do not raise corn in this country, therefore you do not produce meal, but they tax the corn itself and then they tax the meal. They may say there is a drawback allowed on corn imported and ground for human food, but what has that got to do with the corn used in the great industries in the Maritime Provinces, in the lumbering industries, for instance? Why, Sir, eight-tenths of the meal used in the Maritime Provinces by the lumber industry is fed to cattle, and that meal, under the tariff of the present Government is taxed at 40 cents a barrel, and amounted last year to about \$24,000, that is the tax it will have to bear. The same argument will apply to pork, cordage, flour, clothing and everything else. The flour duty is a direct tax upon us in the lower provinces, although probably not to the full extent of the amount of duty imposed, but it is a direct tax upon that article to every consumer in the Dominion of Canada. And so with pork and with rubber goods. We import all those articles, we must import them for use in our great lumber and fishing industries. The rubber goods made in Canada are not suited for our purposes, and we have to get them from the United States. If the Canadian manufacturers will make them suitable for our purposes, we will be glad to use them; but the high tariff which is imposed on that class of goods has enabled the Canadian manufacturer to make, to a certain extent, an inferior article, one that is unfitted for many uses in the Maritime Provinces, and we are compelled to buy the foreign article, and can get no relief under this tariff. Now, the tariff has had its natural effect upon the several manufacturing industries of this country. As manufactures were started by reason of this high tariff, fictitious prices were created and large profits made. Then came competition, and prices fell. Some of the manufacturers were forced to the wall, while the richer and the more wealthy united with each other and formed combines. They then regulated the prices to suit themselves; the consumer had nothing to say in the matter at all; he was compelled to buy, if he wanted the article, at the price which the manufacturer asked for it; otherwise he must buy the foreign article and pay the duty. In every case we know what the result was, the price to the consumer was raised in consequence of the duty imposed on the foreign article, because there was no competition by reason of this duty, and the manufacturer got the benefit of it. Here is the difference between the two tariffs, a revenue tariff and a protective tariff. Under a revenue tariff the duty imposed on the article all goes into the Treasury; under the protective principle the duty imposed goes into the pockets of the manufacturer. These two systems stand side by side,

and it is self-evident to any person who has followed the history of manufactures in this country, that the Government have allowed a small class of people to rule and to regulate the price charged to the great masses of the consumers; although I myself do not pretend to blame the manufacturers for taking the advantage which the tariff has given to them. I say, that under the protective system it is a natural result that the price of the manufactured article is enhanced by the duty levied upon the foreign article. Now, we know that the manufacturers have formed combines; there is no doubt about it. The hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) and several other members of this House have put motions on the Order paper in times past, declaring that it is best, in the interest of the country, to reduce the duties upon certain lines of goods, the manufacture of which has fallen into the hands of monopolies, and rings, and combines in this country. I hold in my hand a form of declaration, or bond, which may not have been brought to the notice of every gentleman in this House, or to many people in the country; I shall, therefore, be pardoned if I refer to it for a few moments. This bond bears out my contention: it shows distinctly that the manufacturers, having once got the power from the Government, formed rings and established prices to suit themselves. Then they arranged matters so that this ring should not be broken up, so that no manufacturer should be compelled to slaughter his goods upon the home market, but, on the contrary, that the consumer should be compelled to pay enhanced prices. Whether he bought them in Cape Breton or Vancouver, if they were the home-made article, the purchaser must pay the price fixed by the manufacturer. This bond or declaration I speak of is to be signed or sworn to by the purchaser from one of the manufacturers; it also is to be signed by the dealers who trade with the manufacturer and who trade with one another, such as the wholesale houses. This bond or declaration reads as follows:—

I, _____, of _____, in the county of _____, do solemnly declare:

That I am _____ for _____ one of the parties to the above named agreements.

That during the month of _____, 189____, neither I, nor, to the best of my knowledge and belief, any other person, for, or on behalf, of the said party, did, in any way whatsoever, consign any goods to any person whomsoever on any pretext, nor allow or pay any commission except to "bonâ fide" agents, whose names have been previously declared to the secretary-treasurer of the said association, nor sell or invoice goods except in the name of the said _____.

That I have not, nor to the best of my knowledge and belief, has any other person, as aforesaid, either directly or indirectly, resorted or had recourse to any subterfuge of any kind whatever as an inducement in making sales of goods.

That no goods have been sold by me, nor, to the best of my knowledge and belief, by any other

person as aforesaid (except to members of the said association), at any less price than that fixed by the said association, and that no rebates, discounts (except as provided for in the said agreements), drawbacks, allowances or inducements whatever have been made or allowed by me, or to the best of my knowledge and belief, by any other person as aforesaid, as an inducement to any person to purchase goods.

That no goods have been sold by me, nor, to the best of my knowledge and belief, by any other person, aforesaid, subject to a decline in price, or for delivery after the first day of _____.

And I make this solemn declaration, conscientiously believing the same to be true, by virtue of "an Act for the suppression of voluntary and extrajudicial oaths."

Signed and declared before me _____, at _____, this _____ day of _____, 189____.

Under this bond combines are operating in paints, wire nails, tacks, cut nails, horse-shoes, pressed wrought spikes and bar iron, and the many other lines of necessaries used by the great masses of consumers. That clearly shows the extent to which the tariff has allowed the manufacturers to go. There are hon. gentlemen here on the Conservative side of the House who represent various industries in this country, the farmers, the fishermen, the labourers, the artisans, the shipbuilding industry, and why is it that they do not stand up and speak out in defence of the interests of their constituents? I fail to understand why a condition of things such as that bond represents should be allowed to continue any longer in this country. That reminds me of an anecdote which I may give to the House. There was a celebrated Southern colonel called Smith, who passed out of this world, and proceeded up to the pearly gates. He knocked at the door, and asked permission to enter. The question came, "Colonel, is that you?" The reply was, "Yes." He was then asked, "Are you mounted, or on foot?" The Colonel said, "I am on foot." "Then you cannot come in here; it is utterly impossible," was the reply. So the Colonel trudged down hill again, and met brother Jasper, a coloured man of moderate pretension, who was trudging uphill. Said the Colonel, "Brother, where are you going?" He replied, "I am going up to the pearly gates." "How do you expect to get in?" "I think I have served my people very well on earth, and will be admitted." The Colonel then said to the coloured brother, "You will not be admitted, unless you are mounted." And the Colonel suggested a way in which to get over the difficulty. "You and I can both get in by adopting a little scheme of mine. Suppose you get down on all fours; I will mount you and we will then go up to the pearly gates, and will both get inside." "A very good scheme," said Jasper, and they commenced their journey. The Colonel knocked at the door. The answer came, "Are you mounted?" To which he answered, "Yes; I am mounted." He was

then told, "Very well; come in if you are mounted; but hitch your horse outside." That is the way with the manufacturers and consumers. The manufacturers can enter the mansions and attain all positions of affluence and wealth, but the masses are hitched outside. That illustrates in a simple way the position in which the people have been placed by the fiscal policy of the present Government. What has the Government done either by the old tariff or by the proposed modification of the tariff to alleviate the condition of the masses? Nothing. They have reduced the duties on a few articles, immaterial reductions, which are nothing else but a sham. They have raised the duties on other articles, including some prime necessities. Yet the Government will go round and declare that they have introduced the tariff in the interest of the consumers. They, however, still adhere to the principle of protection, and in other parts of the country and before other audiences they will declare that they have reduced the tariff, that it is nothing but a revenue tariff, and that it is a revenue tariff with the protection principle in it. Was there ever such an absurd condition of affairs, such a tariff? The fiscal policy has brought the Government to this position, they have endeavoured to run with the hare and hunt with the hound; endeavoured to satisfy the manufacturers, and at the same time make their peace with the great masses of consumers, and it has landed them where they are, in a vortex of despair, and when they next appeal to the people they will receive the verdict of popular indignation, which they are to-day bringing down on themselves. When the resolutions are considered in Committee, I shall ask the Government to point out wherein the proposed changes of duty on a great many articles will be for the benefit of the consumers. I, with others on this side of the House, represent the fishing, lumbering, mining and agricultural industries; and they will wish to know wherein the proposed tariff on flour, meal, pork, iron goods of certain kinds, cordage and ready-made clothing and other articles which enter into the consumption of the masses of the people in the Maritime Provinces, will prove beneficial. We were told that the tariff would be changed in the interests of the consumers, and I shall ask these explanations in Committee. The Government have been driven from their extremely high pedestal by the speeches of hon. gentlemen on this side of the House, by the arguments presented to the country by the Liberal press, and by the firm stand taken by the Liberal leaders in favour of a reduction in the tariff, and the total abolition of the principle of protection. We believe that the tariff is not in the interests of the people as a whole, but that prosperity can only come to the great mass of the people by reducing taxation all round, and imposing duties that are necessary for revenue purposes on cer-

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tain classes of goods which are imported, so that we shall obtain an honest revenue for the necessary expenditure of this country. The Liberal party have been asked more than once to state their policy. The memories of hon. gentlemen opposite must be very short, or they are asking that which they have never sought to obtain. The policy of the Liberal party has been a straightforward and undisguised one for years back. It is laid down in more than one resolution on the records of this House, and it is incorporated in the resolutions passed at the grand convention held in Ottawa last June. In order to remove any doubt let me read the principle planks of the platform, adopted at that gathering. They were as follows:—

We, the Liberal party of Canada, in convention assembled, declare:

That the customs tariff of the Dominion should be based, not as it now is upon the protective principle, but upon the requirements of the public service.

That the existing tariff founded upon an unsound principle, and used as it has been by the Government as a corruption agency to keep themselves in office, has developed monopolies, trusts and combinations.

It has oppressed the masses to the enrichment of a few.

It has checked immigration.

It has caused great loss of population.

It has impeded commerce.

It has discriminated against Great Britain.

That the highest interests of Canada demands removal of this obstacle to our country's progress by the adoption of a second fiscal policy, which, while not doing injustice to any class, will promote domestic and foreign trade and hasten the return of prosperity to our people.

That it should be so adjusted as to make free or to bear as lightly as possible upon, the necessities of life, and should be so arranged as to promote freer trade with the whole world, more particularly Great Britain and the United States.

We believe that the results of the protective system have grievously disappointed thousands of persons who honestly supported it, and that the country in the light of experience is now prepared to declare for a sound fiscal policy.

The issue between the two political parties on this question is now clearly defined.

We denounce the principle of protection as radically unsound and unjust to the masses of the people, and we declare our conviction that any tariff changes based on that principle must fail to afford any substantial relief from the burdens under which the country labours.

This issue we unhesitatingly accept, and upon it we await with the fullest confidence the verdict of the electors of Canada.

This we declare to be our policy, the policy we propose to stand by, and it is the same policy we have enunciated in years that have gone by. It is only because hon. gentlemen opposite cannot get the sinews of war under such a policy in the same manner and the same extent as they can from their petted and favoured friends that they have held to protection. I trust the members

from the Maritime Provinces will take part in this debate, and show whereby the great industries of those provinces will be benefited by the proposed changes in the tariff, or have been benefited by the old tariff. Our farming industry in keeping with the farming industry in Ontario and Quebec has suffered and will continue to suffer. Let us have a fair and free discussion on this subject. Let hon. gentlemen opposite come down to business, and discuss the tariff itself, and not take up the time of the House in finding fault with the policy of the Liberal party. Let them discuss the merits of the resolution I have read to them, and let them find fault with it if they can or if they dare.

Mr. BELLEY moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

ADJOURNMENT—BEHRING SEA REGULATIONS.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Mr. McDOUGALL (Cape Breton). Before the House adjourns I would like to ask the First Minister if he has any information to communicate on the subject of the Bill introduced in Washington yesterday in relation to the Behring Sea fisheries, and whether it will effect the seal fisheries for the present season. I may say that a number of people in my county are largely interested in this matter, having their vessels in the Behring Sea, and I would like to get some information from the Government as early as possible.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. We have no information on the subject of the Bill introduced, or said to be introduced, in Washington, and as regards that, no statute of the United States can apply of course to British subjects upon the high seas. The matter of regulations will be completed by the Bill which has been introduced into the British Parliament, and upon that, the views of this Government have been fully communicated to Her Majesty's Government.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Has the substance of the new Bill which Sir Charles Russell is said to have introduced into the Imperial Parliament been communicated to the Canadian Government?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes.

Mr. LAURIER. And have the Canadian Government approved of it?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The draft Bill was communicated to the Canadian Government, and the Canadian Government expressed objections to certain features of it. I am not yet in a position to say how far our views have prevailed, but we have information that they have prevailed to some extent at least.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 11.15 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, 4th April, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 25) respecting the Canadian and American Tunnel Co.—(Mr. Montague.)

Bill (No. 26) respecting the Ottawa Gas Co.—(Mr. Robillard.)

Bill (No. 27) respecting the Dominion Burglary Guarantee Co., Limited.—(Mr. Sproule.)

Bill (No. 28) respecting the Ontario Mutual Life Insurance Co.—(Mr. Bowman.)

Bill (No. 29) to again revive and further amend the Act to incorporate the Lindsay, Bobcaygeon and Pontypool Railway Co.—(Mr. Fairbairn.)

Bill (No. 30) respecting the Atlantic and North-west Railway Co.—(Mr. Tisdale.)

Bill (No. 31) respecting the Consumers' Cordage Co., Limited.—(Mr. Rosamond.)

Bill (No. 32) respecting the Niagara and Grand Island Bridge Co.—(Mr. Ingram.)

Bill (No. 33) respecting the River St. Clair Bridge and Tunnel Co.—(Mr. Ingram.)

FAILURE OF THE EXCHANGE BANK.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT asked, Does the Government intend to order any proceedings to be taken to recover the sum lost by the failure of the Exchange Bank from the party who guaranteed the original deposits?

Mr. FOSTER. The department is preparing a case for submission to the Department of Justice for an opinion.

PORT ALBERT HARBOUR.

Mr. McMILLAN asked, Whether the contract for repairing Port Albert Harbour with Patrick Nevin has been cancelled? If cancelled, why? Was any amount of money advanced or paid to Patrick Nevin? If any, how much? Did Patrick Nevin or the previous contractor forfeit any deposit on contract? How much money was paid to A. C. Hawkins for inspecting this work? How much was paid to A. C. Hawkins for filling a hole in the pier?

Mr. OUMET. 1. The contract has not been cancelled. 2. The amount paid to the contractor, Patrick Nevin, up to 31st July, 1893, was \$810. 3. No security deposit was forfeited. 4. The amount to A. C. Hawkins, inspector, up to date, was \$201.20. 5. Nothing was paid to A. C. Hawkins for the work referred to.

SAULT STE. MARIE CANAL.

Mr. CHARLTON asked, What was the date fixed in the original contract with the contractors for the construction of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal, for the completion of that work? Was any subsequent arrangement made with said contractors for the earlier completion of said canal? If so, what was the date fixed for the completion of the canal under such agreement? What were the terms upon which the said contractors agreed to complete their work on the Sault Ste. Marie Canal at an earlier date than stipulated in the original contract? And what additional amount of money, compensation, or consideration was promised them?

Mr. HAGGART. For a canal with lock 600 feet long and 85 feet wide, with 16 feet and 3 inches of water on the mitre sill, the time named in contract, dated the 20th November, 1888, for completion, was the 10th May, 1892. In the early part of 1891, upon representation being made of the importance of increasing the depth of water in the canal and locks, and increasing the length and breadth of the lock to 650 feet in length and 100 feet in width, with 19 feet and 3 inches of water on the mitre sill, negotiations were had with the contractors for this change, resulting in an agreement dated the 13th June, 1891, the whole to be completed by 10th May, 1893. In the early part of 1892, it having been urged that the dimensions of the lock be changed and made 900 feet long by 600 feet wide, with 20 feet and 3 inches of water on the mitre sill, after negotiations, under date of the 5th August, 1892, the contractors agreed to undertake the change, completion to be on the 31st December, 1894. In the autumn of 1892 it was considered important to have the canal completed in the summer of 1894, and an agreement was entered into on November 8th, 1892, to complete the lock masonry by the 31st December, 1893, for \$90,000, and to complete by the 1st July, 1894, the remainder of the woodwork, and the iron bolts, and fastenings, &c., of the filling and emptying culverts in the lock bottom at the prices per item for which the lower ends of the culverts are already under contract to them.

A FAST ATLANTIC SERVICE.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT asked, Whether, in view of the fact that the Minister of Finance has declared that he expects a deficit in the revenue of the current and succeeding fiscal year, the Government intend to ask Parliament during this session for a vote of \$750,000 for a fast Atlantic service?

Mr. FOSTER. I wish to call the hon. gentleman's attention to the fact that when he speaks of a deficit in the accounts for either the current or succeeding fiscal years, if he means a deficit after taking the revenue and expenditure into account, he is a little mis-

Mr. OUMET.

informed. I do not think he can find any such declaration made by the Minister of Finance. It is the intention of the Government, however, to ask legislation from Parliament with reference to a fast Atlantic service this year.

SUGAR REFINING INDUSTRY.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT asked, Under what heads in the census returns are to be found the 1,900 persons stated by the Minister of Finance to be supported by the industry of sugar refining?

Mr. FOSTER. As respects the employees in sugar refineries, they are to be found under two general heads: (a) under the head of Industrial Establishments; (b) under the head of Occupations. And, first, under the head of Industrial Establishments, they are to be found under the sub-head of Sugar Refineries ("Hands Employed"). Second, under the head of Occupations they are separated according to the special work in which they are engaged, such as chemists, sugar-makers and refiners, foremen.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Have you not got the numbers?

Mr. FOSTER. I have not got the numbers.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Your census returns give us no information on these points.

Mr. FOSTER. Janitors, watchmen, engineers, packers, carpenters, machinists, coopers, officials of the manufacturing companies, labourers, &c., &c., the design of "occupations" being to divide the employees into their several classes, while the return of Industrial Establishments shows the number of employees connected with each industrial establishment irrespective of their positions in the establishment.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I would like to say to the hon. gentleman that I think we ought to have a more detailed account than that, because the various items he has alluded to are lumped, apparently, 50 or 100 industries together, and there is no possibility of seeing how many of these 1,900 belong to each.

Mr. FOSTER. The total number of employees in the sugar refineries is given, but not under the heading of each special employment.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. One hundred and seventy-one, but you state 1,900, and the object was to ascertain under what heads these 1,900 came. There is no subdivision in the return in my hand.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT INDUSTRY.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT asked, How many persons are in like manner supported by the industry of agricultural im-

plement making, and under what heads are they placed ?

Mr. FOSTER. As respects employees in agricultural implements making : 1st. These in 1891 numbered 4,543, according to the returns from the Agricultural Implement Establishments. 2nd. With respect to occupations, they are distributed among classes such as agricultural implement makers, foremen, clerks and other officials, stationary engineers and firemen, teamsters, packers, designers, blacksmiths, labourers, &c., as they designated themselves to the enumerators.

EXCISE DUTY ON CANADIAN TOBACCO.

Mr. DUGAS asked, 1. How many pounds of Canadian tobacco have paid excise duty? 2. What is the amount of the said duties? 3. How many pounds of foreign tobacco have paid excise duty? 4. What is the amount of said duties? 5. How many pounds of cigars made with foreign tobacco have paid duty? 6. What is the amount of the said duties? 7. How many thousand cigars, made with Canadian tobacco, have paid duty? 8. What is the amount of the said duties? 9. What is the amount paid to the employees of the Canadian tobacco department? 10. What is the amount paid to the employees of the foreign tobacco department? 11. If no such classification exists, what is the total amount paid to the employees of the Excise for the tobacco department? 12. What is the number of officials in the tobacco branch of the Department of Excise?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). The information required by the hon. gentleman is so wide in its extent that I must ask him to take the usual course of placing the notice of motion on the Order Paper, at the same time limiting the extent to which the inquiry goes.

BREAKWATER AT CANOE COVE.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT (for Mr. Davies, P.E.I.) asked, Has the Minister of Public Works received a petition for the construction of a breakwater at or near Canoe Cove, P.E.I. ? If so, is it the intention of the Minister to have a survey of the locality made with a view of ascertaining the probable cost of constructing such breakwater ?

Mr. OUIMET. A petition from the inhabitants of townships Nos. 30 and 29 in the county of Queen's, P.E.I., praying for the construction of a breakwater at Canoe Cove, P.E.I., was transferred to the Department by Mr. Neil McNeil on the 27th March last. The matter is now being inquired into by the department.

NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT asked, 1. Names of the several newspapers forming

Class "A" as per Order in Council of July 14th, 1891, described as follows :—

"A." A paper of first-class standing entitled to receive, at the discretion of Heads of Departments, all kind of advertising whether of a general character, such for instance as Tenders for extensive Public Works or for supplies in large quantities, or of a local nature concerning only the localities in which such papers are published.

2. Of those in Class "B" :

"B." An influential and widely circulated paper, although not published in a very important centre, entitled at the discretion of Heads of Departments to the largest portion of advertising of provincial or local character and to a limited share of the more general advertising.

3. Of those in Class "C" :

"C." Purely local newspapers, daily or weekly, monthly or weekly periodicals and journals devoted to special branches of learning or industry, entitled only to purely local or special advertising, and that merely in a very limited proportion.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The classification referred to in this question has been abolished.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. How long ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Very recently. The matter has been under consideration in Council. It would not be produced in any case, because it is confidential. It would involve the reading of a printed pamphlet of 30 pages.

CANADIAN SEAL CATCH IN BEHRING SEA.

Mr. LANDERKIN asked, What is the estimated number of seals taken yearly in Behring Sea by Canadian sealers during the past ten years, and what is the estimated value of the same ?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. There are no particulars of the catch of seal for 1884. In reply to the question put by the hon. gentleman I may read the following figures showing the number of skins and the value in each year since 1884, of seals taken in Behring Sea by Canadian sealers : 1885, 800 at \$10, \$8,000 ; 1886, 12,423 skins at \$10, \$124,230 ; 1887, 21,716 skins at \$7, \$152,012 ; 1888, 16,940 skins at \$10, \$169,400 ; 1889, 16,585 skins at \$10, \$165,850 ; 1890, 18,165 skins at \$11, \$199,815. For the three following years the modus vivendi was in force, under which Canadian and United States sealers were forbidden to seal in the waters of Behring Sea, the question being then in dispute. But the notice of the promulgation of the modus vivendi not having been issued in time there were taken by Canadian sealers in 1891, 29,146 skins at \$15, being of the value of \$437,190. During the next two years the Canadian sealers catch was outside of the waters of Behring

Sea, so no figures appear in answer to the question. For the years 1885 to 1891 the total number of skins was 115,775, being of the value of \$1,256,497.

Mr. LANDERKIN. How is the table made up?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. From the returns of the Collector of Customs at Victoria.

THE FRENCH TREATY.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT asked, Whether, now that the several deputations referred to by the Minister of Finance have had the opportunity of stating their views in reference thereto, the Government of Canada are prepared to state whether they will ask Parliament to ratify the French Treaty, and if not, why not?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The Government will ask Parliament to ratify the treaty.

TRENT VALLEY CANAL.

Mr. MULOCK asked, How much has been expended on the Trent Valley Canal system? What was the total cost of maintenance of the system of the last fiscal year? What was the total revenue from the system for the last fiscal year?

Mr. HAGGART. The expenditure on construction prior to Confederation, 1867, was \$309,371.31; ditto from 30th June, 1879, to 30th June, 1893, \$1,079,112.56; from 30th June, 1893, to 1st March, 1894, \$3,338.32; total, \$1,391,822.19. Cost of maintenance, 1892-93, \$12,926.07. Cost of staff, 1892-93, \$3,739.86. Total revenue, 1892-93, \$888.95.

STEAMER "ADMIRAL."

Mr. FAUVEL asked, Whether it is the intention of the Government to ask for tenders for the service of the mails between Dalhousie, New Brunswick and Gaspé Basin, or to continue the same subsidy of \$12,500 to the steamer "Admiral" for the said service?

Mr. FOSTER. The subsidy of \$12,500 has been continued to the steamer "Admiral" for this service.

POST OFFICE AT MONTMAGNY.

Mr. DELISLE asked, Is John Langlois, of Montmagny, in the employment of the Government, in the post office at Montmagny? If so, since what date has he been so employed? What is his salary, and how much has he received from the Government since his appointment?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Mr. J. C. B. Langlois, generally known as Mr. John Langlois, is postmaster at Montmagny. The Montmagny post office was transferred to

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER.

the charge of Mr. Langlois in November, 1892. Mr. Langlois receives per annum: for salary, \$520; for forward allowance, \$40; for rent, \$80, and he has received since his appointment: for salary, \$707.77; for forward allowance, \$54.44, and for rent, \$101.88. Total, \$871.09.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

House again resumed the adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Foster:

That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair for the House to go into Committee of Ways and Means; and the motion of Sir Richard Cartwright in amendment thereto.

Mr. BELLEY. (Translation.) Mr. Speaker, one of the leading features of the tariff debate raised a few days ago in this House, is that, on one side, the great prosperity and great resources of the country are being expatiated upon, while from hon. gentlemen opposite we hear nothing but doleful and disheartening utterances. Are we, then, on this side of the House, to be taxed with exaggeration when proclaiming aloud the prosperity of the country, or are hon. gentlemen opposite open to criticism for discrediting and running down the country? I do not think we, on this side, are open to censure on that score. At all events, should we err in standing by our country, it is a very excusable weakness of the heart, while the hon. gentlemen opposite are guilty of a much more heinous sin, a sin of the intellect. Under these circumstances, the words of Christ to Magdalen, the repentant sinner, apply to our case: "Her sins, which are many, are forgiven, for she loved much." Another prominent characteristic of the present debate is this: that the Government intends to maintain the protection of home industries, the National Policy established in 1878, preserving in its entirety the principle of protection. This policy is not only the policy of the Conservative party, but that of the whole people of Canada. It was the people that insisted on having that policy in 1878, and endorsed it again at the general elections of 1882, 1887 and 1891. Shall it be said that the people made a mistake? Supposing the people were wrong in 1878, how could they have been misled into endorsing this policy on three different circumstances? The electors are not likely to have fallen repeatedly into the same snares at four different elections. It stands to reason, on the contrary, that when bringing the present Government into power by an overwhelmingly strong majority, the electors were not labouring under any delusion as to the character of the policy they wished to commit the Government to. That the same electors should have fallen into the same error in 1882, in 1887 and in 1891, after the protective policy had been in operation for years, is a preposterous idea and altogether beyond the realm of probability. Moreover,

in the actual state of things prevailing in the country is found the vindication of the cause of action pursued by the electorate, when placing the present government in power, whether we consider the aim the framers of the National Policy had in view or the fruits of that policy. That the various classes of the community are in a state of prosperity, is an undisputed fact. The farming community, the working classes, the manufacturers are actually enjoying a high degree of prosperity, a fact which goes to prove that the policy pursued by its framers, from its very inception, was truly national and patriotic. When protection was established in 1878, the working classes could not find employment, the home industries not having taken the development they have since attained. But, thanks to the National Policy, our Canadian industries sprang into existence. The framers of the Confederation in 1867 wished to build up a nation; they instilled life into it, in order to enable it to reach its full development, and wing its flight towards prosperity; industries had to be started into existence, to enable our nation to compete with and follow in the wake of other nations, and in order to make rapid strides towards prosperity. Through protection, the great agricultural industry has received its full development; a labour market has been created: thousands of workmen have found employment, who, in their turn, as consumers have bought the farm products. The agricultural labourer shares in the prosperity of the workmen, the advancement of the agricultural interests being closely connected with the progress of the industrial community. Such are the plain facts, Mr. Speaker, and those who have closely followed the progress of events during the last fifteen years will bear me out when I say that this is an exact portrayal of the economical condition of the country. When agriculture is prosperous, and the working classes find remunerative employment, you have a happy and contented people, and contentment and prosperity make a people loyal, and breed in them a national spirit, an ardent love for the native land. In the National Policy of 1878, a policy of protection to our manufacturing and industrial establishments, was contained in its embryonic state the germ of Canada's future prosperity; on the groundwork of that policy was raised the edifice of our national grandeur. What has been the outcome of that policy? Sir, in 1881, as it appears from the census returns of that year, the number of industrial establishments was 49,923, while the total number of manufacturers in 1891, was 75,768, showing that during the decade there was an increase of nearly 51 per cent. Now, as to the amount of capital invested in those manufactures. In 1881, there was a capital of \$165,836,817; invested in those industrial establishments, against \$353,836,817 invested in 1891, being an increase of \$188,534,194. or

114 per cent. In 1881, the number of employees in our industrial establishments was 254,935 against 367,865 in 1891, being an increase of 112,930. Now, as to the wages paid. In 1881 the wages reached a total of \$59,429,002, against \$99,762,441 in 1891, showing an increase of \$40,333,439 over 1881, the amount being at the rate of \$272 on an average per year, as compared with \$233 per head in 1881, an increase of 52 per cent over 1881. Undoubtedly, this is a decided advance in the average rate of wages, and a considerable general progress. The different classes of our population are quite satisfied with the present state of things. It may be safely inferred, from the above figures, that the country has been growing fast since 1881. Our home industries are progressing; our working classes have plenty work and remunerative wages; hence it follows that our farming community is also in a state of prosperity; as to our working classes, they are certainly better off in Canada than in any other country of the world, as they are enjoying a larger share of freedom and independence than either in the United States or in Europe. The labour question is not a living issue here. The workman may aspire to the highest social and political positions, as evinced by the presence in this Chamber of my hon. friend the member for Montreal East (Mr. Lépine). Now, Mr. Speaker, I come to our agricultural situation. No one who is conversant with the agricultural situation of 1878, when one heard of little or nothing except the complaints and sufferings of agriculturists in all parts of our country, will dispute the fact that the farmers' lot is not better to-day than it was at that time when agricultural distress prevailed and our farmers were on the verge of destitution and beggary. To confine myself to my own constituency, the farmers were loaded with mortgages, while at present, they manage to pay their debts and meet their bills. In 1878 our farmers had got into a state of bankruptcy, while at the present moment, they are in relative prosperity, and some of them are making up an estate. Many parishes, utterly destitute ten years ago, are now enjoying prosperity and can compare favourably with the thriving parishes of the district of Montreal. That this happy state of the farming community was brought about solely by protection or by the National Policy alone, I would not go the length of asserting on the floor of this House, still I think I am borne out by the facts when I assert that protection has been a very important factor in the progress accomplished, that it was instrumental in replenishing the treasury of our country, thereby enabling the Government to secure railway connection between the rural centres and the manufacturing cities. Several other factors have been instrumental in bringing about this state of prosperity, and among others, the concerted action of all men of good will in the province of Quebec in

the furtherance of the agricultural interests. Liberals and Conservatives, during these last years, have acted in co-operation with each other with a view to impressing on the minds of the farming community that the latter could live on the land in comfort and find thereon all the resources needed to bring up their families. In 1889, in the county of Chicoutimi, cheese has been sold to the value of \$50,000, in five or six parishes alone. In 1891, the value of cheese made was \$72,000. This year, it reaches up to \$90,000. In the Lake St. John district, which is included in my constituency, the sales have reached about the same figure, giving a total for both sections, of something in the neighbourhood of \$200,000 of butter and cheese sold, this year. These figures go far to destroy the alleged pauperism of our farming community. Still the county of Chicoutimi does not rank among the most prosperous counties of the province. The dairying industry is also making headway in the county of Chicoutimi, so ably represented in this House by my hon. friend (Mr. Carroll), who, by the way, forgot to tell us about the growth of the dairying industry in his constituency. The farmers of this country who were paupers, ten, fifteen or twenty years ago have been made wealthy through this industry. So with the counties of Montmagny and L'Islet. I remember hearing, last year, the hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte), telling the House that the farmers had no markets for their products. Now, our only products are butter and cheese. The agricultural community in the province of Quebec cannot compete with the American West in the line of breadstuffs and grain raising. The secret of its future prosperity lies in the dairying industry. Farmers should give up growing oats and breadstuffs for exportation. The hon. member for L'Islet told us there was no outlet for our agricultural products. I say we have a first class market in England for the produce of our dairying industry; and this applies to all the districts of the province of Quebec. We have sold cheese and butter this year to the tune of \$6,000,000. I put the question to the hon. members opposite: does this go to show that we have no market, or that we need the United States market? This policy of encouragement should receive the endorsement and warm support of members of both federal and provincial legislatures. Strenuous efforts are everywhere being made in this direction. Everybody is working in favour of the agricultural interest, for, to quote a well-known aphorism: "Labourage et paturage sont les deux mamelles qui nourrissent l'Etat." It is only by promoting among the farming community these agricultural industries that our farmers will be satisfied that they can live with comfort on the land. But we are met here with a serious objection: How is the exodus of the farmers towards the United States to be accounted for, if the farming community enjoy such prosperity. It is protection, they say, that

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drives them away from the country. Give us a treaty of reciprocity with the United States and, behold, there will be a stop to the exodus. Such contention is unfair and at variance with actual facts, and facts are stubborn. The exodus dates back from 1840, while protection was only established fifteen years ago. How then can they stand as cause to effect? And the outgoing of our population continued from 1854 to 1866, notwithstanding the existence of a reciprocity treaty with the United States during this period styled by the Liberals the golden age of Canada. In those years, every farmer was able to have his chicken in the pot for the Sunday's dinner. Reverend Father Hamon is authority for the statement that, under reciprocity, and when the country enjoyed such great prosperity, Canadians went over in increasing numbers to the neighbouring republic. It is, then, most unfair to say that the exodus is due to the impolicy of the course pursued by the present Government. I am of opinion, on the contrary, that the National Policy cured, to a certain extent, the exodus from this country. It did not stop it altogether, but the stream was dammed up, and within the last few years it has resulted in keeping the exodus from acceleration. The 'Courrier de St. Hyacinthe,' in one of its latest issues, contained interesting figures relating to a movement homewards among our Canadian compatriots. These figures are derived from reliable sources, and I would recommend them to the attentive perusal of the hon. members. It is stated in that article that as many as 172,000 Canadians have come back from the States within the past two years. If it has not proved a panacea against emigration, the National Policy has at least dammed up the stream. I do not presume to go into the causes of this deplorable outgoing of people from the country, which can hardly be adequately accounted for. But such a depopulation cannot be explained away, in my opinion, by assigning as its cause general dissatisfaction among our farming community. In 1840, a considerable displacement took place in the older settlements; the stream of population flowing out of their old parishes, set in a twofold direction, partly towards the neighbouring republic, partly towards the Lake St. John region. The current running towards this latter region carried with it settlers from the settlements on the southern shore of the River St. Lawrence. Other farmers went over to work into the United States. I need not tell this House which of these two sets of emigrants succeeded best in making homes for themselves. Of those pioneers who took up the axe and plunged into the primeval forest or those who went over the line, I need not tell the House which of the two best succeeded in making homes for themselves. We have fertile and wide farm lands, and should our Canadian fellow-citizens only retrace their steps homewards and

resume their agricultural pursuits, and work with, I will not say as hard, but half as hard as they do in the United States, they would soon be rich men. I speak from personal experience, coming as I do from a newly settled country, where no industrious man willing to work, has failed in making a good home. To caprice, for the most part, and not to lack of energy, must be attributed the exodus of our fellow-citizens, as also to a lack of courage to follow in the wake of those pioneers who had opened up the wild lands and cleared the forest. The hon. members sitting opposite dispute also the correctness of our conclusions as to the National Policy when they say that the taxation bears heavily and unjustly on the farming community. As a matter of fact, far from bearing the great burden of taxation, there is no class of the community that pays so little tax to the Federal Government. The farm products raised by the agriculturist are not taxed by the Government. The farmer has to pay, like all the other consuming classes, the duties levied by the Federal Government on spirits, tea, sugar, coffee, rice. Now, from the figures of the last census, or rather from the Statistical Year Book for 1892, it is quite easy to gather data as to the amount of taxation paid by the agriculturists on these different heads. In 1892, the duties levied on spirits amounted to \$1,804,877, and on wines to \$367,867. Let us see how unfair is the statement that the farming community pay one-half of these imposts, when their share of taxation on these articles amount to about one-fourth only of the amount collected. Granting, for the sake of argument, that they pay one-half of the duty collected on spirits, their share of taxation on that head would amount to \$902,428. As to imported wines, the consumption of the farming community is about one-third, and here again, for the sake of argument, let us credit them with one-half of the total amount, \$122,626. Now, both these sums added up give a total of \$1,025,054, which sum, divided between 413,113 farmers, or heads of families, give an average yearly taxation of \$2.48 per head. I come now to the Customs duties paid on tea, sugar, rice and coffee. In 1892, the duty collected on tea was \$8,265. This tax has since been removed. On sugar the duty was \$190,300; on coffee, \$42,870; on rice, \$38,730; the proportion per head for the whole population of Canada, which is 4,823,299, is six cents. Six cents per head! behold the burden of taxation which people have made such a bugbear of: it amounts to a taxation of six cents per head per annum for all duties levied on coffee, tea, rice, and for all sugar duties. Taking a family of eight individuals, which is, I submit, not a fair average for our Canadian families and quite below the reality, this tax represents a yearly impost of 48 cents for each family of the farming community; to which if you add

the duty on spirits, you will have a tax of \$2.96 per annum. From these two dollars and ninety-six cents, two dollars and forty-eight cents have to be deducted, as they represent taxes levied on luxuries; for spirits and wines are not by any means classed among the necessaries of life for the farmer any more than for the other classes of the community; while tea, sugar and other articles have to be bought. At all events, the highest amount the farmer has to pay for the tariff on these articles is \$2.96 a year; a burden not oppressive enough to depopulate Canada, and drive Canadians away from their farms into the United States. Now, Mr. Speaker, one of the chief aims of the National Policy was the raising of a revenue which would enable us to meet the expenditures incurred for our great public works. With this additional revenue, we were enabled to purchase the North-west Territories and to incur considerable expenditure to develop their resources; an expenditure which my hon. friend for Lotbinière (Mr. Rinfret) regrets, though he does not pass condemnation on it. We have said he almost came to the point of repenting of having incurred expenditures for the purchase and development of those territories, and the two or three millions of dollars of yearly expenditures. In that hon. gentleman's opinion, the House should repent of the course followed in the past; and whether the people of the province of Quebec would now venture to pursue the policy carried out in the territories is a question open to serious doubt, as viewed in the light of events of quite recent occurrence within these territories. Such is not the point at issue, but whether the policy pursued by the Government was a wise one, and whether the Government were right in adopting such a course. In my opinion, the Government's North-west policy was the right one, and one we should not repent of; for, to my mind, Mr. Speaker, the expenditure of capital for the purchase and the opening up of the Territories, as also for the various improvements required, was a splendid investment, and a policy which commends itself to the general approbation of this House, on economic grounds. For it is owing to this policy that certain commodities sell now much cheaper than formerly. The poor man's flour would not sell so cheap, were it not for the opening up of the Territories and their wheat raising capacity, nor would the price of these commodities have decreased by one-half. Calculating the difference of prices paid for flour prior to the opening up of the Territories and the actual prices, we cannot help coming to the conclusion that this difference in prices amply compensates us for the sacrifices incurred and the capital expended in the purchase and development of this region. We are so circumstanced in the province of Quebec, in the opinion of the hon. member for Lotbinière (Mr. Rinfret) that we have to resort to direct taxation in order to meet the public expen-

diture. I agree with him that more millions have been swallowed up in the province of Quebec than in the North-west. Let the hon. member express his regret at the doings of his friends, while they were in power in that province, and not try to saddle other people with the responsibility of the evil done by the former. Owing to this additional revenue, created by the National Policy, we have been enabled to aid the provinces in building their railways, and securing railway connection, and improving our transportation facilities; we have undertaken to improve our inland navigation. I believe in the practicability of providing security to the shipping on the St. Lawrence, notwithstanding the opinion of the hon. the leader of the Opposition, who thinks that none but sails can navigate its waters with security; in my opinion, even vessels of great speed can navigate the river. In our system of railway connection throughout our provinces, in our canals, and in the great transcontinental Pacific Railway, a most stupendous work, we should hail with pride the results of the National Policy. The Canadian Pacific Railway was built in spite of the Liberal party, which fought with might and main this great national work, this gigantic undertaking which provokes universal admiration. Truly admirable was the genius that planned and found the means of carrying out the great work, the most marvellous feat of engineering skill recorded in the annals of the world; truly admirable again was the genius that planned the policy best calculated to secure the necessary means for carrying out the enterprise; truly marvellous also was the development assumed by our home industries which contributed towards lightening the burden of taxation involved in the carrying out of this great work. To-day, the Government contemplates establishing a fast Atlantic service, to run between Europe and Canada, and behold the hon. members sitting opposite stand up and object to the Government policy as impracticable. And the hon. the leader of the Opposition, who is the representative of the city and district of Quebec is the first to stand up and protest against this fast Atlantic service, thus antagonizing a policy endorsed by the whole district of Quebec. While listening, the other day, to the hon. gentleman's remarks upon His Excellency's Speech, and to the words which the whole district of Quebec repudiates, I recalled to mind the eloquent words, full of fervour and devotion to the interests of the city, fallen from the hon. gentleman at the banquet tendered him in January last. He then proclaimed aloud that Quebec had a magnificent harbour, the finest harbour in the whole world, and that the brightest future was in store for it. But he now says that steamboats can scarcely enter into the harbour, except the Montmagny steamboat, which runs six miles an hour, down stream; that larger vessels of greater speed, running 20 miles an hour, cannot go into the harbour.

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Quebec is no longer the finest harbour in the world, and none but vessels of an inferior rate of speed, snail-like, can enter into it. I protest against such language, Mr. Speaker. I know that a steamboat of the Richelieu company was plying last year between Quebec and Chicoutimi, running at a rate of 20 miles an hour it was the "Carolina." I protest, as a member of the district of Quebec, and I beg of the hon. members of that district to enter also their protest against the words fallen from the hon. the leader of the Opposition. The hon. gentleman was also of opinion that the prosperity of Quebec was connected with the iron ship-building industry, and at his command, as it were, newly built iron steamers were to spring up from the ship-building yards near the River St. Charles. I enter again my protest against the words fallen from the hon. gentleman, and I invite the Liberal members of the district of Quebec to join in my protest.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. BELLEY. (Translation.) From the interruptions that greet my speech, I augur that the hon. gentlemen do not wish to join in my protest. They are so blinded by party prejudices that, should they once come into power, they will be unable to tell the truth, for the contention is that men in power cannot tell the truth. I beg of them to stand up and plainly tell us what they think about the utterances of the leader of the Opposition concerning the interests of the district of Quebec. Let them protest to-day, on the strength of their mandate; for, should they fail to do it now, the electors of the district of Quebec, at the next election, will speak out their mind on the matter. I know that newspapers, among others 'L'Electeur,' obeying a watch-word, try to attenuate the import of the utterances of the hon. the leader of the Opposition, with a view to putting public opinion on the wrong scent, and smothering the protests which rise from all sides of the district of Quebec against the words alluded to. Now, Mr. Speaker, I think I have clearly established that the National Policy is closely connected with the prosperity of all classes of the community, that the present state of things, as compared with 1878, is quite satisfactory. True, we have gone through the regime of desolation extending from 1874 to 1878. When the Liberals came into power, in the province of Quebec, we had also to go through a similar ordeal; it was the abomination of abominations.

Mr. LANGELIER. (Translation.) You mean the abomination of desolation.

Mr. BELLEY. (Translation.) Exactly so. They brought down ruin on the province of Quebec, just as they had brought ruin on the whole Dominion, when in power in Ottawa. The electors understood it in the past, and will show in the future that they

fully realize the situation, in spite of all the prejudices appealed to by our opponents, on all the platforms of the country. Tariff revision, a rational and just tariff revision, meets with general approbation, without the attendant financial disasters and ruin experienced by our neighbours. Within a few months, the policy pursued up to now by the Conservative party will secure the approbation of the Canadian people. We will not reverse a policy endorsed by the people. The tariff reform now under discussion in this House may be likened to the repairs done to a building, which, far from detracting from its value, only strengthen and beautify it and improve its appearance. A tariff revision, on the basis of protection, will only consolidate our institutions, and secure for the Conservative party an after growth of strength and renewed vitality.

Mr. BRUNEAU. (Translation.) Mr. Speaker, I must at the outset heartily congratulate the hon. member for Chicoutimi upon the effort he made—without, however, persuading us—by trying to show to this House the benefits of the protective system. But I was impressed with the singularity of the comparison he made with the Magdalen of the Gospel, and it hardly proves in favour of the Government. It must be confessed that comparing them with Magdalen the sinner is not flattering for the Ministers. Neither was it an appropriate comparison, for the Government are not, that I know of, a repentant Magdalen, since they continue to uphold their protective policy; instead of repenting, they, therefore, persevere in their impenitence. Why, exclaimed the hon. member for Chicoutimi (Mr. Belley) has not the protective policy caused the prosperity of the country and was it not upheld in four different occasions since 1878? Indeed, the cause is known of the result of the general election of 1878. Is it not a known fact that it is by deceiving the electorate, by offering them a national panacea, that the Conservative party then succeeded in coming into power. In 1882, they owed their maintaining into power to the infamous gerrymandering. In 1887, they owed their success to the scandalous law on electoral franchise, and the hon. member for Chicoutimi ought not to have forgotten that it is owing to the existence of such a law if there was no ballot box in the poll at Pointe-aux-Esquimaux. In 1891, the Government again succeeded by deceiving the people with respect to reciprocity with our neighbours. The hon. member for Chicoutimi stated that there was no mortgages on the farms of his county. I used to place much confidence in the word and honourableness of my colleagues in this House, yet, he will allow me to tell him that I would like to go to the registration office of his county in order there to collect the information which would enable me to control the accuracy of his statement. He next extolled the benefits of the protective

system, and at the same time he referred to the sale of cheese and butter in his county. I cannot see what the sale of these two products might have to do with the protective system. Speaking of reciprocity with the United States, the hon. gentleman hinted that the commercial treaty which existed from 1854 to 1866 between Canada and our neighbours, was not the golden age for our exports. I have here the report of the Minister of Finance, published in 1862, respecting the treaty of reciprocity, and here is what I find therein: In 1851 we exported to the United States products to the value of \$4,071,544; in 1852, \$6,248,520; in 1853, \$8,936,380; in 1854, the first year of the treaty, our exports amounted to \$8,649,000, that is a little less than the preceding year, but soon after, as soon as 1855, our exports reached \$16,737,276. In 1856 they still showed an increase of \$1,100,000, since they amounted to \$17,979,752. That was the golden age for the Canadian trade with the United States. It began with the treaty of reciprocity of 1854, and continued till 1866. That is why, Mr. Speaker, the Opposition would wish us to come back to that policy. The hon. member for Chicoutimi voted about the coming back of our compatriots to our country, the 'Courrier de St. Hyacinthe' as an authority. He stated, after the 'Courrier,' that 162,000 Canadians had come back since two years. I do certainly not believe in the sayings and authority of the 'Courrier de St. Hyacinthe,' and I will show by the very report of the Department of Public Instruction in the province of Quebec for last year that this alleged coming back does not take place. I find in the report the most direct and formal contradiction of the statements of the 'Courrier de St. Hyacinthe.' Indeed, I read the following in that report: Mr. Beaulieu, of Isle Vert, one of the school inspectors of the province of Quebec, writes as follows in his report for 1892-93:—

It is the constant leaving of our young girls for the manufacturing centres of New England which was the cause that the school trustees had more difficulty this year than ever to recruit the teaching staff. It is the leaving of young men for the neighbouring republic which is the cause that the heads of families having women hands for farming are compelled to take their children away from school at an early age and put them to their works. It is the leaving of families for the United States which is the cause that the districts are depopulating and that the school is closed, in many instances, on account of the small number of remaining children.

For his own party, Mr. Biland, another school inspector, writes as follows:—

The average of salaries for the primary schools is \$79 and for the high schools, \$135. It is a little better than in the years gone by, but there is every reason to believe that better will yet considerably develop, for the female teachers have left, in large numbers, for the United States. Those who remain will very likely require higher salaries.

Mr. Demers, of St. John, says, for his own part:—

This great difference in point of attendance is chiefly due to the leaving for the United States of a very large number of families from this part of the province.

Mr. Stenson, of Wotton, adds :

There is consequently a scarcity of teachers (there are only two lay teachers in my district of inspection); many female teachers have given up their calling to go into more profitable careers: a certain number are going to the United States to work in factories. It is a fact I much regret having to own, but I think it is better to tell the whole truth, in the hope that that humiliation will hasten the applying of a remedy to this great evil.

And it is after these testimonies that the hon. member for Chicoutimi, taking his stand on the statements of the 'Courrier de St. Hyacinthe,' comes to this House and states that our compatriots are coming back from the United States to this country. The hon. gentleman also referred to the prosperity of the agricultural class, but who is he that does not know that our lands have suffered a great depreciation since ten years, depreciation which is the result of the deplorable exodus of our compatriots to the neighbouring country? I live in a rural county, and have opportunities to see the people; I just come from home, and a few days ago I inquired from citizens of Sorel, St. Ann and St. Joseph whether many Canadian families had come back from the United States. The answer given to me was not the same as that of the hon. member for Chicoutimi. For a very few families who come back, a much larger number have left. The hon. member for Chicoutimi (Mr. Belley) exclaimed: Do the agricultural class pay duties? He gave us the result of his estimates, and he came to the conclusion that a farmer's family only pays duties to the amount of \$2.80. He went further, and he said that if we are paying the direct tax in the province of Quebec the fault lies with Mercier. I will have an opportunity, in the course of my remarks, to throw a retrospective glance on the past, and to refer to Mr. Mercier. For the present, allow me, Mr. Speaker, to tell you that the Conservatives are now into power in Quebec, and that the first action they took was to tax, ransack and rob the people under the pretext of paying the debts of Mr. Mercier, and it is yet to be asked what debts they paid with their loans, bearing interest at 7 per cent? The resolutions of the hon. the Minister of Finance are calculated, in the mind of the Government, to effect the Customs reform claimed for years and years by this side of the House, and supported by the press and the public sentiment of the country. Seeing from day to day the ever-rising tide of reproaches and discontents, hearing from all parts of the eastern and western provinces numerous complaints against their fiscal policy, foreseeing a new general election, feeling the ground slipping away from under their feet, the Government at last decided to take action, after hesitating and procrastinating. And the

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new piece of work which they now bring before this House is still, as was the late tariff, according to the hon. the Minister of Finance and his friends, the ne plus ultra of perfection. But I much fear that the Government who intended to play the part of a "wise opportunist," according to the language used at Montreal, in December last, by the hon. the Minister of Public Works, should have completely missed their mark, and fired their last shot before the coming electoral fight. The claims for a revision of our tariff, not a slight one, but a thorough one, were so urging and positive, that in January, 1893, on the eve of the last Federal session, in the course of a dinner at Toronto, the hon. the First Minister was compelled to declare that he acknowledged the necessity of lopping the moulding branches of the protective tree. When the session came he had it ostentatiously announced by the hon. the Minister of Finance, on the 14th February, 1893, that the revision of our tariff was definitely postponed to the present session, so as to have time, during the interval, to take the necessary information, and especially to know the stand and decisions of the American Congress on the same question. So, during the recess, we attended, behind the curtain, the more or less comical play, while the perambulating commission of the Government were going to the country. From the secret meetings they had with the manufacturers came out the resolutions we now know, "as Minerva came out fully equipped from Jupiter's brain." After awaiting one year we had the right to hope for a true reform, a change in principles. Alas! like the labouring mountain, the perambulating commission brought forth a mouse. For if the revision of the tariff should be made in earnest, we could still charge the Government with the basest ingratitude with respect to the industries they so long nursed. The Government take good care to state that in that respect the manufacturers would be satisfied. Should the revision of the tariff be made in earnest, could we not charge the Government, the fathers of protection, the beloved favourites of monopolies and combines, with imitating the French Revolution, which, after the example of Saturn, according to the word of one of the speakers of the time, would devour his own children. Before entering upon the discussion in its actual merit, allow me, Mr. Speaker, to briefly recall some interesting events which we witnessed since last session. The exploits and deeds of the hon. Ministers, the speeches they delivered at the various meetings they held, even the addresses presented to them present a more or less striking contrast with the new revision of the tariff. In the first days of October last the hon. the First Minister, at Lucan, in Ontario, had presented to him an address which the 'Mail,' so liberally subsidized by the Government to misrepresent and disparage my compatriots,

qualified of "address of a new kind." In it we could read :

While readily acknowledging the rapid growth of our various industries and the large measure of prosperity obtained by the country under a protective tariff, yet we cannot disguise the fact that the National Policy was and is still much cried down by the very men it was calculated to favour. We cherish the hope to see the Government hastening to cause the laws to be adopted and the measures to be taken which they will deem necessary to prohibit and prevent combines of every form and shape, either by amalgamation or otherwise, which have for their object to oppress any popular class.

This demand from the voters of Lucan was only identical in its bearing to all those the Government had received till then ; it was but the echo of the "Workingmen's Association," and the agricultural classes who have addressed to this House, for several years, petitions after petitions requiring the free importation of a large number of articles which are necessities for them, and which the new revision of the tariff scornfully left out. What member in this House, with the exception of the hon. member for Chicoutimi (Mr. Belley), having any regard for his honour and his word, is ready to rise and assert without being victoriously refuted on the spot, that the new revision of the tariff is calculated to prohibit and prevent monopolies and combines ? No ; the monopolies which the Opposition denounced under the late tariff still exist under the new one. The robbery and fraud which were sanctioned by the late tariff are still sanctioned by the new one. It is these monopolies, this robbery, this fraud that the Opposition, in their fiscal policy, contend against and denounce, to replace them by the fairness of imports through a simple revenue tariff. In 1878 a moderate protective system was established in order to protect our manufactures against the competition of our neighbours, who declined at that time to negotiate with us ; agriculture, mines and forests were to furnish the raw material, and we foresaw, with plausibility, the possibility of new outlets. But since 1878, in every statute quoted in the preamble of the hon. the Minister of Finance's resolutions, all the important readjustments of the tariff were effected in favour of the manufacturers. The agricultural and labouring classes, the most numerous in our country, were relegated to the background, neglected, forgotten, disregarded, lost sight of, to the benefit of a few cotton manufacturers and sugar refiners—of sugar refiners whose insidious monopoly is sanctioned anew by the revision of the tariff so as to allow the Canada Sugar Refining Company to pay to its manager the small salary of \$60,000—\$10,000 more than what we pay to our Governor. But is it true, Mr. Speaker, that protection did not realize the hopes of its authors, as implied in the address of the voters of Lucan ? I endeavoured to show it last year by asserting—which can not be

controverted—that the aimed, the obvious object, plainly written in the 'Hansard,' of the protective system advocated in 1877, was : 1st. To check the flow of emigration to the United States ; 2nd. To give rise everywhere to high chimneys of manufactures in the smallest town and village—even in the village of Caughnawaga ; 3rd. To give us the American market for the sale of our products, through reciprocity, when our manufactures should have been established on firm grounds. They know well on the other side of the House that these alluring and fallacious promises were solemnly contradicted by facts. But they, notwithstanding, persevere in the protective system—that of monopolies and combines—in order, in our humble opinion, that they might buy new contributions, on those who benefit by it by means of large contributions to the electoral fund. In the opinion of members on this side of the House the new tariff as truly sanctions the same monopolies as flourished under the late one ; but the protective system is, the hands of the Government, an agent of electoral bribery. It would be childish to think that the fabulous sums spent during election times by the Tory party all come out of luxuriant contracts or liberal subsidies to the railway companies, as so eloquently shown by the investigations held against the ex-Minister of Public Works and the present Postmaster General. No ; the protective system helps, moreover, the pouring into the hands of Tory electoral organizers of large sums of money for "legal expenses" which, on election day, are supposed in the minds of common people to come down from Heaven, as formerly the manna to feed the Israelites in the wilderness. And it is useless for the hon. members opposite, as did the hon. member for the city of St. John (Mr. Hazen), to compassionate the condition of the Local Liberal Governments ; it is useless for them to inveigh against the corruption of the Liberal party, to put on a countenance ; they well know for all that that they are talking of hemp in a family which had some of its members hanged. It is useless for them to cry out thieves, to inveigh against the corruption of the Mercier Government ; history will say, nevertheless, in spite of their boasting and bragging, that the Liberal Mercier, judged by his equals, was declared guiltless of the crimes he was accused of, while the Conservative McGreevy, having to pass through the same ordeal, had to take the road to the Carleton jail. History will say, nevertheless, Mr. Speaker, that the late First Minister of the province of Quebec saw his office pilfered away from him by a shameless and unscrupulous Lieutenant-Governor, who boasted, some months later, having jumped over the constitution—without having his wrist cut off—in order that his friends might come into power in the province of Quebec, while the ex-Minister of Public Works of the Tory party saw his

taken away from him, after a minute investigation, in the course of which all the rules of parliamentary art and science were put to his service in order that he might keep it, nay more, after the Conservative majority of the House, always concerned about the honour and dignity of its members, had decried the purity of his good intentions and the spotless whiteness of his innocence! Will you allow me, Mr. Speaker, to say in a few words what the protection system, in my humble opinion, has done for the country? Not only did it not check the flow of emigration to the United States; not only did it not give us the American market, through reciprocity, for the good reason that the Tory party did not want it; not only did it not erect as many high chimneys of manufactures as was prophesied, contrary to the false assertions of the census of 1891; not only did it sanction as virtues, in our statutes, robbery and fraud, through the monopolies it promoted and the electoral corruption it developed, but if our country stands now thoroughly isolated on this continent, the fault lies with protection. If we have no liberty of trade, even in our country; if insidious monopolies in their talons of vultures, overtax the Canadian people; if we are at the mercy of the American Government with respect to fiscal matters, as proclaimed and acknowledged by the Canadian Government; if the land value has decreased; if the exodus has not abated; if the immigrants perfer the American West to the Canadian West; if our agriculture is paralyzed; if, in a word, our growth has been slow, the fault lies with the protective system. If no competition was raised between the various industries of our country, the fault lies with the so-called National Policy, for it was calculated to form between the agricultural and manufacturing interests a link, a correlation favourable to both, which it certainly did not effect under the late tariff and which it will no more effect under the new one, since it is based on the same defective principle. We ought to be after the United States the most advanced people of the two Americas. The extent of our territory, the fertility of our Far West, our unrivalled inland navigation, the richness of our mines, the variety of our climate, the immensity of our forests, our numerous lakes, our incomparable fisheries, all these natural advantages ought to have assisted in the sure and rapid growth of our country. But for the 15 years past, the protective system unhappily retarded the progress of our national destinies. This is why the Government was asked earnest, thorough reform, and no trifling ones, without any practical and effective results, as is the case with most of the new changes bearing upon the principal articles of the tariff. This is why the ninth annual Congress of the Workingmen's Association, of which I hold the report and which was held in Montreal, in June last, asked for "an effective legislation, calculated to protect the

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labouring classes against combinesters and monopolies which unjustly raised the price of articles." This is why the Toronto Board of Trade addressed, hardly a few months ago, to the hon. the Minister of Finance and Agriculture, a memorandum which clearly showed that they had not been imposed upon by the protectionist theories in favour of which the perambulating commission tried to speak within their walls. Here is the tile the Government received from that Board of Trade, a body foreign to our political struggles, and which was, then as now, the same as the very platform of the fiscal policy of the Opposition, endorsed by the financial and commercial men:

The Council respectfully submits:

That the duties upon the articles coming into the Dominion should be reduced to the lowest possible rate consistent with a revenue tariff.

That all the specific rates should be abolished and the duties collected ad valorem. That the Government should be empowered, upon evidence of the existence of a combine, to maintain or increase the prices, to decrease or to abolish by order in council the import duty upon the articles affected by such a combine.

The Council maintains that the increase of imports at rates inferior to those now existing would tend to increase rather than decrease the revenue of the Dominion. Many duties now collected are in reality prohibitive, and the Government receive consequently no benefit out of them. The Council submits that the manufacturers of several textile products have formed combines and that they lose their prices, not upon the price of labour with a fair profit, but upon the price of similar products once entered into Canada, duty paid. Under these conditions, the consumer pays an excessive price for the goods and the Government gathers no revenue, the manufacturer being the only one who benefits by it.

It was impossible for the Government to agree to these wise suggestions, because these are truly the fiscal policy of their opponents and because protection, under the late tariff which, nevertheless, they deemed necessary to repeal, had made the country grand and prosperous. And then, on the 21st September last, at a meeting held in Belleville, did not the hon. the First Minister state, according to the report of his speech published in the 'Presse,' of Montreal: "That himself and his colleagues were new men with old principles?" Well, according to the old principles, as advocated by the late old chief, the tariff reform was a treason. Hear these words, uttered by Sir John A. Macdonald at Toronto, in the first days of the last electoral campaign:

The Government decided to stand by the National Policy and they are willing to appeal to the people on that question. Commercial union, reciprocity and tariff reform only mean annexation, that is to say, treason.

If we are going to have an earnest reform of the tariff in the resolution of the hon. the Minister of Finance, then the new chief did

not stand by the old principles of the old chief. If the tariff reform, as effected, is truly worthy of such a qualification, what shall we not think, Mr. Speaker, of the hon. the First Minister, of all his colleagues, of all his friends, they the most loyal subjects of Her Majesty, they who, to help their party interests, patch up their banner so often jeopardized and damaged, display on every possible occasion the most extreme loyalty to our Sovereign Lady the Queen, the Crown and Her Dignity, by stirring up all through our country acrimonious styles of races and religions. If the tariff reform is made in earnest, Mr. Speaker, in behalf of the old Conservative principles which I have just evoked, I mercilessly leave the First Minister to the vengeance of the hon. Controller of Customs, Grand Master and controller likewise of the Orange lodges of this country, always ready, as we all know, to take up arms to defend the threatened autonomy of Ireland and the Romish Church of this country; I leave the hon. the First Minister to the tender mercies of the hon. member for Muskoka, one of the gallant colonels of our militia, whose sword is ever ready to save the interests of the Empire, even when it comes to defending the seditious propaganda of the Protestant Protective Association! In that same speech at Belleville, the hon. the First Minister followed again the "old principles" of the Tory party: Speak ill of and depreciate the American market to the benefit of that of Great Britain, as also did the hon. member for Chicoutimi and Saguenay. He exhibited to the electorate the bugbear of the American crisis, the closing down of banks and manufactures in the United States. But do we not know, Mr. Speaker, the true causes of that overwhelming disaster? And do we not know that the protective system, so due to the Government, was one of these decisive causes? Let us hear, Mr. Speaker, 'Le Moniteur du Commerce,' a newspaper with Conservative leanings, which stated, on the 12th January last, in an editorial entitled:

A NEGLECTED CAUSE.

THE AMERICAN DEPRESSION.

Our esteemed contemporary of the "Revue du Commerce Extérieur," of Paris, publishes a remarkable article on the depression which now prevails in the United States, our neighbours, editorial, which we deem it our duty to republish. Our Parisian contemporary says, in conclusion, that "the American market has obtained such an importance that all manufacturing nations are interested in its vitality." This is quite true, for us, Canadians, amongst others. The American depression had various causes, but the chief one was that the American industry, stimulated by the McKinley Bill, enormously produced beyond the home demands, so much so that all the industrial American machinery, choked up, can only resume its working when it will have cast its over-production on the foreign markets. Here, in Canada, we are keeping a good watch.

In April, 1893, the 'American Wool and Cotton Reporter,' one of the best protectionist papers of the United States, stated:

To contend that the electoral success of one of the political parties and the failure of the other, had the effect of causing the depression to spring up in a moment, is as preposterous as to say that Paris was built in a day.

And it adds:

Do away with the cause which keeps the capital idle: extenuate the financial panic, and manufactures will resume their working.

Mr. Dolan, of Philadelphia, who is practically the father of a good many of the provisions of the McKinley Bill, said in an interview:—

"It is ridiculous to ascribe the present condition to the threatened changes in the tariff, and it is very poor tactics, from the party standpoint, to adopt a theory which will be irretrievably demolished when, the present financial cloud having passed away, there will be a general resuming of work in the manufactures that are now closed."

Those who try to-day and will again try to-morrow to disparage the United States are those who are unwilling to understand that the American market is, with respect to a certain number of our agricultural products, what the English market is with respect to another part of them: those who, under frivolous pretexts, repeatedly confuted, are seeing in reciprocity the hideous spectre of annexation; those who foretold, on the very floor of this House, that the McKinley Bill would cause no loss to our trade, that the Dominion could well do without the neighbouring market, as we would find new outlets elsewhere. Let us now, therefore, examine their prophecies by the light of facts and let us leave the disproof of their foolish assertions to men of trade and finance. I will refer the hon. members opposite to the report of the 'Chambre de Commerce du district de Montréal,' for the year 1893, pages 22, 23, 24, which read as follows:—

The merchant who has no other political ambition than the prosperity of his country, looks at things coolly and bases his argument upon figures which sometimes have a brutal eloquence which resists to any possible arguments. The politician who aims at something, is seldom at an end with arguments which are worth what they are worth, but which are sometimes used to cause chalk to pass off for cheese, with those who only see through other people's eyes. When the United States adopted the McKinley tariff, certain persons were made to believe that it was a blessing for the Dominion, that we would thereby be compelled to seek our outlets for what the United States would no more take from us. The blue-books of the parliamentary session of 1894 will give us statistics enabling us to see to what extent this expectation or this wish, was realized. On one respect, Providence favoured us by giving us a good hay harvest, which was utterly wanting in a great part of Europe. We succeeded in finding an outlet in Great Britain, and France especially, for that article, which, up to now, we exported to the United States. But we must not delude ourselves

and think that it will always be so. A drought does not occur every year in Great Britain. Happily for us, there is an appearance of improvement in the condition made to us by the McKinley tariff, and a readjustment of the American tariff will partially re-open to us the doors of the United States, where we will send the surplus of our harvests, as we formerly did. We must not lose sight of the fact that our neighbours are our best customers.

We referred, a moment ago, to the eloquence of figures. Let us illustrate by this means what the McKinley tariff cost us, and whether we compensated our losses by our exports on the European markets; for, as was seen up to now and as will be seen hereafter, it is Europe which absorbs in greater part the surplus of our productions, and when I say Europe, I ought rather to say Great Britain, for the German, French and Belgian markets take but a small part of it compared with Great Britain. The following is a comparative statement of the exports of the Dominion to the United States for the years 1890 and 1892:

| | 1890. | 1892. | Decrease. |
|-----------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| Horses | \$1,887,895 | \$1,094,461 | \$793,434 |
| Cattle | 104,623 | 21,327 | 83,296 |
| Poultry..... | 105,612 | 44,537 | 61,075 |
| Eggs..... | 1,793,104 | 494,409 | 1,298,695 |
| Wool..... | 235,436 | 200,125 | 35,311 |
| Flax..... | 175,563 | 112,360 | 63,203 |
| Apples..... | 149,479 | 27,661 | 121,818 |
| Barley..... | 4,582,561 | 1,354,485 | 3,338,076 |
| Split peas..... | 74,215 | 20,460 | 53,755 |
| Hay..... | 922,797 | 598,567 | 324,230 |
| Malt..... | 149,310 | 20 | 149,290 |
| Potatoes..... | 308,915 | 41,866 | 267,029 |
| Vegetables..... | 80,976 | 68,948 | 12,028 |
| | \$10,570,486 | \$4,079,246 | \$6,491,240 |

I will now give to the hon. the Minister of Public Works, the pleasure of dealing with him for a few moments. At a great public meeting held in Montreal, the hon. Minister stated, according to 'Le Monde,' of the 19th December last:

We know what the country wants: we are following its growth and its new requirements, and, let us say the word, we are actuated by a wise and intelligent opportunism.

The changes in the tariff, effected after an earnest inquiring into our condition, will give satisfaction to all: to the manufacturers, to the merchant, to the farmers and the workingmen. Justice to all—that is our motto.

If we are to judge, Mr. Speaker, by the numerous complaints which made themselves heard since the new revision is known; if we are to judge by the opinions expressed by the business men, through the press and especially the 'Star' in its editorial of yesterday night on coal oil; if we are to judge

by the numerous and constant deputations sent to the Government, I very much fear that the "wise opportunist policy" of the hon. Minister should not satisfy a single individual, excepting, of course, the favoured monopolist. Indeed, the labouring classes, Sir, were clamouring for the abolition of combines and monopolies. Well, the new tariff still protects them. The agricultural classes, Sir, wanted the free importation of agricultural implements, of coal oil, of corn, of binding twine, and of a great number of other well known articles. Well, the new tariff, while acknowledging their just complaints, decline to comply with their so legitimate claim. Here are, therefore, the two most numerous classes of our people which should not and could not be satisfied with this new "opportunist" policy. Should they, at least, be satisfied with our financial condition and our commercial progress? No, Mr. Speaker. The Trade and Navigation Returns which are just published show that the foreign commerce of the Dominion is \$10 per capita less now than under the Mackenzie rule. True, the customs duties increased nearly a dollar per head. True, the public debt increased from 126 millions to 300 millions. True, also, the interest on the debt increased from 5 to 9 millions a year. The Conservatives, who are not particular, call that a "satisfactory" result. The enormous expenditure we made for our railways, our canals, our ports, our lines of steamers, ought to have increased our trade and it has decreased. The millions expended for the last twenty years for immigration ought to have increased our exports and developed the purchase power of our people. Instead of that, the citizens of the Dominion, man for man, buy and sell less than under the Mackenzie Government. The advocates of the protective system state that our interprovincial trade has increased. Instead of that, we find that the farmers have decreased in number, which shows a decrease in production and, consequently, in exchange. They tried to subsidize a line of steamers in order to establish a trade with the West Indies; large sums of money were expended, and yet our trade was less last year than ten years ago, and we sold less to the West Indies than twenty years ago. Australia attracts the attention of our rulers, and yet, the Dominion exported there \$378,000 in 1878 and \$288,000 only in 1893. Our exports to Newfoundland were less last year than twenty years ago. Our imports were about the third of what they were twenty years ago. In 1873, the commerce of the Dominion with Newfoundland was \$4,609,552, and in 1893 it had fallen to \$3,247,903. From 1873 to 1882, our trade with Great Britain was larger than from 1883 to 1892. The people are now well informed as to the facts I have just referred to, for, while the perambulating campaign of the Government were travelling through the country to advocate the doctrines of "opportunism" instead of collecting the information they were

so much in need of, the hon. leader of the Opposition went likewise travelling through the country. His political tour, in Ontario as well as in Quebec, was everywhere a triumphal one. Everywhere the people hailed in him their liberator as Thiers was that of France, everywhere the people hailed in him the future First Minister of the Dominion. And hardly had some weeks elapsed after last session when the county of Vaudreuil declined to believe any more in the wise "opportunist" policy of the hon. Minister of Public Works; and hardly some weeks before the present session, the same policy received a similar blow in the city, yet so Tory, of Winnipeg! Indeed, the Government might resign themselves, his friends might yet be weaned from their errors, for it is never too late to acknowledge one's faults and be converted, but the bewitching charm of protection is now broken. From one ocean to the other, the "opportunist" policy of the Government is known, the same as the origin of the colossal fortunes heaped up by some monopolists to the detriment of the popular classes. And when the trumpet shall sound the calling under arms, we will be ready to answer to its appeal. Under the guidance of a leader enjoying a proverbial honesty, divested by his councils, obedient to his orders, showing his aspirations and his hopes for the future, we trust that the coming electoral contest cannot but be the positive condemnation of the protective, that is the monopolist, opportunist and corrupting system which the Dominion endures the last fifteen years.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Speaker, I am sorry that I could not follow the admirable address delivered by the hon. gentleman who preceded me (Mr. Bruneau). It is not my intention at this time to trouble the House at any great length; however, on an occasion of this kind when there is a question of such magnitude affecting the interests of the people of this Dominion before the House, I do not think that I should give only a silent vote. I am glad to know that we have now a clear and distinct issue between the two political parties in this country. The Minister of Finance in his Budget speech has announced the policy of the Government to be one of protection, and the tariff as proposed to be amended shows clearly that he has carried out that feature of his policy. The question, therefore, is no longer a disputed one. The Conservative party adhere to their policy adopted fifteen years ago, and they now propose to continue that policy in the future. The Minister of Finance has stated that his party would stand by the old policy of protection which has on several occasions carried them to victory. The policy of the Liberal party as announced in the motion of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), clearly lays down the issue between the two political parties, and on that issue I think we may safely ap-

peal to the great electorate of the Dominion of Canada. The policy that has been set forth in this amendment is one that meets with my entire approval. I do not believe in the system of protection at all; I believe that the manufacturers of this country, with the facilities that they have, with the energy, push and enterprise that they have displayed in the past, are able to hold their own with the manufacturers of any other countries in the world. Our facilities for manufacturing in Canada are unrivalled. We have everything that can contribute to a manufacturer producing his goods cheaply; in fact I believe that our manufacturers are to-day producing at a very low rate. The Minister of Railways stated to the House a few evenings ago that the manufacturers, especially of cotton and woollen goods, were able to compete with any in the world, and he further said that the cotton manufacturers in the city represented by the hon. leader of the Opposition were producing almost entirely for export to China, and that the woollen manufacturers were doing the same thing. Is that not proof positive, that if those manufacturers are able to export their goods to China and other remote markets and there meet with competitors on even terms, that they should be able to compete successfully in the home market? I do not believe that there is any question that they cannot do so. I see no reason, for instance, why the cotton manufacturers cannot produce goods as cheaply in Canada as do manufacturers in any other part of the world. He can get his raw material free of duty as he has been getting it; the freight on a carload of cotton from the Southern States to his factory, be it at Valleyfield or Cornwall or any other point in Canada, is about the same as to any part of the United States; and certainly his labour is as cheap, his facilities for receiving and transshipping his goods are as perfect as in any other country. Why then, need the manufacturers of Canada fear foreign competition in their own market? I, therefore, believe that the time has come when we should adopt a system of tariff for revenue only. There should be no privileges given by our fiscal policy to one class over another. Of course in adopting a revenue tariff there would necessarily be a little incidental protection, but that is the only protection that should be given. Our manufacturers for a number of years have enjoyed a very large protection on their goods, and they should now be able to stand alone. But, Sir, in considering the proposition of the Finance Minister we have to consider the question as he placed it before the House. He now proposes to raise a revenue of about \$36,500,000 or \$37,000,000, to carry on the affairs of this country for the next year, and although we may differ as to the means by which he proposes to raise that revenue—and we do differ, and differ widely on that point—yet there is a great deal to be said in reference to the large amount of money that has to be

so raised. The cry has gone forth throughout the length and breadth of this Dominion that expenses should be cut down, but that cry seems not to have yet reached our Government. You could hardly find a city or a town or municipality in the country that has not, during the last year, been economizing by reducing expenses in every way and lightening the burdens of the people, and I believe it to be well that this Government should follow the example of the municipalities and endeavour to see how they can also reduce expenses. It seems to me that the enormous sum of \$37,000,000 for the purpose simply of carrying on the affairs of a country with a population of 5,000,000, is altogether far beyond what ought to be necessary, and I will be able to show where there has been a very great deal of extravagance and unnecessary expenditure. Let us consider this state of facts. In the year 1878-79, the last year of the Mackenzie Government, they raised \$22,500,000 and they spent about \$23,500,000, so that there was a deficit in that year of about \$1,000,000; but they carried on the affairs of the country for that amount. In contrast with that, our present Government last year took out of the pockets of the people \$38,169,000. You will bear in mind, Mr. Speaker, that since 1878-79 we have not enlarged our domain at all; we have the same territory now to govern as we had then, and we have only about half a million more people, so that we find that in a period of fourteen years this Government have increased the charges on the people to the alarming extent of 70 per cent. During the last fourteen years this Government has taken out of the pockets of the people—over and above what would have been taken if the expenditure remained as it was in the days of the Mackenzie Administration,—not less a sum than \$170,000,000. Consider this enormous amount, and then add to it the expenses that have been incurred in other ways and I ask: Is it any wonder that the people of this country feel grievously the heavy burdens that have been placed upon them. It may be said by the Government and its supporters that this amount was necessary to enlarge our canals, to erect our public buildings and to bonus our railways; but, Mr. Speaker, during that time not one solitary dollar of that \$170,000,000 went to any of these purposes. We have increased the public debt during the last fourteen years by \$126,000,000. If that money had been spent in enlarging our canals, building our railways, and erecting our public buildings, something might be said for it; but there has been \$170,000,000 taken out of the pockets of the people more than ought to have been taken, simply to grease the wheels of the state and carry on the affairs of the Government. If that large amount of money was necessary for carrying on the affairs of the Government as they should be carried on, no person could object; but when we look over the

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expenditures of the Government, I think no one can deny that a very large proportion of that money has been unnecessarily and improperly spent. Take, for instance, the maintenance of the Indians, who are wards of the Government. In 1878-79 that service cost us \$489,000; in 1892 it cost \$956,000, an increase in fourteen years of \$467,000, or 95 per cent, although everybody knows that the Indians are decreasing in number in the North-west, and that we have not so many to care for now as we had fourteen years ago. Moreover, it is well known that a large amount of this money never reaches the Indians at all. I believe that one-half of the money now expended, if properly distributed, and applied to the purposes for which it is voted by Parliament, would do far more good than the whole amount that is expended. Then, for the administration of justice, the expenditure in 1878-79 was \$578,000, while in 1892-93 it was no less than \$736,000, an increase of \$158,000, or 28 per cent in those fourteen years. In other words, we have taken out of the pockets of the people during that time no less than \$1,160,000 under that head more than would have been taken had the expenditure remained at what it was in 1878-79. Nobody will say that such a large amount is required for that service. We know that this Government for the purpose of finding places for their clients and hangers-on, have appointed deputy judges all over the province of Ontario. There is scarcely a county in that province which is not to-day provided with two judges.

Mr. MONTAGUE. How many are provided with deputy judges?

Mr. CAMPBELL. If you look at the reports, as you ought to, you will find out exactly.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Not one in five.

Mr. MULOCK. Far more than are required. There are three in some counties.

Mr. MONTAGUE. That is where there is a great deal of crime, as in the county of York.

Mr. CAMPBELL. We have a deputy judge in the county of Kent. How is this increase accounted for? Simply by extravagance—by the appointment of useless men in positions where they are not needed. I venture to say that you could dismiss every deputy judge in the province of Ontario to-day, and have the work carried on as well as it is carried on now. In fact, in the county of Kent, the senior judge, when asked by the Government if he wanted an assistant, replied that he did not—that he was able to carry on the work better alone; and yet an old hanger-on of the Government was forced on that county, and on the country, at a salary of \$2,000 a year, and \$200 for travelling expenses. So, you may go through the counties of Elgin, Essex, Weillington, and Bruce, and you will find

the same reckless extravagance going on. Under the head of civil government, the expenditure in 1878-79 was only \$861,000; last year it ran up \$1,367,000, an increase of 58 per cent in the last fourteen years. Under that head alone, the Government have taken out of the pockets of the people no less than \$4,193,000 more than would have been taken had the old expenditure of the Mackenzie Administration been maintained. This has been caused largely by the wanton and reckless manner in which the affairs of the Government have been conducted during that time. Under the head of legislation our expenditure in 1878-79 was \$748,000; last year it had run up to \$867,000, an increase of \$119,000, or 16 per cent in those fourteen years, the total aggregate increase in that time being \$595,000. For the protection of our fisheries in the Maritime Provinces, the province of Ontario, and the North-west, the expenditure in 1878-79 was \$82,300; last year we spent for the same service no less than \$482,000, an increase in those fourteen years of no less than 485 per cent. Is there any man who will justify such an increase in the expenditure for that service in so short a time? In those fourteen years we have spent no less than \$3,000,000 more for that service than would have been spent had the rate of expenditure of 1878-79 been continued. The militia expenditure in 1878-79 was \$618,000; last year it was \$1,419,000, an increase of no less than 129 per cent. In those fourteen years the Government have taken out of the pockets of the people for that service no less than \$8,900,000 more than would have been taken had the expenditure remained as it was in 1878. The expenditure under the head of superannuation has increased in the last fourteen years no less than 132 per cent—from \$113,000 in 1878-79 to \$263,000 last year. Now, I think that such an expenditure on the part of this Government, or any other, cannot be justly defended. You can scarcely take up a paper, you can seldom take up the Toronto 'Empire' or the Ottawa 'Daily Citizen,' without finding that some well-paid officer, who has been feeding at the public crib for many years, has just been superannuated at a very large allowance. Only the other day Mr. Vankoughnet—a gentleman who received a large salary for many years—was superannuated. There is no branch of the public service in which there is so much extravagance and so much money voted, without producing practically any result to the people. I hope the Bill to abolish superannuation brought by the hon. member for Wellington (Mr. McMullen), will receive the sanction of the House and become law. Take under the head of miscellaneous expenditure, and what do we find there? We find the same reckless extravagance and expenditure. In 1878-78 the expenditure amounted to \$91,000. Last year it reached the enormous sum of \$284,000, an increase of no less than 212 per cent in fourteen years. Take the North-west Mounted Police. We

find that the expenditure has increased by 79 per cent. In 1878 it was \$344,000; last year it was \$615,000, an increase of \$270,000 in the last fourteen years, or 79 per cent. I ask you, whether there can be any possible reason why this expenditure should go on increasing instead of diminishing? Is there the same necessity to-day for the North-west Mounted Police as there was fourteen years ago? The country is settled up, and there is no longer the necessity for the expenditure required fourteen years ago. It can only be by a system of reckless, wanton mismanagement that this expenditure has gone on increasing from year to year at the enormous rate it has. Take the management of our Dominion lands, and what do we find? We find the expenditure in 1878-79 was \$91,000. Last year it had risen to \$136,000, or an increase of \$45,000 in the last fourteen years, or 48 per cent. Yet we have not as many Dominion lands now to manage as we had fourteen years ago, and one would naturally expect that the expenditure would decrease instead of increase. There are vast blocks of territory, now locked up by the Canadian Pacific Railway and other companies in the North-west, and yet we find that the expenditure went up 48 per cent in those years. Under the head of penitentiaries, we find that the expenditure has gone up from \$108,000 in 1878-79 to \$346,000 last year, showing an increase of \$238,000. The same extravagance is going on in the Customs Department. There our expenditure has increased from \$719,000 to \$902,000 in the last fourteen years, being an increase of \$182,000, or 25 per cent. Go on through all the different items for which public money is asked, and you will find that in nearly every one large increases have taken place. It becomes, therefore, the duty of this House to inquire carefully into these matters and see if some reduction cannot be made. In a great many of these items, as I have already said, increases have taken place where there ought to be decreases. When you consider the enormous increase in the total expenditure, is it to be wondered at that the people feel hardly the burden placed upon them by this Government? A good deal has been said as to the new tariff. The Government claim that they are lightening the burden of the people by the reductions they have made. So far as I have been able to understand the changes, while I am glad to see in some respects they are actually to be of benefit to the people, yet, take them as a whole, there is nothing to boast of. Instead of there being a deficit of \$1,500,000, as the Finance Minister predicts, I believe the new tariff will yield more revenue than was collected last year. Under those circumstances, it is well this House should consider whether some permanent radical reductions should not be made, and I hope these will be made when we come into Committee of the Whole, and thus lighten the burdens of the people. I believe the time has come when the prin-

ciple of protection to our manufacturers should be eliminated altogether from our tariff. I believe that any manufacturing industry which cannot stand with the protection necessarily given it by a revenue tariff, ought to go to the wall altogether and give place to some other that can. I have listened very attentively to the addresses delivered by gentlemen on the other side, notably that delivered by the Controller of Customs in a very eloquent speech, which that hon. gentleman made a few evenings ago. He claimed a great deal of credit for the old National Policy. He claimed that the National Policy was building up the manufacturing industries of this country; and he cited, as a feature of that tariff to be commended, the fact that our exports had largely increased to the old country, while they had been constantly decreasing to the United States. It seemed to me, at the time, rather a curious argument, to cite the fact that our exports had been increasing to Great Britain while they had been decreasing to the United States, as an evidence of the beneficial effects of the National Policy. Why, Sir, the reason is plain why our exports have been increasing to Great Britain. It is simply because they could not get into the United States. If the Americans were to charge 10 cents a dozen on eggs, instead of 5 cents, I venture to say that no eggs at all would go to the United States, and they would go to the country which afforded the very best market. And again, if you take any one of the articles that we have been exporting to Great Britain, and the export of which has been increasing, you will find that the increase is due, not to the fact that Great Britain is our best market, but because it was the best market under the circumstances. The Canadian people know best where they can get the most money for their goods. They do not care whether they send them to England, or to the United States, or to Spain, or Germany, or France. What they want is to send them to the country where the most money can be got in return. The reason we sent 99,000 head of cattle to Great Britain last year and only 402 head to the United States, is because we got more money for our cattle in Great Britain. If the duty had been taken off and our cattle admitted into the United States on the same terms as into England, in all probability the figures would be largely changed. Yet, notwithstanding the fact that the duties are heavy on goods going into the United States, and that no duties are charged on goods going into Great Britain, the people of Canada find that the markets of the United States are still their best markets for many things they have to sell. Take, for instance, horses. We sent only 1,946 head of horses, all told, to Great Britain last year, and, to the United States, we sent 10,606 head. An hon. gentleman stated in the House last night that the markets of the United States were flooded with horses, that there was no sale for horses over there. What, then, is Canada doing

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sending over 10,000 head to the United States, if the market there is glutted? The market may be glutted, and the price low, but still we can get more money by sending our horses to the United States and paying the duty than by sending them to any other country in the world. We would not send them to the United States if we could find a better market elsewhere. This is why, in spite of the enormous duty upon horses, the great majority of our horses go to the United States rather than England. Then take the item of cheese. We sent 133,559,110 pounds to Great Britain, and we sent only 163,664 pounds to the United States. Why? Because there is a duty of 5 cents a pound on cheese going into the United States, while there is no duty on cheese sent to England. I believe that if that duty were taken off, if the markets of the United States were opened to our people as well as the markets of Great Britain, we should find that a large proportion of our cheese would go to the United States; instead of seeking a market over 3,000 miles away. Take another instance—the case of wool. We did not send one solitary pound of wool to England last year, notwithstanding the fact that it is admitted to that market free. On the other hand, in sending to the United States, our wool must pay a duty of 12 cents a pound, and yet we sent to the United States, 1,167,360 pounds. The simple reason for this is that we can get more money for our wool in that market than by sending it to England. Then again, we exported of beans to the United States 273,354 bushels, and we did not send one solitary bushel to Great Britain. And this, notwithstanding that there is a duty of 40 cents a bushel on beans going into the United States, and they are admitted free to the British market. This shows either that the people of Canada do not know their own business or that the markets of the United States are the best for us and will yield us the most money. Of hay we sent to Great Britain 50,892 tons, while to the United States we sent 94,282 tons, although there was a duty of \$4 a ton on hay going into the United States market, while the other market was free. What conclusion can we come to but this—that the United States market is the best market for our hay? Our export of potatoes is an example of the same kind. We sent to the free market of Great Britain 5,876 bushels, while we sent to the United States, and paid the duty on them, no less than 800,225 bushels, and we got more by sending them to that market and paying the duty than we would have got by sending them to any other market in the world. Then take our barley trade. That trade has been almost ruined during the last few years owing to the high duty placed upon that particular cereal by the American Government. Last year we sent to Great Britain 550,695 bushels of barley, and, in spite of the high duty charged, we

sent 1,431,398 bushels to the United States. The duty of 30 cents a bushel upon barley could not keep us out of the United States market, because there was no other market that would pay us as well. I suppose that if the Americans were to double that duty, making it 60 cents a bushel, we should not be able to send our barley there, but should be obliged to sell it in the old country at a lower price, and then the Controller of Customs would get up and cite that fact as one of the great benefits that the National Policy was working in this country. Now, another article we find it very profitable to send to the United States is sheep. We sent 337,718 head of sheep to the United States last year. There was a duty of \$1 and \$1.50 on every one of the sheep sent into that country, and no duty on those sent to the old country. Yet, to the old country we sent only 14,812 head, all told. This shows clearly that our best market for that kind of product is in the United States. Now, Mr. Speaker, in my opinion the Government are greatly to blame for the way in which they have managed the affairs of this country during the last few months. I refer particularly to this fact: it is undoubtedly true that reciprocity would be a benefit to this country. I do not think that any hon. gentleman, except the hon. member for Kent, N.B. (Mr. McInerney), will dissent from that proposition. That hon. gentleman, I believe, told this House that the reciprocity treaty in force from 1854 to 1866 was a detriment to the people of this country.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) "An unmixed evil."

Mr. CAMPBELL. Exactly—"An unmixed evil," he said. I have never heard any hon. gentleman inside or outside of this House say that if we could get a renewal of the reciprocity treaty in force from 1854 to 1866, it would not be a benefit to this country. The Ministers, when they went down to Washington to negotiate a treaty a few months ago, proposed to the Americans the renewal of the old treaty, but this was rejected, and the proposition was made by the American Government to enter into a reciprocity treaty that would embrace, not only the natural products of either country, but a certain list of manufactured goods to be agreed upon. And I believe our Government is greatly to blame for neglecting that opportunity to arrange a reciprocity treaty that would be favourable to this Dominion. A short time ago an election took place in the United States, and the Democratic party was returned to power by an enormous majority, upon the distinct promise that they would eliminate from the United States tariff the protective principle, and bring about a revenue tariff. Then, in my opinion, was the opportunity of opportunities, then was the time for the Government of this country to attempt the negotiation of a treaty of reciprocity that would

be fair and beneficial to the people of this country. But, instead of taking advantage of the chance offered, they did not turn a hand, they did not move a muscle toward the negotiation of a treaty. The time was opportune, and the interests of the people of Canada demanded that, if possible, an arrangement should be made which would permit our producers to the market of the United States. I am sure the people of this country would hail with joy a measure that would open up such a market for our cereal and other products. In spite of all the tariff walls that have been erected by this Government and the American Government, in spite of the enormous tariff duties levied upon their goods, the people of this country found it to be to their advantage to buy from the United States no less than \$58,000,000 worth of goods last year, while in the same time we bought from England only \$43,000,000 worth. Moreover, the people of the United States found it to their interest to buy from us, in spite of the enormous duties charged by their own laws, no less than \$44,000,000, while England took \$64,000,000 of our products. In spite of these barriers the people of this country and the people of the United States find it to their advantage to trade thus extensively together. The enormous extent of this trade proves that if these barriers were removed and trade allowed to flow freely between these two countries, marked prosperity and progress would be the happy lot of this Dominion. Situated so favourably as Canada is, and with the vast natural resources she enjoys, there is no country in this wide world that ought to make such progress as the Dominion of Canada. Yet I am sorry to say that the progress Canada has made during the past few years has been nothing at all like what she ought to have made. We were all astonished at the results of the census when we found that the beautiful province of Ontario, a province that cannot be equalled or excelled by any state in the American Union, with all the advantages it enjoyed, being right on the highway between the great west and the east, with its immense agricultural and mineral resources, with its vast rivers and lakes, affording it easy access to the American market—yet with all those advantages that province only increased its population in the last ten years by 186,000; while the little state of Michigan to the west of the province, a state that cannot be compared for a moment with the province of Ontario, increased its population by no less than 476,000 in the same period of time. Then come to the east, and you will find the city of Buffalo alone has increased its population almost as much as the whole province of Ontario did in the last ten years; and the state of New York has also increased at a very much faster rate. I say that the census has shown and demonstrated the fact that there is something radically wrong with the Government of this country, or with the fiscal policy of this

country. There is only one way to bring back prosperity to this country, and that is to relieve the people of the burdens that have been imposed upon them. The great agricultural interests of the country have been hampered and depressed; our farmers have not been allowed to sell their goods in the dearest market, and they have not been allowed to buy their products in the cheapest market, and thus the candle is burning at both ends. They pay more for what they have to buy, and get less for what they have to sell. The taxes this Government has imposed upon the farmers, amounting to \$170,000,000 in the last fourteen years, have fallen heavily upon them, and have depressed their condition. It is no wonder there is a cry rising up all over this Dominion for the redress of these grievances. Why, Sir, we find that the Patrons of Industry, the institution of the Grangers throughout the Dominion, and the Central Farmers' Institute, have sent petition after petition here; one petition I remember was presented bearing the names of over 20,000 farmers of the province of Ontario, asking this Government to come to their relief. The only way you can bring back prosperity to this Dominion is to commence at the fountain head and relieve the great agricultural interest of the burdens now weighing upon them. Give them an open market in which to sell their goods, give them the cheapest market in which to buy their goods. Bring back prosperity to those interests, and you will increase the products of the farm. The moment you increase the revenues of the farm, you increase the value of the land; the moment you increase the prosperity of the farmers, you bring back thousands of men who have emigrated from this country. Why is it that a million native-born Canadians are to be found in the United States? They did not leave this Canada of ours because they did not like the country, they did not leave this Canada of ours because they did not like the flag that floated over this Dominion as well as the flag that floated over a foreign land. They left this country because they had opportunities presented to them in the United States that were denied them at home; it was because they saw there a way to increase their prosperity, and thus, driven out, as it were, by the Government of this country, by the burdens that were placed upon them, they have taken up their abode in foreign lands. The only way we can arrest this movement of emigration and bring back those who have left us, is to relieve the farmers of the burdens that now press so heavily upon them. Increase the revenues that come from the farm, and you will draw back from the towns and cities those who have left the farms and settled in those centres; you will draw back from foreign countries those who have left their homes and taken up their abode under a foreign flag. By increasing the prosperity

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of the great agricultural interests, the whole country will feel the effects, immediately the cities and towns will prosper, and our manufacturers will be able to dispose of more goods. This you can only do by reducing these obnoxious burdens. You must at once take off those burdens, you must decrease the expenditure of this country. There is no necessity for \$37,000,000 being spent every year to grease the wheels of state. There are a thousand ways in which you can reduce the expenditure. What need have we of that military college at Kingston that is costing the people of this country \$75,000 a year? How many people are ever benefited by that college? Where are the students that have graduated there? We have no occasion for employing them here. If time permitted I could point out many other ways in which the burdens of the people and expenses of this country could be largely reduced. In the main Estimates presented to the House, we find a proposed vote of \$200,000 to revise the voters' list. It will cost the Government of this country at least another \$100,000 before that revision takes place; and I venture to say that it will cost the two parties of this country, the Conservative party and the Reform party, at least \$100,000 more. There are \$500,000 that you are going to take out of the pockets of the people of this country to prepare a voters' list, and you have got a better voters' list now in your own hands that has not cost the people of this country one dollar. And yet for the sake of manipulating these 215 revising barristers and their clerks, and all the paraphernalia of an election court, the Government are bound to impose the expenditure on the people. Then I may refer to the immigration policy of the Government. We find this year in the Estimates a sum of \$200,000 to induce immigration to this country. Why, Sir, we cannot keep the people here that we have got. We have been spending in the last ten years three or four million dollars to induce immigrants to come here, nearly all of whom, after landing at Montreal and Quebec, find their way through Canada into another country. Why do not you make the conditions of life in this country as free, as broad and as liberal, as they can be found in any other country? Then you will not need to expend \$200,000 or \$300,000 a year to entice immigrants to come to this country. When we look at the privileges this beautiful Canada of ours offers to immigrants, with a virgin soil, with the wealth of minerals and of forests, there is no reason why the stream of immigration should not be diverted to this country; and it would be diverted hither if you only made the conditions of life easy, if you only made the chances of gaining a livelihood as good as they are to be found in other countries.

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (No. 20) respecting the Wood Mountain and Qu'Appelle Railway Company.—(Mr. McDonald, Assinibola.)

Bill (No. 21) to incorporate the St. Clair and Erie Ship Canal Company.—(Mr. Tisdale.)

Bill (No. 22) respecting the Winnipeg and Hudson Bay Railway Company, and to change the name thereof to The Winnipeg Great Northern Railway Company.—(Mr. Ross, Lisgar.)

Bill (No. 23) respecting ordinance No. 32 of 1893, of the North-west Territories, empowering the municipality of the town of Edmonton to construct and operate a tramway.—(Mr. Davis.)

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

Mr. AMYOT. I rise to offer a few remarks in regard to the question of the tariff now before the House. If I were to follow the example of some of the hon. gentlemen who have preceded me, if I were to answer all the arguments that have been adduced and refer to all the facts that have been alluded to, I should be occupied during several sittings of this House, because I think the whole political history of the confederation has been touched upon. I shall endeavour as far as possible to confine myself to the question before the House. The question, and the only question now is, shall we accept the modifications of the tariff proposed? We all admit there must be a revenue; we all admit that any organized country requires money for the ordinary expenses of administration and for the salaries of the public service. The Conservative Government, since 1878, have declared: We will raise a revenue, and at the same time grant protection to home industries. The Opposition to-day have declared: We will raise a revenue without regard to home industries; that I understand to be the programme of the Opposition, in the light of the amendment proposed in this House. The amendment states that the modifications "being based upon the principle of protection and not solely upon the requirements of the public service, are inadequate to afford satisfactory relief from the burden of excessive and unfair taxation." Further, it states: "The tariff should be reduced to the needs of honest, economical, and efficient government, and should have eliminated from it the principle of protection to particular industries at the expense of the community at large, and should be imposed for revenue only." So the question before the House and the country is simplified as much as possible. The Government say: We want to maintain the principle of protection, and combine that principle with the collection of a revenue sufficient to meet the requirements

of the public treasury. The Opposition answer: We will not protect home industries, we cannot do it without doing injustice to the country, we will raise the revenue without regard to home industries. In June, 1893, there was a great convention of the Grit or Liberal party, held in this city. The National Policy was then denounced, and the leader of the Opposition declared that it was a fraud and a failure. Then the hon. leader of the Opposition went on to say:

The ideal fiscal system was the British system of free trade, and it was the policy of the Liberal party to get as near that idea as the requirements of the revenue would permit. Free trade was the goal towards which they should struggle. If we could not adopt free trade in its entirety we could, at least, adopt a principle as the basis of fiscal legislation. He preferred to go to Great Britain rather than to McKinley for example. No taxation should be levied except for revenue purposes and every cent taken from the people by the tariff should go into the public treasury. Not a single dollar of taxation should be imposed upon the country for protection purposes. The Tory idea was protection, the Liberal idea was free trade, and upon that issue he was prepared to engage in battle with the ministerial lists. Reciprocity of trade was required with the United States.

And then the resolution adopted at the convention condemned the tariff because the tariff discriminated against Great Britain. That is not exactly the motion that is proposed now by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), nor is it exactly in harmony with the policy that the Liberals previously announced. If we go farther back, we find that on the 12th February, 1891, the leader of the Opposition issued a programme to the electors of the Dominion, and in that programme he said this:

The proposed reform is an absolute reciprocity, a liberty of commerce between Canada and the United States.

That is still another plank in their platform. I may say here, Mr. Speaker, that this programme of 1891, advocating reciprocity with the United States would be, to my mind, a very good move for Canada if we could obtain it. I have already said in this House and in the country, and I repeat it here tonight: We must protect ourselves against the States so long as they will protect themselves against us. The day they will open their doors to us we will open our doors to them; but have the United States thrown their doors open to our trade? For a short period after the last elections, we hoped that the United States would adopt free trade, and that we would be benefited by it, but public sentiment in that country has pressed so much upon Congress that they are returning to the old system of protection; and to-day, as in the year 1891, and as at any time since confederation, we cannot obtain reciprocity from the United States without being polit-

ically annexed to them. I for one am not ready to vote for annexation with the States. I believe that Canada has a grand future in its destiny; I believe in our resources; I believe in the public spirit of the Canadian people; I believe that we have institutions here which are dear to every one of us, and I believe that we are able to fight our battles throughout the centuries as an independent people.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Royal.

Mr. AMYOT. Yes; loyal to England so long as England will act towards us as she has done in the past. I believe in the protection of England for the Canadian flag on the seas. I believe in the army of England to protect us against any injustice from the United States. Yes, Sir, loyal to the Queen, most decidedly, as the Queen is loyal to us, and that is one of the reasons why I would not be in favour of annexation. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Mills) is surprised to hear of a Frenchman being loyal. It is the very essence of a French-Canadian to be loyal to the Queen; they have been brought up to that.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman will permit me to correct him. I did not use the word "loyal," I used the word "royal." I referred to the pamphlet that his friend has published.

Mr. AMYOT. I understood the hon. gentleman to say "loyal," but I suppose Royal belongs to the Royal family, and he has permission to do what he likes, but I am not responsible for the Royal family. Mr. Speaker, I believe that reciprocity with the United States cannot be obtained without our sacrificing our identity as a people, and therefore, for my part, I have erased that word from my programme, and, having always been a protectionist, I returned to the protective party.

Mr. BRODEUR. For how long?

Mr. AMYOT. I might answer, that so long as I see people with such little strength of mind composing the Liberal party, I will belong to the other side. We had another one of those eloquent speeches from the hon. leader of the Opposition at St. Thomas, Ont., and he said there:

I want to make a confederation of the Anglo-Saxon element.

The hon. gentleman wanted all the English-speaking people of the earth joined together, in a partnership under commercial union. It will be seen that we, therefore, have before us many programmes formulated by the Liberal party. We have free trade adopted and accepted by the chief of the Opposition, and I ask myself, how can free trade and reciprocity with the States, which means protection against the rest of the world, agree together? I never could understand that. Free trade means the free entry of

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goods into this country from any other country, and that cannot possibly agree with reciprocity with the United States. We have heard hon. gentlemen of the Opposition reproach the Government for discriminating against England. Well, if they had reciprocity with the United States they would have to discriminate against England, and I cannot see how they can reconcile both lines of policy. There are those who ask for the federation of the Empire, but that would not mean free trade. It would mean commercial reciprocity with England, Scotland, Ireland, and all the British possessions; and that system and reciprocity with the United States would not work together. Some gentlemen of the Liberal party ask for commercial union, others want annexation, and we have all sorts of propositions and all sorts of programmes put forward by them to allure the people. It can truthfully be said that the Liberal party in this country and in the House have accepted all the programmes, possible and impossible. They have accepted free trade, revenue tariff, commercial union, political union; they have accepted the annexationists and the federalists, and all other "ists," except the nationalists, by which I mean those who work for the good of their own country. Amongst the members of the Liberal party in this House I find all sorts of elements. I find in the ranks of the Liberal party those who want to take away the liberties of the minorities, guaranteed by the constitution in Manitoba and the North-west Territories; those who want to prevent the French language being spoken in North America; those who want to deprive the provinces of their autonomy; those who want the Government to interfere in the question of the schools of Manitoba in spite of the courts of justice; those who oppose the surplus. They are all found in the ranks of the Opposition, whose vast political programme, like a magnificent tent and flag, covers everything that is proposed. It reminds me of one of those doctors who sometimes go about with a bottle of medicine, crying out: Have you got toothache, or rheumatism, or dyspepsia, or neuralgia? Is your hair falling? Have you fever or small-pox? Here is my bottle. But one says: "I am not sick; I won't have your bottle." But the doctor says: "Do take it, because if you won't, you will be sick." The plan to recruit the army of the Opposition is very skilful. Here is one gentleman who says: "My dear chief, I want free trade; I want no barriers; I want every good thing to come freely into this country." "All right, my boy," says the leader of the Opposition, "I am your man; I have laid in a stock for you." Another comes along and says: "I am in favour of annexation; I do not see why we should pull any more with Great Britain; I want to pull with that magnificent people in the United States;" and the hon. leader of the Opposition says: "All right my boy, come along; I have

got what you want." Another says: "I want Canada to be united with England *per fas et nefas*, to share in the glory of her fights and struggles, and her great future." "All right," he says, "come along, my boy; I have in my pocket what you want." Another comes and says: "I am in favour of a revenue tariff, and I want nothing else." "Come along, my boy; says the leader of the Opposition, "I am with you." And whoever comes, from this country or any other, with a new idea, he only needs go to the leader of the Opposition, who will tell him: "Come along, my boy; I have got what you want." If that party ever succeeds in Canada, how will it be able to redeem its pledges? Now, Mr. Speaker, the proposal of a revenue tariff, instead of the continuation of protection, is based principally upon the view that the country is not prosperous—that in the fifteen years' experience that we have had, it has proved a failure. Well, I am ready to meet the hon. gentleman on that ground. In a telegram from London, of the 7th of January, 1884, I find the following:—

The 'Financial Times' says editorially that it is satisfactory to hear that the Nova Scotian Government can announce a surplus. The Dominion also rejoices in a substantial surplus revenue. Canada seems to be the only part of the world which is not keenly suffering from the widespread depression of 1893.

This testimony, pronounced by one of the first financial papers of the world, is a testimony that cannot be refuted. Is it because we have a bad tariff that the depression felt so keenly elsewhere does not affect us? I have some other evidence. There are certain monetary institutions which are not generally misled by sentiment or affection or political bias. I refer to the banks. Let me quote a few of the remarks made by the cashier of one of those banks, *La Banque du Peuple*, in Montreal, before a number of the leading men in the monetary circles of that city, in March last. Mr. Bousquet said:

During the last year we have had a period of what I may call prosperity without any great inflation; the trade of the country is not growing by leaps and bounds, but is showing steady progress.

Further on he says:

It has been the custom during recent months to contrast the happy condition of the mercantile affairs in Canada with the distress which has marked all classes of trade in the United States. The record of the insolvencies sums up the contrast in a striking way; of course, we could scarcely expect to escape absolutely from the adverse influences which have wrought so much havoc among our neighbours, trading with them so largely as we do, and affected in our financial operations as we must be by the financial crisis there. Up to the present, at all events, no Canadian interest has perceptibly suffered from the crash in the United States, although, as I have already said, the business relations of the two countries are somewhat in-

timated and the conditions of trade in both, as a rule, run upon nearly parallel lines.

Then he refers to the enormous number of failures that had taken place in the United States, 158 national banks and 613 other financial institutions having suspended. Then he says:

But how comparatively little we have been scotched by the collapse of trade will be understood by the following figures of failures: The number of failures there was more than 50 per cent greater than last year, with liabilities of \$108,000,000 in 1892 as against \$382,000,000 in 1893, while in Canada the increase was only a slight fraction over 2½ per cent in number and 40 per cent in liabilities.

He then proceeds to praise our splendid banking system, which is due to the very man who proposes the present changes in the tariff, and it will be one of the greatest sources of satisfaction in his life that he brought in the law which has made our banking system perhaps the most perfect in the whole world. Mr. Bousquet continues:

For this province the trade for the year just ended has been generally prosperous, and has perhaps been more satisfactory than any for a number of years past.

Is not that prosperity? I prefer that testimony to the interested and biased testimony of political partisans, who may be very honest and sincere, but who certainly do not see things properly and clearly as they could if they were not inspired by the constant and pressing desire of seeing the leader of their party at the head of affairs. The House will pardon me if I quote at some length, but I attach a great deal of importance to the evidence of bankers, who are the best barometers of our financial condition. Mr. Bousquet goes on to say:

In looking back upon the year for the leading events which have a controlling influence on general business, we may mention, notably, the increase of the make of dairy products, the good hay crop and the unprecedented demand for its export at remunerative prices, increased activity in all branches of agriculture. These have been the first and greater factors in the general prosperity. This province, being an agricultural province, the whole community, more or less, depends on these returns, for they are the supplies of the necessities of life, that determine the movements and channel, the volume of business, and prices and profits thereon. In fact, everything farmers have raised this year has yielded profits and given good results for their labour; therefore the value of the production of the year from that source has been considerably increased and for these causes the business of the community at large and its general trade which directly depends for activity on the farmers' return has been good. The power of purchasing has been increased by the good return, and, as a natural consequence, farmers' budgets all around have been replenished. Country storekeepers have purchased very freely, and remittances from the country have been satisfactory. The sales in wholesale trade have been maintained and the volume of business has

been materially over the average of last year. As a whole the situation illustrated from the balance sheets shows that returns have contributed to add something to the capital of last year.

Now, there is another portion in this paper concerning agriculture, and, as I represent a county essentially agricultural, I think it my duty to read this portion of the pamphlet, more especially as it embodies the views of the electors of my county, as far as I can judge. The paper states, that :

It must be gratifying to every one who has the interest of the farmers of the province of Quebec at heart to have learned what a splendid success has been made by cheese and butter from the province at the World's Fair. Mixed culture has been advocated since many years in this room, because it was felt that culture meant progress in business ; people live to enrich themselves and in an essentially agricultural province like ours wealth must come first from the land. The fatal mistake of our farmers of depending entirely on one crop for their living is rapidly disappearing to be replaced by the variety of products, and this year has been a year of rapid advance in the dairy industry among farmers.

I will be told, perhaps, that a banker has no business to give advice to farmers. I may be told that Mr. Bousquet, in advising the farmers to go in for mixed farming, went beyond his jurisdiction. But I am not of that opinion. I think that the day the province of Quebec gave up raising crops exclusively and took up the dairy industry—when my province began what may be called mixed farming—was a bright day for her. And I do not hesitate to say, that when the Minister of Agriculture, although he is a lawyer—which does not prevent his being an intelligent and experienced man—said to the farmers of the North-west : Do you not see that wheat-growing exclusively will not pay you, because it is grown everywhere, and will remain at low prices for a long time ? Do you not see that you should try mixed farming—I do not hesitate to say, that when the hon. Minister of Agriculture said that, he said what was perfectly right, and spoke as a true patriot, as a man who represents and understands his country and his countrymen. Mr. Bousquet applied a similar advice to the province of Quebec, and the results of mixed farming have already proved that these two gentlemen were perfectly right in their views. Mr. Bousquet said further :

There has certainly been vigour on the part of the Government or the Department of Agriculture, in fostering the necessity of improved methods in the general working of the farm to be adopted by farmers, but even the Government now would show meagre results without an active co-operation among farmers themselves. As said a well known professor whose energy, ability and devotion to the advancement of progress in agriculture makes him an authority, in answer to the question of where should the farmers look for guidance in making changes which imply progress. In reply he would

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say :—1st. To the agricultural societies and exhibitions which had furnished object lessons and stimulation. 2nd. To farmers' conventions, meetings of clubs and farmers' institutes, which had made the information of the leading farmers the common property of all. 3rd. To the Government experimental farms, whose experiments had a capacity of a two-fold service, " investigation for discovery and illustration for guidance."

I cannot pass this portion without reminding the House that the first gentleman who spoke of model farms in this House—the first one in Canada who suggested to the Government the propriety of establishing such farms was a Conservative. It was Mr. Gigault, who is now Deputy Minister of Agriculture in the province of Quebec. The Government accepted his idea, and it is to the Government farms that we owe the establishment in this country of the dairy industry. The Government farms opened the mind of the public to the benefits of that industry, and an inexhaustible market has been found. We have in Great Britain a market which is better for dairy products than the United States. In Great Britain there is such a dense population that her soil does not furnish enough to feed the millions of inhabitants there. They have to buy their butter and their cheese elsewhere ; and the selling of our butter and our cheese in England is worth more to the province of Quebec than reciprocity with any country in the world. It ensures the prosperity of every farmer. I shall prove in a moment our farmers in the province of Quebec pays less to-day for what they buy than they did at any other period, and at no time since Canada was discovered have they sold so profitably their products as to-day. They are, consequently, now able to give a very large price for their cows, and each cow is supposed to return from \$25 to \$30 clear profit. And to reap that profit the farmer has not to drive into town with his load, to spend part of his load in the same trip, but the money is brought to him in his house, and his wife has not the labour she formerly had of looking after the dairy. In this way our farmers make money and go on improving their farms ; and I can safely say that in ten years hence every farmer in the province of Quebec will be a small capitalist. He will have paid his debts to the merchants and have money deposited in the bank, and part of his load in the same trip, but the manufactures, which, when perfected with the best machinery and the most skilled labour, will be able to compete in other parts of the world and will contribute to the prosperity of the Dominion at large. But allow me, Mr. Speaker, after this digression, to complete the words of Mr. Bousquet. He says :

That this year has been a year in the good direction is undoubted, and the results are already noticeable. To the large increase of our dairy products is partly due the improvements noticeable during the last year in the general business of this province. Cheese has been an exceptionally good

season, with a record of export higher than any yet recorded, and the farmers have reason to congratulate themselves. * * * Butter continues to be in favour in England, and our creameries compare favourably with those of Denmark and Ireland. There has been a foreign demand for it at remunerative prices for all we could make.

Then he speaks of the dry-goods, grocery, lumber, metal and hardware trades and says: "The general actual condition of trade is sound at bottom." This is the testimony of a man who has no interest in deceiving the people, a man who was not speaking before politicians, but dealing with the commercial community and judging of the facts according to the figures and according to the amount of money at his disposal in the institution he commands. And yet, Mr. Speaker, even after such a man has borne this testimony to the prosperity of the country, we are told that the country is not prosperous. What can we do? We cannot prevent the hon. gentlemen from saying so. They want to say that the country is not prosperous; they said so yesterday, they say so to-day, they will say so to-morrow, and, no doubt, they will go before the electors and say: Gentlemen, you are not prosperous, and you are wrong in believing that you are prosperous. Well, the majority of the people of Canada will do as they have already done; they will answer: We are prosperous; we have more money than we used to have; our farms afford us a good living and, more than that, they yield us money to send to our friends and relations in the United States to assist them to come back so that they may take farms next to us and work with us toward the same prosperity. We cannot prevent these hon. gentlemen saying the country is not prosperous. Let them go on saying so. But we know from what we see, from the testimony of the commercial institutions of the country, from the name that Canada bears in other lands that our country is prosperous. Therefore we declare to these hon. gentlemen, the reason you give against protection in the lack of prosperity in the country is not a good reason, it is not based upon facts. The second reason against the protective tariff is this: Hon. gentlemen say—and we heard it again from the hon. member for Kent, Ont. (Mr. Campbell)—the farmer pays more for what he buys by reason of the tariff. I would like the hon. gentleman to give us some figures. Would he kindly tell me what it is that costs the farmer dearer? It is all very fine to make assertions, but sometimes we must come down to proof. For my part I know that what I buy—clothing, food, and so on—costs me less than it used to do before 1878. I know that as a fact.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Double the tariff and you will pay less still.

Mr. AMYOT. The hon. gentleman does not seem yet to understand the effect of a tariff.

I will try to explain it to him in a moment. Without being a viceroy in methods of teaching, I hope to make myself understood. I have here a compilation of prices from 'The Journal of Commerce,' which shows by comparison the cost to the consumer of various goods in 1878 and in late years. I take the average prices for the year 1878, also for the year 1891 and for the year 1892. For men's thick boots, the average price in 1878 was \$2.25; in 1891, \$1.25; in 1892, \$1.08. So I pay less for these boots; the farmer pays less; the lawyer pays less; everybody pays less. It is all very well to cry out that we pay dearer, but if when I go to buy they charge me \$1.08 for an article for which in 1878 I should have paid \$2.25, it is not difficult for me to come to the conclusion that there has been a reduction in price.

| | 1878. | 1891. | 1892. |
|---------------------------------|---------|---------|--------|
| | Feb. 14 | Feb. 12 | |
| Men's calf boots (average)..... | \$3 38 | \$2 50 | \$2 15 |
| Women's boots, pebble (average) | 1 30 | 1 02 | 1 02 |

Now, let us take tea. Mr. Speaker, tea is consumed by the poor and the rich—by all classes—

| | 1878. | 1891. | 1892. |
|---------------------------|------------|------------|-------|
| Tea, Japan, choicest..... | .50 | .43 | .35½ |
| " Hyson, finest..... | .50 to .70 | .30 to .60 | .41½ |

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The tariff reduces the price in China.

Mr. AMYOT. The tariff has got our men into the habit of going to China and Japan, and buying the tea at the cheapest possible rate and transporting it in the cheapest possible way to Canada. We have ceased to get our tea through the United States and England. We get the tea directly from the place of growth, and that is the reason why we buy it cheaper. When hon. gentlemen opposite were in power they imposed a tax upon these articles. Why? Because they are consumed by the poor as well as the rich, and so the poor were compelled to pay more in proportion to their wealth than the rich. To-day the poor man does not pay upon his tea, but the rich man pays upon his champagne and his fine wines. That is the difference between the two policies. It is all very well for us to live in the regions of philosophy, but let us sometimes get down to practical facts. I find that a less desirable kind of Japan tea cost in 1878, 36 cents, and now it costs 32 cents a pound.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). In China?

Mr. AMYOT. Chinaware should be the substance of the hon. gentleman if he insists upon sticking to his old ideas without change.

| | 1878. | 1891. | 1892. |
|----------------------------|------------|------------|-------|
| Tea, Gunpowder, finest.... | .65 to .75 | .35 to .45 | .31½ |
| " Souchong, finest.... | .50 to .70 | .35 to .60 | |
| Coffee, Mocha, green..... | .28 to .29 | .30 to .33 | .27½ |
| " Java, green..... | .27 to .30 | .24 to .26 | .29½ |
| Sugar, granulated..... | .95 to .10 | .6½ to .6½ | .5½ |

and 4½ cents in 1894.

I know this, for I bought myself a certain quantity of sugar fifteen years ago for which I paid 10 and 11 cents a pound, and I get it now for 4½ cents. But I am told that I am robbed because Redpath is making millions out of that sugar. Is that so? If I pay 6 cents a pound less for sugar in consequence of his making a million, then I wish he would make two or three millions, or ten millions, and sell me sugar a little cheaper yet. I have no objections to men becoming rich, and being able to help institutions, and take shares in commercial companies, if at the same time they can sell cheaper what they manufacture. Suppose that Mr. Redpath made 1 or 2 cents profit out of the \$5 or \$6 I paid for his sugar, where is the harm? If he makes good sugar and sells it cheap, so cheap that nobody will buy sugar from any one else, and at the same time is able to make a little profit, I cannot see where I am impoverished by his profit. I get direct benefits from his large manufacture of sugar. That is one way of looking at a protective tariff. The fact that the manufacturer makes money does not compel me to pay an undue price for his products. While he is making money he gets experience, he improves his methods, he employs skilful men, and he gets a more extended market in which he may sell larger quantities at smaller prices, and from all this the consumer reaps a benefit also. That is one of the direct results of a protective tariff. Will anybody deny that we buy sugar cheaper now than we used to? Suppose that in the beginning of our National Policy we did pay a little

higher for sugar than we could have got it from the States, was it not better to pay a little dearer a few years for the sake of establishing those manufactures in our country, than to buy goods in the States and contribute perpetually to the profits and welfare of foreign manufacturers? I think it was better to make a sacrifice for a few years in order to establish those industries in our own country, which must subsequently grow and contribute to our wealth and to the increase of our population. But we are told: You protect sugar unduly. What is the consequence to-day of the protective tariff? The consequence is that our sugar manufactures are so well established that they can stand a diminution of the protection which they received at the start. We now allow sugar to come into this country free, of a higher standard than we did before; we can do that without injuring our sugar refineries, allowing the industry to go on, and at the same time granting more favours to the public at large. Without the protective tariff established in 1878, we never could have done that. That proposition, I think, is very simple. I know I shall not convince my hon. friends of the Opposition, nor shall I try to; but I am speaking to the country and I know what the answer of the country will be on all these points. I will continue to show the reduction in prices: sugar, yellow refined, in 1878 we paid 7½ to 8¾ cents per pound; in 1891, 5½ to 6; in 1873, \$4.50; in 1874, \$3.50. Other articles are tabulated as follows:—

| Articles. | 1878. | | 1891. | | 1892. |
|------------------------------------|---------|----------|---------|---------|---------|
| | \$ cts. | \$ cts. | \$ cts. | \$ cts. | \$ cts. |
| Molasses, Barbados..... | 0.44 | to 0.47 | | 0.33 | 0.31½ |
| Cloves..... | 0.40 | to 0.45 | 0.15 | to 0.25 | 0.22½ |
| Nutmegs..... | 0.60 | to 0.90 | 0.60 | to 0.90 | 0.67½ |
| Pepper..... | 0.09½ | to 0.10½ | 0.13 | to 0.15 | 0.10½ |
| Mustard..... | 0.24 | to 0.25 | 0.22 | to 0.24 | 0.23 |
| Rice, common, per cwt. (lbs.)..... | 4.40 | to 4.60 | 3.70 | to 4.00 | 3.62 |
| Nails, cut, per keg..... | 2.70 | to 3.00 | 2.40 | to 2.90 | 2.25 |
| Tin plate, I. C., charcoal..... | 6.00 | to 6.50 | 4.75 | to 5.25 | 4.31 |
| White lead..... | | 9.50 | 4.00 | to 7.00 | 5.50 |
| Red lead..... | 6.50 | to 7.00 | 4.75 | to 5.00 | 4.54 |

The average of all prices in 1893 was about 2½ per cent less than in the previous year.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). My hon. friend will remember that he and his friends contended in 1878 that the prices were slaughter prices, which he now says were very high.

Mr. AMYOT. I speak of the current prices of 1878; I do not go into the question of the slaughter market. It is a very simple question. If the hon. gentleman wants me to tell him my ideas of it, I will. I take the general current prices in Canada in 1878, as I find them in the 'Journal of Commerce.'

Mr. AMYOT.

The hon. gentleman knows that when the American manufacturers saw that new industries were being started in Canada, they used to send in here all their goods at prices ridiculously low in order to choke off our own manufacturers. That was the slaughter market, and if to-day we abolished the protective tariff there are many new industries in Canada which would be choked off at once by being overwhelmed with the cheap products of the United States. The hon. gentleman knows that. It is only by affording protection to these infant industries that we can keep them alive. Let us help them a little, and later on they will

be strong enough to resist all competition from the United States.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). My hon. friend will see that the prices he quotes for 1878, and the prices at which these goods were imported, were slaughter prices.

Mr. AMYOT. What would they be if they were not slaughter prices? They would be ten times dearer. I wonder what the hon. gentleman is aiming at. I gave these prices as the genuine prices, and I proved they were too high. Protection has brought them down lower, but the hon. gentleman says: You are wrong. They were slaughter prices, therefore, instead of giving \$6.50 we should give \$10. That would prove my thesis a little better, but I will not go so far as that, because I am not in the habit of exaggerating. Let us take gray cottons:

| Gray Cottons. | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1878. | 1891. |
| \$ 0 07 $\frac{1}{2}$ | \$ 0 05 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 0 07 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 0 05 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| 0 08 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 0 06 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 0 08 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 0 06 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| 0 09 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 0 07 |
| 0 09 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 0 07 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 0 08 |
| 0 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 0 08 $\frac{1}{2}$ |

| Wide Sheetings. | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| 0 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 0 19 |
| 0 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 0 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ |

| Canton Flannels. | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| 0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 0 08 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 0 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 0 08 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| 0 12 | 0 10 |
| 0 14 | 0 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 0 17 | 0 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ |

| Cotton Bags. | |
|--------------|-------|
| 24 50 | 20 50 |
| 22 50 | 17 00 |

An hon. MEMBER. Dispense.

Mr. AMYOT. I hear the word "dispense." I will not dispense, but I will give these figures to the House. I will prove that every farmer who wants gray cotton, white sheeting, flannel, sugar and other articles can go to a store and buy them for less than he could in 1878. This is the only way to answer that stereotyped phrase used by the Opposition: The farmer pays dearer now for what he buys. I desire to prove that such is not the case, and to establish it so conclusively that any hon. gentleman who repeats that phrase will obviously be considered as a man who cannot be cured. I will proceed:

| Cotton Yarns, White. | |
|-----------------------|---------|
| 1878. | 1891. |
| \$ 0 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ | \$ 0 18 |

| Cotton Yarns, Coloured. | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 0 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 0 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ |

| 1878. | Denims. | 1891. |
|--------------------|---------|--------------------|
| 0 11 | | 0 08 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 0 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ | | 0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 0 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ | | 0 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 0 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ | | 0 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ |

| Tickings. | | |
|--------------------|--|--------------------|
| 0 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ | | 0 08 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 0 14 | | 0 11 |
| 0 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ | | 0 12 |
| 0 18 | | 0 14 |
| 0 19 | | 0 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ |

| Ginghams. | | |
|--------------------|--|--------------------|
| 0 07 | | 0 05 |
| 0 08 | | 0 06 |
| 0 10 | | 0 07 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 0 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ | | 0 09 |

| Bleached Shirtings. | | |
|---------------------|--|--------------------|
| 0 06 $\frac{1}{2}$ | | 0 05 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 0 07 $\frac{1}{2}$ | | 0 06 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 0 08 $\frac{1}{2}$ | | 0 06 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| 0 09 $\frac{1}{2}$ | | 0 08 |
| 0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ | | 0 09 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 0 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ | | 0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 0 09 $\frac{1}{2}$ | | 0 08 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 0 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ | | 0 11 |

| Apron Checks. | | |
|--------------------|--|--------------------|
| 0 14 | | 0 08 |
| 0 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ | | 0 08 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 0 09 $\frac{1}{2}$ | | 0 06 $\frac{1}{2}$ |

| Cheese Cloth. | | |
|---------------|--|--------------------|
| 0 05 | | 0 03 $\frac{1}{2}$ |

The difference in values to-day, as shown above is about as follows:—

| | | |
|------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| Gray cottons..... | 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ | per cent less than in 1878. |
| Canton flannels..... | 25 | do do |
| Bags, about..... | 25 | do do |
| Yarns..... | 25 | do do |
| Bleached shirtings.... | 17 | do do |
| Tickings..... | 35 | do do |
| Apron checks, nearly. | 50 | do do |
| Cheese cloth..... | 40 | do do |

In the item of prints, of which there were none made in 1878, the present production of the Magog Print Works is about seventeen million yards per annum. The mill is, and has been since last fall, working at its fullest capacity, and has large orders ahead. During the past year large quantities of gingham—a line of goods never manufactured in the country before—were turned out. One mill alone manufactured some 80,000 pieces of these goods, to replace similar goods which were being imported, all such class of manufacture being placed in the market at prices suitable for all classes of consumers (from 5 to 15 cents per yard), and at much lower values than were being obtained in the United States. In addition to this a number of fancy textile goods, which it was then thought impossible for our Canadian mills to manufacture, have been successfully made and appreciated by the consumers, which is evidenced by the large demand for them. Remarks have been made re the Dominion Cotton Mills Company. This company is no combination; it is simply an ordinary joint stock company, doing its business on the same

basis as any other company of the kind in Canada. It purchased and paid for the mill it owns, and every mill in the company is working at its fullest capacity. This one company pays out in cash in the item of wages alone about seventy thousand dollars per month, or about eight hundred and fifty thousand dollars per annum. The Valleyfield Cotton Company pays about twenty-five thousand dollars per month, or about three hundred thousand dollars per annum, and the other mills in proportion to their size. This outlay in cash is outside the enormous outlay for general supplies of all kinds required in the manufacture of the goods, giving employment to many hundreds of mechanics, machinists and other employees in the Dominion outside altogether of the mills. Regarding woollen goods, take an item such as gray flannels:—

Gray Flannels.

| 1878. | 1891. |
|---------|---------|
| \$ 0 35 | \$ 0 27 |

These articles are used by farmers, lumbermen, and fishermen. Lower grades of these goods, not made then, are now selling at from 15 to 17 cents.

Navy Blue Flannels.

| 1878. | 1891. |
|---------|---------|
| \$ 0 35 | \$ 0 26 |

Blankets, per lb.

| 1878. | 1891. |
|----------------|---------------|
| 57½c. to 62½c. | 42½c. to 45c. |

Previous to 1878 large quantities of English flannels and blankets were being imported and for some little time afterwards. Now the market is supplied by our own mills. Our own mills employ our own citizens, and those who left us are coming back to receive employment here. Here are some more figures to show how much cheaper goods are now than they were in 1878. All wool shirts, which in 1878 cost from \$9 to \$10, are now sold at from \$5 to \$6, same weight and same quality. Fine wool and fancy shirts, which we made only in small quantities previous to 1878, all being imported, were then sold at from \$12 to \$15 per dozen, and now the trade is supplied by Canadian makers at from \$9 to \$10 per dozen for the same grade of goods, while lower lines in plain and fancy shirts and drawers, which ranged from \$3.50 to \$8 in 1878, are now sold at from 35 to 40 per cent lower. The reduction in the price of tweeds, etoffes, and so on, is now from 30 to 40 per cent lower than the price in 1878, while cloakings, costume cloths, coatings, and so forth, are now being made here in large quantities, which were previously brought in wholly from Europe. I will give you a resume of the value of a few of the leading lines in tweeds. In 1878, etoffes sold for 50 cents, and in 1891, for 35 cents; tweeds, 14 ounces, which sold for 70 cents in 1878, were sold for 30 cents in 1891; fine tweeds, 12 ounces, sold for \$1.10 in 1878, were sold for 85 cents

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in 1891; fine tweeds, 9 ounces, sold for 60 cents in 1878, were sold for 45 cents in 1891; tweeds, 9 ounces, another quality, sold for 70 to 80 cents in 1878, were sold from 50 to 60 cents in 1891. Even the coal oil, for which we used to pay from 16 to 18 cents in 1878, can now be had for 11 cents a gallon. It is true that there is a duty on coal oil, but what is the effect of that duty? It has given strength to Canadian enterprise, and now the proprietors of the Canadian oil wells are able to sell their product nearly as cheaply as the American oil. I am sure that before long they will be able to produce it in Canada at the same cost as in the United States, and then we will have Canadian coal oil cheaper than we can get the American oil. In 1878 we used to pay for glass per box from \$1.85 to \$2.10, but now it can be purchased for \$1.30; for axes, in 1878, we used to pay from \$8 to \$10 a dozen, but now they can be purchased at from \$6 to \$8. That is another instance of how the lumberman and the farmer may be protected by the National Policy. We allow the iron in free, in some cases we even give a bounty, and the consequence is that the poor man who has to work all day with his axe pays less for it than he paid under a revenue tariff. Here are some other instances of the cheapened price of agricultural implements under the protective tariff. Manure forks, which in 1878 cost \$9, are now sold for \$6; iron shovels and spades, which cost \$6.50 in 1878, can now be had for \$5; steel shovels and spades, which in 1878 cost from \$10 to \$10.50, are now sold for \$6.50; scythes, which in 1878 cost from \$10.50 to \$11.50, can now be had for \$7.80; hay forks, for which in 1878 we paid \$6, we now pay \$4.32; clippers, which in 1878 we paid \$13.50 for, are now sold for \$7.80, and, generally speaking, all agricultural and farming implements are cheaper to-day than they were during the Liberal regime. The Opposition, however, I have no doubt, will still go on denying this and stating that the farmer pays more than he did formerly, that he is oppressed, and that the Government make him pay for the luxuries of the rich. There is no power in the world to prevent hon. gentlemen of the Opposition saying this, but the facts are contrary to that assertion, and the real truth is that the farmer pays less for what he buys under the protective tariff than he used to pay under a revenue tariff. Now, as to the products of the farm. The member for Lotbinière (Mr. Rinfret) stated that the prices of our agricultural products were regulated by the Liverpool market. I am not ready to admit that, but let whatever he pleases regulate the price; the fact remains that the farmer sells his goods at fully as good a price as he used to, with the exception of butter and cheese, which he sells at higher prices than formerly, and which products are to him an inexhaustible source of prosperity and wealth. If I could take up the

time of the House to compare the condition of the Canadian farmer with that of the farmer of the United States, I might prove that the Canadian farmer was far better off than his American brother farmer by quoting a pamphlet entitled "A Fair Comparison of the Relative Condition of the Farmers in New York State and in Ontario," made by an impartial committee from the county of Leeds. I presume that some hon. gentlemen will take up that view of the question, and will establish, that not only is the Canadian farmer to-day in a better condition than he was under a revenue tariff, but that he is even in a better condition than the farmer of the United States. Another argument which we often hear from hon. members of the Opposition is: that under the protective tariff there has been emigration from the country. It would be much more pleasant for every Canadian to have seen by the last census a larger increase of population, but we have to put to ourselves this question: Is the emigration due to the protective tariff?

Mr. CHOQUETTE. Yes.

Mr. AMYOT. The hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Choquette) says "Yes."

Mr. CHOQUETTE. You said it yourself.

Mr. AMYOT. Suppose I would have said it myself, it would have been a mistake, probably caused by my being then badly surrounded. It was another reason why I should get out of the bad company I was in. Now, Mr. Speaker, is that emigration due to the protective tariff?

Mr. CHOQUETTE. You said so yourself in 1891.

Mr. AMYOT. Did that emigration exist before the protective tariff? Yes; we have had that emigration going on since 1840. We have had it going on during the period of the reciprocity treaty with the United States—the golden age, according to hon. gentlemen of the Opposition. Emigration has been going on before the treaty, during the treaty, and after the treaty, and protection did not entirely prevent emigration, until about a year and a half ago, when the exaggeration of protection due to the McKinley Bill, and when the silver question in the States, brought about a commercial collapse and numerous failures in the neighbouring republic. What is the bearing to-day of the protective tariff on emigration from this country? It is this: when the manufacturers of the United States have ceased to be prosperous by being too inflated, when employment was not to be found in the States, our Canadians have come back, and are coming back to get work in our own factories. If we did not have a protective tariff we would have no manufactories to receive them here. But, owing to our prudence and our precautions we have built up home industries, we have

got them in working order, and the prosperity of the States having ceased, we have numerous places of employment to receive our own people who are coming back from that foreign country. The emigration has not been due to the protective tariff; it has existed in spite of it. Who denies that if we had not a protective tariff the emigration would have been doubled? Our people were attracted by the fame of the States, and they left us, thinking that on putting their foot on American soil they would become millionaires. The constant assertions of some of our public men on the hustings and in the public press that the Americans were rich while we were poor, that everything was gold there, and everything lead here, formed the education of our people, and induced many of our young men to leave us and go to the States. Parents heard eloquent men on the hustings telling them: In the States everything is very fine; you have only to go there, and you will make money, and they went home and repeated the statement; the little children heard it, and as soon as they grew to be fourteen or fifteen years old they left for the States. Is that the fault of the protective tariff? If, instead of doing that, we formed the habit of saying: Our country is rich; our farmers are making money, the labourer is getting high wages; raw material is free; you can make money in Canada, where we have abundance of mines, fisheries and other natural resources—if we praised our country in that way, we would attract immigration and retain our children at home. It is due to the education that the Liberal party have given our children that hundreds of thousands of them have left for the country to the south. But now that the wrong policy of the United States, the exaggeration of a good thing, and occasionally such things as the silver question, have brought about a depression in that country, our people are coming back, and when they come they will remain with us. The cars are loaded every day with people coming back from the States, and instead of our farmers receiving money from the States to pay their debts, they are now sending money from Canada to bring their friends back. That is the real position, and hon. gentlemen know that if a census were taken to-day in the province of Quebec over two hundred thousand more population would be found there.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. AMYOT. They know it, and they will find it out at the next election. Now, another reason given why the protective tariff is not good was that the United States Government have no confidence in the Canadian Government. I could not see the bearing of that reason on the tariff. It is not our fault if the American Government have such an idea; we have no control over them. I know that the Canadian Government have done as much as they possibly

could, without sacrificing the honour, the pride and the dignity of the country, to obtain reciprocity with the United States. They have gone as far as possible, and for my part I would not have approved of them had they gone further. But what has been the consequence? The refusal of the United States Government to grant us reciprocity has convinced us that we must suffice for ourselves. We have been seeking markets throughout the world, and we have succeeded in obtaining a market for our cheese and butter, and that of itself affords an abundant prosperity for our farmers. We are trying to open up other markets with Australia. For that we are ridiculed by the Opposition. We have a treaty with France, and we had the pleasing declaration this afternoon that the Government will present it to this House for ratification. We are looking for markets all over the world. But the Opposition say: Why do you not go to the States? It is your natural market. Well, in the first place, the States would not be as good a market for the farmers' cheese and butter as England. We must also remember that we cannot force the States to open their markets to us. When they are ready, we are ready; but so long as they are not ready, we will not go on our knees before them and implore. We are able to suffice for ourselves; we are able to manufacture for ourselves; we are even able to manufacture for other countries. We will find other markets; we have found some already, and we will go on in that course. We have in history the example of many small republics getting very rich by means of commerce with remote countries. Why can Canada not do the same? Our marine is one of the finest in the world; but the Opposition do not speak of our marine. Everything that contributes to the strength of our marine contributes to the strength and the commerce of the whole nation. In this way, the refusal of the United States to trade with us has had the effect of stimulating the Canadian people to suffice for themselves, and by finding new markets, to insure their prosperity, whether our neighbours wish it or not. The third objection I heard this afternoon was that we spend too much on the North-west, and last night the hon. member for Lotbinière (Mr. Rinfret) said that we spend \$8,000,000 yearly on that country. I do not see what that has to do with the tariff question; but I will say this: I beg the hon. members from Manitoba and the North-west to remember that we in the province of Quebec are rebuked on the hustings for the millions that we have spent on opening up their country, and they must not be unfair or unjust to us; they must not be too exacting in their demands. We have done a great deal for them, and we are ready to do more, because we want Canada to become an immense and powerful country. We want it to be as one nation from ocean to ocean;

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we want to make every necessary sacrifice to develop that country; but they must not use that new country to oppress the minorities nor to exact too much from Canada. They must remember that even in this House, with the silent consent of the hon. leader of the Opposition, the Government is reproached with having spent millions of dollars for them. Another objection is that the combines will continue. Mr. Speaker, what country is essentially the home of the combines? The United States; and yet these hon. gentlemen, who are opposed to combines, want to have no gates between Canada and the United States. Those things do not tally. They would be sure to have combines the very day the gates would be taken away. Another reason given by the hon. member for Richelieu (Mr. Bruneau) is that our position of colonial dependence and protection have delayed our development. Is this a new platform? Is the Opposition now opposed to our colonial dependence? What do they want? Is independence their new programme? I thought they had given us enough programmes already; but now it seems it is colonial dependence which has delayed our progress. How it has done so I fail to see. I do not see how England has prevented our manufactures from being established and prospering. I do not see how she has interfered with our timber limits and mines and fisheries. The hon. member for Kent (Mr. Campbell) this afternoon, attacked protection because of our expenditure on immigration, but he ought to know that our expenditure in this respect has diminished considerably, and that now the greatest portion is borne by that powerful and admirable company, the Canadian Pacific Railway. That is the most effective immigration agency we could have; it advertises everywhere the sale of its magnificent lands at its own expense. The hon. gentleman also found fault with the protective tariff because of the useless Military College at Kingston. That is a very extraordinary reason to urge against the tariff, but he might have been less hard on the memory of the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, who was the father of that college. I myself am of the opinion that the Military College at Kingston is not a very necessary institution. But it exists, and it is impossible to abolish suddenly, and always hard to abolish at all, an institution of that kind in which so many people have an interest. The hon. gentleman should not have been so hard on the memory of his late chief. The hon. member for Richelieu (Mr. Bruneau) spoke of Saturn eating his children. Well, Sir, the roles are now reversed, and we see the children eating their father. The hon. member for Kent is also opposed to a protective tariff, because he wants markets for our products. I find it difficult to understand the hon. gentleman. We are doing our best to find markets everywhere, and are succeeding. Yet still, these hon. gentlemen complain. Can they tell us of some market which we could have and

which we are not trying to obtain? No, Mr. Speaker, they are always in the clouds and will not come down to real facts. I have read carefully the amendment proposed, and am of the opinion that it should read as follows:—We recognize that the wise protective tariff established in this country has already created numerous home manufactures and given them sufficient strength and development to enable us to reduce, in many instances, the amount of protection granted. We are of opinion that the highest interests of Canada demand the continuance of that sound fiscal policy which has done injustice to no class, and has prompted domestic and foreign trade and procured the return of prosperity to our people. And we are of opinion that the modifications proposed by the resolutions submitted are justified by the actual state of the country, and are expected and desired. According to my opinion, that should be the amendment. The mover of the amendment spoke of reducing the tariff, but he did not say on what articles it should be reduced. He should have said on what articles he would have the duty reduced. What kind of tariff does he propose? Is it a 17½ per cent tariff, as formerly? If so, then the poor will have to pay as much as the rich. The poor would not pay in proportion to their wealth, but in proportion to the amount of articles they consumed. By our protective tariff we protect everybody. We protect by the exemption of duties on the raw material. When I buy something which has passed through the customs without paying duty, I am protected. The farmer, when he buys his sugar, is protected. And when he buys his tea and coffee, and boots and linen and tweeds, he is protected. When he buys an agricultural implement, part of which has been passed through the customs without paying duty, he is protected. We protect, not only by the exemption of duties, but also by drawbacks and bonuses; and we must go on giving protection to the utmost limits required by our young industries. Everything which may be manufactured in the country must be protected, so long as it requires protection, and not be allowed to enter into competition with the same articles from other countries. It is all very fine to speak of England, but we must look to England when she was in our situation. When England was starting in the world of industry, she was protected, and it was only after a great many years—after she got skilled labour and perfect machinery—that she opened her doors to the competition of other countries, as Canada will be able also to do later on. But for the present we must go on protecting ourselves. It is owing to our fifteen years protection that many of our industries are able to enter more actively into competition than they could in the past; and consequently we are able to diminish the protection formerly given them. I do not advise frequent changes in the tariff, because that prevents commercial stability. The Government wisely

notified the commercial world a year beforehand that changes might be expected. They said: Do not buy too much; be prudent; come before us and tell us your wants, and then we shall make the required changes. Of course, within the space of fifteen years the commercial aspect of the country becomes changed, and a revision of the tariff has to be made, always having protection in view. We go on like those living upon a farm, who apply the products to the wants and requirements of the soil. We go on with a system which protects the home manufacturer and yet yields enough revenue to enable us to push our country forward in the path of prosperity and development in which it has moved for the last fifteen years.

Mr. MONETTE. (Translation.) Mr. Speaker, it was my good lot to reply, on that portion of the Budget, to the speech of the hon. member for Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot). Indeed, the gentleman who has just taken his seat spoke with such vehemence against the gods he worshipped yesterday, that most of the members who worshipped with him the gods he has just cursed went out of the House, as did several of his own friends. Well, as I am young, and as bashfulness is an attribute inherent to youth, I think that bashfulness would have nailed me down to my seat had I found that there was as numerous an audience in this House as there were when the hon. member for Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot) began his speech. However, notwithstanding the vehemence and importance of the remarks of the hon. gentleman, I will not reply to him first, inasmuch as there is for us, members of this side of the House, a deficiency to cover. I mean that yesterday night we had, from the hon. member for Megantic (Mr. Frechette), such an important speech that should we not reply to it, we would go before the people with very few chances of success. Indeed, the member for Megantic stated, with much pompousness, that he had made a trip to England, another to Manitoba, and still another to New York. Well, a man who went travelling so much has, of course, much information to give us on Canadian politics, and I could not reply to the hon. member for Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot) without previously making some remarks with respect to the speech of the hon. member for Megantic (Mr. Frechette). He began by falling into rapture over the surplus which the present Administration left in the finances of the country. He is astonished to find out that the seventeen Ministers who rule us could not swallow in totality the \$37,000,000 revenue we raise. I admit it is rather astonishing, and knowing, as I do, the thirst of certain Ministers for money, I would be myself astonished did I not know that a certain number of Ministers like to feast now and then, and to satisfy their appetite by eating a bit of French and Catholic, especially in the dining-room of the House of Commons. But,

Mr. Speaker, to return to the point, it is very easy to explain how it is that there is now a surplus, while there were only deficits under the Mackenzie rule. This surplus is chiefly due to the increase in the tariff. Had Mr. Mackenzie been willing to increase the tariff as he was asked, not only would he have covered the deficit, but he certainly would have had a larger surplus than we have now. It is just like the case of a guardian who, having the care of two wards, would give to one of them \$2,000 a year to spend, and only \$1,000 to the other. Supposing that the one who receives \$2,000 should only spend \$1,200, it is plain he would remain with a surplus of \$100. But should the one who only receives \$1,000 be compelled to ask for an additional sum of \$100 from his guardian, he would in reality have spent but \$1,100, and it could not be said of him that he is more guilty than the other one, since he would spend \$800 less than his brother. Well, these are correctly the circumstances in which the two Governments stood. Had the Mackenzie Government exacted as much from the people as the present Government, it is plain there would have been surpluses. Moreover, the hon. member for Megantic stated to us that, according to the Minister of Finance himself, next year will show a deficit. Therefore, the argument drawn against the Liberal party is worth nothing in itself, if it is considered that the present tariff is double that in force under the Mackenzie rule. The member for Megantic also referred to the price of certain articles we now buy cheaper than we did formerly. I remember the very sentence uttered by him when discussing on that matter. He said the Liberals used to talk about flour, but they no more talk about it, the price of flour being greatly decreased. The Liberals talk no more about it; it was their war-horse and they threw him away. It is the first time, I hear, that a bag of flour can be mistaken for a war-horse. I do not think the hon. member acquired these notions during his trip to England; so he must have acquired them 'n Manitoba. The history of Manitoba does not directly refer to that, either; and I know of but two horses which, perhaps, the member for Megantic might have mistaken for two noted bags of flour: General Middleton's horse, and the colt of the member for Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot). As the other observations of the member for Megantic are about identical to those of the member for Bellechasse, I will now attack the speech of the latter gentleman. I must say, Mr. Speaker, that the observations I have to make with respect to the speech of the member for Bellechasse, I will be grieved to make them, and will make them because I am compelled by circumstances. And these circumstances, I hope, will be considered by my colleague as a little more than extenuating, owing to the position the hon. member occupied and the part he played for several

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years in Canadian politics. He began by stating that he would not follow all the speakers who had preceded him in the discussion of this question. I quite agree with him, and I think one in his position has enough to follow each and every party without being bound, moreover, to follow all the friends of these parties. The Opposition, he said, is quite unwilling to help the infant industries of Canada. The Opposition by carrying out a tariff for revenue only would kill those industries. This is, he said, what follows from the remarks of the hon. leader of the Opposition at the Liberal convention of the 20th June last. Well, I think it is not the necessary consequence which one may draw from the Opposition platform. We would not at all kill the national industry, which existed under the revenue tariff as well as now. And, moreover, Mr. Speaker, if there is in this House a member who spoke out that opinion, it is the very member for Bellechasse, and it ill becomes him to come and speak now with such vehemence against those who remained true to either partial or unlimited reciprocity, or to a tariff for revenue only, and since these are the very views he himself held two years ago. I regret, Mr. Speaker, that the hon. member for Bellechasse should not be at his seat, for I wished to recall to his memory while supporting it with quotations, what he said hardly a few years ago. Might he be forgot it, but happily the debates are taken down, and I have here the words uttered by that gentleman in this House. The House will allow me to read some of the statements of the hon. member, were it only to show that they hardly agree with what he stated to-day. As I cannot find out just now the place where the very words of the hon. member for Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot) are to be found, I will content myself for the present to remind the House that the hon. gentleman was one of the most relentless advocates of commercial reciprocity with the United States. He followed on that question, the hon. leader of the Opposition; he voted with us each time we asked for a tariff reform. In 1891 he supported, by his vote, an amendment moved by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). He followed us when we claimed the free importation of binding twine, although last year he altogether changed his opinion on that matter and voted against a motion reproducing, word for word, that for which he had previously voted. But what astonished me the more was the way he treated the hon. leader of the Opposition. According to him, the hon. leader of the Opposition would have in his desk a bottle for the cure of all diseases; he would have promises for those of his friends who would have unrestricted reciprocity, those who would have free trade, and those who would have a tariff for revenue only. I think if there is a man capable of resorting to such means,

it is rather the member for Bellechasse than the hon. leader of the Opposition. As an evidence of this, I will quote what that very gentleman said of the hon. leader of the Opposition when he parted with the man he had followed so long. The House will remember that during the session of 1892, the hon. gentleman bade his adieus to the Opposition and paid his respects to the statesmanship of the leader under whom we consider it our duty to combat :

I must say that the leader under whom I served in the ranks of the left I found to be a real statesman. I know, and the country at large knows, his brilliant and abundant talents, his energy, his generous character, his perfect honesty, and his sincerity, and I will tell you frankly that, if I thought by leaving his ranks now I would injure his cause in any way or retard for one moment his accession to power, I would rather withdraw from politics than do it :

It is a strange way of reasoning.

But under the circumstances, when there is such a majority, what hope can he have for years ?

It is true a difference of one does not matter much, but the hon. member for Bellechasse must have had reasons to side with the hon. leader of the Opposition, and he must likewise have had some to go over to his opponents. The platform, at that time, of the hon. leader of the Opposition was unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, and now we are asking for a tariff for revenue only, with the object of setting out, later on, towards that reciprocity with the neighbouring country. In the quotation I have just made, the hon. member stated that should his leaving the ranks of the Opposition injure in any way the case of the leader of the Liberal party, he would rather withdraw from politics. To show the logic with which he acted, allow me to read the following few lines :

One of the reasons why I leave that party and go back to the party of my youth is that I find that noble leader does not receive from his party the support he deserves.

In order to show that the leader of the Opposition was worthy of a more hearty and earnest support, the hon. member for Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot) packed off and took to the other side of the House. The hon. gentleman exclaimed that we had long enough offered unrestricted reciprocity to the United States, that we had no business to offer it any more. But does he not remember that when three Canadian Ministers went to Washington to negotiate about a reciprocity treaty, the United States offered to put on its free list agricultural products, and that the only condition, the most important one, in fact the only one it required a great effort from the Government to grant, was to put on our free list a certain number of manufactured articles, the United States accepting all our agricultural pro-

ducts free of duty ? The Canadian Government declined to negotiate on that basis. Therefore the United States were then willing to fully open to us the doors of their country. It shows that the hon. member is wrong when he states that the United States decline to grant to us what we, of the Opposition, ask for. The hon. member quoted some bank reports, amongst others a certain report of Mr. Bousquet, manager of the Banque du Peuple. The hon. gentleman plainly saw himself that such an argument would not have much weight in the opinion of the House. He perceived the weakness of such an argument, for he added : I will perhaps be asked what a bank manager can know of the affairs of the agricultural class. The farmers themselves are indeed the men who can speak knowingly of these affairs and they alone have authority to speak out the evils from which they suffer as well as their needs. I have just referred to the refusal of the Canadian Government to accept the putting of agricultural products on the free list which was offered by the American Government. The hon. member for Bellechasse contends that we are compensated for that evil by the free entry of our products on the markets of Great Britain. I am astonished to hear a political man of his experience, a lawyer of his ability, setting forth such a weak argument. I can understand that the hon. member could make such a statement with a show of reason if, by opening to us the American market, that of Great Britain was closed to us, but the two things are not inconsistent, and even though the doors of the American market would have been opened to us, the doors of the English market would not have been closed to us. I repeat that the one does not preclude the other, and this is why the argument of the member for Bellechasse on that point is very weak. Farmers, he said, do not pay more than they paid some years ago, and protection does not in any way increase the price of consumable commodities. Well, I admit that the articles we consume are now cheaper than they were some years ago. It is true that progress has taken long strides and that we actually pay less for certain articles than we paid in those times. But one must never forget the relation which exists between a cause and its effects. The hon. member for Bellechasse tried, a moment ago, to ridicule the philosopher of Bothwell (Mr. Mills), as he is called. I think it is always useful to possess a little philosophy when delivering a speech in the House of Commons. Well, here is an argument that cannot be contradicted : if we impose duties which prevent the importation of a consumable commodity, it is plain that the manufacturer of such an article in Canada is thereby in a position to sell it at a price. And why ? Because the foreign competition has become impossible, or, at all events, more difficult. That argument is irrefutable, and it is not with the figures he gave us that the member for Bellechasse

can demolish it. He said that we now pay for sugar 4 cents a pound, while we paid 10 cents for it formerly. But I will ask him since when did we pay but 4 cents for it, if not since we took away the duties upon that very article. And before these duties were taken away we paid for it 7 cents a pound. We took away last year duties which represented from 3 cents to 3½ cents a pound, and since there was a decrease corresponding to the duties taken away. It well shows that when we impose a duty upon any article, the price of it increases almost in a direct ratio to the duty imposed. The same reasoning applies to coal oil, shoes and agricultural implements. The hon. member for Bellechasse stated that the calfskin shoes—I remember that article, as it impressed me—are much cheaper than they were in 1878. I know that at that time, in 1878, calves became a little more plentiful in the country, but it was certainly not due to protection that the price of that leather decreased; it was rather due to the treason of the political friends of the member for Bellechasse, who are recorded in our annals as the calves of 1879. The hon. member also stated that agricultural implements are now cheaper than they were. No doubt they are, but they would be cheaper still had we not protection, which prevents or checks American competition. As far as the American market is concerned, I am not afraid to state that fact. Farmers from my county told me recently that having gone to the United States to sell horses, they declined to buy from a party of the name of Fitch, of Moore's Junction, mowers for \$17 which are sold here for \$50. Well, here is the advantage that was offered to these farmers. They went to the United States to sell a horse, on which they lost \$30, and they found themselves in the impossibility of making an advantageous bargain on account of the exorbitant duty imposed by the Government upon agricultural implements. They were losing \$23 on a single article. Here is a new fact which the member for Bellechasse cannot disprove with the figures he gave us. The hon. member set forth another argument which has indeed nothing earnest in it under the circumstances. You want no combines, said he to the Opposition, but the United States are above all a country of combines, and should you associate with them, you are sure to promote combines. Well, if I am not mistaken the combines which exist in the United States are the legitimate offspring of protection. We would have less protection here. And I know that the platform of the Democratic party, now in power in the United States, aims at a decrease of protection. Consequently, we would curtail the combines, or rather they could live no more when we would only have a revenue tariff. Mr. Speaker, I must thank the House for bearing patiently with me while I was looking for the quotations I intended to make of

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the speeches of the hon. member for Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot). I have them now and I will read them if it were only to show the truth of what I stated a moment ago. On September 3rd, 1891, the hon. member uttered the following words in this House:

They tell us—these great loyalists—that we prefer annexation. We say that those who are disloyal are those who ruin the country, those who steal from the country, those who chase away the population from this country, those are disloyal, while those who want to purify the political atmosphere and to have a natural commerce with our neighbours are loyal to the Crown and are the true citizens of the country.

The hon. member for Bellechasse comes now and states that the exodus can in no way be ascribed to protection. Now, here is what he held then:

The census returns prepared by the officials of the Government prove to us that over a million of people have left the country. And why? Is it not because they could not live here during the ten years just passed when the hon. gentlemen have been telling us: We are happy, we are prosperous, Canada is rich, Canada is increasing in wealth and in population? The contrary has been proved to us.

Further on he added:

No doubt: some of them like power, some of them like to sit near the highly-favoured Treasury benches, some of them like to have the ear of a Minister, some of them like to know when a contract will be given—not for themselves, they are too good, too pure, but for their friends; and as long as their friends surround them with millions at their disposal, they will say: We are prosperous. And that word "we" means whom? Themselves. Let the people emigrate, let the people go to the States, let the people suffer; never mind, we are prosperous, because our friends are ready, whenever we want a cheque—not for us, but for our friends—to give it. That is the prosperity they mean, for there is no other.

Now, Mr. Speaker, all that is changed, the country is prosperous, the farmers are more prosperous and richer than they ever have been. And to think that it was hardly two years and some months ago that the hon. gentleman uttered the words that I have just quoted. That is not all:

When a young country like Canada is prosperous the population increases. If in a young country like this the population decreases, it is absolute proof that the country is not prosperous. And if the country is not prosperous it must be so because the fiscal policy is wrong.

The hon. gentleman has just said the contrary, however. I continue to quote his very words:

Those who contend with us that we should have reciprocity with the United States and a wide market for our products are right, and those who support the Government who say that in order to be happy and prosperous, we should support the policy of the Government, are wrong.

Now, the hon. member for Bellechasse has just spoken against the amendment of the member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). By speaking the language we have just heard, he certainly displayed the utmost confidence in the Government he was condemning not long ago in such positive and energetic words, for it is well understood that the amendment implies a direct want of confidence vote. We have still ringing in our ears the vehement declarations we heard from that member against the present Cabinet, which is composed of the same Ministers as formerly, with the exception of two or three, who came in since that time. Here is what he said on the 23rd September, 1891. The speech I am going to quote was in connection with a motion of censure against the Government in reference to the scandals which characterized that session. Was he then urging other reasons than those for censuring the Government? No, Mr. Speaker. He censured the Government because they declined to grant an investigation into the charges preferred against the hon. the Minister of Railways, and it is in reference to that that he blamed the hon. the Minister of Justice, as well as all his other colleagues. Here is the lecture he gave him as well as the other Ministers:

We do not refuse an inquiry into French bootling, but the Government opposite refuse an inquiry into the English bootling. When it is a Frenchman you think you have a right to strike at him and to condemn French bootling, but you give English bootling protection. There are some Ministers, some high citizens who came into politics very poor and who are millionaires to-day, but that is English bootling, and you do not think of it.

Mr. AMYOT. (Translation.) Who was at the head of the Government then?

Mr. MONETTE. (Translation.) Has the hon. gentleman lost his memory?

Mr. AMYOT. (Translation.) It was not the same Government as now; the hon. gentleman must know that.

Mr. MONETTE. (Translation.) Was not the hon. First Minister of to-day a member of the Government at that time, and was he not holding the position of Minister of Justice, as he is now?

Mr. AMYOT. (Translation.) It was precisely what I complained of, for I wished him to be First Minister.

Mr. MONETTE. (Translation.) That is a childish, a very childish distinction on the part of the hon. member for Bellechasse, for he would have us to believe that he was opposing the Government simply because the present First Minister was not First Minister at that time. It is not worth refuting. The member for Bellechasse never made any distinction in favour of the Minister of Justice, as was seen, however, by the quotation I have just made. I will not detain the

House any longer. I did not expect to speak on this question, and, moreover, it will be easily understood that it is rather difficult to get ready to reply to the hon. member for Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot), as one is never sure in whose favour he will speak. At all events, I wish to protest against the present Government, because they would not take away the duties upon agricultural implements and favour the agricultural class by opening to them the American market. True, they reduced those duties, but it is just one more reason for us to conclude that the Government are deliberately persisting in wronging that class, since they acknowledged by such a decrease the necessity in which they were to lighten a little the burden of taxes that bears on our rural populations. There are a great many articles which are put on the free list, and which ought to be imposed; there are, likewise, Mr. Speaker, a great many articles which ought to be put on the free list and which are taxed as previously by the tariff measure now before us. The proposed reduction of the taxes will not satisfy the agricultural class, who ask for the free market of the United States for their horses, their hay and their grains, and the Government will be the first to perceive it at their expense at the next general election.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell) moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

Mr. FOSTER moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 10.30 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, 5th April, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 34) respecting the Bell Telephone Company of Canada.—(Mr. White, Cardwell.)

Bill (No. 35) to amend the Act incorporating the Steam Boiler and Plate Glass Insurance Company of Canada.—(Mr. Davies, P.E.I.)

Bill (No. 36) to incorporate the Canadian Railway Accident Insurance Company.—(Sir James Grant)

Bill (No. 37) to incorporate the Duluth, Winnipeg and James' Bay Railway Company.—(Mr. Masson.)

Bill (No. 38) respecting the Ontario Loan and Debenture Company.—(Mr. Moncrieff.)

Bill (No. 39) respecting the St. Lawrence and Adirondack Railway Company.—(Mr. Baker.)

Bill (No. 40) to incorporate the Elgin and Havelock Railway Company.—(Mr. Hazen.)

Bill (No. 41) to amend the Act respecting the Clifton Suspension Bridge Company.—(Mr. Coatsworth.)

Bill (No. 42) to incorporate the Canadian Railway Fire Insurance Company.—(Sir James Grant.)

Bill (No. 43) to amend an Act respecting the Ladies of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.—(Mr. LaRivière.)

SEDITIONOUS AND UNLAWFUL ASSOCIATIONS.

Mr. WHITE (Cardwell) moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 44) further to amend Chapter 10 of the Consolidated Statutes of Lower Canada, respecting seditious and unlawful associations and oaths.

Mr. EDGAR. Explain.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Does this apply to the Orange Order?

Mr. WHITE (Cardwell). When the Act which this Bill is proposed to amend was originally passed, the Masonic Lodges of the province of Quebec acting under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Great Britain and Ireland were excepted from its operation. Afterwards, when the Grand Lodge of Canada was formed, Masonic Lodges of the province of Quebec, acting under its jurisdiction, were also excepted. Subsequently, however, to the consolidation of the Statutes of Lower Canada in 1865, the Grand Lodge of Quebec was formed, and this Bill is to extend the same exemptions to lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Quebec as is extended to lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodges of Great Britain and Canada.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

SUPPLY CONTRACTS FOR QUEBEC CITADEL.

Mr. CHOQUETTE asked, 1. Who holds the contract for supplying provisions, groceries, merchandise, &c., to the men and officers of the Citadel of Quebec? 2. Were tenders asked for in relation to the said contract? 3. If so, who were the parties who tendered?

Mr. PATTERSON (Huron). The parties holding the contracts are: for meat, James

Delaney; for bread, Thos. Hetherington; potatoes, J. B. Provost; forage, Geo. Colvin; straw, M. Provost. All these contracts, with the exception of the meat contract, were given out by public tender last year, and renewed this year at the same prices, the prices and qualities having been found satisfactory. The meat contract was considered rather high; tenders were accordingly issued, and the contract given at a slightly reduced figure. The tenderers were Jas. Delaney, Tozer & Co., D. & C. Arel and J. Drolet.

REVISIONS OF THE VOTERS' LISTS.

Mr. CHARLTON asked, How many revisions of the voters' lists have been made under the provisions of the Dominion Franchise Act, since 1885? In what year have the several revisions been made? What has been the total expense incurred by the Government in connection with these revisions? Are the expenses connected with printing voters' lists in the Government Printing Bureau included in the statement of total expenses incurred?

Mr. COSTIGAN. There were three revisions of the voters' lists made since 1885. They were in the years 1886, 1889 and 1891. The expense incurred appears by the Public Accounts and Auditor General's Report for each year. The expense connected with the printing of the voters' lists in the Government Printing Bureau are included in the statements of expenditure incurred.

Mr. CHARLTON. The answer is not complete. I think the hon. Minister ought to have replied to the inquiry as to the total expenses incurred, which was particularly desired.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. That information has already been brought down.

Mr. CHARLTON. A member of the House should not be put to the trouble of going over all these things when inquiry is made. The staff of civil servants is for that purpose. I shall put the question on the Paper again.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL LAZIER.

Mr. MULOCK asked, Has Lieut.-Col. Lazier resigned the command of the 15th Battalion or has he been retired, suspended or temporarily displaced? If he is not now in active command, who is?

Mr. PATTERSON (Huron). Lieut.-Col. Lazier has been neither retired, suspended or temporarily replaced. He was granted leave of absence on the 31st of March, as he desired to go to the United States on private business. The command of the battalion devolves on the next senior officer during his temporary absence.

IMMIGRATION FROM NEWFOUNDLAND.

Mr. DAVIES asked, In what service and where is one Charles C. Carlyle employed? When were his services engaged, and for what time? What is the nature of his duties and the amount of his salary or remuneration?

Mr. DALY. He is employed in immigration service in Newfoundland. First engaged from 1st of June, 1893, for a period of three months, at a salary of \$75 per month, with \$2.50 per day for expenses. On the 24th October this engagement was renewed until the 30th June, 1894, at the same rate for salary and expenses. His duties consist in travelling about the country, lecturing, distributing literature, visiting farmers and people who would be likely to emigrate, writing articles on Canada for the Newfoundland newspapers, and otherwise endeavouring to promote the emigration of desirable settlers to the Dominion of Canada.

ANALYTICAL INDEX OF TARIFF.

Mr. EDGAR asked, Has a book, entitled "Analytical Index to Customs Tariff," been published under the direction of the Controller of Customs? By what authority was that book published? When was said "Analytical Index" issued? How many copies of said "Analytical Index" were ordered and printed? What was the cost to the Government of printing and publishing said book? How many of said "Analytical Index" have been issued? How many copies sold?

Mr. WALLACE. Such a work has been published by the department. 2nd. The book was published under the authority of sections 3 and 5 of the Customs Act, and sections 2 and 4 of the "Act respecting the Department of Customs and the Department of Inland Revenue," being the Act 50-51 Victoria, chapter 11. 3rd. On the 27th September, 1893. 4th. 3,550 copies were ordered and printed. 5th. The charge for printing and publishing was \$1,414.77. 6th. 1,850 copies have been issued, 194 of which were sold.

THE SUPERANNUATION FUND—CONTRIBUTORS.

Mr. McMULLEN asked, The number of permanent civil servants in each department, inside and outside service, that contribute to the superannuation fund, and the gross amount of wages paid?

Mr. FOSTER. The information asked for here is of such a nature, involving a return from each department, that the hon. gentleman will have to make a motion for the return.

NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING.

Mr. MARTIN asked, Whether any Government advertisements were inserted during the year 1893 in the 'Standard' newspaper of Winnipeg, and what amounts, if any, were paid for the same?

Mr. DALY. No advertisements were inserted in the 'Standard' newspaper of Winnipeg, with the authority of the Department of the Interior, and no accounts have been paid for the same.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) That only covers one department.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The same applies to the other departments of the Government.

CHIGNECTO MARINE RAILWAY.

Mr. RIDER asked, What is the total sum paid out by the Government to date, by way of subsidy or otherwise, towards the promotion or construction of the Chignecto Marine Railway? 2. In what further sum or sums is the Government pledged towards the construction of the said work? 3. Has the work of construction been completed and the railway put into operation? If not, what remains to be done?

Mr. HAGGART. The Government have made no payment of subsidy or otherwise towards the promotion or construction of the Chignecto Marine Railway. The time for completion having expired, no further legal liability exists (54-55 Victoria, chapter 12). Time for completion, 1st July, 1893. The amount of subsidy granted was \$170,602 per annum for twenty years, which ceases to be a liability. The work of construction has not been completed, neither has the railway been put in operation. The work remaining to be done consists of the completion of the basins, lifts, &c., at each terminus, several miles of track-laying, the ballasting, and some cutting.

TIMBER CULLERS, MONTREAL.

Mr. McMULLEN asked, The quantity of timber that passed through the cullers' hands and was culled each year at Montreal, for the last ten years? The amount of fees collected for each year during the same period, and the amount of wages paid to the cullers and staff at Montreal for the same time?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). It is impossible to obtain detailed information of this character in the few hours at our disposal. I shall, therefore, ask the hon. gentleman to put a notice of motion on the Order Paper, and I will endeavour to get a quick return.

MANITOBA AND N.W.T. LAND GRANTS.

Mr. CHARLTON asked, How many acres of land have been granted to railway cor-

porations in Manitoba and the Canadian North-west Territories up to 1st January, 1894 ?

Mr. DALY. 44,242,298 acres.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I would inquire from the Minister of Finance, on what day the Public Accounts Committee will be called together. The matter was left over until his colleagues could be consulted.

Mr. FOSTER. I would answer to my hon. friend, that Saturday and Monday are practically 'dies non.' I think we will have to call the meeting for Tuesday morning.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Very well.

THE INSOLVENCY ACT.

Mr. FLINT. I would like to ask the Government, if some steps cannot be taken by which the proposed Insolvent Act would be placed in numbers in the hands of members for submission to their constituents who are interested in that question, before the Bill comes to this House ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Arrangements will be made for a very early distribution of the Bill to this House.

THE TEA AND COFFEE DUTIES.

Mr. EDGAR. I would like to ask the hon. Minister of Finance another question about the tea duties, in regard to which an uncertainty exists among the trade. I have read the answers that were given by him the other day to the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Kenny) and the hon. member for Hamilton (Mr. McKay), and the conclusion of the last paragraph embodying, I think, what he expressed to the House, was this :

It is not the intention that the fact of transshipment shall be a bar to the entry of either tea or coffee free of duty.

So far so good ; but I would like to ask the hon. Minister if it is the intention that tea or coffee, unless placed in bond in England, shall be subject to duty ?

Mr. FOSTER. The exception which I made in the answer which the hon. gentleman has read, taken in connection with the paragraph in the tariff propositions as brought down, will give the hon. gentleman the answer to his question, and may be summarized as follows :—That tea or coffee, imported from the place of growth or production without transshipment, is free ; it may be imported in bond through London.

Mr. LAURIER. Will the hon. gentleman pardon me if I put another question. I understood, from the answer that was given the other day, that the intention of the Gov-

Mr. CHARLTON.

ernment was simply to keep the old law, such as it was ; that is to say, to apply the law simply to tea coming from the United States. Is that the intention, or is there to be a departure from that law ?

Mr. FOSTER. The present law will be a little wider than that.

Mr. LAURIER. To what extent ?

Mr. FOSTER. To the extent that the tea or coffee must be imported in bond or on through bill of lading.

Mr. EDGAR. Is a through bill of lading to be required in all cases ? Is that an essential or not ?

Mr. FOSTER. That will be an essential.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I understood the hon. gentleman to express himself disjunctively—"either in bond or on through bill of lading."

Mr. FOSTER. In bond and on through bill of lading.

QUESTIONS PUT BY MEMBERS.

Mr. CHARLTON. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to say a few words with regard to the privileges of the members of the House on this side in asking for information from the Government. I had a question on the Order Paper to-day which was perfectly legitimate. That question asked the Government the number of revisions that have been made of the voters' lists under the Dominion Franchise Act.

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman's speech will probably elicit a reply, and lead to a general discussion, and the House knows my opinion about such discussions before the Orders of the Day. Of course, if the hon. gentleman has any question to ask the Government in reference to their further action in connection with matters of this kind, or desires to again put his question on the Order Paper, that is another thing.

Mr. LANDERKIN. I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. CHARLTON. In speaking to this question, Mr. Speaker, I desire to say a few words incidentally with regard to a matter that affects the privileges of the members of the Dominion House of Commons on the Liberal side. I presume that it is admitted that we have a right to make inquiries of the Government for information. The Government is the custodian of the records, and is the proper source to apply to for information. I put a question on the Order Paper which I proceeded to ask to-day—a question which in all the particulars it embraced was, in my opinion, a perfectly legitimate and proper question—with regard to the working of the Dominion Franchise Act. These inquiries were made in view of the fact that that measure will come before this House

for discussion ere many days. I wished to know, authoritatively, from the Government, how many revisions of the voters' lists had been made, in what years they had been made, what had been the total expense incurred in these revisions, and whether the expenses connected with printing the voters' lists were included in that statement of the total expenses. The Minister on whom devolved the duty of answering these questions, deigned to answer the first two; but, in regard to the others, he informed me in a cavalier manner, that I had recourse to the Auditor General's Report, and could find out for myself what the expenses were. Now, I had a right to demand of the Government an authoritative statement of what those expenses were. It does not devolve upon me, or upon any other member of this House, to do the work that legitimately belongs to the staff of the House. Hon. members on the Government side of the House can avail themselves of the services of that staff in any way they choose, but if a member of the Opposition asks a question, he is told to go and hunt up the information for himself. I protest against this treatment. I wish it to be understood that I shall stand upon my rights as a member of this House. I will repeat that question, and, instead of hunting through the Auditor General's Report myself for the information, I shall expect the hon. Secretary of State to answer the question. The other day I gave notice of a motion asking for certain information with regard to exportations to the United States for the information of myself and the public. I wished to know in what lines the exports of our products to the United States were in excess of our exports to other countries. That information would help us in the discussion of trade questions. It involved, of course, considerable labour to obtain it, and the Minister of Finance told me that the Trade and Navigation Returns were open to me for inspection, and that I could go to them and get the information for myself. Now, Sir, if the members of the Opposition are to be denied all assistance from the staff of the House in obtaining information which we deem of public importance, I want to know it. Of course, we are not called upon to ask the Government whether in their opinion the question we propose to ask is an admissible question, or whether they will permit us to have this information or not. We all stand on one level here as members of the Dominion House of Commons; we have a right to all information in the possession of the Government that is not of a confidential character, or of a character that cannot, in the interest of the public, be properly made known; and I protest against the course taken by the hon. Secretary of State to-day and by the hon. Minister of Finance the other day, and when this question is reached again, if I am not permitted to move it, we will have this subject discussed

in all its bearings. I will give notice of this question again, and when it is reached, we shall see if the same course will be persisted in by the Minister whose duty it was to answer it to-day.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I might say a few words on this matter to relieve the impression on the hon. gentleman's mind that there is any reluctance to give him any information that is in the possession of the Government and not in the possession of the House. I understand that the object of these questions is to obtain, in good faith, information of that character. In this case, the questions were explicitly answered by my hon. colleague the Secretary of State, with the exception of the third one, in which the hon. gentleman asked the Secretary of State to go to the Public Accounts for several years and sum up the cost of the several revisions. I submit that that information is now on the Table of the House: it is in the possession of the hon. gentleman himself; and therefore, he was not asking for information which was not as fully in his possession as ours. There is no question of the staff of the House at all. The staff of the House is not engaged in making answers to these questions, nor can they be so engaged. The hon. gentleman would be perfectly right in putting a question which involved an answer covering a great number of details that it would require time and assistance to gather. As, for instance, if it were uncertain, after the answer which had been given by the Secretary of State, as to whether the cost of the Printing Bureau had been included in the details of expenses given in the Auditor General's Report. But when that statement is answered affirmatively, the hon. gentleman knows he has under his hand in the Public Accounts and the Auditor General's accounts, not only the total statement he requires but every item in detail, and therefore he is asking for something which is already in his possession. I do not wish for a moment to curtail the privileges of members of the House, whether in Opposition or otherwise, as regards asking questions and making motions; but I submit that the right of asking questions ought not to degenerate into a mere attempt to make capital on any political question whatever. And as regards moving for papers, which the hon. gentleman has brought into the discussion, more care might, with advantage as regards the economy of the proceedings of this House, be exercised than is now. We have repeatedly on the Notice sheet motions for papers which have already been brought down and expanded in the sessional records of this House. Two or three cases of that kind occurred the last day on which we took motions. One asked for a return on a subject, every paper of which had previously been moved for and brought down and printed in the Sessional Papers over a year ago. It is only with a view of curtailing the demand for information

within proper limits, that we feel at all disposed to refuse to answer a question put in that form.

Mr. LAURIER. I venture to take issue with the remarks of the First Minister. The answer received by the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) from the Secretary of State was a curt answer, altogether at variance with the rules of courtesy between one side of the House and the other. It is quite possible that my hon. friend was asking for information already before the House in the Auditor General's Report, but everybody knows that that report is a very voluminous document. My hon. friend sought for the information and did not find it. Perhaps it was there, and if the Secretary of State had told him in a civil manner that he would find that information on a certain page in the Auditor General's Report, the answer would have been satisfactory. But when he said: You will find it in the Auditor General's Report, I think it is an uncivil answer which my hon. friend had good reason to resent.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I really did not suppose that was the complaint of the hon. member; and for my colleague, who is not in the House at the moment, I beg to say there was no discourtesy intended at all. The answer was that those expenses will appear in the Public Accounts and in the Auditor General's Report of this year, and there is no objection to give the hon. gentleman reference to the pages.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It is quite right for the Government, where returns are called for having reference to matters which have been already brought down in detail, to save the country the expense of making them out again. But innumerable cases will occur in which it is desirable to have an official and formal statement as to the total amount of expense incurred in any particular service, more especially in matters relating to the Franchise Act. I am tolerably well acquainted with the Public Accounts and the Auditor General's Report, and I know it would be often a matter involving much expense of time and trouble to go through the various separate sections under which the expenses are placed; and it is desirable the House and the country should know officially what the total cost of any given service may be. Therefore I think my hon. friend beside me was perfectly in his right, and the Government would have done a great deal better to have stated specifically and distinctly what the total expense in the working of the Franchise Act may be. It is not sufficient to say that somewhere or other in a document or a series of documents, covering 2,000 pages each, the requisite details will be found. Sometimes you will find them properly collated and put together, and sometimes scattered everywhere under a, b, c, &c., and whatever var-

Sir JOHN THOMPSON.

ious forms of subdivisions the Auditor General has chosen to make. I do contend that to refer a man to a series of documents containing 2,000 pages is not altogether consonant with our practice or with the dignity of this House. We have a right, as members of this House, to ask the Government, who have a staff at their disposal, paid reasonably liberal salaries for making themselves acquainted with the details of their offices, to obtain the information required—information which it would cost members on this side many hours of labour to gather.

Mr. McMULLEN. I take the opportunity of drawing the attention of the House to a reply made to me by the hon. Minister of Finance on another important question which I put to-day. The hon. gentleman is well aware that I have a Bill before the House affecting the present superannuation system, and I want the information I asked for, and which is quite easily gathered from the documents, but which it would take any private member a long time to collect. My question was one which each department could very easily answer at a few moments' notice—the number of permanent civil servants in each department, in the inside and outside service, who contribute to the superannuation fund, and the gross amount of wages paid. I do not think that is a question the hon. gentleman should ask to put as a notice on the Paper calling for a return. Our experience in getting returns is that they are very often brought down at the dying hours of the session and possibly not before the next session. The information I asked for I require to use in connection with a Bill that will come up for second reading, and I think I am entitled to it. I do not think the staff of officers in each department would be put to much inconvenience by having to add up the number of inside and outside civil servants and the gross amount of wages paid. And I think it is unfair and discourteous to ask me to put a notice on the Paper and wait five or six weeks for a return, and possibly not get it until Parliament has risen.

Mr. MULOCK. I think it would be well for the First Minister to reconsider the conclusion at which he appears to have arrived as to the duty of the Government in dealing with questions of this kind. Take as an illustration of the view I wish to present, the question on the Notice Paper to-day out of which this discussion arose. My hon. friend here (Mr. Charlton) asked, in the public interest, for information in a succinct form as to the total amount of public money expended in connection with the putting in force of a certain statute. That information is not asked for for the benefit of any private citizen or any individual member. It is information that, through the machinery of this House, finds its way to the people who pay the bill, and I submit that the

electors are entitled to know the total amount. With regard to this particular measure, it has ever been a subject of controversy whether the game was worth the candle; and now, after three revisions have taken place under the Act, is it not due to the public that, in considering the merits and demerits of the law, they should know in an authoritative way what has been the total cost? To tell my hon. friend that he may wade through volumes and thus learn the cost of this Act to the country is simply to deny to the people the information they are entitled to. If my hon. friend were to search the Public Accounts and give to the country the cost of this Act as he found it to be, his figures would not be authoritative and might be questioned. The country is entitled to know how much the Government has paid out of the public funds in connection with this measure. We might as well understand now as at any other time whether the statement of the First Minister is to be accepted as an answer. He declines to give this information for fear, as I understand him, that some members may seek to make political capital out of it. If the Government have expended such a sum of the people's money that they fear to tell the amount lest political capital may be made out of it, that of itself is sufficient reason why they should be censured by the people. But, if the expenditure is such that political capital can be made out of it, that of itself is a reason why the people should know that has taken place. I submit in the public interest, in regard to this question, and all others, where there has been a very considerable expenditure of public money in detail, and extending over a period of years, it is due to the electors that they shall have a candid, frank admission by the Government how much has been spent. In this particular case, in my opinion, the Government has been derelict in its duty. I trust that they will reconsider their decision, and that, if the question is put again, they will get back to sound constitutional ground, and will declare candidly and frankly how much has been expended.

Motion to adjourn withdrawn.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

House again resumed the adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Foster:

That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair for the House to go into Committee of Ways and Means; and the motion of Sir Richard Cartwright in amendment thereto.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Mr. Speaker, I noticed that when my hon. friend from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) was addressing the House upon this subject the day after the hon. the Finance Minister made his Budget speech, the Finance Minister was occupied largely with the receipt of telegrams; and I inferred from the appearance

of the hon. gentleman that these telegrams were not messages congratulating him upon the success of the changes which he proposed to make in the taxation of this country. I think that if the hon. gentleman had read those messages to the House, they would have established the accuracy of the statement made by the hon. member for South Oxford, that what the hon. gentleman proposed was a maximum of disturbance with a minimum of results. I am quite sure, Sir, that the hon. the Finance Minister has so far found that the changes which he proposed to make, were not such as the country looked for at his hands. I may say, Mr. Speaker, that the Budget speeches which have been delivered in this Chamber since 1879 bear a certain family likeness to one another; they all are made up in very much the same way; and in many respects they differ very widely from the addresses, on the same subject, delivered to the House of Commons, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In the addresses of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, we have statements made of the expected effect of each of the changes which the Chancellor proposes. The hon. the Finance Minister has not favoured us, in his Budget speech, with a statement of the amount of revenue he expects to lose in consequence of each diminution of the duty, or of the amount he expects to gain in consequence of each increase. But, Sir, there is one feature in which the speech of the hon. the Minister of Finance differs in a very marked degree, from the speeches which have been addressed to the House upon the subject of taxation, by his predecessors in office. Sir, I remember very well, and I daresay every hon. gentleman who is now a member of the House, and who was a member of the House in 1879 will remember very well, when these radical changes in the policy of taxation were first proposed to Parliament, what a prominent feature the balance of trade was in the speech of the Finance Minister of that day, and in many of the speeches subsequently delivered by the predecessors of the present incumbent. The House was told in those days that one of the primary objects to be obtained by the alteration of the tariff, and the introduction of the policy of protection, was to correct the balance of trade. We were assured that the balance of trade was very largely against Canada, that the value of her imports far exceeded the value of her exports, and that the prime duty of the Minister of Finance was, so to tax the commerce of the country, as to produce a diminution of imports, and, as far as he could, to stimulate the exports of the country. And the year 1880 was the only year, since this confederation was established, when we found that the exports of the country exceeded the imports, the balance of exports over imports in that year being about \$1,400,000. After that, the old condition of things returned, and every year since then the value placed upon imports has been

in excess of the value placed upon the exports of the country. The hon. member for Kent, N.B. (Mr. McInerney), an hon. gentleman who is new to Parliament, was the only member on the Government side, on this occasion, who ventured to discuss this old and very important theme, the discussion of which formerly evoked such hearty cheers from the supporters of the Government. The hon. gentleman did not know to what extent the views of his party had undergone a change in this particular. The hon. gentleman naturally had no doubt a distinct recollection of the theories and opinions he was called upon to combat when he was actively engaged in the defence of the principles of political economy and taxation supported by us, and opposed by his present party, and he naturally supposed that his friends on the Treasury benches still entertained, with regard to this question, the opinions which they formerly enunciated and defended both in Parliament and upon the hustings. The hon. gentleman assumed that we were in debt, or paid in cash to foreign parties, with whom we conduct our trade, a sum equal, at all events, to the difference between the value placed in the Trade and Navigation Returns upon our imports, and the value put upon our exports. If the hon. gentleman had examined the papers laid before Parliament, he would have seen that the amounts of coin and bullion that were exported from year to year, by Canada, or were imported into it, were very much the same and were very nearly equal. If the difference between the value of the imports and the exports represented the mercantile indebtedness of Canada to parties abroad, then that was an indebtedness that was never paid, and since confederation, our merchants and traders have incurred liabilities which they have not met to the extent of \$400,000,000. This may be a very dishonest thing, if the hon. gentleman's view is correct, it may be a very mischievous thing in its moral consequences; but so far as the pecuniary features of the transaction are concerned, if he were right, it would be very much worse for the parties who continued to trust us while we never paid them, than it would be for the people of this country who received these goods and consumed them, and gave no compensation for them. The Minister of Finance, in his Budget speech, has referred to the prosperity of the country, and one of the evidences of that prosperity which he has given us, is the large amount of importations that have taken place during recent years. Sir, it would be important to inquire when the Minister of Finance adopted this view, and when he abandoned the view that an excess in the value of importations was a calamity, which he now thinks has become a blessing. We know very well the views that were constantly proclaimed by his predecessor, and it would be curious for the House to know at what particular period the hon.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

gentleman has received new light upon this question.

Mr. FOSTER. Does the hon. gentleman mean to canvass the question as to my belief at one time and my belief at another time, on the balance of trade, as expressed anywhere? Is he instituting a comparison between what he thinks my belief is now, and what the belief of somebody else was years ago?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman asks me a question. The hon. gentleman was a member of this House, and he was a supporter of a Government, and a supporter of a policy before he became a Minister of the Crown. I apprehend that if the hon. gentleman disagreed with the views of his predecessor in office, he would have stated the fact when his predecessor was enunciating the views which I have just mentioned.

Mr. FOSTER. Then you are not canvassing my views, but the views of somebody else?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). If the hon. gentleman will tell us that he never subscribed to the views put forward by his predecessor, and which were so elaborately advocated by his friend the hon. member for Kent, N.B. (Mr. McInerney), and which he so heartily cheered the other evening when those views were addressed to the House, I will be happy to hear it. Are we to understand that while he supported actively and zealously his predecessor, Sir Leonard Tilley, who did enunciate these views, the hon. gentleman himself has never entertained them?

Mr. FOSTER. You are taking something else for granted which I have not uttered.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. State what your views are.

Mr. FOSTER. I will at the proper time.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). If I have misapprehended the hon. gentleman, or have drawn an incorrect inference from his conduct as a public man in this House, doubtless he will have an opportunity to correct me; and if I have misstated the views of the hon. gentleman, I have no objection to his making a correction at the present moment. I am sure the hon. gentleman is too familiar with the views of Sir Leonard Tilley to call in question for a moment the opinions which I have just now attributed to him. That there may be no doubt on the subject, I will read a short extract from a speech addressed to the House by Sir Leonard Tilley in moving the first Budget in favour of the doctrine of protection:

By the last return which I have, and which covers the year 1877, the balance of trade against her (meaning England), is shown to be \$700,000,000 a year; but the last calendar year shows that the balance in favour of the United States had reached

\$300,000,000 a year. I think, then, without entering into a discussion here of free trade and protection so far as it affects England and the United States, we may fairly conclude that the prosperity of the one country at this moment is caused by the large surplus in its favour, and the depression in the other by the large deficiency. Under these circumstances, it appears to me we should turn our attention to the best means of reducing the volume of our imports from all parts of the world.

Now, Sir, that was the doctrine advanced by the Minister of Finance who proposed this National Policy, which hon. gentlemen have from that hour up to this hour supported, which they still profess to support, and which, when these views were enunciated by the Minister of Finance on the floor of Parliament, was enthusiastically cheered by all those who were at the time supporting the Administration. Now, I cannot at this moment, though I shall do so later, question the accuracy of the statement that the United States, at the time when the value of their exports exceeded the value of their imports by \$300,000,000, were in a highly prosperous condition; and that the people of the United Kingdom were in an extreme state of depression when their imports exceeded their exports, as they have for half a century, by nearly \$700,000,000 a year. I do not know, Mr. Speaker, that I can give a better illustration of the doctrine of the balance of trade, than that which was presented nearly seventy years ago, to the Senate of the United States by a very distinguished Senator, the Hon. Daniel Webster. Mr. Webster put this case: He said that a vessel, at a period when the State of Massachusetts was more prosperous than it was at that time, received from a bank, \$70,000 in specie, and sailed for the port of Mocha, on the Red Sea. The money was expended in the purchase of coffee, spices, and other products of that country. The vessel sailed from there to Amsterdam, where she sold two-thirds of her cargo for \$130,000. She then sailed with the balance to the Mediterranean and sold the remaining third for \$25,000 in specie, and \$15,000 in Italian goods. She returned and deposited \$130,000 in the bank from which the money was received. Now, the imports were \$150,000, the exports were \$70,000, the balance of trade was \$80,000 against the country, and so, according to the contention of Sir Leonard Tilley, and which no hon. gentleman on that side has repudiated until the Minister of Finance at this moment has done so for the first time—the balance of trade was against her to the extent of \$80,000, and according to that view, it was an unprofitable transaction. Now, if this vessel that sailed from the port in Massachusetts had foundered at sea, the balance of trade would have been \$70,000 in favour of the country. I do not know that I could give a more apposite illustration, and I think it is one which well illustrates the knowledge which a former Finance Minister

possessed and exhibited in dealing with this subject of taxation. Sir, let me call the attention of the House to a further statement. Sir Leonard Tilley said that the balance of trade in favour of the United States was \$300,000,000. Why, how is that? Because a large amount of the indebtedness of the United States was held in London, Paris, Amsterdam, and Frankfort, and the same may be said with respect to the immense sums of money that have been invested in the railways of the United States, and so no inconsiderable portion of the exports of the country were required to pay interest on these foreign obligations. Under the circumstances it could not be otherwise; unless the profits of trade were very large, the balance of trade could not be otherwise than in favour, according to the hon. gentleman's contention, of the United States. Now, take the case of England. He says her business was greatly depressed, and greatly depressed because the balance of trade was \$700,000,000 a year against it. In ten years that would amount to \$7,000,000,000 in the ten years preceding the period of which Sir Leonard Tilley spoke. Since then the amount has become very much larger, and according to this contention the United Kingdom would at this moment be in debt to every country on the globe; her obligations would be such that it would be utterly impossible she could meet them, and no people in the full possession of their rational faculties would any longer trust her or her merchants. But the census of the United Kingdom tells a very different story. It shows there has been an increase in the wealth of the country, there has been a levelling upwards, so that a far larger number of her people who formerly were in straightened circumstances are living in comparative comfort the very reverse of what would be the necessary and logical inference from the statements made from that side of the House is shown to be the fact. We know this—that the obligations which foreign people and foreign countries owe to British capitalists are paid by the imports of those countries into the United Kingdom, and the fact that the imports exceed largely in value the exports shows that not only the mercantile transactions of the country are profitable but that the indebtedness of foreign communities to the people of the United Kingdom is indeed very great. I pass from that subject for a moment, and I wish to refer to a statement made by the Minister of Finance. The Minister has upbraided the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) for having, during a considerable portion of the time he was in public office, been met by a deficit in the public revenues. The Minister of Finance is of the opinion that it is a very important matter for the country that the Government should have a large surplus. I am inclined to dissent from that view. It would be a very convenient thing for the Administration, but it would be of doubtful utility to

the public at large. There would be no inducement to economize on the part of the Administration, as there would be if the Government found difficulty in meeting the expenditure; if they were compelled to practice economy in order to make the revenue at their disposal meet the obligations which they are called upon to discharge. The hon. gentleman now takes a somewhat different position. The hon. gentleman in fact says that a surplus is a great blessing and that a debt is a very great calamity; we have bestowed on you this blessing for a very great portion of the period that we have been in charge of the government of Canada, and we are now going to take the risk of creating for the people a very considerable deficit. The hon. gentleman has informed the House in a very hesitating and doubtful manner that it might occur that, by the practice of economy, the Government might be able to meet their obligations with the revenue at their disposal. The hon. gentleman did not make that statement with such confidence as to lead one to suppose that he wished to have it regarded as a conviction. The hon. gentleman's colleague, the Minister of Railways, informed the House that it would be impossible to further economize, and that the Government had already practiced the greatest economy possible. He said he defied any hon. gentleman on this side of the House who talked in favour of economy to show any particular in which the Government could further economize. The Minister of Finance was of a different opinion; he expressed a somewhat different view, but he expressed it with a great deal of diffidence; he did not at all speak with the confidence in which his colleague spoke in the opposite direction. The Minister of Finance told the House that the expenditure last year was \$36,814,052, and that he estimated the expenditure this year at \$37,212,000. This is not all. There is a large expenditure on capital account, and it is quite delusive to speak of it as a special expenditure. It shows the expenditure of money on public works and undertakings, and he might undertake to distinguish with more confidence and propriety between what we call ordinary expenditure and expenditure on capital account if capital expenditure was confined to the few great undertakings that possess a real national character. I have been in this Parliament for nearly thirty years, and I have never known a year in which there was not a considerable expenditure on capital account. I do not see any more prospect, under the regime of hon. gentlemen now upon the Treasury benches, of the expenditure on capital account coming to an end, than I do of the termination of the ordinary expenditure for government. The people of this country are bound to consider not only the expenditure which the Government of the country choose to call ordinary expenditure, but they are obliged

to face at some time or other these expenditures which have been differently classified, and to which I have referred. I am not speaking now on the subject of capital expenditure as the exponent of the views of any other person than myself. I say this: That I do not think it was wise, and it does not seem to me to be quite honest, that we should go on incurring very large obligations which are to be met by persons who will enter this world after we have left it. If the hon. gentleman were to undertake to pay the expenditure of government on capital account within the period of the lifetime of a generation, he would be obliged to place in the sinking fund a sum of nearly \$10,000,000 a year; and until the people of Canada fully appreciate what the expenditure on capital account means, until they are called upon to consider the propriety of every such expenditure, it is not likely that we will have any very great reform in this particular. I cordially subscribe, myself, to the views expressed by the Rev. Sydney Smith: That people are entitled to incur obligations which they are prepared themselves to meet, but I decline to be governed by those who are decaying in the churchyards, rather than by those who occupy the pews. We are entitled while we are in charge of a ship to sail with her east or west or north or south, but when we are compelled to resign our command, we ought to leave others as free to judge of the direction in which to voyage as ourselves were. Perhaps you could not have a better illustration of the impropriety of large expenditures on capital account—which must be paid at some very remote period in the future, if paid at all—than the large expenditure on canals by the State of Pennsylvania just at the period when railways were first being constructed. The canals of Pennsylvania were built; railways within a very short period were erected in their immediate vicinity so as to render the canals well nigh useless; they were rendered useless because of the progress of invention and improvement, and, it seems to me, that while it is important that we should exhibit so much enterprise as is necessary to make every expenditure that can be met in a reasonable period of time, we ought to leave those who come after us free to judge of the propriety of what will best contribute to the prosperity of the country in their own day, as we claim to be in ours. There is not much in the financial policy of the United States which I would commend to the people of Canada for adoption, but there is one thing to which they have adhered with very great persistency from the first establishment of the republic, and that is: That all the obligations which they incur for necessary public improvements shall be met by the ordinary revenue of the country. The United States incurred a debt from 1812 to 1815, from 1844 to 1846, and from 1861 to 1865; but in every one of these

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cases they were debts incurred in war and for the purpose of maintaining their national obligation. Until we adopt a somewhat similar policy, how are we ever going to keep within reasonable limits, the obligations for interest on debts incurred by this country to persons who reside abroad? Sir Alexander T. Galt, in 1866, said: That the prosperity of Canada depended upon light burdens, upon low taxation, upon cheap production, and upon the stimulus for fair profits to the masses. That is a doctrine to which I cordially subscribe. As long as you incur large obligations for unprofitable enterprises, just so long will it be impossible to give to the people of this country that low rate of taxation to which they are entitled. We may approximate it, but we have got to change our policy in this particular before we can reach the ideal, which, it seems to me, the people of this country should aim at. The tariff of 1879, which hon. gentlemen on the Government side of the House were elected to support, was a tariff proposed in Parliament after very full inquiry and discussion outside. The hon. gentlemen, at that time, did not take the whole State into their confidence. They had a favoured few, and that favoured few were asked to judge as to what was a fair measure of taxation—not the fair measure of taxation that they should bear, but the fair measure of taxation that should be borne by the rest of the community. Every man is a free trader with regard to imports in which he himself is interested. There is no manufacturer who has ever come to this House and asked us to impose duties upon the raw material he uses in his own business. They all ask for changes in the tariff that are intended to affect somebody else. They are all interested in the management of the business of some other persons rather than in their own; and so, every proposal that was made to the hon. gentleman, every proposal which the hon. gentleman entertained was a proposal to impose burdens upon other parties in the community, upon the great mass of the population. Well, Sir, the Government intrusted the favoured few men to regulate the business of their neighbours, to determine the amount of taxation that their neighbours should bear and to adjust the tariff to suit themselves. Hon. gentlemen on that side of the House said then: We have a scientific machine, there may be here and there little blemishes, but experience will enable us to remove these; and every session these blemishes were carefully considered. They were brought to the attention of the Minister of Finance; deputations waited upon him, until at the end of fourteen years the Minister was prepared to declare that the machine had reached a state of perfection; and that it was not possible that any further improvement could be made upon it. However, after it had reached this condition, the hon.

gentlemen found that it did not always produce the results which they anticipated. They would set it at a particular notch and it was to regulate the amount of imports, but it did not accomplish that object. Then they undertook to protect the agriculturist. The agriculturist came to believe in the end that he was not protected, and he was dissatisfied, and he made representations to the Government, and those representations became so vigorous and loud that the Government undertook further inquiry. They found that the machine was no longer workable without endangering the lives of those who were in charge of it, and so inquiry began, and it began with the friends of the Administration, the manufacturers, just as the Gospel was begun in Jerusalem. And, after inquiry was made from the manufacturers, then the Minister of Finance undertook to go abroad among the Gentiles, and he sent among the farmers the Controller of Inland Revenue, and the Controller of Customs. These gentlemen held public meetings, and they discussed the subject with the farmers, and they remonstrated with those persons who pointed out to them the unreasonableness of the Government's demands, and they told the farmers how necessary it was that they should continue to bear these burdens which, under this admirable tariff machine, they had imposed upon them for a period of fifteen years. The hon. gentleman found that the people were not disposed to be conciliated in that way, and so he comes down to the House with the proposals now before us. But I can tell him that the people are fully awakened to the incubus of protection, and that they will never rest content, until they carry out and make practically operative, the views expressed in the amendment proposed by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). Now, the Minister of Finance propounded a doctrine which is novel, as a doctrine seriously defended on the floor of Parliament, and I think he is entitled to the congratulations of the House for the frankness with which he expressed his views on this question. The Minister said this:

The arrangement of a tariff and the principle which is to be adopted has two aspects. It looks to the revenue which is required in a country, and it looks as well to the general trade and development of a country. I wish at this early stage of my remarks upon this subject to say that so far as a revenue aspect is concerned, it is of infinitely less importance than the effect of the principle and the details of the tariff upon the trade and development of a country.

So, Mr. Speaker, we come here to consider the hon. gentleman's proposed plan of taxation, which is not for the purpose of raising a revenue, not for the purpose of providing the Government with the means of carrying on the affairs of the country, but for the purpose of stimulating various

branches of industry—for the development of the country. Sir, I deny the principle of the hon. gentleman's aim, and I equally deny his ability to accomplish the work which he has marked out for himself. The English theory of Government is that it is a compact, in the first instance, between the members of the community and then between the community and the Crown, that their life and property and reputation shall be protected. The property belongs, and belongs absolutely, to the people. Nobody has a right to touch a dollar of it without the consent of the man to whom it belongs. It is to be taken for a public purpose, and a public purpose only. If expropriated for any other purpose, it must be with compensation. Now, the money which the Government take from the community for the purpose of carrying on the affairs of this country is money taken for a public purpose; but the money which the Government take incidentally from the people, but which they do not receive, and which is intended to go from the man who has earned it to some other man who has not, is property taken without compensation. The hon. gentleman has made the taking of that legal; he cannot make it moral. If it were taken without the sanction of the law, we know how everybody would characterize it; but when it is taken with the sanction of the law, then you have discouraged the great mass of the community who have earned that money, and you have made a present of it to the man to whom it does not rightfully belong. Let me take an instance. The hon. gentleman in his Budget speech made what he called a clerical error—he proposed to tax democrat wagons 20 per cent, and he made an oral error as well, because in his speech he said that they were to be taxed 20 per cent. Then he came down afterwards and told us that it was a clerical error—that they were to be put in another list, and were to be taxed 35 per cent. Now, what does that mean? We understand the kind of influence by which errors of that sort are corrected. An ordinary democrat wagon without taxation will cost about \$40, if it is a good wagon. Thirty-five per cent on that amount is \$14. There are about 30,000 of these wagons sold in the Dominion every year. Fourteen times 30,000 amounts to 420,000. Now, if those 30,000 wagons came in from the United States, the hon. gentleman would by his tariff get \$420,000 of public revenue. Whether it would be a fair distribution of taxation or not would depend on his whole scheme. But that is not his object. His object is not to get money into the public treasury; that is a subordinate object in this tariff. The primary object is the development of the country, and so, from the 30,000 men who buy these wagons, the hon. gentleman collects in the year \$420,000, which sum is taken from the men who earn it by their daily toil, and is given, along with the price of the wagons, to some man

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in Canada for the purpose of enabling him to be prosperous. I want to know if in such a transaction the hon. gentleman has not discouraged the 30,000 men to the same extent that he has encouraged the one or the ten who may be engaged in the making of these wagons? And what is true of that tax is true of every other that the hon. gentleman has imposed, not with the view of getting revenue into the treasury, but with the view of development. Sir, I would not characterize it development. I think I can find a more appropriate expression. I will say this much of the hon. gentleman's doctrine, or plan of taxation: it is wholly at variance with the doctrine of Adam Smith, and wholly at variance with the views of the greatest financial men who have controlled the public exchequer of England. You may begin with the younger Pitt, and go over the names of Huskisson, and Peel, and Gladstone. Every one of them has repudiated this doctrine of development. You may go over the speeches which they have made on subjects of finance, and you will find that every one of them has aimed at ascertaining by what process of taxation he could take from the people no more than found its way into the public treasury. Mr. Thompson, afterwards Lord Sydenham in Canada, on one occasion mentioned a case of taxation in Paris, where, in order to raise three or four millions of francs, a tax of seventy-five millions was actually paid by the people. And he points out that as one of the evils which governments and parliament are called upon to meet, and which they must overcome. Why, what is the object of such a system of taxation as that which the hon. gentleman has adopted? It is simply to levy tribute from the great mass of the people for the purpose of enriching a few men who are engaged in special trades or callings, and who are not any more entitled to the consideration and protection of the Government than those who are fleeced on their behalf. The hon. gentleman said, in his speech, that a tax of 25 or 35 per cent was no great burden. He must then be astonished at his moderation.

Mr. FOSTER. You were astonished.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). No, not at your moderation. The hon. gentleman admits that the imposition of taxes—and it is the first admission of that kind we have had from a Finance Minister on that side—increases the price. He admits that at the outset the imposition of additional burdens increases the price of the article equal or nearly equal to the amount of increased taxation. At the early period, he said, we pay very nearly the full amount; but later there is over-production, and, as a consequence, competition and a fall in prices. Now, in a free market, A gets his democratic wagon for \$40. Under the hon. gentleman's tariff he will get it for \$54. If he buys a foreign wagon, the Government will get the \$14, but if he buys a democrat wagon, made in Can-

ada, the hon. member for Leeds (Mr. Taylor) will probably get it.

Mr. TAYLOR. The hon. gentleman has accused me of being a wagon-maker. I have no more interest in wagon-making or building than the hon. gentleman who is speaking. I have no interest in the building of wagons whatever.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I do not take back the principle I have enunciated, but I take back the application to the hon. gentleman. I am glad to make the correction. When the tax is on the foreign product and the Government gets the tax, there is protection to life and property as a compensation. That is a consideration. But when the wagon is manufactured in Canada and the money is paid to the Canadian manufacturer, what consideration does he give for the \$14? What does the consumer get in exchange for the money? You have expropriated \$14 of his money, and you give him absolutely nothing in exchange. So that whatever may be thought of protection as promoting the development of the country, there can be no doubt whatever as to its moral character. The hon. gentleman says that the amount of the tax taken for public purposes by the customs regulations, is \$21,000,000. All those \$21,000,000 are paid on foreign products. But now that the hon. gentleman admits that there is a tax paid which the Government do not receive, it would be very important that he should give us, at all events, his views as to the amount of that taxation. How much is it? There is a tax on furniture, carriages, rubber goods, boots and shoes, saddlery, harness, woollen goods, cotton goods, hardware, sugar. If any hon. gentleman will take the trouble of looking at the census and see the amount of these various articles that are produced, he can hardly come to any other conclusion, than that the amount of taxation paid by the consumers, which the Government do not receive, is far in excess of the amount paid into the public treasury. I understood the other day, that the hon. gentleman, or at least some of his colleagues, did take exception to the statement made by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). I think it is very important that a careful and full investigation should be made into that matter. I think, before this Parliament undertakes to expropriate the moneys earned by one man and make a present of it to another, you are bound to consider the magnitude of the transaction in which you are engaged; and I am satisfied that it will be found that the people are paying in this way, in consequence of the taxation imposed by the Government under that policy which the hon. gentleman characterized as a policy of development, a far larger sum than is paid into the public treasury. A large portion of the property of the great mass of the people is actually confiscated by this arrangement, in order that the hon. gentlemen may carry out this policy of development. The hon.

gentleman discussed the policy of free trade, and of protection, and of a revenue tariff. He says that no country practices free trade. I do not subscribe to that view. The hon. gentleman will find he is mistaken. There is no country in which there may not be customs dues, but a customs tax does not necessarily imply a protective tax. The hon. gentleman will not pretend to say, that a tax on tea or coffee, at any rate in Canada, would be a protective tax. It is a tax on a certain article of commerce. But, if our customs taxation is fairly imposed, if it is imposed in such a way as to take from the people \$21,000,000, and no more, you have not, to any greater extent, diminished the purchasing power of the community. Suppose you took those \$21,000,000 by direct tax from them, you would be diminishing their purchasing power to that extent, but not to any greater extent; and neither are they disabled to any greater extent in consequence of that \$21,000,000 being taken off along with the price of the goods. The way in which their power is diminished is by the very large sums which you take from them, which do not find their way into the public treasury, but into the pockets of parties who are producing in this country articles of a similar character and which are substituted for those brought from abroad. Let me call the attention of the Minister of Finance to this fact, that, even in prosperous periods in this country—and I do not think he can seriously argue that this is a prosperous period—the real estate of Canada devoted to agriculture does not pay to the proprietor a larger sum than 3 or 4 per cent upon the investment. It must be carefully worked in order to do that. Let him take out the wages, the wear and tear of his machinery and farm implements, and make due allowance for repairs, and he has a remarkably prosperous year if he succeeds in securing a dividend of 3 or 4 per cent upon his capital. Upon money a man who receives more than 5 or 6 per cent is regarded as an usurer, but the hon. gentleman sees nothing wrong in securing to the manufacturers by his tariff—making that the principal aim of the tariff—35, 40, and even 60 per cent. Now, let me say this. If the manufacturer does not make 35, 40 or 60 per cent, if he does not make more than the additional price of his goods caused by the tariff, then his capital is yielding nothing, and his labour yields nothing to the country. Take an instance. Suppose some capitalist were to establish a hat manufactory here in Ottawa. Suppose he could manufacture hats at a profit at \$1.25, while the foreign article can be brought in at \$1. He asks 25 cents per hat protection and gets it. Unless the profits of his manufactory exceed 25 cents per hat, he is manufacturing at a loss to the country, and neither the capital invested nor the employees in his establishment are contributing anything whatever to the wealth of the country. If he produces at less than 25 cents per hat

profit, there is an actual loss, and the country would be better off if the manufactory were closed and the people employed in it engaged in some other business. It is too clear to require further argument that, if the hon. gentleman's friends whom he is endeavouring to protect by his tariff, do not make a profit in excess of the additional cost of the goods to the consumer in consequence of the tariff, then the capital and labour are both misdirected and are impoverishing rather than contributing to the wealth of the country. Now, Sir, at the time this tariff was imposed, the excuse was made that goods were being sacrificed in this country, that Canada was being made a sacrifice market. Well, Mr. Speaker, even if that were true, it would clearly not be an injury to the people who bought the goods. It would be rather a difficult proposition to argue that the man who got \$1 worth of goods for 50 cents was being bankrupted by the transaction. The only man who could possibly be injured besides the vendor would be the home-producer of a similar article—that is if the statement were an accurate statement. That statement has been made over and over again in various forms inside and outside of this House. The hon. member for Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot) read to the House last evening statements showing the prices of various articles by which he intended to show that the market price of these articles in Canada, in 1878, was higher than the market price here to-day. This difference he attributed to the tariff. I would attribute it to something very different—chiefly the progress of invention. I am not going into a discussion of the causes of the depression of 1874-79. But I will say this—there was universal depression throughout the world, and if the time permitted, and it was in the interests of the House, I would undertake to analyse the causes of that depression, and I think the result would be to show clearly that the depression in Canada was largely due to the failure of the foreign lumber market. I could show, also, that when the lumber of Canada found a ready market in South American countries, in the United States and in England, the trade of Canada generally revived and that that revival had no relation whatever to any change in the tariff, that on the contrary, trade revived in spite of those changes. Further, any one who will take the trouble to examine carefully into the facts will see that the parties who failed in Canada in the period from 1874 to 1878 were mainly those of the mercantile, and not of the manufacturing class, that the failures among merchants represented \$14 for every dollar represented in the failure of manufacturers. An investigation of the figures will prove that the failures of the mercantile class were seven times as numerous as among the manufacturing class, and that the amount for which they failed was fourteen times as great. Therefore, when the hon. gentleman proposed an increase in taxation, he pro-

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posed to aggravate rather than to cure the evil; he proposed an increase of the burdens of the very class of the community who had the greatest struggle to save themselves from bankruptcy. The remedy proposed was one suited for those who were whole, but the best that could be said of it was that it could have no beneficial effect upon those who were sick. We were told by Sir Leonard Tilley and others, when this tariff was first proposed, of the great prosperity of the United States. That was not a fact. The business of the United States was very much more depressed than that of Canada. Nothing could have been more marked than the great distress that existed in every town and city in the neighbouring republic. But it was the interest of the hon. gentlemen then to represent the United States as a highly prosperous country. Now, for reasons which it is not necessary at this moment to discuss, they represent the United States as being in a condition of great commercial stagnation. Well, Sir, they exaggerate the condition of to-day; they misstated the condition of 1873-78. Both periods were marked by very great distress in the United States. On both occasions commercial distress and embarrassment and confusion was aggravated by the protective tariff prevailing in that country. Gentlemen opposite, while they admit that the United States to-day are in very great commercial straits, are not willing to trace that condition to the source from which, in a large degree and primarily, it springs—the policy of protection. Lands have fallen greatly in value. I think it was the Minister of Railways who told us the other evening that wherever there is a protective tariff, there land is increasing in value. Why, Sir, the hon. gentleman has tried that system in Canada, and every loan company knows that farm lands in the province of Ontario have decreased by at least 30 per cent of their former value, and, in fact, that real estate is no longer the security for monetary investments that it was a few years ago.

Mr. COCKBURN. How about England?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I did not hear the hon. gentleman's question.

Mr. COCKBURN. I was saying that as the hon. gentleman was setting forth the depression in the value of lands in Canada as a protective country, he might favour us with his conclusions with regard to lands in the United States and England.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). In the United States they have exactly the same system. I do not mean to say, Mr. Speaker, that the depression in the value of lands in this country is wholly due to the protective system. But it is largely due to that system; and it is largely due to what I regard as the improvident extension of the railway system into districts that cannot for years to come

be actually occupied with profit to the country. This is far too large a question for me to undertake the discussion of on this occasion, and the hon. gentleman will see that many features of it would not be relevant. With regard to the state of things in England—land had an artificial value in consequence of the Corn Laws, which value was lost when free trade was established. Values have been further diminished by the facilities afforded for transportation which have practically brought to the neighbourhood of the United Kingdom lands that are to-day much cheaper than those of the United Kingdom. Now, Sir, we have had a declaration by the hon. member for Kent, N.B. (Mr. McInerney), which goes to show how very far the Government are from being disposed to make any serious effort in favour of freer trade with the neighbouring republic. The hon. gentleman tells us that the reciprocity treaty of 1854, which the Government desired to have renewed so far as our altered circumstances would permit, was an unmitigated evil; and we had a declaration of that sort immediately preceding the last election from a very prominent member of the Administration. The hon. Mr. Colby, on that occasion, said:

For many years I have studied the agricultural developments from the farmers' standpoint, and I am sure the farmers of this country will endorse me when I say that free trade between Canada and the United States in agricultural products, would be the worst possible thing that could happen to the farmers at the present time.

Now, that was a declaration made by a member of the Government shortly before the last election, and whatever professions hon. gentlemen may have made, it is perfectly clear that, entertaining those views of the effect of a reciprocity treaty, however anxious the people of Canada might be to have such a treaty renewed, the hon. gentlemen upon the Treasury benches were not likely to make any very earnest or vigorous effort to secure it. Why, Sir, the hon. gentleman told us the other evening that the farmers of Canada are prosperous. How can the farmers of Canada be prosperous with the price of wheat at 55 cents a bushel, with hay taxed \$4 a ton, in the only market—

Mr. FOSTER. The only market?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Well, the chief market available, with barley an unsaleable article, with beans taxed 40 cents a bushel, with the labourer out of employment, and with the retail merchant, I believe, in the majority of cases in this country, on the verge of bankruptcy? The Minister of Finance has referred to the census as affording evidence of the growth and prosperity of Canada. Why, if we were to take the products returned for each individual labourer, or the product which could be produced by each dollar invested, assuming that we did no better, notwithstanding any progress

or improvement discovered in 1891 over 1881, the returns show watered stock to the extent of \$114,000,000; the returns show a failure in the productive power to the extent of 40 per cent; that one dollar's worth of raw material in 1881 went into the finished product for every 60 cents that went in with the same amount of labour, into the finished product in 1891. I say that taking any number of results, the figures are utterly worthless. How could it be otherwise, when the woman who is sewing for the merchant tailor at her own home has the house in which she lives returned as capital invested in the business of the merchant tailor? That was done in the west, and I have no doubt it was done all over the country, and therefore the returns are utterly valueless for the purpose of either proving progress or the reverse in Canada. Now, Sir, I wish to call the attention of the House to this feature of our trade during the eleven years closing with 1878, and the fifteen years closing with 1893. Our imports during the period of the first eleven years were \$1,062,052,375; our exports were \$841,623,764. The value of our imports exceeded the value of our exports by \$220,428,611. That, I take it, is a gross gain upon our commerce. That includes the cost of tariff, the cost of insurance, the payment of the parties engaged, and so on. Now, we collected upon that commerce customs duties of \$132,468,684; deducting that from the gross gain, there was left \$87,959,927, or \$7,906,357 a year. That is a gross gain of 10 per cent upon the commerce of the country. Now, let me take the next period of fifteen years. The imports amounted to \$1,572,969,520, and the exports to \$1,420,414,864, a gross gain of \$152,554,656. Our customs tax upon that commerce was \$306,859,108, or a net loss of \$154,304,452, or \$10,286,000 a year, a loss equal to 10 per cent on our commerce instead of a gain, or a potential loss of 20 per cent, because I take it that if the former condition of things had continued and the same results had flowed from them there would have been a gain to the same amount as in the previous year.

Mr. FOSTER. Are you taking volume or values?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I am taking values, \$302,737,805 would be the aggregate loss upon the last fifteen years. Now, that is necessarily charged over against the consumer as an additional price to the goods, so that the community are that much worse off than they would have been if the former condition of things had continued. Then the hon. gentleman mentioned another thing as an evidence of prosperity, the increased deposits in the various savings banks. The hon. gentleman said there was, in 1878, in the savings banks, \$87,000,000, and in 1893, \$234,000,000. The hon. gentleman admitted, however, that when the interest on deposits was reduced from 4 per

cent to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, the amount of money in the savings banks was diminished; in the Government savings bank it fell from \$43,000,000 to \$39,500,000, or \$3,500,000. Now, the hon. gentleman will admit, I have no doubt, that that is not an indication that the country was impoverished to that extent; so that the difference between deposits in the savings banks in the one period and the other would be no indication that the country had grown poorer, but it would be an indication that money had fallen in value to an extent that the interest offered upon money in the savings banks was less than the party could secure on the same money otherwise invested. Why, does any man doubt that if money could be readily and safely invested at 5 per cent, millions would be withdrawn from the savings banks within the next twelve months? Does not any one see that the fact that there are large sums in the savings banks, at low rates of interest, is an indication that money cannot be profitably employed outside, and that if you had a revival of trade and increase in the value of land, this money, which belongs to parties who have but small sums, instead of being deposited in the savings banks would be loaned to their neighbours, on real estate security. The hon. gentleman must know that the amount of money in the savings banks is, in the nature of things, no indication whatever of increased prosperity; it is an indication that the money can command but a small rate of interest, and that the people feel that other security is not of the very highest order. I may refer to other indications than those which the hon. gentleman has mentioned. I am sure he will not say that the slow growth of this country in population is an indication of prosperity. If you had a gold field discovered within one mile of this city there would be an addition to its population of one hundred thousand people within the next twelve months. If you have slow growth of population it is conclusive evidence that the country is not prosperous, or, at all events, not as relatively prosperous as the country into which that population has gone. If Canada were more prosperous than the United States, the population would flow from the United States into Canada, but it is because Canada is less prosperous than the United States, and that whatever may be the position of the United States to-day, Canada is still worse under the financial management of hon. gentlemen opposite, that the population goes from Canada across the border. Sir, there are commercial evidences also of the depression of trade and of the slow growth of the wealth of the country. Let me take the commerce of the older provinces. In Nova Scotia, before they had any trade flowing into it from the west, in 1873, the imports were \$11,000,000; in 1892, \$10,007,000—and a considerable proportion of the imports do not properly belong to Nova Scotia. Her

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

exports in 1873 were of the value of \$7,372,000, and in 1892, \$10,900,000, but a large portion of that represents trade brought by the railways from the west. Take the hon. gentleman's own province, which is less affected by its relations with the other provinces than any one of the four provinces constituting the original federation. In 1873, the imports of New Brunswick were in the value of \$10,849,000; in 1878 they were \$8,500,000; and in 1892, \$5,267,000. Her exports in 1873 were of the value of \$6,487,000; in 1878, the year of that great depression and distress of which the hon. gentleman has spoken, they were in value, \$6,208,000; in 1892, the year of prosperity, they were of the value of \$6,183,000. So you have a gradually descending scale, and the hon. gentleman will find that the growth of commerce and industry in his province has been as stationary as the growth of population. The hon. gentleman shakes his head, indicating no, but I will call his attention to this fact, that the commerce in New Brunswick was as great twenty years ago as it is to-day.

Mr. FOSTER. That is only the foreign trade.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell.) Let me take another case. I cannot state what the exports and imports of Prince Edward Island were in 1873, for the Island was not then a member of the confederation; but in 1878 the imports were of the value of \$1,293,225; and in 1892, of the value of \$545,537. Nova Scotia may furnish a portion of that trade, but if so, you must diminish the apparent import of Nova Scotia by that amount. Take the exports of Prince Edward Island, which constitute a more exact test of the actual condition of the province. In 1878, in the year of great distress and depression, the exports of Prince Edward Island were of the value of \$1,700,000; in 1892, the year of remarkable prosperity, they were of the value of \$1,128,000, or \$600,000 less, a reduction of 40 per cent. Then, if you take the province of Quebec, that has at the present time, poured in the port of Montreal, a large portion of the commerce on this side of the Rocky Mountains, at all events, the whole of the trade of the North-west and Manitoba, the province of Quebec in 1872 imported to the value of \$54,281,000, this sum representing the imports of that province and Ontario in part. In 1892, when the trade in Manitoba and the North-west must be added, the imports were to the value of \$56,239,000, or about \$2,000,000 more than they were twenty years before. Does the hon. Finance Minister regard that as an indication of progress? The exports of the province of Quebec were of the value of \$44,408,000 in 1873; \$54,329,000 in 1892, less than \$10,000,000 more, although no one can doubt that more than ten million dollars worth of exports from Manitoba and the North-west were included in that sum. I think those

figures go a long way to discredit the contention of the Finance Minister, and to show that the hon. gentleman's contention is not well founded. Let me refer to certain other facts to which reference has been made by hon. gentlemen opposite. They have spoken of the trade of Canada with the United Kingdom as increasing, and have spoken of the trade of Canada with the United States as diminishing. I desire to say a word or two on that point. The important test is a free market, and if you have a very high tax on your trade with one country and no tax whatever upon your trade with another country, it is pretty clear that if they are anything like equal, the whole of the trade will go to the country with which you have free trade. I take it that the first test as to the comparative merits of the English and the American markets for Canada is the relative volume of trade with those two countries when there was no impediment to the exchange of natural products in either country. I take the year 1864, and I find that old Canada in that year sold in the English market of the products of the mines, the fisheries, the forests, the farm and manufacturing industries to the value of \$4,728,000, and to the United States, \$7,772,000 of similar products. So as regards the English market and that of the United States, when both were perfectly free, they respectively stood, as regards the Canadian market, as 47 to 77, and, in my opinion, that would be a fair representation of the trade between Canada and those two countries, if the United States were to adopt a policy similar to that adopted by the United Kingdom. If he can sell the article in the American market when it is free and after you have a tax of 25 or 30 per cent imposed upon it it is driven to another market, you then know that there is less than 25 per cent difference in the value of the two markets. It is perfectly clear that there is some difference; but if the trade were to continue in spite of that taxation, then it would be a conclusive evidence that the difference in the value would be greater than the amount of your taxation. Let me now call the attention of the House to the trade between Canada and the United States, and between Canada and Great Britain during three periods. I will take the years 1873, 1878, and 1892, and I refer the House to the value of free goods and the value of dutiable goods imported from each country. In 1873, we imported from Great Britain free goods to the value of \$21,000,000 in round numbers, and in the same year from the United States we imported free goods to the value of \$31,000,000; in that year we imported from Great Britain dutiable goods to the value of \$47,497,000, and we imported from the United States dutiable goods to the value of \$16,678,000. The House will see that there is a very great difference in the amount of dutiable goods imported from the two countries; in the first place, because Great Britain pro-

duced a larger number of the goods that we consume in this country that are dutiable, and in the second place, because the period I have mentioned was so soon after the civil war in the United States, that prices on all these products were abnormally high in that country and were consequently sent in a very small degree to a foreign market. In 1878 we imported from Great Britain of free goods to the value of \$5,259,000, and from the United States free goods to the amount of \$25,163,000; in that same year we imported dutiable goods from Great Britain worth \$32,000,000 and from the United States to the amount of \$23,424,000, a very large advance in the amount of American goods in consequence of the decrease in prices reaching more nearly the normal condition. In the year 1892 we imported from Great Britain free goods to the amount of \$10,516,000, and from the United States free goods to the amount of \$23,632,000, or we imported a little more than double the value of free goods from the United States than we did from Great Britain. In that same year, 1892, we imported dutiable goods from Great Britain to the value of \$30,831,000, and we imported dutiable goods from the United States to the value of \$29,505,000. Now, Mr. Speaker, when hon. gentlemen know the extent to which trade is hampered between this country and the neighbouring republic by the very high duties they have imposed upon our products, and the very high duties we impose upon what we receive from them—except the products of the manufacturers—they will see how very large is the trade between the two countries considering the circumstances under which it takes place; and there cannot well be a doubt, if we approximate the condition of things which exist between this country and Great Britain, that the trade of Canada would be enormously increased with the neighbouring republic, and that the products of Canada would to-day indicate a very considerable increase in the volume of trade between the two countries. Take the period of the Reciprocity Treaty—and I do not refer to the period that treaty was in operation when the war existed—take the years of peace when the war did not operate at all, and hon. gentlemen will find that the ratio of increase was out of all proportion greater than anything that has occurred during the last fifteen years. In fact, these figures go to show that if you were to omit the North-west, Manitoba and British Columbia, where there has been an increase in the population, you will find that the trade of Canada to-day, both in our exports and imports, is less a great deal than it was twenty years ago. That being so, how can hon. gentlemen opposite pretend to say that this country is prosperous? If Canada to-day—leaving out the newer sections of the country which have come into existence as a portion of the Dominion during the past twenty years—imports less and exports less than it did then,

is it not an indication that there has been a large diminution in the income of the population from industrial pursuits in which they are engaged? I do not care that the hon. gentleman may refer to manufactures; he may refer to the progress of manufactures—a progress that will be shown to be illusory if there were an examination into the matter with any care—all the greater he shows the progress to be, the more does he show the absence of all progress with regard to the other classes of the population. If, including the manufactures, the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island have been stationary in the aggregate, then, taking out these that the hon. gentlemen claim to be prosperous, what is the condition of the great mass that remains? Does it not show conclusively that not only has there been no progress, but that, on the contrary, there has been a very serious diminution of the income of the great mass of people. Why, Sir, I remember well, a few years ago, if a farmer managed his business badly and fell behind, there was some neighbour ready to purchase the property for his son, and the money which the hon. gentleman says is in the savings banks now, went then to pay off the indebtedness of the person who had become financially embarrassed. That condition of things does not exist to-day. The four or five hundred men who might exist in the large districts that were behind-hand, were then bought out by neighbours, and the readiness with which land was purchased kept up the price; but to-day you may put lands upon the market and you can find no bidder. Why, Sir, I venture to say that there are in many parts of this Dominion loan companies that are embarrassed by the amount of real estate they have on their hands. They are receiving rents instead of interest, and those rents do not represent in some instances 4 per cent on the money that has been loaned by the companies. And yet the hon. gentleman pretends to say that the country is prosperous. He may repeat that as much as he likes; he may impose on his friends who sit around him; but he cannot, by asseverations of that sort, impose upon the great mass of the people of this country. Each man is conscious of his own financial position, and the consolation which the hon. gentleman seeks to give by declarations of that kind, only tends to produce irritation, and destroys in the public mind the value of his testimony with regard to matters where confidence in his statements, is of very great importance. Sir, a colleague of the hon. gentleman told us during this discussion, that the Government were economical, and that it was impossible that there could be reductions in the public expenditure. Why, the civil government costs \$1,367,700, and I will venture to say that any Ministry who are competent, and in earnest, could reduce that expenditure by at least \$200,000

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

without in the smallest degree impairing the efficiency of the public service. There is \$263,000 of a superannuation fund, which might be very safely abolished. There is \$1,400,000 expended on militia. We expended about \$600,000. Are the militia to-day any more efficient than they were fifteen years ago? I venture to say \$300,000 could be saved on that expenditure without in the smallest degree diminishing the efficiency of the militia service. The Indians cost nearly \$1,000,000, and, in my opinion, when it costs seven dollars to pay an Indian five, there is room for very considerable economy there. On these items, which, including the collection of revenues, represent something over \$6,000,000, in my opinion a saving of from \$800,000 to \$1,000,000 could be effected without in the smallest degree impairing the efficiency of the public service. I have mentioned these matters because the hon. gentleman has challenged us to point out in what respect a saving in the public expenditure might be effected. There could be a saving effected in every one of those branches, and the hon. gentleman, if he were to undertake to practice economy, could also diminish the public revenues. Mr. Speaker, perhaps I err in saying that the hon. gentleman could do it. If he were confining himself to raising revenues for the public service, he could; but if he raises them for the purpose of development, in order that they may find their way, not into the public treasury, but into the pockets of the men whom he desires to encourage in the particular industries in which they are engaged, then his expenditures may be at the utmost limit of the capacity of the great mass of the people to bear. Sir, let me call the attention of the House to some of the respects in which trade has been injured by the policy of the Government. In 1873, animals and their products were exported from Canada to Great Britain to the value of \$6,946,000, and to the United States to the value of \$6,348,900. The United States market at that time, with the taxes which then existed, was of very nearly equal value to us to the market of the United Kingdom. Of agricultural products we sent to Great Britain \$7,455,000, and to the United States \$6,443,000. In regard to these also the markets of the two countries were very nearly equal, though the one was free from the impediments which existed in the case of the other. Of mineral products, we sent to Great Britain \$1,000,000 worth and to the United States \$4,000,000 worth—a very great difference. Of the products of the fisheries, our sales in Great Britain were \$450,000 and in the United States \$1,332,000. Of manufactured goods, we sold \$643,000 worth in England and \$1,068,000 in the United States. So that in these products, in the aggregate, the two markets were very nearly of equal value to Canada, although our trade with the one was taxed, while our trade with the other was free.

How does the matter stand to-day? In 1892 we sent \$37,674,000 worth of farm products to Great Britain, and \$7,271,000 worth to the United States. These two markets, which, when the one was free, and the other moderately taxed, were of almost equal value to us for certain products of the farm, stand to-day to each other as five is to one. What has made the difference? Is it because the United States market has become of no importance to us? Is it because the people of Canada would not be as well advantaged by having access to that market? Not at all. That market is as valuable to us as it ever was; it would still take our products to a larger extent than England if we stood in the same fiscal relation to the United States as we do to England. But the American Congress has adopted a policy to which it was largely driven, as a former Minister of the Crown said, by the extent to which the Government of Canada had awakened feelings of hostility. That has nearly destroyed the trade between the farmers of Canada and the people of the United States. I could name a number of articles for which the United States is still our only market; and, if you were to destroy that market altogether, the production of those articles must cease, and you must turn your attention to something else—something which might be substituted and which might yield you a competence, but which could not yield you the same profit, or else you would have engaged in its production without the necessity of the American tariff to compel you.

Mr. McNEILL. Would the hon. gentleman mention one or two of those articles in which we have a market in the United States only?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I will mention one with which I am very familiar, because I as a farmer produce it—beans. I have looked over the English Trade and Navigation Returns, and I find that England purchases all her beans from Egypt.

An hon. MEMBER. Next.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). An hon. gentleman says "next." I think the returns will show that there is to-day less barley by one-half produced in Ontario than there was in 1878, that year of calamity, as hon. gentlemen call it; and by what has that change been brought about? By your policy of exclusion. Take again the trade in horses. The hon. gentleman knows that England buys about 17,000 horses a year from abroad, and sells about the same number. Canada sold 17,000 horses to the United States in a single year. Does any person pretend to say that we could get as good a market for them in England? Again, take the case of potatoes grown in the Maritime Provinces. The United States furnishes a market for them; but does England?

Why, Sir, the list could be indefinitely extended.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Is the hon. gentleman satisfied?

Mr. McNEILL. I am satisfied in one sense—that the position is an impossible one.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) He is answered, but not convinced.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I do not expect to convince the hon. gentleman.

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). To show the House to what extent the policy of taxation which has been adopted by the Government, has interfered with the direction of trade in this country, I need only call to the attention of the House the volume of our exports to Great Britain and the United States respectively. Our exports to Great Britain last year were, in round number, \$55,000,000 in value, and to the United States \$31,317,000—very nearly the same proportion reversed as existed between Canada and Great Britain and Canada and the United States in the year 1864, under the reciprocity treaty of 1854. If our trade with the United States had been unhampered and the total volume of trade was precisely the same as it was in 1892, we would have sold to the United States products of Canada of various sorts to the value of \$55,000,000, and to the United Kingdom to the value of \$31,000,000. But, if we take the percentage of increase which existed under the treaty of reciprocity, our trade with the United States during the year 1892, instead of being \$31,317,000, would have been \$96,250,000. The hon. gentleman will see from these figures, not only to what extent the Government have diverted the trade of this country from the channels in which it would have naturally flown, but they will also see the extent to which the trade of this country has been crippled and diminished by their policy. I need not pursue this feature of the National Policy any further. I am pleased that the hon. gentleman has, in spite of the views he entertains, felt the public pressure to such an extent as to feel impelled to make the reductions in the tariff that we have now before us for consideration. The principle which the Minister of Finance enunciates, and which he declared was the one that ought to control a Government in the preparation of a tariff, shows how very far away he is from the consideration of any sound economic principle in the imposition of taxes upon the people of this country. And, if his tariff had gone even much further than it has in the direction of reform, it would not have been acceptable to any gentleman who has given serious consideration to the subject of political economy and fin-

ance. Sir, if the hon. gentleman is right in his views, there is no guarantee whatever that those duties will not within twelve months be reimposed. If the hon. gentleman and his colleagues had an election behind instead of before them, a very small deficit would be a pretext sufficient to induce them to impose upon the country burdens as serious as any we have hitherto borne. The hon. gentleman's speech, it seems to me, is in the highest degree unsatisfactory. Let me call the attention of the House to some difference between the statement made by the hon. gentleman as to the taxation he is about to impose and the taxation he is about to remit, and a speech by a Chancellor of the Exchequer in the United Kingdom under similar circumstances. I think I have read within a few years every speech delivered upon the presentation of a Budget during this century; and, if any hon. gentleman will take the trouble to look at the Budget speeches from the time of Mr. Huskisson down to the present period, he will not find one in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has not gone carefully into the effect of every remission and every addition of taxation upon the revenue of the coming year. What is the object of making a Budget speech to this House at all? Why, it is for the purpose of informing the House how the ways and means to meet the necessary obligations of the country are to be raised. Of that this House is the judge. This House ought to be satisfied that the reductions of the tariff will have the effect, which the hon. gentleman says they will. This House ought to be satisfied that the additions made, the increase of taxation, will yield the amount of revenue which the Finance Minister says they will. But we have no statement whatever from the Minister as to the effect of any of the reductions which he has made. We have no statements as to the effect of any of the impositions which he intends to charge upon the people of this country. Sir, the object of a Budget speech is altogether ignored. The hon. gentleman has gone into an argument in favour of the imposition of taxes for other than purposes of revenue. He has gone into a defence of what he calls the policy of development. But the hon. gentleman has not shown what he ought to have shown, the results that are to arise from each

of the changes he proposes to make. If he does not know that, he ought to have obtained the necessary information from the officers of his department. I do not suppose that a Chancellor of the Exchequer in the United Kingdom works out all these questions for himself. He calls in the aid of competent men—the permanent officers of his department—to give him the benefit of their experience and enable him to apply the principle of probability to the customs, where changes in the taxation of the country are made. The hon. gentleman has done nothing of the sort. The chief object in delivering a Budget speech he has ignored. He has given us the information that certain changes are to be made; but whether we are to have an adequate remedy in those changes, or whether we are to take from the pockets of the people moneys not required for public services or to meet public necessities, the hon. gentleman has not informed us at all. Until he does so inform us, this House is not in a position to enter upon a discussion of those changes which, if the hon. gentleman had confined himself to their discussion, as a Finance Minister in the United Kingdom would have done, would have been the only questions before us for consideration. The hon. gentleman has spent the greater portion of the time in defending the National Policy; in pointing out the propriety and advantage of taking one man's money and presenting it to another, of adopting in this respect the policy which made Robin Hood in his day a hero. But Robin Hood took from those who were able to bear the separation from their wealth, and gave to those who had most need. but the hon. gentleman who is at the head of the Finance Department, has adopted a more Scriptural rule—he gives to those who have, and from those who have not he takes away even that which they have. Now, Sir, there are a number of matters that require attention and consideration. The hon. gentleman has proposed to alter the method of taxing books that are brought into this country. Sir, I have had communications from several men engaged in the trade. Let me read a single paragraph as to this proposed tax of 6 cents a pound, as it is now, instead of the 15 per cent ad valorem of the old tariff. My correspondent gives the following figures relating to different classes of books:—

| Cloth. | Cost. | Weight. | Duty at 15 per cent. | Duty at 6c. per lb. |
|------------------------------------|---------|---------|----------------------|---------------------|
| | \$ cts. | Lbs. | \$ cts. | \$ cts. |
| Five volumes at 14c | 0 70 | 4 | 0 10½ | 0 24 |
| Two do 28c | 0 56 | 2½ | 0 08½ | 0 16½ |
| Paper. | | | | |
| Eight volumes at 6½c | 0 52 | 3½ | 0 07½ | 0 21 |
| One volume subscription book. | 0 65 | 4½ | 0 09½ | 0 28½ |

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

Mr. MACLEAN (York). What does he sell that subscription book for ?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I do not know ; I suppose it will sell now for a little more than before the tax was increased. We are not discussing the profits of the dealer ; we are discussing the effect of the tax. Now, the tax under the old tariff was 15 per cent ad valorem ; the tax on these books under the proposed changes ranges from 30 to 35 per cent on all the works I have mentioned, except the subscription book, and on that the tax is 44 per cent ad valorem. Now, the hon. gentleman will see that that is a tax on knowledge, and I say that that tax is extremely objectionable in its present character. Let me take the case of another tax. I do not intend to go into many of these, but I am taking a few illustrations. The hon. gentleman has come to this House again and again and has proposed large bonuses to railways. Yet he imposes on the materials for the construction and repairing of these railways a duty of at least 30 per cent. Now, this country is very extensive, and its population, especially in the newer districts, extremely sparse. The railways extend for 15,000 miles in various directions through the country, and you have but to look at the market value of the stocks or at the half-yearly returns to see what the circumstances of the various railway companies of this country are. It is of the first consequence to this House to consider how far they are interfering with the settlement of the country by these impositions. I remember that a few years ago, the Illinois Central Railroad made a report in which it was pointed out, that the repairs of the road that year had cost a million and a quarter dollars, more by reason of the tariff than they would have cost had no such imposition taken place. I am perfectly sure of this, that the people of this country do not want to see any railway company coming into this House seeking for assistance ; they do not want to see railway companies going into the hands of receivers. The prosperity of the railway company in large degree depends upon the settlement of the country and upon the amount of freight and travel that, in consequence of that settlement, they can secure. If you impose very heavy burdens upon the appliances that are used, you increase the freight charges, you increase the charges for travel as well, and you put serious impediments in the way of settlement. What we want is to adopt in this country a policy that will secure to Canada a large influx of people, and that you cannot secure if you burden every line of travel and traffic, if you hold out to every railway company the temptation to put off necessary repairs until serious accidents take place. Now, Sir, I might refer also to the question of starch. You have a tax there that is more than 100 per cent. You have a serious tax on cotton. There is another question, and a very important one. It seems to me

high time that this House should seriously consider and decide the question whether, in all cases where an honest invoice is presented, representing the actual value at which the goods have been purchased in a foreign market, that invoice should not be conclusive evidence as to the amount of tax the party may be called upon to pay on the goods. If you impose a duty of 15 or 20 per cent and leave it in the power of the Government officer to fix the value, you in fact put it in the power of the Government, through their officers, to levy a tax of 30 per cent ad valorem where you said the tax should be only 15 per cent. Let me call the attention of the House to this fact, that the practice of allowing the Government or its officers to depart from the actual invoice value of the goods arose during the period when the paper currency of the United States had a very variable value, and when sometimes the value of the goods was determined by the nominal value of the American currency. Under such circumstances there was a reason for giving to the customs officer a power which he ought not now to possess. When the reason disappeared, the power ought to have disappeared with it. I am not going to say more at this moment on the subject of the changes in the tariff. Hon. gentlemen on that side who have spoken, have complained that our proposition is not definite. Sir, that proposition is as definite as language can make it as to the principle upon which we should proceed. We have not undertaken to say what tax should be put upon this article, or upon that article, nor was ever such a proposition made in an English Parliament, except by the Government that was actually called upon to deal with the subject. In 1878 hon. gentlemen submitted to this House their financial policy. They were on this side of the House. What did they propose ? Did they propose to say what the tax should be on certain articles ? Not at all. They said they proposed to readjust the tariff, to readjust it in such a way as to encourage manufacturing and mining, and the agricultural interests of the country. And now they say they propose to do that. Is there in that declaration any statement as to whether the duties should be 20, or 30, or 40 per cent ? No, Sir ; it is as vague as language can make it. Their proposition was to be based upon the principle of reciprocity of tariff, and for what purpose ? Ultimately to secure a reciprocity of trade which hon. gentlemen on that side have since seriously argued would be a great calamity to Canada. Now, the hon. gentlemen last year proposed changes in the tariff, they said that the whole subject was under their consideration. Did they come down and tell us what the changes were to be ? Did they announce beforehand, when they went to the country in 1891, what changes they were going to make in the tariff ? Sir, I will venture to say that these

hon. gentlemen who have come down with the definite proposition that I have in my hand, will not stand to that proposition two weeks. I say the hon. gentlemen have acted for fifteen years upon the principle: These are our sentiments, but if they don't suit, they can be changed. There are strangers in this city, and have been frequenters here during the past three or four days, who are here for the very purpose of convincing the Government that these changes do not suit; and if they can speak with sufficient vigour and power, if they have behind them sufficient influence, they can convince the Government that this is not the wisest course that can be pursued. There is no doubt that the Minister of Finance will discover other clerical errors than those which he has mentioned, and other changes than those that were suggested since the Budget speech was delivered, will be suggested to us before this debate is over. Well, if hon. gentlemen who do not know their minds for forty-eight hours upon this subject, upon whom the responsibility for dealing with the subject rests, with what propriety can they still call upon us to do more than to state the general principles to which we have subscribed, which we have enunciated, and which, when the time comes, we shall give practical effect to by proposing a measure that will promote the interests of the people of Canada. Those gentlemen have promised that they would keep our people at home by their changes in the tariff, that they would give employment to the labourers, that they would build up towns and cities, and that in an incredibly short time, they would settle the wilds of the North-west with a population as numerous as that which existed in old Canada. They proposed before 1890 to fill up the whole North-west with people so numerous that their contributions to the public treasury for the sale of land would amount to \$69,000,000. Well, Sir, the hon. gentlemen have had their opportunity. This country has exercised towards them great patience. They have had a trial for fifteen years—longer than any Government have ever sat in the Imperial Parliament, and what are the practical results which have flown from their administration? Why, our people have been driven abroad, the farmers are impoverished and discontented, their income has been greatly diminished, the public lands remain unsold, and the amount received into the public treasury from that source is not equal to the amount paid to the surveyors. And yet after this lamentable failure, after these impudent pretensions, these hon. gentlemen still come forward and say that they are entitled to the confidence of the people of this country. Why, Sir, a Government more helpless, more dependent upon the favouring gales that blow from without, more readily influenced by the men upon whom they depend, not merely for support, but for advice, never sat on the Treasury benches in any

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country where the English language is spoken or English institutions have found a foothold. Sir, the time has come when the people of this country will judge those hon. gentlemen according to their works.

An hon. MEMBER. That is what we want.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The people want them to go, but the hon. gentlemen do not go. After these long promises the Finance Minister has presented his scheme to the House. The mountain has brought forth a mouse. There has been a great fuss, and as much talk, and as much excitement, as ever there were in any of the incidents to which Artemus Ward refers. The most interesting thing in the whole case is, that these gentlemen who have cheered to the echo the denunciation of everything looking in the direction of tariff reform, who in effect declared that the higher the taxes were the cheaper every article became that they wanted to purchase, notwithstanding that declaration, are cheering now that the taxes are being taken off, the effect of which I suppose, will be to put up the price of everything that they have to buy. The merchant does not get so much for his goods; the manufacturer does not get above half what he formerly obtained. Somehow or other, this tariff that, according to the hon. gentleman's statement, compels him to sell at slaughter prices, that would drive men in ordinary circumstances, that live in a real land, and not in a fairy land, into bankruptcy, contributes to their prosperity, and the less they get the better they are off. But the farmer who is protected so well is assured that he gets better prices than he would if he had not protection, and the result is that he has lost his market for a number of things; he gets 50 cents a bushel for his wheat in the province of Ontario and about 35 in Manitoba and the North-west Territories, and for these things he ought to thank God and vote for the Administration. Well, Mr. Speaker, I do not think that is the view which is taken by a majority of the people of this country, and I will say this, that if the hon. gentleman wants this tariff to be adopted within a reasonable time or what we all think is such, he must condescend to give to the House information as to the effects of the various changes in the tariff, which, up to this moment, he has withheld from us.

Mr. BENNETT. The hon. gentleman who has just resumed his seat has treated the House to a very lengthy, and I must admit, a very learned discourse on the merits of free trade and protection. The hon. gentleman also brought into the field some illustrations, for which we should be very thankful, illustrations to which I may have to refer. The hon. gentleman, in the course of a very lengthy speech, did not refer, as it should be the duty of every

hon. gentleman, to the principles and platform which would be adopted by himself and his party in the event, and I say it advisedly, of their coming into power. In fact, the hon. gentleman, as usual, had a rag on every bush and a feather for every wind. Hon. gentlemen opposite have enunciated from time to time their adherence to unrestricted reciprocity, and the policy of commercial union, and they have maintained against the Conservative party their old policy of animosity. I must congratulate the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) on the fact that he has not been so violent in his attack on the Government and in his denunciation of the Government as some hon. gentlemen opposite, and has not applied to them such terms as contract-sweaters and similar polite terms, applied to the Government by the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). However, I have only this to say in regard to the speech of the hon. member for Bothwell, that he at least has treated the House to a very learned discourse, and, no doubt, hon. members feel thankful to him for it. I have taken a few running notes of some of the points with which the hon. gentleman dealt, and I propose to deal with them in rotation. First, the hon. gentleman blamed the Conservative party for having taken up the policy now known, and known since 1878 as the National Policy. Well, my opinion is, that had those hon. gentlemen been in Opposition from 1873 to 1878, and had the Conservative party been in power, with that facility with which they now dodge from one platform to another, hon. gentlemen opposite would have taken up that policy which was afterwards adopted by the Conservative party, and has since been adhered to and carried out. At its inception, the National Policy was not laid down as a fixed and hard rule, but as one that was to be departed from, according to the times and the exigencies, and, therefore, it is only fitting and proper, after the period of time that has elapsed, to carry out important changes, I may almost say sweeping changes in regard to the tariff. The hon. gentleman referred to the fact that the Finance Minister had been the recipient of many telegrams since the announcement of the late tariff. I am glad that such is the case, because that fact shows that those telegrams have not been from the agricultural class, but must have been from the manufacturing class, and if we exclude the agricultural class, we look in vain for a class of people in the community to which hon. gentlemen opposite can appeal with any hope of success. They do not go to the manufacturers asking them for their support, because they know their policy is inimical to the interests of the manufacturers. They do not go to the labouring class, as they know their interests are in line with those of the manufacturers, but the members of the Opposition content them-

selves by appealing to the agricultural element of the community. It may be that hon. gentlemen opposite are consistent, and it may be they are inconsistent, and, in order to follow out the line of argument of the hon. gentleman who preceded me, I will take up the reference made by the hon. gentleman to the manufacturers of wagons in this country, and the extraordinary and abnormal prices that the purchaser has to pay by reason of the duty. If I mistake not, the hon. gentleman took an estimate of 30,000 wagons, on which there was a duty of \$14 per wagon, making, in all, a duty of \$420,000 paid by the people in respect of 30,000 wagons. The hon. gentleman must see at the outset that his argument is a fallacy. If \$14 was the actual duty imposed in respect of wagons, then it would be clear that the local and imported article would be exactly the same price to the buyer. But I will do even better than the hon. gentleman's own argument, and will estimate the protective duty at only 10 per cent. Then it would result in a duty of \$300,000 being paid by the consumers in respect of 30,000 wagons. Will the hon. gentleman for a moment declare that the manufacturers of wagons in this country are making fabulous and unprecedented profits? If so, how did it happen that in Brockville, only a few years ago, the town voted \$50,000 as a cash bonus to stimulate a Canadian manufacturing concern. That proves conclusively that if there were such large profits to be made out of the industry, capitalists would have engaged in the enterprise themselves rather than have paid out the large bonus. But what follows from the argument?

An hon. MEMBER. They are all Grits too.

Mr. BENNETT. An hon. member says they are all Grits, too. Perhaps they had more confidence in the future of the country than the hon. member for Bothwell displayed. Even if there is a profit made on wagons, if the wagon is sold at \$50, how is the money distributed? It would be distributed, according to the actual calculation, in about these proportions: There would first be \$10 payable for the raw material entering into the manufacture of the article; next, \$10 profit, and \$30 would be expended on the working up of the raw material used in the manufacture. But the hon. gentleman's contention is, and it is an unfair one, that this would be taken out of the purchaser of the article. What would be the result if, instead of the article being made in the country, it should be introduced from a foreign country? The money produced by the article, and the profit obtained by the merchant, instead of being kept in this country, would have been spent in a foreign country, and the people of Brockville would not have granted a bonus of \$50,000 to a large concern there. In regard to agricultural implements, and the hon. gentle-

man who has just taken his seat I do not think referred directly to them, although they have been referred to by other speakers, hon. gentlemen opposite have affirmed that agricultural implements are only obtainable at increased prices. If, however, manufacturers are making large fortunes, how does it occur that if you travel through the province, you find, owing to the keen competition, the small establishments are going to the wall? Will the hon. gentleman deny that in Alliston thousands of dollars have been invested in agricultural implement manufacturing, and has been lost? The Jos. Hall works at Oshawa have found themselves unable to compete against the Massey-Harris Co. Why do the smaller concerns go to the wall? By producing large quantities of articles and placing them in competition with small dealers, the producers of large quantities obtain cheaper rates, and, for that reason the competition has been keen and the prices have been reduced. But the hon. gentlemen appeal to the farmers in this way: To-day there is a duty exacted on implements, and, if that duty is removed, implements can be obtained at much lower rates. In reply to that argument, we contend that as the Massey-Harris Co. have succeeded in building up a successful business in this country, so that they are offering implements as cheap as they can be purchased in the United States, it would not promote Canadian interests to make this country a slaughter market, and bring our firms into active competition with even larger concerns, so that in the end our companies would meet with undue opposition and be compelled to cease manufacturing. And with increased capital, having him in his clutches, he would not, to my mind, be very kind to him. Now, what are the prices of agricultural implements, and what are the prices of buggies, and articles of that kind in the United States? The member for Leeds (Mr. Taylor) last summer, with very commendable energy, started an expedition to portions of New York state with the view of finding out what the relative prices were of articles in that state and in the province of Ontario. A number of gentlemen, well known in their locality, were invited to participate in that excursion. There were also invited, two prominent Reformers, who, for reasons best known to themselves, declined to accompany the rest of the deputation. What was the result of that inquiry? The result may be found in the following extract from the report of a deputation composed of:

Andrew Gray, Esq., farmer and warden of the united counties of Leeds and Grenville; John Webster ex-reeve of the front of Leeds and Lansdowne; John Connor, farmer and cheese manufacturer; Alexander Atcheson, farmer, president of the South Leeds Agricultural Association; John Roddick, miller and farmer, ex-reeve of Leeds and Lansdowne (rear); Thomas Berney, agricultural implement dealer, ex-reeve of rear of Young and

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Eastcott; John Franklin, farmer and president of the Farmers' Institute for Brockville Riding; E. G. Adams, Esq., farmer and implement dealer, ex-reeve of North Crosby, and John R. Dargavel, general merchant and township clerk for South Crosby.

The report goes on to say:

From all we could learn we found the farmers in Jefferson and St. Lawrence counties, where we visited, pay as much or more for what they have to purchase and get no more for the produce they have to sell than do farmers in the county of Leeds. We also found that they are not any more prosperous, and from all that we could gather are more heavily mortgaged than farmers in the county of Leeds. We also found that well improved farms of the very best of soil, free from broken lands, and lying within from two to ten miles of the city of Ogdensburg, as well as in other localities where we made inquiries, can be purchased much cheaper than lands of the same quality with same improvements similarly situated in the county of Leeds; that lands have depreciated in value more in the last ten years in St. Lawrence and Jefferson counties than similarly situated lands in the county of Leeds. In regard to prices we found cotton goods of all kinds will average about the same in the United States as in Canada: woollen goods of all kinds and clothings are very much higher in the States than in Canada; sugar and teas are higher in the States than in Canada, provisions about the same; agricultural machinery and binder twine are higher in the States than in Canada; wagons and buggies, considering quality, the Canadian goods are as cheap if not cheaper than the American; cheese furnishings are higher in the States than in Canada, while cheese is not so high; taxes, irrespective of school and poll taxes, are higher in the States than in Canada; western corn is very little, if any, used by the farmers in the section of country visited by us for feeding purposes, farmers using chiefly their own coarse grains.

Mr. MULOCK. Might I ask what is that document the hon. gentleman is reading from?

Mr. BENNETT. This is a document issued by a deputation from the county of Leeds which visited New York state last summer, and what I have read is taken from their report.

Mr. MULOCK. May I ask you a question?

Mr. BENNETT. Certainly.

Mr. MULOCK. Is it a fact that the agricultural implement manufacturers of Canada have been in Ottawa within the last day or two, informing the Minister of Finance that they cannot manufacture in competition with the American manufacturers, and that they will be undersold in Canada by the American manufacturers of agricultural implements?

Mr. BENNETT. I am not sufficiently in the confidence of the Finance Minister to warrant me answering that question.

Mr. MULOCK. If the Finance Minister were in the House I think he would admit that. What are they here for, if not for that purpose?

Mr. BENNETT. Perhaps the hon. gentleman knows himself whether they have been here or not.

Mr. MULOCK. I do know it.

Mr. BENNETT. Well, have they been here?

Mr. MULOCK. They have.

Mr. BENNETT. I am glad you met them, because if the hon. gentleman met them, perhaps he may have been enlightened a little, and where there is such ample room for enlightenment, it must have been a delightful task for the manufacturers.

Mr. MULOCK. I am always open to receive information.

Mr. BENNETT. Now, Mr. Speaker, is it true that the manufacturers of this country are making money to the unprecedented extent that is stated by the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills)? I claim that the manufacturers of this country are not making these large fortunes, and I point to the fact that the manufacturers of agricultural implements have not succeeded, to my regret, in many towns in the province of Ontario. I regret it, for I wish that they had all succeeded as well as the Massey-Harris people. But if the statement that the manufacturers are not making so much money as is reputed by Liberal members will not be accepted from me, then I ask the hon. gentlemen opposite to accept other statements to prove it. A gentleman who is high in the ranks of the Liberal party, a gentleman who is respected and esteemed by them, and whose word will be accepted, has made this statement, and when I name the gentleman, I am sure hon. members opposite will accept it as true. He said:

The stocks of cotton manufacturers are lower than they were twelve years ago. The cotton manufacturing establishments thrived under the administration of Mr. Mackenzie. Their capacity doubled within the five years. The quantity of cotton spun and woven increased from three and a half millions to upwards of eight millions of pounds. * * * The result is that the business has for the past eight years been depressed. Large establishments are standing idle. The condition of things which it was proposed to remedy has been produced. And no man in his senses can seriously argue that the manufacturers are as well off as they were twelve years ago. The truth is the manufacturing establishments of Canada were in a healthful condition prior to the adoption of protection. * * * The truth is that no new manufacturing establishments have been called into existence under the National Policy that can be regarded as highly prosperous. They are dead.

These are the statements made by the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) in a speech delivered by him in the town of Collingwood. Now, that hon. gentleman cannot blow hot and cold at the same time.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). If the hon. gentleman will look at my speech, he will see that

I was speaking of the city of London, and not of any place else.

Mr. BENNETT. Well, I will ask the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) what cotton mill there is in London? Now, I have a high regard for the hon. member for Bothwell as a gentleman and as a scholar, and I will come to his assistance, and in the dilemma in which he is placed, being unable to explain his speech, I will explain it for him. This speech, you will remember, Mr. Speaker, was delivered on the 2nd of February, 1891, just prior to the general election, when the Liberal party were endeavouring to court the manufacturers, and the hon. gentleman was trying to stand on good terms with the manufacturers, by showing that they were not the bloated monopolists he afterwards called them. But, as I have said before, the hon. gentleman cannot blow hot and cold together, because here are his utterances on another occasion:

We must also consider the circumstances of those who have been the spoiled children of the State.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Hear, hear.

Mr. BENNETT. The hon. gentleman says, "Hear, hear." Which sentiment does he applaud. Whether does he choose the elephant or the monkey? You know, Mr. Speaker, that in some menageries where the stock is limited, sometimes the choice is given as to which is the elephant and which is the monkey, and the answer comes: "Whichever you choose, my little girl, you paid your money, take your choice." May I ask the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills): Is it true that the manufacturers are not flourishing, or is it true that they are flourishing? So much for the manufacturers, and when the House is in committee, with the evolution of the hon. gentleman's brain, he may conceive a third reason, and then explain in the debate whether or not the manufacturers are in a prosperous state, or whether it is the reverse. Another matter on which the hon. gentleman dwelt, and dwelt at very considerable length, was farm values in the province of Ontario. I do deny that farm values have decreased throughout Ontario. There are portions of Ontario where farm values have increased, and have increased very materially in the past few years, and I will grant also that there are places where farm values have decreased. The hon. gentleman attributes the decrease of farm values to the inroad of railways. That may be so in some places; but I assume that he means the extension of railways in the western country. But no man will contend that, with such large tracts of land being offered for sale as have been offered in the North-west at such trifling prices, and also with lands thrown open to the settlers free of charge, that it could have been expected otherwise than that there would have been a deprecia-

tion of farm lands in Ontario. Why, Sir, how is it possible that our circumstances and that our case should be different from the case of the people of other countries? The hon. gentleman knows that in the history of the United States, lands have depreciated in the east, and depreciated to a great extent on account of the western states being opened up. Another reason for the depreciation of farm lands in Ontario is this: The introduction of so much machinery on the farms has dispensed with a large amount of manual labour, and, as a result, those who have hitherto been engaged in manual farm labour have fallen into other walks of life, so that these men are to-day not buyers of land. Another reason is this, and hon. gentlemen, particularly those from the province of Ontario know it to be a fact. Go where you may in that province, you see young men going from the farm into the church and the other professions. Men who a few years ago went into farming now engage in other callings, and therefore are not active competitors for the purchase of land. The hon. gentleman says that lands have depreciated in value so much throughout the whole country, that day after day, week after week, farms are offered for sale without any purchasers being found. I can tell the hon. gentleman that a short time ago the agent of one of the largest loan companies in Toronto informed me that in the last year they had not had a single sale under mortgage; they had offered only two farms, and both of these were afterwards sold by private sale. It may be that the hon. gentleman is a philosopher; but there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in his philosophy, in the province of Ontario, at any rate. The hon. gentleman being a philosopher, does not go out into the hurlyburly of the commercial world, or read the reports of the financial companies. For instance, I will read a quotation from a report made to the Canada Land and Savings Company by Mr. George A. Cox, who is also president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce—a gentleman who has been a candidate in the interest of the Reform party on more than one occasion, a gentleman whose sympathies are with that party; one of the greatest financial men of the country. I propose to place his utterance side by side with the unproved statement of the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) that farming lands are at a discount. Mr. Cox says:

We have noticed during the last year an increasing demand for improved farms from farmers prepared to make substantial cash payments. A good deal has been said, sometimes, I fear, for political purposes, about the embarrassed condition of our farmers, with their heavily mortgaged farms and low prices for farm products. That this is true with reference to a limited number of farmers in every community no person will attempt to deny;

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but, in deploring this, we must not forget the infinitely larger number of prosperous and contented farmers with unencumbered and well stocked farms, with good buildings, well filled granaries, well equipped implements, and steadily accumulating deposits in the savings bank.

Now, the hon. gentleman was asked to name an article of farm produce for which the United States furnished our only market; and, thinking to head off all opposition, he at once mentioned an article which, if all the farmers in the country would raise, they would certainly produce an immense crop. That article was beans. Now, what would the hon. gentleman reduce us to? He would reduce the farming population of this country to the production of beans in order that they might deal with the United States. But if he refers to the figures he will find that in 1889-90 the price of beans was \$1.33 a bushel, while, with the McKinley tariff against us, they sold at \$1.43; and it is not in unkindness to him that I tell him that when his party was in power they sold at only \$1.23 a bushel. The hon. gentleman says—and the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) also says in his resolution—that there must be a substantial reduction made in the duties on the necessaries of life. Now, I ask the hon. gentleman, with such a reduction, upon whom will the burden fall? Certainly not on the manufacturer, who has not the necessaries of life to sell; but on the farmer. The hon. gentleman proposes to bring the farmer of this country into competition with the farmer of the United States. What would be the result of that? The result would be, that with their large production and their large exportation, they would be shipping into Canada their surplus stocks of all kinds. The hon. gentleman knows that, without such a tariff wall as we have at present, the people of the United States would export to this country large quantities of beef and pork. Go to-day into any part of Ontario—I have seen it in this city—and you will find beef from the western part of our own Dominion brought in active competition with the beef raised in Ontario; and yet the hon. gentleman will contend that if the beef were brought from a thousand miles this side of that, the competition would not be keener. Now, what are the prices at which farm products are offered for sale in the United States to-day? I read from a paper which is an authority in the country—the “Farmers’ Sun,” the official organ of the Patrons of Industry. It says:

Good cows are selling in Milwaukee at \$2.50 each; fat sheep in Kansas City for \$1; good yearling colts in Missouri for \$5 or \$6; green cow hides in Texas for 30 cents; wheat in the state of Washington for 22 to 26 cents; mules that brought \$60 one year ago, going at \$30 in Missouri:—

I am sorry, for the sake of hon. gentlemen opposite, or some of them that the price has fallen—

—corn in Nebraska and Kansas too low to pay for hauling; thousands of acres of crops unharvested because the prices will not pay for the marketing, and the Pennsylvania farmers feeding their wheat to the hogs.

In the face of that immense crop in the United States, these hon. gentlemen, in their resolution—and it speaks very plainly—demand that the necessaries of life be admitted from the United States into the Dominion. Most hon. gentlemen from the province of Ontario know the district of Muskoka. Although a portion of my riding embraces some townships of that district, I can, without speaking lightly of it, say that I suppose it is not one of the best sections of the province of Ontario. I have taken from a Bracebridge paper the following clipping:—

A former resident of Muskoka, now residing in Kansas, has just written the following doleful sentences: "The general depression throughout the west is alarming. I can give you an idea of the condition of affairs existing in this country in a very few words. Wheat, the only crop I may say, yielded per acre 6½ bushels: price 40c., and poor prospects for a crop this year. With an occasional blizzard the sum of misery is reached." Fortunately matters are scarcely as bad in the very worst part of our own west. The very poorest people of Muskoka are in a condition of real comfort as compared with these sorrowful tales.

Now, what do the hon. gentlemen propose by this resolution? There can be no other explanation of words "necessaries of life" than the articles which in the main we eat; and they demand that these articles shall be admitted into Canada from a country which to-day is exporting them to all parts of the world, and that they shall be brought into active competition with the productions of the farmers of this country. From that proposition I dissent; and, for that reason among many others, I cannot see my way clear to voting for the amendment of the hon. member for South Oxford. Now, Sir, with the indulgence of the House, I propose to deal for a little time with a matter which concerns, to a very large extent, the constituency that I have the honour to represent, and which I have brought up in this House on a previous occasion; that is, the lumbering industry. I need not say anything to this House about the extent of that industry, because hon. gentlemen from the different provinces fully recognize its importance. But we who come from the province of Ontario, particularly from the section where I reside, especially recognize its importance, seeing as we have seen in the past its good effects. Now, in Ontario the timber lands are sold by the Ontario Government. And in 1885, for the first time, American speculators and lumber buyers made their appearance on the scene and intimated plainly and conclusively that they intended to purchase our limits and tow the logs over to the United States. That was the time

at which the Ontario Government should have imposed duties—as they had the power to do. That was the time when they should have taken advantage of their power to impose restrictions. There were two courses open to the Ontario Government. The first was to sell, subject to the condition that all the timber should be manufactured in this country. The second was to impose a high scale of fees, allowing a rebate in the case of logs manufactured in the country. Now, with regard to the first proposition, there can be no denial that such a reservation could be made, and it would have resulted in all the logs being cut in the province of Ontario. In support of the second statement, because it is sometimes denied that the Ontario Government could have imposed restrictions by which they could have increased the dues with a rebate in the case of logs manufactured in the country. I will quote the statement of the hon. member for North Norfolk made last year in this House:

In the first place the Ontario Government have refused to make the tenure as regards Crown dues permanent; they have refused to give the limit holder a statutory rate of \$1 per thousand and the assurance that this will continue for a fixed period, and the American is left ignorant as to how soon that regulation may be changed, and uncertain as to the moment at which the Ontario Government may increase the dues.

Now, what has been the result of this policy carried out since 1885 by the Ontario Government, of selling these limits without any reservation or restriction? It has been that, year after year, millions of logs have been taken out of Ontario and manufactured into lumber in the United States. When matters stood in that position, after representations had been made time and again to the Ontario Government, the Dominion Government were appealed to; and in 1886 they imposed a restriction in the form of a duty of \$2 a thousand feet upon logs exported. But after that imposition of duty, the Americans still continued to take the logs out of the country, and the Dominion Government increased the duty by the further sum of \$1, making it \$3 per thousand feet on logs exported. The result was that for a time the shipment of logs was prevented, and the milling industry, which had been to a great extent depressed, was once more set in active operation. Through the solicitations principally, I believe, of the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), the Dominion Government, in the year 1888, removed the duty of \$3 per thousand feet, and the duty on lumber going from this country to the United States was reduced from \$2 to \$1 per thousand feet. What has been the result of that change? The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) last year told the House that there was no depression in the Georgian Bay as regards the business of sawing lumber. To that statement I reply that if you will go to Byng Inlet—which was once a prosperous town with

1,200 to 1,500 inhabitants and several mills in existence, and which was then a perfect hive of industry—you will not find a hundred people there to-day. In Parry Sound there was a large mill employing over a hundred men, which to-day is closed. In Midland, where there were large mills also, employing hundreds of men, those mills have closed down. And all this is due to the policy of the Government in not imposing an export duty at the highest possible rate. The result of this policy has been the exportation of immense quantities of logs; and when I made the statement that last year we exported to Michigan 400,000,000 feet of logs, I made a statement that is borne out by the evidence of those interested and who ought to know. I regret that the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) is not in his place to contradict or confute or call into question any statement I may make. What do these figures I have given mean? They mean that there was last year a loss to our people of \$2,400,000 in work and wages. It means that that amount of money has been spent in the United States which would have been spent in this country had the policy we desired been continued. It means that in the towing of these logs—in the towing of which Canadian tugs were not employed, but American tugs—\$400,000 was paid, at the rate of \$1 per thousand. The following table will show what expenditure we have lost:—

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Towing at \$1 per thousand... | \$ 400,000 |
| Manufacturing, piling and shipping at \$2.50 per thousand... | 1,000,000 |
| Freight at \$2 per thousand... | 800,000 |
| Lath and cuttings at 50 cents per thousand..... | 200,000 |
| | \$2,400,000 |

When you consider that a mill which cuts ten million feet is a fair-sized mill, the result is that forty mills would have been at work last year along the north shore and Georgian Bay manufacturing these logs into lumber, were it not for the remission of this duty. These mills would have employed four thousand hands, and taking an average of three to a family there would have been twelve thousand people more in the country than are there to-day. The Minister of Finance said the other night that in the matter of coal oil duty, there would be no change this year; and he gave as a primary, and as I judge a most important reason, that the oil duty was the means of keeping within the country a large number of people who otherwise would leave it. I ask why should not the same reason apply in this matter? Why should twelve thousand people be forced to emigrate to the United States, why should they be expatriated, simply to please the hon. member for North Norfolk and the member for Russell (Mr. Edwards) and a few men who have grown richer every day by this policy? I ask any hon. gentleman whether, if to-day there were passing through

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the Ottawa River here, under our very eyes, this immense quantity of logs, towed to the American shore,—I ask whether there would not be on the part, not only of the men driven out of work, but of every resident in this city, an outcry against the policy which brought about such a state of things? The hon. member for Russell (Mr. Edwards), a few years ago, succeeded in bringing up a large deputation here to remonstrate and protest against the redistribution of his riding. I ask the hon. gentleman whether this policy, if it were carried out in this regard in his constituency, would not have raised a greater storm of indignation than the Redistribution Bill? I ask the Government to consider this question fairly and honestly, and seeing that the Ontario Government have denied to us every right and every assistance. I ask that they should interfere. To-day the lumbermen of this country are having their pine lumber admitted in the United States at \$1 a thousand feet, whereas if this extra duty were re-imposed and \$3 per thousand feet charged, these logs would be cut on this side. It is an admitted fact that to-day the lumbermen of the country are making vast sums. It is known that when the duty was \$2 a thousand feet they made money; and I ask to-day that, pampered as they have been and fed as they have been, a chance should be given to the masses and not to the classes by legislation in this respect. Now, what will be the result? Under the Wilson Bill there would be a return duty of \$2 per thousand feet. Now, what would that result in? That would result in this: that the American consumer would pay that \$2, and not one cent would come out of the pocket of the seller in this country. I have been informed by a gentleman, one of the largest producers of lumber in eastern Ontario, that to-day 75 per cent of the cut of the Ottawa Valley is sold without restriction; there is no clause in the sales that in the event of the Wilson Bill coming into force and the duty on our lumber removed, they are to have \$1 more, there is no clause that in the event of an export duty being imposed and the American buyer having to pay \$2 of duty the price here is to be reduced. The simple reason for this is that the American buyers know very well that the pine forests of the United States have been exhausted, that the Americans must have the white pine lumber of Ontario, and that the price, whatever it may be, must come out of the pocket of the consumer and not out of the pocket of the seller. But it will be said, as it is frequently argued, that, with the duty removed on lumber going from this country to the United States, no export duty should be imposed by this Government for fear that the American Government, in return, would impose that two-dollar-a-thousand duty. I reiterate the statement that if the two-dollar duty is imposed, that money will come out of the pocket of the consumer and will not

come out of the pockets of the seller of the lumber here. Again, it is argued that if the duty is removed the result will be that the American owners of limits will come to this country and will manufacture here. That statement I deny and I believe it can be successfully controverted. In the first place by towing the logs over to the United States there is a large saving in the freight. If the logs were cut into lumber in this country a large amount would of necessity be paid for railway freight on the lumber greatly in excess of what is paid for taking it over in the log. Further, when the logs are placed in the booms at Tawas or Saginaw, it enables the saw-mill men to sell in the form of bill-stuff. Again, in some of the Michigan cities they are large producers of salt and the refuse of the logs is used in the evaporation of the salt. Further, in the large Michigan cities they are able to sell their low grades of lumber to far better advantage than the same can be sold for from mill points and small towns along the Georgian Bay. Lastly, the local market generally is better. If anything further were necessary, I think it would be supplied by these words of the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), who has said :

Why does the lumbermen on the Georgian Bay export his logs to the United States? Because it is to his advantage. Business men will figure up these things for themselves, and if you do not interfere with them, they will make that use of their property that is most conducive to their prosperity.

I regret that there are not more of the Ministers here to-night, and I thank the hon. Minister of Railways for the attention, the pressing attention, which I believe he is giving to this matter, and I trust that the opinion which I hold, an opinion which is held by thousands of people who are living in that country, and who are dependent upon this as a matter of life or death, will be heeded. What did the hon. member for Russell (Mr. Edwards) tell us last year? Inadvertently, not knowing that it might come home again, he stated that as he went through Michigan he saw in every mill Canadians. Is that right? Is it right that these men should be driven to the American side to look for employment? Under a sound policy, every one of these men would be recovered and brought home to be good citizens of this country. Hon. gentlemen opposite are ever shouting for legislation for the masses. Here is an opportunity for them to raise their voices for the masses as against the classes, and they should improve that opportunity even at the risk of offending the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), and the hon. member for Russell (Mr. Edwards). I say the people of the United States must have our lumber, and in proof of that I shall refer to a few facts. The census returns show that the Americans are pre-eminently a wooden house people.

Every man conversant with the habits of the American people knows this; no man can go into any of their towns and smaller cities without being struck with the preponderance of wooden houses. According to the census, in 1870 they used 13,000,000,000 feet of lumber; in 1880 they used 30,000,000,000, and in 1890 they used 60,000,000,000 of feet. These figures show not only that the consumption is large but that that consumption is increasing. The returns prove that these people have cut out the limits in their own country, and they are now dependent for their supply upon this side. Thousands of our people are being driven out of the country under this policy. The Americans come over here and buy these limits. Why? Because they are forced across the line by not being able to buy pine in their own country. Under what circumstances did they purchase these limits? They came here without any guarantee whatever that there would not be a peremptory export duty imposed. They did not know at what moment the Ontario Government might intervene, as the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) said they might, and impose a high tariff in respect of the dues. They did not know that this Government would be passive in this matter, as I regret to say, it has been. When they bought these limits they bought them with their eyes open, and with no guarantee attaching to them. In the town of Midland in which I live is a large mill, owned by the Emery Lumber Company. Ten thousand dollars in hard cash was offered for this mill, and the Emery people refused to take the money. That mill has not run for three years. Why did they refuse the offer? Simply because they are waiting and expecting the Government at any day to impose an export duty. What is the use of that mill to them standing there unemployed, no cutting going on? They expect that the day will come when the Government at Ottawa and the Government at Toronto will come to their senses and show due regard to the interests of the people in this matter by imposing a prohibitory duty. Then these people will have their mill in full blast, and will bring back to my town two or three hundred people who to-day are expatriated in the United States. Now, I regret that this matter has been dealt with by the Government as it has been dealt with, and I regret that some hon. gentlemen have been as disloyal to the interests of Canada in this matter as they have been. I charge the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) with having been the instigator, the aider and abettor of a great deal of this trouble. Let me quote from a Tonawanda paper one fact respecting a meeting of the North Tonawanda Lumber Association. At that meeting was a gentleman whom they called "hon." John Charlton. Probably they did not know him as well as we do. This was at the time the McKinley Bill was going into force.

That bill declared that the duty on lumber should be reduced to \$1 per thousand, but, in the event of any country imposing an export duty, the duty on lumber coming into the United States from that country should be \$2 per thousand. That was the action taken by the Government. Why? Because they were not prepared, they were not willing that the consumer of the lumber in the United States should be forced to pay a higher duty than \$2. But the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), alive to his own interests, as he usually is, and to the results as affecting his own pocket, did what? He attended that meeting and this is what he said:

It is the addition of the log-export duty to the lumber duty our American lumbermen need to bring about.

What did that mean? That meant that if this Government, the Dominion Government, imposed as they had formerly done, a three-dollar export duty on the logs, the duty on lumber should be \$5, and thus the hon. member and his friends would be able to terrify the other lumber manufacturers in Canada with the threat that the duty would be \$5 instead of \$2. In view of that fact, what was the result? There was no interference of the Government and the result was that the duty was left where it was originally—in the event of an export duty being imposed, the duty would be \$2. Now, we ask that the Government to-day, without waiting any further, should at once put into force the Order in Council under which they have power to impose this duty of \$3 or \$5 on logs, and to keep within this country the millions of feet of logs that will be taken across to the United States this summer unless such intervention is made. What will be the result? The result will be practically, I admit, under the McKinley Bill, which is still in force, a return to the \$2 duty. Is it fair that the people of the country should be driven out of it in order that gentlemen who are interested in that trade should grow richer? We have tried the experiment, and the experiment has proved that it will drive people out of the country. Let the lumbermen try the experiment now and see whether lumber will be depreciated in the event of the \$2 duty going on. I have spoken at length on this matter, not because I believe it will interest the House to any great extent, because most of the members are not similarly interested. If the members of this House were as much interested in this subject as my constituency is, I am bound to say that not only from this Government, but from the Ontario Government, which has turned a deaf ear to us, our claims and our remonstrances would be heeded. Now, a great deal has been said by hon. gentlemen in respect to trifling duties. I can assure the Ministers, and I can assure this House, that such matters as a trifling duty on coal oil, and a trifling duty

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on binder twine, in my constituency, cut no figure at all. What we want is something that will affect the whole community, which will benefit the interests of all. The man who can do business prosperously, does not care about any trifling duties. Now, there is another matter which concerns that part of the province, which concerns, indeed, a large portion of the province of Ontario; I refer to what is a very old friend to the Minister of Railways and Canals, the Trent Valley Canal. Seventy years ago the Imperial Government saw that it would be to the interest of this country that there should be a connection of the magnificent water stretches which exist on the route so as to make them available from the waters of the Georgian Bay to the waters of Lake Ontario, and with that object in view surveys were commenced in 1827 and were carried out. More than that, a large amount of money was expended in building canals and locks, and both the Governments of Ontario and of the Dominion have expended large sums, amounting altogether to upwards of a million dollars. The distance that would be traversed by this amount is 197 miles from the waters of the Georgian Bay to the waters of Lake Ontario. Of that distance there will be some 57 miles of canal work and 140 miles of water-ways, which now exist and which could be utilized. There have been estimates prepared which show that the work could be completed with an expenditure of between four and five million dollars. Now, what does this communication mean? It means that while vessels to-day are forced to traverse the waters of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, and the connecting waters by way of Welland Canal, they would pass instead by way of this Trent Valley Canal from the upper to the lower lakes. This is not only a Canadian project, but I would draw the attention of the Minister of Railways and Canals to a statement that appeared in the public prints the other day, sent out from Washington:

WASHINGTON, D.C., April 3.—A scheme is on foot here to have introduced in Congress a resolution creating a committee to confer with a like committee which it is hoped the Canadian Government will appoint, looking to the construction of a canal from Waubauskene on Georgian Bay through to Lake Ontario, entering the latter at Toronto. It is claimed that commerce is demanding a shorter route to the sea-board, from the western part of the continent. It is estimated that the canal can be built at a cost of \$1,000,000 per mile, and it is also asserted that the actual distance from Toronto to the south end of the bay will not exceed sixty miles. It will be the purpose to use Lake Simcoe also. Those who are fostering the scheme claim it will save a distance from the upper lake country of upwards of eight hundred miles. The scheme will be to get both Governments interested in the matter by granting subsidies and private corporations will do the rest. It is said that Representative Fletcher, of Minnesota, will in a few days introduce the required resolution. It will provide

for a canal 150 feet wide and 35 feet deep, thus taking the largest ocean steamers.

Now, when this project is having so much attention devoted to it, is it not right and proper that the Government of the day should undertake to carry into effect a project which has been before the public so long, which has been endorsed from time to time by successive Ministers of Railways and Canals, and by successive Governments? What would be the result of carrying that enterprise into effect? The day for canalling has not gone by, that has been proven by the building the Manchester Canal in England, that has also been proved in this House by the Bill of the hon. member for South Norfolk (Mr. Tisdale), providing for a canal to be built from Lake Erie across to Lake St. Clair. It is also further proved by the fact that to-day the Erie Canal, despite the fact that there are upwards of a dozen railways running almost parallel to it, carries 60 per cent of the grain and the heavy produce from the west to the city of New York. The result of opening this canal would be that there would be a canal far superior to the Erie Canal. After you pass through the waters of the Georgian Bay by way of the canal to Lake Simcoe, you then come upon a large body of water where it would not be necessary to preserve a snail-like pace, but where vessels could be moved at quick rate. Then there is a water stretch through Balsam Lake upon which a high rate of speed could be maintained. From there on to Peterborough are large bodies of water, rivers and small lakes, upon which a high rate of speed could be attained. This would mean that the railways would have an active competitor in this water route; this would mean that along these routes a trade would be worked up with the outside world in lumber, the rates would be much better, and towns like Barrie, Orillia and Peterborough, would be able to bring in Nova Scotia coal from Montreal, and thus the work would become not only of a local, but of a national importance. Now, this must be borne in mind, that all along this route there are undeveloped resources in both timber and minerals. I hope and trust that the Government will be alive to this matter. I believe that four million dollars would complete the work, and that sum at 3 per cent would only amount to \$120,000 yearly. I believe it would be infinitely better for this country if there were fewer small public works undertaken, and more enterprises of this kind, projects of national importance, which would further the interests of the whole country as well as of the province of Ontario. We are told to-day that there is a project on foot to increase the depth of the canals along the St. Lawrence so that large ocean vessels can come from Montreal to Toronto. Well, I do not believe that the people of Ontario are enough interested in the fight between Montreal and Toronto as to care which will have the

supremacy. Toronto has received a great deal of favour at the hands of two Governments. I can say that the people for many miles along this route will get the benefit of the expenditure, and the benefit of the communication afterwards. Mr. Speaker, I have to thank the House for the indulgence they have shown me. I have endeavoured to bring before the House and the Ministry matters of great importance to my riding. In all seriousness and in all earnestness I beg and plead the Government will apply a measure of relief in regard to the exportation of logs from this country. I plead on behalf of men driven from their homes, and now residing in Michigan, that they should be permitted once again to come back to Canada, and they can come back by the imposition by the Government of these export duties. The Government can adopt relief measure with respect to the coal oil industry, and so keep our people in the country. We ask that similar favours should be extended to us. The present system results in driving people out of the country. Let the Government adopt other measures and secure the opposite results, and if the millmen should suffer some they at all events will not suffer more than the general public have suffered in the past.

Mr. O'BRIEN. This debate has been already so prolonged and has so fully embraced every subject which under any pretext could be brought within its scope, that I do not propose to take the advantage which this motion permits to make extended observations, but I shall endeavour to confine myself as far as possible to the subjects that come properly under discussion. We have heard a great deal during this debate about the National Policy. On the one hand it has been spoken of as the source of all evils, financial as well as political. On the other hand it is eulogized as the basis of our commercial prosperity. So far as regards the speech of the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat (Mr. Bennett), I have only one remark to offer, and it is, that if the tariff which is now sought to be amended has produced such wonderfully good results to the country, it is a thousand pities that anybody should interfere with it. I think the truth with respect to the National Policy is to be found, as most things are to be found, not in either extreme, but somewhere between them. The National Policy was designed, as was expressed in the resolution which formed its basis when it was introduced in 1878, to secure particular objects, and those objects I think to a great extent it did accomplish. It was intended, first, to give to those industries which were springing up in this country that protection which in their infancy they required. The best authorities on these subjects admit that, under such circumstances as existed in 1873 and 1874, there is reason for giving to those industries such protection as was afforded them by the tariff introduced in 1879. It

was also intended to promote the investment of capital in this country. It was to give confidence in business and financial circles where at the time very great depression existed. It was intended to give as far as possible diversity of employment to our young men, and not compel them to look abroad for that sort of employment which they could not find at home. All these objects were intended to be accomplished, and to a great extent they were accomplished by the National Policy. But time went on. Those results followed which the authorities already referred to predicted would follow. In the course of time the protected manufacturer became greedy for a little more protection. The more a man gets the more he wants, and so it went on, and one of the evils which were predicted did arise, and as observable in the various changes which have taken place in the tariff since 1878, there was a continued increase in protection, and in no single instance was protection withdrawn when once it had been granted. Instead of confining the protection as it ought to have been confined, to industries which we had natural facilities for carrying on in this country, the promoter of every little industry, it did not matter what, came to the Finance Minister and he got his protection. And so it went on until in 1887 we had a very important change, that relating to the increase of duties on iron. I always was strongly opposed to those duties, which I considered indefensible on any principle of protection, except that of furthering the interests of particular sections and different individuals, because the manufactured iron in certain stages became the raw material of the artisan in a variety of other pursuits, and the tax was one that was felt more generally probably than any tax imposed by the National Policy. This feeling of discontent with existing tariff arrangements has been growing until at last it has reached the unwilling ears of the Finance Minister. A few months ago to lay the most timid hand on that most sacred edifice, the National Policy, was deemed such an offence that expulsion from the ranks of the party was the least punishment that could be meted out, and yet to-day the Finance Minister is proposing changes which are certainly as far-reaching and as extensive as those which any hon. member at that time would have thought of proposing. The justification of the action I and others took on the matter is found in the tariff before the House; no other justification is needed, and no other need be asked for. In dealing with the tariff we are dealing with a subject which requires on many grounds the most careful consideration. It should be considered and dealt with in no party spirit, but with that consideration which our national interests demand, for this reason, as well as for other reasons, that this is the last word which this Government or this House will have to say with respect to this tariff. Whether for weal or woe, whatever

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is decided by the House must be the guiding star of our tariff arrangements for many years to come, assuming that the hon. gentlemen on the treasury benches remain in power. But in any case, changes in the tariff should be as few as possible, and changes should be made as seldom as possible, and it comes to this, whether we are in the future, during the years the tariff shall remain in operation, to have a policy which will inure so as to carry out the proposition which has been talked of so long, of making this a manufacturing country, or to carry out legislation tending to promote our agricultural interests. On this tariff very largely these two questions depend. We are face to face in the discussion of this tariff with some very important issues. We are face to face with a falling revenue, which it will take all the ability and ingenuity of the Finance Minister to meet. We are face to face with the lowest prices for agricultural products the world has ever known. We are face to face with a depression existing in this country, which the Finance Minister may minimize if he pleases, yet which every hon. gentleman knows to exist. The Finance Minister may have lost all idea of the value of a ten dollar bill, but there are thousands of householders who to-day count every shilling they spend. I am not going to say what the cause of this is; I am not going to discuss whether it is due to the National Policy or to anything else, but such is the condition of affairs, and the hon. gentleman may quote his Trade returns, figures from blue-books and statements from the managers of banks and loan companies, but those familiar with the affairs of the country know that not for many years have people been compelled to practice such careful economy as they are practising to-day. Now, Sir, face to face with these circumstances, face to face also with the fact that we have had a very great disappointment in the result of the last census, that we have not that population which reasonably we might expect to have, and which we ought to have; face to face with all these circumstances, this tariff requires the most careful consideration which the House is able to give to any subject. The hon. the Finance Minister in the opening of his speech told us a great deal about protection. He told us in language which left no possibility of mistake or misapprehension, that protection, pure and simple, was the policy of his Government.

Mr. McNEILL. Hear, hear.

Mr. O'BRIEN. I am glad my hon. friend echoes that sentiment, because it is just as well we should know exactly where we stand. For myself, I do not admit that between the National Policy, as established in 1878, and the policy laid down by the Finance Minister to-day and approved of by my hon. friend (Mr. McNeill) there is any connection—I won't say any connection at all—but I deny that one necessarily

follows the other. The Minister of Finance left no mistake on that point. The policy of himself, of his colleagues, and of his Government is the policy of protection, pure and simple, without reserve and without qualifications. It follows, therefore, as a necessary inference that those who support his Government must be protectionists; it follows that those who, at the next general election support the cause of the Administration, must do it on the ground of protection. I quite admit that the hon. gentleman and his colleagues have a perfect right to lay down the conditions of service which those must subscribe to who enlist under their banner; but, for my part, I claim the privilege of saying that I for one do not subscribe to these conditions, and I distinctly refuse to be bound by them. The Minister of Finance goes on still further and he lays down the doctrine—or rather the inference is to be drawn from what he says—that the policy of this Government being that of protection, and as he and his colleagues claim to represent the Conservative party, therefore it follows that to be a Conservative one must be a protectionist. I deny both the premises and the conclusion. I deny it both as regards England and as regards Canada. It is perfectly true that Sir Robert Peel was charged with being a traitor when he abandoned the cause of protection, and adopted the principles of Mr. Cobden; but, it is equally true that Sir Robert Peel in that change of opinion was followed and supported by a great many of the best men of the Conservative party of that day, and it is equally true that with the death of Lord George Bentinck, a few years afterwards, the protectionist party entirely disappeared; and, further, it is equally true that Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour, whose authority my hon. friend (Mr. McNeill) will not dispute, hold as firmly to the doctrines of free trade as do any members of the Cobden club.

Mr. McNEILL. Lord Salisbury?

Mr. O'BRIEN. Yes, Lord Salisbury. As regards Canada, I say that it is an entirely new doctrine to assert that protectionism and Conservative principles are synonymous. It has been asserted in this House, and it is a well-known fact, that the Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald, the late leader of the Conservative party, was not a protectionist. It is perfectly well known that he only adopted the principle of protection, so far as he did adopt it, in order to carry out the principle of the National Policy, which was, as I have said before, a temporary measure to gain a temporary end. I should like to know where protectionists were when we had a tariff of 17½ and 15 per cent? Why, Sir, this doctrine is of very recent date, and I could tell the hon. the Finance Minister if he was in the House to-night, that he will find at the next general election that there are thousands of Conservatives in the Domin-

ion of Canada who will not accept his protectionist doctrines. The Minister of Finance having laid down this basis of protection, proceeded to deal with this tariff, and what did he do? Why, Sir, we have heard in this House, time and again, we have all said it, that the high protective duties did not increase the price of the home manufactured article to the home consumer. Will any deny that that has been our doctrine? It has been asserted in this House, and out of it, time and again, ever since 1878. Well, if that is the case, why does the Minister of Finance reduce the duties, why does he falsify his own contention; why does he surrender the principle upon which his party has repeatedly gone to the country? Sir, there was truth in the statement at the time—and this, be it remembered was an essential condition of the National Policy—there was truth in the statement at the time, when there was competition among the home manufacturers, and prices were kept down to the cost of the raw material, the wages of the men employed, the profit upon the capital invested, and a reasonable compensation to the manufacturer for the enterprise that he displayed and the risk that he incurred. That was perfectly true then. That was an essential condition of the National Policy; and one of the many grounds why it has lost favour in the minds of the people of this country is, that combination among the manufacturers has entirely destroyed that competition, and to-day the price of every article manufactured in this country, speaking in general terms, is raised just as high as the tariff will permit. View it from this standpoint and you will find that the Minister of Finance has entirely abandoned his position. He is either sincere in his convictions or he has not the courage to defend them; or, he is yielding to fear what he cannot defend upon principle. If he was sincere and had the courage of his convictions, he would tell the House that these high duties were necessary for the promotion of our industries, and that they were no burden upon the consumers. He talks protection in as loud and distinct terms as he can, and then he at once sets to work to reduce the duties by his tariff. He reminds me of a general who, finding it impossible to defend his position, retreated under cover of night, leaving watch fires burning, so that his enemies might think he still held the position. That is exactly the position in which the Finance Minister is to-day. Now, Sir, the hon. gentleman cannot defend his reductions on protectionist principles, because on protectionist principles they are absolutely indefensible. I can, however, defend them for the hon. gentleman, although he cannot do it for himself. I can offer some defence for them on the ground of the National Policy, because I can see that, finding—as no doubt he has found—that, under cover of these high duties, combinations have been formed which raise the price as high as the duties

will permit, and putting a stop to all competition—I say that finding such to be the case, it was advisable for him to reduce these duties so as to admit of competition from abroad. If he had done that he would have acted consistently, his principles and his practices would have accorded; but he did not do that, he did not take the only ground which was open to him. Why he did not I cannot tell, but it was very much to his credit, having regard to his reputation as a debater that he did not attempt to defend his practices by the principles he laid down. Taking the tariff then as we find it to-day, it is no little satisfaction to those of us, who, following out the true principles of the National Policy, have, for some time, past been declaring that the time would come when there should be an important reduction in the high duties. It is no little satisfaction to us to be able to take these changes one by one, as they occur, and show to the House and to the country, that many of the things that we had said ought to be done have been done. True, we were read out of the party for saying that they ought to be done. We said that the specific duties, which bore so heavily on the poorer classes of consumers, especially the duties on cottons, woollens, and manufactured tools, should be abolished. The hon. gentleman has abolished them. We said that the duties on agricultural implements were too high; the hon. gentleman has reduced them. And so on all through the list. But, having gone through that list, and having taken the tariff as it stands, whether the hon. gentleman can defend it on protectionist principles, or whether he cannot, we find that it remains a manufacturers' tariff still. Hon. gentlemen have said that this is a farmers' tariff. Well, I must say that the farmers have to be thankful for small favours. Let me read to the House a list of the articles specially affecting the farmer upon which he is taxed. On threshing machines he is taxed 30 per cent; on agricultural implements, 20 per cent; on lubricating oil, 6 cents a gallon; on axle grease, 25 per cent—he does not even escape taxation on the grease that oils his wheels. On drain tiles he is taxed 20 per cent; on plaster of Paris, 15 per cent; on leather belting, 20 per cent; on harness, 30 per cent. The hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) was very triumphant the other day over a reduction of the duty on the saddles used by the cowboys in the North-west. No doubt, that was a great concession to the cowboys, and I am very glad they got the benefit of it; but, as we do not use that kind of saddles in Ontario, we find ourselves still taxed on our harness of every description at the rate of 30 per cent. Nails of all kinds are taxed 30 per cent, and, if there is one article more than another that the farmer constantly uses, it is nails; he is hardly ever without one in his pocket. On axes, scythes, and all tools of that description, he is taxed 35 per cent.

Mr. O'BRIEN.

That is a very low tariff—is it not—for an industry of the greatest importance in this country? On shovels and spades he is taxed 35 per cent; on pumps of all kinds, 30 per cent; on wire fencing, three-fourths of a cent a pound. This was one of the very items spoken of most strongly as requiring reduction, and this bountiful providence of a Government has reduced the duty one-half, leaving it still at three-fourths of a cent a pound. It happens that wire fencing is just as important to the farmers of the North-west as cedar rails are to the farmers of the older provinces. I would like to know how the protectionist farmers of Ontario would like to have a tax put upon the cedar rails that they use for their fences; yet you might as well tax the rails or posts that the farmers of Ontario use as tax the wire fencing used by the farmers of Manitoba. Of course, there is nobody interested in the manufacture of cedar rails, and so the Government do not tax them; but somebody is interested in barbed wire, and so they tax that. Pails and tubs are taxed 20 per cent; wagons, 25 per cent; buggies—this may be a clerical error—35 per cent; binder twine, 12½ per cent; horse blankets, 32½ per cent; fertilizers, 10 per cent. Now, having gone through that long list of articles, every one of which the farmer is specially interested in, let us look at the free list and see how many articles are admitted free for the great farming industry. There are horses and cattle for the improvement of stock, and ensilage corn for seed; there the free list ends! Yet we are told that this is a farmers' tariff. I can tell the hon. gentleman this is not a farmers' tariff. It is from first to last a manufacturers' tariff. It is scouted by the manufacturers, and will be scorned by the farmers, and the hon. gentleman will meet the fate which people so commonly do who try to sit on two stools at once; he will ignominiously fall to the ground between them. Now, Sir, last session, when this subject was before the House, upon a resolution moved by the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), one of the important features of our tariff was held to be the promotion of trade with Great Britain; and at many of the meetings which I have addressed on this subject, I have found that no proposal met with such approval and applause, no matter what the political complexion of the meeting was, as that proposal. I do not agree with hon. gentlemen opposite in their views on the subject of reciprocity with the United States. I differ with them, 'toto cœlo,' not only in regard to the policy they advocated last session, but also in regard to that trade. I do not pretend to belittle its importance; but I do say that the people of the United States have told us in the most unmistakable terms that they do not want our trade—that they do not value our trade; it is nothing to them, and they will do nothing whatever to secure it. Therefore, I do not attach the same importance that hon. gen-

flemen opposite, at any rate, do to the promotion of that trade. I look upon England as the ultimate market for our produce, and the country with which our trade ought to be promoted; and one of the greatest objections I have to these changes in the tariff is, that they contain no hint whatever of any thing of that kind. On the contrary, in dealing with the only article which the tariff affects in that connection, they virtually destroy a very important trade now carried on with England. I allude to the trade in tea. That is a very decided objection. Now, Sir, let this tariff go. I do not consider these reductions, and I do not believe that they will be considered by the people of this country, as of value. I do not consider that any one can say that a tariff of 35 per cent is a farmer's tariff, or anything but a manufacturer's tariff. Yet the hon. gentleman has the audacity to ask us to pay \$750,000 a year for a fast line of steamers, in order to promote a foreign trade. Well, I think the hon. gentleman has to learn the A B C of political economy, if he thinks he can have a foreign trade and a protective system combined. I think the attempt to establish a foreign trade with a protective policy in existence is as futile as the attempt to mix oil and water. The two things are utterly incompatible; no country has ever done it. When did England's foreign trade begin? When she cast off protection. And what is the reason of the small foreign trade of the United States to-day? Notwithstanding their 65,000,000 of people, they have no foreign sale of manufactured goods of any consequence. That is due, I believe to nothing else than the fact that they have adopted a protective system. A protective system may be a good system or a bad system. I am not now discussing that; but I do say that a foreign trade and a protective system are two things absolutely conflicting. It is possible for this country to have a great foreign trade. With our coal resources on the Pacific, with our immense coal deposits on the Atlantic coast, it is no chimerical idea to believe that across the continent of British North America lies the shortest highway between the east and the west—between China, Japan and Australia, on the one hand, and the countries of Europe on the other. I believe that Vancouver and Montreal or Halifax may occupy, relatively to the trade of the world, very much the same position as Alexandria did in the old days, and that Constantinople did at a later period. Alexandria was the half-way house between the Roman Empire and the East, Constantinople occupied the same position at a later period, and those two cities rose to surpassing importance by virtue of their foreign trade. I believe that in this country we might accomplish an immense foreign trade. We might establish here a rival even to London, as a distributor of the goods of the world between the east and the west. But that is not to be done by virtue of a system of protection. So

long as we adhere to the one system, we cannot expect to realize the other; and viewing it in that light, I certainly think that the attempt to establish the one, so long as we maintain the other, will be found absolutely futile. Now, having laid down this proposition both with regard to the tariff and with regard to the possibility of foreign trade, I should like the indulgence of the House while I say a word or two concerning my own position in this matter. I was elected at the last general election, when the contest mainly turned, not upon the merits or demerits of the National Policy, but upon the merits or demerits of the policy advocated by the Opposition—commercial union or unrestricted reciprocity. To those two ideas I was just as strongly opposed then as I am now. But following out the lines of the National Policy, I say that I am justified in the course I am taking, because on several occasions I have pointed out that a change in the condition of affairs—especially the growth of combines—had so altered our condition that very important changes in the tariff were required. And the one question that now arises really is whether the changes now submitted are such as the country will accept. Upon that point I have already ventured to express my opinion. I have ventured to express the opinion that they are not such as will be acceptable to the country at large. They are not accepted by the manufacturers; they will not be accepted by the farming community. The change in some two hundred out of four hundred items, making an average reduction of five per cent, exclusive of specific duties, is a very small change indeed. And, under these circumstances, also taking into account the speech of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster)—the inference from which is that if I supported this tariff I would be committing myself to the principle of protection, which I never have accepted and do not accept; which I am satisfied is not one we ought to accept—I certainly cannot support the Government in the tariff they now suggest.

Mr. CRAIG. I had no idea of speaking to-night until a moment or two ago, when I was asked to replace some one else who intended to speak, and take the opportunity of giving my views on this question. I shall not occupy very much time, and shall confine myself particularly to the subject of the tariff and the question before us. I should not have spoken at all on this question, had it not been that last session I had the honour of being classed as a tariff reformer. I had the idea at that time that there were some parts of the tariff which might be reduced; and I took rather a prominent part in agitating that question. I therefore think it only proper that I should state my position on the question now. Last year I expressed myself perfectly satisfied with the promise made by the Government

that at this session the tariff would be revised. I know that some hon. members were rather sceptical, and thought the promise was merely a convenient way of putting the evil day off. However, I had no hesitation in saying that I accepted the promise of the Government, and I did accept it unreservedly. All the members of the Opposition who spoke said that the Government had no intention of doing this, that they were not in a position to make the promised revision, that if any revision were made it would not amount to anything. They talked rather slightly of the promise made. However, the Government have now fulfilled their pledge; and throughout the speeches made by hon. gentlemen on the other side, we can plainly detect a tone of disappointment. They would have preferred that the Government had not fulfilled their promise. But when we find that the Government have not only done what we expected them to do, but more than many expected, and more than some of us wanted, the Opposition is rather disappointed. I think, however, that the country as a whole is not disappointed. The country, as a whole, including many supporters of hon. gentlemen opposite, are perfectly satisfied with the changes made. I know well that members of the Opposition will endeavour to make their own party dissatisfied with these changes. I suppose that is their business. But I believe that if the farmers were left alone carefully to consider the changes—I believe if those who support gentlemen on the other side considered these changes without reference to politics at all—they would say they were satisfied in the main; that the Government had done what is best for the country. Now, we must admit that the revision of the tariff is no easy task. I am sure the Minister of Finance has found that out by this time, though no doubt he knew it full well before he undertook the task. But in going through the country, and finding out the conflicting ideas of people, in sitting down to actually do this work, he must have found the task one which a man would not care to undertake more than once in a lifetime. If we want to see what a difficult task a revision of the tariff is, all we have to do is to cast our eyes across to the other side of the line. There we see a party elected on the principle of tariff reduction—elected by large majorities—and what has happened up to the present? A bill was introduced making large reductions. It was submitted to Congress, where many of the reductions were eliminated. It went to the Senate, where the duties were raised still higher. And I am satisfied before the bill is done with, we will find the duties there on manufactured articles higher than our duties were here before the tariff was revised at all. Besides all this, business over there has been almost paralyzed by the uncertainty

that prevails in reference to these changes. I agree with the last speaker that this is a work that does not need to be done very often, and, when it is done, it ought to be well settled and done as thoroughly as possible, and then left alone for some time. Now, I think we all must admit that a revolutionary policy in a matter of this kind is bad. I think if the Finance Minister had come down with a tariff completely overturning the National Policy, we should have found business in this country paralyzed. I think even members of the Opposition, leaving politics out of the question, will admit such would be the case. If the Government had done this, they would have been open to our condemnation. What have they done? They have taken a wise course, and made, as it seems to me, a moderate revision of the tariff. They have gone carefully over the tariff as a whole, selecting those articles which they considered might be reduced to the advantage of the country and without injuring to any great extent the manufacturers, and they have made reductions in those articles. There are three classes to be considered—the farmers, the mechanics and labourers, and the manufacturers. Now, we find that the farmers have received the benefit of considerable reductions in this tariff, and we find also that the farmers have received consideration at the hands of the Government in the matter of protection. I was rather surprised to hear an hon. gentleman, a member of the Opposition, and a farmer too, state the other evening that the farmers of this country did not want any protection at all from this Government. Well, Sir, in talking with farmers I have not found such to be the case; I find that they are anxious for protection. I find there are certain articles upon which they require protection, and I am satisfied they will make no objection at all to the protection they have received with respect to them. Now, I desire to say a few words about protection as a principle. Members of the Opposition have not objected to the details of this tariff, but I find that with them the great trouble, the great reason for objection to this tariff is that the protective principle is retained. This is what they will say to the country, I suppose. They object to the protective principle, and in order to have some argument against it, they declare that the manufacturers get the benefit of the full rate of protection. Now, I deny that in toto. I deny that manufacturers get the full amount of protection. I deny that, if there is a protection of 25 per cent, the manufacturer takes advantage of that protection to the full. I am in business; I have been in business all my life, and I know something about business. I know that in many branches of manufacture it is not the case at all that the manufacturer takes advantage of the full rate of protection. And I know another thing—that very often the prices in this country are not in-

creased by protection. Now that, no doubt, is a statement that will strike some members of the Opposition as being totally incorrect, but I am satisfied that I am speaking what is known to many business men, when I say that very often prices are not increased by protection. Then what is the benefit of protection? If manufacturers do not take advantage of the full rate of protection, why do they want so much protection? I will tell you why. Manufacturers require protection in this country because it secures to them the home market. Now, only a man in business can understand that; a man who deals with this matter only theoretically cannot understand it at all. Such a man will say: If you can manufacture these goods as in competition with the manufacturer in the United States, and if you do not wish to charge higher prices, then what do you need with protection? But we do not want to compete with the American manufacturer. We want to have this market for Canadians, not for United States manufacturers. We want Canadians to have the advantage of their home market as the Americans have the advantage of theirs. This is particularly true of the countries situated as Canada is situated. Let me put a case. Suppose an article is manufactured in the United States and in Canada, suppose that in the United States they have a duty of 35 per cent and that the Canadian duty is reduced to 15 per cent. Under these circumstances the United States manufacturers have their home market assured to them; we cannot enter their market at all, but the low duty does not keep them out of our market. They can make a good profit out of a certain amount of their goods and then sell the balance over here. Our manufacturers, not being able to enter the American market, and being subject to unfair competition in this market, are destroyed.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Why do you not adopt prohibition altogether if you do not want to trade with them?

Mr. CRAIG. I have only to repeat that it seems to me that this is an argument that cannot be answered by any member of the Opposition. I can understand the argument in favour of unrestricted reciprocity (that is if it was not necessary to have discrimination against Great Britain), for in that case the manufacturers in this country would have access to the American markets. But, if we are shut out of their markets, I do not see any reason why we should let them into ours. I heard the argument to-night that the manufacturers of this country had had protection long enough, that protection was needed only for infant industries. There may be some truth in that—there is no doubt there is some truth in that. But, after all, in these days competition is very keen and we find the manufacturers in the United States are no longer infant indus-

tries; they have advanced faster even than we have, and it as necessary that we should be protected from them to-day as it was fifteen years ago. Then I am told, with regard to the manufacturers, that the more they get the more they want. Of course those who make that statement are not manufacturers. In my opinion, and according to my observation, manufacturers do not want too high a protective duty. What is the result of too high a protection? One result is that a great many people looking at the tariff on these goods say: There must be something in that business, and so they go into it, and thus we have too much home competition. That has been the result in Canada. Though our tariff has been low compared with that of the United States, undoubtedly that result has followed in each country, and if we look across the border we see the same result there. I believe that most of the manufacturers are satisfied with moderate protection, but it must be protection that protects. I think it will be admitted by all members of this House that manufacturers are an advantage to a country. I find that cities and towns are willing to give large bonuses to get certain factories established in their midst. Why do they do this? To hear hon. gentlemen opposite, one would think that manufactures were a great disadvantage to a country; that we all ought to go back to the land and take to farming; that manufacturers were all robbers trying to steal all they could from the rest of the community. I have met many manufacturers, and I am happy to say that this is not my opinion of them. Not only are manufacturers a great advantage to a city or a town, but they are a very great advantage to the farmers as well. Farmers know this well enough. In talking politics they may convey a different impression, but we know that, as a matter of business, a farmer will give more for a farm near a manufacturing centre than for one that is miles away. He knows that if he has such a farm he can come in every Saturday and sell such things as butter and eggs without having to ship them away to some foreign country and take a lower price. He knows that he secures a higher price for everything he has to sell because he is near a manufacturing centre. And if it were not for moderate protection, these manufacturing centres in this country would be very much reduced in my opinion. Now, if this be so; if it be true that these manufacturing centres are of great advantage to the farmers, I think most farmers will have no objections to pay a little more on account of protection in order to gain these compensating advantages. I am satisfied of this, that the farmers, if they consider this question aside from general politics, are quite satisfied. I am satisfied that under the tariff now brought down by the Finance Minister they will be better off in this country than they are in any other country in the world. I am

glad that the Opposition take their stand so firmly and so decidedly on the policy of no protection. I have long wanted to know exactly where they did stand; now we know. It is just as well that the country should know that, it is just as well that manufacturers of this country should know that they are entirely opposed to protection, that they do not believe in giving the manufacturers even moderate protection. It is just as well that the mechanics and workmen of this country should know that, it is just as well that the farmers should know that, so that if hon. gentlemen opposite should happen to get into power, they would have to do away with all protection, if they are consistent; they would have to take away all protection from manufacturers, and all protection from the workmen who are employed in those factories, and all protection to the farmers. If that is where they stand, it is just as well that the country should know it. The Conservative party, on the other hand, takes its stand on moderate protection to our industries, and this protection includes farmers, mechanics and manufacturers. Now, taking for granted the principle of protection we are not afraid to say that we are protectionists. The last speaker said he was not a protectionist. He said: It does not follow that a man must be out of the Conservative party because he is not a protectionist. Perhaps not, but then he is not in accord with the Conservative party of to-day. There is no doubt of that, because we take our stand on the principle of protection, we believe in protecting our home industries. Well, admitting that, how has the tariff been revised? I have been interested in seeing what the newspapers have to say about this tariff, and I am going to read selections from a paper which should have weight with hon. members on the other side of the House. It is a paper which, I believe, supports them invariably, a paper which I think is more extreme than even some regular party papers—I believe it calls itself independent. When I mention the name I think hon. members opposite will be quite satisfied to take its testimony. This paper is the Montreal 'Daily Witness,' and I am going to read the heading that appeared in this paper on 28th March, after the Finance Minister's speech was delivered:

CANADA'S NEW TARIFF.

EVERYTHING WILL BE CHEAPER.—REDUCTIONS NUMEROUS AND CONSIDERABLE.—LARGE ADDITION TO THE FREE LIST.

Farmers get the lion's share of the favours—Iron and sugar duties lower—large reductions in duties of agricultural implements—smaller reductions on woollens, cottons and furniture.

I was a little surprised when I read this paper and saw those admissions, because,

Mr. CRAIG.

while I agree with the 'Witness' on this occasion, it is almost the only time I have been able to agree with it for many years. I am going to read a little more from an editorial:

THE REVISED TARIFF.

The Dominion Government has acknowledged the error of its ways. It has changed its policy. Though it may still protest loudly that it holds by protection, it has reduced the protectionist tariff duties nearly all round, only a peculiarly favoured industry here and there being allowed to retain its old privileges unimpaired.

Then it goes on to say afterwards:

The Government has introduced tariff reform with loud declarations in favour of protection. That is as it should be. It might have maintained a full protective tariff with declarations in favour of tariff reform. It is under the necessity of apologizing to the protectionists, not to the tariff reformers. Canada has at last turned her face towards free trade. It is the first step that costs, though the step is not a very great one. * * * The farmers have received, as they badly needed, special consideration in the revision of the tariff.

Now, here is something very important:

Every farm is worth more to-day than yesterday, said a practical farmer this morning, after reading the newly revised tariff.

Then they go on, and say at the end of this article:

With lighter taxation and easier conditions for the farmers, Canada's fertile lands will more rapidly fill up, and our manufacturers will have the enlarged home markets which are their first necessity. Everything looks more hopeful for Canada now that she has turned her face towards free trade.

While I do not agree with everything in that article, I agree that material reductions have been made in favour of the farmers. In looking over the tariff, it struck me that in some cases too great reductions had been made. I suppose that is inevitable. It is impossible to frame a tariff of this kind and satisfy everybody. One great difficulty in altering a tariff is that reductions must be made that will be perhaps injurious to some branches of business. I do not know that there are many in this, but I may say here, that where the Government find on inquiry, by representations made to them, that these reductions will destroy established industries, I hope the Government will make changes in their favour. We have heard to-night a prophesy made by the hon. member for Bothwell that this great tariff will all be changed within two weeks. Well, I do not think so. I have no doubt a few changes will be made; I do not know it; I am not in the confidence of the Minister, but I may say that I hope some changes will be made. While I say that, it does not follow that I think the Government does not know its own mind. The desire of the Gov-

ernment is not to do what they think will be advantageous to themselves, but what they think will be for the good of the country. I do not think they have any fixed ideas with reference to any particular duty. They are not like some hon. members in a Government a great many years ago, who thought that they knew more than all the country combined, and would make no changes, although urged to do so. I believe if the Government find that some of these changes will destroy certain manufactures they will make a change. I hope they will, and I shall be very glad to know that. Now, I have a word to say on reciprocity, and I only speak of this question because some hon. members have spoken on the other side as if the members on this side were hostile to reciprocity with the United States. Speaking for myself, I may say that I am favourable to reciprocity. I have always entertained the most friendly feelings to the United States; but I am sorry to notice that while I believe the bulk of the people in the United States are friendly to Canada, some of their politicians are not. I do not know whether they assume that feeling for party purposes, perhaps they think they can get votes in a certain quarter by pursuing an unfriendly policy towards Canada. But whatever the reason, there are some politicians who take every opportunity of showing their unfriendly feeling to this country. I do not believe that is the feeling of the United States as a whole, and if I can do anything, or say anything, to promote friendly feeling between these two countries, I shall always take pleasure in doing so. I say I am in favour of a fair reciprocity, and I shall always do all I can to back up a Government that takes measures to secure reciprocity—not a reciprocity which would be one-sided, but a reciprocity which would be for the advantage, not only of that country, but of this country. I believe a reciprocity treaty of that kind might be framed which would be an advantage to both countries. We are lying so close together that if we had reciprocity in certain articles, our trade would be largely increased. I am happy to say that I agree with those hon. gentlemen opposite who say that for certain articles the United States is our natural market. I said so last year, and I say so again. There are certain things we raise in this country for which the United States is the natural market; there are other things for which Great Britain is the natural market. I want to cultivate both markets. I say again, and I wish to make it emphatic, that so far as I am concerned, I am strongly in favour of reciprocity with the United States. Now, in conclusion, let me say a word or two about the amendment of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). In voting on this question we have to vote either for the resolutions brought down by the Government, or to vote for this amendment. Now, I have looked at this amendment for a few moments

and to my mind it is perfectly inconsistent. I have taken from it two ideas. The amendment states that the principle of protection must be eliminated. There is no uncertain sound about that, and I am glad of it. But I find further down something that looks rather suspicious. Hon. gentlemen opposite hope to manage by some way to get into power, and they hold out the olive branch to the manufacturers, although at the same time they declare that the principle of protection should be abolished. They use the phrase in the amendment "while not doing injustice to any class." What kind of justice do they wish to deal out to those who have large capital invested in our many industries. I presume that this ambiguous phrase is inserted in order to give them some kind of an election cry on which to go to the country. The Conservative party has sustained the principle of protection; and the Finance Minister says that is what the party stands on. Hon. gentlemen opposite way: We do not believe in protection, but at the same time no injustice must be done to any industry. That amendment is very shrewdly designed; but when carefully considered, the manufacturer and workingman are not apt to be deceived in that way, and I am glad the Liberal party have taken their stand strongly on the principle of no protection, so that this clause inserted in the amendment will not mislead any one. This tariff revision is of the utmost importance. It may take some time to ascertain how the new tariff will work. It is impossible to tell how it will affect all classes. We must have some patience. No doubt our manufacturers are afraid that some reductions made will have the most disastrous effects, but the conditions may alter from other changes made in the tariff, so that they will not have an injurious effect. For myself, while there are a few items in the tariff as brought down in which I should like to see a change, on the whole I am prepared to accept the tariff as a concession to the wishes of the country, which has spoken in no uncertain way in favour of a reduction in the tariff. I am glad the Government has had the good sense to recognize the responsibility of their position so as to make these changes, that they have been told enough to grapple with the subject, and I am satisfied that not only the members of this side of the House but members of the Opposition, if they will speak their own mind frankly and sincerely, will say that the Government have by going so far as they have done in reducing the duties, acted wisely and that they are satisfied on the whole that the tariff will be to the benefit of the country.

Mr. DAWSON. I am very glad to hear one admission made by the hon. member who has just taken his seat, that the United States is the natural market for some of our products. The prevailing opinion among hon. gentlemen opposite seems to be that

the United States is not the natural market for any commodity we have to offer. But the feature of this debate which strikes me as very noticeable is that hon. gentlemen persist in discussing the tariff solely from the manufacturers' standpoint. It is apparent that their worship of the false god of protection is as fervent as ever. We had hoped when the Finance Minister was delivering his Budget that hon. gentlemen opposite had turned their backs upon their idols, but since the delivery of the Budget we have had visits from the high priests of protection, the manufacturers, combinesters and monopolists, who have been here instructing hon. gentlemen opposite. These high priests have exhorted hon. gentlemen opposite to stand firm by their faith and not turn their backs on their idols. I think they have found some of them obdurate, and have found it necessary to threaten them, they have even found it so necessary to threaten to deprive them of the fire of the gods at election time, of the sinews of war for their needs, those financial sinews which they have always found it necessary to obtain when face to face with the foe. However, they have all turned back again to the worship of the false faith, they worship protection and offer the consumers of the country as a sacrifice to the hungry god! Apparently so long as hon. gentlemen are in power we shall have to submit as patiently as we may to the extortions of the monopolists. Are these the only classes in the country who have rights? Have the farmers no rights? Have the merchants, the miners, the lumbermen, the fishermen, the professional men and the labouring men no rights? Must all be compelled by legislation to pay tribute to a privileged few in order that the principle of protection may be maintained? They have pinned their faith on the principle of protection, and are determined to sink or swim by it. It is not fair to give protection to one class and refuse it to another. What protection have the merchants of this country? The only protection they have is a knowledge of their business, and this suffices to enable them to meet keen competition in different branches of their trade. Our miners have no protection. The products of the mines must be sold in open market, and no protection is granted them. The lumbermen, with their heavily-taxed supplies, must sell the product of their labour in the open markets of the world without a shadow of protection. The fishermen have to sell the product of their labour in the open market, unprotected by any form of legislation. The professional and the labouring men—I bracket them, for both are labouring men—have to face unprotected the labour markets of the world. What protection have the farmers? Do they get one cent more for the wheat which is sold for consumption in Canada than they do for wheat sold for shipment to Liverpool? Do they

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obtain one cent more for beef sold for home consumption than they do for that destined for the market abroad? Do they receive any more for their hay, eggs, cheese, barley or any other commodity sold in the home market for consumption in Canada than they do when it is sold for shipment abroad? On what articles does protection benefit the farmers? Do not hon. gentlemen opposite know that the prices in the English market govern the prices here, and the farmers must be content to receive here for such articles as they sell for home consumption the same prices as are obtained for shipment abroad? There is a bid, however, made for the farmers' vote on the part of hon. gentlemen opposite by declaring emphatically that this is a farmers' tariff, that it protects them from American competition, and saves them from the danger they would run if our markets were free to American farm products. The Controller of Customs said:

It is admitted that our products, whether of minerals or cereals, are of better quality than those of the United States, and therefore command higher prices. In many instances the animals and the cereals of Canada, on account of their superior qualities, are in demand in the United States.

All admit the truth of this. At the World's Fair, Canada forced acknowledgment of this truth from a competing world. Then why fear American competition? Legislation cannot fix the value of the farm products. Our cattle are selling to-day at prices which the buyers themselves declare is just stealing them. The hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) uttered a plain truth last session, namely, that legislation cannot add to the value of farm products, but legislation can enable the farmer to produce at less cost by relieving him of taxation on what he requires. The only protection needed, and the only relief asked, is to be relieved from all unnecessary taxation, and above all to be freed from the merciless clutch of monopoly. So the farmers demand the right to buy where they wish and not to pay tribute to a few privileged manufacturers. Let me tell hon. gentlemen opposite that the people of Canada will not much longer submit to the exactions of monopolists, that the protection upon which they have pinned their faith is a false god, and will fail them in their need. However, the concessions which the Government have made, insignificant though they be, prove the strength of the movement in favour of tariff reform. Who wrung these concessions from the Government? I claim a victory for the Liberal party in every concession made that tends to lessen or equalize the burden of taxation. The Liberals advocated ad valorem instead of specific duties, and we have in the proposed tariff the abolition of specific duties on cottons and on woollens. The Liberals, led by the hon. member for South Brant

(Mr. Paterson), advocated the free admission of sugar up to No. 16 Dutch standard in colour, and the tariff resolution proposes that raw sugar up to No. 16 Dutch standard shall be admitted free. The same hon. member demanded a reduction in duty on refined sugar from 80 cents per 100 pounds to 50 cents per 100 pounds, and the Government propose to reduce the duty to 64 cents per 100 pounds. Protection on cotton was vigorously attacked by the hon. member for West Ontario (Mr. Edgar), and we have a pretense at yielding on the part of the hon. gentlemen opposite, who give a reduction of less than 1 per cent, leaving the duty at an average of 24 per cent, whereas the old tariff demanded a duty equivalent to 25 per cent. Led by the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock), the Liberals demanded the abolition of the duty on binder twine, and last session, yielding to this persistent demand, hon. gentlemen opposite reduced the duty one-half; during this session they have refused to put it where it ought to be, namely, upon the free list. The Liberals demanded free barbed wire, and we have the duty upon it reduced. The Liberals demanded that light in the homes of the poor should not be taxed and that coal oil should be admitted into this country free; and we have had the removal of some restrictions which has had the effect of slightly reducing the cost of that very necessary article. The Liberals demanded the free admission of agricultural implements, and yielding to this pressure, hon. gentlemen opposite have reduced the duty from 35 to 20 per cent. For years the Liberals have advocated these and other changes in the tariff through the press, upon the platform, and upon the floor of this House; and the result is so much of relief as we have now obtained. What does this so-called tariff reform amount to? We have to-day a tariff averaging 30 per cent instead of the 35 per cent tariff which preceded it. The Government propose to exact \$3 upon every \$10 worth of goods imported into this country—a taxation of nearly one-third of the value of an article which any one might desire to import. The Government stand by protection, and yet they must know that it has failed. Canada is a young country with plenty of room for thousands of people throughout her broad domain. We have also been very liberal in the expenditure of our public funds; millions upon millions have been spent in the construction of railways, in the construction of canals, in the construction of docks and other public works, and yet we have almost no growth. In the North-west, we have hundreds of thousands of square miles of the most fertile land on earth to offer to intending settlers—lands rich in minerals, lands rich in timber; we have inexhaustible fisheries, we have petroleum areas there sufficient to supply the world, and yet with all this natural wealth which we have to offer intending settlers, there is in Canada almost no growth. Canada was fourteen years old

when the census was taken in 1881. Youthful life-blood coursed through her veins, and we had the right to expect a vigorous growth. The census was taken ten years later, and revealed the fact that we were almost at a standstill. We found that Canada was being dwarfed in stature, and that she had no growth. There must be some cause for this, and the cause is: That we have not been giving our young country suitable diet. These gentlemen opposite have been feeding her on diet unsuited to the growth of a vigorous country like Canada. Restriction, monopoly, class legislation; none of these are suited to develop a young country like ours, and they have been the main cause of the lamentable results revealed to the world in the census of 1891. Her energies have been paralyzed by the poison of protection, and she bids fair to stand still amid the growth of the nations of the world. Has the World's Fair no lesson for hon. gentlemen opposite? Unprotected industries of Canada brought honour upon the name of Canada. Our fishermen displayed the wealth of the seas; our miners' exhibit attracted the envious gaze of the world; our lumbermen demonstrated the value of our forests, and our farmers took front rank among the nations of the earth. Where were our manufacturers? As compared with our other exhibits, they failed, and failed signally, to add lustre to the fame of Canada. After fifteen years of protection, our manufacturers demonstrated this fact: That our infant industries are infants still. Nor will they grow strong until they are subjected to that keen competition which alone can draw out the energies of the people, that competition which our unprotected industries have had to meet all along, handicapped as they were by the excesses of tariff inflicted upon them. This keen competition, and this alone will make of Canada a great manufacturing nation. We have in Canada unlimited water power. We have an industrial class unexcelled on the face of the globe, we have an inexhaustible food supply, we have all the elements that should make us succeed as a manufacturing nation. All that we require is enlarged markets, and enlarged markets we cannot have for our manufacturers unless restriction is removed from trade, unless our people are able to manufacture at such prices as will command the markets of the world. We demand a lower tariff, but we also demand enlarged markets. What effort has been made by the Government in this direction? The hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce has taken a journey to Australia. How much farm produce can they take from us in Australia, and of what benefit will trade with Australia be to Canada? At a meeting of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in Toronto, the Minister of Trade and Commerce made this declaration:

The Government had sent him to spy out the land and he had collected some valuable informa-

tion. The Government were prepared to do their duty with reference to Australia and to exchange commodities on an equitable basis * * *

Mr. Bowell then gave a detailed list of United States exports to Australia, showing that in many lines the Canadian manufacturer could compete profitably with them. These items were divided as follows:—Agricultural implements, brooms and brushes, carriages, horse cars, patent medicines, chemicals, dyes, medicines, cotton goods, fish, canned salmon, cordage, canned fruit, India-rubber boots and shoes, iron castings, machinery, nails, saws, tools, scales, balances, sewing machines, engines, stationary boilers, pails, stoves, ranges, &c., wire, all other manufactures of iron, leather, boots and shoes, harness and saddles, other manufactures of leather, lime and cement, malt liquors, slate roofing, stone, manufactures of; musical instruments, organs, pianos, oil, whale or fish, kerosene, oil, lubricating; paints and painters' colours; paper, printing and wrapping; platedware; soap, toilet soap, common; tobacco, cigars, vegetables, canned; timber and manufactures of.

In agricultural implements, carriages and horse cars, and patent medicines a great trade might be done. All these could be manufactured as well in Canada as in the United States. It was the same with cotton.

Yet the same hon. gentleman had previously declared that the policy of the Liberal party meant the destruction of the industries of this country. Now, the policy of the Liberal party, as I understand it, is that of revenue tariff, and under revenue tariff there is certainly incidental protection to the manufacturers of this country, yet according to the Minister of Trade and Commerce that incidental protection to the manufacturers would not be sufficient to enable them to hold their own market; it would not enable them to compete for the trade of Canada here in our own country, although these men are able to go abroad and compete in the Australian market with the manufacturers of the whole world. The inconsistency of hon. gentlemen opposite has struck those of us on this side of the House at any rate if it has not occurred to themselves. If Canada can compete in manufactured goods with the manufacturers of other countries, as the Minister of Trade and Commerce declares they can, there is no danger or fear of the manufacturers of Canada suffering under the revenue tariff policy of the Liberals. Develop Australian trade by all means; but why have hon. gentlemen opposite, with the exception of the last speaker, belittled the advantage of the American market to us? They make much of the home market. What is the American market but an enlargement of the home market for our agricultural products? We are perfectly conversant with the requirements of that market; we know the excellence of our products; we know that they will command that market, and that a large trade in agricultural products can be built up there in the teeth of American competition. We desire that market; we want the Government to make

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an effort to secure it for us. What effort have they made? Mr. Wilson, in the Bill now before Congress, put many items on the free list. Some of them remain, and some of them are about to be removed. Among these was an item in which the constituency which I have the honour to represent is largely interested; that is, iron ore. Iron ore was put on the free list; but what encouragement did the Government of this country give the promoters of that bill to leave that item there? The bill went to the Senate, and there it is proposed to impose a tax of 40 cents a ton, practically a prohibitive tax upon iron ore. There are vast deposits of iron ore in the constituency from which I come, and vast sums of money have been invested in the iron mining industry there. At one time it was flourishing, and villages of miners grew up around the mouths of the different mines; but the imposition of the American duty, some years ago, killed that industry. Today those mines are silent, and the money spent in working them has been withdrawn from circulation in the country. But some hon. gentlemen opposite say, let us keep our own ore for consumption in this country. Why, Sir, there are single townships in the province of Ontario that have iron ore enough to supply the needs of the world for generations; and yet there are hon. gentlemen who say: Keep it all, we have none to spare. We on this side are accused of speaking as if we desired to destroy the industries of this country. When hon. gentlemen opposite turned their back on the British principle of free trade and adopted the policy of protection and excessive taxation which was forced upon the war-debt-ridden Americans, they made certain promises of rosy hue to this country. They promised that industrial villages would spring up all over the land and that a large industrial population would be given employment who would become consumers of our produce. In that way we were to be compensated for the sacrifice that we were asked to make. What was that sacrifice? That we would consent to an enhancement in the price of the goods we desired to purchase. This was the promise that was made. After fifteen years' trial, how does the matter stand? We find that their promises have largely failed. But I will admit that the industries of the country have increased since that policy was proposed. The benefit which manufactures are to a country may be measured chiefly by their wage-sheet. The increase in the wage-sheet of the manufacturers is the measure of the benefit that those industries are to all except the owners of them. The increase in the wage-sheet from 1881 to 1891 was \$40,000,000. That was not by any means due to the policy of protection alone; but if we give hon. gentlemen opposite the credit for the whole increase, our share of that is limited to whatever profits may have ac-

erued to us in the circulation of that sum. I think I can show that the price of the total output of the manufacturing concerns of this country has been enhanced 15 per cent—let us say 10 per cent above what would be a fair and remunerative price, above what the price would be if protection were withdrawn. Now, 10 per cent enhancement in the value of the output means that the people of this country are forced to contribute \$47,000,000 every year as a bonus to the manufacturers in return for whatever benefit the increase in the wage-sheet of the manufacturer may be to them. This is the result of the bargain made with the manufacturers; we take for our share whatever profit there may be in the circulation of \$40,000,000 a year—they extort from us a bonus amounting to \$47,000,000 a year. I find on reference to the census returns that the output of the manufacturer in 1891 was \$475,000,000, the cost of the raw materials, \$256,000,000, and the wages paid, \$99,000,000. The cost of the output at the factory was \$355,000,000; so that they sold the output for \$120,000,000 in advance of its cost. Allowing \$20,000,000, which is the outside figure, for the cost of placing those goods on the market, and we find that their net earnings amounted in that year to \$100,000,000. The capital of these industries, swollen by the value of buildings which are in no sense factories, but which are included to make a favourable showing for their pet policy, amounts to \$354,000,000; and \$100,000,000 profit means an interest on that capital of no less than 30 per cent. An average reduction of 10 per cent in the selling price would leave them an interest on the capital invested of 15 per cent, which is surely an ample return, and a sufficient guarantee that there is no danger of the factories going down, and it would save to the consumer \$47,000,000 a year. Some of our industries have been more heavily protected than others, among them the iron rolling mills. Their output in 1891 sold for \$1,750,000; the cost of the raw material was \$575,000; the wages paid were \$335,000; the cost of selling their output was \$90,000; and we find that their output cost, when placed on the market, \$1,000,000, yielding them a profit of \$750,000, or almost 75 per cent on \$1,016,000, the capital which they stated to the census enumerator they employed in their industry. Now, take the woollen industry for which our sympathy was asked. The output of our woollen mills in 1891 was sold for \$8,400,000; the raw materials cost them just half that amount; the wages paid amounted to about \$2,000,000; allowing 5 per cent for the cost of distribution, we find that the net earnings are left at \$2,000,000, which is equivalent to 22 per cent interest on the capital invested. Half of that would have been a reasonable interest on their investment, and would have given us a reduction in the price of the goods of 12 per cent. The wall paper factories, a most heavily protected industry, sold their output

in 1891 for \$355,000; the raw material cost \$133,700; the wages paid were less than \$42,000; add for the cost of distribution 10 per cent, or \$20,000, and we find that their net earnings were \$160,000 over 40 per cent interest on the capital they employed, of \$350,000. Our cotton manufacturers sold their output in 1891 for \$8,400,000; the raw materials cost \$4,200,000; the wages paid were \$2,100,000; add for the cost of placing the goods on the market 5 per cent, or \$300,000; and we find that the cost of their output when placed on the market was \$6,600,000; showing their net earnings to have been \$1,800,000, or the equivalent of 14 per cent interest on their capital invested. This may not be an excessive earning for their capital, but remember that the cost of raw cotton has been vastly reduced since that time, while there has been no corresponding reduction in the price of cotton goods. Raw cotton was sold in 1891 at \$11.45 per 100 pounds. On the 28th March, 1894, it was quoted at \$7.40, a difference of \$4.05 per 100 pounds, equivalent to a reduction in the cost of the raw material of 35 per cent. For the three years, 1888, 1889, and 1890, the average cost of raw cotton was \$10.47 per 100 pounds. The average price for the last three years was \$7.94 per 100 pounds, showing a difference in the cost of the raw cotton now being used by our Canadian mills and that which they purchased in 1891, of 25 per cent. In 1891 they paid for their raw cotton \$4,000,000. To-day the same quantity can be purchased for \$3,000,000. Yet the price of manufactured cotton has not been reduced. The whole of this million dollars saved in the purchase of their raw material has been added to the profits of cotton mills, swelling the earnings of their capital, until these now reach no less than 22 per cent on the whole amount invested. The Minister of Finance declared that cottons to-day can be bought in Canada, taking quality and price into account, as cheaply as anywhere else in the world. This is true with reference to cottons purchased here for shipment to China. The cotton of Canadian manufacture is sold in China at what the cotton mill men declare to be marvellously low prices. We send our surplus goods to China. Some of us are familiar with the remark of the cotton-mill owner, when asked if sending his surplus to China did not so relieve the market in Canada as to have the effect of keeping up prices here. His reply was: You bet, that is where we get our blood. Selling cotton to the Chinese at marvellously low prices and recouping themselves by selling to the Canadians at protectionist prices. The wives and daughters of the electors who send hon. gentlemen here to make our laws, are forced, by the operation of those laws, to work long hours at low wages in order that the Chinese may be cheaply clad while they are compelled to pay for the cotton they help to produce much

more than the price asked from the happy Celestials. The hon. Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Haggart) said the other night that sugar was sold as cheaply to-day in Montreal as in New York. The Montreal Gazette quotes granulated every week since January at one-quarter of a cent per pound less in New York than the price in Montreal. The New York 'Tribune' agrees with the 'Gazette' as to New York prices. But why quote the New York price of sugar. It is the desire of all of us to foster as much as we can the trade with Great Britain. Let us consider therefore the price of sugar, not in New York, but in Great Britain. If we are to bring sugar into this country, let us bring it from Great Britain rather than from New York, if for no other reason than that we may in this way provide a westbound

cargo for the vessels engaged in the carrying trade. As matters stand now, many of the vessels engaged in that trade are forced to make the round trip with one cargo. The shipper on this side pays on his eastbound cargo the whole cost of the trip, and this comes largely, almost entirely out of the pockets of the farmers. We should endeavour to increase the cargoes westbound, so that our vessels engaged in that carrying trade may have a cargo both ways, and the farmer by that means be relieved from the excessive charges now made on shipments of his wheat, cattle and cheese to British ports. I will read to the House a table giving the prices at the refineries to the wholesale trade, of granulated sugar, in London, New York, and Montreal :

| DATE. | LONDON, ENGLAND. (From Daily Telegraph.) | | NEW YORK. (From Tribune.) | | MONTREAL. (From Gazette.) | |
|-----------------|---|-----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| | Quotation per 112 lbs. | Price per 100 lbs. | Quotation per lb. | Price per 100 lbs. | Quotation per lb. | Price per 100 lbs. |
| 1894. | s. d. | \$ cts. | Cts. | \$ cts. | \$ cts. | \$ cts. |
| January 5..... | 16 6 | 3 58 | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 3 81 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 4 25 |
| do 12..... | 16 6 | 3 58 | 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ | 4 06 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 4 25 |
| do 19..... | 16 3 | 3 52 | 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ | 4 18 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 4 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| do 26..... | 16 3 | 3 52 | 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ | 4 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 4 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| February 2..... | 16 3 | 3 52 | 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ | 4 06 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 4 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| do 9..... | 16 9 | 3 64 | 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ | 4 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 4 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| do 16..... | 16 6 | 3 58 | 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ | 4 06 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 4 50 |
| do 23..... | 16 6 | 3 58 | 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ | 4 25 | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 4 50 |
| March 2..... | 16 6 | 3 58 | 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ | 4 25 | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 4 50 |
| do 9..... | 16 6 | 3 58 | 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ | 4 25 | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 4 50 |
| do 16..... | 16 6 | 3 58 | 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ | 4 25 | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 4 50 |
| do 23..... | 16 6 | 3 58 | 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ | 4 06 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 4 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 12 weeks..... | ..... | 42 84 | ..... | 49 50 | ..... | 52 87 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Average..... | ..... | 3 57 | ..... | 4 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ | ..... | 4 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ |

My quotations are from the New York 'Tribune,' the Montreal 'Gazette,' and the London 'Daily Telegraph.' The 'Journal of Trade and Commerce,' Montreal, quotes one-eighth of a cent higher on February 2nd and 9th, and March 23rd. During the three months past granulated sugar was sold in Montreal at 82 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents per hundred pounds above the price in London, and 28 cents per hundred pounds above the price in New York. We consumed in 1892 345,000,000 pounds of raw sugar, and in 1893, 254,000,000 pounds, making a total of 599,000,000 pounds, or an average of 299,000,000 pounds a year. So that I am safe in saying that we consume in Canada 250,000,000 pounds of refined sugar every year. According to the quotation which I have given that sugar is sold here at an advance on the price in London, amounting to \$2,062,500, but, of course, we have to deduct the freight from London here. Deducting the freight at \$5.50 per ton—which is an outside estimate—amounting to \$697,500, we find that the sugar consumed in

Canada last year was sold at an advance on the London price, freight paid to Montreal, of \$1,375,000. The refiners, when agitating for the abolition of the duty on raw sugar, declared that with the duty on sugar off, they would be able to compete with the world, that the transportation charges would be an ample protection to them. And so these changes ought to be, because they are equal to more than one-half of the whole wages which the refiners paid in 1891. We find therefore that the refiners in Canada take every year more than one and one-third million dollars unearned profits from the people of Canada. This \$1,375,000 is a direct tax on the consumers, and for what object? To keep floating an industry employing less than 2,000 men and paying less than \$750,000 a year in wages. And many of these would find employment handling the sugar, if imported into this country, for they are not all engaged inside the walls of the several refineries. \$1,375,000 have been taken from the people annually, not one cent of which

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found its way into the treasury, not one cent of which is available for the public works of the country or for carrying on the business of the country. Every dollar has found its way into the pockets of those happy men whose industry is in a country which protects them so well. The hon. gentlemen on the Treasury benches and their predecessors have been guilty of many arbitrary acts since they came into power, and began to interfere with the natural laws of trade. Let them add one more to the list and enact legislation which will prohibit the refining of sugar in Canada. Then how shall we stand? If no sugar were refined in Canada, we should be forced to import it. Importing it in large quantities, the freight charges would be less. We could import it in full cargo at a charge of \$2 per ton less than the rate charged on small shipments. It is proposed to levy a customs duty of 64 cents per hundred pounds. Add the duty, 64 cents, and the freight 17½ cents to the London price of \$3.57, and we could lay down sugar, freight and duty paid, at \$4.38½, against \$4.40½, which is the average price at Montreal; and, having imported it, we should add to the revenue of the country \$1,600,000, instead of the pitiful \$10,335 which was derived from the duty on refined sugar imported during the past year. Moreover, we should add to the earnings of our ocean fleet \$437,000 a year, and the consumer would have the sugar at a slightly lower price than has been charged during the past year. I think that enough has been shown to prove that protection is a fraud upon the consumer, that whatever benefit the manufacturers may be by reason of the fact that they give employment to labour is wiped out by the extortion of the combines, and that the interests of the country demand that there should be no class legislation, no legislation to make the few rich at the expense of the many, that protection should cease and that the combines should be taught that it is wrong to take unearned any portion of another's wealth. The hon. Minister of Finance dilated on the fact that the Trade and Navigation Returns showed a vast increase of trade during the past year. The total trade on the basis of goods entered for consumption and exported had increased during the year by nine and one-third million of dollars. But the examination of the returns shows that the greater part of the increase is due to the increase in coin and bullion imported and exported. The exchange of coin and bullion is not trade. Trade is the exchange of commodities. The importation of coin and bullion has nothing whatever to do with trade; money is only the counter, it is only part of the machinery by which the exchange of commodities is effected. The coin and bullion imported and exported in 1893 exceeded that of 1892 by \$7,042,050. Write this off and you will find that the actual increase in our trade during the past year—the actual increase in our ex-

ports and imports—was only two and a quarter millions, instead of nine and one-third millions, as claimed by the Minister of Finance, and a part of this increase is in goods sent to Chicago during the exhibition. The increase of our imports for consumption was \$4,726,087. That is a handsome increase in our trade; but when we wipe out the increase of our imports of coin and bullion—\$4,715,670—we find that the increase of imports for consumption is only \$10,417. Nor has the increase of exports been so large as would appear from a superficial examination. The total increase of exports was \$4,600,000. Write off the increase in coin and bullion, \$2,324,000 and the actual increase is found to be \$2,276,000. The value of our exports is largely swollen, as usual, by the export of household effects removed by people leaving the country, the value of which was over \$1,357,000. The increase of our exports of natural products is not the result of legislation; it represents shipment of the product of the labour of those who gather together and fit for men's use the riches of the farm, of the forest, of the mine and of the sea; it is the result of the energy, industry and intelligence which have enabled Canadians to attain some degree of prosperity in spite of the legislative restrictions which have been enacted by hon. gentlemen opposite. It has been claimed that the trade with the United States did not increase, but that the trade with Great Britain did increase. We would hail with delight an increase of our trade with England. But what are the facts? The aggregate trade with England has increased less than one million dollars, while the trade with the United States has increased more than ten millions of dollars, a part of which is the exportation and importation of coin and bullion, amounting to six and one-half millions of dollars, showing a net increase of our trade with the United States of three and one-half millions, against a net increase of our trade with Great Britain of one million dollars. Hon. gentlemen deny that there is any discrimination in their tariff against British trade. I do not know what hon. gentlemen opposite would call "discrimination," but I do know this—that the duty levied upon the whole of our imports of British goods amounted to 22 per cent, while the duty levied upon the whole of our imports of American goods amounted to 13¼ per cent, a discrimination against England on the whole volume of trade of more than 8 per cent. Of course a large amount of our importation from the United States was of goods that are imported free of duty for the benefit of our manufacturers. Writing these off, I find that nine and a half millions of dollars was levied on thirty-two millions of dollars of imports from Britain, equivalent to 30 per cent; that seven and three-fifths millions was levied in duty upon the twenty-eight and one-half millions of

dollars imported from the United States, equivalent to 27 per cent. So there is 3 per cent of a straight discrimination against our trade with Great Britain. One million dollars was taken in duty on the import from Great Britain beyond that on the same quantity from the United States. I do not know what hon. gentlemen would call "discrimination," if that is not a discrimination. And the discrimination has been so keen that it has had its effect upon trade. Trade, as I have said, is the exchange of commodities. Those to whom we sell our goods have a right to expect us to purchase from them in return. But our exports to Great Britain last year amounted to sixty-four millions, and our purchases from them amounted to forty-three millions. We exchanged with them forty-three millions of dollars worth of our goods, and we took from them in cash twenty-one millions of dollars. How was it in our trade with the United States? We sold the United States less than forty millions of dollars worth, and purchased from them fifty-eight millions of dollars worth of goods. We exchanged the whole of the products we sold to the United States for commodities of their production and left with them more than eighteen millions of dollars in cash besides. Is this developing trade with Great Britain? It is our desire to give the preference to the mother land; at least so we have proclaimed. It is of this desire that hon. gentlemen opposite boasted. They should amend their tariff. They should not discriminate against the mother country and thus deprive her of the trade she has a right to look for in return for providing us with a market for our products. England has the world to draw from. If Canada should cut off her supplies, not one person in England need go hungry. It is no special advantage to the people of the mother country to purchase the commodities we offer. England is a manufacturing nation; her output is practically illimitable, and she seeks markets in all parts of the world for her manufactured goods. It is the wish of the people of England that we should purchase from them. By purchasing from them we enable those to whom we sell our goods to earn the price of those goods, yet we find that we take millions in money from Great Britain in return for the commodities we sell, and spend that money across the line in the purchase of commodities from the United States. I have just one word to say with reference to the Franchise Act, and that word is in reply to the hon. member for South Ontario (Mr. Smith). That hon. gentleman objected to the repeal of the Franchise Act, the ground of his objection being that it might lead to the disfranchisement of Government officials. And why not? If the acceptance of an office of emolument under the Crown disqualifies a person from sitting in this House, why should not the holding of a similar office disfranchise the official? The member of Parliament may not hold an office of emolument under the Crown, because it

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might interfere with his independence in this House. Surely the holding of such an office might also impair the independence of the elector. We are told that there is nothing in the policy of the Liberal party to attract the young men of the country to our side. What plank in the platform of the Liberal party do the young men of Canada find fault with? Do they not believe in freedom of trade? Do they not believe in square dealings with the motherland? Do they not desire honest and economical and efficient government? Do they not disapprove of the corruption which we denounce? Do they not believe in fair play and no favour? Do they think that the Gerrymander Act is a fair one? Do they not denounce it as a wicked fraud, denounce it as two hon. gentlemen on the opposite side had courage to denounce it, the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) and the hon. member for Muskoka (Mr. O'Brien)? What young Canadian would tie the hands of an opponent and then boast of a victory over him? Yet this is what the Government have done time and time again in the battles they have fought with the Liberal party. Tell me not that our noble leader will fail to rally the young men of Canada to his standard; tell me not that the platform laid down by the Liberal party will fail to attract young men. Every line in it breathes with hope for Canada, breathes with faith in Canada. Every line in it is a declaration that no true Canadian desires to fatten on the products of another's labours; that it is wrong to take unearned a portion of another's wealth. Every line is a declaration of faith in Canada and faith in Canadians, faith in their intelligence and skill, faith in their honesty and industry, faith in their ability to stand up undaunted and meet like men the competition of the world. And this policy will prevail.

Mr. MACLEAN (East York) moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 11.35 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, 6th April, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 45)—from the Senate—to amend the Harbour Masters' Act.—(Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.)

Bill (No. 46)—from the Senate—to amend the Act respecting lighthouses, buoys and beacons, and Sable Island.—(Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.)

Bill (No. 47) to revive and amend the Act to incorporate the Brandon and South-western Railway Company.—(Mr. Davin.)

Bill (No. 48) respecting the Montreal and Ottawa Railway Company.—(Mr. Baker.)

Bill (No. 49) to incorporate the Welland Power and Supply Canal Company (Limited).—(Mr. McKay.)

Bill (No. 50) to authorize the purchase of the Yarmouth and Annapolis Railway by the Windsor and Annapolis Railway Company (Limited), and to change the name of the latter company to the Dominion Atlantic Railway Company.—(Mr. Kenny.)

Bill (No. 51) to incorporate the Northern Life Assurance Company of Canada.—(Mr. Mulock.)

Bill (No. 52) respecting the New Westminster and Burrard Inlet Telephone Company (Limited).—(Mr. Mara.)

Bill (No. 53) respecting the Calgary Irrigation Company.—(Mr. Davis.)

Bill (No. 54) to make further provision respecting grants of land to members of the Militia force on active service in the Northwest.—(Mr. Daly.)

ELECTORAL FRANCHISE ACT.

Mr. DICKEY moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 55) to amend The Electoral Franchise Act.

Some hon MEMBERS. Explain.

Mr. DICKEY. The Electoral Franchise Act introduced by the late Sir John Macdonald admitted the principle of female suffrage. In view of the approaching revision of the voters' lists, I wish to invite the opinion of the House as to the propriety of reinstating that principle in the Bill; but to a lesser extent than it was then proposed to do.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING.

Mr. MARTIN asked, Whether any Government advertisements were inserted during the year 1893 in the 'Standard' newspaper, of Winnipeg, and what amounts, if any, were paid for the same?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The question was answered yesterday. It is the same answer.

REBATE ON CORN.

Mr. McMULLEN asked, The number of bushels of corn imported and ground into human food upon which a rebate of duty was made during the fiscal year 1892-93?

Mr. WALLACE. 676,764 bushels.

FLOUR FOR DEEP SEA FISHERIES.

Mr. McMULLEN asked, The number of barrels of flour imported duty free for the use of the deep sea fisheries during the fiscal year 1892-93? Also, the number of barrels of pork for the same purpose, duty free?

Mr. WALLACE. No flour or pork have been imported free of duty during the fiscal year 1892-93 for the use of the deep sea fisheries. A quantity was ex-warehoused free for ship stores, but there is no division in the statistical records that would enable a statement to be compiled showing what amount was used for the deep sea fisheries.

MONTREAL POST OFFICE.

Mr. INNES (for Mr. Landerkin), asked, 1. What was the amount of contract for placing elevators in the Montreal post office building, and who was the contractor? 2. Who were the tenderers, and what was the amount of each tender? 3. Was there any change in the original specifications? If so, what? 4. Were the tenders asked for upon a revised specification? If so, who tendered upon such revised specification? 5. What was the total cost of the alterations to the building? 6. Were there any extras?

Mr. OUMET. 1. \$5,300. 2. Messrs. Miller Bros. & Toms and the Royal Electric Light Company. Royal Electric Light Company, \$5,300; Miller Bros. & Toms, \$5,300; Lomer & Rose, \$12,400. 3. Yes; it was at first intended to construct hydraulic elevators but after investigation in the matter, it was thought more advisable to have elevators, the motive power of which would be electricity, and the specifications were changed to that effect. 4. Tenders were accordingly asked for electric elevators after the above change was made, and the tenders were received which are mentioned in reply. 5. \$19,812.76. 6. There were no extras in connection with the contract for the elevators.

SPECIAL CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATION.

Mr. EDGAR asked, What was the special reason for holding the special examination for promotion of Mr. John Graham on 16th December, 1893, as stated on page 23 of the Civil Service Examiners' Report? In what department was the said John Graham employed at the time of such examination? Were there no employees in the Accountant's branch of the Post Office Department at that time duly qualified for promotion by having passed their examination and otherwise?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Mr. Graham was formerly in the Post Office Department. He was an excellent officer, and he desired to return and was examined to enable him to qualify for a vacancy in the department. Mr. Graham was in the Auditor General's office at the time of the examination. There

were employees in the Accountant's branch of the department at the time Mr. Graham was examined who were qualified for promotion.

FISHERY REGULATIONS IN ONTARIO.

Mr. LISTER asked, What, if any, changes have been made—(a.) In the close season for fishing in Lake Huron, River St. Clair, Lake St. Clair, Detroit River, and Lake Erie, for whitefish, lake trout, bass, pike, pickerel, herring and sturgeon, since the 1st of January, 1887; (b.) in the size of the mesh of seines, gill-nets, pound-nets, and trap-nets? Is it the intention of the Government to grant licenses for the present year for fishing with seines, gill-nets, pound-nets, and trap-nets, or any of them in Lake Huron, River St. Clair, Lake St. Clair, Detroit River, and Lake Erie, or any of such lakes or rivers?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Touching the close seasons, in Ontario, from 1887 down to 1893, the close season for whitefish was from the 1st of November down to 30th November in each year; for pickerel, from the 15th April to the 15th of May; for bass, from the 15th of April to the 15th May. In 1894 the only change was made in connection with the close season for bass, namely, from the 10th of May to the 30th June. There is no close season for pike, herring, or sturgeon. The mesh of seines for catching whitefish is four inches extension measure. The mesh of whitefish gill-nets, from four to five inches; hoop-nets, two and a half inches. No trap-nets are allowed. Licenses for pound-net fishing will be granted, as usual, in Lakes Huron, St. Clair, and Erie; for hoop-net fishing, in Lakes Huron and St. Clair; for gill-net fishing, in Lakes Huron and Erie. No seine fishing will be allowed in Lake Huron, the River St. Clair, Lake St. Clair, or the Detroit River.

MARINE HOSPITAL, ST. JOHN, N.B.

Mr. BOWERS asked, Has the Government closed the Marine Hospital at St. John, New Brunswick, to the admission of sick and disabled mariners? If so, are such sent to the city hospital for treatment? What was the cost per day for each patient at the Marine Hospital, including salary of officials during the last twelve months previous to closing the same? What was the cost per day since they were sent to the city hospital? Does the Government consider the present system cheaper than the former? Has the Government sold or leased the Marine Hospital and lands at St. John? Has the Government discharged the officers and officials who were employed in said building? Does the superintendent who formerly had charge receive a retiring allowance? If not, why not?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The Government did close the Marine Hospital

Sir ADOLPHE CARON.

at St. John, N.B., and the sick mariners are now sent to the public hospital of that city for treatment. The cost per day for each patient by the Marine Hospital, including the salaries of officials during the last twelve months previous to closing it amounted to 89½ cents per man. The cost per day since sent to the public hospital has been 90 cents per man. The hon. gentleman asks whether the Government considers the present system cheaper than the former one, and in answering that I can only speak at present for my department, as the subject has not come formally before the Government with a view of considering the question. I answer: That in my opinion the present system is not only cheaper but better than the former system which obtains, inasmuch as there will be no expenditure for extensive repairs and improvements as were formerly required. The Government has not sold nor leased the Marine Hospital and lands at St. John. The Government has dispensed with the services of the officers and officials who were employed in the building. The hon. gentleman also asks whether the superintendent who formerly had charge receives a retiring allowance? If not, why not? I may say that the following gratuities were included in the last Estimates and were voted by Parliament, and have been paid: the widow of Rev. James Spencer, \$100; W. A. Barnes, keeper, \$300; Dr. Christie, medical superintendent, \$560. No retiring allowance other than these was voted.

TIGNISH BREAKWATER, P.E.I.

Mr. PERRY asked, Whether a lighthouse-keeper has been appointed at the Tignish breakwater, Prince Edward Island, instead of Isidore Gaudet, deceased? If so, who is he and what is his salary?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. No appointment has yet been made to fill the vacancy caused by the decease of the lighthouse-keeper. The subject is, however, receiving attention in the usual course.

CAPE BRETON MAIL SERVICE.

Mr. FRASER asked, What were the names of the tenderers for carrying the mails from Hawkesbury to Sydney, Cape Breton, when tenders were invited on the 15th December last? What was the amount of each tender? Why was not one or other accepted? Is the department aware that the cost of carrying the mails at present is not half what it was before the railway was built?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. The tenderers for carrying the mails were F. McInnis, the amount of his tender being \$6,970, and J. Morrison, for \$9,000. The first tender having been withdrawn, and the second being considered too high, a temporary arrangement has been made for the service, pending further negotiations. The department is not

aware that the cost of carrying the mails at present is not half what it was before the railway was built.

ISAAC'S HARBOUR, N.S.

Mr. FRASER asked, When do the Government propose to appoint a lighthouse-keeper at Isaac's Harbour, Nova Scotia? Has a recommendation been sent to the Government for the appointment of Captain Simon Griffin? If so, will the Government appoint him?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The question of the appointment of Mr. Ira L. Griffin is under consideration, and is before the Treasury Board to be dealt with. No recommendation has been made for the appointment of Captain Simon Griffin.

CUSTOMS SEIZURES.

Mr. CHARLTON asked, Were the following Crown seizures—Customs—made in the year 1891-92, as per Auditor General's annual Report for that year, page F—25, viz.: Caldecotte, Burton & Spence (Toronto), \$1,084.53; Knox, Morgan & Co. (Hamilton, Ont.), \$1,099.00? If such seizures were made: 1. What was the nature, character, or kind of goods thus seized from the above named parties? 2. When were the seizures made? 3. By whom were the seizures made? 4. What was the gross sum received from each party? 5. What amount was paid as expenses in each of these seizures? 6. Was any portion paid to the officials making the seizures, and if so, how much in each case? 7. How much from each seizure yet remains to the credit of the Receiver General?

Mr. WALLACE. No goods were seized in 1891-92, as referred to, but on the 30th November, 1889, invoices covering inclosures and dutiable charges for "making up" dress goods, for cartoons, gold printing, &c., of the value of \$2,238.65, were seized under clauses 67 and 192 of the Customs Act, as amended. The seizures were made by special officer A. L. Watters. The gross sum received was \$2,238.65. The expenses were \$17.40. \$703.11 was paid to the seizing officer and the same amount to the informer. From the \$2,238.65 deposited, the late special agent Wolff received a commission of 5 per cent, and the officer's expenses of \$17.40 have to be deducted. This left a net amount of \$2,109.32, of which, in the month of February, 1890, one-third was awarded to the seizing officer and one-third to the informer. On the 3rd October, 1891, the sum of \$1,084.53, being the amount deposited, less seizing officer's expenses and the amount of duty, was remitted by Order in Council to the parties, after full investigation, on the report of the Treasury Board. These remarks have reference to the Burton, Caldecotte & Co. seizure; they also apply to the Knox, Morgan & Co.

seizure, with the exceptions that the date of the seizure was August 11th, 1890, and that Thomas J. Watters was the seizing officer.

QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

Mr. SPROULE. Mr. Speaker, before the Orders of the Day are called, I desire to rise to a question of privilege. It will be remembered by this House that on the 3rd of this month, in speaking in the Budget debate, I read a quotation from a newspaper report of a speech said to have been delivered by the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) at Jarvis, Ont., in reference to commercial union, which was as follows:—

It was simply a customs union between two or more independent states where a common tariff and excise laws were adopted, and the revenue collected, after deducting expenses of collection, was divided among the participants upon the basis of population, or any other basis that might be agreed upon, while all trade restriction between them were removed. The application of the principle between Canada and the United States would require that the two countries should have the same excise rates, and the same tariff upon imports from all other countries should be divided upon conditions hereafter to be arranged, that the customs line between the two countries from ocean to ocean should be removed, and that trade between Canada and the United States should be in every respect as free and untrammelled as trade between the different states of the American Union was at the present moment.

The hon. member for North Norfolk, interrupting me, spoke as follows:—

Mr. CHARLTON. Will the hon. gentleman allow me one word of explanation? At Jarvis, I was proceeding to define to the audience that I was addressing what constituted commercial union and what constituted reciprocity; and the statement I made, which is repeated by the hon. gentleman, was not an advocacy of commercial union, but a definition to the audience of what commercial union was.

In justice to the hon. gentleman and to place myself right with the House, I wish to read one or two more extracts from the same speech as reported in the 'Globe' of that day, the 7th November, 1887, as follows:—

Mr. Charlton dealt with the N.P., railway subsidies,—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman can hardly be considered out of order if he proposes to show that his own statement with reference to the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) is correct. He may do that as shortly as possible.

Mr. SPROULE. That was my aim in reading the extract—

—the syndicate contract and the C.P.R. construction, the gerrymander, the boodle brigade, the

Franchise Act, and other leading public questions, and then passed to the consideration of the question of commercial union.

In his remarks upon the subject he declared that he was not the mouthpiece of any party and merely expressed his own views. He advocated a customs union as long ago as 1869, and had continued to advocate it since, but for obvious reasons had refrained from moving in the matter in Parliament. He depicted the advantages derived by the thirty-seven states of the American Union from unrestricted free trade between themselves. Our own interests languished because we were denied participation in the advantages flowing from this great continental Zollverein of Anglo-Saxon States. *

* * * Mr. Charlton then proceeded to meet some of the objections raised to the proposed treaty.

The report winds up by saying that Mr. Charlton's speech was listened to with the closest attention, that his remarks upon the commercial union question were enthusiastically received, and the meeting closed with cheers for the Queen, Mr. Colter, and Mr. Charlton.

Mr. CHARLTON. If this is a matter of privilege on the part of the hon. member for North Grey (Mr. Sproule), I suppose, as I am connected with the question, it is equally a matter of privilege on my part. I have not had the opportunity of examining the report of the speech of which the hon. gentleman has read an extract, or professes to have read one. I asked the hon. gentleman yesterday for the date of his extract, and he failed to furnish it. I have consequently been unable to examine the report of the speech. I have to say, however, that I repudiate the position taken by the hon. gentleman and by various other speakers on the opposite side, that the Liberal party in Canada ever committed itself to the principle or doctrine of commercial union. I stated in my remarks that individual members of that party might, on occasions, have expressed individual opinions about the question, and these opinions might or might not have been favourable to commercial union. But that, so far as the attitude of the party itself was concerned, it had taken no such position. So far as my memory goes with regard to the speech at Jarvis, I was defining to the audience on that occasion the difference between unrestricted reciprocity and commercial union.

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman might say shortly whether the report of his speech is correct or not.

Mr. CHARLTON. I am unable to say. I have not examined the speech. I shall take occasion, as a matter of privilege, on Monday, to refer to it.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

House again resumed the adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Foster :

Mr. SPROULE.

That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair for the House to go into Committee of Ways and Means ; and the motion of Sir Richard Cartwright in amendment thereto.

Mr. MACLEAN (York). In resuming this debate, I desire to say, in the first place, that I purpose to address the House as a protectionist. As a protectionist, I am a stalwart of the stalwarts. I believe in the protectionist doctrine. I believe in the National Policy because, in the first place, it has been a good thing for this country, and I believe it will be a good thing for this country if persisted in and continued. I was sent here, as a protectionist, to support a protectionist Government. I hope, if I ever go back to my constituency again, I will go as a protectionist and a supporter of a protection Government. And, in the next place, I wish to put myself right with the House and the country as to this so-called tariff reform. I take no stock in tariff reform or tariff revision. And in regard to what is called closer trade relations with the United States, in regard to reciprocal trade with the United States, I must say that I take no stock in that at present. I regard it as a thing that is impossible of present accomplishment. But when you come, Sir, to talk about reciprocity, I believe thoroughly in a reciprocity of tariffs. I believe in meeting our American neighbours on their own basis. I believe in meeting their ad valorem 50 per cent by our 50 per cent ad valorem. I believe in meeting them dollar for dollar in the matter of specific duties—eye for eye, tooth for tooth. And I think that is the doctrine that ought to animate Canadians and ought to be lived up to by this Government in dealing with them in regard to trade matters. Being such an out-and-out protectionist, I must say, as such, and speaking for myself, I in a measure regret some of the proposed tariff changes which have been submitted to the House by the Government. I think the Minister of Finance and the other trade Ministers have paid too much attention to certain clamours that have been raised in this country. There has been a clamour raised by the farmers, or rather on behalf of the farmers, by hon. gentlemen opposite. And they have persisted in this to such an extent that they have almost persuaded the farmers to believe that they are downtrodden, imposed upon, and are making millionaires out of the manufacturers of this country. I take no stock in that clamour which has been raised also on behalf of the farmers of the North-west, but for which there may have been a slight justification. But in my part of the country the farmers are all right, they are doing well, they are getting wealthy ; and I have at least the support of the majority in some of the townships which I have the honour to represent. The Government have also paid too much attention to the clamour which

has been raised by the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy). He has gone about this country talking of tariff reform, and with this tariff reform he has mixed up certain race and creed prejudices. And if I can gather anything from his speeches, it is this, that he asks the people of Canada to put him at the head of affairs as a man who, the first thing when he comes into power, will give this country a North of Ireland and Protestant tariff. That is what he is telling the people they ought to have. That is what he is telling the people this country is most in need of. But when he comes forward with this Protestant tariff of his, I want him to show the people how it is to be administered and how a revenue is to be derived from it for carrying on the affairs of this country. The Government have listened to another clamour—one which has been raised by hon. gentlemen opposite against specific duties. As a protectionist, I stand here to vindicate specific duties. They have been found to be the backbone of protection in this and every other country. Specific duties are, in the first place, for the benefit of the honest importer. In the next place, they are for the benefit of the Government, to secure the collection of the full amount of revenue which the tariff calls for. And, in the third place, they are in the interests of the manufacturers, and accomplish what it was intended to accomplish—the protection of home industries. If home industry requires protection, it does so at that time when our foreign rivals are prepared to sacrifice their products and make a slaughter market of our country. That was one of the great reasons given at the time of the introduction of the National Policy, in 1879. And I say that reason now holds good, and, as a protectionist, speaking simply for myself, I regret that the Government has seen its way to paying any attention whatever to that clamour against specific duties. Now, the National Policy, according to my mind, has been a success, and has been in the interests of the farmers. Therefore, as regards them, this clamour was unjustified; and as for the manufacturers, I wish to say that they have not accumulated great fortunes; many of them, in fact, have made no money at all. They have had what was only a fair share of what was going since the introduction of the National Policy. And I also regret that the Government, in bringing down this new tariff and in carrying out the reductions suggested, have struck a blow at some of the industries in this country—such as the great woollen industry, the iron industry, the agricultural implement industry and quite a number of small industries. And I say it is not a matter of pleasure to me to find that this has been the case. But, I do not say here, as an out-and-out protectionist, that there should not be tariff reform nor any tariff revision. In a country situated as we are situated, having so many

diverse interests and having different provinces with their several requirements, I admit that the time may arrive when the Government should make some kind of revision and some kind of reduction. But I do not think that this is called for at the present time, and I can only say that, considering the disturbance that has been caused to the trade of this country, the great labour that the trade Ministers have had since last session in going up and down the country preparing for this measure, and the struggle upon which we are now entering—taking all these into consideration, it appears to me that the game of tariff revision is hardly worth the candle. Take the history of tariff revision to-day; look at it as we see it in the United States to the south of us. A year, or a year and a half ago, hon. gentlemen opposite were telling this House that, by reason of the Democratic triumph in the United States, by reason of the new Cleveland Administration coming into office, the Government of that country and the legislature of that country had a mandate to give tariff reform and to make sweeping reductions all round. But what has been the result? It is true, that the Wilson Bill has been introduced and has proceeded to the Senate. But I venture to say that there is only a slight prospect that the Wilson Bill will ever become the law of the United States. We see that the Republicans are winning all the by-elections, both for Congress and for the states. We see also that the man McKinley, who was condemned in this country, who was condemned in his own country, is the most likely man next to fill the presidential chair in the United States.

An hon. MEMBER. Supposition.

Mr. MACLEAN (York). That is a good supposition; you can hardly name a more likely one. The facts being as I have stated, we cannot but see that tariff reform is not under much way in the United States and is not likely to happen. If I could prevent it, I would not like to have it happen in this country. Now, in this discussion a number of fallacies have been brought forward, fallacies that I am tired of hearing in this House and tired of hearing in the country. Hon. gentlemen opposite have been telling us their old story of the exodus. But, whenever any man speaks to me about the exodus, I ask him one question, and to that question I have never yet had an answer. That question is: If the people are expatriating themselves from this country and going to the United States because of the incidence of our protective tariff, what have you to say when I tell you that these men, leaving this country because of a protective tariff of 30 per cent, are going to another country where there is a protective tariff of nearly 60 per cent, or almost double ours? There is another fallacy which was presented to this House by the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills), a sage, a man whom, I was sorry to hear, with all his knowledge and all his logic, put forward

such a fallacy—that, by some legerdemain, we in Canada, we the members of this legislature, or we the dominant party in this House, can take down the American tariff wall and allow our people to enter the United States markets with their products free. I submit that that is as absurd a thing as any Canadian can state in this House. That American tariff wall was erected for a distinct and specific purpose. It was erected by a people of sixty-five millions to keep out a neighbouring people of five millions; to keep their markets for their own products and their work for their own people. And hon. gentlemen opposite, or the Queen of England, or the British Parliament, or the entire world, could not cause that wall to come down unless the American people, the people who put it up, wished to remove it. Perhaps the idea in the head of the hon. member for Bothwell is that some night, like the priests of old, he will go out before that tariff wall and, by blowing his trumpet, will cause it to fall before him. The hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) is against protection. He wishes to eliminate every vestige of protection from the tariff. He says, and so does that new tariff reformer from North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), that Canada is an agricultural country, as the latter told the people only the other day, and that the people here can have no occupation except agriculture. If so, I say that the future of the farmer of this country cannot be a progressive one. These hon. gentlemen wish to deprive the Canadian farmer of his own home market and admit free the wheat grown by our American neighbours. But they must bear in mind, that the market of the world, in which the Canadian farmer must sell his surplus is being overrun with the wheat produced in countries that can grow it much more cheaply than it can be grown in Canada. The Argentine Republic is growing wheat at a lower rate than we can grow it at. The Russian wheat and the wheat of India are sold in the markets of the world at a rate with which Canadians cannot compete. If the only prospect of the Canadian farmer is that he must remain a farmer, if the only prospect of our people is that they must remain an agricultural people, I say that there is little hope for them. But we take a different view from that taken by hon. gentlemen opposite, and we say we are able to put forward a policy that will assist our farmers and create a diversity of employment for our people. Now, in regard to this tariff Bill, it remains for me to say that while I regret some of the changes that have been made, I shall most cordially make it my business to vote against the amendment of the hon. member for South Oxford; and, when the House goes into committee on the various clauses, I, as a protectionist, will try to persuade the Government, in respect to some of the articles, to go back to the old tariff and give the protection to our industries which they had under the old National Pol-

Mr. MACLEAN (York).

icy, and which I think they are still entitled to. Now, just for a few moments I wish to discuss before the House, somewhat in academic fashion, the two or three ground principles which underlie the system of protection; and I hope the House will pardon me, if, while dealing with the question, I must refer rather closely to some notes which I have prepared with considerable care. History teaches us that nations and peoples in their early stages were and are either pastoral, agricultural, or seafaring. And they emerge from this rudimentary condition and move along the line of progress just in proportion as they become more diversified in their pursuits and occupations. If they have arable land, they try to diversify their agricultural, and if they have seafaring instincts, they become traders. Trade leads to manufacturing, and, instead of one or two pursuits, they come to have a diversity of occupations. The greatest nations and those highest in the scale of progress and civilization are those of greatest diversity of employment for their people, and, as a consequence, possess the widest range of resources, and, therefore, are least dependent on others. A merely pastoral or agricultural people—and that is what the members for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) and North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) say, Canadians must be—never rose to any great height in the scale of nations. Let us look at a few instances: England is at the head of civilization to-day. She has more resources, more occupations for her people, is better able to defend herself, has greater recuperative powers and more prestige to command assistance from, or impose neutrality on, rivals or neighbours than any other country. England, it is true, has remained agricultural; but she has also become the first of maritime powers, and the first in commercial and industrial pursuits; and the great nations that have approached her in the race have only been able to do so by moving along similar lines, by creating diversity of employment and developing the energies of their peoples in as many directions as possible. The United States, Germany, France, Italy and the British dependencies of Australia and Canada are illustrations in point. One of the planks in the platform of the new party in Russia is the regeneration of that country by an increased diversity of occupations for her people. Such is what the history of nations teaches us. In the study of history, we also find that nations are characterized by selfishness, beginning with the lowest form of that instinct, and rising to an enlightened selfishness in our highest civilizations, and which, disguise it as we may, is only an advanced form of that instinct of self-preservation which animates the individual and the nation in the struggle for existence. And it is this spirit of selfishness or self-preservation which instigates the desire to be self-reliant, and, therefore, suggests that diversity of employment and oc-

cupation which is characteristic of higher civilization, and which is the mark of a nation's growth and expansion. And if we apply the teaching of these observations to Canada, we find the desire for national life, for self-preservation just as strong in us as in other nations; and in a spirit of enlightened selfishness we seek to become more self-reliant and more independent of others. And, therefore, that it is our duty to create a diversity of pursuits and occupations for our people. And with that end in view, we have, following other nations, laid down the rule that we can become stronger by keeping all our work for our own people, and our own markets for our own products—in other words, in becoming protectionists. And with the exception of England every country is animated in the same way. And in observing how nations have become great, and of diversified pursuits for their people, we observe another palpable effect, namely: that many pursuits and occupations are not limited by climate or geography, but are capable of transference from one quarter of the globe to another. The most remarkable fact of this century in the way of economics is the transfer of thousands of industries from Europe to the United States of America. Our neighbours have found out that cottons can be made as well or better in Massachusetts than in Lancashire; that steam engines in Providence, R. I., as well as in Glasgow; a watch in Elgin, Ill., as in Switzerland; and that railways and all their accessories from the rail to the great steel bridge, and from the locomotive to the most luxurious passenger car can be made better on this continent than in Europe. And so with a host of things. But our neighbours saw that this transfer of industries could not be effected by mere wishing. They saw that, for a time at least, the transference could only be effected by self-denial, which means self-taxation, or as the hon. member for North Simcoe calls it, by a self-denying ordinance; or as protectionists chose to put it: these new industries, in order to be acquired, must first be encouraged and fostered; and of the various ways of encouraging new industries restriction on the importation of like articles by customs taxation is on the whole considered to be the least objectionable means to that end. And sometimes resort is had to bounties. Protectionists have never claimed that taxation had any virtue in itself, nor that it did not involve a burden and interference with liberty; but what we do hold is that taxation, when fairly applied for the purpose of creating a diversity of employment, the encouragement of home industries, and the transfer to our shores of new ones, as it has been successfully applied under our National Policy, brings about results which so far outstrip the incidental discomfiture that we gladly put up with one for the benefits of the other. And having got thus far in our study of history, namely, that nations

like individuals are instigated by the law of self-preservation to strengthen themselves; that nations become great and powerful, and strong enough to resist attack and to overcome others just in proportion as they possess a diversity of pursuits and occupations for their people, and a variety of lines into which to direct the energy of their citizens; and that many lines of occupation, many lines of pursuits, many industries hitherto unknown to one country are capable of transference from another, if given reasonable encouragement by bounties or by tariff restrictions on the importation of the products of similar industries or pursuits; and having got thus far in our reasoning we proceed, by a careful consideration of the circumstances, to ascertain what pursuits and what industries can be transferred to our own country; and beginning with the simple and more easily acquired industries and the ones that may be adopted most readily in our country, we do, by a judicious selection, proceed to build up a home production in these lines equal to what we formerly obtained from abroad. And I think that as concerns a new country, one whose people are anxious to become self-reliant and sufficient for themselves—as I trust the people of this country are anxious to become—the only dispute that ought to arise between us as a people would be concerning the choice of the most suitable industries to transfer and adopt in our country, and what one we ought to transfer first and what one next, and not to dispute whether we should or should not transfer any at all; but we should not dispute even about this. The people of the United States have shown us the way. Surely, if they have been able in thirty years to build up a host of industries theretofore unknown to that country we can in like manner transfer the same industries to this country. We have all the resources they had; we have the people; we have the moral and physical force, and I trust the determination; and it only requires a little more patience and a few more years and we will have a much greater population and a much wider range of industries and a much greater diversity of occupation for our people. And I challenge hon. gentlemen opposite to deny if they dare that Canadians can do what less vigorous if more enterprising people have done alongside of them. And yet hon. gentlemen opposite in an indirect way say that we are differently situated from our neighbours; that Canada, to quote the speech of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), has no "peculiar aptitudes for a great many manufactures;" and in another place, "nor do we (Canadians) possess advantages for becoming a great manufacturing country which other nations possess, &c.," and as the member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) said the other day, we are only intended for an agricultural people. I repudiate their low

estimate of our country's resources. I spurn the imputation put upon the capacity of Canadians. And having said thus much in justification of the principle of protection, I desire to examine for a few moments the ground plan of the arguments of the free trade policy. It has been the habit of many English writers on political economy, from the days of Adam Smith, Bentham, and Jas. Mill, and their successors, to imagine that trade and commerce and the wealth of nations are governed by certain so-called eternal, fixed and unalterable principles, which are as axiomatic and undeniable as are the laws of gravitation and mathematics, and the other exact sciences. And having by a process of observation and induction arrived at these so-called eternal laws, they have set them up as standards to guide nations in the regulation of wealth and happiness; although as matter of fact, the range of their observation and facts, or so-called facts, on which they based them was very narrow, limited to a small area of the world, and a short period of its history, and conditioned by phenomena that were purely local and conditioned by circumstances that were the outgrowth of purely local relations; and they subsumed these so-called eternal laws under what they called the principle of free trade and they called themselves free traders. These principles which they said governed the laws of trade were printed in books, were exploited still further by men like John Stuart Mill, and were revered, or people were asked to reverence them just as much as the laws discovered by Newton, by Kepler, by Galileo, and other men eminent in the field of physics. Not only did men like John Stuart Mill claim that their laws of trade were of this unquestionable character, but his followers claimed for them, as have Bright and Cobden the great apostles of free trade doctrine in the English Parliament, and even by the hon. member for Guysboro' and others in this House, a moral sanction and a moral force which they at bottom do not possess. It has been the practice of free traders, both in and out of this House, to assume and assert that the doctrine of protection was an iniquitous doctrine, and to quote the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), "a villainous doctrine;" that it was based on robbing the poor for the benefit of the rich; that it was unethical, and that its effect was to demoralize a nation. But as to free trade, they professed that it was by its very essence possessed of a moral nature, that it rested securely on humanitarian ideas of the highest kind, and that the regeneration of fallen man was to be effected by its application to any country howsoever situated. Now, protectionists take direct issue with such doctrines. They say in the first place that morals have nothing to do with the laws which govern trade; but they rightly hold that morals have everything to do with the conduct of an individual in relation to

his fellows. They hold further that while they say there are no eternal laws and everlasting and ethical principles governing trade, they are able to find a scientific, and certainly not an immoral, reason for the application of the principle of protection in Canada; and if I am asked what is the underlying reason which induces us as a nation to take up protection, my answer is, as I have already stated it, that the life of a nation is like the life of animals and plants, and is based on the law of the survival of the fittest; life between nations, as between man, is a struggle for existence and that not in humanitarian laws—much as you may deride what I say—but in what may be called the doctrine of enlightened selfishness is the mainspring of our tariff policy to be found. History has taught us, as I said before, and is teaching all other nations to-day, that a mere shepherd people, a mere farming people, or both, is unable to hold its own against nations of more diversity of employment; and that as it is a matter of fact that some nations, older than themselves, have accumulated greater or less capital and developed other sources of wealth, they must also accumulate capital and develop their resources if they do not wish to be left in the race and sooner or later become tributary to more powerful neighbours. To depend upon one line of occupation is not enough. To depend upon neighbours for everything required is to pass into a state of vassalage and to strike a suicidal blow at their own life. Protectionists, therefore, hold that enlightened selfishness dictates to us, even at a somewhat exorbitant first cost, that we should be independent of other nations; that we should produce our own manufactures, that we should develop our own resources, that we should make our own iron, and our own clothing; and that, instead of giving our work to outsiders, and to other nations, we should keep our own work for our own people, and our own markets for our own products. There is no eternal and everlasting reason, as I have already tried to make clear, why a steam engine should be made in Birmingham or in Glasgow, and not be made in America, in Chicago, or in Toronto. As a matter of fact, the whole commercial and industrial development of this continent proves a steady, gradual, and, in the aggregate, enormous transference of industrial production from Europe to America; and if these so-called eternal laws of our friends, the free traders, were to hold good, and was their elementary law—to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market—to hold good, there would never have been that transference of industrial production, which is now so characteristic of America, from older lands across sea; but this continent would have become the home of a shepherd or farming people, which the hon. members for South Oxford

Mr. MACLEAN (York).

and North Simcoe have said was Canada's real destiny; and so, also, would the people of the United States; and this continent would have been a vast range of plantations, regarded very much in the same light that the merchants and manufacturers of Liverpool and London, and of Lancashire and of Glasgow, regarded the colonies from 1750 to 1830, covering a period that saw the rise of the great republic to the south of us from a very small beginning, but which had, as one of its main springs, a desire to be more self-reliant, more independent, and more able to produce at home what its people needed. It is this spirit of enlightened selfishness which directs nations now to adopt protection in order to make themselves strong and able to resist their rivals. And it is in their failure to have grasped the pregnant significance of the transference of industries from one country to another that has wrecked the theories of the English free trade writers and statesmen. And next, a few words as to those combinations which are said to be the outcome of protection. I deny this. There are combinations just as powerful in free trade England. Several of the metals are, or have been, controlled by European combines. The masters of the great industries of England regulate prices by an understanding among themselves: so they do all the world over. When the principle of combination is compared with the principle of competition, which our free traders say is the germ principle of the creed, I make bold to say that there has been more loss of energy, more waste of capital, more bankruptcies, more misery, resultant from over-competition than from the combination of manufacturers or of those who control the supplies of certain articles. The combination in the case of coal oil in the United States has made that article cheaper than ever it was before. It has brought the cost of production down to the lowest possible figure—to a figure that would never be possible, under limited competition—and the price to the consumer has been kept correspondingly low. If hon. gentlemen of the free trade stripe wish to see competition carried to its ultimate they have only to read Hood's "Song of the Shirt." And this undue competition can reduce the margin of subsistence of the workingman, which obtains in America, to the standard which obtains in China, and when there is a lowering of the standard of existence whether due to competition or combination, there is a corresponding lowering of the morals of the people. I do not set up the principle of combination against competition; what I say is that either principle is liable to result in abuse; but the wise statesman will try and regulate production and prevent either the extortion of monopoly or the slavery of competition.

Now, having said something on the general protectionist principle, I wish to give this House what I consider the national and patriotic reasons for protection. We Canadians are on this continent to stay. This country is ours by right of discovery, by right of conquest, by right of exploitation, by right of occupation, and by right of successful resistance of every invasion. We hold and till this soil of God by our own right hand, and by the still stronger arm of that dear mother-land which has never yet forsaken us. We believe that there is room on this great North American continent for at least two free and independent English-speaking communities, and that Canada is, must, and shall be one of these. We believe not only that it is in the interest of Canada that there should be these two free and independent powers, but we believe that it is in the interest of the continent itself; for we can conceive of nothing more of a bar to American progress than that one great crass republic should dominate the whole of North America. We believe that as the northern people, and the more hardy people, we are destined to exercise dominion over our own portion of the continent, and that we are competent to work out our own destiny as seems best to ourselves, and not as outsiders and southerners may suggest or desire. We believe that there is now in North America a continental politic and a continental diplomacy, and that Canadians must be prepared to play a part therein. And we Conservatives take a special pride in the fact that in the old chief that was, and in the new chief that is, we had and have a worthy representative in this continental diplomacy and continental politic and a match for the ablest of the diplomats of the great nations. We believe that the dominion and the sway is to us over all the country and territory lying between the great lakes and the frozen sea, and from one ocean to the other, the half of a mighty continent. In a word, we believe in Canada's right to a separate and national existence on this continent, and as Canadians we propose to achieve it, and we regard a policy of protection, of encouragement to home industries as the greatest means to that end. We believe that that system of constitutional government which has, through long ages, been developed in the mother country, and in the self-governing colonies is the best yet devised, for the reasons, amongst others, that it secures the greatest stability, the largest measure of personal, civil and religious liberty to the individual, and, at the same time, a large measure of happiness to the people, and best of all, it is still instinct with a capacity for further improvement and simplification, and even development into the requirements of that great English-tongued confederacy that is to be; and that that constitution is to be preferred which gives permanence and stability, and which is the outgrowth of time, and which is a progres-

sion, a development, and not the production of a sweep of the pen or the product of a single generation of men, forged in the heat of a revolution, and, therefore, so stereotyped and inelastic as to be unequal to the duty demanded of it. And, therefore, we propose to conserve and firmly establish on this North American continent that British constitutional system which is our most magnificent birthright, and to improve it where we can; and to make permanent here those principles of civil and religious liberty, and those ideas of justice and of the equality of all before the law which have made the glory of that polity which has become a model to all other progressive nations. And to go from the domain of politics to the domain of morals, if we appear to draw a distinction therebetween, we believe that the greatest and highest mission of the state is the formation of the character of its people. And in the way of character we believe that the strongest, the most dominant force in the world to-day is that very complex thing which we call British character. England is great and at the head of civilization, not because of her insular position, not because of her wealth, not because she is the natural emporium of the world. She is greater than other nations simply because the character of her people rises higher than does theirs. British character leads the march of civilization, has developed the highest literature, is at the head of all true sport, is brave in war, and a pattern to all others in respect for woman-kind. It is, as I have said, of a very complex nature. It is the outcome of the lives of all our forefathers, whether Briton, Saxon, Dane, Norman, or Celt, who have lived in the old land across the sea, and from whom we boast to be sprung, not less than do those that now inhabit the British Isles. British character is redolent of the noblest literature known to the civilized world, and instinct and fragrant with the lives of the millions who have gone before us, and who spoke our glorious tongue, or those other languages which have been incorporated therewith. And it should be our greatest and highest ambition to implant and foster on this American continent that character of which, we trust, we make up a part, and which is the glory of our race. The formation of character is above everything else. Our neighbours to the south started out with the same English character and English ideas of government, but, unfortunately, as we think, for them, by reason of the war with the mother land, they have since sought to move along other lines in regard to government, to build up a different and un-English character, and, for a time, they sought to create, and some of them to-day seek to create a feeling of hostility against what was their, and is our mother country, and a feeling of hostility also towards us who prefer to keep in touch with the old land.

Mr. MACLEAN (York).

Mr. DEVLIN. That would take very well in Toronto.

Mr. MACLEAN (York). And it will take well here.

Mr. DEVLIN. I rise to a point of order. The hon. gentleman is reading his speech. If the rules of the House are applied to us. I ask that they also be applied to hon. gentlemen opposite.

Mr. MACLEAN (York). I am not doing anything of the kind. But we Canadians, I say, seek to preserve for ourselves, and to firmly implant in this Canada of ours, and alongside of the great American republic if we must, those British ideas of constitutional government, of justice, and British character with which we are imbued, and at the same time we seek to vindicate the right of Canada to a national existence on this continent, and we think that the best means of realizing all these things is to maintain a policy of protection, of encouragement to home industries, even at some cost to ourselves, and we know that in doing this we not only attain those great ends, but we also succeed in creating a diversity of employment for our own people, of securing the transfer to our country of industries hitherto unknown to it, but for which we believe it is fitted to become the seat, of keeping our work for our own people, and our market for our own products, of developing our country in every direction, and making it self-sustaining, self-reliant, and able to accomplish what we conceive to be the true destiny of Canada, and Canadians, namely, both in ourselves and by our descendants, to dominate and enjoy the northern half of this continent.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman who has just resumed his seat will, I am sure, not think it any disrespect on my part if I do not attempt to grapple with that part of his speech which consisted of a moral treatise on British character. It was well written and nicely delivered, but I would venture to suggest to him that perhaps it was more suited for a debating society than for this great inquest of the nation, where men assemble to discharge practical duties in a practical way. I admire the hon. gentleman for his honesty. There are many protectionists on that side of the House. There are many hon. gentlemen who believe the doctrine he has espoused, and advocated to-day, but they have not got the courage of their convictions; they advocate the policy outside, but they endeavour to carry out only a modified portion of it in this House. Sir, we hear of hon. gentlemen who disbelieve as much in reciprocal trade as does the hon. gentleman, going upon platforms and challenging the people to name any man who is more stalwart than they for reciprocity of trade. You see men going down to the Maritime Provinces who dare not go on a platform unless they an-

nounce themselves as champions for free trade, and yet they come up here and are willing to cheer and applaud the man who alone has the courage to stand up and express his disbelief in all the policies for reciprocal free trade, or any other free trade, and announces himself a stalwart protectionist. I admire the hon. gentleman, I thank him for his frankness, for his honesty, and for his manliness. He tells us he takes no stock in tariff reform; he does not believe in the policy of the Government, and he does not believe in the policy of the Opposition. He is forming a third party. He takes no stock in reciprocity with the States, and as far as he is concerned the farmers in his district are doing so well that they are perfectly happy and they are all getting wealthy.

Mr. MACLEAN (York). Hear, hear.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) That was just one point on which the hon. gentleman was hardly as fair as he ought to have been. He would lead the average reader of his speech in the 'Hansard' to imagine, that when he speaks of farmers, he speaks of them in the popular sense; whereas those who know the district the hon. gentleman represents and the class of people he refers to, knows that a very large portion of them are more in the nature of market gardeners than they are of farmers, living as they do in the immediate vicinity of Toronto.

Mr. MACLEAN (York). If the hon. gentleman will allow me to correct him, I will just say that in representing the townships of Scarboro' and Markham—and I would refer him to the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) for proof of what I say—I represent two of the most typical of farming townships in Ontario, and two of the wealthiest, and townships that have the best stock and best farming.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I am aware of the districts the hon. gentleman represents, but I am aware that the hon. gentleman represents a large class of well-to-do people, who might come under the term "farmer," but who would be more properly designated as market gardeners, because they reside in the immediate vicinity of Toronto, and sell a large portion of their products to the good people of that city. They are not what we understand, when speaking of the farmers of the country, we refer to those who live away from large cities and the prices of whose products are regulated by the markets of the world. I am not going to discuss the question of specific duties with the hon. gentleman, because the Government have already decided that question, and to the extent that they have gone, the Opposition cordially agree, and will go, perhaps, a little further. During the last fifteen years that the National Policy has been in force, specific duties have been one of the guises under which the people have been robbed. They have been taken out of the poor man, and

have been a means whereby larger prices have been obtained for the common and coarser grades of clothing and the necessaries of life which the poor man uses, and they have militated against the poor for the benefit of the rich. Specific duties have been one of the guises by which very large sums of money, amounting in some cases to 100 per cent and 200 per cent, have been taken out of the poor man when he did not know what he was paying and when nobody but an expert with his pencil in hand could tell what the rate of duty was. Sir, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Maclean), if he has no other merit, has at least the merit of candour, and if he stands alone in the division list, if he does take a division upon his views, he may congratulate himself upon this fact: That although there are very few who would follow him into the division lobby, there are a good many among his own party who secretly believe in his views. I will not follow the hon. gentleman at any greater length. I have a few observations to make to the House upon this national stock-taking which we are engaged in, and I congratulate the House, as my hon. friend did, that at any rate, at long last, we are getting distinct issues before the people. There is, and there will be, no mistaking from this day, what the policy of the Government is, much less what that of the Opposition is. We have heard the policy of the Government enunciated by the Finance Minister, and so far as the policy of the Liberal party is concerned it has been formulated into a resolution which has been supported by gentlemen on this side of the House who have preceded me in the debate. I may just say here to those quidnuncs who object to the general discussion which has taken place upon this subject, that I think this is the proper and correct time to discuss the condition of the country and the principles which hon. gentlemen opposite intend to apply to their tariff policy. It is not the time for discussing the details of the tariff; we will discuss these at greater length when we go into committee, but it is the time for fixing and determining the principles upon which tariff reform and revision should take place. It is the time for arriving at definite and distinct principles, if they can be arrived at, and to apply them to this great object. Sir, the Finance Minister, at any rate, has not hesitated to lay down the principle upon which he goes. I want to call the attention of the House to the language of the Minister in his Budget speech. He says:

The arrangement of a tariff and the principle which is to be adopted has two aspects—it looks to the revenue which is required in a country, and it looks as well to the general trade and development of a country. I wish, at this early stage of my remarks upon this subject, to say that, so far as the revenue aspect is concerned, it is of infinitely less importance than the effect of the principle and

the details of the tariff upon the trade and development of a country.

Now, Sir, I think that statement is very important. It has been heretofore vulgarly assumed that the duty of the Finance Minister was to provide ways and means for carrying on the business of the country. It has been supposed that in the levying of his tariff, his main object was to provide, without unduly burdening the people, the means to raise sufficient money to pay the civil list, to provide for the public works and defence of the country and to pay those fixed charges which the national honour is involved in discharging. But we now find that that is not the object of a Finance Minister at all. The hon. gentleman has told us that this is of infinitely less importance than the great object which he essays and which he starts out to carry into effect. He is going to become, not a moral reformer, but a business reformer all over the country, and he is going to undertake the task of developing the country at large. He is to be no fly on the wheel. He is to look around this country, select the particular businesses that appeal to his imagination or to his feelings, as those which should be first developed, and even to lend the influences of his tariff to the development of these particular industries. But at whose expense? At the expense of the great mass of the people. I want to call the special attention of the House and of the country to the fact that in the very opening of his speech the Finance Minister disavows that his main intention is to raise money to carry on the business of the country, and that, on the contrary, he avows that his intention is to interfere with the ordinary trade of the country and, as he euphemistically declared, to develop the condition of the country. This euphemism means that he is going to take money from one class of the people to build up industries in which another class is interested; that he is going to rob one class of our people for the betterment of another class. That is what "the development of the country" means, as he uses the phrase. The hon. gentleman goes further to define his principles, and he again says in his speech:

I want to state here that the Government of to-day, and the party which supports the Government of to-day, take their stand squarely and fairly upon the embodiment and upon the preservation of the principle of protection.

Well, Sir, that is clear, that is distinct. We are glad to know that we have no tariff reform which in any way interferes with the guiding and governing principle which he says underlies the tariff of the Government. He declares that they are here to develop the country by a system of protection of particular industries. That is the policy presented by the Government. It has the merit at any rate of being clearly understood, and it has the merit also of having

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been applied, not only in this country, but in other countries, and therefore we can see how it has stood the test of experience. Now, Sir, what is the policy presented on this side of the House? We of the Liberal party have for years contended that the principle of protection to individual industries at the expense of the country at large is a pernicious principle; that so far from developing properly and legitimately the resources of the country, it destroys and retards the proper development of these industries, and just so far as you promote one class at the expense of the other, just so far you do grievous wrong and injustice. Sir, we desire to eliminate the element of protection to particular industries. We do not desire to see the experiment attempted here of taxing the people unduly; and the hon. gentleman himself says that he is unable to form any estimate of the amount of revenue this tariff will produce. But we lay down this principle: In the first place, that protection, as an element of the tariff, should be eliminated; and, in the second place, that not a dollar should be taken out of the pockets of the taxpayers except what is required for the purposes of economical and efficient government. That, in a nutshell, is the proposition that the Opposition offer to this House, and to the country, for their approval; and if the voters' lists were to-day revised, so that the thousands of young men throughout the country who are at present disqualified, would have an opportunity of getting their names on it, and if we went before the electorate to-morrow, with the two policies as they have been defined by the Finance Minister, and by my financial leader respectively, I venture to say that instead of coming back here with a majority of sixty, such as they have to-day, hon. gentlemen opposite would find themselves in a large minority. Tariff reform and free trade principles have grown in this country during the last five years as they never grew before. The people have read and thought and studied; they have brought their reading, their thought and their study to the test of practical experience, through which they were going, and I am satisfied that thousands who never had a clear or well-defined judgment on these great questions before, are to-day not only thoroughly aroused, but thoroughly convinced that the proper mode of developing a country is to leave its trade and commerce as little hampered, and with as few legal restrictions in the way of duties or customs laws as possible. Trade and commerce, Sir, develop best when left alone the most, and the policy of the Liberal party, the policy of free traders everywhere, is, as I understand it, to leave to individual exertion the development of the different trades in which individuals are engaged; and for the Government to keep out of the matter as much as possible. Now, Sir, the two policies being before the coun-

try, let us see what we have to guide us in coming to a conclusion. We have more than one test to go by. We have the example of our neighbours to the south—a combination of forty-one or forty-two commonwealths—in which, I believe, since the year 1861 the principle of protection has been nourished, encouraged and enforced. We have, on the other hand, the example of the mother land—the land that hon. gentlemen opposite say they are so fond of, boasting of their admiration for her; but hesitating very much in following her example in those matters which have contributed so much to her commercial greatness. We have her example; and, if you will watch, Mr. Speaker, you will notice that a session of this House never goes by without some one, more or less prominent in the Conservative ranks, informing the country that the day of England's decadence has arrived—that she is going down, and that foreign nations are coming in and successfully competing with her, not only in the markets of the world, but in her own market. The hon. Finance Minister did not scruple, in order to tickle the ears of the groundlings, to give in his adhesion to this heresy; and I believe that the hon. gentleman, from his reading and experience, knew it to be a heresy. What did the hon. gentleman say? I find that in his speech, referring to this matter, he said:

To-day wares and goods which formerly were made in Great Britain alone, are now made in every quarter of the globe, and they are coming from protective countries into the markets of Great Britain to compete with what she manufactures, and throwing out of employment, in many respects, the very artizans who for generations are descended from the first industrial operatives in Great Britain.

What a doleful picture? What a pitiable plight Great Britain is in!

Mr. McNEILL. Is it true?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I knew my hon. friend would chirp in his little cheer. You cannot say a word about that country which he loves so much being in her decadence and decline but the hon. gentleman is prepared to cheer.

Mr. McNEILL. I must be allowed, Mr. Speaker, to correct my hon. friend and to explain for myself. I never cheer any statement to the effect that the mother country is in her decadence and decline, because I do not believe that she is. On the contrary, I believe she is rapidly coming around to a policy of protection. But I cheer facts when I hear them properly stated, and I want to ask my hon. friend whether these are facts referred to by the hon. Finance Minister?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I have no doubt, Sir, that an individual case might be cited to show that in some particular industry, certain quantities of foreign goods have competed successfully in Great Britain. But we have to speak of the trade and commerce

of Great Britain as a whole, as it exists to-day; and we have to ask ourselves whether, looking at the totality of that trade and commerce, Great Britain is being met successfully by the protective nations of the world. Sir, I cheerfully accept the challenge given. I know that my hon. friend is sincere when he says he loves the old country so much. I believe he does; but if he loves her much he loves protection more. Now, I would advise the hon. gentleman and some of his friends behind him to read a little book which was published some years back, entitled "Fifty years of National Progress in Great Britain," and they will see how far those newspaper stories representing the decadence of the trade of Great Britain are based on truth. My hon. friend, if he reads that little book, will find it more interesting than the pages of a novel, and as wonderful as a chapter in the Arabian Nights. He will find, starting from the period when Great Britain changed her policy in 1838 or 1840, that the masses of the people have been raised up to a very high standard of comfort; that wealth has accumulated in a degree unparalleled in the world's history before; and that that wealth is not concentrated in the hands of a few hundreds or thousands, but has been gradually diffused more and more every year, under the beneficent action of free trade principles, among the masses of the people. What does Mulhall say? Let me make a quotation or two for the benefit of my hon. friends on the other side:

The progress made by the United Kingdom during the last fifty years is wholly unprecedented in our annals, and has not been approached by any other nation in Europe. We may divide the whole period into two almost equal portions, the first terminating in 1860, the second coming down to 1886, and a comparison of the statistics bearing upon twelve principal points of national welfare will show that the relative progress has been as follows:

Then follows a list of statistics upon the twelve points or tests of prosperity in the different years, 1837-40, 1860 and 1886; the first being the standard, taken at one hundred in each case:

| | 1837-40. | 1860. | 1886. |
|-----------------------|----------|-------|-------|
| Population..... | 100 | 110 | 142 |
| Wealth..... | 100 | 134 | 224 |
| Trade..... | 100 | 265 | 572 |
| Shipping..... | 100 | 175 | 683 |
| Textile industry..... | 100 | 203 | 306 |
| Hardware..... | 100 | 230 | 512 |
| Mining..... | 100 | 215 | 376 |
| Steam power..... | 100 | 365 | 1,140 |
| Agriculture..... | 100 | 115 | 94 |
| Banking..... | 100 | 344 | 672 |
| Revenue..... | 100 | 134 | 173 |
| Instruction..... | 100 | 170 | 440 |
| Total..... | 1,200 | 2,460 | 5,334 |

There are the twelve great subjects, which comprise in themselves the wealth and evidence of progress in a nation; and if you can parallel Great Britain's record in respect of them in the world's history, combining all your protected countries together during the same period of time, I shall be somewhat surprised. When I speak of protected countries, I mean the old countries, and not the United States, which has been newly developed, and the value of the lands of which must have been something enormous, not created by free trade or protection. Let me just go on to the end of the paragraph:

The only item which shows a positive decline is agriculture, which is 6 per cent lower than it was fifty years ago, and in reference to population 33 per cent lower. When we proceed to study the several items in detail, we shall find some other facts of more or less importance such as these: the national debt has been reduced 7 per cent; food supply per inhabitant has improved 60 per cent; the ratio of paupers to population has declined more than one-half; the criminal records show a diminution of 71 per cent, and the result of sanitary improvements has been to lengthen the span of life by three years, say 6 per cent.

Sir, you find here that shipping has increased nearly seven-fold, trade nearly six-fold, steam power nearly twelve-fold. You find that everything has increased; you find that everything has doubled, quadrupled; and with these facts staring us in the face, hon. gentlemen come forward, like my hon. friend who has just sat down (Mr. Maclean) and say: I am not a believer in the policy which has made that country great and glorious as she is—which has made her the commercial mistress of the world with all the nations of the world bringing tribute to her; I believe in something adopted by France and Germany, and which keeps them in the comparatively stationary position they are in to-day as compared with Great Britain. What more do we find? Not only has there been an actual increase in the several divisions of actual wealth and in the totality of that wealth, but we find it has not been confined to the classes. And the great point I desire to make in connection is this: That where free trade exists, the increase of wealth is not confined to the classes, but permeates down to and through the masses of the people. On page 23 I find the following:—

We find, therefore, that the accumulations average 53 shillings yearly per inhabitant down to 1860, and 82 shillings since that date. In a word, the ordinary accumulation is 150 millions yearly, or almost half a million daily, nor does this wealth become congested among a small number of the people, on the contrary, the rich grow less rich, and more numerous every year, the poor become fewer in ratio to population.

That is the result in free trade England. Then he gives some other tables not pertinent to my subject, and winds up his statement on page 25 thus:

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This shows that the affluent and middle classes have increased since 1850 no less than 270 per cent, or eight times faster than population, and just twice as fast as the aggregate earnings.

Nothing can be more conclusive. I will not read any more except the concluding section which relates to the condition of the masses:

In whatever direction we turn our eyes, to compare the present condition of the masses with what it was forty or fifty years ago, we find, with a few exceptions, the utmost reason for satisfaction. The Probate Court returns show that 31 per cent of the persons who now die belong to a class above the reach of want, against 17 per cent in 1840; that is to say, 14 per cent of our population have been lifted out of a position of indigence to one of absolute or comparative affluence. At present 15 per cent of the people of the three Kingdoms reside in houses valued at or over £20 a year, against 5 per cent in 1840, which means that 10 per cent of the population who formerly lived in poor dwellings are now in the enjoyment of comfortable, healthy habitations. The general increase of wealth has been extensive to the working classes since the depositors in savings banks and members of friendly societies numbered last year 19 million persons, whose savings amounted to 160 million sterling, or £16 per head. These accumulations since 1840 have grown fourteen times faster than population, the annual increase since 1875 having been 7 millions sterling.

Why, these results are enough to take away one's breath. And when you compare that old, effete monarchy, as she used to be called in this Canada of ours, with this young healthy, thriving and virgin nation—when you compare the stagnation, the commercial atrophy which has existed over this Canada for years past and the comparative stagnation which has marked our national record, with the brilliant record Great Britain has made, through leaps and bounds, we may well ask: Is our condition due to any inherent defect that exists in the character of our people, or is it because we have not got the right policy? Either one or the other. Either our country must be a bad country and our people a poor people, or we have not got a good policy to enable them to reach somewhere near the extraordinary degree of prosperity which has marked the people of Great Britain. Now, we have that example before us in the mother land; and, as I remarked, we have an example, on the other side, in the country to the south. We have an example of protection applied to the people in the United States; and I do not suppose there is a protectionist, in this House or out of it, who would desire a more favourable country in which to apply his favourite theory than the United States. It is not one country, as we all know. It is composed of forty-two great commonwealths, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Gulf of Mexico to the Canadian boundary lines. It is a world in itself, one-half a continent, furnishing within it

all the necessaries demanded by man for his life, improvement and comfort. Why, they do not require to go abroad hardly for any of the things necessary to man's existence, comfort and happiness. They possess them within themselves. They have the tropics and arctic and temperate zones. Do they want something from the north, they produce it themselves. Do they want the products of the tropics, they have them within their own borders. Do they want the grains and other articles which grow in the temperate zone, and all that man requires in the highest state of development, they have them within their own limits. If there was any country in which a protective system could be applied with the least disadvantage and the greatest benefit, that country is the United States. The trade between the forty-two States is absolutely free. Travelling from the boundary lines down to the Gulf of Mexico, and from ocean to ocean, you cannot come across a customs house or a customs officer. It is all free—free as it is in England—freer even, because there is not even a tax on anything so far as passing from state to state is concerned. What has been the result? In 1846 the Walker Tariff was adopted by the United States. That was, practically speaking, a tariff for revenue only. That remained in force from 1846 to 1861. And I venture to say that the degree of prosperity that marked that era of the history of the United States has not been surpassed, if it has ever been equalled, in that country. Sir, there was contentment, there was prosperity, there was even-handed progress. No changes were made in the tariff; the people engaged in trade and commerce went satisfied about their business. They were not told one year, as we were told in Canada: We are going to make a small revision this year, but look out for next year. They did not have peripatetic commissioners going about the country to find out how much they should uproot the existing conditions of things and establish another, so that no man engaged in trade or commerce might know what the tariff was to be. But for this number of years the tariff remained stationary and with the best results. In 1861, what took place? The people were not convinced that their policy was bad, but, driven by the necessities of a crisis because of the civil war which was just upon them, they were induced to adopt the system of protection in order to raise a large revenue. And, once protection was established, it was found difficult if not impossible to dislodge. Why? Because it is based upon selfishness, and it cannot be otherwise. My hon. friend who has just taken his seat (Mr. Maclean, York) told us that selfishness was the governing principle of the human race; that everywhere it was the governing principle of protection. Every class that was feeding and fattening at the public expense entrench-

ed itself behind its privileges and contributed of its means to maintain and support the system by which it lived. And so it has been in Canada. Well, Sir, it went on from time to time until these colossal taskmasters (as they have been termed) of the whole people, levying tribute from every day's labour, became such a danger to the state that the people rose against the system, and a new mandate was given to the law-makers, which is now being carried out by the Democratic party. They are reversing the lines of tariff legislation on which they went for years, they are proceeding upon freer trade lines, upon revenue tariff lines, getting as near to free trade as they can, and throwing over the system of protection that has worked such injury. And what now do we find? We find hon. gentlemen opposite rising in their places and pointing to the condition of trade in the United States as a warning to the free traders of this country. If this is not their motive I do not know what their motive can be. They say to us: do you not see the terrible strife going on there, the strikes, the lock-outs, the depression in business all over the United States? Of course, all this exists. Sir, I am not here to say that it exists specially or only on account of protection. There are other causes; but we know that the system of protection has been a very large contributing cause towards such condition of affairs as we have seen at Philadelphia, Homestead and other places within the past year or two. The people there have groaned under the protective system as the people here have groaned under the exactions of a tariff based upon the same principle. And the masses who feel its exactions most severely there are the same who suffer most here—the poorer classes, the farming classes and those who cannot form combinations in order to have their particular industries “developed.” The hon. gentleman will develop an iron industry but not an agricultural industry. He will not pay a bonus for digging potatoes, but he will pay a bonus for digging and smelting iron. We see that, as a result of the application of the system of protection in the United States, the American flag has been swept off the sea. As long ago as 1856, 75 per cent of the foreign trade of the United States was carried in United States bottoms; but in 1892, after over 30 years of protection, but 15 per cent of the foreign trade of the United States was so carried. Sir, I took up a copy of the New York ‘Herald’ only yesterday. It was dated 1st April, 1894. There I read the statement that of 56,000,000 bushels of grain exported from that city of New York during the previous year, but 17,000 bushels was carried in United States bottoms. What does that show? It shows that the system under which they have lived for the last 30 odd years has swept the seas of their fleet and of their flag; has transferred to

foreign bottoms the trade which they once held, and held to their own advantage, and to their own increase in wealth. I hope to show in a later stage of my remarks that the results in this country of the application of this pernicious principle have been proportionately the same. I am proud to see, and every lover of freer trade relations will be proud to see, that the party now in power in the United States are setting about to reform this state of things, and that the Bill which is now before the Senate, which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Maclean, York) predicts will not be carried—that Bill, as Mr. Voorhees explained it, will result in lessening the tax burdens of the people to the extent of \$76,000,000. Sir, that is a long step in the right direction. It is not as far as the Democratic party in the House of Representatives want to go, it is not as far as I had hoped the Democratic would go, but this at least we can say, that their faces are turned toward the light, that they are travelling in the right direction. Of that \$76,000,000 taken from the burdens of the people, \$23,000,000 represents the reduction on woollens, and the balance is on flax, hemp, jute and cotton and on metal and other manufactures. Now, Sir, I wish to ask hon. gentlemen on the other side, who are disposed to speak and think upon these makers, this question: if the application of free trade or the revenue tariff principle as they have it in England, has produced the results I have described, and if the application of the protective system has resulted in such difficulties in the United States—and I think they will agree with me that I have not overdrawn the picture—if with every advantage in their favour—of diversity of climate and natural resources—the people of the United States were unable to progress as they had hoped to progress, as they ought to have progressed, as we believe they would have progressed; then why do hon. gentlemen seek to apply that protective principle to a country with a climate and resources such as those of Canada? Why, Sir, I should think this the worst country in the world to which to apply this system of protection, for we are a narrow country, practically in the same zone from ocean to ocean, and with similar productions in almost every part. I can imagine the possibility of such a great agglomeration of commonwealths as the United States, a country having within itself all that a nation wants, subsisting upon protection; but I cannot imagine a country like Canada succeeding under such a system. Take the eastern provinces. What protection can we have down there? We do not trade with Ontario; you cannot force trade with Ontario if you try. The hon. gentleman has undertaken to force it to some extent by carrying products at non-paying prices along the Intercolonial Railway. He has forced the coal from Nova Scotia by this means as far west as the Province of Quebec. But he cannot make a profitable

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trade between Ontario and the eastern provinces, because trade consists in the profitable exchange of the surplus products of two countries, while in our country these two sections produce the same things and have the same kind of farming community. The country we want to get to is the country lying to the south, not that it is our only market, but that it is one of our best markets.

Mr. MACDONALD (King's, P.E.I.) Does not the United States produce the same things as we produce?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Certainly, they produce the same things to some extent, but the hon. gentleman knows that we can produce them more cheaply and that the United States is the only market for many of the products that we have in the Maritime Provinces, and we have to send them in there whether there is a tariff or whether there is no tariff; we cannot help ourselves. Sir, we have in Canada arrived at a turning-point in our history, in my humble judgment, and I will tell you why. What have we been doing for the last three or four decades of our history? Not that I complain of it particularly, but I want to call this fact to the attention of the House and country, that we have been going on borrowing to an extent almost alarming. The Government of the Dominion have been borrowing abroad; the provinces have been borrowing abroad, the municipalities, railways, and loan companies have all been borrowing abroad, until those best able to judge calculate that at this moment we stand indebted to foreign creditors in an amount approximating eight hundred millions of dollars. More than that, during the last fifteen years that the National Policy has been in force, you have gone on carrying out that same system to an extent greater than ever before. I am not now complaining of it, because I think that in so far as borrowing is necessary to develop the undeveloped resources of a new state, it is perfectly right and proper; but I am only calling attention to the fact that to-day you stand with that indebtedness upon you. We are told now that the construction of public works has come to an end, that we have run the length of our tether, and that there is going to be no more heavy expenditures. What does that mean? It means that during the past fifteen years we have been borrowing enormously in Great Britain, to an extent of not less than three hundred millions during that period, and bringing the money here to spend it on railways, on canals, and on public works, to develop the resources of this country. Why, Sir, it would be marvellous if, during the time of the expenditure of that borrowed money, there was not a seeming and a passing prosperity in this country. Go into a small province like Cape Breton, where not less than three and a-half millions of money have been spent during the past few years in building a railway; must have not be a passing, even if it is ephemeral, pros-

perity during that expenditure? Go down to Nova Scotia where the Minister of Marine and the High Commissioner, his father, have spent millions upon millions of money in constructing miles of railway hither and thither, and across the country; go down where they are spending money in building this Chignecto Ship Railway, and where the Government voted money to the late member for Gloucester (Mr. Burns) to build that fraud known as the Caraquet Railway—I say that during the expenditure of these millions of money there must have been a passing prosperity in the parts of the country where it was spent. But it was for the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Railways to tell us now that that period of Canadian history is past? The Minister of Finance tells you that the period of borrowing and spending has gone by, he tells you that now we have come to the period of paying. You have danced, and now you have got to pay the piper. Let me tell you that during the next fifteen or twenty years, while you are paying the piper, you are coming under a condition of things very different from the inflation which was necessarily caused by the introduction into this country of such huge sums of money, and their expenditure in the way I have spoken of. The expenditure has ceased, there will be a reaction, but the interest has got to be paid. Any hon. gentlemen with pencil in hand can ascertain that if you owe eight hundred millions of money, and pay 4 per cent upon it—or 5 per cent, as you do in many cases—it takes nearly one-third of the total exports of Canada to pay the interest alone. At 4 per cent, the interest would amount to thirty-two millions a year, and that is the value of one-third of the real exports of Canada. During the past fifteen or twenty years that you have been borrowing, you have provided for the foreign exchange which was required, you have provided for the accruing interest upon old loans, and you have provided, to some extent for your mercantile indebtedness. An hon. gentleman whom I have in my eye now, a mercantile man of great experience, knows well that the period of borrowing having ceased, you are approaching a period when the question of providing exchange to pay your indebtedness abroad, is going to be a serious one, so serious that it will tax the best resources of this country to meet it. I say that the facts are such as to call for serious reflection from this Parliament and from this country; and that so far from persisting in the course of shackling trade and commerce, limiting trade and commerce, warping and thwarting foreign trade in which money might be made, your policy ought to be throw off the shackles which hamper trade, and make trade as free as you possibly can, so that the people may get as rich and wealthy as they ought to be. Now, notwithstanding all this, I say, and I say it with the deepest sorrow, that our hopes as to what would have taken place

in Canada, have been grievously disappointed. It is a lamentable confession to have to make that our trade to-day, so far as imports are concerned, amounts to just what it did in the years 1873 and 1874, twenty years ago. If we had been a small country, with our boundary line fixed and determined, and our population increasing slowly, and no immigrants coming here from the countries of the old world, one would not have been so much surprised; but here is a new and virgin soil, here are millions upon millions of acres in the great territories of the west added to the old territory of Canada during the last twenty years, here we have had tens of thousands of immigrants brought at great expense to swell our population, and notwithstanding that, we do not seem to have imported any more during the last year or two than we did twenty years ago. It is true, I am glad to say it, that our exports during the past year have increased somewhat, increased by the added exports from Manitoba and the North-west, not that the Maritime Provinces, or the old provinces of Canada, have increased their exports at all. The hon. gentleman knows that the picture is not one calculated to inspire us with a great deal of pride in the future of Canada. It is a picture of failure, failure to a very large extent, and I regret to say that the picture of failure, and the picture of disaster, is more marked in the eastern provinces from which I come than in any other part of the Dominion. Nothing has struck me so much, concerning the present condition and future prospects of Canada, as the way in which they are spoken of by hon. gentlemen opposite and hon. gentlemen from this side. Why, Sir, we had the member from Kent (Mr. McInerney) and the hon. gentleman for St. John (Mr. Hazen) rejoicing, and quoting in proof of their rejoicing, statements from Governors in several provinces of the Dominion, to the effect that really there was no great want, and no distress in the Maritime Provinces.

Mr. McINERNEY. I wish to say to the hon. gentleman that I quoted no Governor's speech at all.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman did not quote it. I coupled the name of the hon. member for St. John who, if I mistake not, quoted not less than two, if he did not quote three or four Governor's speeches. The hon. member for St. John thanks God and takes courage because there is no actual want in the city from which he comes. Surprising, is it not, that with the natural resources of the Maritime Provinces, unequalled, I may say, in many respects in the world, with their mineral, fishing and lumber resources, with a population of hardy, honest and economical people, sprung from the best stock—surprising, is it not, that they can get bread and

butter to eat? Why, Sir, the picture is one that I am ashamed an hon. member should bring before this House. Let the hon. gentleman look at the figures, as I will give them directly, and I think he will see that the time has come for considering—if he has the moral courage to do it, as some hon. gentlemen, whom I commend, on the other side have had the moral courage to do—whether we have been pursuing the right political path, and whether it is not time to turn our backs upon that path, and go in a better direction. Sir, the application of this pernicious system to Canada has resulted in producing the same effects here as followed the application of that principle in the United States. What do you see to-day? In 1879 the percentage of our sea-borne trade carried by Canadian ships was 35 per cent; in 1893 it had been reduced to 20 per cent. Of the total sea-borne trade of Canada 80 per cent to-day is carried in foreign bottoms, and yet we boast ourselves to be the fourth or fifth maritime nation in the world, a showing that should make us hang our heads with shame. The registered tonnage of Canada, which between 1873 and 1878, that terrible period which hon. gentlemen opposite are so fond of proclaiming as one of the most desolate periods of Canadian history, increased \$8,000,000 in value, while during the period from 1870 down to the present time it decreased \$10,000,000 in value. Therefore, so far as our shipping is concerned, the result is deplorable to whatever cause you attribute it. I know hon. gentlemen opposite are constantly saying that surely the National Policy cannot be held responsible for the decrease in shipping, and I admit certainly not for all the decrease—but if the decrease in shipping only bears the same ratio to the decreases in all other branches of trade, the determining cause must be the general policy of the country or it must be some inherent defect in the country itself. I will show that it is not an inherent defect in the country, because I will prove that during the period anterior to the introduction of this policy the Maritime Provinces progressed in a satisfactory manner, both in population and in material wealth. We have been in the confederation twenty odd years, and I am not going to single out a particular year here and there in order to show this year is better than that, as some hon. gentlemen are so fond of doing, but I take the whole period, from 1873 to 1878 the Liberal party were in power, and I take a similar period from 1889 to 1893 inclusive, and comparing one period with the other I find the aggregate trade of the three Maritime Provinces has decreased by millions. Why, looking at Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, lying right in the lap of the fisheries, Nova Scotia with its rich mines of coal and gold and forests and mineral wealth almost unri-

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

valled; New Brunswick with her wealth of fisheries and forests, and Prince Edward Island with its agricultural resources, considering also the careful, hard-working people who comprise their population who could do otherwise 18 or 20 years ago than predict for them a bright and brilliant future. They are a maritime people, naturally born free traders, exchanging for the wealth of the world brought to their doors, their surplus natural products, a people brought up not in penury but in hardihood, and trained to habits of industry and frugality; with such a people and such natural resources we had reason to hope that under a fair and honest system a height of prosperity would have been reached, at least equal to that attained by the people to the south. The records, however, show that from 1874 to 1878 the aggregate trade of these three provinces was considerably larger than that from 1889 to 1893. What has become of our population? If there is one test more fair than another of a nation's prosperity it is the test of population. Have we reached the greatest height and can we hope to go no higher? Is it not true that we have resources enough to maintain in competency and happiness five times the population we now possess? Is it not true that we were told we would have at least three or four times more population than we now possess, and this 25 years ago when we entered the confederation? Why, the population did increase during the first decade in a very respectable degree. I find that from 1871 to 1881 it increased 103,000 souls, but that after this protective policy was introduced which we imported from our Yankee friends to the south, from 1881 to 1891 our population increased barely 10,000 in the whole Maritime Provinces, a record which we can only read with sorrow and regret. This state of things can only be reversed when you reverse the policy which has brought it about. Between 1871 and 1881 we heard a great deal about the exodus. How many people did we lose during that period? About 5,000 a year from the Maritime Provinces. What number did we lose between 1881 and 1889? No less than 17,500 per year. Where have they gone? Have they gone to Ontario and Quebec to build up the Dominion as a whole? No, a very small number even went to the North-west Territories. These people left this country to enrich a foreign power, and the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite drove them away to a foreign land. There is no denying this fact, that we in the Maritime Provinces are getting poorer and poorer every year, and we know it. With our shipping gone, our trade diminished, our lands reduced in value 40 and in some cases even 50 per cent, with many of our wharfs and warehouses empty, and the population fleeing the country—the hearts of the best men are beginning to fail. It was not so under the old system. At that time we

did not progress in any wonderful way, but we progressed substantially and steadily. But since this new system of developing the resources of the country by taxing one industry to put money into the hands of another has been introduced, the Maritime Provinces have steadily declined in prosperity, and gone back. The hon. member for St. John (Mr. Hazen) pointed to one ray of hope. He looked around the horizon and then declared that the people were not starving, for which they should thank God and take courage, and then he said, Look at the savings bank deposits! I am sick and tired of hearing of these deposits, because they are so presented as to constitute a very fallacious argument.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Does the hon. gentleman forget that the hon. member who first presented that argument was the hon. gentleman who sits beside him (Sir Richard Cartwright)?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) It is one thing to call attention to the state of the savings bank deposits as satisfactory. It is another thing to select a small increase in the savings bank deposits as conclusive evidence that the country is progressing as it ought to progress. There is not a man who comes from the Maritime Provinces but would be insulted if he were told that the state of Maine possesses more natural resources, and is a better country than New Brunswick or Nova Scotia. We talk about our \$15,000,000 in the savings banks of all the Maritime Provinces. What does that amount to? The total in the savings banks for the whole Dominion is \$41,000,000; the deposits in the banks in the state of Maine alone are \$50,278,000. Do you want to accept the argument, that the amount in the savings banks is an indication of the wealth and prosperity of your country? Then, apply it; \$50,000,000 in the state of Maine, \$15,000,000 in the three Maritime Provinces; \$50,000,000 in the state of Maine, and \$41,000,000 in the whole Dominion of Canada. Are you prepared for that result? Will you go on the platform and tell your people that the state of Maine alone is more wealthy than all Canada, because that state has larger savings bank deposits than has the entire Dominion? Is not the argument ridiculous and absurd? Business in the Maritime Provinces is in such condition that I am not surprised that our people put their money in the savings banks. I wish they would take it out and that there was some mode of using it to develop the commercial prosperity of the country, but so stagnant have we become in many parts down there, that if a man does get a few hundred dollars, he is only too glad to hide it away in the savings banks, much like the money laid up in the napkin that bears no interest and brings no result. Hon. gentlemen opposite talk about money in the savings banks. I take up the 'American Almanac,'

and I find that in the little State of New Hampshire there are \$74,000,000 deposited in the savings banks, in the State of Massachusetts \$369,000,000, and in the whole of the United States of America, \$1,700,000,000. The hon. gentleman from Haidimand (Mr. Montague), with whom the savings bank argument is a little pet; will he work that out?

Mr. MONTAGUE. That is not bad for a country that has been ruined by protection.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I have heard the hon. gentleman tell this House, in the most doleful tones, that the people to the south of us have been ruined; he did not say it was by protection, but he said that they were far behind us in Canada. The hon. gentleman asked us: Is that the miserable country you want to deal with? He has asked us that question in this House with the most dramatic power and force. I answer: Yes, that is the country we want to trade with. We want to trade with it because they want the surplus products we have to dispose of, and we want to exchange for them certain things that we can buy there to the best advantage.

Mr. MONTAGUE. How will you get it?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I will show you.

Mr. MONTAGUE. We want to know that; it would be interesting

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) We are not going to get it by playing possum, as certain members of the Government did a few years ago. We are not going to get it by telling the people, as a certain political party opposite me told them at the last election: that negotiations had been initiated by the Government of a neighbouring country to bring about reciprocal trade with our country, when many of them knew there was no foundation for such a statement. We who come from the Maritime Provinces, know that you, the Conservatives, won your majorities in very many counties down there by that false statement which you put out. Thousands upon thousands of electors whose main hope and desire was to see a fair and honourable treaty obtained between the two countries, said: If these negotiations are under way, if they have been initiated by the United States of America, if our Government do desire to bring about a reasonable extension of the old reciprocity treaty of 1854, in Heaven's name, give the men a chance who are trying to bring this about; and they voted to put you back in power, and what did you? You sold them. You went down masquerading at Washington a year afterwards, and your whole party knew that the thing was a farce and a fraud before you even started. You came back with a report, even the accuracy of which is contradicted by the United States authorities, and to this day it is impossible for any one of us to tell what you did offer or what they did offer. The hon. gentleman asks me: How are we going to get it? I know this. I have this official

piece of evidence at any rate—I care not so much whether Mr. Blaine understood Mr. Foster, or Mr. Foster understood perfectly Mr. Blaine's offer—I know this: that, embalmed in the official records of the United States reports, is a statement of the terms on which they were prepared to enter upon and negotiate a fair and honourable treaty with us. I know that they insisted in adopting as a basis the same lines which George Brown laid down in his treaty, and I know that such a treaty, honourable to both countries, would be productive alike of good to each. I know, Sir, that tens of thousands of people in this Dominion would thank God if such a treaty were negotiated to-morrow. Hon. gentlemen opposite, when they talk about this, try and turn the subject by intimating that the Liberal party desire annexation to the United States. They know that is false. They know that the Liberal party of this Dominion are just as loyal, just as desirous of maintaining our independence and maintaining our connection with Great Britain as they are, and I say it is a slander on the best half of the Canadian people, when you impugn and attack their loyalty in that regard. Then again, you try and make the people believe that we are aiming at annexation in an indirect way by proclaiming commercial union. You know that in doing that, you are dealing dishonestly. Hon. gentlemen opposite know that commercial union, in the sense in which they proclaim it to the people, has never been professed by this party either formally or in any other way. An hon. gentleman cited here—as has been cited every year in support of the statement that our party supported commercial union—some remarks I happened to make before the Board of Trade of Charlottetown some years ago.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. And in this House afterwards.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman never cited any of my remarks in this House to that effect—I challenge the Minister of Marine—

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman's own speech in 1888.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I will challenge the Minister of Marine to produce one sentence, or paragraph, from a speech made by me in this House or out of it, in which I avowed myself in favour of commercial union.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I will state this, so that I may not mislead the hon. gentleman. The speech I refer to is the speech in which he endeavoured to explain his speech at Charlottetown.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Yes, I am just coming to that very point. It does not require any explanation, except that the hon. gentleman who quoted it, divorced the quotation from its context and made it appear different altogether from what it was. What took place on that occasion in Charlottetown?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

The question of reciprocity with the United States was one that the Charlottetown Board of Trade was more interested in than any other question. The question of Liberal and Conservative, and everything else, faded into utter insignificance before the question of obtaining freer trade relations with the United States.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Will the hon. gentleman allow me to ask him a question, as he is on this point of reciprocity?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Pardon me for a moment. When we met at Charlottetown, I was asked to explain the questions of reciprocity and commercial union. There were certain gentlemen at that Board of Trade meeting who desired to have trade as free between Canada and the United States as between each of the states of the Union; they wanted no customs-houses at all, and they desired at the same time to maintain the fiscal independence of Canada by having the right to fix our own tariff. I pointed out to them that such a thing as that was ridiculous, that they could not have that, that if they took down the customs-houses altogether, the tariff would have to be made uniform, and the United States would not be foolish enough to agree to take away the customs-houses altogether and allow us the right to put our tariff 20 per cent lower than theirs. No one but fools, I said, would do that. The hon. gentleman quoted me as inferentially supporting and recommending commercial union. That is not so. That debate lasted some days, and at the close of the debate before the Board of Trade I moved a resolution, which I will read to the House, and which was carried with hardly a dissenting voice. If the hon. gentleman can find any commercial union in it, or any annexation in it, or anything else in it than the policy I have understood the party with which I have the privilege to be connected always to support and advocate, namely, the freest possible trade relations consistent with our honour and dignity—if he can discover anything else but that in this resolution, then Sir, I will withdraw from my position. Here is the resolution I proposed:

That this Board warmly approves of reciprocal free trade with the United States on the broadest possible basis, including the abolition of restrictions on the coasting trade and the transfer of vessel property, and embracing the concession to the Americans of the common right with our fishermen to use our fisheries.

Sir, that is the resolution I moved; those were my sentiments and the sentiments of the gentlemen whom I was addressing; and those sentiments were voted and approved of by every man sitting at the Board without distinction of party. And still, in the face of that, my hon. friend quotes me in this House—so that it may go to many thousands of people who have never seen or heard me, and who do not know me—as having

said that I was in favour of commercial union, and consequently in favour of annexation.

Mr. SPROULE. Did I misquote the hon. gentleman ?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Yes, the hon. gentleman misquoted me in the worst possible way, by quoting a part of what I said and leaving out the remainder.

Mr. MONTAGUE. If the hon. gentleman will allow me. My question is a very simple one: Having declared that he was not in favour of commercial union, I want to ask him if he is in favour of unrestricted reciprocity ?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman may think that is very clever. I tell him that I was in favour of unrestricted reciprocity.

Mr. MONTAGUE. And still in favour of it ?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I am in favour of the broadest and freest trade relations between the two countries that can be obtained consistently with the national dignity of both. I was aware, when I spoke in favour of the unrestricted reciprocity resolution—personally aware, as my hon. friends at the right and left of me know—especially aware, from a very important interview that I had with one of the very leading men in the United States—

Mr. MONTAGUE. Mr. Blaine.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Yes, Mr. Blaine, if you will have it—an interview lasting a good many hours—I was aware that unrestricted reciprocity in the sense in which it was popularly understood, of doing away with the custom-houses altogether, never could be obtained; that there were certain articles, such as wool, on which they had a duty while we had none, that would have to be scheduled. I was perfectly aware that we were not to have a pedantic uniformity. There were certain articles which from the necessity of the case would have to be scheduled. But when these were scheduled, everything else would be opened, the honour and fiscal independence of each country would be maintained, and the right of each to maintain its tariff would remain intact; only we would have a treaty of reciprocal trade relations broader than the treaty of 1854—broader possibly than the George Brown Treaty of 1874; but not broader than we thought it desirable to have, and quite consistent with the honour and independence, fiscal and otherwise, of the Dominion of Canada.

Mr. McNEILL. Did I understand my hon. friend to say that the United States Government were willing to concede a reciprocity treaty similar to that refused to the Hon. George Brown ?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I understand the hon. gentleman to ask me whether I thought

a treaty could be obtained on the lines of George Brown's treaty.

Mr. McNEILL. I wanted to know whether the hon. gentleman said there was something embalmed in the records.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I said there was something embalmed in the records; and if the hon. gentleman turns to the United States records, he will find that Mr. Blaine's report to the Senate of the United States lays down the exact lines on which he was prepared to negotiate a treaty with Canada, and he will find that those lines were as broad or broader than the lines of the treaty negotiated by Mr. Brown.

Mr. McNEILL. So much for the National Policy. What George Brown could not get we can get now.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) When interrupted a few moments ago, I was referring to the lamentable exodus which has occurred—which we all, irrespective of party, deplore; which we would all like to see stopped.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Does the hon. gentleman allude to the exodus from the United States or from Canada ?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I refer to the exodus from the Maritime Provinces. I was coming to a remark made by one of the hon. gentleman's friends that the Maritime Provinces were being repatriated, and he quoted, I think, from the St. John "Telegraph," a statement that some people have been coming back. Well, I have no doubt that the great commercial depression that has existed in the United States during the last twelve months has driven some hundreds, I hope some thousands back. I have not seen them; I have not seen anybody who has seen them. I hope that they have come; but, from what I have heard, I do not think they have come to stay, or to stay longer than the mere passing away of the commercial depression in the United States. I wish they would stay; but I do not think they will do so until something happens that will revive commerce, restore farm values, and enable people to live so that something will be left to them at the end of the year's operations. When you make this a cheap country to live in and a cheap country to produce in, I think you will repatriate it almost as quickly as you depopulated it by making it a dear country. Let us then see what the rival proposals of the two political parties are. The hon. gentleman tells us that they have reached the limit of economy in the public expenditure, that they can go no further; and they say that the high tariff is imposed, not so much to yield the necessary revenue of the country, as it is, in their euphemistic language, to develop the country. Now, I deny that national prosperity can be obtained by enriching one class at the expense of another. I say that the experience of the last fifteen years shows that,

instead of promoting national development, the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite has promoted national atrophy. I say that their policy is an unjust, unfair and destructive process. The evil does not lie in the exaction of the taxes paid into the treasury, because a portion of those at least are used for the public welfare; but the evil lies in the great amount of taxes which are taken out of the pockets of the people that never go into the treasury at all. I have heard from those in whose judgment I place great confidence, that under this protective system, for every dollar taken out of the people and put into the treasury two dollars or more are taken out and go into the pocket of some favoured manufacturer. So that the amount that goes into the treasury is no gauge of the evil effects of the system; you must add to this amount twice or thrice as much which are not paid into the treasury of the people but into the treasury of the protected interests. I denounce and condemn such a system. I will not go into the question of the policy of the Government as embodied in the new tariff, as I wish to draw my remarks to a close; but I will show how it is carried out with respect to one or two articles that effect the special interests of the people in whose behalf I am particularly speaking. I supposed, when the hon. gentleman was going to reform the tariff, that the necessaries of life would have received some consideration at his hands. I suppose that kerosene oil may be called a necessary of life for a large class of people. It is not a necessary of life among the rich, it is true. The rich, in the cities, use electric light and gas and other means of lighting, but the mass of the people use coal or kerosene oil. We thought there was going to be some reduction in kerosene oil, but I find there is none at all. I find that at present, according to an invoice placed in my hands—the actual invoice of an importation of that article the other day—that on some kerosene oil, \$2,875 worth, imported into St. John, N. B., there was paid \$4,972 duty. This is not theoretic, but an actual invoice, which I hold in my hand—a certified invoice—and that is the amount of duty paid. Sir, that is an intolerable position. There is not a man here who will not, in his calmer moments, divested of party prejudice, say that an imposition of that kind is intolerable. Add the duty paid to the original cost, and it makes nearly three times as much. And that is borne by whom? By the rich people? No; they use electric light and gas. It is borne by the poor man—the artisan and workman. You have not raised a finger to lighten the burden which falls so heavily upon him in this regard. I was going to dilate upon that at some length, but will leave it until I go into committee. But I will draw the attention of the Minister representing the Maritime Provinces (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper)—the only member of the Cabinet now present—to the fact, that in the matter of fertilizers the Government

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

are doing serious injustice to Nova Scotia. The duty on fertilizers has been reduced one-half. That reduction I approve of thoroughly, but the Government might have gone further. Why do they not reduce the duty on the raw material which enters into the manufacture of fertilizers? The hon. gentleman has taken off one-fifth of 1 per cent on sulphuric acid. This sulphuric acid, which is absolutely necessary for the production of fertilizers, is admitted into the United States free. It was $\frac{1}{2}$ cent a pound before, and now it is made four-tenths of a cent, a reduction of one-tenth of a cent, while the Government are taking 50 per cent off the duty on the fertilizer. Sir, the Government are acting unfairly and unjustly. They have reduced the duty on fertilizers, but will not go further and give the people in the Maritime Provinces, who have invested their money in the manufacture of fertilizers a chance. Why? Because, I am told, they have to protect the two factories which make sulphuric acid in the Dominion—one in the province of Quebec and the other somewhere else. I am told there are gentlemen who have influence with hon. gentlemen opposite—gentlemen who have reason to have influence—members of the Cabinet themselves, who are interested in this work. And to please them, this large industry, which is developed largely in the Maritime Provinces, is to be throttled in its inception and destroyed. I call the hon. gentleman's attention to this, as the special guardian of the Maritime Provinces.

Mr. POPE. To what Minister does the hon. gentleman refer?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I am speaking to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I did not understand the hon. gentleman to charge any Minister, any member of the Cabinet, with being interested in sulphuric acid.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I did not say the hon. gentleman was interested, but I say that I understood there is a gentleman, high in power and in the Cabinet, interested in the factories.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman should, in fairness, name the member of the Cabinet to whom he refers.

Mr. MULOCK. I think the remark I made at this moment misled my hon. friend from Queen's (Mr. Davies). I mentioned, in the course of his remarks about sulphuric acid, that the President of the Council (Mr. Ives) was interested. I did not mean pecuniarily. What I intended my hon. friend to understand was, that the President of the Council took a deep interest in this matter.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. No pecuniary interest?

Mr. MULOCK. No.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman does not wish to press this charge ?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Certainly not, neither directly nor indirectly, and if I made any charge of that kind, I absolutely withdraw it. I would be sorry to impute to any hon. gentleman, much less a member of the Cabinet, improper motives with regard to this matter. But I want specially to point out to the hon. gentleman himself, that gross injustice and wrong is done to the people he represents, and will be done in the future, with respect to both these articles. I have pointed out the policy of the Conservative party. The Liberal party offer a policy almost diametrically opposite. We say that the limit has not yet been reached with regard to economy in the expenditure for public service. I need not dilate longer upon that subject, because the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) went into it yesterday with an ability and wealth of illustration which leave no room for further comment from me. But I say, that our civil government exists, and was framed to exist on a scale of population three times as large as there is in this country. The hope and belief of all those who framed the civil list was that, instead of there being five millions of people here in 1893, there would be fifteen millions, and they went ahead on that assumption. Their assumption turned out to be absolutely false, and they have never had the moral courage or ability to retrace their steps and cut down the civil list and expenditure to the amount it ought to be. What ought it to be ? Just where it was left in 1878, plus the fixed charges which have been added. Neither the trade, nor population, nor size of the country justifies the increase in the expenditure which has taken place since then.

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (No. 25) respecting the Canada and Michigan Tunnel Company.—(Mr. Montague.)

Bill (No. 26) respecting the Ottawa Gas Company.—(Sir James Grant.)

Bill (No. 27) respecting the Dominion Burglary Guarantee Company (Limited).—(Mr. Sproule.)

Bill (No. 28) respecting the Ontario Mutual Life Assurance Company.—(Mr. Bowman.)

Bill (No. 29) to again revive and further amend the Act to incorporate the Lindsay, Bobcaygeon, and Pontypool Railway Company.—(Mr. Fairbairn.)

Bill (No. 30) respecting the Atlantic and North-west Railway Company.—(Mr. Baker.)

Bill (No. 31) respecting the Consumers' Cordage Company.—(Mr. Rosamond.)

Bill (No. 32) respecting the Niagara Grand Island Bridge Company.—(Mr. Ingram.)

Bill (No. 33) respecting the River St. Clair Railway Bridge and Tunnel Company.—(Mr. Ingram.)

Bill (No. 34) respecting the Bell Telephone Company of Canada.—(Mr. White, Cardwell.)

Bill (No. 35) to amend the Act to incorporate the Steam Boiler and Plate Glass Insurance Company of Canada.—(Mr. Davies.)

Bill (No. 36) to incorporate the Canadian Railway Accident Insurance Company.—(Sir James Grant.)

Bill (No. 37) to incorporate the Duluth, Nepigon, and James Bay Railway Company.—(Mr. Masson.)

Bill (No. 38) respecting the Ontario Loan and Debenture Company.—(Mr. Moncrieff.)

Bill (No. 39) respecting the St. Lawrence and Adirondack Railway Company.—(Mr. Baker.)

Bill (No. 40) to incorporate the Elgin and Havelock Railway Company.—(Mr. Hazen.)

Bill (No. 41) to amend the Acts respecting the Clifton Suspension Bridge Company.—(Mr. Coatsworth.)

Bill (No. 42) to incorporate the Canadian Railway Fire Insurance Company.—(Sir James Grant.)

Bill (No. 43) to amend an Act respecting the Ladies of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.—(Mr. Larivière.)

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I have very few observations to make in addition to those that I made before dinner. I, at that time, was pointing out that the trade of this country is done chiefly with Great Britain and the United States ; that so far as our trade with the other nations of the world is concerned, it is infinitesimal compared with that which we do with Great Britain and the United States ; and that any policy intended to promote the welfare of Canada should chiefly have relation to these two countries. I pointed out that, so far as Great Britain is concerned, the Liberal party has a distinct, decisive and clear policy. Years ago, when the question was raised in this House by the hon. member for Bruce (Mr. McNeill), we submitted a policy to the House with regard to Great Britain. We said and believed then, what we say and believe now, that it would be in the interests of this country to enlarge as much as possible the commercial relations existing between this and the mother country, and that Great Britain had done all she could to further that end. What have we done ? We have done any amount of loud talking. Lip loyalty has been preached in and out of this House on that subject, and promises have been made by hon. gentlemen as to their intention and desire to promote freer trade

with the old country. But when it came to the point—when we pointed out to them that they had maintained an unjust and unfair discrimination against British trade and asked them to remove that discrimination from the statute-book, so that our trade with the mother country should be at least placed on the same footing as that with more favoured countries, what response had we from the other side? I had the honour of moving in the House that, so far as those classes of goods are concerned which we mainly import from Great Britain, the time had come when the duties upon them should be largely reduced. But I did not find, with one or two notable exceptions, a gentleman on that side who ventured to record his vote in favour of my proposition. They were willing to go through the country and talk generally about their desire for improved trade relations with Great Britain; but when brought face to face with a practical solution and asked whether they were prepared to commit themselves to the proposition that it was desirable to remove the unjust discrimination which had existed for so many years, their party loyalty was superior to their patriotism. Rather than vote against the Government, they voted against removing the discrimination. Such members as my hon. friend from Albert (Mr. Weldon) and others whom I have in my eye, who are, in and out of season, loud and strong in the pronouncement of their allegiance to the mother country and desirous of promoting our trade relations with her, had no hesitation in voting down the resolution. And why? I will venture to say it was owing to party allegiance alone, because the resolution proceeded from the Opposition. I would ask these hon. gentlemen whether any resolution or proposition has ever emanated from their side having for its object the promotion of freer trade with the mother country? You hear speeches made by them from time to time. With what practical result? Where is the evidence? Nowhere. And I point to this fact, that when you bring these gentlemen down to what is called in this country "hard pan," when you ask them to commit themselves to a practical solution of a practical question, they shelter themselves behind their party allegiance. That is what they did then and what they will do to-day. What is our position? It is a logical, definable, and honest position. So far as trade with Great Britain is concerned, she admits everything free of duty. She opens her portals to the products of the world, no matter where they come from or under what flag. She welcomes them all, because she believes that the cheaper she can give products to her people the better for them, and the better for the country. Our policy with Great Britain therefore has been laid down in plain, distinct and unmistakable language. We wish to reduce the duties on the class of goods chiefly imported

Mr. DAVIES (P. E. I.)

from Great Britain and to remove the discrimination which has existed for many years, unjustly, improperly, vexatiously, and ungenerously, against the mother country. These hon. gentlemen say no. The development of some special Canadian interests, they say, is of superior importance to anything else; and they will not do anything to remove the duties imposed on behalf of the special interests they desire to protect. As regards the other great country, with which we trade, what has been our policy? It has been, from the very first, to negotiate, either by a treaty agreement or carry out tariff resolutions, the removal of the restrictions which exist to-day and have existed so long. We desire to trade freely with them. We can do it in one way or the other. We have manifested this desire, not once, but on dozens of occasions. And how are we met by hon. gentlemen opposite? On every occasion by a distinct vote against our propositions, whatever they may be. We stand, therefore, with this avowal that we do not believe in exclusive trade with either the United States or Great Britain. We believe that trade between the two countries is beneficial both to us and them. Personally, I believe that all trade is beneficial to all the parties who deal in it. They would not deal in it otherwise. We trade with Great Britain and the United States because it is our interest to do so. We desire to perpetuate, extend, and enlarge commerce with both these countries. We give you our proposition, fair and square, and do not shelter ourselves behind unmeaning words. Our resolutions are there; our policy is there, clear and distinct. The whole country understands it. On the one hand, so far as Great Britain is concerned, we desire to enlarge our trade relations with her by removing the unjust restrictions placed upon the importations of goods from that country. And so far as the United States are concerned—where there is a protective tariff—we desire to enlarge our trade relations with them, either by treaty agreement or tariff resolutions, specifying the articles which shall be exchanged free. Our policy, whatever else can be charged against it, cannot be charged as indefinite. Speaking as to the special effect of trade with the United States upon the Maritime Provinces, I have never heard anything that I regretted more in this House than the remark made by the hon. member for Kent (Mr. McInerney), that he believed reciprocity with that country was an unmingled evil. I heard that remark with pain and sorrow, and believe it was forced from him through a wrong understanding of what party allegiance demanded. Sir, the true lover of his country, with a proper knowledge of its requirements would never have consented to make that public declaration and bind himself to it as a public man. What was the result of our trade relation with the United States from 1854 to 1866?

Why, Sir, if the hon. gentleman looks back over the records he will find that in 1854 when the reciprocity treaty was first agreed to between the two countries, our trade with the United States was comparatively speaking small, if I recollect rightly, from \$14,000,000 to \$17,000,000.

Mr. McINERNEY. Does the hon. gentleman mean to say that the trade between the United States and the provinces of Canada, both exports and imports, was of the value of \$7,000,000 or \$8,000,000?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I said from \$14,000,000 to \$17,000,000.

Mr. McINERNEY. I think it was nearly twice as much.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Before the reciprocity treaty came into operation I think I am correct in saying it—if the hon. gentleman will look at the memorandum of papers prepared in connection with the George Brown treaty he will see that the trade between Canada, including the Maritime Provinces and the old province of Canada, and the United States was under \$20,000,000. I think, I am sure, I am right.

Mr. McINERNEY. It was \$35,000,000 the first year of the treaty.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman is again interrupting, but I excuse him, owing to the fact that he is a young member of the House. The hon. gentleman has stated what the whole volume of trade was the first year after the treaty came into force. I agree with his statement that the treaty had not been in force a year before the totality of the trade nearly doubled. There could not be a stronger argument adduced.

Mr. McINERNEY. For the information of the hon. gentleman, and in order to put myself right, and perhaps to put the hon. gentleman right, I may state that the year before the treaty came into force the total trade between this country and the United States was \$25,000,000, and the year after it was \$34,000,000. So it did not double by a good deal.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I have not the figures before me, but I will accept the hon. gentleman's statement, as I assume he has read from the official figures. My recollection is, as stated in the George Brown papers, that the amount of trade between the two countries was from \$17,000,000 to \$20,000,000 a year before that treaty. I accept the hon. gentleman's figures, and it will be observed that they jumped \$10,000,000 in the year. Yet the hon. gentleman stated in the House the other night that reciprocity of trade was an unmixed evil. Let me ask that hon. gentleman or any one else who takes the same position the hon. gentleman occupied the other night, what was the result after the treaty had been in operation a few years? I think I am correct in saying

that trade advanced by leaps and bounds until the last year of the treaty it reached \$80,000,000, and it remained at that figure without progression for many years, because of the restrictions which politicians on both sides of the line imposed improperly on the trade relations of the two countries. Free those trade relations from unjust and improper restrictions, and can the hon. gentleman tell me, is there anybody who can place a limit on the amount of trade that could be done between the two countries? If you want to realize the evils which prohibitions and trade restrictions produce you can in imagination segregate one of the States of the Union from the great Union compact. Take Massachusetts, Maine, Ohio or Minnesota. Segregate it; put a customs barrier around it and prevent the free interchange of trade between it and the 60,000,000 of people in the remaining States, and tell me whether commercial atrophy would not soon mark its condition? Does anybody doubt it? It is the same to-day with respect to Canada as it would be in regard to one of the States of the Union. Throw down the barriers, if you can honourably do so, which exist, permit the free interchange of the products of each country into the other and results would be obtained by both surpassing what the most sanguine believer in Canada's future hopes for. If we throw down the trade barriers between Canada and the United States you would have again repeated what you had before in the old treaty times, trade bounding up year after year, and prosperity flowing in its wake. I call attention to the fact that while Nova Scotia has a total export trade of \$11,500,000 in round figures, the United States took \$3,230,000, or nearly one-third. How was it with respect to the province of New Brunswick. Out of a total export of \$7,253,000 the United States took \$3,735,000, or over 50 per cent; of her exports taken by Great Britain all but the value of \$220,000 consists of deals and deal ends. In other words, of the whole value of \$7,252,000 which New Brunswick exports, if you bar deals and deal-ends, the United States, with the exception of a few hundred thousand dollars' worth, takes all. I should like to ask the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon), than whom no one knows more the capabilities of his province, whether he would dare to put a limit to the volume of trade which might be done between that great province and the country to the south of us if those unnatural trade barriers were removed. Take the great city of St. John, situated at the mouth of one of the largest rivers of the Maritime Provinces, a city whose position, population and wealth indicate for her a great future, would the hon. gentleman dare to put a limit to the amount of trade that great port would enjoy in the very near future. I charge it that if there is commercial atrophy to-day and commercial depression greater than heretofore known,

it is due to the policy which hon. gentlemen opposite have supported and which is the policy of the Conservative party of Canada. This policy would do very well for one or two of the large cities of Canada ; it does not do for the Maritime Provinces, because as I have already explained, we are shut out from trading with the upper provinces, and must trade with the people to the south. Sir, do you imagine for a moment that I desire to depreciate the enormously growing trade which we have with Great Britain. Not at all, Sir, I am one of those who desire to have two strings to my bow.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I am glad that sentiment is cheered on both sides of the House. I am glad there are some things which we can agree upon. I know, Sir, so far as Great Britain is concerned, that she is our best market for many of our products.

Mr. WELDON. Will the hon. gentleman allow me to interrupt him? I would ask him: If under the Wilson Bill New Brunswick lumber going into the American market is not free? I do not see what the hon. member's complaint is.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) He does not see what the hon. member's complaint is. My complaint is not about the Wilson Bill, but about the high tariff walls which are maintained between Canada and the United States of America. I am complaining about the policy of the Government; I am trying to deal with the practical question. I said, and I repeat now, that your policy is inimical to our best interests. I believe in throwing down the barriers which exist and which prevent the enlargement of our trade with the United States. I believe that could be accomplished with a Government in power favourable to that enlargement. I say that this Government is not favourable. I am proving that statement, and my argument has nothing whatever to do with the Wilson Bill. The question is: Would the abolition of the restrictions which prevent enlarged trade with the United States benefit largely the Maritime Provinces or would it not. My hon. friend (Mr. Weldon) almost concedes it, but he wants to throw the onus on the other party. I am satisfied that if a party had been in power favourable to enlarged trade with the United States, there was no reasonable doubt that the restriction would have been removed years ago. I charge upon the hon. gentleman the responsibility of supporting a party that is maintaining these restrictions, and I say: That above all other provinces in the Dominion, if there is commercial depression and atrophy, if the quarries of Albert County are to-day unworked, if there are tens and hundreds of houses uninhabited—

Mr. WELDON. There are not.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I saw dozens of unoccupied houses, for I passed along the hon. gentleman's county last year.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. You were going at the rate of thirty miles an hour.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) No, I was travelling along very quietly on the roadside, not in the train. I had not a special train, as the Ministers of the Crown have; I had to go in a private carriage. I say that in the hon. gentleman's own county of Albert, if there was a fair measure of free trade with the United States, the quarries which are now closed would be open, and the thousands of men who were once employed there would be re-employed, and the number of houses which are untenanted would be occupied by a thriving, and a prosperous, and a happy peasantry. The hon. gentleman himself (Mr. Weldon) knows it as well as any man in this House, and he is as much responsible as any man in this House, perhaps more so, for the continuation of a policy which has produced this state of things. Why, Sir, in one part of that county, I remember well, I was taken by one of the leading men there to a vantage ground to view the land, and the gentleman I refer to said: Mr. Davies, with the resources which this county possesses, and with the situation it has, if we had free trade with the States, this might be the seat of empire.

Mr. WELDON. Hear, hear.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman applauds the remark. What is it to-day?

Mr. DALY. The grandest country under God's sun.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Yes, the Minister of the Interior has praised it well. It is one of the grandest countries under the sun, blessed by God and cursed by man's folly. From that very spot where I stood the gentleman I speak of pointed out not less than seven quarries which, under the old reciprocity treaty, were in full operation, employing a population of over 3,000 people, and every one of these quarries are to-day closed up. The hon. member from Albert (Mr. Weldon) knows that.

Mr. WELDON. No, I do not know that. I know quite differently.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Very well, he does not know. Do I understand the hon. gentleman to deny that there are seven quarries there which formerly were in operation, giving employment to a population of 3,000 men, which are now closed?

Mr. WELDON. I know very differently. The hon. member would make it appear that Albert county had a population of quarrymen, including their families, greater by 2,000 than the entire population of the county in the time of the treaty.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman is technically correct, because some of the quarries that I speak of were situated on the other side of the river, which are not, strictly speaking, in Albert County. He is technically correct, but substantially and practically the statement that I made is true in every respect.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I make the statement that within the vision of the hill on which I stood there were seven quarries now closed, which during the time of the old reciprocity treaty were in full operation, giving employment to a population of 3,000 people.

Mr. WELDON. Would the hon gentleman look at the census returns, which can be found in the Library. He will see his figures are too large by the factor, four.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I am giving the statement of the hon. gentleman who told me there. The hon. member will not deny that it ought to be the seat of empire. He will not deny that many houses are closed up.

Mr. WELDON. The people have come back.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I was there about September, and the people must have come back since, because the houses were closed then. Will my hon. friend tell me how it is that the province of New Brunswick, with its great natural resources, has failed to develop the last ten years in anything like the proportion it developed during the previous ten years, either in population, or wealth, or prosperity of any kind. The hon. gentleman knows well that until the policy of the Government which he supports was adopted, there was a gradual, a steady, and a proper increase in the development and prosperity of that country. He knows that from the time this policy was introduced his province began to decline, and he is the last one who should rise in this House to-day and say one word in favour of the existing state of things in that community. What does this policy of the Government do with regard to the little island I have the honour to come from? The total exports from that province are \$1,250,000, in round numbers, and of that the United States takes \$668,000, and the rest of the world \$567,000. I only quote these figures to show the deep and intense interest which the maritime people take in the extension of trade relations with the United States of America. I say this: That he is a bold man indeed who can put bounds to the extent to which that trade would be developed if the unnatural restrictions which have been imposed on it were once removed. We cannot trade with Ontario, and we can-

not trade to any extent with Quebec, because our productions are very much the same as theirs; but there are many things besides what Great Britain takes from us, that the United States require, and that they will take from us at a profit to our people. Sir, we ask that the barriers be taken down if they can be; and I have expressed my belief that they can be taken down if anybody at the helm has a sincere desire to take them down. Having said that, I leave the case in the hands of the House. I am satisfied that freer and enlarged trade relations with Great Britain, and with the United States, would give our people new hopes and deeper faith in the future of this country, and would enlarge and extend our trade to an unprecedented degree. I have full faith in the natural resources of the country if they are allowed to develop themselves without unnatural restrictions being placed upon them. I believe that a fair, honest, honourable treaty with the United States would double the value of our lands within three years. I believe it would repatriate our country with those who have left it, but whose hearts have remained behind in the country they have left, and who desire to return if they can, and live in peace and contentment here. And I believe it would remove the shackles that you have placed on our commerce, destroy the system which enriches one class while impoverishing the mass of the people, restore prosperity and life where there is now atrophy and decay, and bring back new life and new hope to a depressed people.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, I am not one of those who, in this House or out of it, are accustomed to sneer at or belittle the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat (Mr. Davies, P.E.I.) I am ready to admit that he possesses ability, that he has distinguished himself in his province, and that he is a leading man in the Liberal party to-day. Therefore, I hope that I can say without offence that it is significant, on a question such as that now engaging the attention of this Chamber, that that hon. gentleman, in cold blood, and with the admission at the outset of his speech that he was forced to do it, has, for several hours indulged, not in any specific criticism, or any pointed argument, directed against the tariff now under consideration, but has indulged in the wildest and most extravagant manner, in toothless generalities. I am not surprised, Mr. Speaker. It would require a great deal more ability, and a great deal more parliamentary experience than even that hon. gentleman possesses, to take any other course or pursue any other line. If the hon. gentleman thinks that at this stage of the debate, extending as it has done already over many days, the best course to pursue is to indulge in that general criticism, instead of coming down to the

hard stern facts of the business situation, surely the Government have nothing to complain of. The Government came before Parliament with a plan in detail; they came here to fulfil a pledge, and the Minister of Finance, after having discussed the general question, went into the particulars and placed before the House in detail the Government's proposal; and it must be gratifying to all friends of the Government to find, after the violent attacks that were made in previous sessions, in discussing the Budget, and after the extraordinary attacks that were made on the stump against various articles in the tariff, that the guns of these hon. gentlemen are all silenced to-day in this debate; and that, instead of discussing seriatim the proposals before the House—instead of discussing even the amendment of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright)—they are driven into a general discussion of the general question of free trade and protection.

Mr. McMULLEN. The time has not yet come for discussing the details.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman says the time has not yet come for discussing them. Why, Mr. Speaker, for years we have been discussing these questions; for years hon. gentlemen opposite have been telling us that the salvation of the country depended upon the correct solution of these questions; and now that the Government has brought down their policy clearly defined, taking their stand on the principle of protection in this House, as they have done outside, the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat, and the hon. gentlemen who have preceded him in this debate, have not had courage to explain this amendment to the resolutions—have not had the courage of the hon. member for Charlotte (Mr. Gillmor) to say in a straightforward and manly fashion what they would do to carry it out, but have indulged in airy talk about the great benefits of the proposition which the hon. member for Charlotte alone fathers, but which no hon. member having authority on that side dare tell this House he would bring into force if the Opposition came into power to-morrow. To illustrate and give point to that remark, let me do the hon. member for Charlotte justice. In a convention in this very city, only a few months ago, when these hon. gentlemen were devising for the hundredth time some political scheme whereby they might, with success, march on Parliament Hill, the hon. member for Charlotte raised his voice in lamentation, and told all those Liberals together that while they talked free trade, he, ever since he had entered political life forty years ago, had entered preaching that doctrine alone in the wilderness, and then went on to say:

At that time no one could vote who had not some interest in real estate, and I was also in favour of free trade pure and simple. I have

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER.

known a good many free traders since I entered politics, but both parties have tried how not to get it.

This is the admission of their ardent and candid friend. He continued.

There are a great many free traders now. There is the revenue tariff free trader and the freer trade free trader, and the fair trade free trader. But I want nothing better than free untaxed trade, that is good enough for me.

And the hon. gentleman would confess that, notwithstanding that statement, he, with the hon. member for Guysborough (Mr. Fraser) stood almost alone in that convention as the advocate of a policy about which the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) has talked to us all day, while having to admit, as the hon. mover of the resolution has had to admit, that they do not propose to adopt it if they get the chance—the principles of free trade as it is practiced in the mother land, and as it can alone be practiced. But the hon. gentleman was discomfited by many things. There is no doubt—it has been said in this debate, and the truth of the statement cannot be denied—that we face a disappointed and a very unhappy party. Our friends on the opposite side of the House never calculated on such a programme as has been submitted by the Government, and their fire has been quenched; it is put out or drawn. The hon. gentlemen and their position reminds me a good deal of a little transaction which took place when a man who wanted to go out hunting bought a spotted dog, as he thought. After he started into the fields, a shower came on, and the spots were unfortunately washed out by the rain. Upon expostulating with the dealer, the dealer replied: Did you not get an umbrella? There was an umbrella went with that dog. And in this case, unfortunately for them, the spots have washed out, they have not an umbrella, and there they stand—a very unhappy political spectacle. The hon. gentleman who has taken his seat has many good qualities. But he has some that are not altogether valuable, and I hope he will not be offended if I tell him what they are. He has a lively imagination. He has shown to-day how far a lively imagination can carry a man who has many other good qualities. He has made many statements in this discussion, for which he has given no proof, for which he can give no proof. But in order that we may be put on our guard against any of the devices which that hon. gentleman knows so well how to practice, let me explain to this House the mode in which he often discusses the condition of public affairs. It has been unfortunately his custom, and that of his party, to decry this country on many occasions—to paint the worst features in the strongest colours, and to bring out some things in connection with his history, which might well be left alone.

On one occasion, wishing for some reason to disparage this country, he said in Toronto in 1889, speaking of the province of Manitoba, and comparing it with Dakota :

That although they had started with nearly equal population, Manitoba had only 195,000 people, while Dakota had 1,500,000.

Now the House may not be surprised to learn that when the census was taken in the United States it was found that the hon. gentleman was only a million astray with regard to Dakota—that there were all told 511,527 souls in the country, where he said there were no less than 1,500,000.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Is the hon. gentleman referring to a speech I made ?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Yes, to a speech the hon. gentleman made in Toronto, and reported in the 'Globe' in March, 1889. I have read his language, and will read it again, if the hon. gentleman desires, and I will read a little more :

A year ago he would have been a bold man who believed, after what he said about the fertility of the soil and the mildness of the climate of the North-west and Manitoba, that the territory to the south, Dakota, would fill up as quickly as Manitoba, yet although they had started with nearly an equal population, Manitoba had only 195,000, while Dakota had 1,500,000.

As I say, the hon. gentleman was a million astray, as shown by the United States census.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Will the hon. gentleman give his proof of the correctness of my statement ?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The census of the United States is my proof, as I have endeavoured to explain to the hon. gentleman. And I am quite sure the hon. gentleman is surprised, and now regrets that he made that statement. I do not wish to say that he made it of malice aforethought, with the intention to deceive. I say merely that his imagination then, as it did this afternoon, ran away with him.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Does the hon. gentleman state that the census returns from North and South Dakota show that I was wrong to the extent he states ? Has he got the census returns, and will he produce them ?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman can hardly expect me to proceed to the Library, but he can send there himself and obtain the census. I say that the census in 1890 shows that in Dakota the population was 511,527.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) North and South Dakota ?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I wish to point out, by way of introduction, another peculiarity of the hon. gen-

tleman. He can give points to the chameleon in changing colours, and to Proteus in varying his shapes. There is this marked difference between the hon. gentleman and the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). The hon. member for South Oxford according to my experience, makes the same speech, embellished with the same facts, session after session, on the Budget. Whether he is advocating a revenue tariff, free trade, unrestricted reciprocity, or commercial union, his speech never varies. But the hon. member for Queens (Mr. Davies), while he can advocate with equal eloquence those different subjects, twists considerably, or is misled on every occasion by the facts connected with them. In that respect, he is not unlike his party. I would illustrate the position of that party, as it strikes me, having watched very carefully the course of this debate. There were two Irishmen in a hay mow, and the mow took fire. One of them dressed very hurriedly, and put his trousers on the wrong side before. As he dropped down, he was hailed by his friend with the exclamation : " Pat, are you kilt ? " And he answered, surveying the position of affairs : " Not kilt exactly, but badly twishted." And I say, in all seriousness, that the Opposition on this occasion seem to me as badly twisted as some of the facts they have advanced during the debate. I say in all seriousness, and I submit it to the judgment of the House and the country, that their amendment contains a chimerical policy. It is not a practical policy, it has not been explained in a practical way, and it is simply proposed in order that it may be used for various purposes. Men can be wheedled into its support, perhaps, who are ardent free traders, and, on the other hand, it can be used by those who say : you should impose such protection as the manufacturers, who attended the Liberal convention in this city, expressed their approval of. The hon. member for Queens (Mr. Davies) this afternoon, in reply to the speech of the hon. member for York (Mr. Maclean), said he could not tolerate members going to the people with one story and the House with another. That the hon. member considered a subject of annoyance and something which he deprecated. Now, I would ask him what he thinks of an hon. gentleman who would do what I am about to relate. In the days when that hon. gentleman waxed eloquent, when he held the undivided attention of this House—not by the strength of his arguments certainly, but by the evident enthusiasm and sincerity he exhibited—in 1888, this was the language he used :

Sir, we tender the people a flag of which we are not ashamed, a flag on which is inscribed unrestricted reciprocity with the United States. Hon. gentlemen know that this sentiment will find an echo in the heart of every man who has attained manhood's estate, and remember what reciprocity brought us in the past. It will find an echo in the

heart of every young man who is to-day in despair undecided whether he will remain in this country or go abroad to help to build up a foreign nation. It will find an echo in the heart of the bread-winner who finds it hard enough to earn sufficient to pay his daily bread, much less to put by a little for a rainy day; and we throw this flag to the breeze confident that it will be carried by the united hands of the people of the several provinces of the Dominion to a glorious if not a speedy victory.

That was only in 1888, Mr. Speaker. Did you hear the hon. gentleman say anything like that to-day? When the hon. gentleman expatiated upon the condition of the Maritime Provinces, did he say that the panacea was unrestricted reciprocity with the United States? Does the hon. gentleman's leader advocate to-day unrestricted reciprocity with the United States in the sense in which he spoke of and advocated it in 1888? Their benches are silent with that question put to them. Now, I will tell the hon. gentleman how it is they sing so low on that key. In 1893 the hon. gentleman went down to those people down by the sea, these people who were to rally at the call of unrestricted reciprocity and help to carry to victory the banner with that inscription, and in their midst, and face to face with them, he confessed that he had different opinions from those he held in 1888, that thousands of voters are terrified by the possible prospects which would have followed its adoption. And again he said:

We have not introduced the phrase in our Ottawa platform.

Later on, discussing the same subject at Middleton, the hon. gentleman says:

I think myself we were unfortunate in the use of the phrase "unrestricted reciprocity."

It is not often we agree, Mr. Speaker, but we join hands to-day on that, and I am glad the hon. gentlemen have learned something, even though it has taken them from 1888 to 1893 to do it. The hon. gentleman made what I thought was a rather important admission. He was endeavouring to combat an argument of the hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean), who had said that in his farming constituency the farmers were doing well. That annoyed the hon. gentleman, for it was against the doctrine that they preach, and he endeavoured to grapple with the statement. After having got out of a few difficulties in meeting it, he made the very important admission that while it might be true that the farmers who happened to be near large centres or cities in Canada were doing well, the same did not apply to the bulk of the farming community in this country whose prices were fixed by foreign markets. He did not say they were fixed or changed by the effect of the National Policy, but fixed by foreign markets. But, more than that, his statement involved this admission—that the advocates of the National

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Policy are right so far as they have contended that by the creation of industries and manufactures you enlarge and magnify these centres of population in our country, and that by so doing you help the farmers and agriculturists. There is nothing new in that. The hon. gentleman should not smile. We used that argument, and it was a good free trade argument in the days of Richard Cobden, who said that that was the way to assist and help the farmer to make the competition in the home market strong, to increase the centres of business and increase the number of them. And the hon. gentleman himself has confessed to-day that if you have a large business centre, there you will find successful and well-to-do farmers. The hon. gentleman then dropped back to the old line of telling us that he denounced protection in every form and shape, telling us the old story that it robbed one class to enrich another, and that the taxes under the protective tariff were so imposed that for every dollar that went into the treasury two went into the manufacturers' pockets. And last summer, if I read him aright, he declared war upon the cotton lords, the sugar barons and the iron kings. He was specific then. I did not hear him attack them individually to-day, but apparently he entertains the same feeling towards them collectively and adopts the term the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) applies to them, though he did not use it, that these manufacturers, these fellow-citizens of ours are nothing less than petty thieves. Let us see how the hon. gentleman stands for consistency on that point.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Does the hon. gentleman say I used that language?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. No; I say the arguments of the hon. gentleman induced me to believe that he accepted that opprobrious term. I hope he disclaims it, and would be glad to see him do it man-fashion, and I take his interruption as an indication that he does not regard it as justifiable language to be used with regard to so large a number of fellow-citizens. He was not always ready to declare war upon these kings, and lords, and merchant princes. There was a time when he thought things were going wrong, when he thought there was something rotten in the state of Denmark, and in 1885 you might see the hon. gentleman making love to and endeavouring to win over these cotton lords and sugar kings. Things were not very prosperous with them just then. What did he say? He said in effect: You poor people; you are losing your money; you put it in expecting to reap great profits, but just as I told you, you have been duped, and I extend to you my sympathy; and these are the hon. gentleman's exact words in 1885:

They told him, time and again, if you offer a premium to place capital in certain lines of busi-

ness you will draw to those lines of business a larger amount than should legitimately go there, and the result will be that the first-comers who go into business will derive large profits, and when more money is invested in those lines of business than they will justify, and when the result is over-production, the profits will be dissipated. Those who went in first will perhaps make large fortunes, and those who go in afterwards will get nothing at all, and so it has been. And so it has followed here.

The hon. gentleman says we are at the second stage.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) No; you are at the third now.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman told us in 1885 that we had reached the second stage; surely we have not got back to the first.

We had two results,

Continues this wonderful political prophet—

Capital went into cotton mills and sugar mills, and at first they were making 10, 20, 30, 40 and 50 per cent, but now there has been over-production when more capital went in than the business would justify, more spindles have been put in the mills than they require, more cotton was produced than could be consumed, and the results are depression, stagnation, the next thing to ruin—no dividends—and to-day many who have invested their money in cotton mills, find that the fine promises made to them have not been kept, and while those who went in first got 40 per cent, to-day they cannot get five.

So again he said in the same year :

But I say all those branches of industry that the National Policy was specially framed to improve are depressed; they are growing weaker and weaker, and depression and gloom exists throughout the commercial centres of the Maritime Provinces.

If that be true, Mr. Speaker, how is it that he is able to tell us that these people have been enjoying the benefits of the policy that puts one dollar into the treasury while it puts two dollars into the pockets of the manufacturer. Then, again the hon. gentleman gave his curious ideas in reference to protection and free trade in the abstract. He spoke at one moment of the depressed business in the country to the south of us, and told us truly of the misfortunes that the United States unhappily had to contend with at the present time. And the next moment he told us that that country was our best market—that country ruined by protection, though starting originally with great advantages, from its enormous size, from its great population, from being self-sustaining—that this country now almost ruined by the system of protection was the very best market in the whole world for the people of Canada, and I suppose for the people of other countries.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I don't think the hon. gentleman is quoting me fairly. I said, for many things.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Take it even at that rate, but the hon. gentleman who sits next to him makes no bones about it, he said it is the very best market for the producers of this country. But the hon. gentleman says that Great Britain, the free trade country, as he calls it, though I am not ready to admit that Great Britain is now a free trade country in the sense of political economists—he says that this example of free trade is in a wonderfully thriving condition; and in order to prove the condition of that country, which causes both Liberal and Conservative statesmen to-day intense anxiety, what did he do. He went to Mulhall; and for what year did he look up the condition of Great Britain? We are considering the Great Britain of 1894, but he gave us statistics of Great Britain in 1886; and the hon. gentlemen themselves scorn and deride all suggestions that her foreign trade was being interfered with. Let him read a statement from the speech of any public man, Liberal or Conservative, in the mother land to-day, who will say for one moment that the hostile tariffs surrounding that country in every quarter of the globe have not been successful in forcing her out, step by step, from the position of vantage which she once held in the various markets of the world. What is the whole policy of the mother land to-day? Driven from the civilized markets of the world, steadily and every year finding their output to those markets decreasing, they spend millions on their navy, and millions on their army, to force their wares, and their goods, and their merchandise, into the uncivilized markets of the world, which they are endeavouring to occupy, to settle and to control, driven there by the deadly effect upon them of the tremendous competition coming from the protectionist nations in the rest of the world. The hon. gentleman himself laughs at the idea that Great Britain is the best market for most of our products. I would like the hon. gentleman to remember that almost in the very year concerning which he was quoting from Mulhall, Mr. Gladstone, who I suppose is a good judge upon the effect of economic policies, said that the United States was marvelously prosperous at that time, that its prosperity was advancing by leaps and bounds, and in productiveness and wealth was passing England at a canter. Then Bismarck, who, I suppose, knows something on this subject, said that so eminently successful had protection proved in the United States that the best thing Germany could do was to follow her example and adopt that legislation for the German Empire; and he based his iron policy upon the policy of the United States, and the results as shown by it.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Does the hon. gentleman approve of the statement that the success of the United States under protection has been so great that other countries should adopt the same policy?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I certainly say that from the very time that the citizens of the United States threw off their allegiance to England, if it had not been for protection, that country would present nothing like the condition it presents to-day. That country started with a handful of men, and they adopted a policy of protection; and one of the reasons for throwing off the yoke of the mother country was that they would not tolerate the mother country's policy which made them subservient to the manufacturers of Great Britain who wished them to remain a purely agricultural country. What says Lord Salisbury as to the result of fighting hostile tariffs within a free trade policy? Lord Salisbury, speaking at Manchester, in 1884, almost the time the hon. gentleman was referring to when he spoke of the independence of Great Britain and her contempt for these tariffs, said:

You know how the industry of this town is being cramped and fettered and confined by the growing wall of hostile tariffs, which shut you out from most of the markets of the world (hear, hear). I will not now discuss how far it may be possible for diplomacy to relieve you of that confinement. I fear that most of the offers, most of the advantages, which we might have offered to other nations of the world in return for more favourable tariffs, have been thrown away by the want of foresight of former legislators. I doubt if that evil can be retraced; but, at all events, you must consider this, that if you are being shut out by tariffs from the civilized markets of the world, the uncivilized markets have become more and more precious to you.

Then, the hon. gentleman will, perhaps, accept as an authority the statement of Mr. Courtney, recently Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons, and as good a free trader as any hon. gentleman in this House. Speaking in October, 1893, this is what he said as to the effect of these hostile tariffs:

It was possible that in the course of the commercial rivalry between this country and other nations it might come to pass that, just as the tin and copper industry of Cornwall had been beaten by foreign competition, so in the same way our supremacy in the production of coal might possibly have to pass away from us, and with the supremacy, not merely coal, but all those vast industries which had been piled up on top of it.

So I say that statesmen in England do not go about to-day as they did in times of old, vaunting their independence, and sneering at hostile tariffs, or boasting at wonderful progress as compared with the progress of foreign nations. But taking the hon. gentleman's premises to be correct, which I deny, taking it for granted that England is making all that progress that free traders think she should, how is it supported by the favourite argument of the Opposition in Canada? No one pretends that the agriculturists of Great Britain are prosperous to-day. No one denies that they are endeavouring almost continu-

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ally to solve the problem of depression; but admitting the depreciation of the value of lands, how is it that Great Britain could be prosperous? Because those hon. gentlemen of the Opposition if they believe anything, believe that where you have agricultural depression and farmers in other than a prosperous condition, that nation cannot be prosperous, cannot be doing well. Hon. gentlemen have a curious way of illustrating the beauties of protection and free trade. Let me give a sample. When everything is all right in the United States and everything looks lovely, the leader of the Opposition and his friends descant in the most eloquent terms on the benefits of free trade. Even in this debate, for a moment they ran back to these results, and forgetting the condition of that country to-day, told us that their prosperity was marvellous, and that it was due to the fact that they had free trade amongst forty nations, that they had had free trade with almost a continent. But when things are looking black, when their desire is to point out the injury of protection in that country, they tell us that all the ruin and misery that is found there are due to this pernicious doctrine of protection. The hon. member for Queen's P.E.I., (Mr. Davies), in 1885, for instance, said:

The hon. gentleman should understand that there is free trade over a greater area of country in that great confederacy of nations than almost anywhere else in the world. From the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the border line of Canada down to the Gulf of Mexico there is not a custom-house existing. The trade between one state and another is free and untrammelled, and were it not so that country could never have attained to the pitch of greatness which it has attained.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Hear, hear.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. He said their prosperity was due to free trade between these different nations, but in 1893 the hon. gentleman did not think so. He said the reverse of what I have just read. Speaking at Middleton, the hon. gentleman said:

How has it been with the United States? * * * What has been the result of the twenty years of experience of protection in that country? * * * The terrible exactions of the custom-house hamper trade and retard the wheels of commerce, and after a thorough discussion, the people have resolved to throw overboard a system which has rested upon them like an incubus, and return again to the principle of free trade.

Now, more marvellous still, I find the hon. gentleman cheers his sentiments as uttered in 1885, and cheers those uttered in 1893, though they are as contradictory and as wide asunder as the north Pole is from the south.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). It is a question of more or less.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The leader of the Opposition, speaking in Ottawa,

testified to free trade being the reason for the policy prospering comparatively, in the United States and not in Canada. I could give the House, though I will not, the same contradiction of statements made by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). This simply amounts, so far as these statements and speeches prove anything, to this, that hon. gentleman opposite, when it suits their purpose, show that all the ills from which the United States citizens suffer, are due entirely to protection, and all their prosperity and wonderful progress are due to free trade. Then, the hon. gentleman told the House that protection is dying in the United States. Why should he have worked himself into a state of excitement with the hon. member for Kent (Mr. McInerney). If protection is dying, why did the hon. gentleman not give us some hope for the future here? If protection is dying, we will not have to fight their duties, for their duties will be removed; there will be no hostile tariff. But the hon. gentleman knows that protection is as lively a factor in the United States political arena to-day as it ever was in the history of the world. Hon. gentlemen opposite laugh. I refer them to the report of the majority on the Wilson Bill, and I say that every argument in regard to changes advocated by that so-called Free Trade party in the United States, and every justification put forward by them is this, and I can prove here and now, if my statement is doubted, that those industries—take coal, for instance, or glassware—which are left with a large protection, can afford a cut, because the manufacturers are to-day exporting so largely those wares to other countries and there meeting similar goods in open competition. The argument all through the report is the argument of moderate protectionists; and he would be a bold man, looking at what is taking place either in the House of Representatives or in the Senate, if he declared that free trade principles had a foothold there. Name the man who talked as does the hon. gentleman for Charlotte (Mr. Gillmor), or used arguments such as have been advanced by the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies).

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Mr. Voorhees and Mr. Wilson.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Let me give the hon. member for Queen's Mr. Wilson's language. Take the language in which Mr. Wilson submitted the report. It is not a justification for free trade duties. No man would be so ridiculous in this House, or outside of it, as to pretend that the duties in the Wilson Bill are free trade duties; that they are levied solely for the object of revenue. In fact, the revenue is entirely lost sight of; the duties remain on iron, and, speaking of iron and coal, coal being put on the free list originally, but is now back on the dutiable list, this is the language used by that gentleman:

Iron and coal are the basis of modern industry, abundance and cheapness of their supply offer in many lines of production the manufacturing supremacy of the world. While the mines of other countries are becoming exhausted and the cost of mining in consequence is increasing, we are constantly discovering and developing new sources of supply. The discovery of the immense beds of Bessemer ore in the lakes region and of foundry ores in several of the Southern States, their convenience for transportation and for the assemblage of material, the use of the steam-shovel in mining all these have so cheapened the cost of producing pig iron and steel as to take away all possibility and danger of foreign competition in almost every part of the country.

Free trade courts foreign competition; but this free trade policy, according to this gentleman, sets forth that they are only ready to remove these duties when the development of these industries, under a rigid system of protection, has been such as to enable them to meet successfully all foreign competition.

Some hon. MEMBERS. No.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Some hon. gentlemen opposite say, no. I ask any one of them, if he would say for a moment that by striking out the iron or coal duties in our tariff either industry would be able to meet successfully competition in Canada to-day?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I merely say you are not properly construing his language.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman evades my question, and, when he criticises, he should be ready to answer a pointed question of that kind.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman started to make a quotation. He has made the quotation, and it does not bear out what he promised it would bear out.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman does not meet my question, but I am satisfied with his refusal. In speaking of coal, Mr. Wilson said:

This coal area is over three times larger than that of the rest of the world combined. The existing duty of 75 cents a ton on iron ore and on bituminous coal cannot be justified either as a protective or a revenue duty. The importations into this country are too small to add materially to our revenue, while no one contends that the cost of mining is higher in the United States, than in other countries that might seek our markets; and we have a growing export trade for coal and coke.

In addition to these so-called raw materials we have released from tariff duty certain important articles and manufactures which we have shown our capacity to produce more cheaply than any other country, such as pig copper and the important agricultural implements.

This is the argument presented: There is no danger to your manufacturing industries;

you have reached the stage when you can produce more cheaply than your foreign competitors. These are reasons, if the conditions existed, that would influence us, wedded as we are to the principle of protection. Let us take another article :

In the earthenware schedule we have made substantial reductions, still leaving rates as high as were deemed necessary in the war tariff. In common window glass, where close combinations have kept the prices to consumers under a scale of duties averaging more than 100 per cent we have made a reduction of about one-half.

I might quote further, but I hesitate to weary the House. I contend that I have supported the proposition that I made. I have shown hon. gentlemen opposite, that in the tariff reform of the Democratic party of the United States, the interest and revolutionary spirit which lives in the members on the Opposition benches, finds no place. They are resolved to guard the interests of the manufacturer. They are, to the best of their ability and in express terms, working in the interests of the manufacturers of the United States, and are not abusing and villifying them. Take, for instance, President Cleveland, who is, surely, a good Democratic authority and is the champion of the Democratic party. These are his ideas, as contrasted with those enunciated by hon. gentlemen opposite. In his message to Congress in 1887 he said :

It is not proposed to entirely relieve the country of this taxation. It must be extensively continued as the source of the Government's income ; and in a readjustment of our tariff the interests of American labour engaged in manufacture should be carefully considered, as well as the preservation of our manufacturers. It may be called protection, or by any other name, but relief from the hardships and dangers of our present tariff should be devised with especial precaution against imperilling the existence of our manufacturing interests. But this existence should not mean a condition which, without regard to the public welfare or a national exigency, must always insure the realization of immense profits instead of moderately profitable profits.

He used no such language as is used by hon. members opposite, in the Maritime Provinces—Down with the cotton lords, the sugar kings and the iron princes ; cut off at once the duties under which those industries have grown and developed, under which policy they have grown in a marked and satisfactory manner. But the hon. member for Queen's told the House, after stating what protection was doing in the United States, that the Democratic party were getting as near free trade as they could. Well, now, he is in love with the movement in the Democratic party. He says they are going in the direction of free trade. The Minister of Finance proved that we have gone a great deal further, if you like to call it, in the direction of free trade—whether our conditions were such or not that is a matter for discussion—than the Democratic

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party have gone. The hon. gentleman, however, has no praise for us. We have gone further in the direction of the hon. gentleman's desire than have the Democratic party, but he has good words for them and nothing but bad, and, at times, violent language for us. He deplores what protection has done in the United States ; he says it swept their flag from the sea, and he speaks of the commerce of England. I will be able to establish that England has kept her flag on the seas by enormous subsidies, subsidies amounting at one time to £3,000,000 sterling a year. That was good sound protectionist doctrine and it is a doctrine that this Government proposes to adopt and to follow. The United States have not, and did not pursue this policy, but they are now, I believe, proposing to adopt it to some extent. The hon. member talks of the registered tonnage of the United States marine, but he does not tell the whole story about that. Let the hon. gentleman beside him (Mr. Charlton) tell him, for my time is short, what their inland marine amounts to, and what the traffic passing through the Sault is ; and compare it with the commerce of London and Liverpool or the Suez Canal, and the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) will learn something that he never knew before ; that is if he believed in what he told us of the comparative condition, at the present time, of the marine of England and the United States. The hon. gentleman then spoke of the decline in shipping. He knows that the National Policy had nothing to do with the decline in the ship-building industry ; he knows that as shown by the clearances in our ports of entry, inwards and outwards, our commerce has grown in a marvellous degree in every port of Canada. The hon. gentleman did not give us these figures, but they are well known, and I need not weary the House with them. I want to expose the hon. gentleman's disingenuousness, for it was nothing else, in endeavouring to draw an argument from the comparative condition of the ship-building industry. He says that the general policy of this country is responsible for the decline.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I will not allow the hon. gentleman to misrepresent me in that way. I said that it contributed to it.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Very well, the hon. gentleman says it contributed to it, and I will take it at that.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman will pardon me. I said distinctly and very clearly that I would not hold, and that no sane man would hold the National Policy responsible for the extraordinary decline in shipping ; but I said that it had contributed to it.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I accept the explanation of the hon. gentleman, but let me take him back to 1885.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Oh.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I am not astonished at the hon. gentleman being fatigued by this, but if he will allow me I will take him as gently back to 1885 as I can, and hurry down to the year 1893 again.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I hope the quotations will be more apt than the previous ones.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I hope so, too. Here is one of these quotations from the speech of the hon. gentleman :

Now it must be remembered that this industry was in the main an industry of the Maritime Provinces, an investment for the money of the people of these Provinces. The National Policy asked them to do--what? It asked them to withdraw their money from the shipping and invest it in the cotton interest, and in the sugar interest. They did so, and to-day they find themselves deceived. Instead of earning the profits they once did in their shipping, to-day they see their cotton mills are idle, their sugar refineries are idle and their money invested is making no return.

And in 1893, at the beginning of the year, the hon. gentleman took up the registered shipping and, according to his statement, he showed how it had decreased, and :

According to the figures from which the Marine Department make up the value of this shipping, gave an increase in value of \$7,778,000. The National Policy came in, and this shipping stands to-day at 964,149 tons, a decrease since 1878 of 363,866 tons ; in value \$11,000,000. That is a nice showing for the Maritime Provinces ; the registered shipping of the Dominion has decreased during that period over \$11,000,000, three quarters of that loss belonging to the Maritime Provinces, as any one can see who looks at the figures.

It is clear, it is beyond dispute or cavil, that the hon. gentleman, in making these statements, wished to hold the National Policy responsible for it.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Oh.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I accept his disclaimer even now.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) It is no disclaimer.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I accept his disclaimer, but it is at the risk of taking away a great deal of credit from his common sense.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I stated a fact there.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I will accept his explanation as to what he stated.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) There is no explanation about it.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I will accept the hon. gentleman's statement made now, that the National Policy is, in part, responsible for the decline of the ship-building industry, and I say that no ship-builder

who values his reputation, and that no person who knows anything about the industry in the Maritime Provinces, will corroborate his statement to that effect.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Does the hon. gentleman deny the accuracy of the statement I made in the quotation which he read ?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I am going to show that the hon. gentleman proved that his statements and arguments were fallacious. Listen to this language of the hon. gentleman, because it makes the point I endeavoured to make. At Middleton, in 1893, speaking to people who build ships, speaking to people who sailed them, when they were built, speaking in the province of Nova Scotia, speaking only a few months after his statement in the House of Commons, when referring to the National Policy, the hon. gentleman said :

You will be told and correctly told I have no doubt that the National Policy is not responsible for the shrinkage in the ship-building industry.

I give that to the hon. gentleman in answer to the statement which he made to-day, because I believe that statement to be correct. I do not believe the statement which he has now made to be correct, and I believe the hon. gentleman himself, in his calmer moments will see that his statement of 1893 is to be relied upon.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) What statement does the hon. gentleman say I made to-day ?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The statement that the National Policy was responsible, in part, for the decline in that business. Then the hon. gentleman slipped into another part of his story, and he discussed glibly of \$800,000,000 of debts, federal, local, municipal and so on, and he rolled these \$800,000,000 off and he told us that because we were rolling up these debts in the cities and the provinces and in Canada generally, something disastrous would happen. I ask you, Mr. Speaker, to remark this : He said there was what he called temporary prosperity, although we bought it at a large figure. We had prosperity, ephemeral in the Maritime Provinces, he told us, "ephemeral" was his word. Let us weigh that argument and that statement. The largest part of the hon. gentleman's speech was devoted to prove that in the Maritime Provinces our wharfs were deserted, our ship-building gone, our business depressed, and that stagnation existed generally. He says that all that was brought about by the National Policy. Year in and year out he has told us in this House, and he has told the country, that the people were ground down under the effect of the National Policy, but to-night he wishes to make the people believe that the Government have decided upon so foolish a policy as to have nothing more to do with public works ; that they have decided to be "flies on the wheel," as

his own friends were from 1874 to 1878. He told us that ruin and devastation lies in our path because this ephemeral prosperity will pass away when our expenditure stops. Then, if prosperity does exist now, what becomes of his figures and of his arguments that prosperity is purely imaginary, and that the reverse of the fact is the case. The hon. gentleman, with what object I know not, announced to-night that, as the Government had made a large reduction in the tariff there could be no more public works. Now the hon. gentleman cannot be serious. The hon. gentleman should not use that argument, for the credit of his own side and his own policy. Surely, he does not admit that their proposal—which is to reduce this tariff radically and all along the line, to cut and carve and slice, regardless of the industries of the country—is going to bring about such a state of affairs. That is our case. We say, if you bring the people face to face with direct taxation, or with any other system than the one that now obtains, not only will deficit after deficit stare you in the face, but the prospects of this country will be wholly ruined! We are to stop building public works! The hon. gentleman knows that we are committed already to the largest and most splendid scheme ever put before the people of this continent. He knows, whether he gives us credit for it or not, that we have excited the admiration of the motherland for our pluck and our success in our ventures. He knows that the keen moneyed men in the United States, the representative of the people in Congress, are not only disturbed, but even annoyed, at what they call our audacity in our public policy, challenging, as it does, that commercial empire which they think their own on this continent, tapping, as it does, the trade of the Orient, which they wish kept solely and exclusively for themselves. He knows that we are pledged to that policy, and that, come what will, we propose to carry out those public works in which we are now engaged, and at the proper time to grapple with the rest, so as to bring all our schemes and plans to a successful and happy conclusion. The hon. gentleman told us of the enormous deposits in the savings banks of Maine; he compared them, if I remember aright, with the deposits in the banks of the Maritime Provinces. The hon. gentleman will correct me, if I am in error in the comparison. I ask him why he did not point out, that in the case of the savings banks in Canada, he referred to a Government bank that was not doing ordinary commercial business, and that in the case of the savings banks in the state of Maine, he referred to a commercial enterprise which dealt in stocks, bonds, and other investments. It only needs a reference of that kind to show that the hon. gentleman notwithstanding the leading position he holds in this House, should weigh more carefully the facts on which he wishes to build an argument. Take, for instance, that statement about the quarrymen. As I understood him,

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he stated that there were 3,000 quarrymen in the county of Albert, N.B., in the time of the reciprocity treaty.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) No, the hon. gentleman did not understand me. I said, that, standing on the vantage ground I had in Albert county, I was pointed out seven quarries, in which there had been employed 3,000 men. The hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) corrected me, saying that the statement was ridiculous, and I said that, technically, I believed he was right, for several of those quarries were on the other side of the bay. They may not all have been in Albert county. I said that, speaking from the vantage ground I had, standing in Albert county, I was pointed them out.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman thought that there was only a river between his statement and the facts. But I want the hon. gentleman to remember this, in case of future reference to the subject. His statement was, that, from where he stood, on some vantage ground in Albert county, there were 3,000 men employed in those quarries in the time of the reciprocity treaty; but the census of 1861 shows that there were, all told, 96 quarrymen, instead of 3,000.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Does the hon. gentleman mean to say, as he is coming down to a question of veracity, that, in the seven quarries to which I refer, there were only 96 men employed?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman must not suppose that I accuse him of untruthfulness or of knowing better. I accuse him of carelessness. I said that he had made a statement for the purpose of debate and argument. I would scorn to impute to the hon. gentleman, nor have I done so to-night, a desire to mislead. I said that the hon. gentleman's imagination ran away with him in debate—I do not say it offensively—because I cannot accept the statement on which he built up his argument; and, if I am wrong, it can be shown in the proper way.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman ought to know that he is wrong. I spoke of seven quarries in sight where I was standing, some of which were in Albert county and some were not, the channel of a river dividing them.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman said that there were seven quarries, employing 3,000 men, and I find that there were only 96 men employed in all the quarries in Albert county.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell.) He has not said that.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Then I accept the hon. gentleman's correction of what he said. The hon. gentleman next spoke of the exodus. Now, as the hon. gentleman is head-over-ears in love with recipro-

city. I want him to remember, when he deals with that problem, that it is not one that began in recent years, or even between the years 1874 and 1878. Hard as it may be to remember, and inconsistent as it may be with those bright pictures which he likes to draw of the old days of reciprocity, the truth is that the exodus began between the years 1860 and 1870; and my authority for that statement is the hon. gentleman's neighbour, the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). That hon. gentleman, in 1880, said that the exodus began to assume alarming proportions between 1860 and 1870. The same hon. gentleman is also reported to have said, in 1880, that the period of reciprocity between 1858 and 1865 was one of inflation in Canada, and of extraordinary deficits. I give that to the hon. gentleman to show him that he must not come to the sudden conclusion that everything will be secured by a renewal of that condition. I do not oppose the idea of a fair reciprocity; I never have done so. But I say, that, to my humble mind, the word sounds more ridiculous in the mouth of a free trader than it does in that of a protectionist, and I will tell you why. You cannot make a reciprocity treaty with a free trade policy, for you have nothing to deal with. England cannot make a reciprocity treaty. Liberals denounce reciprocity in every shape and form, by tariff or by treaty, as the most insidious form of the doctrine of protection. I could give the hon. gentleman good and unquestionable authorities to support that statement. But, by looking after our own interests by means of a tariff, by arranging for their protection and their prosperity for all time, we are able to make a bargain when it appears profitable to us, by mutual concessions of give and take. But adopt this amendment, and it means anything. It means sweeping down those protective duties; and then what have you to offer in return for any concession from the other side of the line, if you go to treat with them? Then the hon. gentleman referred to the negotiations in Washington, but he spoke hurriedly, and I do not pretend that I have grasped exactly what he wished to make on that point. The subject hardly concerns a discussion of the tariff at the present time. But if the hon. gentleman wished to repeat the argument that, I believe, he used before, that the Executive Government of the United States were ready to make such a treaty as hon. gentlemen opposite would have made, and that the statement and report of the Finance Minister and his colleagues were incorrect, I wish to give him what President Harrison said as to the reason why the negotiations broke off on that occasion, and the reason why Canada would have nothing of such an arrangement as was possible. President Harrison, in his message of the 3rd December, 1892, said:

The statement was officially made that favoured rates could not be given to the United States as against the mother country. This admission, which

was foreseen, necessarily terminated the conference on this question.

Would the hon. gentleman have been prepared to give favoured rates against the mother country? I gather not, from the statement made by the hon. gentleman tonight, though on many other occasions I can show that they were prepared to discriminate absolutely against the mother country, and discriminate very largely. Now, the hon. gentleman referred to the subject of commercial union. I do not think that the hon. gentleman's explanation was satisfactory. He referred to statements made by him when he was charged with advocating a policy of commercial union, when he sneered, for instance, at unrestricted reciprocity, or was said to have done so.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) No.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman denies it, but I am only wishing to get the facts before the House. I am subject to his correction, where I have been misinformed, because I was not an eye-witness, but I am speaking from pretty good authority. For instance, he was reported in the 'Weekly Examiner,' of Charlottetown, a Conservative paper, I believe, and not friendly to him. The hon. gentleman is very fully reported; he will not deny the report, and according to this report he denounced unrestricted reciprocity in these words:

The important consequence would be that imports to the United States, instead of being carried to the great ports of the United States, would be taken to the States by way of Montreal. To this, the States, whose people are not arrant fools, would never consent, and unrestricted reciprocity, although it would suit as well as commercial union, was therefore impracticable. In discussing commercial union we should, he thought, regard it from both the Canadian and the provincial points of view, in a broad and generous spirit.

And he is reported to have gone on to give reasons for that view:

Unrestricted reciprocity would differ from commercial union in this respect, that while under it there would be perfect free trade between the two countries, each country would retain the right to form its own tariff as against the rest of the world.

Now, I want to add this to the explanations that have been given touching this meeting. A friend and political ally of the hon. gentleman, Mr. Donald Farquharson, a member of the Provincial Legislature, had moved this resolution:

Resolved, that in the interests of the people of Canada, and more particularly of this Island, this board regards the proposal of commercial union, or unrestricted trade between Canada and the United States, as of the greatest importance, and demands our hearty sympathy and co-operation.

The hon. gentleman did not read that resolution moved by a political ally of his own, but he read the amendment which was finally

adopted. He neglected to tell us that three weeks intervened.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I did not neglect to tell you; I said some time intervened between the inception of the debate and the close.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Three weeks intervened between that resolution and the amendment, which was the result of a compromise between the hon. gentleman and others who work in unison with my political friends in that Island. On the day after this report, which he now questions, was published, I am informed—but will accept the hon. gentleman's denial, if he makes it—that he congratulated the editor of the 'Examiner' upon the fairness of that report.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I do not remember speaking to him at all, nor do I think the House desires me to repeat the explanation I have given. I would venture to say that the hon. gentleman is hardly exhibiting, I will not say his usual fairness, but common fairness, in making an excerpt from that speech of mine which was quoted the other day, which I fully explained to-day. I explained thoroughly about that, and the hon. gentleman, while quoting the resolution which was moved by another gentleman, in which the words "commercial union" are mentioned, fails to quote the resolution which I myself moved, and which was carried unanimously, and which was substituted for the one he read.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman charges me with unfairness. I do not object to the interruption, because what he has said to-day and what I am saying, will be matters of record to those who care to examine into the subject, and I think they will fail to see anything like so narrow a spirit as that. I am basing all my remarks upon the reported utterances of hon. gentlemen opposite. I accept his denial, but, when he denies it, I wish to add the facts.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I did not deny anything. I said you did not quote the resolution.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Now, when the Minister of Finance, on a previous occasion, referred to that subject, surely there can be nothing unfair in referring the hon. gentleman to that explanation. He stated:

Now I did not make use of such language as is here reported. I used that language with a very strongly pronounced and distinct qualification, which was clearly understood when I stated it. The board of trade were discussing several proposals for obtaining free trade relations with the United States. Some were in favour of commercial union, and some in favour of the scheme known as unrestricted reciprocity. A portion expressed their desire to have the freest trade relations between Canada and the United States that could be obtained, similar to the freedom of trade which existed between state and state, so that there should be no custom-houses on the border, and that

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not only the United States goods should be passed free, but that all goods whether they were manufactured in Canada or the United States or abroad, should be passed free. These same people wished also to retain, if possible, in the hands of Canada the right to maintain our tariff and to regulate it as we pleased. In answer to that I told them that such a scheme of unrestricted reciprocity was impracticable and impossible, that if Canada retains a tariff of 25 per cent and the United States a tariff of 35 per cent, and you have no custom-houses between the two countries, the whole of the importations will naturally come into that part of the country which has the least tariff, and that the country to the south of us which has the higher tariff would not be such arrant fools as to assent to any such arrangements.

Mr. DAVIES. Hear, hear.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman says now, "Hear, hear." That was the policy that he afterwards advocated in this House and asked the people of Canada to endorse. That is the policy they sent to the country during the last election, and the policy that was denounced in 1891 by the people at the polls. I think the leader of the Opposition would admit that he himself took the position that, in reference to unrestricted reciprocity, a uniformity between the two countries would not be found necessary. But on that question the hon. gentleman was reported on another occasion during that same year by a paper published on the Island, as having spoken at a Liberal picnic at Cape Traverse.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) What is that report?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. In the 'Weekly Examiner.' It says:

Mr. Davies came fully up to expectation on the question of commercial union. Without hesitating a moment as to whether a uniform tariff discriminating in favour of a foreign country and against our mother country would be right, without stopping for a moment to inquire whether the mother country would be likely to consent to such a tariff, without asking whether or not the people of the United States are willing to let Canadians share in the benefits of their protective policy, Mr. Davies declares that he is in favour of commercial union. The difficulty of making fair terms with a wealthy and powerful rival does not stay him. He is for commercial union and against unrestricted reciprocity. The States must "come in" because Mr. Davies thinks it unreasonable that they should not do so.

The editor may be wrong; the hon. gentleman says now that he was not fairly reported; but that was the way in which his arguments were understood at that time. I will only call one other witness to show that there was some reason for the hon. gentleman being so understood. He was at that time working in harmony with the hon. gentleman who sits next to him, and the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright).

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) If the hon. gentleman will allow me—this does not profess to be a report of my speech, and I may say that is a perfect travesty of what I said on that occasion.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman puts that on record. But what does his leader say? He is reported in the Toronto 'Mail' on the 15th of October as having spoken in Ingersoll, and according to the report this is what he said:

I am as adverse as any man can be to annexation or to resign our political independence, but I cannot shut my eyes to the facts. We have greatly misused our advantages. We have been most foolish and most wasteful in our expenditures.

No one would deny the accuracy of that report.

We have no means of satisfying the just demands of large portions of the Dominion except through such an arrangement as Commercial Union.

In 1887 the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) was reported to be in favour of commercial union, and the hon. member for Queens (Mr. Davies, P.E.I.) was reported to have spoken in favour of commercial union. That statement cannot be denied.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I do not think the hon. gentleman will say I am reported as having said so.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Yes, in the Charlottetown 'Examiner.'

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) No; the editor professes to give his own impressions of what took place at the pic-nic, but he gives no report of my speech and does not pretend to.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I can only say that the report is very long, and if the hon. gentleman wishes me to read it I shall do so; otherwise not. The hon. gentleman, however, ventured to criticise two items of the tariff. After having, as I said before, pointed out that there were many grievous burdens imposed upon the people, the hon. gentleman in his long speech referred to only two duties—that on kerosene oil and that on fertilizers. The duty on kerosene oil was one which he denounced most strongly, and he expressed surprise that his Maritime colleagues, both those acting with him and those opposed, would not agree. The hon. gentleman must know that that was a pet industry and has been a pet industry of two political parties in this country. The hon. gentleman must know that, in the good old days between 1874 and 1878, that industry enjoyed a higher protection than it has ever enjoyed since. In 1877, when the Finance Minister of that day, in the face of the fact that oil was selling at a far higher price than now, in the face of the outcry against this burden, came down to this House to

propose a change, he removed the excise duty which was a burden on the industry and gave them a large protection, I think a protection of 6 cents per wine gallon. And what happened besides? In order that that industry should be allowed to live, the hon. member for South Oxford, as Finance Minister of that day, said that that protection must be left to it, and, in sweeping away the excise duty in order to let the industry live, it was necessary for him to put a tax on tea and coffee. He levied this tax, and these hon. gentlemen who tell us that protection is robbery, that protection is a sham and a fraud, these hon. gentlemen who call those interested in the industries of the country thieves and robbers, talked in this way in 1877, and gave this reason for taxing tea and coffee and for leaving the protection on almost the only article the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davies, P.E.I.) referred to in the speech I have just quoted. This is what the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), as Finance Minister, said on this subject in 1877:

The Government have carefully considered the whole question with a desire to reduce the burden of the people as much as they can and yet not utterly to wipe out of existence a Canadian industry which has grown up under protection of the law enacted by hon. gentlemen opposite.

If the hon. gentleman and his friends were unwilling to wipe out that industry how can he, while arousing sectional prejudice on the part of the Maritime Provinces against that western industry, ask us to wipe it out? Then the hon. gentleman endeavoured again to make love to the manufacturers. Having abused them at the start he changed his tactics, and, in reference to fertilizers, pointed out that the Maritime Province manufacture of this article was handicapped because the sulphuric acid was protected for the benefit of a western industry. Now, the hon. gentleman knows this: that the Maritime Provinces and the western provinces are being continually pitted against one another in that way. We have had religious cries and commercial cries, and all sorts of cries, to tear asunder the provinces, but the Government of this country, the Liberal-Conservative party has lived down these cries, has breasted every storm and has come out triumphant and successful. The National Policy is a policy of compromises. The hon. gentlemen are willing to compromise with the United States—why, in Heaven's name, are not they willing that the different provinces should compromise one with another? The hon. gentleman having again referred to reciprocity with the United States, dilated at considerable length upon the benefits of that policy. That is a subject of considerable interest, which has been discussed at great length on many occasions in this House, but I would simply like to point out this: that when the hon. gentleman takes that extreme position in refer-

ence to the benefits of reciprocity with the United States, and Canada's dependence upon them, and refers to the old reciprocity treaty, he makes ridiculous a large part of the record of the Reform party. When the Reformers were in power questions relating to the renewal of the reciprocity negotiations were put and answers were summarily given by the Prime Minister of the day that he had gone to Washington, or had sent representatives to Washington, where they were not treated very well, where there views were not entertained, that he thought that about enough to do, and told them plainly that he was not going to send to Washington again. The whole of the Canadian confederation was built upon the idea which the hon. gentleman now attacks. Confederation was built upon this idea—and I believe the idea is correct now—that beneficial as trade in certain articles with the United States would be, when that country adopted a hostile commercial policy to the British American provinces (for what reason it is not necessary now to inquire) the only thing for British subjects to do who wished to keep British institutions on this continent and maintain their independence, national and commercial, from the United States, was to band themselves together in commerce and in their institutions and their laws. And among the men who advocated that course were the late Mr. Mackenzie, the late George Brown and our own revered and respected chieftain. These men did not say that the game was up when we were treated unkindly by the United States. Those men did not say that the game was up, nor that we were shut out and ruined by the United States; those men said that valuable as that trade was, there was even a more valuable trade within our grasp if we would only quit ourselves like men and fight for it. In 1874, when George Brown went to negotiate a renewal of that treaty with our neighbours, he used no such talk as we hear now from the Opposition benches. I hold in my hand a report where he proved as conclusively as trade statistics can prove, that we had done better after the abrogation of reciprocity than we had done during that period. The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) looks up with surprise, but he will find that the late George Brown appreciated as fully as any man the benefits of trade with the United States. He also proved, what has been repeated time and again on these benches, that a large portion of the statistics of trade between the United States and Canada are misleading so far as they are used by our friends opposite now, that they do not represent the trade we have with the Americans, but they represent the trade we put into the middle men's hands in the United States, a trade that seeks a common market. Take, for instance, articles about which we hear a good deal, which hon. gentlemen refers to when they are addressing the farmers; take, for

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instance, lumber. He said that they required our lumber, and that they must pay the taxes which they impose upon our lumber, and we find now, though the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies, P.E.I.) did not admit it to-night, that there are prospects of lumber going free into the United States, and all these terrible burdens to which he has referred, will be removed. This is what Mr. Brown stated in his report respecting this traffic:

And so it is with fish, barley, pease, wool, hides, sheep, horses and other articles of Canadian production which cannot easily be got elsewhere. The demand from the United States is good and constant, notwithstanding the custom-house barriers, and the prices keep steadily up. But in regard to wheat, flour, provisions and other articles of which the United States have a surplus as well as Canada, the effect of the duties upon them has been to send through Canadian channels direct to the Maritime Provinces, the West India Islands and Great Britain, a vast amount of products that were formerly sold to New York and Boston houses, and shipped to these same markets through American channels. Where two countries alongside of each other have each a large annual surplus of the same article, and that article is in world-wide demand, heavy duties against each other can hardly be effective. The stuff will find its way to market by some route or other.

On that text he wrote, and supported his position by a large amount of statistics. I say that is the position we assume. We do not despair when duties are levied on the other side of the line. Our neighbours did the worst they could do to us, and we have lived through it, lived to boast, lived to rejoice, lived as an astonishing and an astounding example among the nations of the world, as to the victorious manner in which we weathered the storm. I have endeavoured to follow as closely as I could the remarks of the hon. gentleman. I have not gone into several questions which I would like to have touched, because it has already taken considerable time to deal with some of the statements made by the hon. gentleman. But he did refer to a subject that I cannot pass over. He referred to the Maritime Provinces, and he seemed to challenge, not by way of proof but by reiterated statements, any man from the Maritime Provinces to stand up here in Parliament and pretend that we had anything to congratulate ourselves upon from a business standpoint. The hon. gentleman did not take the statistics of Canada as a whole, but he parcelled off the Dominion and gave us a maritime view, so to speak. I do not appreciate that style of discussing a budget of Canada; I do not think it is well to divide up the provinces in that way, if only for the reason that that tends to lengthen the debate and to bring in side issues; but I would be perfectly prepared to join issue with the hon. gentleman on that question, if he puts it before us. If there is a part of Canada where the people have reason to rejoice it is the Maritime Provinces. I have

seen something of the Maritime Provinces between 1874 and 1878, and since, and I know something of the condition of business, and what business men tell me. You will find that travellers from all the large houses unite in saying that credit is better in the Maritime Provinces than almost in any other part of Canada, because there is less distrust there than in any other portion of this country. The hon. gentleman cannot make good his position. He travelled in company with Mr. Jones, formerly a member of the Liberal Government, and Mr. Jones did not say, during that trip in 1893, that the people of Nova Scotia had anything to regret; on the contrary, at Weymouth the hon. gentleman thanked Providence for a bountiful harvest, and for the general improvement and activity which had marked commercial enterprises the world over.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Oh, oh.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman laughs, but does he suppose the people of the Maritime Provinces believe him when he says that there is general commercial stagnation and atrophy? The hon. gentleman referred to this subject in the gloomiest way. May I venture to give the House an illustration of that trouble that sits upon the hon. gentleman's political mind? He has never seen anything good in the Maritime Provinces in the way of trade, so far as I am able to discover, since 1882, when he first came into the House of Commons; but he sees this atrophy, he sees commercial stagnation, he sees all sorts of bewildering things that no others, either friends or foes, can see. Now, Mr. Blaine, who has had several conversations, I believe, with the hon. gentleman on political subjects, had a conversation with a friend some time before he died concerning this kind of statesmen. He said they reminded him very much of an incident that occurred on a ferry boat in the New York harbour. A passenger had entered the ferry boat, carrying an extraordinary looking basket, and the owner of the basket seemed very anxious in reference to its safety. Finally a curious man came to him and said, "What have you got in that basket? Anything dangerous?" "Well," said the owner of the basket, "I have a kalamazoo." "Well, what is a kalamazoo? Is it dangerous?" "Oh, very dangerous; if it got out it would destroy every one on this boat in a minute—an exceedingly dangerous animal." "Well, what do you feed it on?" "Live snakes," was the reply. "Well, where do you get them?" "I have a brother who is addicted to delirium tremens, and whenever he sees snakes I catch them and feed the kalamazoo with them." "But," said the astonished party, "those snakes are all imaginary." "Well," replied the other, "so is my kalamazoo," and so are the views of the hon. gentleman. I will quote a few statistics. Take the exports of manufacturers of wood. In 1878 Nova Scotia

exported \$868,000 worth, against 1,500,000 in 1892, using round figures in both cases. The exports of home manufactures were \$533,000 against \$882,000 in 1892. The imports of raw cotton were 5,000 pounds in 1878, against 3,500,000 pounds in 1892. The exports of the products of the mine were \$470,000 in the first year, against \$618,000 in 1892. The exports of the products of the farm were \$608,000, against \$1,700,000. I could go on and give statistics to the House, but that is not necessary in view of the arguments used. I can show that the province of Nova Scotia is undoubtedly as prosperous as the other provinces. I hold in my hand, also a very interesting account, given in a Scotch paper of a visit of delegates from the rural districts of that country to various places in Nova Scotia, and it goes to show that wages are higher than at home, in that lovely free trade country to which the hon. gentleman so often refers, and that the comforts and necessaries of life are almost as cheap, and in some places are even cheaper and better than in Scotland itself. Take, for instance, testimonies of an undoubted kind and of a general description in regard to the results of protection. I will not weary the House by reading them; but take the directors' reports of the various banks and they show a most gratifying condition, especially in regard to the manner in which the farmers were able to meet their commercial paper and their engagements. Take the utterances of public men who do not agree with us on the trade question, when they go abroad, where they seem to imbibe a spirit of fairness. Take, for instance, the speech delivered by Mr. Ross, Minister of Education in Ontario, delivered a short time ago in London, in which he referred with great pride to the prosperity of the British colonies. Take various gentlemen who are connected with the local Governments. We have heard their utterances, not only in Parliament, but when they have gone to the money markets of London, in which they have given glowing descriptions of the condition of this country after years of the protective policy. Take the handsome tribute paid by our late Governor General in Liverpool the other day. I will not read it at length, but it was most gratifying, for that gentleman held an impartial position in our midst, and he was glad on his return, when speaking on 22nd March of the present year, to refer with pride to the condition in which he found Canada, and in which he left it. One reference alone I venture to give. Lord Derby said:

With regard to agricultural produce, he almost hesitated to form an opinion as to the competition the home farmers would have to contend with in the future. This great industry only required development. The Government, like most colonial governments, had encouraged this industry, and he believed before many years Canada would develop in a manner possibly not equal. Numer.

ically the United States was ahead, but in all that concern the essential well-being Canada would increase equally and rapidly, and will certainly be filled by a finer and hardier people. He thought these particulars would be of interest.

They are certainly of interest to the many friends Lord Derby left behind him. But take a test of prosperity suggested by the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills). This was the test he applied. In 1876 he said :

If you want to find a country's prosperity, look at its importations. If we imported largely and our importations were paid for, it was an indication of marked prosperity.

That was uttered in 1876, and I suppose the hon. gentleman holds the same opinion now. Let me give the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) this test. In 1878 we imported goods to the value of \$93,000,000 ; in 1893 to the value of \$129,000,000, an increase of \$36,000,000. The hon. gentleman knows that the character of these imports is an extraordinary feature, that instead of the great bulk of them being manufactured products, an enormous volume of our importations consisted of raw material for manufactures made in this country, and which contributed so much to its general prosperity.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Were they higher in 1893 than in 1873 ?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman refers to 1873 in almost bated breath. The only record you can consider is the record of the Conservative Government up to 1873, and the record of that Government, if examined, will show this, that, relatively, considering the prices of commodities, the condition of transportation facilities, there was practically a protective policy in the tariff of that time, relatively as much as there has been of protection from 1878 down. When a change occurred in the prices, in the transportation facilities, and the terrific competition arose the hon. gentleman failed to meet the almost universal appeal that went forth to raise the duties relatively and give the country that protection which it had before. That hon. gentleman failed to grapple with the issue. I will not longer trespass on the attention of the House. I simply say this, that up to the present moment the position of the Government is not only unassailed, but hon. gentlemen opposite have admitted that they do not propose to assail it until we reach another stage. But I have to point out that if we are to keep up with the progress that it has been ours to enjoy in the past, if we are to carry out the great schemes that lie in the minds of Canadians, young and old, if we are to produce anything in the future like that which the fathers of Confederation predicted and hoped we would produce, it is not by inviting foreign competition to come in here and destroy the industries that have grown up and exist under the protective policy. It is not by

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following the example of the mother country, even if it be free trade taking it all through, where you have statesmen of great judgment confessing their embarrassment to-day in all the commercial markets, and falling back on a means, not ours for the moment to enjoy and exercise, the means of arms and force. We are not in that position, and until we reach it, we certainly are not able to tie our hands behind our backs, as hon. gentlemen opposite profess we are able to do, and court attack from every quarter. I believe if we maintain, as this Government has pledged itself to maintain, the cardinal features of protection, if we accept the advice that is given to us by business men after careful judgment on the fame, and shape our policy according to those interests, then the result will be all that the most sanguine Canadian could desire or wish.

Mr. BORDEN. The hon. gentleman began his speech by chiding the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies), for having failed to discuss the question before the House, the Budget brought down by the hon. Finance Minister. I appeal to you, Mr. Speaker, and to this House whether the hon. Minister of Marine has set hon. members who may come after him the good example of having himself followed the course which he said should have been followed by the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies). That hon. gentleman certainly discussed the public questions of the country and those bearing on the tariff and the trade relations of the country fully, so far as they affect us in our relations with other countries. Everybody knows that when the Budget is under discussion the fullest liberty is accorded to every hon. member to discuss the condition of the country and its trade relations with other countries. This is the first time I have ever known a serious question of this kind to be approached with a scrap-book of extracts, cut out from speeches made ten or fifteen years ago, and extracts from partisan newspapers, which it was useless for my hon. friend to contradict, though he did so over and over again, because no sooner would he contradict the truth of an extract than the Minister proceeded to re-read the same extract or to quote another extract from the same paper. The speech of the hon. Minister reminded me of a story. He has treated the House to several stories, and perhaps the House will suffer me also to tell a story which, I think, illustrates the manner of the Minister's speech. Once upon a time, in a country where there was a poor congregation—it could not have been in Canada, it must have been in free trade England, and I think it was—the congregation was in want of a new set of hymn books. The old hymn books were worn out, and an enterprising member of the congregation had somewhere read an advertisement by a vendor of patent

medicines, to the effect that he would supply free hymn books to any congregation provided that he would have an opportunity of inserting here and there an advertisement of his nostrums. The congregation was made happy and adopted the scheme, and on the eve of Christmas Day they were furnished with brand new hymn books, and on the next morning when the service began, the clergyman pointed to them with pride, took up the new hymn book and said it was unnecessary to read the hymn, as it was known to every member of the congregation. The congregation stood up and began to sing, never having examined the books they were to sing from, and this is what they sang:

Hark the herald angels sing
Beecham's Pills are just the thing
Peace on earth and mercy mild
Two for a man and one for a child

That is very much the style of the speech which the Minister of Marine and Fisheries has delivered to this House to-night; a speech which I do not think was up to the standard of the hon. gentleman; a speech which I do not think it was worthy a Minister of the Crown to address to an assemblage of this kind, engaged with a serious, sober question such as that of the tariff which this country has to adopt in the future. The hon. Minister alluded to the Liberal party as a disappointed party. He could not have looked amongst his own followers when he said that, for it has occurred to me, during the past eight days, that disappointment has not been on this side of the House, but amongst those on the Government benches. What about these hon. gentlemen opposite who have been declaring during the last eight or ten years, and even up to the last session of Parliament, that the National Policy, that high taxation was the means of reducing the cost of living in this country and of lowering the prices of the commodities used by the people? What are these hon. gentlemen who have been preaching that doctrine to think, when now the Minister of Finance has taken that argument out of their mouths, by stating, as he did in his Budget speech, that high duties increased the prices of the commodities used by the people? It occurs to me that there must have been considerable disappointment among hon. gentlemen who have been preaching to this House and to the people of the country on every hustings, the doctrine that high duties created lower prices. The Minister of Marine took exception to the statement made by the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) with reference to the population of Dakota. The hon. gentleman has succeeded in hunting up a number of speeches made by my hon. friend (Mr. Davies), and, by the way, I have often wondered for what object such a large number of newspapers were taken

by the different departments of this Government as I see charged up in the Auditor General's Report. I find now that at any rate, so far as the Minister of Marine is concerned, this country is taxed for such a large amount, to pay subscriptions to newspapers so as to enable him to cut out extracts from the speeches of the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies).

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. You do not seem to like them.

Mr. BORDEN. I enjoy them immensely; nobody could help it. Without these extracts the speech of the Minister would have been nothing. Now, the hon. Minister has said that the member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) misstated the population of Dakota, and that he said it was one and a half millions when it was only a half million. Well, Sir, I am informed that the figures given by the hon. member (Mr. Davies) were taken from a newspaper estimate which had been made of the population—because the statement was made prior to the census of 1890—at a time when people were going into the Dakotas very rapidly and the population was filling up very fast. The estimate given by the hon. member was what was set down in the newspaper.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. It was incorrect.

Mr. BORDEN. It was incorrect. It occurs to me that my hon. friend the Minister ought not to be too strict in charging against hon. members on this side of the House a little inaccuracy of that kind. I remember a time in this House when an hon. member made some statements of what was going to happen in this country—not a statement with reference to Dakota—but as to what would happen in the North-west, and he fixed the date and year that certain wonderful things would come to pass. I find that Sir Charles Tupper, when a member of this House, in discussing the North-west, said:

When I remind the House that the land alone, according to the authority of the right hon. Minister of the Interior.

The Minister of the Interior was in it too. It was not simply Sir Charles Tupper, but Sir John Macdonald also.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Let me point out to the hon. gentleman that one statement was in favour of Canada; it was unfortunately incorrect; the other was an estimate which was incorrect, and it was against Canada.

Mr. BORDEN. Then it is no harm to tell a fib if it is in favour of Canada.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I did not say that.

Mr. BORDEN. Sir Charles Tupper then went on to say:—

When I remind the House that the land alone, according to the authority of the Right Hon. Minister of the Interior, upon the calculation which he believes to be sound, within the next ten years will give us \$38,000,000 in hand, \$32,000,000 to receive on mortgages within the following ten years, or a total sum of \$70,000,000, it will be seen that we incur no risk. But suppose the land does not give us that, we have an authority which hon. gentlemen opposite will accept: that the customs revenue from the people who will go into the country for the next ten years will furnish the interest on \$60,000,000. * * * *

I am glad the hon. gentleman has done so. I am glad his attention has been drawn to the fact that 100,000 farmers, cultivating 320 acres each, or 200,000 farmers, cultivating half that quantity each, and taking the product at only 20 bushels to the acre, instead of 27 or 30, which is the average in the North-west in favourable years, would give 640,000,000 bushels of wheat, or 50 per cent more wheat than the whole United States produces to-day. You have only to look at those figures for a single moment to see what the future of Canada is, to see what a magnificent granary for the world is placed in our Canadian North-west, and when you remember we have six belts running through that fertile country that would each give 320 acres each to 100,000 farmers, you can understand to some little degree what a magnificent future awaits us in the development of that great country.

Now I think that my hon. friend the Minister of Marine ought to be a little kind to the hon. gentleman from Prince Edward Island if he happens to make a mistake of half a million or so in quoting an estimate of the population of some foreign country.

Mr. LANDERKIN. That was only an euphemism of the Minister.

Mr. BORDEN. Now, the hon. gentleman has seen fit to charge the Liberal party with inconsistency in their policy. It is fashionable among hon. gentlemen opposite to charge this party with having no policy; but I fancy that that charge will scarcely be made again, because it is owing to the fact that the Liberal party of Canada have a policy, and that that policy is commending itself to the people of Canada, that we are here to-day to consider the resolutions which the hon. Minister of Finance has been forced to bring down in deference to the public opinion which has been created by the Liberal party. But the hon. gentleman has charged us with inconsistency. He says on one occasion we are in favour of unrestricted reciprocity, on another in favour of commercial union, on another it is a revenue tariff, and on another something else. Well, Sir, I have been a member of this House most of the time for twenty years, and during that time I have followed very closely the debates in this Chamber and have read very carefully the statements of public men with reference to the policies of the two parties, and I do not think it lies in the mouths of hon. gentlemen opposite to charge the Liberal party of Canada with inconsistency or with any material varia-

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tion in their policy from the time they became a party since confederation down to the present moment. What was the position of the Liberal party in 1874? Its policy then was its policy of to-day—that the taxation of the people of Canada should be for revenue only, or for revenue chiefly; that it is wrong to take one dollar of taxes out of the pockets of the people more than is required to carry on the government of the country. That has been the main plank in the platform of the Liberal party from 1874 down to the present time. With reference to reciprocity, it was the policy of the Liberal party in 1874 to obtain reciprocity if possible: and, as the hon. Minister has shown, the late Hon. George Brown was sent to Washington for the purpose of endeavouring to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity. But the hon. gentleman says that the Liberal party have failed, and that after having failed they did not make any further attempt to obtain a reciprocity treaty, but had taken the independent position which the Government are now taking, and which he commends, of trying to build up the trade of Canada independently of trade with the United States. That is true. Nevertheless, efforts were made to obtain that reciprocity, and the hon. Minister and the House must bear in mind that the Hon. George Brown went to Washington at a time when the people of the United States were irritated against the people of Canada in respect of matters which had grown out of the war that had closed only a few years before. That irritation fortunately, has passed away, and an entirely different condition of things exists now, and has existed since the time the first offer of reciprocity was made by the Government now in power—or the pretended offer which was made in 1891. But, I say that the policy of the Liberal party has been mainly revenue tariff, though there have been times when the policy of reciprocity, which was always the policy of the Liberal party, which is their policy to-day, has been put forward more boldly and more prominently than at other times; and why should that not be so? In 1888, the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) moved certain resolutions in this House, and the moment was opportune for him to do so, and why? Because Sir Charles Tupper had received a letter from Mr. Bayard, then Secretary of State of the United States, offering to give this country a reciprocity treaty. That was a favourable moment for any party in Canada to give to the Canadian people the opportunity of expressing their opinion on the question of reciprocity, and it was at that moment that the Liberal party placed their policy of reciprocity more prominently before the people. But the attempt has been made to fasten upon this party a policy which they have never entertained as a party—the policy of commercial union with the United States. No matter how many

contradictions are made, no matter how often gentlemen who have been charged with having expressed themselves in favour of commercial union deny the charge, back come the old quotations. It seems to be essential to the arguments of hon. gentlemen opposite to misrepresent their opponents, and if possible to place them in an improper light before the country. The hon. gentleman knows—he must know, because he has been in Parliament during the whole time that this discussion has gone on—that never, by any resolution, or by any speech of any of the acknowledged leaders of the Liberal party in this House, has the doctrine of commercial union been put forth as a part of the policy of the Liberal party of Canada. I am surprised that the hon. gentleman should be so persistent in making these charges. Does he not know that the late chieftain of the Conservative party, Sir John Macdonald, was prepared to enter into an arrangement for commercial union with the United States in 1869? That is a matter of history. That was perfectly proper, perfectly loyal on his part; but if any member of the Liberal party, speaking, not for the Liberal party, but for himself, happens to have made an observation that commercial union would be a good thing for this country, then at once the party is charged with disloyalty. I do not think that it lies in the mouth of hon. gentlemen opposite to charge the Liberal party with inconsistency with reference to its policy. But what shall we say of the hon. gentlemen opposite? I have just told you, that in 1869 the great leader of the Conservative party of that day was prepared to go to Washington and arrange for a common tariff between the two countries. That is a matter of history. I remember well sitting in this House in 1876, and hearing Sir Charles Tupper, when the hon. member for South Oxford had increased his tariff from 15 to 17½ per cent. in order to meet the obligations which had been left upon this country by hon. gentlemen opposite before they went out of office—I remember well Sir Charles Tupper then charging the hon. member for South Oxford with entering the thin edge of the wedge of protection. And this is the consistent party! Commercial union in 1869, a charge against the Liberal party of entering the thin edge of protection in 1876—and what happened in 1878? Because the hard times which existed all over the world, were acutely felt in Canada, as elsewhere, hon. gentlemen opposite saw an opportunity of taking advantage of their opponents and putting the Government out of power. And, although their financial critic of that day (Sir Charles Tupper) came down with a speech prepared to denounce the Mackenzie Government for increasing the tariff, at the importunate requests of the manufacturers—because he supposed the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) was going to adopt that policy, yet, when he found that the Lib-

eral party remained true to their principles, he turned round and denounced them for not having increased the tariff; and it was then that the policy of protection was adopted by the hon. gentlemen. But, in adopting that policy, they did so very carefully and gingerly. What was the resolution moved by hon. gentlemen opposite prior to the elections of 1878? It was: That this policy, called the National Policy, of imposing higher rates of duties should be adopted—for what purpose? For the purpose of protection? Not entirely—but for the purpose of forcing the United States to come to our terms and make a reciprocity treaty with us. They dared not go to the country at that time upon any platform which did not include reciprocity. But they went to the country and carried the election; and in 1882 they became bolder. But when they came to the Maritime Provinces, even in 1882, we find Sir Charles Tupper telling the people of Prince Edward Island at Charlottetown, knowing how anxious they as well as the other Maritime Provinces were to have reciprocity—"Stick to us and our policy of high tariffs, and in two years, I promise you, you shall have what you want, reciprocity with the United States." The elections of 1887 then came. Their policy still was the National Policy, but in the Maritime Provinces there was a good spice of reciprocity thrown in, for the Government dared not go down there without some promise of reciprocity. And then we come on to the elections of 1891. What happened? Where was the National Policy then? The hon. gentlemen came down and told the country, that they had an offer of reciprocity from the United States and wanted a new House, composed of new men, to consider this question. We are a moribund House, they said, and we want a new House to take up this new boon of reciprocity which we will obtain for you. And these are the hon. gentlemen who charge the Liberal party with inconsistency! If you can find any more sudden turns, any more variegated policy, in the short space of twenty years, I would like to know where. You certainly cannot find it in the record of the Liberal party. Now, I would like, if time permitted, to discuss a little more fully what has happened. I have got up now to the year 1891, and it is just as well that we should refresh our memories as to what happened in that memorable year. We were all more or less taken by surprise at the sudden appeal to the country then. But we were certainly taken more by surprise at the question upon which the appeal was made. Why was that appeal made at that time? Why, because the gentlemen opposite, wise in their day and generation, saw that the policy which the Liberal party had put forward in 1888 was becoming popular and carrying the country. They saw us and went one better. They said: We will get the start of the Liberals and go to the country; we will go on reciprocity; we will take the wind out of their sails. And how did they do it? They

did it by an outrageous abuse of their authority. They did it by misrepresentation of the grossest kind. They put forward the statement that the United States had made an offer of reciprocity to this country. They said :

Sir John Macdonald's Government not long ago made a definite proposal to the Washington authorities for a settlement of all existing differences between the two countries on a basis of an extension of the trade between the two countries. It involves partial reciprocity, the enumerated articles to include quite a number of natural products, but the proposition discards any idea of commercial union or unrestricted reciprocity. Moreover, these propositions were invited and suggested by the Washington authorities. Commissioners from Canada and Great Britain will start for Washington on 4th March, on the opening of the new Congress. The result of the Canadian elections will be known on 6th March, the day the commissioners reach Washington. In order that this Commission may have no uncertain sound, Sir John Macdonald has decided to appeal to the country and ask for judgment on these proposals of his to the Washington authorities. He does not want the endorsement of a Parliament in its last session, but the freshly expressed opinion of the people of Canada, and for this reason he has advised a dissolution.

But it turned out later on that, instead of the invitation or the suggestion coming from Washington, it came from Ottawa, and that Sir Julian Pauncefote was requested by the Ottawa Government to sound the Administration at Washington in order to see whether it would be prepared to consider a reciprocity treaty between the United States and this country. And we find, more than that, Sir, that what was agreed to—and it was agreed to on 2nd January, 1891—between Blaine on one side and Sir Julian Pauncefote on the other, was, not that any treaty should be considered, but that Mr. Blaine should receive representatives from the Government at Ottawa, and privately discuss the question of whether a basis could be laid down for an agreement of a reciprocity treaty. And this was the ground upon which the hon. gentleman, as it turned out, went to the country in 1891. But, Sir, we come now to the present time. Is this a change of policy, or is this the same policy? At any rate we have a very serious departure from the tariff which we have been told here, year in and year out, was simply the acme of perfection. And even now the Minister of Finance spent two hours and a half of the time occupied by his Budget speech in proving the absolute perfection of the National Policy, and then he spent two hours and a half in showing how completely he could tear it to pieces. Now, Sir, to return to some of the observations which the hon. Minister has made in his criticisms of my hon. friend from Prince Edward Island (Mr. Davies). He stated that that hon. gentleman had made a speech in which he had declared that the manufacturers were losing money, and that he made another speech

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in which he said that they were making large sums of money, and the hon. Minister claimed that these two speeches were inconsistent. I have not read the speech of the hon. gentleman from Prince Edward Island (Mr. Davies), but, so far as I could gather from the remarks of the hon. Minister, it was a speech made in 1885. In that speech, as I understand it, the hon. gentleman stated that there were three stages in the history of manufactures under protection. Beginning under the stimulus of the protective system, there would be enhanced prices and profitable returns. Then came over-production, and then it was that those engaged in these manufactures lost money, and I think there are some hon. gentlemen sitting pretty near the hon. Minister who could testify, if it were necessary, to the truth of the statement made by the hon. gentleman from Prince Edward Island (Mr. Davies). The hon. Minister says that my hon. friend from Prince Edward Island (Mr. Davies) is inconsistent, because he declares in his other speech that the manufacturers were making large sums of money. There is no inconsistency whatever. Why? Because when the hon. gentleman made the speech in which he said large sums were being made by the cotton and sugar combines, the third stage in the manufacturing industry under protection had been reached. What is that stage? It is the stage of combination of the different members of each industry in the country, and that is the stage that the hon. member from Prince Edward Island (Mr. Davies) was discussing when he said the combines were taking large sums of money out of the pockets of the people. And that is why the Liberal party object to the policy of the Government, because it helps the favoured individuals to combine together, and through that combination to take from the consumers more money for the commodities they supply than those commodities are worth, or, in other words, more than the consumers would have to pay if they were at liberty to buy elsewhere. The hon. Minister took exception to what he was pleased to call the inconsistencies of my hon. friend in what he said with regard to the United States. The hon. Minister declared that my hon. friend had stated in one breath that the United States had been injured by protection, and in the next that the American Union was a great free trade country as between the forty-two or forty-three States of the Union. I do not see any great inconsistency in that. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Davies) says, as he believes, as we all believe, that the protective principle is a vicious one, and is bound to hurt any country that adopts it. But he says that in the United States you have the least possible bad results from a bad policy, because you have within the United States forty-three different countries, as it were, all trading freely together, and containing within their own boundaries every product under the

light of the sun. It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that that is sound according to logic and facts, and that no exception can be taken to what my hon. friend said on that score. From what the hon. Minister said, one would suppose that the United States had always had a protective tariff. Does not the hon. gentleman know that the United States deliberately adopted a free trade or revenue tariff policy as long ago as 1845, and that the people lived under that tariff until 1861, and, further, that the greatest prosperity that that country has seen was between those two years. What drove the United States to adopt a policy of protection? Was it a desire thereby to build up industries or to tax the masses of the people in order to enrich the few? No, Sir, they had to face the war of the rebellion, and in 1861 they found themselves in debt, they found themselves obliged to raise enormous sums of money to carry on that war, and so they put up this tariff—not for protective purposes, but for the purpose of raising revenue. But we have there an illustration of how difficult it is to extricate a country from the control of the protective system, once that system has been established. Under this policy in the United States great industries grew up, great combines were started, and the power of these combines was so great that, exerted upon the Government of the country, it has forced the United States to continue that policy in operation. The hon. Minister says that protection is lively in the United States yet. Well, Sir, I agree with him. And I quite agree with him that the struggle is not yet by any means over. As I have just said, enormous interests, selfish interests, have been built up in that country which are fighting now for their very life, so that when the Government of the United States endeavours to change that policy, they find arrayed against them millions and hundreds of millions of capital which will be used in every way to thwart their efforts and to thwart the will of the people, expressed though it was with no uncertain sound in the last presidential election in 1892. I am not going into the question of the mandate of the people to President Cleveland in 1892 to carry out the policy of tariff reform—that would take too long. But I may make this observation, that in the experience of the United States we are able to see—we Liberals who are charged with everything bad, who are charged with want of admiration for British institutions—an object lesson setting forth the immense superiority of British institutions over those of the United States. Here we have means by which effect can be given almost immediately to the will of the people; there, under their extraordinary system of government, it takes a year, or a year and a half, and almost two years, before effect can be given to the will of the people. You have there a defunct House of Representatives sitting for months and

legislating after they have been defeated at the polls. You have there a President actually in authority and carrying on the government of the country, months after the people have declared by an overwhelming majority that they want no more of his policy. However, that is their business, and not ours, and in that peculiar condition of things we find, no doubt, a reason why the policy of the Democratic party meets so many obstacles in being crystallized into law. Now, the hon. gentleman criticised as inconsistent a statement made by the hon. member for Queen's, P.E.I. (Mr. Davies), to the effect that there had not been prosperity under the National Policy. He said: In one breath he (Mr. Davies, P.E.I.) says there has been prosperity under the National Policy, in another breath he says there is no prosperity. But "ephemereal" was the word the hon. member for Queen's used. He said there had been an ephemereal prosperity, not due to the National Policy, but as a result of the large sums of millions of money that had been spent in this country during the last few years upon public works. That was the statement made by the hon. member for Queen's, and a perfectly true and sound statement it was, one that does not require to be supported by argument. The hon. Minister says that these public works are not done yet. That looks a good deal like a note of warning for a general election. I understood the Minister of Finance to say more than once in this House, that he was about done expending money on public works. I have a speech delivered, I think, by the right hon. the First Minister in Montreal, in which he said there would be no more large expenditures on public works, and that therefore—that was the argument he used—we would be able now to cut down our expenses, and consequently to make certain reductions on the tariff. But the Minister of Marine has no idea of letting public works stop in that cavalier fashion. He always was in favour of public works, and I will say this for him, that he has fought very well for large expenditures in his own province, not always the most judicious, perhaps, but still he has got them. We have seen a short line railway which cost a million dollars, constructed in his county, which was to shorten the distance some forty miles, and after the road was built and the million of dollars spent, we found that the actual shortening was seven miles. However, we are to have more public works. Now, the hon. gentleman said that he did not oppose reciprocity, but he said it very cautiously, and I could not gather from the argument he put forward that he was very strongly in favour of reciprocity. I have no doubt that when the hon. gentleman comes down to conduct the next campaign in the Maritime Provinces, he will say that he is in favour of reciprocity. But I do not judge hon. gentle-

men opposite by their words. They say on the eve of an election that they are in favour of reciprocity, but reciprocity is not in their hearts. When they go to Washington it seems to me that they take special pains to find out what the United States Government will not do, and then they insist upon that. On one occasion Sir Charles Tupper went there, after receiving a letter from Mr. Bayard, in which Mr. Bayard said that an arrangement for reciprocity between these two countries must be a full and a complete one. Subsequently a delegation of Ministers went there, went there in face of an announcement made by Mr. Blaine, made to the world—everybody knew it—that no treaty with Canada would be entered into by the United States which did not include manufactures. But the Government would not accede to any proposal to include manufactures. That policy is carried out now in this very tariff reform which the Minister of Finance has presented to this House. What do we find? We find in that an offer of reciprocity in certain natural products, but when it comes to anything like a manufactured article, when it comes to agricultural implements, in respect of which the United States are making an offer of reciprocity to this country, we find the hon. gentlemen turning their faces the other way, and utterly refusing to co-operate with the United States. We may lay it down as their fixed policy that they will not make a treaty with the United States which includes manufactured articles, knowing full well, as they do, and as their old leader, Sir John A. Macdonald, frequently stated in this House, and out of it, that it is impossible to get from the United States a treaty which does not include manufactured articles. Consequently I say it is fair to assume from the hon. gentleman's conduct, no matter what they may say with their lips, that they are opposed to the policy of reciprocity. I am sorry that the hon. member for Kent, N.B. (Mr. McInerney), is not in his place, because I think it would be a comfort to him to hear these words of mine. That hon. gentleman spoke some minutes the other night in proving to his satisfaction that this Government had done everything in their power to obtain reciprocity for this country; and then he spent about the same length of time, or more, in proving to his satisfaction that reciprocity would be an un-mixed evil to this country. Yet the hon. gentleman has left the Liberal party—or at any rate he is no longer an independent—and he is going to support the Government of hon. gentlemen opposite because they want to do a thing which he has said is the greatest evil that could happen to this country. Sir, I think almost the only article of the tariff to which the hon. Minister refers, is the article of coal oil, and in that he thought he saw an opportunity to make an attack upon the Liberal party. He said that the

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Liberal party was responsible for the present condition of the coal oil question. Now, Mr. Speaker, let me give you the facts with reference to coal oil. Before 1877 there was a customs duty of 15 cents per gallon and an excise duty on petroleum. In 1877 Mr. Mackenzie reduced the customs duty to 6 cents per gallon, a reduction of 9 cents, and took off the excise duty. At that time the same quality of American oil, which is now imported, was selling at 20 cents per gallon. When this change was made in the interest of the people of Canada, there was a reduction of from 15 cents down to 5, a reduction of from 90 per cent down to 30 per cent upon American coal oil. What is the case to-day? The duty upon the same quality of oil coming into Canada to-day is about 130 per cent, in some cases more, in some cases less, but in no case less than 100 per cent. But how does this operate? It operates with special hardship upon the people of the Maritime Provinces. The people of the Maritime Provinces, let me tell the Minister, if he does not know it, buy and import from the United States two and a half times more oil than the people of Ontario and Quebec per head of the population. For every gallon of coal oil per head of population imported in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec there is imported of American oil by the people of the Maritime Provinces two and one-half gallons, and two and a half times more per capita is paid by the people of the Maritime Provinces into the Treasury on coal oil than is paid by the provinces I have named. Yet the Finance Minister came down last year, and repeated it this year, with a proposition to let coal oil into Canada in tank cars, in order to make it cheaper, but when it came to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick he refused to give them the same benefit by permitting coal oil to be imported in tank steamers. It is no use to allow us to import oil in tank cars, because the distance is so great from the point of production that it costs more than if it is imported in the regular way. But if the hon. gentleman gave us the same fair play as he accords to other provinces of the Dominion, he would permit the importation of coal oil in tank steamers. I think this is a proposal which the Finance Minister might take into his favourable consideration. The Minister of Marine said there is wonderful prosperity in the Maritime Provinces, that there is no place in the world where the people have so much reason to rejoice. But the hon. gentleman failed to state upon what grounds he based that opinion. He does not spend very much of his time in the Maritime Provinces now. No doubt, in his pleasant official chair, everything in the Maritime Provinces wears a roseate hue. The hon. gentleman has had a pleasant time recently; he has been abroad and has reaped honours, no doubt well-earned; but the hon. gentleman has not been in touch lately with the

people of his own province. He does not know just how things are down there. I have never been in the habit of preaching blue ruin; I believe in my country and in my province, and I hold there is not a finer country under heaven than the valley of the Cornwallis and the Annapolis; but in my business relations I cannot shut my eyes to the existing conditions. I tell the Minister of Marine that when he tells the people of the Maritime Provinces that there are no people in the world who have more reason to rejoice, he is stating what is not true, and if he would ascertain for himself from those people their present condition, he would find he had made a serious mistake. I believe there never was a time when the people were more pinched for money—I am speaking of the ordinary centres in the Maritime Provinces.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Will the hon. gentleman state where there is a similar population better off than the people of the Maritime Provinces to-day, man for man, all around—a similar population and about the same number of people?

Mr. BORDEN. Comparisons are odious. The hon. gentleman wants to obtain a comparison from me, and he will then cut it out of 'Hansard,' and it will be read to my constituents. I will not be drawn into a trap like that. I have had some experience to-night, and I will endeavour to profit by it. I am not speaking of other countries, but of my own country. There is a want of the circulating medium, the people find it difficult to pay their bills, the farmers do not get the returns they should for their crops, and land values have diminished in the province. If the hon. gentleman will look at the trade returns he will ascertain that trade has decreased, that the volume of our exports and imports is smaller, or at all events that it has not increased. He will also observe, if he goes back twenty years and compares the condition then with the condition now, that there has been no growth whatever. If the Maritime Provinces are as prosperous as the hon. gentleman states, what about the population? Where are the people? Why have not the people remained there? Why has the population in New Brunswick not increased during the last ten years? Why has the population of Prince Edward Island not increased? Why has the population of Nova Scotia only increased by 10,000 souls? If the condition is such as represented by the Minister of Marine, it is remarkable that the people, who are considered to be rather shrewd—and indeed the hon. Minister has shown it—should have left the province and not returned. They may be doing so in a few instances, owing to the distress in the United States during the winter, but they will return south in the spring. As has been suggested to me, we might make a comparison with the condition now and

twenty years ago, and that is a proper comparison to make; and if the hon. Minister would consult any one conversant with the condition of affairs twenty or twenty-five years ago, he would undoubtedly be told that at all events, so far as the agricultural interests are concerned, there is not the same prosperity now as there was then, when we had free exchange of commodities with the United States. The hon. Minister talks about people of the Maritime Provinces being happy and contented and in a most fortunate position, when they are taxed for everything they eat, wear and use.

Mr. KENNY. Taxed on their tea.

Mr. BORDEN. They are going to be taxed on their tea, and I know the constituents of the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Kenny) feel very keenly on that point. They will have to pay 10 per cent duty on their tea imported from Great Britain. Surely, with 125 per cent on coal oil, 75 cents per barrel on flour, 40 cents per barrel on cornmeal and 10 per cent on tea coming from the mother country, there should be sufficient imposts? These are the people who should be the most satisfied people in the world, according to the statement of the Minister of Marine! When the Minister comes down to the Maritime Provinces and discusses this question with the people, I believe they will persuade him that they do not think as he does. I have prepared one or two calculations which I desire to bring before the Minister of Finance and the Controller of Customs, the latter of whom I notice is not in his seat. The Controller of Customs, in order to prove that the present condition of the country was all that could be desired, and that it was fairly prosperous, quoted from a speech delivered by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) in 1877, in which that hon. gentleman stated: that a very fair test of the prosperity of the country was the extent of the bank note circulation, the extent of the growth of the deposits in the chartered banks, the increase in life insurance, and the increase in the deposits in the savings banks, and the Controller quoted the Budget speech of the member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) in 1877, and proceeded to base upon that speech further inference from other calculations. He gave the bank note circulation down to date, from 1879, the period since the inception of the National Policy, he gave the deposits in the chartered banks, the increase in life insurance, but he did not give the increase in the savings bank deposits. I will supply that deficiency for him. Taking the Controller's statement, I find that the bank note circulation under the revenue tariff period, from 1868 to 1877, nine years, increased 100 per cent, or an average increase of 11 per cent a year. I find that under the National Policy protective period, from 1879 to 1894, 15 years, the bank

note circulation increased 75 per cent, or an average of 5 per cent per annum, as against 11 per cent per annum during the revenue tariff period. I find that the deposits in the chartered banks during the 9 years of the revenue tariff period from 1868 to 1877, increased 130 per cent, or 14½ per cent per year, and under the 15 years of the protective policy, from 1879 to 1894, the deposits in the chartered banks increased 165 per cent, or 11 per cent per year, just 3½ per cent less than during the period of the revenue tariff. I find that life insurance increased in volume from 1872 to 1877—the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) did not go back further than 1872, but these are the figures quoted by the Controller of Customs—increased 240 per cent during these 5 years, or an average of 48 per cent per annum, while under the 15 years of the National Policy, from 1879 to 1894, life insurance increased 300 per cent, or 20 per cent per year, less than half the increase under the revenue tariff period. I find that the savings banks deposits increased in the 9 years of revenue tariff from 1868 to 1877, 400 per cent, or 44 and 4-10ths per cent per year; but under the 14 years of the National Policy period, from 1879 to 1893, they only increased 350 per cent, or 25 per cent per annum, as against 44 and 4-10ths per cent per annum under the revenue tariff period. The junior member for St. John (Mr. Hazen) referring to the rate of taxation on the people of this country says that in 1878 it was \$4.37 per head, and that in 1892 it was \$5.81 per head, an increase, he says, of "only" \$1.44 per head, or \$7.50 per family per year, and the hon. gentleman seems to think that this is a very trifling increase! Well, Sir, we would not think so very much of that increase were it not for the circumstances attending it. All of the \$4.37 per head of taxation in 1878 under a revenue tariff policy, went into the treasury, and it was expended for the benefit of our people; but what happens under the policy of 1892, when the rate of taxation is alleged to be \$5.81 per head? We have in the latter year a policy stated to be expressly for the protection of the industries of this country, and which by the admissions of the Finance Minister, now increases the prices of the home products to the consumers. The \$5.81 taxation in 1892 does not represent one-half of the tax which is taken out of the pockets of the people under the National Policy. That tax of \$5.81 went into the treasury, but what is the amount of the tax that went out of the pockets of the consumers, and into the pockets of the gentlemen who are manufacturing for the consumers? It was at least double that amount, so that for every \$5 of taxation, which goes into the treasury, \$10 are given to enrich manufacturers at the expense of somebody else. That is the protective principle. The Government now propose to adhere to this policy of protection, but

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they are going to reduce the revenue. The Minister of Finance stated—although he was contradicted by the Minister of Marine—that they were going to reduce the revenue, and therefore they could not afford, and did not intend to proceed with public works. In other words, they proposed to reduce that part of the taxation which goes into the treasury, and which being expended, and coming back to the people in the way of public works, provided it is honestly expended, might do the people some good. But, Mr. Speaker, the Government propose to retain the vicious principle of protection, which takes out of the pockets of the people taxes which no man knows the amount of, and transfers them to the pockets of other people, who are enabled by the system of legislation under which we live, to put their hands into the pockets of their neighbours. This is legislation against the masses of the people and in favour of the classes, legislation which, according to the Minister of Finance, is a policy of development. The Minister of Finance states now that high taxation increases the cost of goods. For years he and his followers have been telling us that high taxation diminished the cost of goods, and we used to ask them sometimes: if that is the case, why not put on the duties still higher, and we will get goods still cheaper? Now, I want to know from these hon. gentlemen when they were right. Were they right last year when all of them said: high taxation reduces the price, and when they compared the cost of articles of to-day with the cost of articles in 1878? They flourished these comparisons triumphantly before the House and the people, saying: Look what the National Policy has done: it has reduced the price of everything you have to consume. And now they go back upon themselves in one short year, and propose to reduce these very taxes which have been so benefiting the people. When were these gentlemen right and when wrong? Are they right now? Then, what arrant humbugs have they been from 1878 down to the present time, in going before the people and telling them that their high taxation policy has had the effect of cheapening goods. Let them take whichever horn of the dilemma they like. But they say the circumstances are changed, changed circumstances are their excuse for reducing this tariff. How have the circumstances changed since last year? Wherein has been this extraordinary change of circumstances by which that which reduced the price of goods last year increases the price of goods this year? I will tell you, Sir, wherein the changed circumstances are; they are in the fact that hon. gentlemen are in danger of being turned out of office. The changed circumstances are in the fact that the people of Canada are getting their eyes opened as a result of the sound knowledge that has been disseminated by the Liberal party throughout this country with reference to

fiscal questions and political economy. The people are learning that taxation does increase the price of goods. They have learned it so effectually that they have instilled it even into the mind of the Finance Minister; and he comes down this year, abandoning all the past professions of his colleagues and his supporters, and puts them in the awkward dilemma of having to say that no longer does taxation lower, but it increases the price of goods. I have shown the hon. gentlemen their changes in policy. They have been in favour of commercial union; they have been in favour of reciprocity; they have been in favour of protection; some of them have been in favour of annexation. They have changed their policy as many times as there are days in the week. But there is one thing in regard to which these hon. gentlemen never change their policy; that is, in their desire to stick to office. They will do anything if they can only find out what the people want. Whichever way the wind is blowing, their sails are always set in that direction. No one could more readily face north by south, which is what they are doing to-day. Their tariff increases the price of goods and their tariff does not increase prices. These hon. gentlemen will do anything in order to maintain themselves in office. But they are a little too late. The people have caught on, and understand that in making these reductions in taxation, these hon. gentlemen are not sincere, and that their motive in making them is simply to endeavour to keep the votes of the people. The Finance Minister put this new tariff forward as a farmers' tariff particularly, and he laboured with a long argument to prove that the farmers have been enormously benefited by the National Policy. In his Budget speech he quoted some figures in the attempt to prove that the National Policy, by excluding animals and their products and agricultural products from this country, and reducing the imports of that class of goods, has materially helped the farmer. These are his words:—

I wish to adduce some figures to show what has been done for the agricultural interests of this country. In 1877, the people of this country consumed, of agricultural products, animals and their products: from Great Britain, \$56,588 worth; from the United States, \$16,066,963 worth; from other countries, \$7,798 worth, making a total of \$16,131,349 worth. In 1878 these imports for home consumption amounted to \$15,050,930, and in 1879 to \$10,420,344. The National Policy did its work, and the result was that the importation of these products fell to \$4,240,849 in 1891, to \$3,092,452 in 1892, and to \$2,741,733 in 1893. In other words, in the three years, 1877, 1878 and 1879, there was an average annual import of these products for consumption of \$13,867,541, whereas in the last three years there was an average annual import of the same materials for home consumption of \$3,358,344.

Mr. CAMERON. That is the best part of your speech.

Mr. BORDEN. If the hon. gentleman who interrupts me is capable of being convinced, I will endeavour to convince him. I am quite confident of my ability to convince the Finance Minister of the utter and absolute fallaciousness of those figures. I find, in the Trade and Navigation Returns, that the total imports in 1878 were \$99,327,962, and the imports for home consumption \$96,300,483, leaving, as the amount entered not for home consumption, \$3,027,479. I presume that the hon. gentleman based his conclusion upon these figures. But if he had taken the trouble to turn to the exports, he would have found that the total exports for that year were \$72,975,988, and the total exports the produce of Canada were \$67,864,880, leaving the exports not the produce of Canada at \$7,111,108. Now, if the hon. gentleman will deduct from this amount of \$7,111,108, the \$3,027,479 worth of goods entered and not for home consumption, he will find that he has made an error in the amount entered for home consumption of \$4,083,629. If the hon. gentleman will go to the year 1878, he will find, in the same way, that there is an error of \$9,282,668. And if he will take the year 1879, he will find that there is an error of \$6,732,825. Now, the hon. gentleman has added those three years together and made his calculation; and he says there is an average of \$13,867,541 worth of animals and their products and agricultural products imported into Canada in those years, 1877, 1878, and 1879; and he says that he reduced them, by means of the National Policy, in the last three years, 1891, 1892, and 1893, to an average of \$3,358,344. That is, he gave to the farmers of Canada a market of \$10,500,000. But let us take the figures and look at these errors. I find that the hon. gentleman included in his calculation for the years 1877, 1878, and 1879, \$20,097,122 of products which were not the products of Canada, or an average error of \$6,699,709 for each of those three years. In order to make it more clear to hon. gentlemen, I submit the following statement:—

| 1878 | |
|--|---------------|
| Total imports..... | \$ 99,327,962 |
| Entered for home consumption..... | 96,300,483 |
| <hr/> | |
| Not for home consumption..... | \$ 3,027,479 |
| <hr/> | |
| Total exports..... | \$ 72,975,988 |
| Produce of Canada..... | 67,864,880 |
| <hr/> | |
| Not produce of Canada..... | \$ 7,111,108 |
| Deduct..... | 3,027,479 |
| <hr/> | |
| Error—Entered as for home consumption..... | \$ 4,083,629 |

| 1878. | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|
| Total imports..... | \$ 93,081,787 |
| Entered for home consumption..... | 91,199,577 |
| Not for home consumption..... | \$ 1,882,210 |
| Total exports | \$ 79,323,667 |
| Produce of Canada | 68,158,789 |
| Not produce of Canada..... | \$ 11,164,878 |
| Deduct..... | 1,882,210 |
| Error—Ent'd for as home con.... | \$ 9,282,658 |
| 1879. | |
| Total imports..... | \$ 81,964,327 |
| Entered for consumption..... | 80,341,608 |
| Not for home consumption..... | \$ 1,622,719 |
| Total exports..... | \$ 71,491,255 |
| Produce of Canada | 63,135,611 |
| Not produce of Canada..... | \$ 8,351,644 |
| Deduct..... | 1,622,719 |
| Error Ent'd as for home con.... | \$ 6,732,925 |
| Error, 1877..... | \$ 4,083,629 |
| do 1878..... | 9,282,668 |
| do 1879..... | 6,732,925 |
| Total | \$ 20,099,222 |
| Average error for 3 years..... | 6,699,740 |

Now, I challenge the hon. gentleman to verify the figures I have given. And I ask what is to be thought of a gentleman occupying the high position of Minister of Finance, who comes down to Parliament, after carefully preparing his speech, and makes statements of that kind. I do not believe that he made these errors wilfully, but that simply he did not take the trouble of verifying the figures, so anxious was he to come to the conclusion that his National Policy has been productive of this immense advantage to the farmers of Canada. Let us go on a little further. The average error in each of these three years was \$6,699,707; and we know that all these goods must have come from the United States. Taking the other side of the account, and looking to the details of the imports, to find where the mistake has arisen, what do we find? Take the year 1878. The imports of wheat in that year amounted to \$6,510,131 in value, an amount almost exactly corresponding to the hon. gentleman's error. The wheat which was brought into Canada, handled by Canadian merchants, and exported at Montreal, giving work to our shipping, is included in the reductions the hon. gentleman claims credit for. In shutting out this export of \$6,500,000 of wheat which came into Canada and did not enter into competition with Canadian produce at all, he therefore claims that his National Policy gave a market to that extent to our Canadian farmer. I have given \$6,699,000 as accounted for out of this

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\$13,800,000, which still leaves about four millions to be accounted for, before I get down to the sum he says he has succeeded in reducing the trade of Canada to in these particular lines—that is \$3,358,000. Where do I find the explanation of that? I look up again to 1878 to find the exports and imports of Canada in these articles. I find that Canada exported to the United States barley, beans, and peas to the value of \$4,401,104, and brought back, with the money that resulted from their sale, corn and cornmeal to the value of \$4,153,281. Now, I think I have reduced the amount down to the point to which the hon. gentleman says the National Policy reduced it. This \$6,500,000 worth of wheat, which came in and gave work to the people of Canada and put money in their pockets, this \$4,000,000 worth of barley, which was profitably exported to the United States and paid for by the corn and cornmeal which Canadians wanted or they would not have purchased it—that is the profitable trade to the country which he, on this side, and McKinley on the other side, shaking hands together, have succeeded in taking from the Dominion and the United States. But the hon. gentleman is responsible for the larger part. He is responsible for the \$6,510,131 worth of wheat which was exported through this country and which, by his policy, he has shut out. The hon. gentleman proposes to protect the farmers. How does he propose to protect them? Is it by making their literature cheaper. Our farmers like to read. In these days there are cheap publications of all the great works, of all the classical works, which have hitherto come into this country at a certain rate of duty. And the hon. gentleman proposes to help to develop the agricultural interests of this country by taxing this literature double what it was taxed before. And so, in this way, everything that the farmer uses is taxed from 20 to 80 per cent, and, as I have already pointed out, his flour, corn, cornmeal, and coal oil are taxed. I have pointed out already the hardships suffered by the people in the Maritime Provinces in these matters. The hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) has pointed out a special grievance with reference to fertilizers. He claims—and I repeat the claim—that the farmers of the Maritime Provinces should have every encouragement possible. The hon. gentlemen might well, therefore, reduce his tariff and make fertilizers free in order to encourage agriculture, which is severely handicapped by the want of profitable markets, and consequently low prices. But the hon. gentleman retains 10 per cent, and the manufacturers as well as the farmers complain of this. And I will tell the hon. gentleman, who seems inclined to treat this matter rather lightly, that both the farmers and the manufacturers complain that he has not put artificial fertilizers on the free list. I have had letters from manufacturers in the Maritime Provinces—which

I would read to the House if time permitted—complaining that while their profit has been reduced by taking off one-half of the protection given them, the duty on the raw materials they use has scarcely been reduced at all. And what do these manufacturers say? They say: We do not want any protection; we go with the farmers for free fertilizers, if the Government will give us free sulphuric acid. The duty has been reduced from five-tenths of a cent to four-tenths of a cent, scarcely any reduction at all. Why do not the Government abolish the duty on sulphuric acid? It is not because they get any revenue from it, for I have looked carefully over the returns and find that the revenue collected last year was a paltry \$800. I ask therefore that the hon. gentleman will consider this, because it is an important question. And when the manufacturers of these fertilizers say they are willing to have free trade, in heaven's name let the hon. gentleman come down and give fair play to both the manufacturers and the farmers, by making raw material free. A special reason is suggested here to-day—and that same reason has been suggested to me in letters which I have now in my hand—that there are people behind the Cabinet, and very near the Cabinet, who have an interest in the manufactory at Capleton, and that the Government will not reduce the duty upon sulphuric acid because this manufactory at Capleton is able to make its own acid and to export it. Of course the hon. gentleman is not aware of it, but I would ask him to look into that question and ascertain why the rest of the people of this country should be taxed in order to support a small industry in a remote part of the province of Quebec. Now, Sir, I think I have got pretty well to the end, and I have no doubt that you, and the members of the House are very glad to hear me say so. One word, Sir, in conclusion. Hon. gentlemen opposite have come down now with a definite statement of their policy. They have thrown down the gauntlet and declared that they will fight it out on the question of protection or revenue tariff. We join issue with them and we are happy to have the opportunity of fighting that issue out before the people. Whether they will stick to it, or whether before the elections they will fly some new kite, as they did in 1891, I do not know. But of this I am certain, that if they will stick manfully to what they say now is their fiscal policy, and will go to the people upon that issue, Liberals need have no fear of the result. The people are beginning to understand, Mr. Speaker, what the word "protection" means. The great mass of the consumers have learned from the mouth of the Finance Minister himself, by his own admission, that taxation increases the price of commodities. Then, Sir, protection is taxation; taxation of the most obnoxious kind. Taxation means increase of the prices of commodities to the masses, the

taking of the wealth of the many for the benefit of the few. It means, as we have seen in this country, the building up of monopoly; it means a blow at the liberty of the subject. And what is the policy on this side of the House? That policy is revenue tariff, a policy under which not one dollar of money shall be taken from the pockets of the people more than goes into the treasury, not more drawn into the treasury than is necessary to carry on the Government economically and honestly. Mr. Speaker, I have no hesitation, so far as I am concerned, in awaiting the issue when it shall be tried out before the people of this country.

Sir JAMES GRANT moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 12.30 a.m. (Saturday).

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, 9th April, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

REPORT.

Annual Report of the Department of Postmaster General for year ending 30th June, 1893.—(Sir Adolphe Caron.)

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 56) to incorporate the Dominion Woman's Christian Temperance Union.—(Mr. Paterson, Brant.)

Bill (No. 57) to incorporate the Gleichen, Beaver Lake and Victoria Railway Company.—(Mr. Davis, Assiniboia.)

WHARF AT YAMACHICHE.

Mr. LEGRIS (Translation) asked, 1. What amount has been paid up to date, for the construction of a wharf at Yamachiche, on Lake St. Peter? 2. How many tenders were made for the construction of the said wharf? 3. To whom was the contract awarded? 4. Was the work given to the party making the lowest tender? 5. Was Mr. Thomas Lamy, of the parish of Yamachiche, employed in any way by the Government in connection with the construction of the said bridge? If so, in what capacity, what was his salary, and how much money has he received in

that behalf? 6. Is it the intention of the Government to carry out further works at that locality?

Mr. OUMET (Translation). The amount paid, up to date, for the wharf in question is \$1,790.20. The department received five tenders. The contract was awarded to Mr. F. A. Venette, of Three Rivers. The work was given to the lowest tenderer. Mr. Thomas Lamy was employed as superintendent of the works at \$2.50 a day. \$94.25 were paid to him from the 25th August to 11th September, 1893. I could not say whether further works will be carried on at that locality.

SERVICES OF J. C. BOWELL.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron) (for Mr. McMullen) asked, What was the nature of the service rendered by J. C. Bowell from 13th December to 30th June, for which he was paid \$50 per month—in all \$334.64, and travelling allowance \$388.65? Where did he travel? How long was he travelling, and what was he allowed per day for living allowance?

Mr. WALLACE. The services rendered by Mr. J. C. Bowell during the time mentioned were those of a special preventive officer on the detective staff. His salary was at the rate of \$50 per month, and he was required to travel to whatever points where questions might have arisen necessitating examination that would be allotted to him for investigation. His services were continually engaged in this way, now in one part of the country and now in another; and, after collecting information, he would proceed to Toronto in order to report to the financial inspector, under whose direction he was employed. For instance, on the 17th of December, 1892, the records show that he took a ticket from Toronto to Chicago, on the 20th from Chicago to Detroit, and on the 21st from Windsor to Toronto. He was allowed no regular allowance per day, but simply the amount of his actual expenses for board, railway fare, postage account, &c. On the 31st of May, 1893, he was removed from the detective staff and allotted duties in the financial inspector's office at headquarters in Toronto, and therefore was allowed no living expenses—simply his regular salary of \$50 per month. His living expenses amounted to \$1.65 per diem, or a total to the 31st of May of \$278.50. His travelling expenses were \$111.15.

THE MILITIA REPORT.

Mr. MULOCK asked, Why has the Militia Report not been published?

Mr. PATTERSON (Huron). The report is in the hands of the printer. The delay, if any, has been in connection with the preparation of the statistical appendices.

STEAMSHIP LINE TO FRANCE.

Mr. LAURIER asked, Is it the intention of the Government to ask Parliament for a sub-

Mr. LEGRIS.

sidy of £100,000 for the purpose of establishing a line of steamers to run between a Canadian port on one side and a French terminus port on the other, as it was understood in the negotiations which led to the commercial treaty with France?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The Finance Minister is not present, but in his absence I beg to say that I think the hon. gentleman is mistaken in supposing that it was understood in the negotiations which led to the commercial treaty with France that a subsidy of £100,000 should be asked for a line of communication between Canada and France. My reading of the negotiations is that, while that was suggested, it was declined. At any rate, it is not the intention to ask for a subsidy of £100,000 for a line between France and Canada.

C. P. R.—NORTH SHORE SECTION.

Mr. FREMONT asked, Whether the Canadian Pacific Railway have made a report or reports in relation to the works and improvements executed under the contract of 22nd December, 1891, made in pursuance of the Act intituled "An Act respecting the North Shore section of the Canadian Pacific Railway," 54-55 Victoria, chapter 11? If so, when were the said reports made, and is it the intention of the Government to lay the same before this House? 2. Did the Government send an engineer to inspect the said works and improvements? If so, at what dates, and has the said engineer sent in a report or reports; and is it the intention of the Government to lay any such reports before this House?

Mr. HAGGART. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company have made no report to the Government in relation to the works and improvements executed under the contract of the 22nd of December, 1891, in connection with the North Shore Railway. The Government have not sent an engineer to inspect the said works and improvements.

LAND GRANTS TO RAILWAYS.

Mr. CHARLTON asked, How many acres of land in Manitoba and the Canadian North-west Territories have been pledged to railway corporations under the provisions of general law, or Government regulations, and have not yet been earned and granted in consequence of railway lines to which such grants have been pledged, upon construction in sections, or entirely as the case may be, not having as yet been proceeded with or completed?

Mr. DALY. Of the 44,242,298 acres authorized by Parliament to be granted as subsidies to railway companies in Manitoba and the North-west Territories, 16,718,384 acres have not been earned, owing to the railways or portions of railways to which this area is applicable, not having yet been constructed.

Mr. CHARLTON. The 44,000,000 acres cover the entire grants ?

Mr. DALY. Yes, and the 16,700,000 acres are unearned.

THE BURLINGTON CANAL.

Mr. BAIN (Wentworth) asked, Is there any prospect that the limited scow service now provided by the Government for conveying the travelling public, during daylight only, across the Burlington Canal, where the highway intersects that work, will be replaced by a bridge or some more convenient mode of crossing the canal ? Have the Government considered the necessity of providing better accommodation for the public crossing this canal ? If so, what do they propose, and how soon do they propose giving it to the public.

Mr. OUMET. Application has been made to the department for the construction of the bridge, the estimated cost of which is \$21,000 ; but no action has yet been taken, as no money has yet been voted by Parliament.

FISHING BOUNTIES.

Mr. FORBES (for Mr. Fraser) asked, Why were not the fishing bounties paid to the following fishermen in Victoria County during the past year :—George Fader, Abner Fader, Donald Carmichael, Donald McLean, Donald Morrison, Murdock McAulay, all of or near Englishtown in said county ? Is the Government aware that the fishing bounties were paid to the fishermen at said Englishtown and elsewhere in the province of Nova Scotia on the 15th of March last, on which day the local elections for the province of Nova Scotia were held ?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Geo. Fader, Abner Fader and Donald Carmichael were not paid fishing bounty as they did not fish the time required by the regulations. Donald Morrison did not fish the time nor catch the quantity of fish required by the Act and regulations thereunder. Murdock McAulay's application was rejected because the boat on which the bounty was claimed was found to be under the required length, 13 feet. Donald McLean's claim was held over pending further inquiry, as he was engaged in salmon fishing during the season. The Government is not aware that the fishing bounties were paid to the fishermen of Englishtown and elsewhere in Nova Scotia, on the 15th March last. Nearly all the Nova Scotia cheques were despatched from the department between the 6th and 15th February last, those for Victoria County on the 6th February.

I. C. R.—PASSENGER RATES.

Mr. EDGAR asked, What was the maximum rate per mile charged on the Inter-

colonial Railway for the carriage of passengers during the last fiscal year ? What was the minimum rate ? What was the average rate for the year per passenger per mile, irrespective of free passes ?

Mr. HAGGART. The maximum rate per mile charged for the carriage of passengers during the last fiscal year of the Intercolonial Railway is 3 cents. The minimum rate for a season ticket for 120 miles, assuming the person travelled in one direction every day, was 34-100ths of a cent per mile. The average rate per passenger per mile was 6-10ths of a cent.

FISH-WAYS IN ARGENTEUIL.

Mr. GIROUARD (Two Mountains) asked, Whether it is the intention of the Government to cause fish-ways to be constructed forthwith at the several dams located on the North River, between the Ottawa River, in the county of Argenteuil, and the parish of St. Jérôme, in the county of Terrebonne ?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. A report upon this subject has been received from the local officer and is now being considered.

BEAUHARNOIS POSTMASTER.

Mr. BROWN asked, Are the Government aware that the postmaster of the town of Beauharnois resides in the city of Montreal and carries on business there as a grocer ? 2. Is the Government also aware that the said Beauharnois post office is always kept by an assistant, and that since a short period several persons have been in charge of the said post office in succession ? 3. Is it the intention of the Government to maintain such a state of things or make some more satisfactory arrangements for the proper keeping of the said post office ?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. The Government are aware that the postmaster at Beauharnois resides at Montreal and carries on business there as a grocer. The Government has no knowledge of the person employed in the Beauharnois post office as assistant. The regulations of the department require all country postmasters to provide and pay their own assistants. It is not the intention of the Government to permit a continuation of the existing state of things. The postmaster will be notified that he must arrange to attend to the post office himself, and if he does not, he will be asked to resign.

SEINE FISHING LICENSES.

Mr. LISTER asked, Is it the intention of the Government to issue licenses during the present year for seine fishing in either Lake Ontario, Bay of Quinté or the River St. Lawrence ? What changes, if any, have

been made since 1887 in the size of the mesh of seines, pound-nets or gill-nets?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. It is not the intention to issue licenses for seine fishing in Lake Ontario, nor the Bay of Quinté. Licenses will issue for seine fishing in that portion of the River St. Lawrence, near Montreal, where nothing but coarse fish, otherwise called poisson mou, are found. No change has been made in the law since 1887 in the size of mesh of seines, pound-nets, or herring gill-nets. Prior to 1890, the mesh for whitefish gill-nets was five inches. Since then a mesh of 4½ inches has been sanctioned.

CUSTOMS HOUSE ENTRIES AND DUES.

Mr. LANGELIER. I wish to give the Minister of Customs some information which I have received from Quebec regarding the application of the new tariff. Under the resolutions of the new tariff, it is to be applied to all entries in the customs-house from and after the 27th March. One of my constituents writes as follows:—

On the 27th of March, in the morning, I passed an entry through the customs-house of granite ware, on which I was compelled to pay the old tariff rate of 35 per cent, whereas in the new tariff the rate is only 30 per cent. At the customs-house I was told that entries passed before a certain hour on that day were to be made under the old tariff; was this done under the instructions of the Government?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. If the hon. gentleman will be kind enough to give the information the matter will be inquired into. The instructions generally were that entries were to be made under the new tariff, but subject, of course, to revision as Parliament might decide.

TRADE AND NAVIGATION RETURNS.

Mr. PRIOR. I wish to ask the Controller of Customs whether he is aware that there is a serious error—a clerical error in the Trade and Navigation Returns? In the statement of the value of exports and imports and duties for the year 1891-92, the exports and imports, upon which duties were paid in the ports of Victoria and Vancouver, B.C., are transposed. I would like, if possible, before any more books are sent out, that this error should be rectified; and in those books sent out, a little slip of erratum should be inserted.

Mr. WALLACE. I am aware there was an error in the transposition of the figures, so that Vancouver was credited with a portion of the returns of Victoria and vice versa. A correction is being prepared and sent to every one to whom the Trade and Navigation Returns are sent, and it will also be attached to all other copies of the Trade and Navigation Returns before they are sent out.

Mr. LISTER.

KINGSTON MILITARY COLLEGE.

Mr. EDGAR. When may we expect a return to the House in respect of the Kingston Military College? It is twenty days now since the order of the House issued.

Mr. PATTERSON (Huron). There are a good many details in connection with the return, and it is in the course of preparation.

Mr. EDGAR. I am glad to know it is in the course of preparation, but the return can be compiled, I think, by a reference simply to the annual returns. The compilation ought not to take any time. It ought to be possible for a clerk to prepare all that return in the course of an hour; and twenty days, at all events, is liberal time.

Mr. PATTERSON (Huron). Ten days.

THE COMMISSION ON THE TARIFF.

Mr. CASEY. Can the leader of the Government give us any idea when the report of the travelling commission appointed last summer to inquire into tariff matter will be laid before the House?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I cannot answer the question at the moment, but will have an answer to-morrow.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

House again resumed adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Foster:

That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair for the House to go into Committee on Ways and Means; and the motion of Sir Richard Cartwright in amendment thereto.

Sir JAMES GRANT. Mr. Speaker, in view of the far-reaching nature of this subject, its intimate connection with the prosperity of this young country, and still more in view of the elaborate addresses that have been delivered on both sides by gentlemen who have grown gray in the service of their country, I approach the discussion with a very considerable degree of diffidence. But, bearing in remembrance the importance of the question and the desirability of those who have an interest in our country, expressing some opinion upon it, I have embraced this opportunity of saying, at least a few words. There is a conviction in my mind, a conviction that I have held for many a day, that, for a young country like Canada, with such vast undeveloped resources, it is absolutely necessary to the welfare of the people that its interests should be thoroughly protected. We live on the borders of a great country, a country with enormous resources behind its immense developed wealth, a country which is making extraordinary progress along the lines of modern development. We have seen the rapid advance of that country, and, if our own people are not to be left behind, it is necessary to direct their powers to

the best advantage in order to compete with the remarkable manufacturing and agricultural capacity of that country. They have the climate; they have the resources. The great proportion of their people are a conglomerate from the outside world, who by their activity have raised that great republic to the exalted station that it now occupies among the nations of the earth. The infant stage of our country requires, not only a protective, but a protecting influence, and that influence was brought to bear in 1878, when, by the almost unanimous voice of the people, it was resolved that the resources of Canada and the energies and the wealth and the power of our people should no longer be laid as tribute at the feet of the great American republic. Self-preservation is the demand of an ordinary rule of nature, and, for that reason, I think it is highly necessary that our industries should be protected. And I am pleased and gratified beyond measure to know that our public men, after full and careful and thorough consideration, have undertaken the responsibility of giving to the people of Canada, by their patriotic and statesmanlike efforts, a degree of protection which, while not pressing unduly upon the people, shall conserve the energies of the people and provide for this country the conditions which are absolutely necessary to its best development. What was needed was granted unequivocally. Fifteen years have passed since our grand old chief, speaking in the Bay of Quinté district, announced to the people of this country that, after having given this subject the most mature consideration, he held it to be absolutely necessary to introduce a policy to overcome those difficulties against which the people were at that time contending. That policy was a policy of protection. And I would ask any common-sense man, if it is not manifest that, within these fifteen years, the resources of the country have been developed to a remarkable degree? Have not our industries prospered? Have not our manufacturers attained a high state of prosperity? Have not our people been happy and contented? Have not our workingmen received good wages for their labour? Will any man who has duly considered the policy and its results, tell me that the explanation given by our Finance Minister, in the remarkable Budget speech he delivered to us the other day, is not a succinct and comprehensive review of the question and one that will receive the thorough endorsement of the people of Canada from Vancouver to Halifax? In every line of industry we find the energy and activity of our people at work, and the results must be viewed with profound satisfaction. The wealth of the capitalist is given useful employment. We know perfectly well that, unless we have a well-considered and stable policy, men will not invest their money in industrial enterprises. The policy put forth by our friends on the other side of the House for many years past, has

been of such a changeable character that they themselves really do not seem to know where they stand. We find the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) giving us a most imaginative picture of unrestricted reciprocity. He was followed by the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), who supported the same idea. Then came the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies, P.E.I.), who desires to have what he calls the broadest treaty of reciprocity possible, consistent with the commercial and practical independence of Canada. That is a broad term; but what does it mean? What is independence to the people of this country? We know perfectly well that, if we were in an independent condition, we could not long remain so, but would quickly be absorbed by the great republic to the south of us. Then the hon. member for South Brant (Mr. Paterson) wants the freest trade with the United States consistent with the dignity and honour and stability of both countries. The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) wants—what? He wants a customs revenue. How are we to harmonize all these? Will the people of this country who desire to invest their capital here, invest it under a policy so indefinite and so shifting? Rely upon it, that this uncertainty is what has kept these hon. gentlemen in the background, as it has actually retarded the progress of the country through their influence upon those who follow them. The time has come when it is necessary for us to be certain in our actions. As Sallust has said: Think well upon what you are to do, and, when you have determined upon it, do it. That has been the course of the Conservative party for many a day in this country, and that is what has won for them the success they have enjoyed everywhere. Those who have been up and down this country for many years, as I have been, can see the results of this policy. I made a visit recently to the Pacific coast with Lord Derby, and, having been there two or three times previously, I was able to judge of the progress of the people. I was surprised at the evidences of prosperity to be seen everywhere. Cities, towns and villages were growing up on every side, and every branch of industry was flourishing. Will any hon. gentleman tell me that this is not evidence of prosperity in our country? We must consider the efforts of the people and the results of those efforts, and, when we find our country giving such evidences of progress and prosperity, we ought to feel thoroughly satisfied with the policy so judiciously adopted by the Conservative party of this country. If we wish to find positive evidence of the growth of our country, we can find it in the records of our foreign trade, especially by drawing a parallel between the records of 1878 and those of 1893. Our export and import trade last year reached the value of \$247,638,629, against \$172,405,545 in 1878. Is that not progress? I believe those figures do not give a full idea of the great changes

that have taken place, for we know that products have changed in value. It is quite evident that in the space of fifteen years there must have been great changes in this country. We not only see it here, but we see it in other places, and the public men of Canada have got to gauge their revenue and gauge their endeavours by the progress of the age in which they live. Let past occurrences which required a different policy pass away, let us adopt a more vigorous and energetic policy for the time we live in, as our present Finance Minister has done this session. But there are other commercial enterprises on foot. We know perfectly well there is now springing up an excellent trade of an interprovincial as well as of a provincial character which must tend very materially to advance the trade and commerce of this country. We have been told very eloquently by the hon. member who moved the amendment, that after all our commercial progress has been comparatively little, in fact, insignificant. Well, do figures corroborate that statement? Very far from it. If that is so, why is it that, although in 1878 it took \$29,811,834 in Dominion and bank notes to carry on the business of the country, for the year ending June 30, 1893, it took \$51,921,906 to do precisely the same work? The bank discounts in 1878 took \$124,888,550, while last year they took \$226,000,000; and yet hon. gentlemen opposite tell us that there has been little increase in the business of this country. Are these figures proof of that statement? Very far from it. On the contrary, they prove that during fifteen years there has been unparalleled progress in almost every line of trade and commerce from one end to the other of the Dominion of Canada, and still we find this country described as if we lived in an atmosphere of indigo that rendered everything very blue. If there has been little increase in the business of the country, how is it that up to June 30, 1893, it took almost \$226,000,000 to provide for this feature of the country's business? Is it not gratifying to know that this National Policy has not only increased the trade within the country, but it has increased our trade with the mother country, against whom there is now rising up a great competitive force in the neighbouring republic, and which, in itself, has made the people of Canada, who not only love their homes and their fireside, but love their mother country, put themselves to work more energetically than they have ever done before to show that they have full reliance in the power that presides over them, and on their ability to work out their own destiny. In 1878 our exports thither were valued at \$45,941,539; and in 1893 their value was \$64,080,493. Our imports for 1878 were \$37,431,180.; in 1893 they amounted to \$43,148,413. Hon. gentlemen opposite frequently tell us that the tariff bears more heavily, in the aggregate, on British goods than upon those from the United States. Is

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that so? If we inquire into it, what do we find? We find that nearly 40 per cent of the products of the United States imported into this country are free articles—raw materials; whereas, in Great Britain only about 25 per cent of the importations are free. Their statements are untenable. The more you examine them, the more thoroughly you look into them, the more clearly you see the falsity of the statements put forward to the people of the country by hon. gentlemen opposite. We find also other indications of a growing trade, not only with the West Indies, but also with Australia, and I was gratified, in listening to the observations which fell from the Minister of Trade and Commerce, to learn that he entertains the idea that Canada is going to do a great trade with Australia, and I am sure such is the case. When I read the magnificent address delivered by the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill) in England, and more recently in Canada, on the question of trade between the colonies, which he calls preferential trade, you may depend upon it that my heart warmed towards those sentiments. It is inevitable that we must look to such a quarter for increasing our trade when we find a Chinese wall being built up between this portion of the British Empire and the United States, such that it is almost impossible for us to trade with them, unless some considerable changes are made in their tariff policy by the Wilson Bill. We know that the McKinley tariff did, and we know how we suffered under that tariff. I was very glad to learn from that speech of the hon. member for North Bruce that not only are our sister colonies beginning to recognize the importance of preferential trade with their own kith and kin, but that in Great Britain also, where there is, at the present time, a great depression in trade, that opinion is gaining ground every day. The day is not far distant when the various colonies of the British Empire will have to take into full, determined consideration, the desirability of trading with those who are willing to trade with them on the most generous, the most liberal, and the most comprehensive terms that can be agreed upon, and such as will tend to build up the power and strengthen the prestige of the British Empire. Mr. Speaker, I think this sentiment as regards intercolonial trade is equally shared by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). In his amendment he asks for an adjustment of the tariff so as to provide for freer trade with the whole world, and particularly with Great Britain and the United States. When the hon. gentleman was formulating this sentence I think he must have had one eye on the paper and the other eye on the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy). He knows the ideas of that hon. gentleman. There is a sort of magnetic influence between them, and I am sure that influence was felt when this sentence was being constructed, so as to

endeavour to catch as many votes as possible in this House. I have looked over that amendment several times, but I cannot find a single word in it with reference to unrestricted reciprocity or commercial union which that hon. gentleman has, time and again, so eloquently advocated. We have been reforming our tariff. Why is it necessary to reform that tariff? We know perfectly well that we have to be up and doing in order to keep pace with the times. If that tariff was not reformed in the way that has been proposed, we would be behind the age. The hon. Minister of Finance has told this House why they reformed it. He has given to the agriculturists their farm implements at very reduced rates. As regards binder twine, oil, and such products, we know that their values have changed very materially. There has been a demand for a change and the Government has given it to the people. Why? Because the country is progressing, its works are constantly increasing, its material wealth is giving it additional prosperity, because it is possible to raise a revenue independent of any excessive taxation and sufficient to meet the requirements of the country, and for that reason the Finance Minister has adopted the progressive policy embodied in the Budget speech presented to this House. It is urged that on principle the necessaries of life should be free, and why not tea and sugar? We know that the working classes have as good a right to get commodities free as the more wealthy in the community, and for that reason those articles are made cheap for their use. We see that tendency in every direction. There is, however, one feature with respect to the tariff in regard to which I should like to see some little change, and I hope the Finance Minister will excuse me if I offer him a suggestion—I refer to the tax on books and literature. I consider in a young country like Canada, the mind has as good a right to be fed cheaply as the body. You may develop muscle by beef, but the development of mental activity requires good literature, and in a country like this Dominion, advancing to the highest standard of mental activity, with able men in the various walks of life, and in science and literature, earning for Canada a name abroad, from the high position these men are taking in the different departments of knowledge, it is right and proper that in our schools, colleges and universities, literature should be given free of taxation. I do not desire to impress too strongly on the Minister of Finance my views, but I hope that he will give this subject full and thorough consideration, and that the course he may adopt will be quite agreeable to myself and those I represent; but I must say this, I feel that Canada as a young country should obtain books free, and I trust that when the Minister has considered the matter he will place books on the free list before the tariff Bill leaves this House.

There is another question that is largely connected with our finances and revenue, to which I wish to refer. In doing so let me say that in listening to the eloquent address of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), in reply to the Budget speech, I was astounded beyond measure at his remarks, coming from a gentleman possessing such high literary attainments, a public man so well-known in Canada, a man who had distinguished himself on this side of the House many years ago, and why he left this side of the House I cannot say—I am satisfied that in the innermost recesses of his mind since the day he left his party he has never been thoroughly satisfied, for he has not had any particular success. In this country when a man belongs to a party let him consider fully and thoroughly the policy and position of that party, and when he knows he is right, let him do what is best for the good of the country, let no matters of a personal character lead him from the lines of right, for a man should not consider himself, the welfare of the country should stand higher than any other consideration. Looking at the leader of the Opposition I see an hon. gentleman who today in Canada is highly respected, who is a leader of the great French nationality of this country, that nationality which has done so much in an historic way, and in every other way, for the advancement of Canada, whether in the Conservative or the Reform ranks; and I look upon the French nationality as an integral part of this country, as one that has contributed much to the welfare and prosperity of Canada, as members of the Anglo-Saxon race, and no doubt they will unite and co-operate with us, as they have done in times past, and will stand as a phalanx, with ideas far ahead of personal considerations and will do everything in their power to advance the material interests and prosperity of this country. Again, I look at the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills), that gentleman whom the late Premier, Sir John Macdonald, was in the habit of designating the Erskine May of the Reform party. I have been surprised by the arguments he has brought forward from time to time in order to substantiate theories of trade, that he knows cannot carry Canada to success. I feel that he is one of those argumentative philosophers who possess extraordinary power and ability, and is able to fill any chair in law, and occupy a prominent position on the floor of this House, and whose sentiments are always listened to with care and consideration; but at the same time I do not think that the advocacy of the policy and of the political philosophy that he has brought before this House will add much to the strength of the Reform party, which probably some day or other may occupy seats on this side of the House and obtain possession of the Treasury benches, which no doubt the hon. gentlemen opposite long

to reach. I desire to refer to a great industry connected with the revenue of this country, and that is the department presided over by the worthy Minister of Marine and Fisheries. We know the fisheries constitute an important source of undeveloped wealth, and as this subject is connected with the revenue of the country and with trade and commerce, I embrace this opportunity to offer a few remarks in regard to that great department of trade. We know that in England to-day, it is a recognized fact that its mercantile marine and the seamen have greatly aided England in reaching the proud and prominent position she occupies to-day, almost more than any other industry throughout the length and breadth of the Empire. So it is in Canada; although I do not compare Canada with England, yet our 58,000 or 60,000 fishermen who occupy themselves on the great sea lines, are doing much to establish our reputation, and undoubtedly have assisted in placing Canada in the proud position she now occupies as the fourth maritime power in the world. With respect to those fisheries, whether salt or fresh, we know that a great deal remains yet to be accomplished in connection with them. I know our cod, mackerel and herring, fortunately, do not take, like some parties to the warm American waters. I do not mean that hon. gentlemen opposite desire annexation, because they have expressed a contrary opinion, and no doubt they admire British character as do hon. gentlemen on this side of the House; but at the same time I would say that the policy they are advocating cannot carry them to victory. In regard to our mercantile marine there is a great deal yet to accomplish. We know what our fishermen have done. We know that Messrs. Robin & Co., of Jersey, have acquired a fortune of millions by the exercise of intelligence and capacity in the development of the fisheries of the Lower St. Lawrence. There are opportunities for hundreds of men to utilize those magnificent fisheries, and instead of developing them to the value of \$19,000,000, which is said to be their annual value at present, they could be doubled and trebled in value within a few years. We know perfectly well that we have abundant and productive fisheries. I had the pleasure of visiting the vast salmon fisheries on the Pacific coast, where the salmon are said to be of six different varieties, and where the quantity caught is perfectly marvellous. Will hon. gentlemen opposite tell me that these fisheries are not a source of revenue? Do we not know that last year, the city of New Westminster received a revenue from the fisheries alone of over a million and a half dollars. Only a short time ago, I happened to meet with a gentleman from England who had visited the Pacific coast, and informed me: the shore and deep-sea fisheries of that country, which are now perfectly undeveloped, will be yet an immense source of wealth to the Domin-

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ion of Canada. We know that our fresh water fisheries in the inland lakes and rivers are almost free to our people, and are an unlimited source of food supply. Does any one suppose that they would long remain free if we were living under the principles of free trade? Why, under such a fiscal policy it would be necessary to tax every industry, to put a direct tax upon our people, our labourers and our farmers. You could not put a stamp on your coach, you could not transact the most ordinary business affairs, without contributing to the revenue of the country, precisely the same as they have to do in England to-day. The direct taxation in England has grown to such an alarming extent, that the very best men in that country to-day are considering the desirability of making a change in their fiscal policy. We know perfectly well that the result of free trade in England has been, that foreign manufacturers are putting their goods on the market there, and that British manufacturers cannot compete with them. When Cobden and Bright introduced free trade principles in England, the world was different then from what it is now. Through the philanthropy and generosity of the English manufacturers they allowed competing manufacturers in Europe and other countries to examine their machinery, and as a consequence we find that steel rails made in continental Europe are sold in London, and have even been sent to British Columbia, as an hon. gentleman from that province told us a few days ago. The times have changed since free trade was initiated in England. European manufacturers are able to make machinery and turn out the materials just as good as are turned out in the best factories in England, and their cheap labour enables them to undersell the British manufacturer. Free trade is not a success in England, and still less could such a policy be applicable to Canada. I believe that the time is not far distant when you will find the public men of Great Britain undertaking the responsibility of making some change in their policy; perhaps such as the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill) has so ably advocated both in England and in Canada. It is true that in a large country like Canada, with such enormous resources, it is impossible almost, for an individual to get, as it were, a grip of the whole subject at once; but we are learning every day, and improving in every department of our Government. During the few years that our Minister of Marine and Fisheries has been in charge of that department, it has made a remarkable advance. Within a short time a gentleman has been brought here from England. Professor Prince, recommended by Lord Kelvin, as one of the best authorities in England, and having spent many years as an active co-worker with no less a person than Professor Mackintosh, one of the greatest living authorities on fish-life. Since Professor Prince arrived in Canada

what has been the consequence? Great changes have taken place in our fisheries, and still greater are in store for us. He has discovered where it was absolutely necessary to make changes in order to save the small fry, and thus add largely to the fish supply of Canada. I hope the day is not far distant when we shall have a biological station here for the observance of the life history of our fishes, the same as they have in England and other European countries, and I believe that when we have such a department a great deal more will be accomplished. Is it to be supposed that all our science is to be directed to the improvement of agriculture, or to the testing of the food supplies? We know all that science has done for the advancement of the farmer, and precisely the same application of science which has so developed the land, should be extended to the waters of Canada, abounding in valuable food supply for our people. I have no doubt that the Government will shortly take into consideration the desirability of establishing a biological station in order that we may understand how to preserve our fish, and thus perpetuate their life history. The hon. member for Prince Edward Island (Mr. Davies) told us a few nights ago that the people in his province were labouring under a species of what he called "commercial atrophy." It is very fortunate for us, that the representatives from the Maritime Provinces do not exhibit any muscular atrophy. I am aware that the men sent here from the lower provinces are men of both high intellectual and physical power; we are always glad to have them with us, and the pleasure would be keener still if some of them, like the hon. gentleman I refer to, would advocate different ideas from those which they advance on the floor of this House. Do we not know that Prince Edward Island, during the last few years, has made great strides on the road to progress. In that island to-day there are—how many I do not know—lobster fisheries more than they had a few years ago, and scientific men are now inquiring into the lobster and oyster fisheries there with a view to their preservation and greater reproductiveness. There is no reason why we should not have the same success in our fisheries here as they have had in Scotland, where, through watching the life history of the salmon, their fisheries are just as abundant to-day as they were thirty-five or forty years ago. It is a complaint we often hear that our people take more fish from Canadian waters than they can absolutely use. Only a short time ago, no less than 10,000 salmon, which could not be utilized, were dumped back into the Fraser River at one time. Is not that a wilful waste; a waste which, I trust, will be put a stop to by wise regulations of the department? There are one or two other points with reference to our fishery resources that

I would wish to refer to. We have an extensive area, which, if looked after, as I have no doubt it will be in a short time, must bring an enormous revenue to this country. I refer to the fisheries from the upper end of Newfoundland, right around to Hudson's Bay, and north. What are the Americans doing in these waters? Haddock, mackerel and cod largely caught off our coast by United States fishermen. These important sources of revenue are largely neglected by our own people, many of whom prefer lobster fishery. The fact is we have only 55,000 sea fishermen, while little Scotland has just about 50,000. Our fisheries could readily be doubled. Would that not be a source of increased revenue? Grimsby and Leith fishermen now go to the cold Faroe Island, towards Iceland, and do well, and our men have fruitful waters north, with important fisheries to be developed and thus add to the revenue. Twenty-five years ago the total value of the Canadian sea fisheries amounted to six and a half million dollars, excluding Newfoundland, which was equal to four and a half million dollars. The value now is fully three times that amount. Our sea fisheries yield eighteen or nineteen million dollars, whereas British fisheries, England, Wales and Scotland, are equal to twenty-six or twenty-seven million dollars. Maximum of catch, with minimum of risk to the fisheries, should be, and certainly now is, the object of the Department of Marine and Fisheries. Hudson's Bay and its fisheries are also an additional source of revenue. Hudson's Bay is the resort of those species of the large whales most prized by whalers, namely, the "white whale," and the "bow-head." The whale "fishing" in this Canadian sea is practised mostly by the Americans. The first American vessel which went to Hudson's Bay for this purpose was the "Antelope," a barque of 340 tons—George Taber, master—in 1861. She was rewarded with a catch of 1,500 barrels of oil and 24,000 pounds of whalebone. Ever since that time one or two whalers from New England have gone to Hudson's Bay each year and returned with an average of 10,000 pounds of whalebone, besides the oil. Whalebone is now a most valuable commodity—worth \$5 per pound, or \$50,000 for the average catch of each ship in Hudson's Bay. No wonder that our American friends like to visit these waters. The Russian Government is said to charge a license—amounting to \$700 a season—for whalers entering the White Sea, which is by no means so much of a mare clausum as Hudson's Bay. I think it is high time that the people of this country should undertake the task of adding these additional sources of wealth to our great Canadian fisheries. I find no fault with the Minister of Marine and Fisheries for not having undertaken that work before this time, because it costs a considerable sum of money, and certain explorations have yet to be made and pro-

party has to be defined before these fisheries can be utilized. I believe that there is a great future before us in Canada, and notwithstanding all the gloomy forebodings the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), rely upon it, that we have nothing to fear once the resources of our country are developed. We have in Hudson's Bay a great inland sea, almost as large as the Mediterranean, a thousand miles in length by 600 miles wide, abounding in caplin; said to be the food of the cod. Only a few days ago, I also learned from a gentleman who had been up in that region that he believed there were many extensive cod fisheries there. This great Hudson Bay has no less than thirty rivers flowing into it. One of these, the Nelson, is as large as the Mississippi, and on each side of its magnificent banks there are fertile fields, and it contains fish resources of great extent. Are not all these resources destined to become of immense value in the near future? Mr. Ogilvie, who gave us an interesting description of our great northern country, in a recent number of the 'Canadian Magazine,' has told us that, in passing through the Hudson Bay country, he obtained very fine specimens of drift gold; and Professor Bell, who has probably made the most elaborate examination of that country known in history, states that there exists there very fine gold in quartz. There have also been discovered there excellent anthracite coal and lignite, and vast forests of timber, which will certainly become of great practical utility to this country. With all these resources, why should not the Hudson Bay country be developed? It would in every way benefit this country, but especially the farmers of the North-west, who find the price of wheat so low to-day that they cannot make any money out of it. Is that the fault of the Government? No, it is because the wheat supply of the world is beyond the demand of the world. With regard to Hudson Bay, we know that a few years ago a most liberal charter was granted by this Government for the construction of the Hudson Bay Railroad, because they saw the desirability of opening up that great outlet to trade. When that railroad is constructed, as I feel it will be in the near future, Winnipeg will be as near to Liverpool as Montreal is. The distance between Winnipeg and Liverpool will then be reduced 1,400 miles; and, when that is done, the price of wheat to our farmers in the North-west will be increased, for the channel in the Hudson Bay is known by the best authorities to be open for four months and a half in the year. The great valley of the Saskatchewan will also find an outlet for its products by way of Hudson Bay; and, when that route is fully opened up, the development of that great country will be certain and rapid. We know that Winnipeg was merely in its swaddling clothes when the Conservative party gave it communication with the rest of the

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world. It was then only Fort Garry, a small trading post. What is it to-day? A city with all the advantages of an advanced civilization, with magnificent streets, handsome buildings, and educational institutions, and the people enjoying prosperity; and yet we occasionally find the people of that city turning the cold shoulder to the Conservative party, which gave them the prosperity they enjoy to-day. Speaking of the Hudson Bay, I think Ottawa city itself will be among the first cities to tap it. A railway is now under construction, of which a hundred miles will shortly be built, which will add greatly to the future wealth of this city, because it will there reach sources of revenue and sources of industry far in excess of the most sanguine expectations of our people. Again, Toronto city has a railway to Sudbury, and along the course of the river which is marked as the terminus of that railway, I am sure the capitalists of Toronto will shortly also obtain a connection with Hudson Bay. Therefore, we catch a glimpse of the great future that great country, which is to-day almost a 'terra incognita,' is destined to have. I have full confidence that the men who have charge of the affairs of Canada, will exhibit the same progressive spirit in the future that they have exhibited in the past, and that we shall yet live to see a development of that country which will be highly creditable to the Government and will advance very materially the great interests of this Dominion. The farmers of the North-west will derive great benefit from the opening up of that route. Those farmers, I am told by some people living there, are slightly discontented and probably a little dissatisfied—why? Because they cannot get a higher price for their wheat. What have the Government to do with that? They distributed among them for seed last year 15,000 sample bags of different grains. They give them instructions how best to cultivate the soil and how to fatten their cattle—in fact, how to do everything to increase their wealth and to add to the revenue of the country.

Mr. LANDERKIN. Hear, hear.

Sir JAMES GRANT. And when that hon. gentleman says, "Hear, hear," let me tell him that one of the greatest advances in the science of agriculture ever made in Canada has been made in the last two years under the direction of Professor Robertson and the chief of the Experimental Farm at Ottawa, in reference to the food supply of animals, which gives the farmer the opportunity, during the winter, in this frozen country of ours—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Sir JAMES GRANT—frozen up in the winter, but not frozen all the year round. Some people call it a frozen country. I say it is not so. In the winter months the farmers can utilize their time by fattening their cattle and swine, by raising poultry and manu-

facturing butter and cheese. In these ways they can exercise their intellectual capacity in connection with the work of agriculture all the year round, instead of sitting idle three or four months in the year, as was the case formerly. What is the consequence of that? Our products, by their improvement, and their purity, and their increased worth, are commanding the very highest prices in the English market. We know that England imports about £10,000,000 worth of ham and bacon in the year; and it is not unlikely that Canada will have something to do with supplying a considerable share. What has our cheese done? It takes to-day the first rank in England. It is stated on good authority that one butcher in London realized over \$1,000,000 from the sale of prime Canadian beef as best English. That is one of the reasons why I advocated strenuously the establishment of depots in Great Britain where our products will receive the proper brand, so that they will be known as products of Canada when they are offered for sale in the markets of the mother country. Mr. Liphon, of London, who has charge of the Canadian mammoth cheese, has ninety shops in different parts of London, and his retail sales of tea alone are about 275 tons a week. He has undertaken to exhibit the mammoth cheese in the various towns of England at an expense to himself of \$15,000; and let me tell you that that mammoth cheese is to Canada what the pyramids are to Egypt, but considerably more nutritious. This colony of Canada has undoubtedly advanced in a most remarkable degree, and its advancement was commenced by the Conservative party. And still we are told that this Conservative party have become fossilized and are doing nothing for the farmers of this country. I would like to know where the history of Canada shows a body of men who have done more for Canada. We are told that the country is not prosperous. One of the best tests of the prosperity of the country is its credit in the eyes of the bankers of the world. Canada to-day occupies a foremost rank in the financial world, her bonds standing higher than they ever did, and her credit being unquestioned, notwithstanding all that has been said to decry her position in the London 'Economist' and by an hon. gentleman opposite. I regret that a gentleman who knows Canada so well, who has lived here since his boyhood, who thoroughly understands our position and the requirements of our people, should in this House, as the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) does, session after session, treat the people of this country to an elaborate disquisition on the ruin and decay of a colony that stands first amongst the colonies of the British Empire. I have no desire to detain the House longer, but let me say in conclusion that we should be thankful that this England of ours, which, according to an American authority, has picked up the corner lots of the world, had her eyes open to the ad-

vantages of Canada and materially aided us, through our connection with her, to gain the high position we occupy to-day. I have listened with pride and satisfaction to the observations that fell from the Minister of Finance, and certainly think that the Budget speech he has presented to this House, taken as a whole, is in itself an evidence of great advance. Associated with our worthy Controllers, who, from time to time, have gone from one part of this country to the other, he has discussed the whole question with the farmers, the labourers, the mechanics, all those concerned in the welfare of our country; and having thus gathered the sentiments of the people, he and his associates have, by their combined judgment, framed and presented to this House a budget and a tariff measure which I feel certain will be cordially endorsed by the people, as it has been already by the ablest journals of Canada in all parts of the Dominion. For my part I shall be only too happy to give to these gentlemen my most cordial and liberal support.

Mr. MARTIN. The hon. member for Ottawa (Sir James Grant), who preceded me, referred to some questions that interest the country from which I come, notably the Hudson's Bay Railway project. While that question is not very closely connected with the discussion of the financial condition of this country, I may perhaps be allowed to take this opportunity of saying a word or two regarding it, since it has been introduced. I may say that the people of Manitoba and the North-west generally have looked forward with a great deal of hope to the construction of that railway. The province of Manitoba has at various times passed legislation looking to very considerable assistance to the construction of that road. In the old days, when the monopoly of the Canadian Pacific Railway was in full force in Manitoba, it was considered that the only escape from that monopoly was the construction of this railway, and a very large amount of aid was proposed to be given it. As the years went on and the Canadian Pacific Railway monopoly was taken away, the province of Manitoba, considering its financial condition, decided that it was not in a position to give as much to the company as it had earlier intended to do. Various schemes have been proposed for the construction of the road, but I must say that the prevalent opinion in Manitoba at present is that the construction of this railway is a national work—a work which will be of greater benefit even to the North-west Territories than it could possibly be to the province of Manitoba, and for that reason the people there believe that very substantial aid should be given by the Dominion Government towards its completion. For the reasons I have mentioned I do not intend to discuss that question at any length to-day. But there is one feature perhaps to which I might refer. Unfortunately the af-

fairs of this proposed railway—because it has never got much beyond that stage—have been in bad hands. The company, under arrangement with the Manitoba Government, were able at one time to partially construct some forty miles of the line. The result of that construction has placed the company in a very bad condition indeed, but, however bad the condition of the company may have become, the condition of all those who were unfortunate enough to have anything to do with the construction of that forty miles has been a great deal worse. In the first place, the province itself is a loser to the extent of a quarter of a million dollars. The bonds of the province—which are afloat and upon which the province is paying interest, and the principal of which they will in time have to pay—were issued to aid in the building of that line on the understanding that the Government were to have the security of the land grant voted the company by this Parliament. The Government have never got that security. They were reckless and foolish enough, relying upon the representations of the company, to hand over the bonds before receiving the security; and as is usually the case when that is done, the security has never since been got, and from all appearances is not likely to be got. Not only has the province lost this \$256,000, but other persons who were mixed up with the building of the line have been heavy losers. For instance, the steel rails which were purchased in England have never been paid for. The result is that to-day, while efforts are made from year to year to float this scheme in the financial markets of the old country, the record of the company continually comes up against them and prevents capitalists from investing their money in it. I am convinced myself that that railway will never be built and never be of any advantage to Manitoba and the North-west Territories until it is taken hold of by some responsible and reputable persons who will conduct the affairs of the railway in a business-like and honest manner, and put things in such a condition as to induce capitalists to have confidence in them. Now, Mr. Speaker, the only other point touched by the hon. gentleman who preceded me which at all interests Manitoba was the astounding statement that the city of Winnipeg had been brought to its present proud position by the efforts of the great Conservative party. I had been under the impression, Mr. Speaker, that the citizens of Winnipeg had had the honour of bringing their city to its present position; that it was their work, it was their enterprise, it was the investment of their money that had brought about the results which we see. But the hon. gentleman holds, apparently, that the citizens of Winnipeg have had nothing whatever to do with the prosperity of the city, but that that prosperity is due entirely to the care with which the Conservative party have

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fostered its growth. Mr. Speaker, I beg entirely to dissent from that suggestion: in fact, I have no hesitation in laying down this proposition—that whatever progress Manitoba and the North-west have made, has been made in spite of the most reckless misgovernment and most gross mistakes in connection with the management of this country on the part of the Government of Canada. At some future time, a more fitting occasion may arise, and I shall then endeavour to explain to this House on what I base the statement I make. But, to-day, we have to discuss the question of the Budget, and the time that I can properly claim will be very fully occupied with that task. Now, it is claimed by the hon. Minister of Finance and by other speakers who have followed him on that side of the House, that the changes which are proposed in the tariff are designed more especially in the interests of the agricultural classes; and, as in Manitoba we are almost entirely dependent upon and interested in those classes, it becomes of very considerable importance to my constituents to consider how far these changes have been beneficial. In the first place, the central idea of the tariff changes seems to be the reduction of the duty on agricultural implements from 35 per cent to 20 per cent. Now, if hon. gentlemen opposite think that this change is going to satisfy the people of Manitoba and the North-west Territories, they are entirely mistaken. In the first place, the 20 per cent tariff is $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent higher than that imposed by the Mackenzie Government; and, if the Mackenzie Government were in power to-day, and still had their tariff of $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, as a representative of the North-west I should be prepared to contend that special privileges and special consideration should be given to the farmers, and that a tariff of $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent upon agricultural implements was altogether too high. Statements have been made by hon. gentlemen in this debate that the position of the farmers of Canada, especially of the farmers who are engaged very largely in the production of wheat, is a very precarious one. The immense quantity of wheat that is produced by foreign countries—the Argentine Republic, India, Russia, and other countries—and enters into competition with our wheat in the Liverpool market, makes it a vital question whether the prices (which hon. gentlemen opposite contend they have nothing whatever to do with) will increase or not. And, Mr. Speaker, if the price of wheat does not increase, the condition of things will be a very serious one indeed for the people of the North-west to face. And, that being the case, we have the right to appeal, and we do appeal, to this Parliament to consider most carefully our condition as affected by any burden they may find it necessary to place upon the people of Canada for the raising of the necessary revenue. Therefore, I say that a tariff of $17\frac{1}{2}$ per

cent. taken as a basis of what is a fair exaction from the farming community, would not be satisfactory to the people in Manitoba and the North-west. Hon. gentlemen opposite have adopted 20 per cent as the tariff upon agricultural implements. Even taking 20 per cent as a fair exaction, it must be remembered that the agricultural implements which are included in the 20 per cent rate form a very small portion indeed of the goods which are really the raw material of the farmer in the North-west, and upon which he has to pay customs duties. Therefore, the retention of the high rates upon several articles which are just as important, and upon which the farmer pays out just as much money, condemns the Government even from their own standpoint. Now, we have heard a great deal from speakers on the other side of the House as to the prosperity of the country; and I have found since I came here—in fact, I had noticed it before I came here—that on the other side of the House it is a fashionable thing to condemn any member on this side who ventures to dispute any statement, however wild, or however far from the truth it may be, made by hon. gentlemen opposite with regard to the prosperity of Canada. However outrageous these statements may be, he is declared treasonable to Canada, disloyal to his own country, who ventures to dispute them. Now, Mr. Speaker, we all know, even hon. gentlemen opposite understand perfectly well, that that position is a nonsensical one. What we are endeavouring to do in this House, and what we are bound to do is to consider the real facts. If we are to legislate for the people of Canada we can only do it fairly and intelligently by learning the exact condition of the people. If that condition is not a prosperous one, is not a happy one, it is not changed, it is made neither better nor worse by anything that is said in this House. But, in order to understand what we are doing, and in order to deal with the questions that come before us, we must meet the facts plainly in the face. I have no hesitation in saying—I confine my remarks to that portion of the Dominion from which I come—the condition of things is a very serious one indeed, and I would like to point out that the progress of the country, even judged by the standards set up years ago by hon. gentlemen opposite in this House, has not been at all satisfactory. We have heard in this debate, statements quoted that were made years ago by the late Sir John Macdonald, and by Sir Charles Tupper, as to what the progress of that country might be expected to be. However, we have to say—and we are glad to be able to say it—that in the decade from 1881 to 1891 there has been substantial progress in Manitoba and the North-west Territories, an assertion which, unfortunately, cannot be made as to the rest of the Dominion of Canada. However, even with regard to that I desire to

point out that in the decade from 1881 to 1891, a period as to which the hon. gentleman from Ottawa (Sir James Grant) falls into such ecstasy, the period during which the great Conservative party took hold, as he says—"took hold"—of Manitoba and Winnipeg and fostered their growth, the country did not show anything like the degree of prosperity which characterized it in the decade from 1871 to 1881, during one-half of which time the country was ruled by the late Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, when, according to hon. gentlemen opposite, everything was going to the dogs, and everything was wrongly done, especially with regard to that particular portion of the Dominion. Let me give you figures with regard to that. In 1871 Manitoba had a population of 18,905; in 1881 Manitoba's population was 62,260, or an increase during those ten years, five of which, as I say, had temporarily been outside the fostering care of hon. gentlemen opposite, of 247 per cent. In 1891 the population had risen to 152,506, an increase in the latter period of ten years of 145 per cent. During the Mackenzie regime the increase in ten years was 247 per cent; during the Conservative regime the increase was only 145 per cent, or a falling off of 100 per cent. But it may be said that as the number with which the country started in 1871 was comparatively small, that is scarcely a fair test. Well, we are in a position to meet the objection, because right alongside Manitoba are the North-west Territories, in which there was no census in 1871, and their existence as a factor in the statistical returns of Canada only began in 1881. How was it in the Territories? Did the Territories progress, fostered as they were in every way, millions of public money being spent there, Canada increasing its public debt enormously in order to develop that country? How does the progress of the Territories for the first ten years of their life compare with the progress of Manitoba during its first ten years of life? In 1881 the population of the Territories was 25,515; in 1891, 66,799, or an increase in the first ten years of 165 per cent compared with the increase in Manitoba in its first ten years of 247 per cent. That is about the rate at which the fostering care of this great party has been able to make that country travel, a decrease of 100 per cent in ten years, or at the rate of 10 per cent per year; that is to say, during the Mackenzie regime, which the hon. gentlemen declared to have been so disastrous in its effect upon the development of that country, the progress of the North-west Territories was just that much greater. Now, with regard to the condition of that country at the present time. Hon. gentlemen opposite present us figures purporting to prove that Canada to-day is in a prosperous condition, and I am sure there is not an individual in this House or this country who is not sorry that their statements are not true; but the figures with

which they prove the very prosperous condition of Canada at the present time are figures of trade as to a period prior to the commencement of the present crisis. The returns for the year ending 30th June, 1893, barely touch that period of time when the great crisis first commenced to be felt in the United States, and therefore any consolation hon. gentlemen opposite may derive from a consideration of these figures, is entirely unfounded. What we have to do is not to look at what occurred some time ago, but to consider the situation to-day; and on that point I have a resolution that has been passed in Manitoba by the Patrons of Industry with regard to the present condition of that country. Now, it is needless for me to say anything in this House as to the position of the Patrons of Industry in Canada. It will be at once admitted that that organization, whatever its merits or demerits may be, is not a political organization in the sense of being allied to either of the two great parties in this country; but it is a political organization in so far as it deals with questions of special interest to the farmers of Canada; therefore any declaration it may make with regard to the condition of the country may be looked upon as tolerably accurate. And what does this order say with regard to the province of Manitoba and the North-west Territories? This resolution was passed some two or three weeks ago, and I may say that it is the most serious arraignment of the Government of the country which has ever been brought to my attention:

That in view of the ruinous tariff and excessive freight rates imposed on the North-west farmers, the Patrons will ask the Ottawa Government to abandon all immigration schemes, as the Order does not believe that the North-west in the present circumstances offers any inducement to settlers.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I put that forward as a plain but very strong statement of the condition of that country in the opinion of an order whose entire aim is especially to improve the condition of the farmers; and this order, after considering everything, after considering the two great evils under which the farmers labour there, have come to the conclusion that it is not advisable for the Government to spend any more money in inducing settlers to go into that country. In their view, there is no inducement for them to settle there, owing to these two evils, as they call them, a ruinous tariff and excessive freight rates. This is a more appropriate occasion to discuss the ruinous tariff than the other question, although the other question must necessarily be considered by this House. Now, are the changes that hon. gentlemen opposite propose to make in this ruinous tariff likely to satisfy the people in that country? On this point allow me to read an expression of opinion which will not be considered partisan at any rate by hon. gentlemen opposite. This statement is taken

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from the report of an interview with my predecessor in this House, who is, I need not say, a very warm partisan of hon. gentlemen opposite:

The changes were in the line I expected, scarcely so far-reaching, however, as I thought they would be. For instance, I thought the duty would be completely removed from binder twine and barbed wire. On agricultural implements the change was as great as I expected, though if the Wilson Bill goes through in anything like the shape in which it went to the Senate, I have no doubt we will have free trade in implements.

With these prefatory remarks I shall attempt to discuss the changes that are proposed, from the standpoint of Manitoba and the North-west. I desire to say that the question of the tariff and its effect on Manitoba has been brought to the attention of the Government by a body that is strictly non-partisan—Conservative, really, many of its members being strong Conservatives—but at all events the question was approached and considered by that body entirely as a question of trade, and not as a question of politics; the effects of the tariff on Manitoba and the North-west have been brought to the attention of the Government by the Winnipeg Board of Trade in a report or memorial which was handed to Mr. Foster and Mr. Angers on their visit to that country. There is one rather curious incident connected with it. Exception has been taken on this side of the House to the secrecy of the interviews which took place between representatives of the Government and representatives of trade interests, and it was declared on the part of the Government that it was necessary to have those interviews secret because the representatives of the different trades did not desire to disclose the particulars of their businesses to the public; but I should like to point out that while that rule was adopted with respect to the interviews of business men with the Government it was also applied to the presentation of this memorial by the Board of Trade. The excuse given by the Government is one coming from those who appeared before them, at least it is put in that way, but I should like to point out that there was no desire whatever on the part of the Winnipeg Board of Trade, to have their representations kept secret, that it was the Government alone that insisted on their being kept secret, and these representations would probably not have been disclosed to the public to-day were it not for the fact that members of the Government returning to Ottawa, taking advantage of the pledge of secrecy which they had enjoined on those who had appeared before them, came here and said the grievances presented to them in Manitoba and the North-west were very trifling and were not matters of a serious character. Of course under such a statement it was quite impossible for the Winnipeg Board of Trade, which considered it had made representations of a most serious

nature, to allow the matter to remain in that position any longer, and therefore the board has given to the public its memorial. I will read the first portion of it only, as the memorial is of some length. It seems to me to place on a basis entirely non-political the effects of the tariff in that country in a very fair manner. The memorial reads :

To the Hon. GEO. E. FOSTER, M.P.,
Minister of Finance.

SIR,—The Council of the Board of Trade, as the result of correspondence with you on the subject of the manner in which the present Canadian customs tariff affects the settler in Manitoba and the North-west Territories, have prepared, and now beg to submit for the consideration of the Government, the following statement :—

“The Council respectfully submit that the position of Manitoba, as respects the tariff question, is quite different from that of most other parts of Canada, the following being some of the reasons therefor :—

“1. There is in this province a lack of the raw materials required in most manufactured articles.

“2. The cost of labour for manufacturing is higher here on account of the sparse settlement, and also because the settlers attracted to this province are a class less available for that purpose than in more populated centres.

“3. The cost of fuel.

“4. The cost of carriage of raw materials, and all exports.

“5. Manitoba is now, and will be for many years, almost solely an agricultural country, and as such, must come into competition with all other countries producing similar classes of produce. The price to us must be the price at the point of consumption, less the cost of carriage and handling.”

Under these circumstances the prosperity of Manitoba depends upon our producers being able to raise agricultural produce at such cost as will give them a fair margin of profit. To do this, the cost of any article required by settlers must not be enhanced by unnecessary import duties, or the combination of manufacturers.

If the fiscal policy of this country is to be determined on a basis that will secure for the fertile lands of the Prairie Province and Territories (on which the future welfare of the whole Dominion depends), the population which has been predicted for them by every statesman of Canada, by every traveller and delegate who has visited them, and by every intelligent Canadian, proud of the possibilities of his country; if it is to be determined on the lines of giving the greatest good to the greatest number, then there can be no question but that the customs import tariff, now imposed on articles absolutely necessary to the settler, must be reduced to the lowest point consistent with the revenue requirements of the Dominion.

Hon. gentlemen, I think, will see that it corresponds almost word for word with the platform of the Liberal party of Canada.

The present population of Manitoba is small when compared with the number requisite to settle the whole province, but if the province is to be populated, better inducements must be held out to settlers, for it must constantly be kept in view

that the incoming of population depends entirely on how the present settlers' interests are considered and conserved. It is a fact that the present conditions are unsatisfactory as to the customs tariff and the railway transportation rates. The customs tariff on the farmer's necessaries are far too high, and the freight rates on his produce to market too heavy (notwithstanding the recent slight reductions in the latter item), to make settlers contented with their lot, and thereby constitute them a drawing power to fill up the province.

The Council respectfully submit :—

That the customs duties on goods coming into Canada should be reduced to the lowest point consistent with a revenue tariff.

That all specific rates of duty be abolished, and that all duties be levied on an ad valorem basis.

That the Government be empowered, upon evidence given of the existence of a combine to maintain or increase prices, to lower or abolish, by Order in Council, the import duty on articles affected by such combine.

The Council maintain that the increased importation at lower rates of duty than now prevail, would tend rather to increase than diminish the revenue derived by the Dominion: many of the duties now in force are absolutely prohibitive, and, therefore, no revenue now accrues to the Government.

The Council submit that manufacturers of many lines of staple goods in Canada have formed combines, and base their prices, not on the cost of manufacture, plus a fair profit, but on the values which similar goods from abroad cost, laid down in Canada, duty paid. This being the case, the consumer pays an excessive price for his goods, and the Government does not secure a revenue, the manufacturer being the only gainer.

In addition, the council went on and named article after article which were charged enormous duties, and dealt with specific duties and also ad valorem duties, and made specific recommendations to the Government. It will be my duty to consider whether, and how far the Government have met the propositions of the council of the Winnipeg Board of Trade, taking that as a fair presentation of the case of the people of Manitoba in connection with the tariff. It is a great mistake to suppose that the agitation in connection with the customs tariff in the North-west Territories and Manitoba has been an agitation merely for the relief from duty of a few special articles, such as agricultural implements, barbed wire, and binding twine. A determined effort has been made by the hon. gentlemen opposite and their friends in the North-west to make it appear that the agitation was something of that character, but the objection to the customs duties there arises from the fact that they are taxes largely on the raw material. We find the same complaint everywhere. We find it from the manufacturer. He says: I do not object so much to the lowering of the duty upon the manufactured article, but what I object to is the high duties which you still retain upon the raw materials.

The farmer says: I object to the tariff, because it is a highly protective tariff upon these particular articles which I must necessarily buy in order to carry on the business in which I am engaged. These articles are not alone agricultural implements, binder twine, and barbed wire, but they run all through the 28 or 30 pages of customs tariff which have been enacted by this House. It therefore becomes necessary to consider the whole question of duties when we have to decide whether the proposed changes are going to alleviate the condition of the farmer. The hon. Minister of Finance has told us that the average rate of duty which he finds to be necessary to impose in order to carry out the protective policy which his Government has adopted and adhered to, is 28 4-9 per cent, and I find that on almost every important article which the farmer must buy, the duties exceed the average which the hon. gentleman has laid down under his new tariff. Therefore, so far as the agricultural interests are concerned, we have, generally speaking, a higher rate upon these articles which the farmers must buy, than the average rate of tariff which the Finance Minister is obliged to extort. In face of that, how can it be said that the changes in the tariff have been made especially for the benefit of the farmer? If the condition of the farmer is to be alleviated, there must be a substantial reduction; there must be a substantial change in the tariff so that these articles which he is obliged to purchase in order to pursue his calling will be as cheap, or cheaper if possible, to him, than to persons in other countries engaged in the same industry. Now, it is proposed to take off the duty of 20 per cent upon lumber. I may say that that proposition is received in the North-west with a great deal of satisfaction, and I hope therefore that the Government do not intend to delude the people in the North-west with regard to this change. I may at once tell the Government that if it is intended to take the duty merely off rough lumber, that the change is of no use whatever to the people of the North-west and that unless dressed lumber is included, there will be no benefit whatever to the farmers. This is the case, because under the custom of trade in Manitoba practically all the lumber, or at any rate 90 per cent of it, which would come into that country from the United States if the duty were taken off, would be dressed lumber. You can understand that in Manitoba, a sparsely-settled country, there are very few planing mills, so that the lumber has to be dressed at the United States saw-mills. Under the tariff as proposed by the Minister of Finance none of that would be free of duty; it would be still subject to the 20 per cent tariff, and it looks very much to me indeed as if the Government had designedly made the pretense that they were taking the duty off lumber, while they are practically leaving the same duty on it as before. Unfortunately our farmers in Mani-

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toba are not in a position to come as a deputation down here to interview the Minister of Finance in connection with this matter, and if this is not an attempt to delude us, and to make us feel that we are getting something from the Government when we are really getting nothing; then I hope that the Minister of Finance will soon discover the error in this matter, if there has been one.

Mr. MCGREGOR. The dressed lumber saves them the freight.

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, yes, certainly. Now, with reference to wire nails. The Government propose to reduce the duty on wire nails from \$1.50 per 100 pounds to 75 cents per 100 pounds. That, at first sight, looks like a very substantial reduction, but I do not believe that any benefit will accrue to the farmers from it. When the duty was \$1.50 per 100 pounds no nails were imported into Canada, and with 75 cents per hundred pounds, no nails can be imported either. At any rate, if they are imported, the duty on them will still be abnormally high, because at the old rate of \$1.50 the duty was 120 per cent on a keg of nails; an article which is in every respect the raw material for the farmer, because it is absolutely necessary that he should have them to erect his farm buildings. If our farmers in the North-west take the advice of the Minister of Agriculture and go into mixed farming and raise cattle, they will have to erect buildings for the cattle, and these nails will be more of a necessity than ever. The Government in their fostering protection for Manitoba and the North-west formerly imposed the trifling duty of 120 per cent on wire nails, and although they have now reduced it to 60 per cent it is still an enormous tariff on an article of prime necessity to the farmer. Under the old tariff the duty on cut nails was \$1 per 100 pounds, or a duty of 95 per cent, and that has been reduced to 75 cents per 100 pounds, which still leaves an enormous tax of 71¼ per cent. When we consider that the average of this new highly protective tariff, according to the Finance Minister, is 28 4-9 per cent, how can the Government come before this House, and before this country, and make the pretense to the farmer that they are alleviating his condition, when an article of such prime importance as nails is left at a duty in one instance of 60 per cent and in another instance at 71¼ per cent? Another most important article for the farmers of the North-west is builders' hardware. Builders' hardware formerly had a duty of 35 per cent. Hon. gentlemen opposite in their intense desire to alleviate the burdens of their people have reduced this duty to what? To 20 per cent, no, but to 32½ per cent; that is, they have taken 2½ per cent off the duty on builders' hardware, and still they are surprised that the farmer is not in raptures with their course. Pumps, which are needed by every farmer in the North-west, formerly

bore a duty of 35 per cent, that tariff has now been reduced 30 per cent. The duty on rope has been increased; the former duty was from 25 to 30 per cent, and now it is made at a uniform rate of 30 per cent; which is an extraordinary high duty on another article of raw material for the farmer. Iron and steel have been reduced. The old duty of \$13 a ton on iron and steel made the rate of duty 60 per cent. Hon. gentlemen opposite, I must say, have taken a step in advance in this, and have paid some attention to the representations of the Boards of Trade and to the people of the North-west in doing away, as far as they have done away with, specific duties. I must compliment them upon that, because there is no doubt, if there is any advantage to us at all in the tariff changes, that advantage comes in so far as the Government have done away with specific duties, but on iron and steel they have still retained the specific duty, having decreased it from \$13 per ton to \$10 a ton. At \$13 a ton, the duty amounted to 60 per cent, and at \$10 a ton it amounts to a tax of 46 per cent on the immense number of articles into which iron and steel enter, which the farmer requires as his raw material. That tax of 46 per cent on articles absolutely necessary for the farmer, is very considerably more than the average rate of duty, and still the Government claim that they have alleviated the condition of the farmer. With reference to barbed wire; the tariff was 60 per cent on it at the old duty of 1½ cents a pound, and although hon. gentlemen opposite have made a reduction of one-half, they still retain the very high duty of 30 per cent on this article which every farmer must buy, and which is used in all quarters. Notwithstanding this the Government claim that the changes are made specially in the interests of the farmers. I would like to ask the hon. Finance Minister, if he thinks 20 per cent is a fair rate on agricultural implements, by what process of reasoning he comes to the conclusion that 30 per cent is a fair rate on barbed wire? Why is not 20 per cent also sufficient for barbed wire? Because there are certain protected manufacturers which the hon. gentleman, as a member of a fostering government is interested in protecting against the interests of the farmers. When we find a government devoting their energies to looking after the interests of a scattered few throughout the length and breadth of the Dominion, and forgetting or neglecting the interests of the great masses of the people, how can it be possible that the people should keep them in power? By what process of legerdemain comes it? The elections from which these gentlemen gained their power cannot be carried on in a proper and honest manner; or it is not possible that a community like Canada, in which the great mass of the people are engaged in agriculture, should place in power and retain in power a Government who look after the interests of the small

class who are engaged in manufacturing, and neglect the interests of the people who really build up and make the Dominion of Canada. Mechanics' tools are reduced from 35 per cent to 30 and 25 per cent. On chopping axes the old specific duty was equivalent to about 50 per cent; it is now reduced to 35 per cent, or 7 per cent more than the average. Shovels and spades, which were formerly at from 40 to 60 per cent, are at 35 per cent. Harvest tools, which were from 47 to 83 per cent, are still at 35 per cent. All these articles that I have mentioned are referred to specially in this report of the Board of Trade as absolute necessities to the farmer; and I wish to call the attention of the House to the fact that the hon. gentleman, having adopted 20 per cent as a fair rate, imposes on the necessities of the farmer the enormous rate of 35 per cent. Binding twine is kept at 12½ per cent. I was unable to understand just what the Finance Minister meant when he said that as the Dominion Government and the Ontario Government had gone into the manufacture of binding twine, there was no longer any reason why the tariff on that article should be reduced. I do not understand that argument. It seems to me that the farmer is as much entitled to protection against a Government engaged in the business of manufacturing, as against any other person engaged in that business. The duty on binding twine, which is not only one of the prime necessities of the farmer, but one for which he is obliged to pay cash in hand, is found to be a very serious burden indeed; and the suggestion of the Finance Minister will not, it seems to me, commend itself to the farmers of the country, that having gone into the business of manufacturing, the Government, like all other manufacturers, must be protected by a high tariff. Now, I find a large number of articles on which a very low rate of taxation is imposed; and, remembering the stand taken by hon. gentlemen opposite, I have looked through this list of articles to find out on what articles used by the farmer a low rate of taxation is imposed, but I have been unable to find any. I find that the following articles are taxed at a merely nominal rate, because they are the raw materials of certain manufacturers: Dry white and red lead, orange mineral and zinc white, 5 per cent; fur skins, 15 per cent; sole leather, 10 per cent; glove leather, 10 per cent; iron and steel sheets, hoops, bands and strips, 5 per cent; plough plates, mould boards, landsides and other plates for agricultural implements, 5 per cent; boiler tubes, 7½ per cent; chains, 5 per cent; celluloid, 10 per cent; table forks, not manufactured, 10 per cent; type metal, 10 per cent; brass and copper wire, 10 per cent; composition metal, 10 per cent; nickel anodes, 10 per cent; precious stones, not manufactured, 10 per cent; hubs, spokes and felloes, 10 per cent; veneers of wood, 5 per cent. I am not finding fault with the Government for fixing low rates

of duty on articles which are the raw materials of the manufacturers. I quite agree that that is a proper policy. But what I am drawing the attention of the House to is that while the manufacturers are protected to this extent—although not to the extent that they desire—the interests of the farmers are entirely overlooked. Take, for example, the free list, which contains 265 articles. I have looked through that list from beginning to end to find out how far the farmer has been considered in its preparation, and I find that out of the 265 articles there are only 18—and many of these trifling articles—in which the farmer has any interest. I will mention them: First, settlers' effects; second, horses, cattle, sheep and swine, for improvement of stock; third, anthracite coal; fourth, domestic fowls, pure bred; fifth, certain kinds of fruits; sixth, maps and charts for the blind; seventh, newspapers and magazines; eighth, tea; ninth, firewood; tenth, timber; eleventh, sawed boards, twelfth, pine clapboards; thirteenth, spruce clapboards; fourteenth, laths; fifteenth, pickets and palings; sixteenth, shingles; seventeenth, bees; eighteenth, coffee. These are the only articles I could find in the list of free goods in which the farmer has any interest at all, and in many of them his interest is very indirect indeed. This is the paltry list of articles in which the people or class, who are the mainstay of this Dominion, are given any help in this direction. Now, coming back to the question of agricultural implements, the duty on that article has been made 20 per cent. But it must be remembered that, while the large term, agricultural implements, is used, when we come to examine the tariff, it really does not include a very considerable class, and we find that on implements just as important to the farmer, which he uses just as much, the duty is not reduced, or very slightly. The main articles included within the term "agricultural implements," are still kept at high rates of duty, because the reduction only applies to the following:—hoes, harvesters, mowing machines, ploughs, and seed drills. I would like the House to understand particularly, that the reduction upon agricultural implements does not embrace all classes of those implements, but simply the five articles I have mentioned. Now I will mention some other kinds which are just as important and upon which the tariff remains at the old rate or is very slightly reduced. Portable steam engines, threshers and separators, fanning-mills, horse-powers, and the large class of other agricultural implements not included in any previously mentioned. In discussing the question of how far these duties are a relief to the people of Manitoba, the only test one can take is the customs returns for the port of Winnipeg, and that is not altogether a satisfactory test, because a very considerable amount of the goods sold and consumed in the North-west, are imported into Canada at Toronto, Montreal, and eastern points. How-

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ever, with regard to agricultural implements, the test is a very good one, because there are practically no agricultural implements imported into that portion of Canada except through the port of Winnipeg. Just let us look at the amount for the last fiscal year of these different articles that came into Manitoba, and the amount of duty paid upon them:

| | Amount Imported. | Duty Paid. |
|-------------------|------------------|------------|
| Harrows..... | \$ 83 | \$ 29 |
| Harvesters..... | 62,743 | 21,960 |
| Mowing machines.. | 18,539 | 6,488 |
| Ploughs..... | 14,709 | 5,148 |
| Seed drills..... | 8,266 | 2,893 |
| Total..... | \$104,340 | \$36,518 |

That is the list of the articles on which the hon. gentleman has reduced the duty 20 per cent. Of course, the House will understand that that is no index whatever of the number of agricultural implements used in Manitoba and the North-west Territories, because a very small portion, of course, under the practically prohibitory duties of the old tariff, were imported into the country. And most of the enormous duty which hon. gentlemen opposite have been extracting from the farmers, failed to reach the revenue of the country, but went into the pocket of the manufacturers. I give these figures to show the amounts imported of these other articles upon which the duty has not been reduced and to show how slight the alleviation is after all. I have given the imports of these articles upon which the Government have reduced the duty to 20 per cent. I now come to the other articles, upon which the duty remains practically the same, or at a slight reduction.

| | Duty. | Amount Imported. | Amount of Duty. |
|--|----------|------------------|-----------------|
| Portable steam engines..... | 30 p.c. | \$12,562 | \$4,396 |
| Threshers and separators... | 30 p.c. | 12,894 | 4,512 |
| Fanning mills..... | 27½ p.c. | 977 | 341 |
| Horse-powers..... | 30 p.c. | 1,823 | 638 |
| All other agricultural implements, upon which the duty is 27½ p.c..... | | 25,653 | \$,978 |
| Total..... | | \$53,909 | \$18,865 |

Showing that, upon these other articles, upon which the duty is still kept at a very high rate, there was half as much imported into Manitoba and the North-west Territories as there was of the articles reduced to 20 per cent. So that, even taking agricultural implements alone, the gross reduction is not anything like as extensive as it appears to be on its face. I may say it does seem to me most important for the people of Manitoba and the North-west Territories that the industries which have sprung up in Canada and are manufacturing agricultural implements, should be placed in a position to manufacture them as cheaply as possible. And for that reason the step taken by this Gov-

ernment in 1887 of putting heavy duties upon iron, which is the basis of all these agricultural implements, was a great mistake, at any rate, so far as Manitoba and the North-west Territories are concerned. And I say it is the duty of the Government, if they wish really to afford that fostering care and protection which the hon. member for Ottawa (Sir James Grant) says they have accorded to Manitoba and the North-west, to remember that Canada is not bound solely to support and foster the manufacture of iron, but must consider the position of the farmer who is obliged to use that iron. Unless the agricultural implement men can get cheap iron and materials, they are certainly not in a position to furnish their goods to the consumers at reasonable prices, and as long as a tax is placed on these implements at all, so as to exclude the foreign article, all the duties upon iron bear especially hard upon the farmers. We know, of course, that even at present the manufacturers of agricultural implements sell them in Manitoba at prices considerably below what they can be imported at from the United States. But they will certainly be unable to continue producing them as cheaply, unless the duties upon pig iron and bar iron and steel are reduced below their present enormous protective rates. The Finance Minister has been asked what he intends to do with regard to the proposition of the United States as to the admission of agricultural implements into that country free of duty, provided Canada allowed them to come in here free of duty. As you will remember, Mr. Hugh J. Macdonald, in the interview which took place with him in Manitoba, stated that he could not see how possibly the Government could refuse to meet this reciprocity offer of the American people. The Finance Minister gave no encouragement whatever when interrogated on this point. He refused to hold out to the farmers of that portion of Canada any hope whatever that, if the Wilson Bill went through with this reciprocity feature in connection with agricultural implements in it, he would consider it at all. I would like to ask, Mr. Speaker, why we have been kept here until the month of March waiting to see what the Americans are going to do with their tariff, if, when the Americans have decided to do something which is very much in the interests of Canada, the Government of Canada are not prepared to take advantage of it or to accede to it? If the Government are going to pay no attention whatever to the action of the American Congress, they might as well have called the Parliament together at the proper time in January, and gone on with the revision of the tariff. They could have done it then just as easily as now, for it would appear from the stand taken by the hon. Finance Minister upon this question that they do not intend to pay any attention whatever to what the Americans may do with regard to this very

important matter. Certainly the people of Manitoba and the Territories will find it very hard indeed to satisfy themselves with the stand taken by the Government on this question. If the American people are prepared to throw their market open to the manufacturers of Canada, upon what possible pretext can the Government of Canada refuse to throw the Canadian market open to the manufacturers of the United States, especially when we consider that the farmers, particularly the farmers in Manitoba and the North-west, who use these agricultural implements to such a great extent, would be so greatly benefited by this reciprocity?

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important changes that has taken place in connection with the raising of the revenue as intimated in the remarks of the Finance Minister, is the reduction of $\frac{1}{2}$ cent per pound in the excise duty on malt. I fail to see in what way that change can be expected to benefit the farming community of Canada. I think that members of this House are entitled to more complete explanation from the Minister of Finance as to the reasons that induced him—at this particular time when so much stress is laid by him upon the impossibility of granting a prohibitory law to the Dominion of Canada on account of the great loss of revenue that would result—to make a reduction in the duty upon the material for making beer more important than the reduction so much talked about, in the duty on agricultural implements. The Finance Minister told us of a change that has been made in the interests of the iron manufacturers. I refer to the increase in the bonus—or rather to the new bonus—given for the manufacture of puddled bar iron. I do not propose, Mr. Speaker, to discuss at any great length the question of bonuses to iron manufacturers, but I desire to point out that the manufacturers of iron not only have the protection afforded by a very heavy duty upon pig iron and bar iron, which form the basis of the manufacture of all the different tools and implements used by the farmers, but also receive a heavy bonus, which must be paid by all classes of the community, including the farmers. In the same portion of Canada in which the iron industry is attempted to be developed, another class of the community receive bonuses in connection with their work. I refer to the fishermen of the lower provinces. Now, not being conversant with the merits of that question, I do not propose to discuss the advisability of giving bonuses to fishermen, but I wish to point out that, while the manufacturers are encouraged by a bonus such as I have referred to, and while the fishermen of the lower provinces have a bonus, no attempt

is made to do anything in that way for that class which is more important than all the others put together—the farming class of Canada. In fact, instead of their industry being encouraged by a money grant or anything of that kind, they are hampered in every way by excessive duties upon the articles which they require to use. I have to agree with the proposition of the hon. the Minister of Finance in making an offer of reciprocity to the United States in connection with barley. I may say, Mr. Speaker, that, in my opinion, there is no article more important to the farmers of the North-west than barley. Although ours is pre-eminent as a wheat-growing country, it is well known that the growing of wheat there, as in other countries, is somewhat precarious. We are subject to bad crops there from various causes like other people in other places where they grow wheat, and we are, perhaps to a certain degree peculiarly susceptible to summer frosts, which, in some seasons, injure considerably our wheat crop. With respect to barley, however, it has this great advantage over wheat, that the time required for its coming to maturity is much shorter. We can grow barley without the slightest danger of frost, and we can grow the very finest barley that can be grown, on account of our climate being dry and peculiarly fitted to the production of this grain. The reason why the farmers of Manitoba have not, in the past, gone more largely into the production of barley is the very substantial reason that when it is produced there is no profitable price for it, owing entirely to the fact that the market of the United States in the great western cities which consume immense quantities of barley, has been practically closed to the North-west farmer on account of the heavy duty which the United States have put upon that article. Therefore, if reciprocity can be brought about between Canada and the United States, in regard to barley alone, or with barley and corn combined, the people of the North-west will be very glad indeed, and will be prepared to give the Government credit for any efforts they may make in that behalf. I have referred to the fact that the reduction in agricultural implements only applies to a portion of those implements, and I have referred to the reductions that have been made upon other articles. Now, I wish to draw the attention of the House to the fact that there are a large number of articles which are as truly the raw material of the farmer as are agricultural implements, articles without which he cannot carry on his business, and which, under the propositions of the Finance Minister, are either left as they were in the original tariff, or in some very striking cases, considerably increased. The first item to which I will call your attention is coal oil. Now, as the House is well aware, no change is made in the tariff upon this most important article. During the last fiscal year the coal oil en-

tered at the port of Winnipeg amounted, in value, to \$20,263, upon which a duty was collected of \$28,600. As has been pointed out, the duty upon coal oil amounts to something like 120 per cent. Now, I would draw the attention of the House to this fact, that while the farming industry has apparently not had sufficient influence with the Government to induce them to reduce or modify that duty of 120 per cent upon one of the prime necessities of every man, especially in the North-west, where we have but few gas works or electric light concerns, still, on the ground that if the duty upon this article were reduced, the refiners of Petrolia would be obliged to close up their works, the Government have yielded rather to the solicitations of the latter class than to the representations of the farmers. So we see that when any class in the cities are able to interest considerable numbers of members of Parliament in their favour as against the agricultural class, the interest even of the refiners has to give way. It is just as much a blow at the refining industry to reduce the duty upon one class of their products as it is on the other. So far as coal oil is concerned, which is an article of universal consumption, especially among the farming classes, no reduction could possibly be made. When we come to gas oil, which is a very important product of these refineries, we find that the influences interested in the consumption of gas oil have been sufficiently strong with the Government to induce them to reduce the duty upon that article one-half. I have to compliment some of the members of Parliament, such as the member for Centre Toronto (Mr. Cockburn) in being able to bring sufficient pressure to bear upon the Government in this respect; and I only regret that those members on the other side of the House who do not represent the city of Toronto, but who are indebted for their places in this House to the votes of the farming classes of this country, have not been as true to their constituents as the hon. member for Centre Toronto and other gentlemen representing cities in this House, have been representing their constituents in this particular matter. Another matter in which there has been a large increase of duty and in which the people of the North-west are very much interested, although it would, perhaps, be stretching a point to call it a raw material of agriculture, is still an article in which the people generally are much interested—I refer to books, periodicals, and pamphlets. Under the new tariff, a uniform duty of 6 cents per pound has been imposed upon those articles, which is a very large increase from the old duty of 15 per cent ad valorem. The reason given for the change is that expensive books, books in which the chief value consists of brain work, will, under the new tariff, bear a comparatively small duty, while the ordinary run of cheap books will bear the heavy weight of the duty, as their value consists rather in

paper and other material which are used in making them up. Now, it appears to me that is an entirely wrong basis upon which to arrange the taxation, because it is, without question, a scheme by which the poor man is made to bear the heavy weight of the duty. The same objections can be brought against it as are brought, and I am glad to say have been successfully brought, against specific duties on many other articles. The result will be that the cheaper goods or reprints of English authors, which have so cheapened the standard of literature in recent days, and which are imported into Canada in such large quantities, and by which the best literature to-day is thus disseminated amongst the common people, these, I say, will be very largely increased in price by virtue of this considerable increase in the duty. I may mention that the value of books, pamphlets and periodicals imported into the North-west was, last year, \$30,559, upon which a duty was paid of \$4,585. Another article of importance is baking powder. The value imported was \$17,987, duty paid, \$3,744. In referring to these articles I have not attempted to go at all minutely into the articles used by the ordinary farmer and workingman in the North-west; I have only taken those articles on which the duty amounts to \$3,000 or \$4,000 or over. The figures I shall mention in my remarks bear very little relation to the value of the articles really used in the country, because the only figures we can consider are the imports into the port of Winnipeg, and as I pointed out before recess, in many articles a very small proportion was imported into Winnipeg, and a large proportion was sent in by wholesale merchants in Eastern Canada. However, the figures will give some idea as to the importance of the article I mention. On baking powder the duty continues at 6 cents per pound, and there has been no reduction. All the articles to which I am now referring either have not been reduced or have been considerably increased, showing that this attempt to interfere with the tariff in the interest of the farmers has been most ineffective. The next article to which I desire to refer is bicycles and tricycles. We know very well that among the poorer people, who require to go from place to place, bicycles have practically taken the place of horses. It is most important in the imposition of duties on articles of this kind that they should not bear specially heavily on the ordinary citizen. On bicycles the duty is 35 per cent; there has been no reduction. The value imported in the North-west, \$2,933, duty imposed, \$879. Another article of great importance to all classes of people in the North-west is bituminous coal. It bears a duty of 60 cents per ton, and no reduction has been made. The value of bituminous coal imported was \$59,838, duty \$9,361, or one-fourth the amount paid on agricultural implements, the figures being, agricultural

implements, \$36,000; bituminous coal, \$9,300. Curtains bear a duty of 30 per cent, no reduction; value imported, \$8,649, duty paid, \$2,594. Hon. members must understand that in a country like Manitoba there are very few natural fruits, and canned goods and dried fruits are of great importance and are largely used. Currants bear a duty of 1 cent per pound, no reduction; value imported, \$9,588, duty, \$2,722. Prunes and plums bear the same duty as currants; value imported, \$11,085, duty paid, \$2,117. Raisins also bear a duty of 1 cent per pound, no reduction; value imported, \$11,768, duty paid, \$5,120. On these four articles of currants, prunes, and plums, and raisins, the value imported is almost of equal importance to the North-west, so far as the tariff is concerned, as is bituminous coal, the united duties being about \$9,000, or one-fourth of the amount collected in duties on agricultural implements, of which we have heard so much. Nuts bear duty of 3 cents per pound, no reduction; val. of imports, \$7,502, duty, \$3,513. Grapes are very largely imported into Manitoba, and they can be obtained in the Western States at a very reasonable price, but we find that they are met with the duty on the border line of 2 cents per pound, an enormous specific duty on this article which is almost a necessity in Manitoba. The total value was \$6,928, duty, \$2,470. The duties on oranges and lemons show no reduction; value imported, \$45,861, duty, \$4,313. Peaches bear a duty of 1 cent, which is a very high specific duty; the value was \$10,728, duty, \$1,987. All other kinds of green fruits bear certain duties, upon which no reduction has been made; the value imported was \$7,729, the duty was \$1,545. Window glass bears a duty of 20 per cent, no reduction; value imported, \$18,025, duty, \$3,605. It is perhaps the duty of residents in the North-west to deny that the climate is cold there, but in spite of that necessity, I, as a patriotic North-west Reformer, take the stand, that there may be occasional days when people need to wear gloves and mitts. The Government appear to have overlooked the fact, because 35 per cent is a very high duty, and it is imposed on gloves and mitts, an absolute necessity to the North-west. The value imported was \$18,569, duty collected, \$6,498. Another article of necessity is hats and caps. The duty is 30 per cent, on which there is no reduction. Felt hats were imported to the value of \$25,515, duty, \$7,654; straw to the value of \$973, duty, \$291; other kinds, value, \$6,095, duty, \$1,828. This is another case where the value of the articles aggregates about one-quarter of the value of the agricultural implements on which a reduction has been made. Firearms constitute an important article to the farmer of the North-west, because very large quantities of game are found there, and the farmers are able to replenish their tables with supplies of game. The duty on firearms is 20 per cent, no reduction has been made; the value im-

ported was \$17,352, the duty was \$3,470. Boots and shoes bear a duty of 25 per cent, value imported, \$16,079, duty paid, \$4,019. All kinds of packages of goods bear 20 per cent, no reduction; value of goods, \$29,091, duty paid, \$5,822. Envelopes, blank books, &c., on which the duty has reached the high water market of 35 per cent, value of goods imported, \$13,529, duty paid, \$4,750. Wrapping paper, 25 per cent, value, \$1,829, duty, \$457. All other kinds of paper bear a duty of 25 per cent, no reduction; value imported, \$5,888, duty paid, \$1,472. Binding twine, there was a duty of 12½ per cent; value imported, \$86,516, actual duty paid last year, \$21,617, or two-thirds of the amount paid upon all classes of agricultural implements on which a reduction has been made. But for the purpose of this comparison, instead of putting the duty at \$21,617, I have put it down at half of that, or \$10,808, because during the year there was a reduction made of half in the rate of duty. On this particular item, as I have already pointed out, the Government have given no reduction whatever. With reference to umbrellas, parasols, &c., the high water mark duty of 35 per cent is placed upon these articles, and no reduction has been made. The amount imported last year was \$3,582, and the duty paid, \$1,253. Manufactures of wood, not otherwise described, paid a duty of 25 per cent, no reduction; the amount imported was \$37,005, and the duty paid, \$9,263; another instance in which the duty paid amounted to one-fourth of that on agricultural implements. I come now to another class of articles, which are of prime importance to us in the North-west, and upon which the Government have seen fit—I suppose as a sort of off-set to the slight reductions they have given us in other respects—to make a very considerable increase. The Finance Minister took some five hours the other night to explain the tariff changes, and I was much disappointed not to hear from him any reason whatever, why these important articles should have been so largely increased in duty. I refer to woollen fabrics and manufactures of wool. Wool fabrics, 10 cents a yard and under, bore a duty of 22½ cents in the old tariff, and the Government in its wisdom have increased that duty 7½ per cent, namely, from 22½ to 30 per cent. The amount imported last year was \$9,092, and the duty paid, \$2,045. Wool fabrics, costing over 10 cents a yard and under 14 cents, which formerly paid a duty of 25 per cent, have been increased by 5 per cent, and are now 30 per cent, the amount imported being \$6,600 worth, and the duty paid, \$1,650. Wool fabrics, costing over 14 cents a yard, formerly bore a duty of 27½ per cent, and they have been now increased to 30 per cent. I draw the attention of the House to this important article on which the duty has been increased 2½ per cent; the amount

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imported into Manitoba amounted to \$53,621, and the duty paid, \$14,745, or more than one-third as much duty paid upon that one article as is paid upon the agricultural implements on which the tariff is reduced. In this particular case, instead of a reduction being made, the duty has been increased. I would like to ask the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) if he considers an increase such as this the kind of tariff reform he has been talking so much about in the west? I understood from the hon. gentleman's remarks in this House that he was entirely satisfied, delighted in fact, with the changes in the tariff, and he told us that he thought that all the expectations of his constituents who are almost entirely farmers, those of them that are not Government officials—have been entirely realized. I would like to know what he thinks about this increase of duty. Woollen shawls, which under the old tariff paid 25 per cent, have the duty increased on them by the new tariff to 30 per cent. A woollen shawl is an article that every farmer's wife needs, and yet this Government in its extreme care for the farmers and their wives in the North-west have found it necessary to increase the duty on woollen shawls by 5 per cent. The amount imported was \$16,150, and the duty paid \$4,037. Another article for which there is very considerable sale is velveteen, and all kinds of cotton. Velvets have to stand an increase of duty from 20 to 30 per cent. This is another increase in duty on an article which is worn by the poorer classes of the community. The amount imported last year was \$4,783, and the duty paid, \$956. I have taken these articles: wool fabrics, wool shawls and velveteens, and the total duty paid last year was \$23,433, a duty which is to be considerably increased under the so-called reform tariff. Now, Mr. Speaker, that is more than the amount of duty that was paid last year upon harvesters, which are a large item in agricultural implements and on which the duty is increased; it is three and a half times more than the duty on mowing machines; four and a half times the duty on ploughs, seven times the duty paid on seed drills, and 60 per cent of all the duty paid on all the agricultural implements upon which there has been a reduction. We see, therefore, that while the Government with one hand have reduced the tariff on a few classes of agricultural implements from 35 to 20 per cent, with the other hand they have increased the duty upon articles which paid 60 per cent last year of the duty on the said agricultural implements. They have increased the duty in the proportion I have pointed out. On carpets this new tariff proposes to increase the duty from 25 to 30 per cent, and the amount imported into Manitoba last year was \$36,128, and the duty paid, \$9,148. Another article upon which there has been a large increase is reprints upon British copyright works. The duty was formerly 15 per cent, and now it is 6 cents per pound, and

12½ per cent. The amount imported last year was \$5,383, and duty paid, \$807; labels 15 cents a pound, and 25 per cent duty; no reduction; amount imported, \$2,110, duty paid, \$788. Advertising pamphlets, 6 cents per pound, and 20 per cent; no reduction; amount imported last year, \$4,270, duty paid \$1,796. Braces and suspenders, 35 per cent duty; no reduction; amount imported last year, \$4,413, duty paid, \$1,544. Flour, 75 cents a barrel, no reduction; amount imported, \$11,910, duty paid, \$2,653. Drain and sewer pipes, 35 per cent duty, no reduction, amount imported, \$6,573, duty paid, \$2,300. Collars and cuffs, 24 cents per dozen, and 25 per cent, no reduction, amount imported, \$1,082 worth, duty paid, \$558. Combs, 35 per cent duty, no reduction, amount imported, \$2,338, duty paid, \$818. Proprietary medicines, liquid, 50 per cent, no reduction, amount imported, \$2,771, duty paid, \$1,415. This duty is, of course, so high as to be practically prohibitory. Proprietary medicine, 25 per cent, no reduction, amount imported, \$3,886, duty paid, \$972. The figures in connection with the proprietary medicines do not show at all the amounts used in the country, because so far as American preparations are concerned, the duties are so high as to be practically prohibitory. I would point out that this is a most important matter to the people of the North-west, because on account of our sparse settlements very large numbers of our farmers have to depend almost entirely upon these proprietary medicines. They live so far away from any physician that not only does the distance make it impossible for them to secure the services of one, but besides that the expense of getting a doctor is so great that they find it impossible, unless it is absolutely necessary indeed, to call in the services of a professional man. Hence the duty upon proprietary medicines bears extremely hard upon the people of the North-west. I am very glad indeed in this particular that we have with us in our distress and our difficulties upon this subject, the newspaper press of Canada anyway. However useful that press, or a portion of it, may be to hon. gentlemen opposite in endeavouring to condone their faults and search for their virtues, if any there be, they seem to have very little influence with the Government, because they are quite unable to obtain any reduction in this enormous duty on an article which is of importance to them in connection with their business. Electric light apparatus, 25 per cent, no reduction, amount imported, \$8,224, duty paid, \$2,055. China and porcelain, 30 per cent, no reduction, amount imported, \$1,355, duty paid, \$406. Braids, cords, etc., 30 per cent, no reduction, amount imported, \$7,171, duty paid, \$2,151. Linen towels, 25 per cent, no reduction, amount imported, \$4,824, duty paid, \$1,206. Linen thread, 20 per cent, no reduction, amount imported, \$4,638, duty paid, \$927.

Rubber clothing, 35 per cent, no reduction, amount imported, \$8,889, duty paid, \$3,111. Other kinds of rubber manufactures, 25 per cent, no reduction, amount imported, \$5,715, duty paid, \$1,429. I have only taken those articles in which the quantity imported is considerable; but if I had taken the innumerable other articles of which the actual quantity imported is comparatively small, but which in the aggregate make a large sum, the totals would be very much increased. The total value of these articles was \$784,792, and the duty paid, \$200,314. These are articles of prime necessity to the farmer, most of them being his actual raw material for carrying on his business. In these articles, on which the duty amounts to \$200,000, the duty is either the same as before or is considerably increased, while in that class of agricultural implements in which there has been a substantial reduction, the duty paid last year was only \$36,000, or less than one-fifth of the amount paid on those articles which I have mentioned. I have selected a number of other articles in which there have been reductions of duty, but reductions so slight as to go a very little way towards taking the burdens off the farmers' back. On the article of rice the duty of 1¼ cents per pound is now reduced to 1 cent per pound, still an enormous ad valorem duty, the amount imported was \$3,991, and the duty paid, \$2,377. On the manufactures of brass, 30 per cent, reduced to 25 per cent, amount imported, \$5,498, duty paid, \$1,652. Clocks and clock cases, 35 per cent, now 30 per cent, amount imported, \$1,585, duty paid, \$554. Copper manufactures, n.e.s., 30 per cent, now 25 per cent, amount imported, \$2,189, duty paid, \$656. Cordage, 1¼ cents per pound, and 10 per cent, now 30 per cent, amount imported, \$6,652, duty paid, \$1,479. Denims, cottonades, flannellettes, tickings, &c., 2 cents per pound and 15 per cent, now 32½ per cent, amount imported, \$17,099, duty paid, \$5,388. Printed and dyed cottons, 32½ per cent, now 30 per cent, amount imported, \$14,834, duty paid, \$14,571. Shirts, \$1 per dozen and 30 per cent, now below \$3 per dozen, 25 per cent, above, \$1 per dozen and 25 per cent, amount imported, \$5,887, duty paid, \$3,158. Cotton clothing, 35 per cent, now 32½ per cent, amount imported, \$21,000, duty paid, \$7,353. If the Government really desired to benefit the farmers, by making a reduction the advantage of which would have come home to every family of farmers in Canada, at all times of the year, they could have taken the article of cotton and woollen clothing of different kinds. But I notice that in these articles there has either been an increase or the reduction has been so small as not to make any appreciable difference. Cotton socks, 10 cents per pound, and 30 per cent, now 32½ per cent, amount imported, \$1,470, duty paid, \$568. Uncoloured cotton fabrics, 25 per cent, now 22½ per

cent. amount imported, \$5,235. duty paid, \$1,308. Jugs, crocks and churns, 3 cents per gallon, now 2 cents per gallon. amount imported, \$2,380, duty paid, \$1,121. Cartridges, 35 per cent. now 30 per cent. amount imported, \$15,550. duty paid, \$5,445. The duty on this article was one-ninth that on agricultural implements. Cartridges are in actual and daily use in almost every farmer's family in Manitoba, and on these the reduction has been the mere trifle of 5 per cent. Gun wads and caps, 35 per cent. now 30 per cent. amount imported, \$2,910, duty paid, \$1,018. On rubber overshoes, an article which almost every one in that country wears, the duty was 35 per cent, and it has been reduced to 30 per cent, and to show what nonsense it is for hon. gentlemen opposite to talk about the impossibility of interfering with these duties on the ground that if they did so there would not be money enough to run the country with, let me state that the total quantity of overshoes imported into Manitoba in 1892 was of the value of \$209, and brought to hon. gentlemen opposite the magnificent revenue of \$73. Because they cannot spare \$73 of revenue—which would run this country about one-fifth-hundredth part of a second—hon. gentlemen opposite insist upon the people paying 35 per cent into the pockets of the rubber manufacturers of Canada on this article of every day wear. Stoves 30 per cent. I do not wish to enlarge upon the necessity of stoves in our part of the country, as that is rather a delicate question with us, but the imports of that article in the year amounted to \$2,323, the duty collected was \$696. Again, the Government say it is impossible to reduce the duty because they would then have no revenue. Engines and boilers from 30 to 27½ per cent. Amount imported \$2,000; duty paid, \$600. I may say with regard to all these heavy articles, such as stoves, furniture, earthenware, and the like, we are forced to buy them in Eastern Canada and pay heavy freight on account of this tariff. There is a double exaction from the people. Not only is the price largely raised by the heavy tariff, but the people, instead of being able to buy from our neighbours close at hand and pay cheap freight, are obliged to buy in Eastern Canada and pay the Canadian Pacific Railway very heavy freight.

| | Amount imported. | Duty paid. |
|--|------------------|------------|
| Sewing machines, former duty, \$3 each and 20 p.c., now 30 p.c. | \$3,955 | \$ 1,341 |
| Wrought iron, tubes and pipes, 1½c. per lb. and 30 p.c., now 1¼c. per lb. and 30 p.c. | 6,155 | 3,418 |
| Stamped tinware, 35 p.c., now 25 p.c. | 7,648 | 2,676 |
| Wire, not elsewhere specified, 30 p.c., now 25 p.c. | 19,699 | 4,917 |
| Mechanic's tools, 35 p.c., now 30 p.c. | 11,671 | 4,087 |
| Manufactures of iron, n.o.s., 30 p.c., now 27½ p.c. | 17,015 | 5,107 |
| Harness and saddlery, 35 p.c., now 30 p.c. | 8,939 | 3,128 |

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| | Imports. | Duty. |
|--|----------|----------|
| Lubricating oils, petroleum, 7½c. per gallon, now 6c. per gallon. | \$ 2,891 | \$ 1,553 |
| Floor oil cloths, 5c. per yard, and 20 p.c., now 30 p.c. | 12,226 | 4,430 |
| Pickles, formerly specific, now 35 p.c. | 5,421 | 1,656 |

On furniture, the duty of 35 per cent was practically prohibitive, and so is the present duty of 30 per cent. Although we have to import almost every article of furniture that we use in Manitoba and the North-west Territories, the amount imported from the United States, on which the freight is comparatively cheap, was only \$7,417, and the duty collected \$2,602. This is a very small portion indeed of the furniture really used in the country.

| | Imports. | Duty. |
|--|----------|----------|
| Woollen blankets, formerly 10c. per lb. and 20 p.c., now 30 p.c. | \$ 8,054 | \$ 4,045 |
| Cloths, formerly 10c. per lb. and 20 p.c., now 30 p.c. | 24,705 | 8,110 |
| Tweeds, formerly 10c. per lb. and 20 p.c., now 30 p.c. | 3,999 | 1,249 |
| Flannels, formerly 10c. per lb. and 20 p.c., now 30 p.c. | 13,148 | 4,629 |
| Shirts, drawers and hosiery, formerly 10c. per lb. and 20 p.c., now 30 p.c. | 17,375 | 5,264 |
| Socks, woollen, 10c. per lb. and 30 p.c., now 35 p.c. | 16,922 | 6,617 |
| Ladies' and children's clothing, 10c. per lb. and 25 p.c., now 32½ p.c. | 25,941 | 8,800 |
| Men's and boy's woollen clothing, 10c. per lb. and 25 p.c., now 32½ p.c. | 26,303 | 9,534 |

Now, I have endeavoured to show, taking a hurried glance over the proposition of the Finance Minister, that while our industries in Canada are looked after in the way of their raw materials either being allowed into Canada at a low rate of duty or being placed upon the free list, the interests of the farmer are entirely neglected in that particular. I have shown that the much talked of reduction of duty on a portion only of agricultural implements from 35 to 20 per cent applies only to some and not to the whole class of agricultural implements. I have pointed out to the Government—and I hope before we get through the debate that any doubts on that score will be cleared up—that their proposed reductions are practically of no benefit to the country, and unless they include dressed lumber in the proposition to place lumber on the free list, it will be of no benefit to the North-west. Then I have taken the very considerable list of articles which are of great importance to the people, upon which the Government have not been able to make any reduction whatever. The only reform they have made in articles of this kind has been to considerably increase the duties on some matters of importance to our people. I have taken that list, and I think the House will agree with me that the articles I have mentioned are really articles which are important to the settler, and upon which the burden of taxation is felt seriously by every one engaged

in agriculture. I have taken other articles which are also of importance to the people, and on which the reduction in the tariff are so slight as not to be worth mentioning. Taking all these questions into consideration, it does seem to me that the changes proposed in the tariff, however they may affect manufacturers—and we have some indications that the disturbance in that connection is very considerable indeed—furnish ample justification for the proposition of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) that the Government have succeeded in bringing about the maximum of disturbance with the minimum of relief—a proposition which has been practically endorsed by the course of events that have since taken place. I think, Mr. Speaker, that the declaration by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), that the Government had succeeded in bringing about the maximum of disturbance with the minimum of relief has been justified by the course of events since the hon. gentleman made his speech; for we have heard from industry after industry that if the Government persist in carrying out the changes that have been proposed with regard to that particular industry, it will be obliged to close down its works. But while all this disturbance has been caused, I find, after giving the subject a fair examination, that the relief afforded to those for whom the changes were supposed to be made, the farmers of the country, has been but inconsiderable. I believe, Mr. Speaker, that on the whole, the country would have been very much better off if the Government had left the tariff as it was. The only object the Government could possibly have was to satisfy the farming community; and, while they have failed in that, while of course there may be some incidental relief, they certainly have done nothing to add to the stability of manufacturing industries in this country. I was somewhat amused by the declaration of the hon. member for Ottawa (Sir James Grant), who preceded me in this debate, that he supported the great Conservative party because of the stability of its policy. I do admire the loyalty of an hon. gentleman who, in this emergency, at this time when stability is about the last thing that is looked for in the tariff; when every manufacturer is hoping that there will be stability, that the changes will not be carried out, that clerical errors may be found in every part of the tariff, can declare that he admires the policy of the Government because of its stability. No wonder that hon. gentleman would declare that while he was glad to see the Government following a certain course, he would be quite satisfied no matter what they might do. Now, the Liberal party, as I understand it, Mr. Speaker, if returned to power, will give to the people of this country not a pretense of tariff reform such as this is, but a

real substantial reduction in the tariff; they will eliminate the protective principle from the customs tariff of Canada and will impose duties, not for the purpose of encouraging manufactures, but for the purpose of obtaining a revenue for the country. In answer to that, it is alleged by hon. gentlemen opposite, that they have made it impossible for any Government to carry out a policy of that kind, that they have been so reckless in their expenditure of public money, that they have so successfully increased the amount of the expenditure upon consolidated fund from 1878 up to the present time, that no matter how desirous their successors may be of reducing the taxation of this country, it will be quite impossible for them to carry out that purpose. The hon. the Finance Minister says that he anticipates a very considerable falling off in the revenue of the country, and looks for a slight deficit. He says, however, that the Government will meet the threatened deficit by endeavouring to live within its means—and this after we have been told time and time again that reduction was impossible. I notice that the Minister of Railways contends that it was quite impossible to get on with less expenditure for the various departments of the Government, but the Finance Minister says that the Government proposes to live within its means. When we look at the Estimates placed before us, we find that the amount asked for is \$317,000 less than for the previous year. But we know that there will be Supplementary Estimates, which, no doubt, will fully cover this trifling reduction. The hon. Minister of Finance estimates that there will be a loss of revenue of \$1,500,000 through the proposed reductions in the tariff. If that be so, Mr. Speaker, we must have what the hon. gentleman professes to consider the most complete evidence of incapacity on the part of the Government—that is to say, in the year 1894-95 we shall have a deficit. The hon. Minister of Finance pointed out that we were to have no more large expenditures on public works. In this connection I would like to draw the attention of the House to a very decided difference of opinion between the hon. Minister of Finance and the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries. The Minister of Finance is supposed to be one of the leading members of the Cabinet. Recently we heard that hon. Finance Minister make a declaration, that the Government could not propose the ratification of the French Treaty. On the other hand, Mr. Speaker, we found the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries taking a positive stand upon that question, and we find that he has been able to bring the Cabinet to his way of thinking. With regard to the expenditures upon public works we find again a positive difference of opinion between the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, and from our former experience, I suppose we may conclude that the Minister

of Marine and Fisheries is more likely to have his way. What did the hon. Minister of Finance say with regard to public works?

It is fortunate that we have come pretty closely up to the limit of our capital expenditure upon great works. Three months from to-day, if our prognostications are not wrong, will see Canadian vessels passing through the Sault Ste. Marie Canal, and an uninterrupted channel of communication for Canadian and other vessels, totally within Canadian waters and Canadian territory, from the centre of this continent out to the seaboard. We have spent a large amount of money upon our general canal system and upon the Sault Ste. Marie Canal. That large expenditure will be finished by the end of this year, and what remains to do will be the deepening and widening and other improvements necessary to the St. Lawrence canals and river, which will not cost a very large sum and will not extend over a very long period of time. Therefore it is fortunate that at this particular time, we are nearing the end of the large expenditure for heavy public works and coming to a period when our revenue must more nearly approach our expenditures on Consolidated Fund account, so that we shall have to borrow less for the necessary capital expenditure which from time to time, will have to be made.

Now, I think that, in view of that statement of the hon. Minister of Finance, the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies, P.E.I.) was quite justified in stating, as he did, that the expenditure upon public works has about come to an end. But what does the Minister of Marine say about that? He repudiates the idea and brings the hon. member for Queen's to task for making any such announcement. The hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries declares that there are to be continued large expenditures upon public works. He says there is to be continued a large expenditure upon public works. I am quoting now from the speech of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries:

The hon. gentleman, with what object I know not, announced to-night that as the Government had made a large reduction in the tariff, there could be no more public works.

I do not know whether the Minister of Marine and Fisheries heard the speech of the Minister of Finance or not.

Now the hon. gentleman cannot be serious.

When the hon. member for Queen's, P.E.I. (Mr. Davies) ventures to repeat in this House a statement made in the Budget speech by the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries thinks he is joking, and thinks he cannot be serious.

The hon. gentleman should not use that argument, for the credit of his own side and his own policy. Surely, he does not admit that their proposal—which is to reduce this tariff radically, and all along the line, to cut and curve and alic, regardless of the industries of the country—is going to bring about such a state of affairs. That is our case. We say if you bring the people face to face

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with direct taxation, or with any other system than the one that now obtains, not only will deficit after deficit stare you in the face, but the prospects of this country will be wholly ruined. We are to stop building public works. The hon. gentleman knows that we are committed already to the largest and most splendid scheme ever put before the people of this continent. He knows, whether he gives us credit for it or not, that we have excited the admiration of the mother land for our pluck and our success in our ventures. He knows that the keen moneyed men in the United States, the representative of the people in Congress, are not only disturbed, but even annoyed, at what they call our audacity in our public policy, challenging, as it does, that commercial empire which they think their own on this continent, tapping, as it does, the trade of the Orient, which they wish kept solely and exclusively for themselves. He knows that we are pledged to that policy, and that, come what will, we propose to carry out those public works in which we are now engaged, and at the proper time to grapple with the rest, so as to bring all our schemes and plans to a successful and happy conclusion.

Now I read these two extracts to point out that the Minister of Finance, in dealing with this subject of increased expenditure, and the decrease of revenue, assured us there was to be practically no more public works in Canada beyond completing those which we have already commenced, while the Minister of Marine and Fisheries says that is all a mistake, and that the Government are going to launch out into costly schemes of public works. Now, I find that the expenditure under Consolidated Fund under the Mackenzie Government, in 1878, was \$23,503,178, while during the last fiscal year it was \$36,814,052, or an increase in fifteen years of \$13,310,894. Now, whenever propositions are made on this side of the House largely to decrease the expenditure on behalf of the Consolidated Fund, we are told that, no matter how desirous we may be of doing so, it is impossible to carry it out. I may say that in local politics in Manitoba there was no matter upon which we have had more serious controversies than upon the question of the possibility of making the administration more economical than it was. When I had the honour of a seat among the Opposition in the Local Legislature, our party claimed that the Government was being extravagantly administered; and, while I know that the Local Government was being most extravagantly administered, I am satisfied that it was nothing at all compared with the extravagance and recklessness which are displayed by the Conservative Government in the Dominion of Canada at the present time. I may say that at that time the province of Manitoba had a revenue of about \$500,000, and the Opposition claimed that considerable reduction could be made in the provincial expenditure. We were told by Mr. Norquay and his Government that it was easy for us to make these statements, but we

knew nothing whatever about public affairs, that we had never been in office, and we would find, if the province were ever unfortunate enough to lose their services and to call upon us, that it would be quite impossible for us to carry out any suggestion of that kind. The last session we were in the House, prior to the defeat of the Government, we moved a resolution, that, in our opinion, it was possible to make a reduction in the expenditure of \$50,000 per annum. Well, the country were deluded enough, as the hon. member for Provencher (Mr. La Rivière) thinks, to dispense with the services of the Norquay Government, and to call the Opposition into office, and the very first year we were in power, instead of making a reduction of \$50,000, as we had promised, out of a total expenditure of \$500,000 yearly, we were able to make a reduction of \$120,000. Now, Sir, I do not mention this fact for the purpose of discussing local affairs in Manitoba, with which I know you have nothing to do, but for the purpose of suggesting that, if it was possible to make so large a reduction in the local expenditure of Manitoba, there must be a still better field for reduction in this Dominion, when we find that in fifteen years the expenditure has risen from \$23,500,000 to \$36,500,000. Sir, what has caused the increase? Has it been caused by the increase in population? No, it has been caused simply by extravagance and mismanagement. I have to admit that there are some items which are beyond the control of the Government, and which have increased, but there are other items which have increased by reason of the recklessness of the Government, particularly in connection with the expenditures on capital account. There are items which are uncontrollable, among which I may mention the public debt, the increase in which has amounted to \$2,758,000; charges of management, in which there has been an increase of \$23,124. Of that I cannot say exactly that it is uncontrollable, I have no doubt a saving could be effected; however, I will give the Government the benefit of the doubt, and place it among the uncontrollable items. Another uncontrollable item is the sinking fund, in which there has been an increase of \$1,049,767, and another item is the subsidies to provinces in which there has been an increase of \$462,957. Now, the total increase in these four uncontrollable items, in the period of fifteen years, has amounted to \$4,293,853. The total increase, as I have said, is over \$13,000,000. Taking off these increases in uncontrollable items that cannot be interfered with by a Liberal Government, and we have left \$9,017,041, upon which economy can be exercised, as compared with the half million upon which the Opposition in Manitoba made so large a reduction. Of course it must be admitted that as the country increases in population the cost of government must increase, although it need not be admitted that the cost of government

should increase pro rata with the increase of population, for of course there are many items which should not be increased with a population of 7,000,000 as compared with 5,000,000. For instance, the cost of legislation would be very little more. If a department were properly established it would be able to conduct its affairs without any very material increase in expenditure, because the increase would simply involve additional clerical assistance, which is inexpensive. However, giving the Government credit for that, allowing there should be an increase in expenditure in proportion to the population, it is desirable to ascertain what has been the increase in population from 1878 to 1893. I have figured out the results, in this way: Taking the percentage of the census from 1871 to 1891 as showing an increase of 18 9-10 per cent, three years at that rate would give an increase of 5-67. Taking the increase from 1881 to 1891 as 11-74 per cent, twelve years at that rate would give about 8, or a total of 19 71-100 per cent, or in round figures 20 per cent. That is to say, that our population in fifteen years has increased 20 per cent. So if we are allowed the greatest possible percentage for leaway, the Government might have increased the expenditures 20 per cent, or \$4,700,631, during the fifteen years. But they did increase the controllable items \$9,017,041, or \$4,316,410 in excess. I claim that the Liberal party of Canada should make it a plank on their platform—I admit that to a certain extent I am disappointed that I have not heard it directly proposed by the leaders of the party—that the whole of this sum of \$4,000,000, which is entirely above the amount of any possible increase that should have occurred, should be saved by economical administration. I desire to allude for a moment to this increase in expenditure. The Finance Minister has pointed out that for the last five years, since 1888, there has been no practical increase in expenditure on account of the consolidated fund. The Government found it possible to prevent any augmentation of expenditure during that period; and in view of that fact, how can they justify the enormous increase that has taken place in the expenditure from 1878 to 1888? Let us see what was the expenditure? From 1878 to 1884, a period of six years, there was an increase of \$7,604,000, or an increase of \$1,260,000 annually. Take the next period, 1884 to 1888, four years, there was an increase of \$5,610,710, or \$1,400,000 per annum. I shall be very glad to hear from the Finance Minister why during the first six years it was necessary to increase the expenditure on this fund at the rate of \$1,260,000 annually, and for the other four years at the rate of \$1,400,000, and having brought up the expenditure to that amount, especially at the time the population had ceased to increase, the Government were enabled for the next six years, from 1888 to 1893, to keep the expenditure prac-

tically at a standstill. If it was possible to keep the expenditure at a standstill for the past six years, unless some good reason is shown to the contrary, this House must condemn the Government very severely for having increased the expenditure so very largely during the first nine years; and a Liberal Government entering power determined to carry out the principles of economy, would have a very easy task before it. I have occupied the time of the House at greater length than I had intended in discussing this question; I have not done so from a desire to occupy the time of the House, but because I felt it necessary to give very full and complete consideration to the proposals of the Finance Minister for the relief of the country. I feel satisfied from the communications I have had from that portion of Canada I represent, that any attempt made by the Government to meet the expressed desire of the people, following the attack made year after year from this side of the House, on the policy of the Government and the National Policy, which has promised to do so much for this country, whatever concessions have been made have been wrung from the Government by the Liberal party, the people of Winnipeg will feel quite justified in having for the first time departed from party allegiance and sent to this House a member of the Opposition, when they find the Government have to a limited extent listened to their appeals; but while that may be true, I am satisfied that the slight success the people have had in making their views felt on the Government, and on the members supporting it, will encourage them at the next general election, to support that party which does not pretend simply to reform the tariff in regard to a few items, but proposes to inaugurate a financial policy for Canada, not in the interest of a small section of the people, but in the interest of the great mass of the people, the agricultural community.

Mr. METCALFE. I thought the hon. members of this House were discussing a tariff for this Dominion, not one for Manitoba or any other particular province of Canada. The distinguished gentleman who has just addressed the House has shown himself to be a provincial politician and not one of the national order—a belfry politician, Mr. Speaker. He has been discussing questions for the last hour or more on a very narrow basis, and when the people come to consider his efforts and compare them with the former member from Winnipeg, I think the people of that city will come to the opinion that they made a great mistake in electing the hon. gentleman. Of course, Mr. Speaker, different minds view different sentiments in a different way, and the country may view these as correct sentiments, but I do not think the country is little enough to take such little ideas into its con-

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sideration as being favourable to the best interests of this Dominion. We expected to see a mighty man come here from Winnipeg, one cultured and refined, a man who was able to do such great deeds away up in that western country and make such a great stir in the heavy ozone there; one would expect, when he came down here to spread himself, that he would really tell us something that would benefit us. He did not do so. There was an old farmer up there somewhere near Owen Sound, a man that could double discount the member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) in common sense. That old man wrote a piece of poetry, and, of course, it is all nonsense, like the speech delivered by the hon. member.

Mr. LAURIER. Order.

Mr. METCALFE. I beg the hon. gentleman's pardon. I did not say anything about him but what is straight talk. I say there was no argument about his speech. It may be order or disorder, but I think it is disorder, if you call me to order, Mr. Speaker. I shall apologize to the member for Winnipeg, because I do not wish to offend him. Now, Mr. Speaker, would you kindly listen along with the other members of the House to this lovely piece of poetry written by this old farmer up at Owen Sound. He does not select his poetry, like the leader of the Opposition, from Shakespeare or Richard III; but he talks a good deal of nonsense all the same. I do not know the poetry off by heart, so I will have to read it. I expect before I am through that I will be able to quote some poetry that I have off by heart, as I do not want to be burdened with this bundle of papers here, because they are a sort of nuisance to me while making a little speech. This old man who wrote the poetry, does not believe in the tariff, and he thinks he should not be taxed either when he comes into the world or when he goes out of it. He takes exception to the tariff in various ways, and, so far as I am able to judge, he has better reason for the faith that is in him than has the hon. gentleman from Winnipeg (Mr. Martin). His name was Mossback. He wrote this poetry when he went home one night after hearing Sir John Thompson make a speech, and he says that neither his wife nor his children helped him.

I was once a well-off farmer; now, I'm worried and in debt,

I've got poor a-payin' taxes, but I have to pay 'em yet,

There's a tax on food and clothing, poor and scanty though they be;

But Sir John says, O! be thankful, for "ther' ain't no tax on tea!"

There's a mortgage on the homestead, an' the interest ain't all paid.

I've worked hard from early morning till the evening's dewy shade.

Wife an' me don't follow fashions, an' I don't get on a spree,

Yet I'm poor, although they tell me that "ther' ain't no tax on tea!"

In my house, there's no pianner, no rich carpets on the floor,

An' the tariff wouldn't let me me put a door-bell on the door,

That is like some of the complaints of the member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin).

An' my wife can't git a bunnet, that would be a luxuree,

But she says, "we must be thankful, for there ain't no tax on tea!"

I can't buy a bit o' cotton, but I have to pay a tax, An' they levy on my wood-pile, by a dooty on the axe;

An' the salt that's in my porridge isn't now admitted free,

But the Lord be thanked for one thing, that "ther' ain't no tax on tea!"

Once I tried to buy a picture; it was "lithographed," they said;

Twenty odd per cent o' dooty knocked that bargain in the head.

Had it been a great oil paintin' worth ten thousand, then, you see,

'Twould been "a work of art," they said, and been admitted free.

When I'm workin' on the back lot, I would often like to know

Jist how long 'twill be till sunset, or till dinner-horn will blow;

So I thought a watch I'd purchase, but the man spoke up, says he:

"Dooty's twenty-five on watches, but we get in diamonds free!"

Eight-tenths of a cent on sugar, twenty-five per cent on boots,

Doesn't help my wheat or barley, or increase the price o' roots;

Dimonds will not cut my medder, though they may be nice to see,

An' my only crumbs o' comfort is, "ther' ain't no tax on tea!"

Everything a farmer uses, everything a farmer wears—

Hand-rake, cradle, scythe or pitchfork—each its load of dooty bears.

This is called "the poor man's tariff," for it keeps him poor, you see,

An' they tell him to be thankful that "ther' ain't no tax on tea!"

Once they told us that consumers didn't have the tax to pay;

That it made the things all cheaper, that it worked the other way;

An' I've thought the thing all over, an' I'm blessed if I can see,

If that's so, then, what's the reason that "ther' ain't no tax on tea!"

Wife an' I are gettin' feeble, soon we'll both be goin' where

Taxes do not worrit people; "tariffs do not enter there;"

But they'll foller our poor spirits right into eternitee.

By a tax on shrouds an' coffins, to get even for the tea!

There is not much sense in that poetry, the House will see, but there is just as much

sense in it as there is in the speech of the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin). That is a good piece of poetry—

Some hon. MEMBERS Hear, hear.

Mr. METCALFE. I am delighted that hon. gentlemen opposite are pleased and that they are able to laugh once in a while, because their faces have been gruesome enough lately. We all know that a certain amount of money has to be collected to provide for the administration of the affairs of this country, and the Government proposal is, to collect that money in a manner which will be in the best interests of the people at large. We believe that the tariff now proposed has been framed in the best interests of the people of the Dominion, and that it has not been framed for any special district or to help any particular province. It is a Canadian tariff, in the best interests of the people of all Canada. The hon. gentleman from Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) complained bitterly about that heavy tax which was imposed upon that prime necessity for the poor people, namely, bicycles. Now, any man who is able to buy a bicycle, ought to be able to pay a fair tax upon it. It is to a certain extent a luxury, and the object of the Government has been to tax luxuries and let free the necessities of life. The member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) tells us that the duty on bicycles is a heavy burden on the people; a statement which goes to prove that his arguments against the tariff are very weak indeed. The hon. gentleman complained about the increase of the duty on woollens, but, to my way of reading the tariff, it appears to me that the duty on woollens has been lowered.

Mr. MARTIN. Ask the Finance Minister.

Mr. METCALFE. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Martin) told us in one part of his speech that the tariff had better been left as it was, and then again he said that it was because the people of Winnipeg sent him down here that there were any tariff changes made. I do not believe that the hon. gentleman is such a great man as to cause the Government to alter the tariff. The intention of the Government was to do the best for all classes of the people; they have reformed the tariff in the interests of all classes, and they would have done so if the hon. gentleman never saw this House. I think the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) told us recently that in 1878 Sir John Macdonald was a free trader. That statement can hardly be correct, because I remember, as long ago as the early sixties, that the old flag on the windows of Sir John Macdonald's election committee rooms bore this inscription: "Protection to home manufactures and native industries," and "British connection." That was the policy of our late leader then, and his successors in office to-day have not changed in one whit. Is this Government not carrying out the policy of Sir John Macdonald, who, speaking in Toronto in 1872, said:

England has been a protectionist country for centuries, and it was only by carefully encouraging and creating a vast system of manufactures that she attained to such a protection that she could undersell and beat the world. She had then said that she would be a free trader, and coax all the other countries of the world to open their markets to her. She had been wise in that policy because by protecting her manufactures she had got ahead of the world, and could with perfect safety to herself proclaim the beauties of free trade. We did not, however, find other nations following the advice she so freely offered. They thought, as the present Government of Canada thought, that in the adjustment of their burdens it would be well to put duties upon imported goods and so frame their tariff that the duties would fall upon articles that could be profitably manufactured in the country. By adjusting the duties in this way the Government hoped that it would protect and build up in Canada manufactures like those that had been generated under a similar system of protection in the United States and long ago in England. They might set aside all the clap-trap questions that have been raised for the purpose of affecting the election contest. They who lived in the country and who had their own interests and the interests of their children to think of, should consider what was the best mode of developing the wealth of the country, how they could best stimulate the growth of large bodies of manufacturers and workmen, who, while supporting our own needs, would largely consume the produce of our farms and thus by giving home markets to both manufactures and agricultural products would make Canada independent of any foreign country. This was the question to be determined, how best to gain commercial independence, so that we should not be obliged to look at and be guided by the quotations and prices in Liverpool and London, but that we should have busy workshops where labour should be profitably employed, and where the results of a farmer's labour would find a market, and where the manufactures would give the agriculturists all the finished goods he needed in exchange for his wheat, his rye, his barley and his potatoes. That was the policy of the present Government, and that was the policy upon which he went to the country.

There has been no change in the policy of the Conservative party from that time till to-day. How different is the fidelity with which the Conservative leaders and the Conservative Ministry have clung to those principles, from the variegated policy which we have found among hon. gentlemen opposite. We have seen them take one policy one day and another policy another day, and we do not know where to find them at all. But I will return to criticise a few of the remarks made by the hon. gentleman from Winnipeg (Mr. Martin). He has told us that the growth of Manitoba and the North-west has been slow. If so, it is just because of the sentiments uttered by himself, the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), and other distinguished representatives of the Liberal party. Have they enunciated such sentiments as would lead men to go to the North-west to settle? Why, the hon. member for South

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Oxford's own coachman, while on the cars on his way out to Washington Territory, told me that he was going to a better country than Canada. I said, "How do you know it is?" He said, "That's what Sir Richard says." I said, "He doesn't know anything about it; you will be back again in Canada in two months." He did come back, and he told me that he was sorry that he had not done what I advised him, that was, to throw his ticket out of the window and go back to Canada. He is now at work at his old home in Kingston, and he has found out that the predictions of blue ruin made by Sir Richard were nothing but sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal, and that their only effect was to cost him the loss of his railway fare. These hon. gentlemen talk of the men who have left this country, because they have been told of the great wild and cold country in the North-west, and the attractiveness of the great republic. But many of the men who left us are glad to come back again, and many others remain only because they are not able to get back. We know that Canada is in a better condition to-day than the republic to the south. A short time ago I was over there, and I was talking in a store to a man about saddle and harness goods. He said to me, "You'll all be over here one of these days." "How do you know it," I asked him; "you have never been in Canada?" "No," he said, "but I know it from what I have read of the Mercier Club and the sentiments of Sir Richard Cartwright." I said, "There's not a man in five hundred who takes any stock in Mercier's sentiments or in Sir Richard Cartwright's sentiments, or who believes it would be better for him to come to this country." Would it not be better, Mr. Speaker, if these men would preach the doctrine that this is the greatest country on earth? Would it not be better for the hon. member for South Oxford, the leader of the Opposition, and the philosopher who sits beside him, to stand up in this House and on the public platforms of this country and teach the people, what the orators of the United States have taught the people there, that this is the greatest land that the sun shines upon? I tell you, Mr. Speaker, and the press and the country, that you will never have a country worth a cent, while you have such men as these Grit leaders at the head of affairs. While they are in opposition, they are bad enough. How much worse they would be if they were sitting in the seats of the members of the Government, preaching the same unfortunate doctrine. But I will give the hon. the leader of the Opposition, and the hon. member for South Oxford, three or four little phrases which I have committed to memory, if they will learn them; and, if they would go out and preach those to the people, they would give the people faith and hope. You are not worth a cent if you have not faith and hope. See what Moses did with hope; the walls of Jericho were blown down by faith and hope. The very time to suc-

ceed is when other people get tired. The Yankees are tired to-day. Though they may be stronger than us in numbers, their national life is not as pure, nor as progressive. If you want to see poverty, go to the Southern States. You will find men there who are saving themselves from starvation by stealing chickens. The hon. member for South Oxford might not see it; he would not want to see it. He would not see any of the tramps who are living in poverty in the States, but he would go right on until he got to Washington. We have here a Canadian nationality, fast rising into power and greatness and glory; and we are a portion, and a very significant portion, of that great empire, Great Britain, which to-day is not on the decline, as some people would say; but at no time in her history has she been so strong and powerful. I am one of those who believe, as the leader of the Liberal party in England believes, and he is the kind of leader to have, so far as national feeling goes. He could teach hon. gentlemen in the Opposition a lesson in regard to national sentiment, if they would look to him. We have in this Dominion the greatest country that the sun ever shone upon. You talk about its going back. Sir, it is not going back. It is on the contrary progressing steadily under the Conservative policy of protection and the wise administration of this Government. If the leader of the Opposition, instead of quoting from Shakespeare and giving us his own rendering of a little scene from a drama, would go right out to the country and preach the doctrine of hopefulness—if he would confess to the people candidly that he had been humming into their ears long enough that this country was not progressing and that he had now come to the conclusion that it was, although of course he believed it would progress much better if he were at the head of affairs, he would be filling a much more worthy role than he does at present. What we want in this country is a hopeful and not a despairing philosophy. We do not want hope in the next world, because we know that if we go to the right place there we will get a sure thing. But we want hope here and love of our country above everything else. We want loyal men who will stand up for her and never preach treason. If you wish to get a man who will preach loyalty, you would not seek out the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin), but you would select the right man for the right place, as our late Premier, Sir John Macdonald, had the happy gift of doing. We should be loyal first and last and all the time. And I tell you, Sir, that the men who have done the most good on this continent, or in England, or any portion of Europe are the men who have had the strongest loyalty in their hearts for their country—who felt they could achieve great things through the faith they had in the institutions of their country. I assure you, Sir, that if Canadian

representative men are filled with strong, national sentiment and love for Canada, this country must prosper. The hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) told us, looking around and behind him, that there was nobody disloyal here, that no man in the Opposition ranks preached disloyalty. But the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin), when asked to deny if he had ever said that he would vote for annexation, replied that he might have said so, and most likely did. And if the hon. gentleman were in his place now, he would not deny that. But I hope the hon. gentleman is converted, and that in this Legislature, he will, at all times, manifest a better spirit so far as loyalty is concerned. We have no room in this country for annexationists. I believe that treason ranks on a par with some of the greatest evils described in the bible. We want to live under no alien flag. The flag we have is good enough. We want no flag but that which has shed so much glory and brightness, and greatness upon this beloved Dominion. If there is anything we ought to be proud of, it is that we have the protection of that great Empire, that we share in her glory, that her history is our history, and that we are a portion, and a very important portion, of the great Empire of Britain. No men should sound louder the praises of the British Empire than the men in that far-off western land, which some day must be the seat of Empire. Some will live to see that day, but many will not. In going through the land, no one can help seeing its great possibilities. The hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), says it is doubtful and enigmatic if our western country can successfully grow wheat. Sir, there is no land on the face of God's green earth better adapted for growing wheat than Manitoba and the North-west Territories. And it is an unfortunate thing for this Dominion that pamphlets are circulated throughout the length and breadth of the United States, setting forth the declarations of these gentlemen and arguing that it is doubtful whether this land can be successfully cultivated. I say this, that the North-west Territories and Manitoba are adapted for the growing of wheat and cattle, and for all the great elements of farm life, and that the people of that country have found that it is not enigmatic, but a certainty that wheat and barley and all the great cereals may be grown there, and that it is the best land for roots in the world. Sir, the country will prosper in spite of these pessimists. The country is prospering. It is unfortunate that the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin), should belittle the province in which he lives, should make any allusions that in the slightest degree belittle its resources and capabilities. I hope that the members of this House—every one of them—will at all times endeavour to do the best they can to hold up the interests of this Dominion, and not allow any one, on any occasion whatever,

to speak in any way derogatory of the best interests of the country. I will just allude for a moment to something said about hats, caps and clothing. Senator Sandford at Chicago, in the World's Fair, had an exhibition of clothing and everything pertaining thereto; and it was said by excellent judges that that clothing must be improperly marked because it could not possibly be sold so low as it was marked. Yet it was marked at fair prices at which it is sold by the gentleman who brought it there. We are told that we have to pay so much taxes on these different commodities, yet we can get an article in this country much cheaper than it can be had for in the United States. I think it is very unfortunate to try and persuade the people that they are paying higher prices than they are. The people are not paying too high for any of their commodities. Clothing to the average man, is cheaper to-day in Canada, and of better quality than in the United States. Therefore I think we should endeavour to uphold this tariff and to do all that we are able to show the people that it is a fair one. While I agree with some things that have been said in some respects by gentlemen opposite, I cannot in any way agree with those who have made such an onslaught on the tariff. It has been carefully revised, all the items comprising it are being carefully considered, and it has been fairly and squarely submitted on its merits. Hon. gentlemen opposite, instead of striving to find so many holes in the tariff, should discuss it in a calmer and fairer spirit. The hon. member for Winnipeg has referred to the Hudson Bay Railway, and said that it was being improperly managed. Well, the first gentleman to recommend to the late Premier, Mr. Norquay, that \$4,500,000 should be granted for twenty-five years at 4 per cent, was the present member for Winnipeg; and he is the last man on earth who ought to talk slightly of that, because he was the man who helped to place the promoter in his present unfortunate position, and gave him no chance to go to the markets of the world and get what he required to finish the road. The railway is required in Manitoba, and it ill-became the hon. member for Winnipeg to make any unkind allusion or reference to the gentleman who is promoting that railway. I do not wish to take up the time of this House to any great extent, but I would say this, in closing, of the leader of the Opposition—who is one of nature's gentlemen, as I told him long ago—that he struck the wrong line. He did not strike the right line, for if he had and moved in the right groove, and acted in concert with broadminded men, he would have accomplished a great deal more for his country than he can possibly hope to now. One of his friends told him he was a school-boy style of politician. I don't believe that man had him sized up right. He might have got in with that kind of people, but he has grown out of their class. I hope he looks at things in a brighter light. I hope

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he will get out of the rut of narrowness and of detraction of the people of Canada, and will remember that if he keeps looking so much at the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) while that hon. member looks so sour he will lose a lot of his smiles. My friend the leader of the Opposition is cut out by nature to do good work in this country. But the track he is travelling on is too heavy. He wants to get on a better footing so that he may be able to make a little better speed, so far as national progress is concerned. Sir, I wish he would only just whisper into the ear of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright)—as I would like to tell that hon. gentleman if he were in the House—I wish the hon. leader would only whisper through his friend's ear into his heart, if you can touch that portion of his make-up, something like this:

When things don't go to suit you
And the world seems upside down,
Don't waste your time in fretting
But drive away that frown;
Since life is oft perplexing,
'Tis much the wisest plan
To bear all trials bravely
And smile when e're you can.

That would be hard work for him. You would be pretty slick if you could get him to have a real good laugh. Then you could tell him this:

There must be something wanting,
And tho' you roll in wealth
You may miss from your casket
That precious jewel health.
And tho' you're strong and sturdy,
You may have an empty purse,
(And earth has many trials
Which I consider worse).
But whether joy or sorrow
Fill up your mortal span,
'Twill make your pathway brighter
To smile when e'er you can.

Then, Mr. Speaker, let the hon. gentleman look good-natured, as he knows how to do, and get at him again. I will be sorry for him if he does not succeed—and the chances are four to one against him. He is playing no sure game when he comes to tackle that. Let him get straightened out once more for another lesson, and just say to him:

'Tis the coward who quits to misfortune;
'Tis the knave who changes each day;
'Tis the fool who wins half the battle,
Then throws all his chances away.
The time to succeed is when others,
Discouraged, show traces of tire;
For the battle is fought in the home-stretch;
And won twixt the flag and the wire.

He will understand that. But, even if you do not get him then, do not feel discouraged, but tackle him the third time. And then, I think, Mr. Speaker, he will have him pretty near right, and he will have done

something for this country that will result in great good. He would not be able to make the people believe that this Government should be overthrown, but it would do good in this way, that we would not find in print these things that we now see against the best interests of this country. I hope, Mr. Speaker, that I have not tired you or the House. I hope that in the future we may go on and discuss matters pertaining to national affairs with hon. gentlemen opposite, that they will not be so pessimistic, not go on running down this country, not setting one portion of the country against another, not preaching one doctrine in one end of the country and another at another, but that they will preach the same doctrine everywhere and that doctrine: Canada the greatest country in the world; no annexation. Talk about waiting for the Americans before we make our tariff. They have not framed their tariff yet. The man who did propose a tariff for them is sick, and when he gets well he won't know his own Bill, so lacerated and torn will it be. As it is now it is neither fish, flesh, fowl nor good red herring. They do not know to-day what their tariff is to be. But this Government comes down in manly fashion and frames a tariff, and are ready to go to the people on that tariff. When they go before the electors they do not want to preach a hybrid doctrine of protection in this and free trade in that; but they will go to the country prepared to do battle fairly and squarely with hon. gentlemen opposite on every platform in the country. If the hon. leader of the Opposition comes to the Limestone City, where I live, or wherever he goes, he will find the Conservative members preaching the same doctrine, not one doctrine in Manitoba and another in Nova Scotia and another in Ontario. He will not find supporters of the Conservative policy setting class against class, or creed against creed. We all stand on the broad platform of our nationality. No man is a better Protestant on account of a declaration that his Protestantism is better than another man's Catholicism. All men ought to stand up in this country in support of brains and power and ability, and with a desire to advance the national life of our country. This Canada of ours is young, and we have many dangers to meet, and none greater than that arising from proscribing a man because of his creed or his class. Whether a man be a Jew, or Greek, or Gentile, Protestant or Catholic, if he is a good Canadian that is the man we want. Any man is good enough for me who is a good Canadian, the man who will stand up for Canada all the time preaching the doctrine of fairness and justice to all. We will never be able to advance the interests of this Canada of ours in any other way than by uniting firmly in support of our institutions. It is a grand thing for this country, after all the boasted glory and richness of the United States, to see that our credit in the markets of the world is better

than the credit of the great republic to the south. And, not only that, but the people of the United States say that they are glad to think that their neighbours to the north set them a pattern, and that we in the north here possess a constitution of which any nation ought to be proud. And what man did more to support and advance this country and make it progressive than our late lamented chieftain, Sir John Macdonald? He was the Washington of Canada. He was reviled by the Grits; I have heard him called all the names they could think of. In the city in which I live, and which I represent, I have heard the most unkind things said of that great statesman by men who must now reverence his memory. They reviled him when he was alive, but they are now willing to say that they were wrong, that he was the Washington of Canada, that he was the first great, progressive statesman this country ever saw. He foresaw 30 or 40 years ago the history of this country, as we now know it to be. He said that the institutions of the United States were unfortunate, and that their social affairs and class relations would be in such a mix as to bring disaster and calamity upon that great republic. Have his prophetic words not been accomplished? Is it not being enacted there to-day? Why do we want to talk about reciprocity with these people in a way that would involve our having the same laws as they have got? Let me read to those hon. gentlemen a quotation from a celebrated man whom they are never weary of praising, Erastus Wiman:

In the splendour of her cities, in the magnitude of her public works, in the perfection of her means of communication, in the completeness of her educational institutions, in the intelligence of her people, and indeed in all that goes to make up a nation, Canada to-day occupies a position of proud pre-eminence.

Then they tell us we are going back; they tell us that we are not progressing. Sir, we are progressing, and English statesmen know we are progressing. What country in the world is more progressive than Canada? I would ask hon. gentlemen opposite, what distinguished statesmen have they among them who if the national ship was in disaster, could save her from going on the rocks and being dashed to pieces? Where is the saviour of his country who could come from the ranks of the Opposition and show transcendent statesmanship? Why, to take one of them would be like putting a man to drive a 2·10 horse who never drove anything but a 4-minute one. Let us cultivate a spirit of loyalty to Canadian institutions and British institutions, and sing God Save the Queen in the new verse, which says:

Far o'er the royal main
Echoes the loyal strain,
God Save the Queen.

One great united band ;
Pray we through't every land,
God guard our empire grand,
God Save the Queen.

Mr. EDGAR. I have tried to give close attention to the discursive and rather gushing speech of the hon. gentleman who has just sat down ; but I really was not able to find any particular points in his oratory which I thought would require special answer. It did strike me that the part of his speech which was of most interest was the quotation with which he began, that admirable set of verses by his friend from Owen Sound, Farmer Mossbank, who said that the best thing he was told by the leader of the Government was that there was no tax on tea. Now, I wish the hon. member for Kingston (Mr. Metcalfe) would immediately write a letter to Farmer Mossbank, and tell him that the Finance Minister has destroyed that last refuge of the hope of the farmer, because there is to be a tax on tea. Nearly every speaker on the other side has challenged us on this side to take hold of some detail, some particular fact in this new tariff, and to make our objection to it. The Finance Minister, in the first half of his speech, devoted his whole attention to advocating the principles of protection, and by doing so he challenged a discussion of the principles of protection and free trade by the House. That discussion has gone on for some days, and has been remarkable well sustained, and to-night we had the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) going somewhat into the details of this tariff. Now, to-night I also wish to leave entirely alone the question of the principles of trade, and take up some items in this tariff in connection with one branch only. There is no tax that is levied upon the people of Canada to-day which, I think, takes more money out of them, directly or indirectly, than the tax on cotton goods. Perhaps I naturally felt a little curiosity to see how cotton goods would be dealt with in the new tariff, because there are cotton goods to the value of \$17,000,000 or \$18,000,000 paying duty directly or indirectly. On \$4,500,000 worth, the amount imported, a direct tax is paid, which goes into the revenue, and on the balance of \$13,000,000 or so of goods manufactured by the cotton mills in the country, the protective system under which we have been taxed has made us, and will continue to make us, pay an enormous tax quite equal to the rate of taxation which we pay on imported goods. Now, another reason why it is of great interest to the public that they should see what the taxation is to be on cottons, is that it is perfectly well known to everybody in this House, it is perfectly well known to the Government, that the whole cotton trade of this country is in the hands of a vast combine ; a vast combine has that whole trade in its hands, has the country at its mercy, as long as the Government chooses

Mr. METCALFE.

to put in the hands of that cotton combine the right to tax the people of this country. As is perfectly well known, and not disputed, it has absorbed 88 per cent of all the cotton mills in the country ; in most lines it controls the whole production, there are only three or four small mills outside of it. As an illustration—although I have given it before, I will repeat it—of the power of that combine, and the absolute control it exerts over this trade, I will just mention how the Dominion Cotton Company, one of the combines which control eleven mills of the country, took advantage of the position in which they have been, and in which they still remain, to make enormous, excessive and unreasonable profits by way of watering the stock of their company. In September, 1892, the Dominion Cotton Company had a capital of \$1,500,000. They decided to double that capital, and they made it \$3,000,000. What was the other \$1,500,000 required for ? Was it required for money ? Was the stock to be sold to provide money for the development of that trade ? No, Sir, not at all. They knew that they were in a position to make vastly larger dividends than they would like to show. They knew that by creating watered stock they could double their investment by a stroke of the pen, and of that \$1,500,000 of new stock which they took power to issue, they issued all. But how ? They issued it to themselves. They only paid 10 per cent additional money for each one of the shares of that \$1,500,000 of new capital. That \$1,500,000 of stock, which they watered, represented a net clear profit of \$1,350,000 on the original \$1,500,000. They only paid in cash \$150,000, and received stock certificates for \$1,500,000 as fully paid up stock on which there is no further liability. Perhaps it may be said that that is a private transaction. If any manufacturing or business concern were expending its own capital in fair competition and making 20 or 100 per cent dividend, I would rejoice at it, but this company was not able to do that by fair competition ; it was levying its tribute under the authority of the legislation of this House, upon all men, women and children of this country, it was levying it every day of their lives, from the cradle to the grave, as the last speaker said, and it was levying an unreasonable tax. Will it be said that, perhaps, when they watered the stock, they made a mistake and miscalculated their power to extort money from Canada ? No ; they did not miscalculate. I have here a synopsis of the report of this same Dominion Cotton Company after they had watered their stock, and it shows how the company was progressing. It shows that they made no mistake, that they knew how they were taking out of the people of this country \$1,350,000, which was an exceedingly profitable investment. On April 14th, 1893, a report was given of the annual meeting of the Dominion Cotton Company,

held the day before in Montreal, the report being published in the 'Montreal Star.' The president read the annual report. It referred to the improvements in the company's property during the year; it stated that the earnings for the year were about 20 per cent on a capital of \$3,000,000. Out of this were paid the dividends. Mr. Gault said that although it cost lots of money, the company were bound to keep its eleven mills in perfect order. The president said they were paying 20 per cent on a capital of \$3,000,000. But on the last \$1,500,000, the shareholders had only paid up 10 per cent, or only \$150,000, and 20 per cent on \$1,500,000 represented exactly 200 per cent on all the money they had paid in. So, according to their own statement, the company earned a dividend of 200 per cent on the \$150,000, which they paid in to buy \$1,500,000 of stock. When that state of things exists, the country have an undoubted right to know whether the Government are going to allow the people to be taxed to support combines of that kind. I have several times proved to this House that at least \$13,000,000 of cottons are manufactured by the companies, and the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague) was good enough last session to supply me with the exact working expenses of all the mills, which he placed at some \$8,000,000, leaving a margin for profit, as regards the selling price of \$5,000,000. Supposing, however, there was not such a large profit; supposing the cost was too much to enable them to obtain that profit on their cotton goods, I desire to show how they get another profit. Remember, Mr. Speaker, the duty paid by the importers last year on all cotton goods brought into this country was a trifle over 28 per cent. Supposing there was no other profit on the \$13,000,000 than that of the 28 per cent paid by the actual importers, who paid it in addition to freight and profits paid to English manufacturers of cotton goods, that would make a sum of \$3,640,000 paid by the people to the combine under the protection given by the tariff. Then, again, I should like to draw attention to this fact, that the raw material of the cotton factory, the raw cotton, fell very much in price between 1890 and 1893. The price in 1890 was ten cents and two mills; in 1893 it was eight cents and six mills; it was cheaper by one cent and six mills, which on the enormous quantity imported, amounted alone to a profit of \$660,000. Was that reduction in the duty on the raw material counterbalanced in any way? Were the wages of the operatives raised? No, the wages were not raised, but the dividends and the reserve funds set apart by the companies were raised. Were the prices lowered to the consumer? No; the prices were not lowered to the consumer, but the prices were raised 10 per cent and 25 per cent during those three years. Besides, the evils of the taxation that is levied on the people as the result of this combine, it also acts as an odious tyranny

on the wholesale trade in the country. Every wholesale man will have to admit that he is in the hands of the combine and at their mercy in many ways, and the merchants will continue to be in the hands of the combine so long as the Government chooses to compel the people to pay this tax and prevent more freedom of importation from other countries in order to cut down the monopoly. Is it to be supposed that Canadians cannot manufacture cotton goods here as cheaply as in other countries, with all our capital invested in such establishments, with raw material quite as near to us as it is to England, with all the water power of this country, and with all the advantages of cheap labour? This is not a matter of supposition, it is a matter of positive proof from the parliamentary blue books, that Canada manufactures cotton, and can manufacture cotton goods just as cheaply as they do in Great Britain, or any other part of the world. Why, Sir, the proof of that is in this: That last year the Canadian cotton mills exported and sold in competition with all the world \$371,000 worth of cotton goods. They sent to the heathen Chinese over a quarter of a million dollars worth of goods last year, and they competed in that far eastern market with England and with the United States. Yet, Sir, we are told that they cannot compete with England and the United States in their own home market. Our cotton manufacturers can sell to the Chinese a quarter million dollars worth of goods at English prices, but, under the tariff arrangement of my hon. friend opposite, they must tax Canadians \$3,500,000 a year on the goods they sell them. Another portion of this same speech reported in the 'Star,' made by the president of the Dominion Cotton Mills, deals with this point. Mr. Gault is reported to have continued to say:

The most modern machinery is employed, and even if the Government should come back to the tariff which was in force during the Mackenzie regime, the company would be in a position to compete with the whole world, not even excepting England.

It did not require Mr. Gault to tell us that, because all the circumstances which I have already mentioned show that it is so, and that it must be so. That being the position of the cotton combine and the cotton trade in this country, let us see for a moment what the Government has done about it. I have gone through the new tariff and compared it as well as I could with two other standards. I have compared it first with all the importations made during last year under the different items of cotton goods.

Mr. KENNY. Would my hon. friend excuse me a moment. Has not the accuracy of the report of that speech to which he refers been denied by Mr. Gault himself?

Mr. EDGAR. I have not seen that it was. I was told so, and I looked through

a number of papers to see if there was any denial of it, but I could not find any such denial. If it were denied at all, I do not know what particular part of it was denied. I surely do not imagine that he denied the 'Star' report about 20 per cent being declared as a dividend on the stock; and that to my mind is by far the most important part of his speech. Whether Mr. Gault said that Mr. Mackenzie's tariff of 17½ per cent would suit the cotton people or not, I do not know; but I am perfectly sure that when they could compete with England in the Chinese market without the 17½ per cent, or any protection at all, the country must perfectly well understand that Mr. Mackenzie's tariff would suit them admirably. Whether or not Mr. Gault denied what the 'Star' reporter said, I do not think it makes much difference. As I was saying, to try and arrive at what the results of these changes in the tariff are I compared them with two standards. I first took the imports of cotton goods last year, and I carried out the amount of the percentages of duty paid on each article; some were ad valorem, and there was not much difficulty about that, as I did not have to calculate the percentage; some were specific and ad valorem, and in order to find out what equivalent in ad valorem duty was paid, I found out how much duty was paid on the value of the goods according to the returns, and I converted it into ad valorem percentages in all cases, in order to make comparisons. That was one way. Then all the corresponding items in the old tariff that I could find I compared in that way with the new tariff. Then there were some cases in which there were no importations under the classification of the new tariff, and I compared these with the items in the old tariff. The Minister of Finance will observe, that when he himself, at the time he made his Budget speech, could not undertake to give us even an estimate of the charges, it must have taken a good deal of trouble to work out these figures, especially as the Minister of Finance has changed the names of the classification of a considerable number of articles. However, these are the results that I make out. Let us first briefly look at the items which are unchanged. I find amongst the unchanged items, cordage, cotton and unbraided cords, 30 per cent; sewing thread on spools, 25 per cent, unchanged; uncoloured cotton fabrics, unchanged; crapes, 20 per cent, unchanged; webbing, which is 20 per cent in the new tariff, must come in, I think, under the n.e.s. section of the old tariff, because I cannot find it anywhere else; that is unchanged.

Mr. FOSTER. It was 25 per cent before.

Mr. EDGAR. I make it out 20 per cent; that is not much difference. Jeans and coutils imported by corset and dress stay-makers, 25 per cent, unchanged. Curtains,

Mr EDGAR.

30 per cent before and 30 per cent now. Binding twine, 12½ per cent under the old tariff, and it is 12½ per cent under the new.

Mr. FOSTER. Binding twine is not a cotton.

Mr. EDGAR. Very well, it is not changed anyway. Now, let us see where the decreases are that have been made by the Minister of Finance. On unbleached sheetings, drills, ducks, &c., not stained, painted or printed, there was a specific duty of 1 cent per square yard and 15 per cent ad valorem under the former tariff, which, according to the importations, was 24 per cent, and that now is to be 22½ per cent. There is a reduction there of 1½ per cent, which is not a very great deal.

Mr. WALLACE. What did you say it was last year?

Mr. EDGAR. I did not say what the total was last year. I say the percentage on the importations amounted to 24 per cent.

Mr. WALLACE. That is what you say now, but last year you said it came to 50 per cent.

Mr. EDGAR. On unbleached sheetings and drills.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

Mr. EDGAR. No, I do not think I said anything about that last year. I have no recollection of it, and I am almost sure I said nothing about it. I only gave three special items last year, and that was not one of them.

Mr. WALLACE. It was under that item.

Mr. EDGAR. I am quite willing the hon. gentleman should interrupt me, but I made no suggestion about that last year. At any rate, I am quite prepared to stand by everything I said last year. We have here 24 per cent as the old rate and 22½ as the new rate. Gingham, plaids, dyed or coloured, were 2 cents per square yard and 15 per cent ad valorem, which produced on the importations 34 per cent. That is now down to 30 per cent. Flannellettes, ducks and drills, dyed and coloured cottonades, and so on, 2 cents per square yard and 15 per cent ad valorem, produced 31 per cent, and they are now reduced to 30 per cent. Printed or dyed fabrics, not elsewhere specified, which were 32½ per cent under the old tariff, are now 30 per cent. Clothing was 35 per cent; now it is 32½ per cent. Socks and stockings were 10 cents per pound and 30 per cent; on the importations they amounted to 42 per cent; they have been reduced to 35 per cent. I am perfectly prepared to admit that the abolition of the specific duty on socks and stockings made a substantial reduction in those glaring cases which I quoted last session to the House; but the average reduction is only from 42 to 35 per cent. Shirts

were \$1 a dozen and 30 per cent ad valorem, and on the importations that amounted to 47 per cent, while the new duties are these: On shirts costing less than \$3 per dozen, 25 per cent, and on those over \$3 per dozen, \$1 per dozen and 25 per cent. The effect of that is that on those costing less than \$3 per dozen there is a reduction to 25 per cent, but on shirts costing \$4 per dozen, if the Controller of Customs will figure it out, he will find that there is still a duty of 50 per cent; so that I hope the hon. gentleman will not boast on the reduction on that particular item. On cottonades, I admitted that on the general classification there was a reduction from 31 to 30 per cent; but, taken by themselves, on cottonades costing 10, 12 and 15 cents per yard of 27 inches wide, the old duty would be 13, 15·30 and 18·75 cents per yard; while the new duty is 13, 15·60 and 19·50 cents per yard. So that in the large class of cottonades the reduction is entirely illusory. There are some decreases in items in which there were no importations last year, for instance, collars. The old duty was 24 cents per thousand and 30 per cent ad valorem; it is now 24 cents per thousand and 25 per cent ad valorem. I wonder if the Government are proud of that, because ladies' collars, which are now imported, costing only 24 cents per thousand, pay a duty of 125 per cent under the new tariff, whereas they paid 130 per cent before. I hope the hon. gentleman is proud of that reduction.

Mr. WALLACE. There is no such price, though.

Mr. EDGAR. I find from those engaged in the trade that there is. On lampwick there is the magnificent reduction from 30 per cent to 25 per cent. These are the reductions. Now, let us see if there have been any increases. You will be surprised to learn that in this great tariff reform there are such things as increases in the cotton duties, and I am afraid that truth compels us to refer to some of them. On cordage of all kinds, not elsewhere specified, the old rate was 1¼ cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem, which, on the importations of last year, was equivalent to 23 per cent. That they have raised to 30 per cent by the new tariff. On bleached sheetings, drills and ducks, etc., not stained, painted or printed, the duty was one cent per square yard and 15 per cent ad valorem, making on the importations of last year 24 per cent; that they have raised to 25 per cent. On sewing thread in hanks, the duty was 12½ per cent; they have made it 15 per cent. On other sewing threads the duty was 20 per cent; it is now 25 per cent.

Mr. WALLACE. Will the hon. gentleman permit me to tell him that he is all wrong?

Mr. EDGAR. I have no doubt my hon. friend would not say that if he did not

believe it; but let me say that he is all wrong and that I am all right.

Mr. WALLACE. Cotton thread was 25 per cent, and it remains at 25 per cent. If the hon. gentleman says differently, he is deliberately misleading the House

Mr. EDGAR. I am sorry the hon. gentleman judges others by himself. I would not deliberately mislead the House, and I would be very sorry to think that anybody but the Controller would.

Mr. WALLACE. Will the hon. gentleman permit me to read the item?

Mr. EDGAR. I will not, because there are several items of sewing thread, and the hon. gentleman might read the wrong one.

Mr. WALLACE. There are only three items; one is on hanks, 12½ per cent; one on spools, 25 per cent; and elastic rubber thread, which is free.

Mr. EDGAR. My hon. friend will find that there are several items, and he will find that I am right; at any rate I will stick to it until I find out myself that I am wrong. On coloured fabrics, woven in whole or in part, or dyed or coloured, the duty was 25 per cent; it is now 30 per cent. Velvetens, cotton velvets and cotton plush, the poor man's velvet were 20 per cent; now they are put up to 30 per cent, the same rate as the silk velvets of the rich man. All other manufactures of cotton, not elsewhere specified, were 20 per cent; now they are 32½. That is not the worst of it: they are hidden away in another item, and I will show the hon. gentleman where they are hidden away. I will show the hon. gentleman where they are hidden away, and I do not believe the Minister of Finance would be a party to misleading the public, as this tariff does on the face of it, in that way. I am sure that he has been misled by the gentlemen who have made this tariff—the members of the cotton combine—who, I am sure, instigated it. He has been humbugged, and I will leave it to the House and the country to say whether he has or not been, when I read the particulars. In the old tariff, the item of all other manufactures of cotton, not elsewhere specified, is 20 per cent. I wonder if the hon. gentleman denies that there is no such item in the new tariff. But how is it covered up and hidden. Why, as I told you a little while before, cotton clothing that was 35 per cent has been reduced to 32½. But let me read you the item. Cotton clothing, and other manufactures of cotton not elsewhere specified, 32½ per cent. So, in that item, while they have taken 2½ per cent off cotton clothing, they have raised from 20 to 32½ per cent all other manufactures of cotton not elsewhere specified. And the worst of it is that in the new tariff there are a great many more articles not elsewhere specified than in the old. Whereas, in the old, forty-five different articles of cotton are

specified for taxation, not one-half as many as specified in the new. I will call upon the Minister of Finance—and not upon the Controller of Customs (Mr. Wallace), because he had nothing to say in the matter—to take that item, “other manufactures of cotton not elsewhere specified” out of this class and put it down to its old 20 per cent at least. Then there are one or two more increases. Handkerchiefs, which were 25 per cent, are now 30 per cent; sewing thread in hanks, which was 12½ per cent, is now 15. Now, Sir, I do not believe that I am wrong in saying that this tariff is better for the combine than the old one, and that the new taxes placed upon the largest single class of articles taxed in this country, cotton goods, are a decided and distinct increase. Is that tariff reform? Is that what the Government have been boasting of?—keeping up high tariffs and concealing items, as I have shown, and where they pretend to make reductions, really making enormous increases. The proposed reform is absolutely illusory. Supposing my figures are all wrong, supposing I know nothing about it, supposing I had not made my calculations aright—

Mr. WALLACE. Hear, hear.

Mr. EDGAR. The Controller of Customs says, “Hear, hear.” He supposes all that, but I think there is something I can give him better than any figures I can offer to this House. I will tell you what that is. What do the cotton combine men think of it themselves? I do not have to go back to a quotation of the ‘Montreal Star’ of a year ago to show they were paying 20 per cent dividends, but I go to the Montreal Stock Exchange to-day, and I ask whether cotton stocks were very much depressed when this terrible reduction came out in the tariff. No; the cotton men knew all about it. They understood the inner working of this tariff reform. And how has it worked on the stock market? On the 27th March, the morning of the day on which the Finance Minister announced these reductions in the tariff, buyers were offering 118½ for the stock of the Montreal Cotton Company. On the 6th April, the shares of the Montreal Cotton Company were sold at 132—an increase of 13½ per cent since the announcement of this tariff, which was to reduce and bring down the profits of this combine. I hope the Controller will be satisfied now that the reductions have been very much in the interests of the consumer. Take our old friend, the Dominion Cotton Company, about which I was speaking a little while ago, whose stock was watered \$1,350,000 two years ago, and which paid a dividend last year on the money paid into that watered stock of 200 per cent, as I have shown. Did that watered stock tumble down below par at the announcement of these tremendous reductions? No; on the 27th March, in the morning, it was

Mr. EDGAR.

115, and on the 6th April it was 122½—a jump of 7½ per cent, even on that water, absolutely undiluted water. I say it is a disgrace for the Government to come down before Parliament and pretend that this tariff Act is a measure of reform. There is no use arguing about it. I do not believe that the ingenuity of the Minister of Finance can find enough clerical errors in it to put it right before the people. I think he may well withdraw altogether this farce of a reduction. Let him stick to the first half of his Budget speech, and to maintain the old flag of protection, as the member for Kingston (Mr. Metcalfe) just now was picturing it, and not come down and try to throw dust in the eyes of the consumers and make them believe the taxation is reduced, when such is not the case. I have heard the answer made, and we will hear it probably again, in favour of retaining these cotton taxes, such as they are, that in past years, cotton goods were dearer in Canada than they are to-day. Sir, I admit that. But are Canadians not to have any benefit whatever from the vast improvements in machinery and the cheaper raw material? Of course, cotton goods are cheaper than they were, but it is not with what they were a few years ago that we are to compare them. I want to compare them with what they are to-day in England, and even the United States. Why, if they are as cheap here as they are in England, our importers must be born idiots when they went to England last year and bought \$4,500,000 worth, and paid the freight and 28 per cent duty. Why, Sir, it is silly to talk about their being as cheap here as they ought to be. And the Minister of Finance told us the other day—somebody had humbugged him there, too—of the great excellence of Canadian cotton. He tore a piece of Canadian cotton in two, and it was beautiful, it did not dirty his sleeves. But when he tore a piece of the foreign cotton—no doubt English—it dirtied the sleeves of his coat and was a much inferior article to our Canadian cotton. What idiots our importers must have been to buy this inferior trash and pay the full English price for it, and all the freights and 28 per cent duty, when they could get such beautiful cotton at their own doors, and such cheap cotton, too. There is no sense in using that sort of argument to throw dust in the eyes of the people. I say, Sir, that whatever decreases have been made in the tariff have been more than counterbalanced by the increases that have been made. I say that the result of this tariff is simply and solely to entrench the vast cotton combine more strongly than ever in their old citadel, from which they can tyrannize over the trade of this country, and continue to extort their excessive profits from every man, woman and child in Canada.

Mr. McDONALD (Assiniboia). Mr. Speaker, I beg of this House to listen for a few min-

utes to my explanation of the vote which I shall give upon the amendment that has been submitted to the proposition brought down by the Finance Minister. This debate has been called in the press, and in this House, and by the people, the tariff debate. But, up to date, I have failed to hear anything about the tariff. Hon. gentlemen have been threshing out the old issues of former days. I hold, Mr. Speaker, that this is not a fair way to treat the members of this House and the country. The Finance Minister has brought down a proposition to reform the tariff. The hon. gentlemen on the opposite side do not point out wherein this tariff can be improved; they simply say: It is no good and if we were in power, we would bring down another tariff, a tariff that would make all the people of this country rich, that would improve the prices of farm products and the price of farm property. Well, Mr. Speaker, I am a farmer and I have waited here day after day for the last ten or twelve days to find out what this policy was. If the hon. gentlemen who occupies the Opposition benches have a policy that will improve the prices of my products, I ask them, in God's name, to trot it out now, so that we, the members of this House, and the people of this country may be able to see in what way our property can be improved. But up to this time they have failed to state wherein the Government's policy was a failure, and they have failed to show wherein their policy would improve the property of any farmer in this country. Last session and this session I have seen enough crocodile tears wasted on behalf of the poor farmer to float the Great Eastern. I ask the hon. leader of the Opposition to put forth his policy, to lay it side by side with the policy of the Finance Minister, so that I and every fairly intelligent farmer, and every intelligent manufacturer in this country may decide between the two policies. I am not so wedded to the Conservative party but that, if the Opposition bring down a policy which they can show will improve my property and increase the price of my products, I will be glad to support their policy. But, so far, I have heard nothing of that kind. I have heard nothing but this insane resolution brought down by the hon. member for South Oxford. I have read that resolution downwards, upwards and between the lines, and I do not see in it anything that will increase the value of the poor farmer's products, or of the poor farmer's lands. But the hon. gentleman in his speech struck one point upon which I can heartily agree with him, and, if the House will bear with me I will read that portion of the speech:

Recollect that the people of Canada, though they have in other directions important advantages, are handicapped in many ways. There is a long and costly transport intervening between us and the English market; our climate in some important respects makes farming to-day, and makes living

here, more expensive than it is in England. In my judgment, human labour will always be pretty dear here, and I do not know that I regret it. I do not want to see my countrymen brought down to the level of a man, woman and half a dozen children living for eight or nine shillings sterling per week. I am glad, therefore, that labour is dear here, and likely to be dear.

Mr. Speaker, I agree with the hon. member for South Oxford, and I feel that if I were willing to support the policy, which hon. members of the Opposition have propounded here, I should be helping toward the time when my fellow-countrymen, working in manufactories or in fields, would be reduced to the position of supporting themselves and their wives and children on some such paltry pittance as eight or nine shillings a week. I do not want to see that, and so far I agree with the hon. member for South Oxford. There is one other point in the speech of the hon. member which I will take up. I know the hon. member has been looking for the last fifteen years longingly at the Treasury benches, and I believe that as ex-Finance Minister of this country he has worked his mind up to the contemplation of such mighty sums that he has come to the conclusion that the people of this country have been robbed of the enormous sum of one thousand millions of dollars. Well, Mr. Speaker, if there is any set of men in this country that have got in their pants pockets, or in their vaults this enormous sum, let us find it out. He goes on and tells us in his speech of a small number of men who have made this thousands of millions. He says: The cotton, glass, rope, cordage, sugar and woollen manufactures are the people who have taken this thousand millions of dollars. And they only employ 23,677 hands. Well, I have looked into this matter that there are only 100 men in control of the industries mentioned, but for the sake of argument let us call it 200 men—we must not stand on the question of 100 men when we are talking on a question of such an enormous sum as 1,000 millions of dollars. That would be five millions of dollars apiece. Why, Sir, is it a fact that in this Canada of ours we have 200 men, who, together are worth 1,000 millions of dollars? \$5,000,000 apiece. Sir, before I came to this House I had no idea this Canada of ours had 200 men that were each worth five millions of dollars. Why, take the richest country in the world, England, along with the great United States, that has some of the richest men in the world, and I venture to say that both England and the United States, with all their great population, cannot produce 200 men who own, and control, and have stuffed down in their pockets, the magnificent sum of 1,000 million dollars. If it is a fact, and coming from the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), a gentleman who has been so long known to the people of Canada, it should be a fact, I would say to our Minister of War: Trot out

your battalions and immediately bring these men forward, and let us see what we can do with this magnificent sum of 1,000 million dollars. A 1,000 million dollars would pay the national debt and leave 750 millions. Or we would say to these gentlemen: You have robbed the poor people of this country of this great sum, and now we want you to give us 2 per cent of that money per annum. That would give us 20 million dollars a year, and with that sum the Minister of Finance would not need to come down with any new scheme to raise a revenue. It would not rob these gentlemen to take 2 per cent from them, it would not take one loaf of bread from them. They would be able to pay the cotton tax, and the woollen tax, and the flour tax, under which the people of this country are labouring, according to the Opposition. The next gentleman who discussed this tariff, was, I believe, the third in command, the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). This gentleman fought very valiantly, and he also went into figures to show the extravagance of the Government. He told us that we had gone beyond our means, he told us that we had built public works and railways and canals for a people of fifteen millions. Well, Sir, we did that, and we only increased the taxation \$1.45 per head. As we have only five millions to-day, we could rest upon our oars for a number of years to come. Instead of accusing the Government of squandering money when they went so far in advance of the wants of the people as to build public works, build canals, and build railroads fit for a people of fifteen millions. I think this country should be proud of the fact that we have gone so far beyond the actual wants of the people and that we have to-day public works equal to the needs of fifteen millions. This hon. gentleman asked:

For what purpose did we spend that money on this system of canals? Perhaps they were necessary.

Only "perhaps." We people in the North-west don't like this perhaps principle. We raise wheat, we raise pork, we raise various products, and we want to get them out of that country as cheaply as possible by the enlargement of our canals and other means of communication. We hope to succeed, and I myself have no doubt that we will succeed in the near future in getting our products to market at the lowest price. This hon. gentleman from North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) failed upon the same essential point that the member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) did. He failed to tell us wherein he could improve this tariff, in what position he would place it. But he said, if you would only put us in power we will do it. I will ask this House. I will ask this country, I will ask any farmer, any manufacturer, any merchant in this country, what answer he would make to a man who came along to him and said: You don't understand your

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business; you do not run this business right. If you will entrust me with your business, if you will entrust me with your capital, I will make more money for you. You ask: How will you do it? Oh, you never mind, you just let me run this business for you, and I will make you rich. That is precisely the position of the hon. gentlemen who occupy the Opposition benches. They say to the people of this country, Put us on the Treasury benches and we will propound a policy that will make the farmer, the manufacturer, the merchant, the artisan, all rich. When you ask them the simple question, How will you do it? They say: Never you mind, entrust us with your capital, entrust us with your finances and we will do it. Well, Mr. Speaker, I candidly believe to-day that if these men continue in that line it will be many a day before the people of Canada will be foolish enough to trust them until they take the people into their confidence and tell them how they are going to do it. The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) went on and said:

We have been expending money by bucketfuls, by millions, in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway, while we could have adopted a scheme that would have given us that railway for half the cost incurred.

Well, I wonder if that hon. gentleman thinks that the people of fifteen years ago are all dead. I wonder if he thinks that kind of talk will go down with the members of this House, or with the people of the country. For half the cost? Well, let us see. They once had an opportunity of building the Canadian Pacific Railway. Did they build it? No. Did they offer more money than it took to build it? Yes, they did. The Hon. Alexander Mackenzie offered thirty millions of money and fifty million acres of land. He guaranteed the interest on the money needed for the construction, on 2,900 miles; guaranteed the interest to the amount of \$4,000 per mile for twenty years, and failed in getting a company to build it. What was the next great offer he made? If my memory serves me aright, I think they once brought down a motion proposing to spend one million dollars per annum to build the Canadian Pacific Railway. The next great scheme they adopted was these magnificent water stretches. I ask the Minister of Finance, I ask the First Minister to-day one favour for myself. In going up over the Canadian Pacific Railway I saw on one of the rivers three boats which had been manned by the sailors of the Opposition when they sailed up into the North-west. There, is a monument erected on this hill to the late Sir George E. Cartier; I believe there is going to be another monument erected to our great chief, the late Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald. I ask the Government to set aside a sum of money to bring the remnants of these three boats down here, and I would like to have them painted with the words,

"Mackenzie's Folly," for the people of Canada to see. Sir, I have been surprised to think that a gentleman who has talent and ability would talk such chaff to this House. What did they do for that great work? They did little, they bought a few steel rails, they built the Neebing Hotel, and the St. Francis Locks. But when this Government took hold of that work, when the late Sir John A. Macdonald went to England and formed a great company, composed of American, German, French, and English capitalists, they took hold and built this road for \$25,000,000 and 25,000,000 acres of land. They came back, and what did they do? The declaration was made by the Opposition that they could build the road for \$22,500,000 and 22,500,000 acres of land. Why did they not make the offer before? Simply because it was a bogus offer. Yet hon. gentlemen come down to this House, notably the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), and declare that they could have built the road for half the money. But when the Canadian Pacific Railway Company were in financial difficulties a few years afterwards and came to this House, and asked for a loan of \$30,000,000, then the white lily of the Liberal party, Mr. Blake, made his celebrated speech, to the effect that there was no necessity to have built the road on the north shore of Lake Superior for twelve years, and if Parliament loaned this money, it would be only another gift of \$30,000,000. All these questions, however, have been decided, and it has been proved that the Government were correct. This fact strikes home to me as I live hundreds of miles west of Winnipeg, and I had my wheat in an elevator. I read the speech delivered by the leader of the Opposition in this House, and his declaration that the road on the north shore would not be needed for ten or twelve years. But without that road wheat was not worth the cost of taking it to market. The Liberal-Conservative party built the Canadian Pacific Railway, that party has developed the resources of this country up to this date, and the National Policy was adopted by the Liberal-Conservative party in 1879, has been the means of enabling the work of development to be carried on. The hon. gentlemen opposite declared that the National Policy had been a failure. I firmly and honestly deny that statement, but I intend to accept this reformed tariff only as an instalment good for one year, but reserve my right to ask for amendments in the Committee of the Whole. The amendment submitted by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) speaks about an economical Government. I do not desire to detain the House to-night, because I believe it costs \$2,000 per hour to talk here, and it is scarcely worth that sum. But hon. gentlemen opposite have been talking economy for ten days, at a cost of \$300,000, and then have not reached the point yet. They

simply rise in their places and find fault with the Government, but they dare not state their policy in black and white and spread broadcast throughout the country. Let them print it, and put it side by side with the policy of the Finance Minister. If they do that, and show the people that they have a better policy than their opponents, then I firmly believe there are independent men, men who love their own pockets, who will support it. I believe that hon. gentlemen of the Opposition have no policy; that it is only a boast. The other night the hon. member for South Grey (Mr. Landerkin) spoke very eloquently and very loyally. He pointed out all the warriors of the Conservative party. He referred to the ex-Minister of War, now the Postmaster General, and spoke of the fighting qualities of that hon. gentleman. Then he referred to the present Minister of War. I thought it was a great pity the hon. gentleman did not bring out still another warrior. The hon. gentleman compared the leader of the Opposition with the First Minister and spoke of the great future before him. He spoke of his great speech at Quebec and at St. Thomas, where he expressed his desire to cement together the whole British Empire. But the member for South Grey (Mr. Landerkin) forgot a speech delivered by the leader of the Opposition, while at the same time he declared his unalterable determination to stand shoulder to shoulder with that great loyal man. I desire to refresh the memory of the hon. member for South Grey (Mr. Landerkin) a little. Why did he not trot out that great speech delivered by that hon. gentleman on historic ground, the Champ de Mars at Montreal? I ask the hon. member for South Grey (Mr. Landerkin) if he would have followed that great leader and stood on the banks of the Saskatchewan with his little musket on his shoulder and been a rebel too? Another hon. gentleman to whom I desire to refer is the hon. gentleman for South Huron (Mr. McMillan). To-day in the library I read a very patriotic speech delivered by him at Moose Creek, at which he declared there was no nation, and there were no farmers in the world, equal to the farmers of Canada. I sincerely hope the hon. gentleman was sincere and when he next addresses this House he will make the same statement he made at that meeting. I take this opportunity of saying that he addressed the farmers very nearly as well as I could myself. But in this House the hon. gentleman started out by making this magnificent statement: "There is the evidence, Mr. Speaker, that if the Opposition were in power to-day they could obtain a reciprocity treaty with the United States on fair and honourable terms." I should like to know how the hon. member for South Huron (Mr. McMillan) is able to give that assurance to the House. Whether the hon. member received that information from the President of the United States or from Congress; if he has done so, he should

declare it here. But the hon. gentleman said it was the Conservatives fault that the McKinley Bill was enacted; our fault that Mr. McKinley prepared and secured the adoption of this Bill, and that the American market is our natural market for our horses, cattle, and farm products. The hon. gentleman further quoted to the House the population of Buffalo, New York, and Detroit, and gave other particulars; but he forgot to state that the Americans are our greatest competitors in the markets of the world that we have. I deny that. I charge the Opposition with that crime. Why, Sir, any speech that the hon. member for South Huron (Mr. McMillan) has made in this House is enough to cause the passage of the Bill. I am proud to know that a farmer can make such an eloquent speech; he is a credit to the farming community, to which I belong; but he should not throw opprobrium on the profession, which is the oldest profession in the world, and the only profession that God himself ever ordained, all the rest being established by man, and the hon. gentleman should not declare that the people of this country were being ruined. The hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) said that the amount was \$1,000,000,000, but the member for South Huron (Mr. McMillan) saw him and went him \$200,000,000 better. I am only a farmer, but I am considerable of a figurer. The hon. gentleman has told us that every man in this country has been robbed of \$16 per annum by the infamous policy that the Conservative Government has pursued. I had the curiosity this evening to figure out that thing, and I based our population at 5,700,000, and I find that for one year the robbery, etc., would amount to \$91,200,000, and, for fifteen years it would amount to \$1,168,000,000. Then he went on to tell us that the National Policy has protected and brought into existence \$265,000,000 worth of products per annum which have been manufactured in this country, and that would not have been manufactured if it had not been for the National Policy; but, in the same breath, he tells us that the people of this country paid 30 per cent more for that \$265,000,000, so that that would give us the sum of \$33,125,000. And that added to the \$1,168,000,000, and we get a total of \$1,201,125,000; so that, according to the hon. member for South Huron (Mr. McMillan) that would leave us, after paying our national debt, this magnificent sum of my hon. friend from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), namely, \$1,000,000,000. Another farmer spoke here to-night; one of the greatest farmers of the country, the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin). I concede that the hon. member for Winnipeg is a greater farmer than I am, because he was able to farm the Great Northern Pacific Railway, and he farmed his province into a debt of \$750,000. He even farmed more extensively than that, because he farmed some lots at Portage La Prairie, called Union Square. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Martin) found there was a

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little doubt about the title, but as he was Solicitor General for Manitoba it was very handy for him to smuggle a Bill through and make the title and robbery good. By that one jump, he was placed in the front rank of provincial capitalists. I give the hon. gentleman credit for one thing, and that is, that he discussed the tariff from top to bottom, but he split upon the same rock that all the rest of his party friends split upon; he failed to tell us what he would do when he became Minister of the Interior. Last winter, the member for Winnipeg was introduced to an audience in my constituency by a gentleman who said, "Lo, and behold, there is the future Minister of the Interior," by which he meant that he would take the place of my hon. friend from Selkirk (Mr. Daly) as soon as the Liberals got into power—that is, in the sweet by and by. I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that the member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) would try for that position, because to-night, when he was talking about retrenchment, he showed that there were \$13,000,000 to play upon in the Dominion, and that is a large sum, compared with the paltry \$500,000 that they had to play upon in the local Legislature of Manitoba—and I believe that they played upon it quite successfully, because they managed to put the province two and a half million dollars in debt, while he was Solicitor General, although he said here to-night that they saved \$125,000 the first year they came into power. I have not the figures here, but I will take the hon. gentleman's statement. I noticed that during his speech he spoke about the first year, but he did not say anything about the other years, and I presume the reason was that after the first year it was all the wrong way with them. The hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) discoursed very learnedly on the Hudson's Bay Railway. I may say that the Hudson's Bay Railway is a tender spot in the heart of every man who lives in Manitoba and the North-west. The majority of the people in Manitoba and the North-west firmly believe to-day that if it had not been for the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) we would have had the pleasure of having a competing road to carry our grain out of the country, against that great railway the Canadian Pacific Railway. Whether they are right or whether they are wrong, it is the firm belief of 90 per cent of the people of that vast country, that we have nobody to blame because the Hudson's Bay Railway is not built, except the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin). I have only a few more observations to make, Mr. Speaker. I intended to wait patiently until the leader of the Opposition should make his great speech in this debate. I challenge him to-night to announce his policy and to take the thousand and one items in the tariff and tell us if he was in power what he would do with them; so that the people of Canada may be conscientiously able to judge between

the two parties. If he does not do that, I shall firmly believe that he has nothing else to offer on behalf of his party but the old policy. For the last fifteen years hon. gentlemen on the Opposition benches have been in the manufacturing business. They have been all these years manufacturing policies, and up to the present day they have never yet put the finished article on the market. They have never yet had a policy so complete that they could give it out to the people of Canada. First their policy was a revenue tariff; next, in the year 1887, in the Maritime Provinces it was one policy; on the Champ de Mars in Montreal it was another policy; in the province of Ontario it was another policy, and in the North-west and British Columbia it was another policy. They lost the elections then, and they also lost the white lily of the Liberal party—the Hon. Edward Blake. That hon. gentleman lost his grip, and if we are to judge by the number of policies the Liberal party had for the next few years they must have become utterly demoralized. They had continental free trade, commercial union and unrestricted reciprocity, and on the latter policy they fought and lost the elections of 1891. I do not wish to hurt the feelings of my brother members from Quebec or Ontario, but I must say that I do not think they are as sharp witted as we in the west. They did not understand the meaning of unrestricted reciprocity, and they very nearly gave the Liberal party a majority in these two provinces. But the people of the Maritime Provinces, sharpened as their wits was by those sea breezes, knew what unrestricted reciprocity meant; we, in Manitoba and the North-west, knew what it meant; we knew that it meant annexation, and we swept those who advocated that policy out of the country. But I am glad to say that in a few short months the scales fell from the eyes of the people of Ontario and Quebec, and when the bye-elections came they were beaten out of sight. Therefore, I say to the hon. leader of the Opposition, if he does not propound his policy and send it broadcast to the country, I shall be proud and happy to vote against the resolution of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright); and I believe that the party has the same old principles—Cartwright and discrimination against Great Britain; continental free trade and direct taxation; hostility to British interests and veiled annexation; independence, suppression and ultimate absorption into the republic. With such a policy Canada will have nothing to do, neither now nor in the future.

Mr. BECHARD moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 12 o'clock, midnight.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, 10th April, 1894.

PRAYERS.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 58) to incorporate the Lake Megantic Railway Company.—(Mr. Adams.)

Bill (No. 59) respecting the Montreal Island Belt Line Railway Company.—(Mr. Bergeron.)

Bill (No. 60) to incorporate the Cariboo Railway Company.—(Mr. Mara.)

Bill (No. 61) to amend the Railway Act.—(Mr. Maclean, York.)

Bill (No. 62) respecting the Richelieu and Ontario Navigation Company.—(Mr. Girouard, Jacques Cartier.)

REVISION OF VOTERS' LISTS.

Mr. CHARLTON asked, 1. What has been the total expense incurred by the Government in connection with the revision of the voters' lists in 1886, 1889 and 1891? 2. What was the expense incurred for such revision in each of the above-named years? 3. What amount of expense was incurred in connection with the printing of the voters' lists in 1886? 4. Are the expenses connected with printing the voters' lists in the Government Printing Bureau included in the statement of total expenses incurred? 5. What is the estimated cost of printing the voters' lists in the Government Bureau in the years that such printing has been performed in said Bureau?

Mr. COSTIGAN. In answering the questions put by the hon. gentleman a few days ago on this subject, I was not aware, until I referred to the Public Accounts and the Auditor General's Report, of the extent of the research the answer involved. I have had the research made by the department, and am able to answer the questions in detail. The total expense incurred for the three revisions was \$899,423.03. With regard to the expenses incurred for 1886, 1889 and 1891, the total for each of these cannot be given without going into specific details, because the unsettled accounts had to be carried from one year to another. The expense incurred in connection with the printing of the voters' list for 1886 was \$416,043.23. This is the grand total, including the payments to revisers. The expenses connected with printing the voters' lists in the Government Printing Bureau are included in the statement of total expenses. The cost of printing the voters' lists in the Government Bureau for the three years was about \$28,000 for each year.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON PROHIBITION.

Mr. LANDERKIN asked, When was the Royal Commission on Prohibition issued? How many commissioners were appointed under it? Who are they? What is their salary per day? Do they receive any additional living allowance? If so, how much? What is the total cost of the Commission up to 1st March, 1894? What additional amount will it require to complete their labours?

Mr. FOSTER. The Royal Commission on Prohibition was appointed on March 14th, 1892. There are five commissioners: Sir Joseph Hickson, Mr. E. F. Clarke, Mr. J. A. Gigault, Judge H. S. McDonald, and the Rev. Joseph McLeod, D.D. They are paid \$10 per day, and are allowed \$4 per day for living expenses. The amount of expense paid to March, 1894, is \$34,387.49.

SALE OF NEWSPAPERS, &c., ON THE I. C. R.

Mr. CHOQUETTE asked, 1. Who holds the contract for the sale of newspapers, books, &c., on the Intercolonial Railway? 2. Were tenders called for in connection with the said contract? If so, who were the parties who tendered, and what was the amount of each tender? 3. Is the right to sell books, newspapers, &c., in the stations at St. John, N.B., and Halifax, N.S., included in the contract? 4. How long has the contract existed, and when is it to terminate?

Mr. HAGGART. The Canada Railway News Agency, of which Mr. Phelan is the manager, is the contractor. 2. Yes, tenders were called for. The names of tenderers and the amounts of the tenders were: Michaud Bros., Fraserville (whole system), \$2,900; J. B. Gaudière, Montreal (Lévis to Campbellton), \$700; Canada Railway News Company, F. E. Phelan, Montreal (whole system), continuation of old contract. Contract was offered to Michaud Bros.; they declined to accept. Canada Railway News Company, F. E. Phelan, Montreal (whole system), \$3,600. 3. The sale of books, &c., in stations at Halifax and St. John is not included in this contract. 4. The contract has existed since the 1st October, 1893. It expires, unless renewed, on the 1st October, 1894. The amount of contract is \$3,600 per annum.

THE DUTY ON COTTON GOODS.

Mr. EDGAR. Before the Orders of the Day are called, Mr. Speaker, I would like to say a word of personal explanation. I think, when an hon. member of the House is corrected in figures, or statements that he makes, it is due to the House and to himself that he ought, if he finds he is wrong, make a correction from his place in the House as

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soon as possible. I also think that if an hon. member finds that he is not wrong, and that the gentleman who accused him of making a mistake, had done so improperly, he should take the first opportunity also of putting the hon. member right—

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. And continuing the debate.

Mr. EDGAR. I think not; I hope not. I desire to correct it as soon as possible. Now, the hon. the Controller of Customs stated last evening that I was distinctly in error. He used language which I do not like to hear hon. members use often, and he said: That I said first, that "sewing cotton thread, all others" had been under the old rate of 20 per cent, and that under the new rate they were 25 per cent. The hon. gentleman stated that while it was 25 per cent under the new rate, there had been no change, that it had been 25 per cent under the old rate, and he suggested that I was wilfully misleading the House. Very well. Sir; I have here a copy of the old tariff published in the Canadian Almanac, which I think is correct, and I find this item in it: "Thread, all cottons, n.e.s., 20 per cent." Now, not only do I find that I was correct according to the tariff, but I have here in my hand the Trade and Navigation Returns of this year, and at page 354, showing the dutiable goods imported (under figures, no doubt, given by the Department of Customs), I find these two items: First, sewing cotton thread, n.e.s., 20 per cent; the amount imported is given and also the rate of duty; all other cotton thread, n.e.s., 20 per cent, and the amount is given under the rate of duty. I think, therefore, that the hon. Controller has an opportunity of stating, and I have no doubt that he will do it frankly, that he was in error when he said that I had made a mistake. Then, on another occasion during the same speech, the Controller of Customs also contradicted me very flatly. I said: That under the new tariff, on collars the duty would still remain at 125 per cent in some cases, because there was a duty of 24 cents per dozen specific left, and 25 per cent ad valorem. I said that ladies' collars could be imported at 24 cents a dozen, and if that were so, of course there would be a hundred per cent of a specific duty, and 25 per cent ad valorem would make it amount to 125 per cent. My hon. friend contradicted me flatly and denied that collars could be imported for that price. Now, accompanied by my hon. friend from Bothwell (Mr. Mills), I have to-day made careful personal inquiries from the senior member of a wholesale dry goods house in this city, through whom the information had come to me first, and he says: that although for a few years the duty has been so high as to prohibit importation, he has over and over again imported ladies' collars from England, costing a shilling a dozen, or 24 cents; and, therefore, I was strictly

correct in the statement I made. If I wish to introduce new matter I could also make a similar statement about cuffs, which are 4 cents per pair and 25 cents ad valorem; I could show that these could be imported at a price of 2 shillings per dozen, which would make them also 125 per cent under the new tariff.

Mr. WALLACE. If the hon. gentleman had taken the trouble to look at the tariff instead of at the Canadian Almanac, he would have found that the articles to which he was alluding are to be found under articles 189 and 190 of the Tariff Act. The hon. gentleman referred to the fact that on cotton sewing thread in hanks the duty was raised from 12½ to 15 per cent, which was quite correct; and then going further, he said: cotton sewing thread on spools, 20 per cent. Article 190 says 25 per cent, so that I was strictly correct in calling his attention to it. If he had looked further at the Trade and Navigation Returns at page 43 he would have seen that cotton thread was imported to the amount of \$324,000, and \$81,000 were received by the Government as duty, making exactly 25 per cent. I am sorry that the hon. gentleman did not notify me that he was going to bring this matter up, because I would have given him further particulars.

Mr. EDGAR. A word in explanation of the remarks of the Controller of Customs. In my speech last night, before I said anything about the changes or the increases or decreases, I had given in the unchanged articles: "sewing thread on spools, 25 per cent. unchanged."

Mr. WALLACE. Not at all; the hon. gentleman did not say that. I said that.

Mr. EDGAR. My hon. friend can look at the 'Hansard' and see that I said that first.

Mr. DAVIN. Is not this altogether out of order, Mr. Speaker?

Mr. SPEAKER. It is out of order, and I would ask hon. members to remember what I said in regard to these matters on a former occasion, and, at this stage of the business of the House, to make any explanations they have to make as short and as fully to the point as possible.

MR. LAWRENCE VANKOUGHNET.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I am not sure whether the motion of the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) embraces everything asked for here, but if everything is embraced, one return will serve for both motions. I move for:

Copies of any report made to the Council by the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs which led to the removal of Lawrence Vankoughnet from the position of Deputy Superintendent General of

Indian Affairs and his exclusion from the Civil Service.

Motion agreed to.

HALF-BREED LANDS IN MANITOBA.

Mr. MARTIN. I would like to move the resolution standing in my name with respect to half-breed lands. On the last occasion the Government asked this to stand. I move for:

Return showing all lands allotted to half-breeds in Manitoba for which patents have not been issued, giving along with a description of the land, the name of the allottee and the reasons why the patent has not been issued.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I would like to ask the hon. gentleman to allow that to stand, and I may give the hon. member notice that we shall have to oppose the granting of this return, as its preparation will involve the expenditure of many thousands of dollars.

Motion allowed to stand.

TARIFF INVESTIGATION.

Mr. CHARLTON moved for:

Return giving report of the proceedings; and all papers connected with the tours of the Minister of Finance and other Ministers of the Crown, and the Controller of Customs and the Controller of Inland Revenue, since last session of Parliament, for the purpose of meeting deputations and making inquiries regarding the tariff, and amendments asked for, or proposed to the same.

Mr. FOSTER. If the hon. gentleman wishes to debate this motion, I think it will have to be allowed to stand. There are no reports prepared as to the tour and proceedings of the Minister of Finance or other members of the Cabinet or of the Controllers who sought information with reference to the tariff.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It was not thought worth preserving?

Mr. FOSTER. We preserve these things in our memories and we gave the House the benefit of them in the tariff recommendations brought down. I do not think the hon. gentleman was very serious in wishing to get this information.

Mr. CHARLTON. I do not think it is right for the hon. gentleman to make any charge of want of seriousness in this matter. If the hon. Minister has no information on the subject, we must allow the motion to stand.

Mr. LAURIER moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

DRAWBACKS ON CANADIAN SHIPS.

Mr. AMYOT moved for :

Copies of all Orders in Council from the origin of Confederation up to the year 1879, inclusively, respecting any drawback or bounty with respect to the building of Canadian ships, barques, or other vessels.

He said : I would also like to add :

Copies of all Orders in Council concerning the same matter in force in 1858, and amendments made thereto from that time up to Confederation.

Mr. LAURIER. That return would be more expensive than the list of the half-breeds' claims.

Mr. AMYOT. Is there any objection ?

Mr. SPEAKER. There seems to be some objection.

Mr. AMYOT. If there is no objection on the part of the Government the amendment might pass. Does the motion pass as amended ?

Mr. SPEAKER. No.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The amendment contains matter that might be debatable, and as exception has been taken to it, I will ask the hon. gentleman to reserve his motion until the House takes up opposed motions.

Motion withdrawn.

SAULT STE. MARIE CANAL.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron) moved for :

Return stating : 1st, The name and tonnage of all Canadian vessels which are engaged in Canadian trade on the upper lakes and which have passed through the Sault Ste. Marie Canal, in prosecution of their trade, since the beginning of the sailing season of 1885 ; keeping separate each year. 2. The number of tons of freight carried upwards, also the number of tons of freight carried downward, in each year. 3. The ports from which and to which each vessel in the trade sailed, in each year. 4. The number of persons employed on each vessel, each year.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I think that had better stand. It seems to be a very large order, and perhaps, after looking into it, the hon. gentleman who has the motion in charge, may be able to arrange with me a return that will meet his purpose, although perhaps not in the same language, so that we can settle it better if it stands.

Mr. MARTIN moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

Mr. CHARLTON.

RETURNS ORDERED.

Copies of all correspondence between Mr. L. Vankoughnet and the Government, or any member, or department, relating to his superannuation, and of all communications or reports to Council or the Treasury Board, or any member of the Government, relating to such superannuation, and of any Orders in Council dealing with the same.—(Mr. Mulock.)

Copies of all Orders in Council, reports, papers and correspondence relating to the dismissal of Damase St. Pierre as postmaster of St. Fortunat de Wolfeston.—(Mr. Laurier.)

Statement showing amount of receipts each month for gate money at Kingston Penitentiary between 1st January, 1887, and 1st January, 1894. Statement showing disposition of these moneys, including statement showing the amount of those moneys deposited in any banks, with the names of such banks and particulars as to whose credit such deposits were made.—(Mr. Mulock.)

Return showing the amount paid to Railways or Steamship Companies, as a bonus for bringing settlers to Manitoba or the Territories, in 1891, 1892 and 1893, and a list of settlers so brought, showing their names and locations.—(Mr. Martin.)

Return showing the nature and number of the returns ordered by this House during the past three sessions and not yet brought down, together with the reason why they have not yet been brought down.—(Mr. Landerkin.)

Copies of all petitions, letters, plans, deeds and other documents respecting the claim of the Hurons of Lorette in relation to the Seigniorship of Sillery.—(Mr. Frémont.)

Return showing the amount of timber dues collected at Quebec for each year for the last ten years. The quantity of timber culled each year, and the wages paid to cullers and staff.—(Mr. McMullen.)

Return showing the quantity of timber that passed through the cullers' hands and was culled each year at Montreal, for the last ten years. The amount of fees collected for each year during the same period, and the amount of wages paid to the cullers and staff at Montreal for the same time.—(Mr. McMullen.)

Return showing the number of permanent civil servants in each department, inside and outside service, who contribute to the superannuation fund, and the gross amount of wages paid.—(Mr. McMullen.)

Return showing the names of officials employed in connection with the Canadian exhibit at the Columbian Exposition from the province of Nova Scotia, showing their official position, amount of salaries paid and dates at which such employment ceased.—(Mr. Patterson, Colcheater.)

Statement in the form of table C in the blue-book already published on the French Treaty, for the years ending 30th June, 1892 and 1893.—(Mr. Laurier.)

REPORT.

Annual Report of the Department of Public Works for the year ending June 30, 1893.—(Mr. Ouimet.)

DAMAGE TO DIGBY PIER.

Mr. BOWERS. Before the Orders of the Day, I desire to call the attention of the Government to the following despatch:—

DIGBY, N.S., April 9.—A tremendous gale and snow storm prevailed here all last night and continues with unabated force to-day. Much damage has been done. No estimate can yet be formed of marine disasters. The Digby pier was severely shaken and portions of it were carried away by the wind and tide.

Has the attention of the Government been drawn to this matter, by any despatch, or otherwise, and do they propose to take any steps to repair the pier?

Mr. OUMET. The department has not received any communication on the subject referred to by the hon. gentleman.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

House again resumed the adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Foster:

That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair for the House to go into Committee of Ways and Means; and the motion of Sir Richard Cartwright in amendment thereto.

Mr. BECHARD. When the Finance Minister last session informed the House that at the next meeting of Parliament the Government would be prepared to submit a measure for the general revision of the tariff, this declaration was received with a feeling of general satisfaction, not only in this House, but in the country. Some people even thought that the hon. Minister had at last become convinced that this country has suffered long enough the pressure of high customs duties, and that he was preparing a return to the time-honoured policy of a revenue tariff. But I fear that this feeling of satisfaction, which was so generally manifested throughout the country, will soon be changed into a feeling of general dissatisfaction, for the tariff of the hon. Minister is far from responding to the hopeful expectations to which his declaration of last session gave rise. In submitting his measure, the Finance Minister told us that the Government had decided, in this revision of the tariff, to maintain the principle of protection; in other words, the Government would take care that, in the distribution of favours to be conferred by the new tariff, the manufacturer would receive the lion's share. However, notwithstanding this kind and paternal disposition on the part of the Government towards their favourite family, the hon. Minister had hardly laid his measure before Parliament, when it was assailed and denounced even by a portion of the press which supports him; and delegation after delega-

tion, representing several manufacturing industries, literally besieged the hon. gentleman in his office, making to him representations and, doubtless, giving good advice as to the effect of his tariff on their respective industries. It is not my purpose to inquire whether those spoiled children of the Government received consolation from the Finance Minister, nor whether it was after some understanding arrived at between him and them, that he sent to this House a corrected copy of his resolutions; but, if this tariff does not satisfy the manufacturers, it can satisfy no one, for it is certainly not calculated to improve the condition of the farmer. During the last two sessions of Parliament, we heard some hon. members, friends of the Government, and representing rural districts, complain bitterly in this House that the duties imposed upon agricultural implements, binding twine and coal oil were too burdensome for the farming classes, and they clamoured for reform. Sir, it appears that the Government have heard the voice of some of those hon. members, but, at the same time, have remained deaf to the voices of the others. For, whilst the duties upon agricultural implements and binding twine have been reduced, the duty imposed upon coal oil remain untouched and is as burdensome as ever. I do not propose at this moment to review the divers items of the tariff; when the House goes into Committee of the Whole will be the proper time to do that discipline. But I would like to refer briefly to three or four of those items, and particularly to those to which the special attention of the House was called last session, because of the high duties imposed upon them. Sir, the reduction from 35 to 20 per cent upon agricultural implements, such as mowing machines, self-binding harvesters, harvesters without binders, binding attachments, reapers, sulky and walking ploughs, harrows, cultivators, seed-drills and horse-rakes is certainly something worthy of the consideration of this House. It is, as is commonly said, a step in the right direction. But I fear that the duty of 20 per cent is still sufficiently high to give to the manufacturer the absolute control of the home market; and if he does not meet any competition from the outside, it is clear that the advantage supposed to accrue to the farmer from this reduction of duty, will be simply imaginary. Bear in mind, Sir, that this duty of 20 per cent is an ad valorem duty. I have not a word to say against the adoption of the ad valorem principle, for, generally speaking, I am favourable to it, provided it is applied in a manner which does not frustrate the laudable end intended to be reached by the adoption of that principle. But I have been informed, whether correctly or incorrectly, I do not know, for I am not speaking from personal knowledge and experience—but I have been informed by commercial men that the ad valorem duty, although in itself fair and equitable, is subjected sometimes to wrongful application, and becomes

an instrument of wrong in frustrating the ends of justice by the way it is applied. Let me illustrate my proposition by an example. Suppose I buy in the United States a mower for which I pay \$35, whilst the same article is sold here for \$50. As soon as my mower has passed the frontier line, the Canadian custom-house officer appraises the imported article, not according to the invoice price which I paid for it, but according to the price at which the similar article is sold in Canada. Sir, if that rule is applied, as I am informed it is, in the carrying out of the ad valorem principle, I say it is nothing less than a fraud perpetrated in the interest of the Canadian manufacturers, and at the expense of the Canadian consumer. If the duty of 20 per cent on agricultural implements be applied according to that rule, the position of the Canadian manufacturer will be as good, perhaps better, than it was before the reduction. Now, after a protection of 35 per cent has been given during fifteen years to those who have monopolized that industry, I think that the Government, in reducing the duty to 20 per cent, should have at least coupled that item with a clause declaring that these articles will be admitted free of duty, when imported directly from any country which is willing to reciprocate with us in the same way. Such a clause has been inserted in the Tariff Bill which passed the American House of Representatives at Washington a few weeks ago: and, Sir, it seems to me that ought to be considered an invitation to the Canadian Government and Parliament to do the same thing. Such a clause embodied in the tariff of both nations would soon bring about the free introduction of those agricultural implements between the two countries, and the result of that interchange would be very beneficial to the farmers of Canada. I may be told, however, that that free interchange would be injurious to the Canadian manufacturer, and very likely ruin his industry. Sir, I think the contrary. For, if the Canadian manufacturer is an intelligent and prudent man, as I suppose he is, he has taken, knowing that tariffs are not usually permanent, the necessary precautions to equalize the conditions of manufacturing between himself and any possible competitor, especially from the United States. In that case, he would be on a footing of equality with the American manufacturer, and, whilst the Canadian market would also be open to the American manufacturer on the other hand, the American market would be open to the Canadian manufacturer, who would find there a larger field for his operations. I said a moment ago that the reduction of duty upon agricultural implements was a step in the right direction. I regret that the Finance Minister has not made more progress in that direction, for I notice that there are duties of 30 and 35 per cent upon other articles. For instance, axes of all kinds, scythes,

hay-knives, lawn-mowers, pronged forks, rakes, and other agricultural tools or implements, not elsewhere specified, are charged 35 per cent. Saddlery is charged 30 per cent. Bar iron has to pay a duty of \$10 per ton, and, when we consider that bar iron can be bought in England at \$20 per ton, that duty seems inordinately high, as it is nearly 46 per cent. From iron are made numbers of implements used by the farmer. It enters mainly into all the tools used by him. These tools are very soon worn out and must frequently be renewed, and every time the farmer has to purchase one, he has to pay 35 per cent for the duty, or more than one-third the value of the article he purchases. On binding twine the duty has been reduced by one-half, but it is not for me to say whether this reduction is satisfactory or not, because in the part of the country where I live, this article is not much used. I leave that point to be dealt with by other hon. members. But an article in respect of which the Government could have done something very satisfactory for the people, is coal oil. Whenever the Canadian consumer purchases coal oil, he has to pay 7½ cents per gallon more than the real value; that is to say, he has to pay only for the duty about one-half of the price which he would pay for a gallon of oil if American oil were admitted duty free. This duty falls into the category of those which are most odious to the people, for it is paid to retain a monopoly which, in return for the protection given it, manufactures an article for the Canadian public of an inferior quality. Yesterday I met a gentleman, a personal friend of mine, but a strong supporter of the Government, who complained bitterly, in the course of our conversation, that this duty had not been reduced. And he concluded by saying that, if those who monopolize that industry to-day wanted protection, they should at least give to the Canadian consumer, who pays the taxes for the purpose of helping that industry, an article not inferior in quality to the American article. Sir, this duty is principally paid by the labouring classes who live in small towns and villages, and by farmers in the rural districts; for it is well known that people living in the larger towns and cities do not make much use of petroleum, their dwellings being generally lighted either by gas or electricity. But those who monopolize that industry seem to have been more powerful with the Government to-day than those hon. members on the other side of the House who last session denounced that duty in bitter terms, and who to-day appear to have forgotten their indignation of last year. It is obvious, Mr. Speaker, that in preparing the new tariff the Government have been influenced by the same special interest which has inspired the fiscal policy of this country for the last fifteen years—the interest of the manufacturer. It is always the same policy;

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everything for the manufacturer, nothing for the farmer: the loaf for the manufacturer, the crumbs for the farmer. However, I have noticed in the tariff resolutions that the Government, in maintaining the protective principle in favour of the manufacturer, have manifested the pretension of also giving protection to the farmer. How is this done? Why, it is done by the imposition of duties upon imported living animals, such as horses, cattle and sheep; if those animals were imported for home consumption, I could well understand that a duty imposed upon those importations would give some chance or advantage in our own market to the farmers of Canada, but it is well known—nay, it is proved by our official reports—that we do not import those goods for home consumption, but that, on the contrary, we have a large surplus of them which we are compelled to send to foreign markets every year in order to sell them. It is true that the people of the North-west Territories import a small number of those living animals; they get them from the adjacent States, where, after paying the duty, they can procure them at lower prices than they could from Ontario. But, Sir, those who make these importations into the North-west Territories are themselves farmers; they import those animals, not for the purposes of trade, but to increase their stock, and in that case this duty of 20 per cent. instead of being a protection to them, is rather a nuisance. The same remarks apply to wheat, coarse grains, butter, cheese, hay, poultry, and potatoes, which we do not import for home consumption, but of which we have a large surplus every year to send to foreign markets. Such is about the degree of protection conferred by the tariff on the Canadian farmers. It consists in customs duties imposed on farm products which we do not import for home consumption and which consequently do not compete with our own produce in our market. It really seems as if the Government regarded the farmers as a band of children who, getting displeased or dissatisfied with the toys which have amused them for a considerable time, are easily kept quiet or contented by toys of some other kinds as soon as they are offered to them. Since the beginning of this debate we have heard hon. gentlemen opposite speaking in laudatory terms of the benefits resulting to the farmer from the National Policy. The hon. member for Megantic (Mr. Fréchette) and the hon. member for Chicoutimi (Mr. Belley) have been interesting in their speeches, particularly when they spoke of the development of the butter and cheese industries in the province of Quebec; but I would like to know what the existence of these industries has to do with the tariff, or how their development can be considered as a result of the National Policy. It is true, the hon. member for Megantic intimated that without the National Policy we could not

sell our butter and cheese at remunerative prices; but the hon. member must have forgotten that we do not import butter and cheese for home consumption, but that—as in the case of the other farm products to which I have just referred—we have a large surplus of those products which we are bound to sell in foreign markets in order to derive profit from them, and that the prices which are paid for those articles in the foreign markets determine the prices for which they can be sold here. The hon. member for Megantic and the hon. member for Chicoutimi mentioned certain classes of goods which they said were sold now at lower prices than they were in 1878. They were followed by the hon. member for Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot), who read a long list of different classes of goods which he said were sold to-day at lower prices than they were in 1878. Do those hon. members believe that these results are due to the operation of the National Policy? In that case, Sir, those hon. members ought to claim an increase of duty, for, according to their reasoning, it would be logical to say: The higher the tariff, the cheaper the goods. Bear in mind, Sir, that an over-production of goods will always cause a fall in prices. It is well known that within the last fifteen years the production of goods throughout the world has exceedingly increased, and that the quantity on the market of the world is larger to-day in proportion to the demand than it was in 1878 or any previous year. This is the reason, the obvious reason, for the fall of the prices of these goods. Hon. gentlemen proclaim in loud tones that the country is prosperous. And to prove this they say that there are large deposits of money in the banks. Sir, while that is an evidence that there is money in the country, it also may be an indication that the owners of that money have so little confidence in the actual condition of affairs that they do not dare to invest their money in any other way. I know that such is the case, at least with farmers amongst whom I live. Those of the farmers who have considerable means and who can save a little money at the end of the year, prefer loaning it at a small rate of interest, or placing it in the bank, to investing it in the purchase of farm lands, the value of which has decreased at least one-third as compared with what it was three or four years ago. This, surely, is no indication of very great prosperity, for when a country is prosperous, the price of farm lands, instead of decreasing, either maintains itself at a certain level, or increases. Mr. Speaker, I am of those who were opposed to the inauguration of the National Policy, for I regard a protective tariff as having the ill effect of restricting a nation's foreign trade, and of favouring the formation of monopolies, whose interests are antagonistic to the interests of the masses of the people. Since

the introduction of the system into our country, I have continued to be hostile to it; but, Sir, my hostility does not carry me so far as to cause me to say that it has produced only ruin. We have had prosperity in this country since the introduction of the National Policy. Prosperity will exist even in spite of a protective system—it will exist at least temporarily; and, in an agricultural country like Canada, prosperity will exist to a large degree if crops are abundant and prices of farm products remunerative. I willingly admit that this country has enjoyed prosperity since the adoption of the National Policy; but I deny that that prosperity was the result of the operation of that system. For a few years after the adoption of the protective tariff, we had very great prosperity in this country, and its good effects were felt even for several years after that prosperity had begun to decline. But I repeat the National Policy had nothing to do with that prosperity, which commenced only after the great crisis from which this country had suffered for five years, and which was felt in England and the United States, in fact, throughout the whole world, as well as in Canada. But, in the fall of 1881, a revival of business took place in those countries and that revival of business was soon communicated to Canada, which has such large commercial relations with them. But at that time, Sir, the results of the National Policy were not felt. It was established in March, 1879, and it is an undeniable fact that during a year and a half after its introduction elapsed, the most severe period of the great crisis from which the country had suffered. The National Policy had not the least influence in removing the depression from which we then suffered, and it had not the least influence in bringing about the prosperity which the country enjoyed after that crisis. We well remember that in the years 1882-83 whilst crops failed in European countries, at the same time, they were very abundant on this side of the Atlantic. By the course of events, we found ourselves placed in the fortunate position of having abundant crops for sale, while, at the same time, the demand for them and the prices had considerably increased in European markets. Our farmers, therefore, sold their produce at very remunerative prices; they made great progress; they realized large sums of money; they became very prosperous, and that prosperity communicating itself to the whole country and became general. As a consequence of that prosperity, we saw the prices of farm lands advanced to a level they had never reached before. But, Sir, was that prosperity the result of the tariff? Was it the National Policy that caused the failure of crops in European countries? Was it the tariff that caused the abundant crops with which this country was blessed? Surely, Sir, no man who has the least claim

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to a share of common sense will assume the responsibility of uttering such an absurd proposition. I repeat that the protective system had nothing to do with that prosperity, on the contrary, that system did not fulfil the promises which were made by its promoters. Those hon. members who, like myself, had seats on the floor of this House during the year 1878, well remember. I am sure, the seductive promises made, the brilliant prospect described in the ostentatious speeches of the members of the Conservative party, then in Opposition; and I have no doubt those hon. members will remember also that celebrated resolution which was then submitted to Parliament by the leader of the Opposition of that day, the late Sir John A. Macdonald. According to the terms and the promises made in that resolution, by virtue of the operation of the protective system, a large share of wealth, and of all the good things which are attainable in this world, would soon be secured to the manufacturer, to the artisan, to the farmer, to the miner, to the fisherman, in fact, to every class and to every man in the community, and, moreover, the people of Canada would continue to live in that terrestrial paradise as long as that system was kept in operation. But, Sir, that is not all. Another good thing was to follow from that system, it would have the effect of stopping the exodus, not only was it to prevent the further emigration of our countrymen to the United States, but it was to bring back home those of them who had already emigrated. Sir, the last census shows how those promises have been fulfilled. A country which is prosperous is not abandoned by one-fifth of its children, of those who were born and lived on its soil. The hon. member for Chicoutimi (Mr. Belley), and the hon. member for Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot), told us that emigration commenced in the year 1844, and that it had continued gradually since that time to this day. Now, Mr. Speaker, I challenge those hon. members to show me in the census of the decades which have elapsed from 1844 to 1881, a single decade in which there has been so small an increase of population in the province of Quebec as during the last decade. The last census shows conclusively that the emigration of our countrymen to the United States has been larger during the last decade than it had ever been before. But those hon. members told us that our countrymen are returning in large numbers from the United States. I am sorry that I cannot join those hon. members in their statement. I live in a district which lies near the boundary line, and which has been decimated by emigration as much as any other district in Canada, if not more. If you ask me the number of my countrymen who return to that district, I will tell you that the number of those who return does not equal by

far, even to-day the number of those who leave; and if you happen to meet some of those people, the most of them will tell you that they have come back only temporarily, and that they intend to return to the United States as soon as the crisis which now exists in that country shall have ceased. Sir, if our countrymen in the United States could have heard the ungenerous and disparaging compliment which was paid to them the other evening by the hon. member for Chicoutimi (Mr. Belley), who said they were starving in that bad country, I am sure that one million voices would have immediately raised to tell the hon. member that his statement was slanderous. Let the hon. member go to the United States, where he will receive more reliable information than he now possesses; let him go to that country, and he will find in all the towns where there are groups of our countrymen that they are organized almost as completely as if they were living in Canada, having their churches, their schools, their newspapers, celebrating their national festivals, some of them having realized considerable fortunes, whilst others have risen to civil honours, and occupy the respectable and honourable positions of aldermen, mayors, and even of members of the Legislation. I ask any man in this House, if a population living in such conditions can be properly regarded as a starving people? The hon. member for Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot) told us as what he considered a good reason for supporting the National Policy, that the people of this country had approved of that policy on three successive occasions, and he ventured to assure us that on the next occasion that policy would again receive the popular support. Sir, while I may think the hon. member was right enough with regard to the last three occasions, I am not disposed to take his word with regard to the results of the next political conflict which is to take place before very long. I may add that I have but little confidence in the predictions of that hon. member, for the zig-zag conduct he has followed for a few years back gives no more weight to his prophecies than to his opinions in political matters. Now, Mr. Speaker, I will call the attention of the House to another branch of the subject. When the Controller of Customs addressed the House I noticed in his tone a certain degree of satisfaction when he declared that our trade with England had increased whilst our trade with the United States had decreased. Perhaps the hon. Minister is not the only man in this House who would be sorry to know that the volume of trade with the great country to the south of us has increased. Perhaps there are men in the country who would be sorry to ascertain that our trade with the United States is more than three-folds of the volume of our trade with the whole world, excepting Great Britain. But has our trade with the United States really decreased? It may not

be without interest to look for a moment at the progress of our trade with that country, as revealed in the tables of Trade and Navigation. In 1853, the volume of our trade with the United States amounted in round numbers to \$23,000,000; in 1854, the first year of the treaty—to \$33,000,000,—and in 1866, the last year of the treaty—to \$84,000,000. We know that immediately after the American civil war closed, the United States Congress adopted a very high tariff, but notwithstanding the effects of that restrictive measure, our trade with that country continuously increased. I find that, in 1873, the remotest year referred to in our official returns, our trade with our neighbours amounted to the sum of \$89,000,000, in round numbers; in 1883, to \$97,000,000; and in 1893, to \$102,000,000. Now, Sir, last year, our trade with the whole world amounted to \$247,638,620; in giving to England, to the United States and to the rest of the world, their respective share of that amount, you will find our trade with England, last year, amounted to \$107,228,906,—with the United States to \$102,144,986—and with the other parts of the world, to \$31,010,289. These statistics show, that our trade with the United States is more than three-folds, our trade with the world, excepting England. Surely the statistics which are contained in the Trade and Navigation Returns are far from indicating that our trade with the United States has been decreasing. Is it not a remarkable and instructive fact, that notwithstanding the obstructions thrown in its way under the form of high tariffs imposed on both sides of the line, our trade with our neighbours is very nearly as considerable and important as is our trade with Great Britain, to which we can export our produce duty free. Supposing all obstructions to our trade with the United States were reduced or removed, who can tell the degree of expansion to which that trade would be carried? But hon. gentlemen opposite say they do not desire reciprocal trade on a free trade basis, and while they neglect that very important side of the trade question, they send delegates to other countries, even to the Antipodes, in order to develop our trade relations with distant countries. Suppose those missions were successful, what would be the result? So far as our exports are concerned treaties with those countries might increase the market for our manufacturers, but surely nothing would result to our farmers, for no one would dream that Australia could be a good market for Canadian farm produce. If it is thought we want markets for our manufacturers, I say we also want more extended markets for our farmers, who I hold constitute the most interesting class of the community, for in an essentially agricultural country like Canada a prosperous agriculture is the basis of all prosperity. We want for our farmers free access to the United States market, for to

that market we send a very considerable portion of our farm products, including horses, sheep, barley, hay, poultry, potatoes, wool, and other articles I need not mention. If we refer to the tables embodied in the Trade and Navigation Returns we find that the United States is almost the only market where our farmers can obtain remunerative prices for horses, sheep, barley, hay, poultry, wool, and other products. These facts show the great importance of the American market to the Canadian farmer. The returns also show that the United States affords the best market for the products of our forests, of our mines, and of our waters, even of our manufactures. Last year the products of our mines which were exported to foreign countries were of the value of \$916,664, of which the United States paid \$908,504, or nearly the whole amount. The total export of our fisheries amounted to \$458,552, and of that amount the United States paid us \$454,244. The total amount of the products of our forests was \$9,929,683, and of that amount \$9,861,800 were paid by the United States. The total amount of the exports of our manufactured goods amounted to \$3,381,156, and of that amount the United States paid us \$2,141,255. These quotations are more than sufficient to prove the importance of the great American market, not only for our farmers but also for our lumbermen, for our fishermen, and for our miners. Sir, when I consider the great importance of our trade with the United States. I hold that every effort ought to be made by the Government of Canada to secure freer and more extended commercial relations with that country. The Controller of Customs said the other day: That the Government were prepared to have reciprocity with the United States provided a treaty could be negotiated with that country which would be consistent with our honour and with our interests. This language is too vague to mean something tangible. Hon. gentlemen opposite have seemed for some time to be favourable to reciprocity, but limited to natural products. In fact, in 1891 they appealed to the country upon that very question. They said that Parliament had been dissolved because the Government wanted to consult the people with regard to this question; pretending that overtures had been made with regard to it by the American authorities to the British Ambassador at Washington. They preached reciprocity, limited it is true; but if we could have had that reciprocity even though limited, it would have given satisfaction to the people of Canada. They preached reciprocity on every hustings and it was the fact that they preached that policy to the people which saved them from defeat. They were returned to power, but with a reduced majority; a majority very small as compared with the majority which they commanded in this House in the

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previous Parliament. This result showed that the doctrine of reciprocity which was preached by both parties—although not to the same extent by the Conservative as by the Liberal party—was thoroughly popular with the people. Hon. gentlemen opposite know very well that when they speak of obtaining reciprocity with the United States limited to the interchange of natural products, they are speaking of something which they cannot obtain; and that unless they are prepared to accept reciprocity with regard to a certain class of manufactured goods it is useless for them to speak any longer of reciprocity. But, Sir, the Government have neglected a very good opportunity which has been offered. At this very moment while the American Congress are revising their tariff, they have perhaps the very best opportunity which has been offered since the abrogation of the treaty of 1854. They should have sent an agent to Washington in order to ascertain what could be done for the improvement of commercial relations between both countries. But it is obvious, Sir, that hon. gentlemen opposite do not care for reciprocity under any form whatever, and that this country will never enjoy the benefit of that policy so long as this Government remains in power. It will be the privilege and the honour of the Liberal party, in the near future, I hope, to give to Canada freer and more extended commercial relations with the great country to the south of us; the most progressive nation, I do not hesitate to say, which exists on the face of the globe, and whose general prosperity is marvellous and unequalled. It is that great prosperity which attracts to that country so many people from different parts of the world, and unfortunately too, so large a number of our own countrymen. The Liberal party when in power will consider it their duty never to enact any piece of legislation which would give to any man, or to any class of men, an undue advantage over their fellow-citizens. And, Sir, it will be their privilege, their glorious privilege, to secure to our country a large measure of that unparalleled prosperity which makes the American people so great, so progressive, and so glorious amongst the nations of the earth. When that has been accomplished, the result of this new policy will be a thousand times more beneficial to the people of Canada than the brilliant promises made in 1878 which the National Policy never has realized, and never can realize. When the Liberal party accomplishes this great object, a boon will be conferred on this country for it will then be sufficiently prosperous to keep its own people at home.

Mr. PELLETIER. (Translation.) Mr. Speaker, in the discussion which now occupies the attention of the House, it is interesting to see the hon. members opposite exhausting their

powers against the Government and the Government standing on the defensive, standing on its own ground and stoutly resisting their attacks. In this struggle, which has lasted now several days, and which was already illustrated many a time these last years, the supposed offensive arms of the Opposition are numerous, various and even inconsistent; but they have only one object, which is to prepare clap-trap for the elections. What are, then, these supposed offensive arms displayed with such a fuss? We have heard almost all the members opposite during this debate. Some say that our manufacturers are strong enough to sustain the foreign competition and that they themselves ask for the repeal of protection. Others contend, on the contrary, that these manufacturers are the very people who impose protection. Others still, as the hon. member for Iberville (Mr. Béchard) say that protection is the principle of an utterly bad policy and that they always were against such a policy. Others, lastly, own that there is something good in protection, that it was useful and did some good. I am pleased to recall here the eloquent certificates given to protection by the hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte). In 1887 and 1888, after it had eight or nine years of an efficient and advantageous carrying out, the hon. member for L'Islet let the statement fall from such a vigorous and brilliant pen as his that our market was very good and our affairs prosperous; and he advised the farmers not to allow the Canadian market to be given away to foreign competition by the establishment of unrestricted reciprocity, then advocated by the Liberal party. In the face of such various opinions, it is natural that one should ask whether those people who now find such fault with protection always appreciated and judged it so unfavourably. And it is not without the utmost surprise that we read in their history, that from 1868 to 1875, most of them were protectionists without any restriction or reserve. If several members opposite, the most distinguished amongst them, would speak, they would still charm us by repeating here their eloquent speeches and pleas in favour of protection. Yet, at that time, there were less reasons to apply it than in 1878, especially against the United States, which were still suffering from the effects of their terrible war, and where the movement of affairs was not yet quite reorganized. In 1878, prior to the establishment of protection, which the Opposition now so much complain of, the hon. member for Iberville (Mr. Béchard) admitted its principle, which is recorded in the 'Hansard' for 1878, at page 1815, the following words:

Mr. Béchard moved in amendment: That Mr. Speaker do not now leave the Chair, but that it be resolved "That a large quantity of corn and oats having been imported into Canada within the last

few years, this House is of opinion that the interests of Canadian farmers would be promoted by the imposition of a duty upon the importation of those products."

During the years which preceded their coming into power, in 1874, the Liberal party particularly entertained the idea of renewing the reciprocity treaty of 1854. The Conservatives had the same desire; and, in 1869 and 1871 especially, the Conservative Government had overtures made in this respect to the Government of the United States, which, however, always thought it their duty to reject such advances. Then, as now, the Liberal party declined to give any credit for such proceedings to those who had made them. Then, as now, the Liberals clamoured that if the reciprocity treaty of 1854 was not already put again in force, the fault lay with the Conservative Government, and they never failed to add the emphatic promise to renew it as soon as they would come into power. Then, as now, ascending to their saying, as usual, for all that, the Liberals seemed to be beforehand with the world. The people who remembered the large profits they had made by means of the treaty, and longed for its renewal, decided, in 1874, to try the Liberals. They said: For quite a while these people have been criticising and making promises; let us try them. And the people tried them, and after an experience of four years, the people, completely disappointed, dismissed them from office. What more had they done than the Conservatives? Nothing! What had they failed to do? Everything, except bad policy. They had not renewed the treaty of 1854. They had not thought of giving the least protection to our industries and products. But, ah! mighty deficits signalled their passing through power. The public debt had increased in a disastrous proportion, and without any compensation; and the two last years of their rule were surnamed the years of bankruptcy, famine and misery. The city of Montreal, our commercial metropolis, only to mention that, was languishing away and declining through poverty; our manufacturing establishments were solitary and noiseless; business was paralyzed by despondency and the only activity there was was on the part of the official assignees as well as the soup kitchens when the allowances of charity were distributed among the starving people of the suburbs. The Conservatives said: But since the American Government decline to renew the treaty of 1854, or make any other similar agreement, suitable to the present economical needs, then grant some protection to our industries and products so as to create an important local market from which our farmers might derive some benefit, and of which they are absolutely in need. The Mackenzie Government replied: Be patient, wait till to-

morrow and you will see that in the end our policy will do wonders. At last came that morrow so anxiously looked for by all, happy morrow for the country, but unhappy one for the Liberal Government, for according to the calendar they had fallen down on the 17th September, 1878. Protection was then introduced by the new Government, who at the same time inserted in the statute of 1879, 42 Victoria, chapter 15, section 6, a public and permanent offer to the American Government to widen at any time, as far as the natural products and animals were concerned, the commercial ways between Canada and the United States on a just and profitable basis for both countries and with an equal advantage for the one and the other. That offer was recorded in the statute of 1879, and I will read to you, Mr. Speaker, the full text of it :

Any or all of the following articles, that is to say: Animals of all kinds, green fruit, hay, straw, bran, seeds of all kinds, vegetables (including potatoes and other roots), plants, trees and shrubs, coal and coke, salt, hops, wheat, peas and beans, barley, rye, oats, Indian corn, buckwheat and all other grain, flour of wheat and flour of rye, Indian meal and oatmeal, and flour or meal of any other grain, butter, cheese, fish (salted or smoked), lard, tallow, meats (fresh, salted or smoked) and lumber, may be imported into Canada free of duty, or at a less rate of duty than is provided by this act, upon proclamation of the Governor in Council, which may be issued whenever it appears to his satisfaction that similar articles from Canada may be imported into the United States free of duty, or at a rate of duty not exceeding that payable on the same under such proclamation when imported into Canada.

That offer was never withdrawn and always held good, and I hope the Government will in the future, as it was in the past, be willing to maintain it. But, on their part, the American Government were never willing to correspond to it. On the contrary, that Government even allowed the McKinley Bill to pass, a measure of defiance, a chance measure till then unknown to the business world. Since they declined to open to us the American market, nothing was more natural than to close the Canadian market to the American products, so as to keep Canada for the Canadians. The Hon. Mr. Joly de Lotbinière, the distinguished and esteemed leader of the Liberals of the province of Quebec, publicly adhered to the protective system. He did it in an open letter in which he stated the advantages of the protective system. Amongst other conclusions he drew the following one: It is better for the consumer to pay more for his flour and be able to earn money to have some, than to be able to buy it cheaper and unable to earn the necessary money to pay for it. This is how that leader of our opponents valued the advantages of protection. In

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the meantime, the Liberals advocated by turns and confused by commercial union involving a customs union with the United States, then unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, and lastly free trade, when their no less distinguished other leader, the Hon. Edward Blake, wrote their condemnation in his ever celebrated letter of 1891. Since the establishment of protection in 1879, three general elections have come and testified in its favour. Can it be that the people were so many times mistaken against their own interests, especially when the Liberal party were there to warn them and put them on their guard? Obviously no; they must, on the contrary, have expressed their true will, and supported what they thought was in their interest; and it is, Mr. Speaker, the best commendation of the principle of protection. If, on the other hand, we measure the distance run, the progress obtained since 1879, one does not know which is the most astonishing, of that astonishing advance or of the strange ill-will of those who refuse to admit it. In fifteen years the value and quantity of our railways were more than double; we have established strong and prosperous industries, even so strong and prosperous in the estimation of certain hon. members opposite as to be able hereafter to free American competition. Our industries have attracted to the centres the working population, and each week fabulous sums have slipped into the hands of our workmen, from which they come out to the benefit of the merchant, the food purveyor and the agricultural producer. The prosperity of the manufacturer! But it is that which guarantees and secures to the workman the stability of labour and the payment of his wages, the same as the number and easy circumstances of the consumers secure to a great extent the benefit of the agricultural producer. With the exception of the bad harvests of 1887, 1888 and 1889, due to the droughts or too frequent rains, the agricultural production has not decreased. Farms are cultivated with care and profit and increase in value. The raising of hay, in particular, has nearly doubled during these last years. The average prices of the agricultural market, during the last decade, was steady and much higher than during the decade ending in 1881. In the twenty judicial districts of the province of Quebec, I made a statement of the immovable sales made by the sheriffs during the years 1877 and 1878, namely, the two last years of the Mackenzie Government, and the two years 1892 and 1893, and the result to which I came was as follows: The immovable sales for 1877 and 1878 totalled 2,118, while the same sales for the years 1892 and 1893 only totalled 1,325, leaving for 1892-93 a decrease of 793. It will be observed that this difference is attributable to the principal districts where the conditions were not changed by new settlements. Following are the tabled details:

IMMOVABLE SALES BY SHERIFFS.

| Names of judicial districts. | 1877. | 1878. | Total. | 1892. | 1893. | Total. | Difference in favour of years 1892 and 1893. |
|------------------------------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|--------|--|
| Arthabaska | 60 | 80 | 140 | 43 | 33 | 76 | 64 |
| Beauce | 25 | 41 | 66 | 23 | 14 | 37 | 29 |
| Beauharnois | 19 | 24 | 43 | 41 | 34 | 75 | |
| Bedford | 54 | 59 | 113 | 38 | 28 | 66 | 47 |
| Chicoutimi | 5 | 8 | 13 | 6 | 13 | 19 | |
| Gaspé | 4 | 2 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 12 | |
| Iberville | 46 | 39 | 85 | 32 | 25 | 57 | 28 |
| Joliette | 20 | 26 | 46 | 29 | 14 | 43 | 3 |
| Kamouraska | 27 | 23 | 50 | 23 | 24 | 47 | 3 |
| Montmagny | 25 | 30 | 55 | 19 | 14 | 33 | 22 |
| Montreal | 268 | 248 | 516 | 114 | 126 | 240 | 276 |
| Ottawa | 15 | 19 | 34 | 22 | 21 | 43 | |
| Quebec | 141 | 175 | 316 | 115 | 114 | 229 | 87 |
| Richelieu | 71 | 62 | 133 | 24 | 23 | 47 | 86 |
| Rimouski | 29 | 23 | 52 | 11 | 7 | 18 | 34 |
| Saguenay | 11 | 6 | 17 | 16 | 16 | 32 | |
| St. Francis | 109 | 96 | 205 | 59 | 51 | 110 | 95 |
| St. Hyacinthe | 47 | 44 | 91 | 16 | 26 | 42 | 49 |
| Terrebonne | 25 | 20 | 45 | 26 | 25 | 51 | |
| Three Rivers | 80 | 72 | 152 | 22 | 26 | 48 | 104 |
| Total | 1,081 | 1,037 | 2,118 | 686 | 639 | 1,325 | 793 |

Well, I ask, is that an indication of depression and impoverishment, or is it not rather an evidence of improvement in business? I avail myself of the occasion to call the attention of the Government to a most important matter, in my opinion. Thousands of our compatriots are in the manufacturing centres of the United States. The depression which now bears on the people of the American Union has determined, among our compatriots there, a great coming back to Canada. They come back to us by thousands. According to an interesting estimate made by the 'Courrier de St. Hyacinthe,' 46,000 came back in 1892; 126,000 in 1893, and the anticipations lead us to believe that the arrivals of 1894 will number several hundred thousands. Local Governments have already promised their share of assistance and aid to the new-comers. In Montreal, a colonization society is organized. It is composed of men who, by their position and abilities, certainly command the public confidence, as they ought to command the confidence of the Government. Well, here is a quite gratuitous, natural and spontaneous immigration which comes to us. The Dominion Government is more interested than the Local Governments in the increase in population. I think it is their duty to take some measures in order to take advantage of this god-send which comes to us. I think it would be in the interest of the Dominion that the Government should send an agent in the manufacturing centres of the United

States who would give lectures, distribute pamphlets and generally give all the information required to control the movement, direct our compatriots and induce them to come and settle upon our new lands, in the noble agricultural industry. Better settlers could not be found, for they are strong, honest, moral fellows, used to work as well as to our climate. In the province of Quebec, agriculture has undergone a capital transition, thanks to the intelligence, activity, work and devotedness of our Commissioner of Agriculture in Quebec, as well as of those who second him so well in his work. Agriculture has progressed in the province of Quebec by the teaching of good farming methods, as well as by the improvement of the soil and that of the stocks. The dairy industry, in particular, augurs to the province a future truly full of promises. Some people contend that our cheese, our butter and our cattle have nothing to do with protection. I think, on the contrary, that the numerous awards granted to our dairy industry at the Chicago Fair, as well as the unceasing complaints laid against the American cattle, show the importance of protection, since it prevents our dairy products and our cattle from being mixed up and mingled with inferior dairy products and tainted cattle which, were it not for it, would come here from the United States. The amendment which occupies the attention of this House is worded in general terms and it asks for a radical

change. I will vote against it because it aims at the repealing of protection and the doing away with a necessary revenue which would then have to be replaced by another mode of taxation more direct, more onerous and less profitable to the people. I am at an ease to make that statement, as those who know me are aware, Mr. Speaker, that I would likewise vote against the policy of the Government should I think it my duty to do so. The Government have changed their fiscal policy to a certain extent. I wish they would have made some further changes which, I think, would be in the interest of the farming community. For instance, I wish they would have put on the free list agricultural implements and binding twine. We asked for those changes. The Government granted as a reduction of nearly half the duty. I think a decrease of nearly fifty per cent is not a bad beginning. I understand these tariff changes must be made gradually and with very much measure, discretion and prudence, so as to prevent too great a blow to the interests at stake. It is important to have some regard for such a consideration in order to judge of the situation equitably and fairly. The hon. members opposite are not satisfied with the changes made in the tariff. There is nothing astonishing in that; they are never satisfied with anything, and I go so far as believing that, should we accept their so-called platform, far from being satisfied, they would be capable of removing it themselves and taking the policy of the Government. Mr. Speaker, I believe in the financial policy of the present Government. I think that the Conservative party which, for such a long time, successfully presided over the destinies of the country, will faithfully persevere in its work of progress and patriotism, and I think, moreover, that should the Liberal party ever come into power, they would be compelled to accept three-fourths and a half of the Conservative policy to keep them.

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I wish to engage the attention of the House for a short time while I make a few observations of a practical nature. I do not intend to deal with theories or with ancient history; but I will try to give to the House and the country a few plain, practical facts that practical, common-sense men can understand. In the first place, Mr. Speaker, I want to say that I am a protectionist to the fullest extent, believing as I do that for a country situated as we are, alongside of a highly protected country, it would be suicidal for us not to copy our neighbours' example, and before sitting down I will give my reasons for that conviction. I may say, Sir, that I have been a protectionist ever since I took any part in

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public affairs. Unlike the hon. leader of the Opposition, I have not changed the views I first entertained on this question. I find in the 'Canadian Manufacturer' of 16th March, the following:—

It is not perhaps so well known that the very first speech Mr. Laurier made in a legislative body contained a strong plea for protection. The speech is to be found in the English edition of "Wilfred Laurier on the platform," published a few years ago. The Quebec Legislature, where he delivered it, had nothing to do with such matters: but that did not prevent him from declaring that it was the duty of French Canadians to create national industries as a means of checking the exodus of population and removing other ills. He wanted to see the abundant raw material which the province possesses transmuted into factory goods by Quebec labour, and went so far as to endorse Papineau's advice that French Canada should buy nothing from Britain.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I hold the opinion that the hon. leader of the Opposition did at that time; but I want to see the raw material, not only of the province of Quebec, but of every province of the Dominion, transmuted into factory goods by Canadian labour. I intend to refer, in the first place, to a few observations made by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) in his reply to the hon. Minister of Finance. I do not intend to follow him through his weary three hours' speech, which the hon. members of this House have been in the habit of hearing for the last twelve years, with a few variations thrown in each year; but I have culled a few gems from that deliverance which I think deserve particular attention. I will pay no attention, Mr. Speaker, to his references to a corruption fund, a subsidized press, the exodus, natural increase, blue ruin, &c., &c., for with the hon. gentleman these expressions have become a sort of nightmare. He knows, as no other man in this country knows, what a corruption fund means, and he knows what a subsidized press means; because, if rumour is at all to be believed, the hon. gentleman has always been a large stockholder in both these institutions. The hon. gentleman, in that address, made use of the following language:—

Whereas the English tariff is wisely and justly so distributed that the chief burden after all falls on the shoulders of the upper and wealthy class, our tariff is arranged so that the chief burden falls on the shoulders of the needy, and the most heavily taxed man in Canada is the poor man with a large family to support.

The poor man in England, with his large family, has to pay taxes on his tea, his coffee, his sugar, his tobacco and other necessaries. With reference to the question of English tariff, I will read again from the 'Canadian Manufacturer,' as follows:—

The taxation is far from being equitably adjusted. From year to year 'The Financial Reformer,' a valu-

able publication issued by the advanced Liberals, denounces the whole arrangement as a fraud upon the poor. It estimates that the amount taken by the customs and excise duties from a workingman getting 20 shillings a week is from one-tenth to one-seventh of his earnings; while on incomes of a thousand pounds a year it is only one-twentieth. To understand this we have but to bear in mind that a tax of say sixpence per pound on tea, regardless of cost or quality, necessarily makes a bigger hole in the pocket of the poor than in the pocket of the rich consumer, and so with the duties on other articles of general consumption. The tobacco of the many is taxed 350 per cent, the cigars of the few from 15 to 50 per cent, with other inequalities of a like kind. It is reckoned that the direct taxes contribute 30 per cent of the revenue, the indirect 55, other sources 15.

While in Canada the poor man with his large family grows everything they consume, and pays no taxes on his tea, his coffee, his sugar or the other necessaries of life. His wearing apparel is all made in the country; consequently, he pays no taxes on that.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). Hear, hear.

Mr. TAYLOR. An hon. gentleman says 'hear, hear'; but before I sit down I think I shall be able to demonstrate that fact. The hon. member for South Oxford said further in that notable speech:—

The hon. gentleman must know, and if not, any of his friends from the rural districts can inform him, that within these ten or fourteen years the prices of our leading farm products have fallen, fallen, fallen, till they have touched to-day the lowest point known for forty years.

If this were the case, then the poor labouring man in Canada with his large family, would certainly have a cheap country to live in. But, Mr. Speaker, this statement is not for the poor labouring man, but is intended to catch the farmer for whom the hon. member for South Oxford and his friends appear to have a special regard at the present time. I am old enough to remember forty years back. Forty years ago I was a clerk in a country store, and I can well remember the prices that the farmers got at that time for their products. I remember that the farmers of the township where I then resided, the township of Lansdowne, drew their oats, in some cases to Kingston and in some cases to Brockville, a distance of from thirty to forty miles, and sold them at from 12½ cents to 15 cents a bushel; while to-day I am paying at my warehouse in Gananoque, 35 cents a bushel, and while hon. gentlemen opposite were in power, I purchased thousands of bushels of oats at 20 to 25 cents a bushel. Forty years ago, and often since, butter was sold at 12½ cents a pound; to-day it is worth 20 to 25 cents per pound. Pork, beef, mutton, butter, cheese, cattle of all kinds, sheep, pigs, apples, potatoes, vegetables, and grain of all kinds, save and

except wheat and barley, are as high or higher to-day than any year during the last forty years. Animals of all kinds, with the exception of horses, are as high as they have been in any year during the last forty years; and the farmers know far better than hon. gentlemen opposite, the cause of the depreciation in wheat and horses. They know that the over-production of wheat in the world is the cause of the low prices. They know that the use of electricity, having driven horses from the street car service, has caused the depreciation in the value of horses. The farmers also know that, on the whole, they have never been so well off, never had so much money to their credit in the savings banks during the last forty years, as they have to-day. They do not require the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) to tell them whether they are poorer to-day than they were ten or forty years ago. The hon. gentleman, referring to the hon. the Minister of Finance, made this statement:

But if the hon. gentleman knows his business as he should know it, he must be aware that when he talks of one hundred and twenty or one hundred and fifty millions of additional savings, that is quite insignificant when compared with the loss to the farmers of Canada alone by reason of the huge depreciation which has taken place in the value of the farms from one end of the country to the other. Sir, I say, and I know whereof I affirm, that in the province of Ontario alone, there has been a decline equal to ten dollars an acre on every acre of cultivated land from one end of the province to the other, and I am informed by those who have larger power of obtaining information than myself, that what is true of Ontario is true of Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Quebec, and if the hon. gentleman will understand what that means, he will know that for every dollar that has gone into the savings bank, three or four dollars have gone out of the pockets of the farmers of Canada.

Now, I cannot speak for the other provinces, but the Ontario Government—which, by the way, is not a Tory Government—keeps a record of the values of farm lands in the province of Ontario. According to the census returns, we have in Ontario cultivated land under crop 10,366,281 acres; orchard 330,048 acres, making a total of 10,696,329 acres. We have also under pasturage 3,461,623 acres, making a total of 14,157,952 acres. Beside, we have in woodland and forest 6,933,746 acres, making a total of occupied land in Ontario of 21,091,698 acres. So that the hon. gentleman may not find fault with my calculation, I will leave out the pasturage and wooded lands and the forests, and simply take the number of acres under crop and orchard, amounting to 10,696,329 acres. This, the hon. gentleman says, is reduced \$10 per acre, because, he says, every acre of cultivated land in the province of Ontario has suffered that decline in value. This reduction will amount to no less a sum

than \$106,963,290 of reduction in the value of cultivated land in that province during the last ten years. Now, let us see what Sir Oliver Mowat says on this subject. According to his report—the report of the Bureau of Industries for Ontario—the value of farm lands in 1882 was placed at \$632,000,000, and the buildings at \$132,000,000, making a total of \$764,000,000. Then, in 1892, he took stock again. He makes the valuation for 1892 of farm lands, occupied lands, \$615,000,000, and buildings, \$195,000,000, making a grand total of \$810,000,000, showing an increase in the value of lands and buildings in Ontario, according to Sir Oliver's valuation, of \$66,000,000 in the last ten years. Put alongside that the valuation made by the hon. member for South Oxford.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). What provision does the hon. gentleman make for the 40,000 farms brought under cultivation since 1882?

Mr. TAYLOR. I am giving you Sir Oliver Mowat's book-keeping. The hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) says there has been a decrease of no less than \$106,693,292. I would like to ask the hon. gentleman which statement is correct—that of Sir Oliver Mowat, who says there has been an increase in the value of \$66,000,000, or that of the hon. member for South Oxford, who says there has been a decrease of \$106,000,000? What confidence can the people have in any hon. gentleman, professing to be a statesman, who makes a statement such as that in reference to his country? But the hon. gentleman made some other observations, to which I purpose referring before I take up the tariff question. He said:

I believe there have been exacted from the people of Canada during the last fifteen years in real taxes paid, not into the treasury but into the pockets of the manufacturers as well, not less than \$1,000,000,000, and for that I believe I shall, at the proper time and place, give adequate and substantial reasons.

Now, \$1,000,000,000, extracted from the pockets of the people of this country, divided among the manufacturers of the country, will give a pretty large sum to each manufacturer. We have in the Dominion less than 1,000 persons engaged in manufacturing, who employ the labour of twenty persons and upwards in their factories. Divide \$1,000,000,000 among these thousand manufacturers, and you will have \$1,000,000 to each manufacturer in this country, besides the profits on his business. I ask if there is a sane man—aye, if there is a fool in this country—who would believe such a statement as that? I live in a manufacturing town with a population of four thousand and upwards. In that town we have some fifteen or twenty manufacturing establishments, each employing from twenty persons up to a hundred, and in one or two cases

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one hundred and fifty. And, Sir, the last assessment of this town, containing a population of four thousand—the assessment of the whole town, manufacturers and all—was a little less than \$1,000,000. Why, Mr. Speaker, I do not think we have in Canada, all told, over twenty men who are worth a million dollars and upwards, and I do not know of a millionaire engaged in the business of manufacturing. But, according to the hon. gentleman's statement every one of these 1,000 manufacturers in the Dominion ought to be worth a million dollars or more. I speak for the manufacturers of my own town. If the wealth of all the twenty manufacturing establishments in my own town of Gananoque were consolidated it would not amount to half a million dollars. And what is true of the manufacturers there is equally true of the manufacturers throughout the Dominion. We collected last year in customs duties the sum of \$21,000,000. The sum stated by the hon. gentleman—a thousand millions of dollars—would pay our customs duties at the same rate as those of last year for the next forty-seven years. The thousand millions of dollars that the hon. gentleman said the manufacturers of this country had extracted from the pockets of the people of this country would pay for the total imports of Canada for home consumption for the last ten years. Now, Mr. Speaker, I want to quote again from the hon. gentleman's speech. The hon. gentleman in that notable speech in reply to the hon. the Finance Minister, said:

I tell this House, and I tell the people of Canada anywhere and everywhere, that while I think Canada can maintain herself,—

—he is doubtful whether she can or not—

—perhaps, with good government and a wise fiscal system, in reasonable comfort, independent of the United States, yet that great prosperity and anything like a full development of our resources can only come to us, and will only come to us, when we obtain, on fair and honourable terms, free access to the markets of North America. There are other considerations on which I will not dwell now—

And he goes on in the same strain, dealing with the condition and prospects of Canada, and then makes this remarkable statement:

The United States are a great country: they are rather a group of thirty nations than a single nation; they extend from the tropics to the Arctic zone; they extend from one ocean to the other, and so do we, but under circumstances of a very much more disadvantage. Our country consists of three or four isolated groups, separated from each other by tracts of wilderness which can only be traversed at very great cost and very great expense for freight. The portions of our country are separated from each other, and what is more, they have not any very great facility for mutual interchange. We are rather competitors, as I have often said, than customers of each other, and there is no portion of the Canadian group which has not a better market

to the south of it—I am sorry to have to say it—than it has with the country which lies east or west.

These are the statements of the hon. gentleman occupying a seat in this House. What will be thought of them by people outside of the House when they come to read them? What are the considerations that the hon. gentleman will not refer to? Can it be possible that he is here acting as an emigration or an annexation agent for the United States? Let an immigration agent for the United States take the speech made by the hon. gentleman, have it printed and distributed in foreign countries, through France, England, Germany and other countries from which Canada expects to receive immigrants, and let an agent go from Canada to one of these countries, and, meeting an intending emigrant, present to him the advantages of coming to Canada. What will be the first word that the intending emigrant will answer? He will point the agent to a speech made by an hon. member of this House, and say: Canada is not the place for me to go to, when, alongside of it I can find a nation—no, not a nation, but thirty nations in one—with every facility for transport, for cheap trade and comfort—in fact, a perfect paradise. If I go to Canada, in order to get from one province or group of provinces to another I must pack a mule train or adopt some other expensive and inconvenient mode of travel, and I must traverse long distances through wildernesses, perhaps in danger of being eaten by wild animals or scalped by Indians. I will not go to your country, but I will go to the United States, where they have every facility for transport and for trade. The hon. gentleman says we have no facility for mutual intercourse and exchange. Why, Mr. Speaker, where is our great trans-continental railway, running from the Atlantic to the Pacific? Where is our great canal system, which is without an equal in the world? Where are all our railway systems and waterways? Yet the hon. gentleman says to the intending emigrant in a foreign country: Do not go to Canada, because you cannot get from one province to the other without travelling through great tracts of wildernesses.

An hon. MEMBER. On snowshoes.

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; on snowshoes. Then, Mr. Speaker, the hon. gentleman finds fault with Canada because we are not receiving more immigrants. I ask you, Mr. Speaker, and I ask the House and the country, how can we get immigrants to the country when an hon. gentleman, occupying the position of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), paints our country in such colours as these I have just referred to. And he goes further. The hon. gentleman makes another statement. He says:

The development of wheat-raising in the North-west, for some considerable time to come, must be regarded as very problematical.

What does that mean? Why, Sir, he tells the people of older countries that wheat-raising in the North-west is and must be regarded as very doubtful. Why, Mr. Speaker, do we not all know that in the North-west, ever since that country was broken up for wheat, we have produced more bushels of wheat to the acre, and more bushels of wheat to each immigrant we have there, and wheat of a better quality than has been produced in any other country under the sun. And yet the hon. gentleman says to the intending immigrant that the question of wheat-growing in Manitoba and the North-west is doubtful. Now, Mr. Speaker, let me read the closing of the hon. gentleman's wonderful speech:

And now, Sir, these hon. gentlemen challenge us—these consistent mortals, who are shocked at our inconsistency—demand our policy, and in especial they demand mine. Sir, they shall have it. I announced it years ago; my policy from first to last, ever since this infamous system was put on the statute-book, has been to do away with protection—how, I did not care. If free trade would do it, I was for that; if continental free trade or reciprocity with the United States would do it, I was for that; if a revenue tariff would do it, I was for that. Always and at all times, from the time I was Finance Minister until the present hour, I have set my face like a flint against recognizing in any shape or way the tyranny of protection. Sir, they demand our policy. Well, Sir, they shall have our policy, and here I believe I speak for my hon. friends beside me: our policy is death to protection and war to the knife to corruption. Sir, we strike, and we will strike, for liberty and freedom from this system of protective taxation; and I tell the hon. gentlemen that we will not rest until the slavery that they have imposed upon us has become a thing of the past, and until Canadians are free, as Canadians ought to be—free to buy and sell, free to make the most they can of the opportunities God has given them. And, Sir, that the hon. gentlemen may have their question answered I move:

—And he moved the resolution now before the House. Before I deal with the last quotation that I have read from the hon. gentleman's speech, I will read a quotation from another hon. gentleman, who also criticised the Budget, the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills); because he and the hon. gentleman from South Oxford agree on certain lines in respect to protection. The hon. member for Bothwell, in his speech, said:

An ordinary democrat wagon without taxation will cost about \$40, if it is a good wagon. Thirty-five per cent on that amount is \$14. There are about 30,000 of these wagons sold in the Dominion every year. Fourteen times 30,000 amounts to 420,000. Now, if those 30,000 wagons came in from the United States, the hon. gentleman would by his tariff get \$420,000 of public revenue. Whether it would be a fair distribution of taxation or not would depend upon his whole scheme. But that is not his object. His object is not to get money into the public treasury; that is a subordinate object in this tariff. The primary object is

the development of the country, and so, from the 30,000 men who buy these wagons, the hon. gentleman collects in the year \$420,000, which sum is taken from the men who earn it by their daily toil, and is given, along with the price of the wagons, to some man in Canada for the purpose of enabling him to be prosperous. I want to know if in such a transaction the hon. gentleman has not discouraged the 30,000 men to the same extent that he has encouraged the one or the ten who may be engaged in the making of those wagons? And what is true of that tax is true of every other that the hon. gentleman has imposed.

Further on in his remarks he deals with the wagon question again :

Now, in a free market, A gets his democratic wagon for \$40. Under the hon. gentleman's tariff he will get it for \$54. If he buys a foreign wagon, the Government will get the \$14, but if he buys a democratic wagon, made in Canada, the hon. member for Leeds (Mr. Taylor) will probably get it.

Mr. TAYLOR. The hon. gentleman has accused me of being a wagon-maker. I have no more interest in wagon-making or building than the hon. gentleman who is speaking. I have no interest in the building of wagons whatever.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I do not take back the principle I have enunciated, but I take back the application to the hon. gentleman. I am glad to make the correction. When the tax is on the foreign product and the Government gets the tax, there is protection to life and property as a compensation. That is a consideration. But when the wagon is manufactured in Canada and the money is paid to the Canadian manufacturer, what consideration does he give for the \$14? What does the consumer get in exchange for the money? You have expropriated \$14 of his money, and you give him absolutely nothing in exchange. So that whatever may be thought of protection as promoting the development of the country, there can be no doubt whatever as to its moral character.

Now, I propose for a short time to discuss protection, and see how the principle as laid down by the hon. member for Bothwell and the hon. member for South Oxford will work out. They agree that the last vestige of protection must be removed. Then I ask, Mr. Speaker, how are we going to raise a revenue? It cannot be collected on any article which we can produce, or manufacture, or grow, in this country; and our revenue must be collected on foreign goods, tea, sugar, coffee, raw cottons, &c., because if you have a revenue tariff of 17½ per cent, or any other rate, on a democrat wagon, or any other article, the home manufacturer is protected to the amount of the taxation. So that if A should buy his wagon in a foreign market at \$40 and import it under a revenue tariff of, say, 17½ per cent, it would cost him \$47. Then the home manufacturer would be protected to the extent of \$7 on that democrat wagon under a revenue tariff of 17½ per cent. Now, in order to remove, as the hon. gentleman proposes, the last vestige of protection, you must admit every article into this country free of taxation, and you must raise your taxes by

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direct taxation, and only on goods that you cannot grow or produce in this country. If you remove the last vestige of protection, the home manufacturer will have protection just to the extent of the duty you levy on the article he produces, whether it be 5 per cent or 10 per cent. If it is 10 per cent, the manufacturer of a hundred dollar article has protection to the extent of \$10. Buy in the cheapest market and pay no duties except on articles which we can grow or manufacture in the country, and on these, and these alone, or else by direct taxation must the revenue be raised. If the revenue of this country has got to be raised by direct taxation, the farmers are the first who will feel it. But in order to prove that protection does not increase the price to the consumer, if he will purchase in the home market, I will ask the hon. member for Bothwell, who says that what is true of the tax on a democrat wagon is true on every other article on which a tax has been imposed, how that problem will work out? By the present tariff a tax has been imposed on wheat of 15 cents a bushel, on flour of 75 cents per barrel, on meat of 2 and 3 cents a pound, and on some meat 25 per cent ad valorem; on butter, 4 cents per pound, on cheese, 3 cents per pound, on oats, 10 cents a bushel, tomatoes, 20 cents a bushel and 10 per cent; strawberries, blackberries, gooseberries, &c., 2 cents per pound, and so on through the whole list of articles produced by the farmer, the gardener, the stock-raiser and the cheese manufacturer in this country—every article they produce is protected by a tax of from 30 to 50 per cent. I ask the farmers of this country, if it would benefit them to have the duty removed off these articles I have mentioned, if you allow the American farmer to come in here and compete with them for the home market, and not allow the Canadian farmer to go into their market with his goods? I ask if that would be a benefit to the Canadian farmer, to have products of the same kind come in here to compete with theirs? Therefore, I ask, Is the proposition laid down by the hon. gentlemen opposite correct when they say that what is true of one article is equally true of all the others? For example, let us take barley, or flour, or a pound of butter, or a bushel of oats, or a quart of berries, or a barrel of apples, if you like. A wants a barrel of flour; the duty is 75 cents per barrel; he can buy flour in the United States for \$2 a barrel, so that when he gets his flour into Canada it has cost him \$2.75. But if he had gone to a Canadian miller, would he have had to pay \$2.75 for it? If so, and the Canadian had purchased his wheat at the same price as the United States miller, then the 75 cents would have gone into the pocket of the Canadian miller. But such is not the case. A could have purchased his barrel of flour from the Canadian miller at \$2, the same price as he paid the American miller, and thus have patronized and employed home labour and

have left his money in Canada. But if the Canadian miller can get the raw product, the wheat, at the same price as the American miller, he can sell the manufactured article at the same price as the American miller. If A came to the Canadian miller to purchase a barrel of flour, he would have paid \$2 for it. B, who went to the United States to buy a barrel of flour, would pay 75 cents into the treasury; but I ask hon. gentlemen opposite if the man who paid \$2 to the Canadian miller would have paid 75 cents into the pockets of the Canadian manufacturer? Buying at home gives labour to our home employees; but if you go over to the United States and buy there, you give employment to the labour of that country. What is true of the barrel of flour is true of every other article on which there is a tax imposed, even on the democrat wagons, because a democrat wagon or any other article can be produced in this country as cheaply as in the United States, if we have the raw material as cheap as they have it. The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) says there is sold every year in Canada 30,000 democrat wagons. I ask him, where are those built? In Canada. And by whom? By our own people. It will take one man fifteen days to build each one of those wagons. What does that mean? Giving employment in this country to 1,500 people the year round. Those 1,500 men represent a population of 7,500 souls. I ask the farmers, is it for their benefit to have those 7,500 living in this country, making wagons, and they, the farmers, feeding those people? That means to the farmers a home market in every town and village throughout the country where those wagons are built, and like the barrel of flour, the democrat wagon can be produced, and is being produced to-day in Canada, of better quality than the same article is being produced and built in the United States. The duty is simply for the purpose of protecting the home market, for the employment of our own people in our country. What did the delegation of farmers who left my county and visited the United States last year say on this point? They made some reference to the subject, and I think, when hon. gentlemen hear the names of the gentlemen who composed that de-

putation, there is not a farmer in the united counties of Leeds and Grenville who will dispute a word they say. What did they say:

We, the delegates selected, whose names I hereto annex, met as agreed at Brockville on the 4th day of July and proceeded to Ogdensburg, and spent three days driving through the different portions of the best farming and dairying sections in St. Lawrence and Jefferson counties in the State of New York, stopped at farm houses, talked with farmers and cheese manufacturers, visited a number of stores, obtaining samples of goods and prices also, visited harness shops, agricultural implement dealers, carriage dealers, blacksmiths' shops, &c., &c., in order to carry out the instructions contained in your letter. We embody in this our report to you, several interviews we had with some of the men with whom we talked. From all we could learn we found that farmers in Jefferson and St. Lawrence counties, where we visited, pay as much or more for what they have to purchase, and get no more for the produce they have to sell, than do farmers in the county of Leeds. We also found that they are not any more prosperous and from all we could gather are more heavily mortgaged, than farmers in the county of Leeds. We also found that well improved farms with the very best of soils, free from broken lands and lying within from two to ten miles of the city of Ogdensburg, as well as other localities where we made inquiries, can be purchased much cheaper than land of the same quality, with the same improvements similarly situated in the county of Leeds; that lands have depreciated in value more in the last ten years in St. Lawrence and Jefferson counties, than similarly situated lands in the county of Leeds. We found that cotton goods of all kinds will average about the same in the United States as in Canada; woollen goods of all kinds and clothings are very much higher in the States than in Canada; sugar and teas are higher in the States than in Canada; provisions about the same; agricultural machinery and binder twine are higher in the States than in Canada; wagons and buggies, considering quality, the Canadian goods are as cheap if not cheaper than the American; cheese furnishings are higher in the States than in Canada, while cheese is not so high, taxes irrespective of school and poll taxes, are higher in the States than in Canada.

The delegates gave a detailed list of the prices of the various articles on the Canadian side and on the American side, and I will quote one or two examples:

IMPLEMENTS.

| <i>Canadian Prices.</i> | | <i>American Prices.</i> | |
|---|----------------|---|----------------|
| Best binders | \$100 to \$110 | Best binders. | \$120 to \$135 |
| Reapers | 60 to 65 | Reapers | 60 to 65 |
| Mowers | 40 to 45 | Mowers | 45 to 48 |
| Horse rakes | 22 | Horse rakes | 25 |
| Seeders | 48 | Seeders | 50 |
| 10-hoe drill | 60 | 10-hoe drill | 65 |
| Randall disk harrow | 22 | Randall disk harrow | 28 |
| General purpose plough, Frost & Wood pattern, or the Wilkinson | 13 | General purpose plough, Frost & Wood pattern, or the Wilkinson | 16 |
| Binder twine, standard | 0 9½c. | Binder twine, standard | 0 11 c. |
| Binder twine, manilla | 0 10½c. | Binder twine, manilla | 0 12½c. |
| | | Last year's prices for binder twine were | 12 & 13c. |

The prices of machinery are quoted for cash in both markets and qualities are equal.

That is what the gentlemen stated, and they published interviews which they had with farmers in different places through some of the best farming sections of St. Lawrence and Jefferson counties. The report is subscribed to by Andrew Gray, Esq., farmer and warden of the united counties of Leeds and Grenville; John A. Webster, Esq., farmer, reeve of the front of Leeds and Lansdowne; John Connor, farmer and cheese manufacturer; Alexander Atcheson, farmer, president of the South Leeds Agricultural Association; John Roddick, miller and farmer, ex-reeve of Leeds and Lansdowne (rear); Thomas Berney, agricultural implement dealer, ex-reeve of rear of Young and Eascott; John Franklin, farmer and president of the Farmers' Institute for Brockville Riding; E. G. Adams, Esq., farmer and implement dealer, ex-reeve of North Crosby, and John R. Dargavel, general merchant and township clerk for South Crosby. That is the testimony given by eight or nine disinterested witnesses, who visited stores, &c., on the American side of the line, and on their return made their report, and no hon. gentleman in this House, and no gentleman outside of it, can dispute successfully the facts therein stated. Let us take a reaper. The farmer can purchase one in Canada of the best quality for \$110. For a reaper of the same quality in the United States the farmer has to pay \$125. But suppose we take the statement of the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) in regard to the wagon, and for argument's sake we say that the Canadians could purchase as good a reaper in the United States for \$90 as he could in Canada for \$110. The duty or tax, or whatever you wish to call it, is 20 per cent, and the freight will be \$2. So the farmer would have to pay \$18 of duty and \$2 freight, which would bring the cost of the American machine in Canada up to \$110. It is true that the \$18 has gone into the public revenue, but the \$90 of Canadian money is lost to this country; just as soon as that machine is worn out Canada is \$90 the poorer. But the loss does not stop there. It will take one man 30 days, or 30 men one day, to build that machine in Canada. If the machine is built in the United States the employment for these men will no longer exist in this country; besides the men building the machine at the factory, see all the other labour, the benefit of which we are deprived of: the man who mines the iron at the mine, the moulder who moulds the iron, the machinist who fits up the machine, the lumberman who cuts up the lumber and saws it at his mill to put into that perfect piece of machinery, the paint manufacturer who manufactures the paint, the painter who paints the machine, the man who makes the fittings for that machine—all these men are deprived of their work, and the industry is transplanted to the south of the line. Let us consider what that would mean to the farmers of this country. A

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small army of men are engaged in the manufacture of these implements in almost every province of the Dominion; the farmers of Canada are supplying these men with food, and let me ask: will it be profitable to the farmers of this country to compel these workmen to emigrate to the United States? Then the question comes down to a practical issue: if we can get our machines made in this country out of our raw material, and made and sold as cheaply as the American farmer gets his machine, why in the world should we adopt such a policy as to lower our tariff down to what my hon. friend says it ought to be lowered to, namely: to the last vestige of protection? Why in the name of common sense should we drive every manufacturer and every labourer in this country to work in the United States, or elsewhere, a result which would be inevitable if the policy advocated by the Liberal party were adopted? The hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) says that there are 367,000 people, mostly heads of families, employed in one branch or other of the industries of this country. This means, at five to a family, that there are 1,835,000 souls depending on one branch or the other of the manufacturing industries, which produce goods in Canada for use by our own people. Does it not mean an immense thing to the farmers of Canada that they have the opportunity to supply with their products this great multitude of Canadians? Would it be a benefit to the Canadian farmer to have all these people driven out of the country, as they would be, were we not producing our own iron, our own coal, our own coal oil, our own sugar, our own cottons, our own woollens, our own agricultural implements, our own boots and shoes, and in fact every article that we manufacture? If these 1,800,000 people were to be deprived of the protection that they have to-day they would simply have to go to the United States or some other foreign country. If, according to hon. gentlemen opposite, the last vestige of protection were to be removed, this multitude of people would have to disappear with it, and wherein would it be a gain to our farmers if they were obliged to send their products after them? What benefit, I ask, would it be to the farmer of this country if he had to take his wheat, his flour, his butter, his cheese, his vegetables, his poultry, in fact everything he produces, to a brother farmer, and ask him to purchase from him, when the brother farmer had a full and ample supply of the same goods to dispose of himself? Mr. Speaker, I ask: do the farmers of this country not know their own business? Why was a delegation of farmers here a few days ago waiting upon the Government to ask them—what? Asking them to change the ad valorem duty and to raise it to a specific duty on their pork. This was the request of a deputation of farmers who knew their own business best.

They stated that pork and beef-raising, together with the dairying industry, is their line of manufacture, and that they want this industry, as well as everything they grow and produce, protected, not by ad valorem, but by a specific duty. They made this request, not for the purpose of raising the price to the consumer, but in order to keep the home market for themselves. These farmers were honest enough to say: We do not care what protection you put on any other manufactured articles; keep the article that we manufacture properly protected, and at the same time keep the other manufactures properly protected also, because local competition will keep the prices low enough. And the farmers, on almost every article they do produce, are protected in the same way. When farm products are taxed from 30 to 50 per cent, because there is from 30 to 50 per cent tax—if you call it a tax—on the farm produce of the country, then labouring men of this country have a right to the same protection on their labour. The labouring men of Canada are not complaining of the duty on farm products, although I see that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Lepine) who represents the labouring men of Montreal, has a notice on the Paper, asking the Government to take the tax off butter and cheese, and eggs, and pork, and these things. I believe that it is done simply because the labourers say: If the farmers of the country want the protection removed from the articles that the workingmen of Montreal are protected on, then let the Government take the protection off the articles which we are consuming, and which are raised by the farmers of this country. A few years ago, Mr. Speaker, I moved a resolution in this House asking the Government to place a duty on pork. A year previous to my moving that resolution Canada had imported from the United States over \$12,000,000 worth of pork and beef, and the products thereof, for the use of the people of this country. The Government placed a duty on pork and beef, and the farmers of this country have developed that branch of their industry to such an extent that last year, not only did they produce enough pork to supply the wants of our people, but they had also some for export as well, and they have kept that \$12,000,000 at home which a few years ago were sent to the United States to purchase these products. The farmers of this country know their own business. They know that they do not want the American beef, the American pork, the bogus American butter, oleomargarine, the American cheese, American fruit, vegetables, corn, &c., to come into this country free of duty. They can produce enough in Canada now to fully supply the wants of our home market, and they want the American products kept out. As I said before, they want a duty on these products, not for the purpose of raising the price to the consum-

ers, but simply to keep out of this market similar products to theirs, and of which there is a surplus, and more than a surplus, in the United States. I received a letter to-day from a farmer, who, I may say, is president of one of the Patron lodges in my own county. I may say that I think the Patrons discuss these questions thoroughly at the present day, because they are pretty well enlightened by their paper, called the 'Farmer's Sun,' which is a reprint of the local paper published by my hon. friend from Bothwell (Mr. Mills), or his organ

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). No.

Mr. TAYLOR. The hon. gentleman gets the credit of its being his organ. At all events it is the Liberal organ of western Ontario, and the organ of the Patrons of Industry is a reprint of it.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I have got no organ.

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, you get credit for having a local organ, as I get the credit of having one in my town.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). But my hon. friend did not admit that.

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, I admit it now. But I say that the official organ of the Patrons of Industry gives the Government no credit for the reduction that they have made in the taxation; therefore I fancy it is a Grit organ simply, with a new headline calling it the Patrons' official organ. Here is the letter I have received:

SOUTH LAKE, April 9, 1894.

DEAR MR. TAYLOR,—I take the present opportunity to drop you a line to let you know something about the feeling of the farmers in this locality with reference to the new tariff. They are quite well satisfied with everything except pork, which has been reduced from 2 cents per pound to 25 per cent. If we farmers are well protected in our natural products, we would not exact too close a protection on other things, such as machinery, &c., as it does not affect us so much. The majority of farmers in this country are provided with necessary machinery required. We do not require to buy implements or such like every year. So it would not affect us very much, as machinery will last for years if taken care of. We do not want to monopolize the whole prerogative at too much of a sacrifice to other branches of industry.

(Signed) JOHN BIRMINGHAM.

What the farmers desire is to have the duty on pork placed at 3 cents a pound. On the same line, the president of one of the Patrons' lodges in my county writes to me that they are perfectly well satisfied with the tariff, except that they want the duty on pork increased. They do not care what the duty is on machinery and other articles, so long as they themselves are properly protected. Mr. Speaker, I have my own views on the tariff. I am strongly in favour of

protection to all our native industries, agriculture, manufacturing, mining, fishing, &c. In the beginning of February last I was requested to meet with the Patrons of Industry of my county and give them my views on the tariff. I embodied my views in a letter which I read to them on that occasion, and I am safe in saying that among the three or four hundred farmers present nine out of ten approved of the views I expressed. Those were my views then, and they are my views now. I asked them to give me any suggestions that occurred to them, so that I might press these views on the Government when they came to make any changes in the tariff. I will read to you, Mr. Speaker, the letter which I read at that meeting :

I have read over carefully the United States Wilson Bill as it is now before the Senate and beg to offer a few suggestions as to what I think we should do in respect to the revision of our tariff. One thing should be borne in mind—we should as far as possible copy the Americans, that is, to legislate for our own country and people. The whole tone of their tariff is to protect the industries of the United States, they have not lowered the tariff on any line on which they fear competition and have only placed on the free list such articles as they need for raw material, food or articles of which they have a large surplus and on which they do not fear competition.

Therefore, in that respect, I hope our Government will copy them—in many respects we are different to them and on some lines require a higher rate of protection than they do. Our market is limited and our raw material has to be imported, while they have a larger market and have the raw material at hand.

On cotton and woollen goods, as I take it from their proposed tariff, they are higher on many lines than we are, and they have both specific and ad valorem duties.

We should make as large a free list as we can in raw materials for our manufactures, at the same time not admit raw material free where we have or can produce it in this country.

Iron and steel is the principal raw material for most of our manufacturers, therefore, I do not think as these are being produced in the country, that the tariff on them should be lowered. There are some grades of iron and steel, such as Norway and Swedes iron and high grade of steel, that are not made in the country, these should be placed on the free list, but the others should be kept as they are, in order to develop our iron and steel industries, and, in my opinion, one thing which has prevented a more rapid development of them, is the fact that scrap iron has been allowed to be imported at a low rate of duty, this should be increased about \$4 per ton over the present duty, this will act as a further bounty to the iron and steel producers, and then leave the duty as it is on manufactured iron in order to protect the rolling-mill men; if not sufficient, increase it a little, but I think as it is will be ample, and I find that all the manufacturers of goods of which iron and steel are the raw materials prefer to have the duties remain as they are on iron and steel, viz. : \$12 and \$13 per ton, than to have them

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lowered and than reduce the tariff on their manufactured product.

I find also with all classes who have supported the National Policy, they are pretty generally satisfied with the tariff as it stands, and from all I could gather from the meetings held by the controllers this was the case, save and except on agricultural implements, barb wire, binder twine and coal oil.

If the Wilson Bill passes I would meet them on agricultural implements, but you want to guard against them, applying section 6, page 92, of the Wilson Bill to our goods being sent into their country. Make our tariff read : Ploughs, tooth and disc harrows, harvesters, reapers, drills, mowers, horse rakes, cultivators, threshing machines and cotton gins—Free. Provided, that if any or each of these articles is imported from any country which imposes a duty, or by local or trade mark laws prevents the free importation and sale of any of each of the aforesaid articles exported from Canada, then the duty on such articles coming from such country into Canada shall be the same as it was prior to the passing of this Act.

Then in order to place agricultural implement manufacturers on as good footing in regard to raw material as the American manufacturers and in order to enable them to sell these articles as low to our farmers as the American manufacturers can to their people, I would give them on all the iron and steel, cotton, drilling, &c., made in Canada, which entered into the manufacture of these articles, a bonus equal to the duty on the iron, steel and cotton, the same as if they had imported it—but I would only pay such bonus when the raw material was a Canadian product. That is, I would not allow them to import their iron, steel, cotton, &c., then give a bonus equal to the duty, but would give the bonus for selling our own raw material. This will help our iron, steel, and cotton industries, and at same time will be a great boon to the farmers, particularly in the North-west.

As to barb wire this I would put down to 12½ per cent same as the binder twine, leaving binder twine where it is.

As to coal oil, if American oil for fuel and refining purposes could be admitted free without injuring our Canadian industry, I would do so, but if it was likely to prove disastrous to our Canadian industry, leave it as it is, as the grievance in the older provinces has been met by the price being reduced as it is to 12½ cents per gallon, but I would compel the oil men to see that the North-west and eastern provinces were likewise supplied at reasonable rates.

As to breadstuffs and farinaceous substances, see American Tariff under this head, page 29 of the Wilson Bill, article 189.

What benefit is it to us to have the articles here named on the free list conditionally with them, they want us to take their corn, and what do they take as an equivalent ?

I would make ours read, buckwheat, corn or maize, cornmeal, oats, oatmeal, rye, rye flour, wheat, wheat flour, potatoes, peas, beans, barley, barley meal, bran, shorts, hay,—free; provided each of the above products shall be admitted free of duty only from any country which imposes no import duty on any of the above named articles when exported from Canada to said country.

This, I think, would be a fair exchange—let them take our potatoes, barley and hay in exchange

for their corn. Corn is as much used for food for animals as hay is; therefore, I think we should include hay as well as barley in the list of bread-stuffs.

I have discussed this phase of it with many of our farmers, both Grit and Tory, and they all agree that this would be fair, and if we cannot get this, stay as we are. All agree don't take their corn unless they take our hay and barley.

As to meats of all kinds, I would let them stay as they are, except that I would strike out the pork which is now admitted at 1½ cents per pound, and make it all 3 cents. This will also benefit the farmers, who are now producing pork in such large quantities, and I don't think it will be much of a tax on the lumbermen, and this is one thing that came out prominent at the meetings held by the controllers—keep the duty on pork and make it all 3 cents per pound.

As to fruits—I would keep the duties where they are.

Salt—I would leave it as it is as not to injure our Canadian industry.

I would place lumber on the free list same as they have, as well as what we have on now.

In general, I say make as large a free list as we can for raw material and necessaries of life. Tax luxuries all you like. Protect all our industries in such a way as we can retain our own trade and give employment to our own people, not only in good times but in times of depression like the present. Local competition will keep the prices low enough, in fact, leave our tariff as it is on all manufacturing lines except those I have mentioned, and I think our friends will, in both town and country, be satisfied, and more than our friends among the manufacturers and workmen, and if you reduce it to 5 per cent you will not please our opponents.

Besides, if the Tariff is lowered on many of our manufactures we will injure them, and the workmen will be the ones that will have to suffer by having to work for lower wages in order to enable the manufacturers to compete with foreign goods, and at the present time, owing to the depressive state of affairs in the United States, many of our manufacturers find it impossible to compete successfully—so that in some lines increased protection should be given.

Now, these were the views I entertained then, that I have always entertained, and that I entertain now in reference to the tariff question. The hon. the Finance Minister in his Budget speech has voiced the same view—that it is the intention of the Government to give ample protection to all our industries, agricultural, manufacturing, &c., to enable them to successfully compete, in the home market, with the foreign product. In the resolutions which he has laid on the Table, owing to the depressed state of affairs prevailing in the United States, I don't think that, in all lines, he has done this; and no doubt, when we go into committee, some changes will have to be made on pork and on some other lines, which, like pork, nothing but specific duties will properly protect in times of depression or when goods must be sold at slaughter prices, as they are being sold to-day in the United States. Therefore, when we get into committee, I hope and

expect to see the duty changed on pork from ad valorem to specific, as well as on some other articles on which I do not think the present resolutions properly protect the home market. The hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), in that speech which he delivered in reply to the Minister of Finance, laid down his platform, and that platform is to wipe out the last vestige of protection. Well, Mr. Speaker, I have laid down my platform, which is protection to all our industries, agricultural, manufacturing and others. Now, I will make this proposition to the hon. member for South Oxford. If he will have 8,000 copies of that wonderful speech of his printed, from which I have quoted, I will have 8,000 copies printed of the speech I have just delivered. We will jointly employ some person to address a copy of each speech to each elector in the South Riding of Leeds. And the South Riding of Leeds, is a constituency composed of one town with a population of 4,000, two incorporated villages with a population of about 1,000 each, and eight townships, thoroughly settled by wealthy, prosperous, well-to-do farmers. The eight townships have a total voting population of between 6,000 and 7,000, and the constituency, being equally divided between Liberals and Conservatives, has always been considered a doubtful one. Now, we will send a copy of each speech to each elector in that constituency. That is the only electioneering we shall do—simply leave the arguments on each side to the intelligence of the electors. I will resign my seat, the hon. gentleman will resign his, and we will leave the verdict to the intelligent electors of that riding, without any canvassing on either side. And if I am not returned by a very large majority, I will retire from public life, and admit that the people of this country are not in favour of protection to our home industries—be they agricultural, manufacturing, or otherwise.

Mr. FORBES. Will you make the same offer with reference to South Oxford?

Mr. TAYLOR. South Leeds is not a Tory hive, but a doubtful constituency, whereas South Oxford is a Grit hive; but I would not be afraid to extend the challenge and let us run the same day for both constituencies. I have always been a practical man, and I believe this will be a practical solution of the question—leaving it to the intelligent electors of this country to say whether they want the last vestige of protection removed, or whether they want protection to their pork, to the produce raised on their farms, and to the labour of the country, so that our farmers may have a chance to feed that labour. With this invitation to the hon. gentleman I shall conclude my remarks, thanking you, Mr. Speaker, and the House for your very patient hearing.

Mr. CASEY. The hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat, has certainly proposed a very novel form of tournament. He is not

satisfied with the party platform laid down by his leaders, and has laid before us a platform which he declares to be his own. He wishes the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), to resign his seat, in which case the hon. gentleman will resign his own, and they will fight the matter out under certain very peculiar conditions. I think, in view of the fact that the hon. member did not very largely increase his majority on the last election in the county of South Leeds, that he would be perhaps rash in carrying out that proposal.

Mr. TAYLOR. It was only 106.

Mr. CASEY. But there was a reduction as compared with the previous election, even without the eight thousand speeches of the hon. member for South Oxford, which the hon. gentleman now proposes to circulate in that county. The hon. gentleman says he has always been a consistent protectionist. I am very sorry he did not, like his distinguished leader, see the errors in time. It may be perhaps because the Finance Minister did see his errors—his clerical errors—in time, that the hon. member for South Leeds is now so very warm a protectionist, although he denies having any connection with that democrat wagon that went through the error with a load of starch, which my hon. friend from North Grey (Mr. Lauderkin) alluded to. I certainly understood that the hon. member for South Leeds (Mr. Taylor), had an interest in the manufacture, if not of wagons, of certain parts of them, such as wheels, hubs, spokes, &c. I am sorry he is not here to say to what extent that report is true. But I must pass from the hon. gentleman's remarks rather rapidly, because it will take all the time I wish to occupy to go through my own notes. I must call attention, however, to one or two new points in political economy mentioned by that hon. gentleman. He has laid it down as a principle that whenever you buy a thing in a foreign country you lose the money you pay for it. He gave the example of a reaping machine that could be bought for \$90 in the States, but which costs \$100 in Canada; and he said that notwithstanding the difference in price, there was a gain to Canada in purchasing the machine on this side, because in the other case the \$90 were lost to us and went to the United States. If that is the way the hon. gentleman makes bargains in his own business, I am astonished at the success he seems to have made of it. If he pays out \$90 in business without getting at least \$90 worth in exchange, he is not the man I take him for. I do not believe that the people of Canada pay out their money without getting a return, and it is certainly an absolutely new principle in political economy that money sent out of the country to buy money's worth is lost to us. Another new contribution on his part to the science of political economy is his advocacy

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of a tax to keep out certain articles of which we produce a surplus for export to foreign countries. This is just about the same thing as if he should propose means to prevent water from running up hill, to prevent anything from acting in a way in which it could not possibly act. The notion of putting a protective duty upon an article of which we produce a surplus, or rather the imposing of a tax on such an article with the idea that it can possibly be a protection, is about the silliest it is possible to conceive. The tax upon that of which we produce a surplus is of the kind described by my hon. friend for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) as a sham tax. If I recollect well, when the hon. gentleman spoke, he made the statement that there were taxes for revenue and taxes for development—usually called by our friends opposite protective taxes and “sham taxes”—and, as the hon. member for Leeds (Mr. Taylor) made allusion to my friend from Bothwell's (Mr. Mills) speech and did not seem to understand the hon. gentleman's language, I would like to call attention to the words he quoted from the speech of the hon. member from Bothwell:

And what is true of that tax is true of every other that the hon. gentleman has imposed, not with the view of getting revenue into the treasury, but with the view of development. □

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). He stopped at the word “imposed.”

Mr. CASEY. Yes; the hon. gentleman stopped at the word “imposed,” leaving it to be imagined that my friend from Bothwell alluded to all taxes under the National Policy. Such was evidently not his intention, as he could not mean to refer to sham taxes such as those on wheat, butter, cheese, cattle, and other items of which we export a surplus. So much for the remarks of my hon. friend from Leeds (Mr. Taylor). As for my own remarks, I shall imitate the regulation preacher by taking a text. That text is so long that assuredly, I shall not trouble the House by reading it before I begin. My text is the speech of the hon. Minister of Finance at length, and at large, wherever I can pick a gem or find a clerical error on which to descant. Perhaps I had better put the sermon under a few heads. If I lose any of my heads, or if I lose my own head, in attempting to look after the heads of my discourse, I shall have to beg the indulgence of the House. The first I shall refer to is the question: What is the issue between the parties in this House? The Minister of Finance in the course of his speech was very anxious that the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) should give him a definite statement of the Liberal policy on the trade question. Several hon. gentlemen on that side of the House, even after the speech of the hon. member for South Oxford, which they had evidently not read—and it was equally evident that they had not read the resolution which he proposed—

repeated the demand that a specific statement of the Liberal policy should be given. I hope that the Minister of Finance at least, not to speak of his followers who did not exercise their minds enough to read up the issue they were discussing, is no longer in doubt as to what the policy of this side of the House is. It is put fairly and distinctly in the amendment moved by the hon. member for South Oxford. The issue is a direct one between the policy of maintaining a tariff for revenue purposes only, and the policy of maintaining a tariff with a view rather to the development of certain industries than to the raising of revenues for the country. It is not necessary to read the whole of the resolution in question, but I must call attention to one portion of it :

That, to that end, the tariff should be reduced to the needs of honest, economical and efficient government, should have eliminated from it the principle of protection to particular industries at the expense of the community at large, and should be imposed for revenue only :

That it should be so adjusted as to make free, or bear as lightly as possible upon, the necessities of life, and to promote freer trade with the whole world, particularly with Great Britain and the United States.

This policy is the policy of our side of the House. The policy of the hon. Minister of Finance on the other hand, as he has told us, is one of protection with incidental revenue as opposed to one for revenue without regard to protection. What he desires to secure through the tariff is protection. That secured, he does not object to make a certain revenue out of the tariff. He said in the early part of his speech :

I wish, at this early stage of my remarks upon this subject, to say that, so far as the revenue aspect is concerned, it is of infinitely less importance than the effect of the principle and the details of the tariff upon the trade and development of a country.

And then a little further on :

The principles of a tariff have nothing to do in this year 1893-94 with the amount of money which is required for the country's expenditure ; and the fact that thirty-eight millions of dollars are raised under it is neither an argument for its support nor an argument for its condemnation.

That is a clear declaration that it does not matter how much money you raise by the tariff, how much money you make the people pay, so long as you secure what he calls development or protection for certain industries. That seems to me to be a strange declaration of policy, but it is, at all events, clear and unmistakable. He makes it a little stronger by saying :

So that the principal aspect in which the tariff is to be viewed is as to its effect upon the trade and development of the country.

And further on towards the end of his remarks, he declares specifically :

I want to state here that the Government of to-day, and the party which supports the Government of to-day, take their stand squarely and fairly upon the embodiment and upon the preservation of the principle of protection in the tariff, the degree of that protection to be according to the circumstances of industry and the conditions of business and of trade at the present time.

Now, Sir, the issue is clear : it is an issue between a tariff for the sake of protection and treating the revenue question as one of slight account, and a tariff framed for the purpose of revenue and taking no account of protection at all, but which would necessarily involve a certain amount of incidental protection as long as the tariff was levied upon articles which could be manufactured in the country. Now, Sir, that brings me to the second head—what is protection ? The hon. Finance Minister has defined that for us. He says :

The third method is that which all great countries at the present time, with the exception of Great Britain, have adopted and have in practice and that is the protective system, in which a list of articles is selected and upon which imposts are placed with the design, not only of raising a revenue, but of protecting the country in its various interests, in its labour and in its general development.

Selecting a list of articles for the purpose of protecting them at the expense of the rest of the community is, then, protection, for the Minister has been frank enough at least to admit that protection can only exist at the expense of the unprotected part of the community. He says :

Another objection that has been made to the National Policy and to the protective principle in it, is : that the cost of many manufactured goods has been enhanced to the consumer on account of the rates imposed. Now, Sir, I grant that argument at once to a certain extent. I say that in the initial years of a National Policy with a protective principle in it, it will have the effect of enhancing the cost of goods, and that at the first the cost of goods will be very closely up to the measure of the protection which was given. If it does not have that effect why should it ever be adopted at all, and what is the good of it ?

That is what we have been arguing for many years, ever since protection was first introduced, that the protective system did enhance the cost of the protected goods and enhanced it very nearly up to the amount of duty imposed. That argument was resisted and denied continuously through all the debates we have had upon the subject ; it has even been resisted and denied during the present debate and after the Finance Minister has made the frank confession which I have just read. The hon. Minister, however, proceeds to modify that confession by urging that, although in the initial stages of a protective tariff it may have that effect, internal competition ultimately takes the

place of external competition and reduces the price to as low a rate as it would have been if the duty had not been imposed. We are often charged with theoretical treatment of trade subjects. Now, Sir, that is a purely theoretical, a purely 'doctrinaire' way of treating the question of protection. It sounds very fine in theory, but it does not work out in practice. When this internal competition reaches a certain point, those who are competing with each other, instead of continuing to cut each other's throats, join together and reduce their product to such a point that they can take the full advantage of the customs tax imposed, and pool the profits. That is what has been done in the woollen trade, what has been done in the cotton trade, what has been done in the sugar trade, what is being rapidly done in the agricultural implement trade, and what will be done in every trade in the country where competition reaches such a point as to threaten the profits secured by the high protective tax. Internal competition can never reduce the prices materially, because that result will be prevented by consolidation, whether that consists in a combine, or in the purchase by the large concerns of their smaller rivals. But, apart from this question of competition, apart from the consideration of the effects of combines, I must ask the Minister, if the prices are lower, no matter by what process, under a protective tariff, why is it that the protection cannot, after a certain time, be taken away? If, as urged by hon. gentlemen opposite, prices are now as low in Canada as they would be if there were no protection, why can they not safely eliminate the whole of the protective principle from the tariff? For, if their contention is true, their friends, the manufacturers, would lose nothing by such a course. The hon. member for Leeds (Mr. Taylor) has told us to-night how many things were made cheaper in Canada under the National Policy than they are in the United States, and sold cheaper. If that be the case, surely we need no protection. But we do not find that the Government, in this matter, more than others, carries out the logical sequence of its theory. The hon. Minister of Finance says that the sacrifice, which he admits is demanded from the consumer of Canada by his protective taxes, is necessary to obtain for ourselves a "vantage ground," even though we have to pay for it at first, in order that these industries may be developed, and in order that we may grow up to be a progressive and self-dependent people. Now, it does not seem to result from the history of protection in this country, that we are growing any more progressive or self-dependent than we were before, if these industries which have been protected, still ask that that protection be continued. We cannot call ourselves a progressive people, when we are compelled, on the confession of the Minister of Finance, to pay a bonus to our manufacturers to keep them alive. That is not a sign of progress, that is not a sign of

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self-dependence; it is a sign that our industries are in the same sickly condition they were supposed to be in in 1879, when this cure-all tariff was introduced. But, Sir, apart from the merits and virtues of the tariff, the Minister claims that it has been endorsed and re-endorsed by the people of this country as a protective tariff, that the National Policy, as introduced in 1878, was a protective tariff, that it was endorsed by the people in 1878 as protective in principle, and has been re-endorsed on that ground in every election since. Sir, I venture to dispute all these points. When the attention of the House was first called to what afterwards became the National Policy, by Sir John Macdonald, in the session of 1878, he did not lay it down to us as a scheme of protection at all; he spoke of it as a readjustment of the tariff, that was to develop increased prosperity in nearly every industry in the country, that was to encourage and develop an active interprovincial trade, "and, moving, as it ought to do, in the direction of a reciprocity of tariff with our neighbours, so far as the varied interests of Canada may demand, will greatly tend to secure for this country eventually a reciprocity of trade." That was what the National Policy proposed in 1878, not a policy of protection for protection's sake, but a policy of reciprocity of tariff, for the sake of getting reciprocity of trade. Most of us can remember the heated debates that went on, not only in this House, but throughout the country. We were told that the Yankees taxed our goods so much, and let us reciprocate by putting an equal tax on their goods. What for? For the sake of protection? No, but in order that we might have something to offer them in order to obtain reciprocity. Reciprocity was held out as the goal of the National Policy from beginning to end; and it was the idea of obtaining reciprocity from the United States by means of a high tariff, that induced the electors to support that policy. The electors in 1878 did not consciously vote for a protective tariff for the sake of protection—at least they did not all do it, in any part of the country. I believe, in the Maritime Provinces especially, the idea of reciprocity with the United States as the ultimate goal of the sacrifice we would have to make in the meantime, was the principal thing that carried the elections. That was the principle of legislation proposed by Sir John A. Macdonald in 1878, reciprocity of tariff for the sake of obtaining reciprocity of trade. Now, let us come to the next election, in 1882. Does any member of this House believe that was decided purely on tariff lines, that it was a full and unbiassed re-endorsation of the principle of protection? Some hon. member says, "Yes." Hon. gentlemen will recollect that in the election of 1882 the Government relied on certain other forces than protection. We had a reconstruction of the constituencies of the country, called by us the gerrymander, called by hon. gentlemen opposite by names

much less appropriate. The constituencies of Ontario at least were cut and clipped and reunited in such a way that in many counties minorities would elect a majority of members. In the county of Middlesex, with a large majority of Reformers, only one Reformer was returned out of four members. I am not going to enter into the details of the gerrymander measure, but all hon. members are familiar with the fact that the constituencies were so arranged that minorities in many places elected majorities of representatives. Then there was the Canadian Pacific Railway, which had just got under full headway of construction. It was a vast engine of political support to the Government at that time, not only in the way of direct cash support, which I do not doubt was given, but in the way of influence exercised, not only in the North-west, but in Ontario and Quebec. Besides, we had still lingering in the country the effects of the great boom in the North-west, credit for which was given to the enterprising exploits of the Government. It was thought the country had entered upon an era of great prosperity, because a large amount of borrowed money was being spent, and spent where it would do the most good. The gerrymander and the Canadian Pacific Railway had infinitely more to do with the carrying of the election for the Conservative party in 1882 than had the National Policy, which had developed into a protection policy. I must admit that although the hon. gentlemen proposing the National Policy did not propose it as a protective tariff, yet when the Government came to frame the tariff they framed it as a protective one, retaining the principle of protection, but not giving effect to the other ideas embodied in the original text of the National Policy. Coming to the election of 1887, what influences had the Government in that year to enable them to remain in power besides the tariff? They had still the gerrymander, the effect of which was not worn out then, and is not worn out yet. The Canadian Pacific Railway was still at the back of the Government, as in 1882. Enormous and rich combines of manufacturers had been formed, and they were also at the back of the Government. Contractors had begun to make large profits, which enabled them to subscribe funds very freely to the Government, of which we had some little insight during the investigation of 1891. The Postmaster General could tell the House something about that matter, as we have seen so many receipts with his name attached, about the pouring of large sums of money, which the contractors had abstracted from the coffers of the country, into the coffers of the party for election purposes. These poor fellows who poured that money so freely into the Government coffers for election funds, what did they realize? Confinement in jail for a certain number of months, from which they were only rescued by doctors' certificates, that

their lives were in danger from the punishment they were undergoing. Those men were allowed to take money out of the public treasury, that they might hand it back again to the party treasury. These men were punished, but those who took the money and used it for election purposes, those who took the people's money with which to corrupt the people, have not been shut up in jail. I am not saying they should be shut up, for such an assertion, I am afraid, would be unparliamentary; but if one side is blamable the other side is blamable also, whatever the legal consequences may be. The contractors and combines have been leeches used to extract the blood, or, at least the circulating medium of the country, from the public treasury, and subsequently they have been placed on a dish by the Government, sprinkled with salt, and compelled to disgorge what they had extracted from the public treasury, for the benefit of the party, and by frequently gorging and disgorging a large amount of money was transferred from the public treasury to private election funds. That system reached its full development in the elections of 1887, and with that, and the other influences to which I have referred, the Government were more indebted than to the principle of protection. The elections of 1887 were carried more by those influences than by the hold which protection had on the opinions of the people. To come down to 1891. No doubt the Finance Minister will claim that those elections were a victory for the principle of protection. But if the hon. gentleman will remember the official notice of the dissolution of the House and the causes of it, which appeared in the party organs in identically the same words on the same day, he will remember they were to the effect, not that the Government desired to appear before the people as advocates of protection, but they desired to secure a reciprocity treaty with the United States, and they wished to secure the endorsement of the people before they entered upon those negotiations. The official notice which appeared in the 'Empire' and Montreal 'Gazette' was in these terms:

It is understood that the Dominion Government has through Her Majesty's representative made certain propositions to the United States for entering upon negotiations looking to the extension of our commerce with that country. These propositions have been submitted to the President for consideration, and the Canadian Government is of the opinion that, if these negotiations are to result in a treaty, it should be ratified by the Parliament of Canada, and it is expedient that the Government should be able to deal with a Parliament fresh from the people rather than with a moribund House.

In fact, they ask from the country permission to go to Washington and secure a reciprocity treaty with the United States. The Minute of Council on which the communication to

Her Majesty's Government is based contains many points, the principal of which were that this Government wished to secure the renewal of the treaty of 1854, with modifications, and the reconsideration of the treaty of 1855 about the fisheries, and so on. That was referred to by the Government organs afterwards as a reason why there should be dissolution and why the Government should appeal to the country. They proposed to conclude a treaty of reciprocity in similar terms to that of 1854, which was a treaty in natural products. How is it that to-day they are trying to make us believe that reciprocity in natural products would prove such a deadly injury to the farmer? Why is it that my hon. friend from Leeds (Mr. Taylor) should read a letter containing within it the whole theory of protection, to prove that our farmers would be ruined if they had to meet competition from the farmers of the United States? Does it not seem inconsistent that the Government which proposed reciprocity in natural products in 1891, should now urge that such a course would be ruinous to our farmers? They cannot be sincere in both; then, which time were they sincere? If they believe that competition with the United States will hurt our farmers, why were they then willing to make a treaty to secure that competition? We do not find any suggestion from them to secure reciprocity in manufactured articles; oh, no; that would hurt somebody's darling, but the farmer is nobody's darling, and a little reciprocity and the consequent competition would not injure him, and it would be all right for the Government so long as they could make it a cry to go to the country on. The Government in 1891 went to the country with the cry, that they required the authority from a new Parliament to conclude a treaty of reciprocity, and they added to it the additional cry of the old man and the old flag. They preached loyalty. They made some people believe, and they tried to make a great many more believe, that reciprocity with the United States, if it included manufactured goods, would be a very disloyal thing, while, at the same time, they were asking authority from the people to conclude a treaty in natural products. It was utterly disloyal, according to them, to admit manufactured goods into this country free, but it was perfectly proper and perfectly loyal to admit agricultural products free. Now, Sir, with this mixed programme of loyalty and partial reciprocity, they appealed to the electorate, and between the two cries and the personal popularity of Sir John A. Macdonald, they succeeded in maintaining their seats on the Treasury benches but it was a very close shave. It was the cry of reciprocity in the Maritime Provinces, as members from these provinces can testify, which largely secured them their majority there. It was the cry of reciprocity that secured them thousands of votes throughout Ontario and Quebec, for every farmer wanted reciprocity of some

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kind. The Conservative farmers said that they would rather have a reciprocity treaty negotiated by their own old man than by my friend from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). They said: Give the old Conservative leader a chance; let us see what he can do; he has been lucky in everything he has undertaken, let us see if he will not be lucky in the reciprocity treaty also. This was the line of reasoning which at that election prevented a great many Conservatives from voting against the protective tariff, which they utterly disliked. The Government were returned with a narrow majority and with a mandate to secure reciprocity. Instead of making any serious efforts to secure reciprocity—because nobody could pretend that the make-believe farce which took place during the session of 1891 was a real attempt to secure reciprocity—they dropped the idea of reciprocity altogether. That cry had served its purpose, and the Government went on adding protection to protection, and adding tax to tax; so that, although a protectionist Government was returned to power in that election, they were returned under false pretences, and not by the votes of people who desired a continuance of protection. We have seen in some degree what a protectionist tariff is, and now let us inquire for a moment how a protectionist tariff is made. The first one, we know, was made by a committee of experts: one or two imported from the United States, and one of them the President of the Manufacturers' Association in Canada. They took to Yankee methods in making up the original protective tariff of 1879. Since that time the tariff has been revised and revised, and remade over and over again, and it is interesting to see how these changes took place. The tariff was originally made, and has since been revised, by a process which comes to this: that the parties interested in a protective tax have had from the first the making of a tariff to suit themselves. There have been conferences between the experts and the manufacturers, between the Government and the manufacturers, between individual members of the Government and the manufacturers, and there have been delegations sent to Ottawa to see the Government. The whole affair has been put together by those interested in securing increased value for their products, and all that the Government have had to do with it has been to carry out the orders of those to whom they have really transferred the fiscal legislation of this country. As to the present tariff, it is impossible to say upon what principle it has been based. The Minister of Finance was very witty in reference to attempts to steal the clothes of the Opposition, and he said that the coat of the Opposition was at present like Joseph's coat of many colours, so variegated was it. Well, Sir, you will remember that Joseph was sold into captivity to some commercial travellers for the sake of that same coat, and I do not know but that the Government would be willing to sell the peo-

ple of this country into captivity, if they could get a coat that fitted them as well as poor Joseph's coat fitted him. Their talk of variegation in the policy of the Opposition is really something amusing when you compare it with the tariff they have placed before us. The Minister of Finance says :

It has not been possible to proceed upon any fixed rule of uniformity in framing the present tariff. The tariff which was made in 1878 was a practical tariff and the tariff of this session must also have that feature, if possible, of being a practical tariff. Neither has the Government found it possible to adopt any hard and fast rules with reference to the vexed question of specific and ad valorem duties ; some condemn specific duties entirely and others find them suitable to certain lines. I think the truth lies between the two extremes.

The poor gentleman is quite at sea among the multitude of advisers. He has evidently proceeded on no principle whatever in what he calls the revision of the tariff. He has listened, first to one, then to the other ; he has put in an ad valorem stripe in the tariff coat here, a specific stripe there, a mixed stripe of both combined in another place, until the whole thing is a sort of crazy quilt, of such a pattern as might be made of rags and pickings, picked up at the back door of a tailor's shop. There is no principle whatever underlying the present revision of the tariff. That revision has been made, as the original tariff and other revisions were made, at the instance of parties interested. Even clerical errors seem to have crept into it at the instance of those parties. That fact is emphasized by the constant flow of delegations to Ottawa since the policy was announced. The Minister can hardly go out of the door of this House, and pass down the lobby, without being chased by a delegation, as a strange cat in a village is chased by the dogs from the adjacent houses. There is no rest for a Minister who is revising a protectionist tariff on mixed principles. He has to listen to Tom, Dick, and Harry. He makes a change for the sake of Tom, which he has to modify for the sake of Dick, which he has to remodify for the sake of Harry. He did tell us that he started out with one principle, after all ; that was the principle of reducing the duties on raw materials, while giving protection to the finished product. This, the only principle he professed to have in his revision of the tariff, he has by no means carried out. The only kinds of raw material which are made free or reduced are those produced by the farmer. I will call attention to that later on. Let me refer to one glaring instance in which that principle is not carried out ; I refer to the duties on pig iron, as compared with the duties on various forms of manufactures from iron. For instance, he has reduced the duties on some classes of agricultural implements ; he could not

see his way to reduce them on all. It was quite right to reduce the duty on binders, but it would not do to reduce the duties on separators or threshing engines, or fanning mills. I do not see where the moral distinction lies between a duty on fanning mills, and a duty on binders ; and the hon. Minister has not taken, and will not take, the trouble to explain where this distinction arises. It is quite probable that the committee of manufacturers who arranged these duties for him could explain it better than he could. Again, the duty on puddled bar and rolled bar iron has been reduced \$3 a ton, while at the same time the duty on pig iron, and the bounty on pig iron, the basis of all those manufactures, have been kept at the same figures, and the duty on scrap, which has been used to some extent for the same purpose as pig iron, is increased slightly for the present, and is to be still further increased next year. Now, I certainly have no objections to the reductions he has made on the manufactures referred to. But I quite agree with the principle that if you reduce the protection on the manufactured article you ought to reduce the duty on the raw materials also. The proprietors of a certain rolling mill in Hamilton seem to have been of the same opinion. They figured out that their protection had been reduced \$3 a ton while the price of their raw material (scrap iron) was going to be increased one or two dollars a ton, and that, therefore, they must reduce wages. They gave notice of such reduction, and the consequence was that 300 men went out on strike for a time, but finally returned and accepted the reduced wages. That has been one effect of the tariff—to reduce wages in the city of Hamilton. I see an hon. gentleman shaking his head ; but that is the report in the newspapers, the only source of information that I have. As to the present duty on pig iron, it was imposed in 1887 by Sir Charles Tupper, then Finance Minister, and what reasons did he give for proposing it ? First, in general terms, that iron was a very important industry everywhere—in most countries the most important of manufacturing interests ; and, secondly, that we had great facilities for that industry in many parts of Canada. He said :

England possesses coal and iron ore to an almost illimitable extent ; but the House will perhaps be surprised to learn that even England, with all its ore and all its coal, imports from Spain, a thousand miles away, more ore than is required to manufacture the entire production of steel in England. The United States possess almost unlimited quantities of iron ore and coal ; but they have no such advantage as Canada enjoys.

He said further :

In the county of Pictou, iron, coal and limestone are found in the closest proximity ; within a radius of ten miles there is everything necessary to build up a great and successful industry ; and this mineral wealth is found on the seaboard so that

the products of the industry can be cheaply transported by water to the head of Lake Superior if required. All descriptions of iron ore are found in this county, so that when we are told by persons engaged in the iron founding industries that they require other iron to mix with Londonderry iron, because, it is too good, that they require to import Scotch pig iron, the answer is that we possess within our own borders every variety of iron ore, so that any mixture desired can be made.

Then he gave a long list of percentages and metallurgical details. Here we have the then Finance Minister laying down the proposition that while Canada has the greatest facilities in the world, as he put it, for the production of pig iron, therefore the pig iron in Canada required special encouragement. That is a remarkable argument, to say the least of it. I had always supposed that when an industry was in difficulties, and its natural facilities were not very great, it required special assistance and protection; but Sir Charles Tupper laid it down that because our facilities for making pig iron were great, he was bound to protect that industry above all others. But he did not stop with the county of Pictou. By the by, I believe that in the county of Pictou the iron industry has developed to some extent. With such vast natural advantages, and with a bounty of \$2 a ton, and a protective duty of \$4 a ton, it would be a wonderful thing if it had not. I am glad to know, too, that all the profit from this industry does not go outside of the House of Commons, but that at least one member of this House, one of the hon. members from Halifax (Mr. Stairs), is understood to be the president of the company, and, I believe, they have a bonding arrangement with some large syndicate in the United States, which is expected to buy them out at enormous profit. It is good that protection should begin at home, and that we do not forget the members of this House in scattering its benefits broadcast. But it was not only in Pictou that we were to produce vast quantities of iron. Referring to charcoal iron, he says:

The time is not long since when charcoal iron was one of the most important industries in Ontario and Quebec.

It was not long since in 1887, but it was so long ago then that it was long before anybody dreamed of putting a protective tax upon pig iron. It was when pig iron came in at a purely revenue duty, if any at all, that this industry was prosperous:

I have no hesitation in saying that if the protection we have given to cotton and woollen and all other industries of Canada be applied to iron to-morrow, it will show what the past history of Canada has shown, that these charcoal iron industries will be again in full blast, and that in Ontario and Quebec they will become most essential and important industries to-morrow as they were in days gone by.

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That word "to-morrow"—it has been a long to-morrow since then, and the charcoal industries have not yet come into full blast:

Every person knows that charcoal iron is the most valuable product of iron. Every person knows the increase of value of charcoal iron; every person knows that the great difficulty is the cost of producing it, but no country in the world has such a field for the production of charcoal iron as the provinces of Ontario and Quebec. * * *

Vivify, give protection to the iron industry, as you have given it to cotton, woollen and everything else, and what will be the result? It will be, that when a man goes into the forest to make farm in Ontario or Quebec, the most valuable products under his hand will be that which he has to spend all his labour and capital now in wasting.

He refers to the supposed fact that they would make charcoal out of the wood they now burn, and that the charcoal would be used in making charcoal iron. He referred also to the great iron deposits within sight from the towers of this building. But he does not refer to the fact that these were in full process of development before the National Policy came into force, and that it was after that policy was inaugurated that they closed down. In 1876-77 the tremendous deposits of iron ore at Ironsides, only a few miles from here, were in full process of development, and the company working them had the contract to supply car wheels for the Government railways in India. But the National Policy, which was to vivify all our industries, closed this up. Now, after reading the glowing language of Sir Charles Tupper—and Sir Charles Tupper could be very glowing when he had the glow on—it is rather disheartening to think that the charcoal iron industry has no existence to-day in the Dominion. Sir Charles went into a long calculation as to the number of men to whom it would give employment. Twenty thousand men he considers would be given employment as the result of this tax, which with their families meant an increased population of 100,000. The hon. gentleman went on to refer to Carleton, N.B. He said:

Now, charcoal iron from bog iron ore was formerly an important industry both in Ontario and in Quebec, and charcoal iron was also made in Carleton, New Brunswick, where to-day, under a policy of fostering this industry in the same way, as the cotton and woollen and other industries have been fostered, that blast furnace in Carleton would again be lighted up and would be the foundation of a new and extensive industry in the province of New Brunswick.

The hon. member for Carleton, N.B., (Mr. Colter) informs me that he has not been able to find this blast furnace anywhere in his constituency and has not heard of one since the National Policy came into force. Let us look to the grand result which has flowed from Sir Charles Tupper's bounty and tax on pig iron. The number of tons on

which bounty was paid in 1887 was 39,800, and in 1893, 30,500. So that seven years of this fostering care—first Tupperian and then Fostering—of the pig iron industry, has led, to an increase, “with a minus sign”—to use the Finance Minister’s expression—of 8,300 tons. That is a specimen of the results of our protective tax. It has not encouraged and cannot encourage the healthy production of pig iron. Every industry, fostered for a while, pampered for a while, by a protective duty, becomes hidebound, and after extracting more or less from the public treasury to keep it alive, finally dies or flickers out, and then gets rehabilitated again just as the pig iron industry has been doing during these years of the National Policy. It has died out and started again from time to time, and now we have a fine little museum of our products in the entrance of this building, which I hope is the nucleus of a museum representing all the industries of Canada—agricultural as well as manufacturing. I hope we shall find out there before the end of the session, specimens of grain, butter, cheese, as well as the iron and steel produced in Nova Scotia. That is only one instance of how the protective tariff affects one particular interest. But I wish to call your attention to the general effect of a protective tariff on all industries. Whatever may be the direct effect of the tax in raising prices, the fact that every article one man uses as a raw material is the finished product of some other industry causes a general increase in the cost of production. Let us take the figures in the census bulletin as to capital invested, value produced, and so forth. In 1871 the capital invested in Canadian manufactures was given as \$77,964,000, in 1881 it was \$158,776,000; and in 1891, \$329,189,000. Now, the value of products in those three years respectively were \$221,617,000, \$299,740,000, \$447,224,000. Compare the capital invested with the value of the products and we find that in 1871 it only required \$35 worth of capital invested to produce \$100 worth of finished product. In 1881 it required—after the poison of protection had taken some effect—\$53 of capital to produce \$100 worth of products fit for market. In 1891, after protection had time to bear full fruit, it required \$73 capital invested to produce \$100 worth of marketable finished products. That does not look as if protection added to the prosperity even of the manufacturers, when twice as much capital is now required to produce a dollar’s worth of goods as was required twenty years ago. In the census bulletin itself I find the same problem worked out the other way. The census bulletin points out that in 1871, each dollar invested produced \$2.85 worth of finished product. In 1881 it produced only \$1.89 worth, and in 1891 the investment of a dollar only produced \$1.36 worth of products. So that the general effect of protection has been an increased cost of production, and

the special effect with regard to one particular item, where you would think it would have the best results, has been to reduce the production of the article. Now, I must hurry through, because I find I am taking a great deal more time than I had intended. But I wish to refer briefly to one or two points. The hon. Minister has given us a statement of the increased production of goods of all kinds in 1891, over other years. We find that in 1891 the amount produced was \$475,455,000, against \$309,376,000 in 1881. Now, Sir, take the hon. gentleman’s own estimate of the average rate of duty on dutiable goods at 28½ per cent. All these manufactures are dutiable goods, and the Finance Minister has admitted that manufacturers will keep the price up as near as possible to the amount allowed by the duty. The fact of our importing such large quantities proves that our own production is not sufficient to meet the requirements of our own market, therefore the protective duties on these goods will have full effect. Therefore, as between 1878, when there was a duty of 17½ per cent, and 1891, when there was a duty of 28½ per cent, we find an increase of 11 per cent in the cost to the consumers of these goods, as compared with what the cost would have been under the former tariff, representing a total increased price, on the goods manufactured, of \$54,300,000. That is a direct logical deduction from the figures given, and the admissions made by the hon. the Finance Minister. The question of coal oil is one which has been pretty well discussed, but which should be still further emphasized in the interests of the consumer. If there is any tax more indefensible than another in the whole range of the tariff, I think it is the tax upon coal oil. If there was anything impressed on the minds of the Controllers, who were sent throughout the country to control public opinion with respect to changes in the tariff—for they did not seem to be ready to accept public opinion—it should have been that the public wanted the duty on coal oil removed. The Minister of Finance seeks to get out of the difficulty by abusing the retailer. He says that the present high prices of coal oil are not due to the fact that the manufacturer gets more than 100 per cent protection, but to the fact that the retailer charges an exorbitant profit. I shall leave him to settle that point with the retailers of coal oil, who are a pretty numerous class throughout the country. Whatever may be the short-comings of the retailer, the fact remains that the duty is more than the cost of the oil, that the Canadian producer has a protection of more than 100 per cent of the price of American oil, as was shown by invoices read in this House. We had some poetry read in this debate, setting forth that there was no tax on tea and coffee, the lament of the poor farmer, who, though he was taxed on everything else from birth to death, had the satisfaction of knowing that there

was no tax on tea. I do not think my hon. friend from Kingston (Mr. Metcalfe) can rejoice in that any longer, because it certainly appears we are going to have a duty on all teas not imported direct. We have been getting our tea through Great Britain ever since tea was first brought here. But now it appears, from the speech of the Finance Minister, that tea, imported through Great Britain is to pay a tax of 10 per cent. I am afraid my hon. friend from Kingston cannot say any longer that there is no tax on tea. I notice by despatches from London that the importers have waited upon Sir Charles Tupper to remonstrate with him upon this feature of the tariff. When that gentleman puts his finger in the tariff pie he may prove as powerful in deciding its form as the Finance Minister himself. The proposal to tax tea, except when it is brought direct looks like an attempt to compel us to import our tea by way of the steamers and land carriage of the Canadian Pacific Railway. It seems to be another sop of that great corporation which has already become almost too great for the good of the country. I cannot leave iron without calling attention to the peculiar arrangement with regard to the bounties proposed by the Finance Minister, that if any company is organized to make pig iron at any time within five years from the time the Budget speech was delivered, if it was only one day short of the five years, that company would secure the bounty of \$2 a ton on their iron for five years from the date of starting. Now, that will amount to this: that companies that are organized during that five year period and begin the manufacture of pig iron, will be able to defy all competition, kill out all competitors, and obtain this bounty of \$2 a ton. It seems to me this is intended to provide for the possibility of a combine of all the iron companies operating towards the end of the five years, under a new name, so that they may obtain an extension of the \$2 a ton bounty for five years more without the possibility of competition. But when we come to the farmers, we are told that everything grand has been done for them. I do agree with that view myself. I rather think that in the words of Scripture, the farmer may be compared with one of the tribes of Israel of whom the Scripture says: Issachar is a strong ass bowing down between two burdens, the burdens of high taxation and low prices, and he will be a much more egregious ass than I think he is, if he will put up with it much longer. In fact it is the farmers' effort to free themselves from these taxes, as shown by their organizations of Patrons of Industry, Grangers, and so on, that has compelled the Government to make these changes. The Government have made these changes for fear of losing the support of the farming community, although they pretend to have made them out of love for the farmer. Now, the hon. Minister's references to the farmer

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are not very extensive, but he claims great credit for the fact that agricultural exports have largely increased. Now, that argument is quite beneath his position. He knows, supposing the farmer to be protected by any tax that exists, that no protective duty can increase the exportation of agricultural produce. The exporting industries which depend, either upon mining, lumbering or agriculture, have grown up, not by the help of protection, but in spite of it. I call attention to the fact that all the exports which have largely increased since 1878 up to the present time, are the products of industries not assisted by protective duties. In 1878 the total exports of products of mines, fisheries, forests, animals and their products, and agricultural, amounted to \$47,554,000; the total exports of manufactures were \$17,780,000, or 36 per cent of the total exports. In 1893 the exports of those natural products which I have mentioned, came to \$71,575,000, an increase of \$24,000,000 over those of 1878; while exports of manufactures had only increased from \$17,780,000 to \$24,035,000, or only 32 per cent of the total. It must be noted that of these twenty-four millions, \$19,900,000 were exports of wood, including lumber, square timber, and other things which should be looked upon as products of the forest. Now, although there was an expansion in manufactures between those two periods, I must call attention to the fact that in 1878 we exported \$24,460,000 of manufactured goods, as against \$24,035,000 last year. In 1886 those exports fell to \$18,000,000, or nearly to the point at which they were in 1878. Now, the wealth of a country is measured principally by what she can export and get in return. I maintain that on the face of this table it is the unprotected industries, the industries for which nothing is done by protection—while some of them, such as mining and lumber, are greatly hampered by it—which have increased the wealth of the country during the last fifteen years, and not those industries which we have been at such care and trouble and expense to maintain. In regard to the farmers' side of the question, I shall try to express myself more in detail when we go into committee. It is out of the question to do anything, with the details of the tariff in this preliminary debate—unless one has the same length of time for preparation, and the same assistance in preparation, as the Finance Minister has had. But speaking of the change from specific to ad valorem, and from mixed to ad valorem duties, I must say that we who are not in the various trades cannot pretend to judge, and I do not think the Finance Minister himself can pretend to judge, whether a reduction is really effected by these changes, or if a reduction, to what extent. He professed to think that the total reduction of duties caused by the changes he proposes would amount to about a million and a half dollars. Now, nobody outside the

various trades can tell just how much protection is derived by them from specific duties. Nobody outside those trades knows how much it costs to procure a particular article, and therefore nobody else can tell what amount of protection 2 cents a pound or \$10 a ton, or whatever it may be, affords them. The Finance Minister has no doubt got his figures from those in the trade, because nobody else could give them to him; and I think he will find as a result of this tariff that he will not lose a million and a half of revenue, but that on the whole the changes made will not amount to a general reduction of the tariff charges, and may amount, for ought we know to the contrary, to an increase in those charges. I hope that he will not follow out the suggestion he appeared to be making when he dropped a few words about the coming elections, and that he will not bring on the next election until we have had a chance to prove this tariff by its practical working, so that we may be able to pronounce upon it. I know it is quite customary, after bringing a new system like this into effect, to do as was done in 1887, go to the country immediately, and take a verdict on it before the people have had time to find out what it amounts to. It seems to me it would be much more reasonable to have an appeal to the people before the tariff was made rather than after. It is not the time to lock the stable door after the horse—I won't say is stolen, because that might sound offensive, but after the horse has gone out to take a walk in the pasture. It is better to get directions from the people as to how the tariff should be made than to go to them with the tariff ready made and to tell them: This is going to reduce your taxes to the extent of a million and a half, therefore we want you to vote for us. Neither the Government nor the people know how that tariff is going to work. The manufacturers do know, and they have had no doubt an opportunity to see that they will not lose very much by the transaction. But whenever the elections do come, sooner or later, I am satisfied that the Liberal party of Canada do not want any fairer or squarer issue on which to go to the country, they do not want an issue on which they can gain more votes than that now presented by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), the straight issue of a revenue tariff with the proceeds economically spent, as against a tariff chiefly for protective purposes. We are quite willing to go to the country on that issue, and are not afraid of the result.

Mr. BOYD. As one of the younger members of the House, I may perhaps be pardoned if I do not follow the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat, closely in the remarks he has made. Coming, as I do, from one of the younger provinces, my remarks will be chiefly confined to matters of interest in that particular locality. I may say

at the outset that I wish to join with other members of this side of the House in paying tribute to the Finance Minister, also to the Government for the able manner in which they have undertaken the revision of the tariff, and also for the speedy manner in which they have laid it before Parliament. I may also say that I think the members of the House have not been very gracious to the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) in their congratulations addressed to him. I think he really deserves more from them than he has received, considering the very poor subject and the very inferior client he has had to fight for. I will not enter so deeply into the subject of this debate in all its bearings as some hon. members have done, since many of the members from the Atlantic to the Pacific have already discussed it in detail, but I shall confine myself more particularly to the western country from which I come, and for which this subject has a very deep interest. The hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies), in the course of his remarks referred to the progress made by North and South Dakota, and he drew an unfavourable comparison between the province of Manitoba and those states. He was immediately brought to task by the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries, and since that time I have taken some pains to obtain statistics, and I will endeavour to show that the settlement in Manitoba and the North-west has been greater proportionately than the settlement in North and South Dakota for the last six years. The population of Manitoba has increased during five years from 1886 to 1891 by 43,866, equal to 40 per cent during that period. The population of North and South Dakota during 1890 was 511,527 according to United States census. It was 415,263 in 1885 by the state census, or an increase during the five years of 86,264, or a little over 23 per cent, about one-half as large a percentage of increase as that shown by Manitoba. The increase of population in the state of Minnesota from 1885 to 1890, was 16 per cent; of Kansas, 12 per cent; of Wisconsin, 7 1-5 per cent; of Michigan, 13 per cent; of Manitoba, 40 per cent; of the North-west Territories, 164 per cent, from 1880 to 1890, and of British Columbia, 87 per cent from 1880 to 1890. Therefore, hon. gentlemen will see that the percentage of increase in population in Manitoba, North-west Territories and British Columbia was greater than that of any of the states in the western portion of the United States. I think that is very conclusive evidence that our country is making progress, that the people are coming into it as rapidly as they are flowing into any states of the Union that lie alongside of it. Another point that is frequently lost sight of by hon. members is the fact that until 1886 we had no railway through our own territory. All our immigrants had to pass through the United States, and it was not until the spring of 1886 that we had a transcontinental railway,

and in that year we had the first opportunity afforded of caring for our immigrants as they needed to be cared for. I know very well from experience the great difficulties with which our immigrants had to contend with in passing through the United States. After a depression in the United States, it has always been noted that immigration flows into the country in increased volume, and after the present depression there will, no doubt, be a greater immigration into Manitoba and the North-west than has occurred for a number of years. That increased flow of immigration followed the last depression in the United States, but during that time when we might have taken advantage of the great flow of immigration, had our trans-continental railway been opened—and had our party remained in power it would have been opened—the Opposition unfortunately got into power, the building of the road ceased, and that caused us to lose our share of that great immigration that we should have participated in. A similar flow of immigration, I expect, will follow the great depression now existing in the United States and other countries, but we will be in a position to take advantage of it. The items of the tariff that most affect the people in Manitoba and the North-west are those with respect to agricultural implements, binding twine, barbed wire and lumber. Those, I think, are of more importance and deeper interest to the people of that country than any other articles in the schedule. The hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin), has taken much trouble to prove the amount of money the people of Manitoba are paying on trifling matters. I venture to say that as far as the farmers are concerned the duty and total cost on nails to the average farmer would not amount to \$1.50 per annum; and yet the hon. gentleman would lead us to suppose that it was a matter of very great import, and a great many other articles he mentioned would not involve the expenditure of a larger sum. Regarding agricultural implements much has been said in this House. The price of those articles has very largely decreased during the last few years. In 1884-85 no less than \$275 or \$285 was paid for a very inferior binder, and we did not hear so much complaint then as we do now when the farmer is paying \$140. The binder for which that large sum was paid at that time would not be accepted as a present by the farmer of to-day if he was compelled to use it, and to-day for \$140 the farmer can purchase a binder better worth \$600 than that for which he paid \$275 sometime ago would be worth \$25. And yet hon. gentlemen opposite declare that we are not making any progress, and that heavy burdens are being imposed on those articles. That reduction in price also applies, I may say, to all other implements used on the farm. The great complaint we have to make in the western country, and it is the cause of a

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great deal of the agitation regarding the cost of implements, is the great difference in price charged to the people of the western country and to the people of eastern Ontario. The hon. member for Leeds (Mr. Taylor), has told us here to-night that these binders can be bought in Ontario for \$110—for the best binder. It takes \$13 to carry a binder to Manitoba, and yet the cheapest that we can buy one of the best for there is \$140, thus taxing us \$17 more than the Ontario farmer. That is a cause of complaint amongst the farmers of that country, and there is no reason why the retailers up there ought not to sell them cheaper. I may say, Sir, that low as the price of wheat is, notwithstanding that it has fallen 50, aye 100 per cent, for we used to get 80 and 85 cents and as high as 90 cents for it, and to-day it is selling for 40 cents; notwithstanding all that, you can buy for 100 bushels of wheat, more agricultural implements, more clothing for the farmers, more of his needs, than you could purchase for the same 100 bushels of wheat five or ten years ago. Sir, the National Policy has had its effect in that respect, too.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Mr. BOYD. Some hon. gentlemen opposite smile. Let me tell them that all the time this has been going on, while the price of wheat has been dropping, and dropping, and dropping, the agricultural implements have also yearly come down in price, and during this time they have been made in our own country, our own people have been paid for their work, our own money has been kept on this side of the line, and our own artisans have got the fruits of it. The earnings have been deposited in our banks, and our banks have sent the money to our north-western country. I can tell hon. gentlemen opposite, that in Manitoba and the North-west you can obtain money at more reasonable rates for legitimate business than you can get it in any western state of the union. I wish to state further, that there are banks in the province of Quebec which sent their money up to Manitoba, and, not being able to get sufficient circulation for it there, they are over lending it in Dakota to enable the farmers of that state to carry on their business, and to tide over their difficulties. That may be news for the members of the Opposition in this House. The leader of the Opposition knows very well that it is largely by the deposits in the banks that money is procured, and that is the money that they generally use when they lend it to the public. I referred a few moments ago to the agitation that has prevailed in the North-west with reference to agricultural implements, and the other articles I have mentioned. Let me point out that the cause of that agitation during the past year has been largely attributable

to the very low price of wheat. There is no denying the fact that the agitation is not caused by any feeling in regard to the Conservative party, or the policy of the Reform party, or the policy of the Third party, or the fourth party, but that it is on account of the low price of wheat.

An hon. MEMBER. Hear, hear.

Mr. BOYD. An hon. member opposite says, "hear, hear." I can assure him that his Liberal party friends in that country have taken advantage of the low price of wheat, and, since the price has fallen to 40 cents, we see the political demagogue cut loose, travelling over the country, and telling the people that the low price is all the fault of the wicked Government at Ottawa. They tell the farmer: Just let the Liberal party into power and we will increase the price of your wheat and your general prosperity. I have listened to this debate for the last eight or ten days, and I have yet to hear from members of the Opposition the announcement of any policy that would raise the price of wheat even the nineteenth part of one cent per bushel. If Liberal members in this House have any policy which would increase the price of wheat, they ought to let it be known at once, for it would give some encouragement to their friends who are working in their interest in the North-west. I believe, Sir, that after the changes which have been made in the tariff, the people will settle down to their daily avocations, and the Liberal agitators up there will have to hunt up another job. I wish to make my own position perfectly clear to the House, and to the Government with regard to the duty on agricultural implements, binder twine, and such articles. In 1891, when I contested the constituency of Marquette, I stated that I would use my utmost endeavours to have the duty on binder twine, barbed wire, coal oil, agricultural implements and lumber, reduced to the lowest possible point. I claim that I have consistently adhered to that. My first act after coming to the House last session was to wait upon the Minister of Finance and upon the Government, and to lay the case of the people of the North-west plainly and candidly before them. I explained to them the position of that lumber combine, as far as I knew; I also explained to them the injurious influences of the middleman and retailer of these articles, and that during last session the Minister of Finance said that while we might not get all that we wanted, he hoped to be able to satisfy us when they had an opportunity of properly revising the tariff. At that time he reduced the duty on binder twine by 50 per cent, and also made a very reasonable reduction on coal oil. The effect of the agitation in connection with these matters, and the information that we gained here in regard to them, has had the effect of lowering the price of binder twine from 16 and 17 cents down to 10½

cents a pound in the province of Manitoba. It was not the reduction of the duty that made that great cut in price, but it was the information that I and other members of Parliament gained in this House, and which went to prove that the best binder twine had been supplied to the middle men, free on board the cars in Montreal, for 8 and 9 cents a pound, and notwithstanding that it cost only five-sevenths of a cent a pound to transport it into that country, yet the farmer was charged 16 and 17 cents a pound for it. That information was spread throughout the North-west, and then the prices were reduced. I may state that I heard very little complaints about binder twine last year, when it sold for 10½ cents per pound. Formerly, we used to pay for coal oil, 40 and 45 cents a gallon, but we ascertained here that it was delivered in Manitoba for 18 cents a gallon, and the result was that when I left the North-west we were getting coal oil at places 100 and 150 miles west of Winnipeg, for 25 cents a gallon. I wish that the Government could have seen their way to make a greater reduction in the duty on coal oil, but, as I say, it has been proven that it is the middleman who has had the greater portion of the profit; and it is the middleman to a very great extent, not only in Manitoba but throughout all Canada, who has the best of it, it is the middleman who, I think, requires a little looking after by the Government. I repeat again, that I wish the Government might have been able to make some reductions on coal oil, but, so far as the province of Manitoba is concerned, we are not the ones to injure an industry such as that coal oil industry has been; an industry that has been fostered not alone by the Conservative Government, but also by the Liberals when they were in power. I trust that arrangements may yet be made by the Government whereby a further reduction will take place with reference to that article. The hon. member for Winnipeg took occasion in his remarks to criticize somewhat severely the hon. Minister of Agriculture for the views he expressed to the farmers of Manitoba on the subject of mixed farming. Now, I consider that the advice the hon. Minister gave on that occasion was very proper and timely. No farmer in this country can expect to make a success of farming if he conducts it as many of the people of that country have done in years past. A great deal of the trouble among the farmers there has been caused by the indiscriminate growing of one particular class of grain. I know quite a number who have been in the habit of going up there in the spring, putting in their crop, doing their summer fallowing, reaping their crop, drawing it to market and selling it, and then leaving one man in charge of their horses and going east to spend the winter. Any man who knows anything of farming will easily see that that is not the way to make

a success of it; and during the last few years, when the price of wheat has fallen, only those who have gone into mixed farming have made a success of it. And what applies to farmers, in my opinion, applies to a nation. What our opponents are asking us to do is to go into wheat and hay and oat farming, or something of that kind. What we propose is that the country should adopt a system of mixed farming, and do anything and everything to build up any industry that the country is capable of maintaining, thus giving employment to our own people and keeping our own money within our own borders. Some of our opponents have sneered at the idea of giving any protection to the farmers. I take exception to that position, because I know that the protection which has been given to the farmers has been decidedly beneficial to them. There is no question that the protection of 75c. a barrel on flour has been of great advantage to the people of Canada, more particularly the people of the North-west. It is a well known fact that from the time of the threshing of our crop to the closing of navigation our farmers get a better price for their wheat by from 5 to 7 cents a bushel than at any other time of the year. The reason of that is that the eastern millers wish to secure a supply of our hard wheat to mix with the eastern soft wheat, and during the time they are competing with exporters for their supply a better price is procured by our farmers. With regard to the protection on meats, until within the past year or so the people of the North-west imported meat from the United States; and Armour is still sending a great deal of meat into that country. But since the great fall in the price of wheat many of our farmers have been turning their attention to the raising of pork. The result is that to-day we have two or three meat curing establishments in Winnipeg, and two or three throughout the province; so that our own people are now supplying nearly all the cured meat, such as hams and bacon, that the province requires. In fact, they are supplying British Columbia with a portion of the meat required by the people of that province for their shipping and other trades. Yet hon. gentlemen tell us that that protection is of no use. I may say that before I left to attend this session, a number of the farmers pressed me most earnestly under no circumstances to allow this meat industry to be interfered with. The same remarks apply to our butter industry. We are working up a very large butter trade with British Columbia; the protection we receive is sufficient to pay the freight from Manitoba to British Columbia, thus placing us on a footing of equality with the Washington Territory and California butter-makers, and a number of our farmers are making a very good business of that butter trade. The protection on meat helps

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us in another way. I understand that efforts are being made to send mutton from Australia into the British Columbia market, and should the duty be removed and that mutton be allowed to come in free, it will have a very serious effect on the trade that our people have been endeavouring to work up in the past two or three years. Therefore, I hope the Government will not permit any reduction to be made in the duty on mutton. There are a number of these matters in which the people of Manitoba are deeply interested; and as they will come before the House in committee, I will take occasion to discuss them more fully then. If it were not for the very active part that I have taken in connection with the reductions as they apply to that province, I would not have wearied the House by speaking, because I know that there is very little that is new to be said on this question by any man, especially by one who is new to the House; and I know that unless a man has something new to say, he can scarcely hope to hold the attention of the House at all. But I did not wish to give a silent vote on this matter. I wished to place myself squarely before the House and the country in regard to it. I feel satisfied that the changes which have been made in the tariff will be very beneficial to the country, and will be acceptable to the people. So far as I am concerned, although I represent a large constituency, comprising forty thousand people, I have yet to receive from them the first complaint regarding any changes in the tariff, and they are a class of people who have no hesitation in letting you know if they think there is anything at all wrong. Therefore, while I hoped the changes would be greater, I must say, so far as the Government is concerned, that I am prepared to give the Finance Minister credit for having carried out the intention he expressed last session, when he said he intended going thoroughly into this matter, making all the changes possible in the interests of the Dominion. For my part, I believe I speak the sentiments of the people of that country when I say we do not want a tariff made particularly for Manitoba. I do not think that is the proper spirit which should animate any man coming to this House. I do not think that any member of this House should say: I want a tariff for Manitoba, or Quebec, or Nova Scotia. If the Government would let me lay down a tariff for Manitoba, I could frame one decidedly in our interest, but it would not be in the interests of the whole Dominion. What should animate every Canadian is the desire to help in making laws that will be in the interests of the whole Dominion. I shall take occasion, when the House goes into committee, to ask the Government to do something with regard to increasing the duty on pork. I think they have made a slight mistake in that measure, but I feel satisfied it

is a clerical error and that it will be made right. I thank you, Mr. Speaker, and the House for the attention you have given me.

Mr. FAUVEL. At this late hour it is not my intention to make a long speech. I do not intend going into figures, uninteresting both to the hearers and the speaker. My principal object to-night is to say a few words on the subject of free trade. I have just returned from the old country, and when I saw its prosperity, its manufactures of different kinds, its tall chimneys in the midland counties, its cotton factories at Manchester, I was lost in wonder, and asked myself: Is it in free trade England that such manufacturing expansion has taken place? I am glad to notice in the last papers, that although there has been stagnation in trade, mainly owing to the depression in the United States, the fiscal returns to the 31st March last show a large increase of trade in England. Is England prospering under free trade? I say yes, it is. And I say that all countries that take hold of free trade should prosper as well as England. The population of England in 1841—five years prior to free trade—was 15,914,000. In 1891—fifty years later—it had nearly doubled. It was 29,000,000. Free trade in England commenced with the abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846. Who were the promoters of free trade in England? Were they the farmers? Were they the labourers? No, they were the manufacturers. Richard Cobden was a cotton printer; John Bright was a carpet manufacturer. They had every interest to be protectionists, but they had sufficient foresight to see that free trade would bring prosperity to their country. In 1850, four years after free trade, her exports of home products and manufactures amounted to £71,000,000 and her imports to £100,000,000. In 1875, twenty-five years later, her exports were £255,600,000 and her imports £375,000,000. In 1892 her exports amounted to £291,460,644 and her imports to £423,822,178, making a total of both exports and imports, £715,352,822. This expansion of trade is unexampled. What are the causes that led to this expansion of trade? They were, first, the adoption of free trade by Great Britain; second, the California and Australia gold discoveries; and, third, steam communication, railways and telegraphs. The measure by which Sir Robert Peel introduced the great change to free trade in Great Britain was marked by four general principles:

First, to remove from the tariff all prohibitions of foreign import, among the chief of which was agricultural live stock.

Second, to place hundreds of articles of the nature of raw materials of manufacture on a footing of entire freedom from customs duties,

Third, to reduce the duties on foreign manufactures which came into competition with home manufactures.

Fourth, to repeal the Corn Laws.

All these measures had the appearance of a

liberal concession to foreign trade rather than to any advantage to home industries, which undoubtedly, was the reason that free trade was so long resisted. The immediate effects in increasing the public revenue, even the customs revenue, which seemed endangered by the repeal of so many duties, in reviving British trade and manufactures, and imparting new life to agriculture itself, was so great that the free trade policy was speedily carried up to its highest point of triumph. The successful influence of so successful an illustration of free trade on other nations has not been realized to any great extent. It was not enough that Great Britain could say to her neighbours, that free trade had worked, not only for herself, but for them. The retort of the protected interests in the different countries was, that what was good for England might not be good for them. But it must be admitted that it argues a great deal for the power of free trade, that, in the face of no reciprocal treaties with other countries, England has been able to open an effective market in her ports for foreign produce to an extent that forty years ago would have been deemed fabulous, whilst, at the same time, circulating her own commodities in all parts of the world. There can be no question that free trade has been the leading spring of the remarkable expansion of international commerce. The policy of the Liberal party to-day is not exactly free trade, I admit, but it is a commencement towards that end. In this respect it is like the policy of the Corn Laws in England. That was the commencement of free trade in that country; and to-day our asking for free trade in the way of reciprocity with our neighbours is really the beginning of what was done in England in 1846, when Sir Robert Peel brought forward his favourite Bill. But people may turn round and ask: How are you to recoup yourself for the loss of revenue. How does England recoup herself? She has a large army and a national debt on which it takes £6,000,000 sterling to pay the interest on every year. Her army costs £15,000,000 and her navy £11,000,000 sterling? How are taxes raised in England in order to furnish revenue? They bear heavily on the richer classes. There is the income tax of 8 pence on the pound, and the carriage tax. A man who rolls in his four-wheeled carriage, the man who has emblazoned on that carriage his coat-of-arms, the gentleman who places his coat-of-arms on his silver spoons, has to pay taxes. There are taxes on gold, plate, spirits and tobacco. Those are the sole articles from which England, in a great measure, derives revenue to keep her large army and navy, not only to protect England, but also to protect Canada. The Canadian tariff has been revised, Mr. Speaker, that I admit—changed from 22½ per cent to 25 per cent, from 25 to 30 and so to 32½ per cent. What does 32½ per cent represent? Not 32½ per cent; it represents 60 per cent rather. The wholesale purchaser

of these goods adds the duty to the price and his profit to that. Then the retailer must make his profit of from 25 to 30 per cent on the whole price of the goods, including the 32½ per cent duty; so that the consumer is really paying 60 and 70 per cent on these goods, even where there has been a reduction in the duty. Deputations are coming to Ottawa and the hotel-keepers are doing a good business. The Liberal party should receive the dividend from the hotel-keepers of Ottawa for prolonging this discussion. No doubt the hotel-keepers of Ottawa would be pleased to see a revision of the tariff every year. You see the iron manufacturer, you see the clothing manufacturer, and many others coming here to expostulate with the Government. And yet we hear from the Treasury benches that everybody is satisfied with his tariff. Now, I will read an article, Mr. Speaker, from the 'Shareholder,' of Montreal. This is not a newspaper subsidized by the Government or by any other political party; it has no politics. I read from the issue of Friday, 6th April:—

TARIFF ISSUES.

The preparation of a tariff which will prove acceptable to all classes of the community, is a result which no Finance Minister has yet succeeded in reaching, and in no case is that more palpable than in the instance now before the Dominion Parliament. The discussion of the revised tariff drags heavily at times, and is likely to be drawn out to considerable length. In that discussion the salient points are apparently neglected, the aim of those taking part being not so much to remedy the defects as to make speeches of a political character, which will be reported, printed and distributed at the expense of the country. Were the disputants to settle down to the discussion in a sober, straight-forward, patriotic manner some good might result from the protracted discussion, but the members of the House fail to realize that what the country really wants is a levelling of the irregularities which mar the new tariff and make it obnoxious to those who look upon it, not from a political standpoint, but from one which springs from a higher motive, that is, from an honest desire to do the greatest good to the greatest number. That such is not the object of the present tariff is clear to the close observer. Tariff revision was promised and tariff revision has been given, but that revision is not of a nature to impress the consumers of the country that that justice had been rendered to them which they had a right to expect. The manufacturers are not satisfied either, and already their rapacity is bearing fruit, the reduction in the duty on finished goods having been already made the excuse for a reduction in wages. This, notwithstanding that large additions of raw material have been added to the free list to compensate the manufacturer for the reduction of duty. Committees and sections of our boards of trade have been in session day after day giving close attention to the changes and unravelling the effects which these will have upon the business of the country. In dealing with the tariff changes in last week's 'Shareholder' special

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attention was called to the changes in the rates affecting dress goods, the manufacture of which is not carried on in this country, on which there is an increase averaging twenty per cent, especially on low priced goods. This and other similar hardships have since received the attention of the dry goods section of both the Montreal and Toronto boards of trade, and resolutions have been adopted calling for modifications. What, we ask, have the women of Canada done to incur that antipathy of the Government, and why should their slender and hard-earned shillings be made the object of special attack? The change in this respect affects every woman in the country. We will, no doubt, be told that the object is to obtain an increased revenue to make up for the loss likely to arise from the large additions of raw materials to the free list for the benefit of the highly protected manufacturers of the country. We are told by those competent to form an accurate estimate that the business in dress goods furnishes fully one-fourth of the whole of that of the importing houses. The bulk of the imports by Canadian houses consists of the lowest grades, and now, if the new rate is persisted in, we are assured that cheaper grades will have to be manufactured in order to meet the advance in the duties. Although the duty is increased the price must remain the same. This calls for a lower grade, as the dealer must meet the popular price. He cannot increase the price and, therefore, he must supply an inferior article. Sales are effected by the price, and the women of the country are unwilling to go beyond a given figure. Why tax the women and children for the benefit of dyers who cannot dye? The general effect of the tariff is to grind those of the labouring classes who are unwilling to put up with other goods vastly inferior to those manufactured in other countries. Revision of the revised tariff is loudly called for, and unless the consumers' wants are heeded the consumers will strike when their turn comes.

Mr. Speaker, that is the effect of this tariff revision upon the country according to the 'Shareholder.' According to the 'Gazette' and 'Empire,' of course, it is quite different—everybody is satisfied. We on this side of the House are taunted with having no policy. Well, I think we have one now. The Liberals always had a policy, but the Conservative party did not understand it. Our policy was formulated at Ottawa on the 20th of June. Fifteen hundred delegates representing the backbone of this country marched down to this capital, and in convention on that broiling day in June, formulated a policy which will be carried at the next general election, which I hope is not far distant. There are two species of humanity in this world—the men who think for themselves, and the men who allow others to think for them. The Liberals think for themselves. What were the causes that led to the retention in power of hon. gentlemen opposite? Everybody knows perfectly well—in 1882, gerrymander; in 1887, the Franchise Act; in 1891, the promise of a liberal reciprocity treaty with the United States.

An hon. MEMBER. And boodle.

Mr. FAUVEL. Oh, of course there was no boodle. That reciprocity treaty with the United States is what we were wishing for. The Liberal party wanted it as well as the Conservative party. We want it to-day, and the Conservative party wants it, and the country demands it. Everybody in Canada wants reciprocity with the United States, the people of the Maritime Provinces in particular, for they have the United States markets at their very door. But the Conservatives tell us it is impossible that we can have reciprocity with the United States. Well, one part of our platform declares for reciprocity, and I hope the country will not be long without it. The census was a great disappointment to this country. We were paying for 800,000 people to come into the country—not that alone, but to go into the North-west. All our immigrants are brought here for the North-west. If I go to the hon. Minister of the Interior and ask him for assistance to bring immigrants to the county of Bonaventure he will say: No; it is all for the North-west. I think it would be better policy to fill up the old parts of the country and then allow those who preferred to seek new homes to go to the North-west. The immigrant should be allowed to choose where he shall settle in Canada. Protection will not exist long in this country; and, Mr. Speaker, manufactures can thrive in this country without protection. Montreal to-day is the centre of the manufacturing interest of Canada, and I say that Montreal is badly situated as a manufacturing centre. What do we see in England? When, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Flemish operatives came to England and settled there, they settled at Leicester, Norwich, London and Nottingham. As soon as the steam engine was discovered, the centres of the manufacturing industries were all taken to the coal beds of England; and the time will yet come when Moncton will be the Manchester, and New Glasgow the Birmingham of Canada. These are the places where the manufacturers of Canada will be situated in the future, because they are on the spot for their fuel, they will not have to pay \$3 and \$4 a ton for hauling coal a distance of six or seven hundred miles. Sir, the policy of the Liberal party is just as much calculated for the development of this country as that of the Conservative party, and even a great deal more, as the event will prove. Shall we have reciprocity with the United States? I was surprised to hear an hon. member from the Maritime Provinces say a few evenings ago that the reciprocity treaty from 1864 to 1866 was of no material benefit to this country. The hon. member from Queen's, P.E.I. (Mr. Davies), proved that trade during that time had increased to a great extent. I know that myself, because I remember that we were very well satisfied in our fisheries on the Gulf to see the Americans fishing in our waters; and I would be quite willing to-

morrow, although I am interested in the fisheries, to allow the Americans to come and fish with us in our waters, provided we had their market in which to sell our products. I will say a few words on the tariff as it affects fishermen. We have heard hon. gentlemen from the North-west speak from the farmers' standpoint, and I will say a few words about the fishermen. We find that the tariff places on the free list lines, twines and nets; but in respect to cordage, in which fishermen are greatly interested, there has been an increase of at least $\frac{7}{8}$ of a cent a pound. I do not see the junior member for Halifax (Mr. Stairs) here; if he were, I would tell him that when he goes back to meet his fishing constituents in Halifax he will not meet with a pleasant reception, on account of this increase in cordage. There are a great many fishermen in the neighbourhood of Halifax. The hon. senior member for Halifax (Mr. Kenny), who is now smiling at me, knows that this is a serious matter for the fishermen. We have to pay 3 cents per pound on cordage for the benefit of the Consumers' Cordage Combine. On that item alone a large amount of money is invested in the fisheries. Fishermen must have cordage for their sails, cordage for their warps, cordage for their anchors, and so on, and yet the tax on that article has been increased. There has been a slight reduction on sail cloth, but no relief in pork, flour and lard, on which the fishermen have to depend so largely for food; in respect to these articles we derive no benefit from the revised tariff. Waterproof clothing still remains at the old duty of 35 per cent, so that the fishermen derive no benefit from that article, either, under the revised tariff. Then there is the article of coal oil. Last session we heard the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) speak about coal oil, and he was in a great way because the Government would not reduce the duty upon that article. Well, coal oil has not been reduced, but the hon. member seems to be quite satisfied with the tariff. For our part, we are not satisfied with coal oil. That is an essential article of domestic use all over the country, and the people of the Maritime Provinces, who now have to bring their oil from Petrolia, would be a great deal better off if they could get coal oil at a lower rate. The barrels which come down from Petrolia are very often half empty; if we could bring in coal oil in tanks, we would save a great deal. I am confident that when we get into committee something will be done to repair, in some measure, the breach the Finance Minister has made in his promise, repeated on more than one occasion. I hope he will give us free trade, in cordage especially, and on coal oil and on cotton goods. Then I think the Government should reduce the duty on bituminous coal, which is so largely used by the railways. The Canadian Pacific Railway is the only rail-

way that pays any dividends, whereas the Grand Trunk Railway, the pioneer railway of Canada is not so prosperous; its shares are very low in the London markets. Other railways in the country, owing to snow in winter, are running at a great disadvantage as compared with railways to the south of us; and I think if the Government would take off the duty on bituminous coal they would effect a great saving, not only to the railways, but to all parties interested in the carrying trade of the country. When the House goes into committee on the tariff I shall have something more to say.

Mr. GIROUARD (Two Mountains). (Translation.) Mr. Speaker, the hon. member for Bonaventure (Mr. Fauvel), who has just preceded me, stated it would be a very easy matter to obtain reciprocity with the United States; so he would much like having free trade with that country. He refrained, however, from saying how he would manage to obtain such a treaty. I do not know what benefit we could derive from it, for if we look into the statistics we find that in 1892—I am referring to the trade in live animals—the Dominion exported \$7,748,949 worth of cattle, while during the same year the United States exported \$35,099,095 worth of them. The following table is a comparative statement of our exports and those of the United States, with respect to pork, bacon and wheat, for the year 1892:

| | Canada. | United States. |
|------------|-----------|----------------|
| Pork..... | \$ 7,866 | \$ 4,822,295 |
| Bacon..... | 1,094,205 | 39,334,933 |
| Wheat..... | 6,947,851 | 161,399,132 |

Therefore, we find by these figures that not only have the United States no need of our products, but that they export enormous quantities of them, so that free trade with the United States would be of no benefit to us in this respect. I congratulate the hon. the Minister of Finance upon having so promptly brought to the notice of the country the financial policy of the Government; I congratulate him especially upon the changes he made in the tariff, inasmuch as these changes, while they are in favour of all classes and industries generally, specially favour in several respects the agricultural class, to which I am happy to belong. Notwithstanding the numerous changes made in the tariff, I am pleased to see that it still preserves its protective features, for the protective system is the policy approved of and accepted by the people. Introduced in 1878, the protective system was ratified at the general elections of 1882, 1887 and 1891, and the by-elections which were held since the last general election only offered new evidences of the leanings of the Canadian people towards this system. For my part, when I ran in the county of Two Mountains in February, 1892, it was the question brought into discussion. I ran as a protectionist, reserving, however, my liberty of

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action on the other measures relating to the policy of the Government then in power, and the large majority which brought me here only served to confirm the belief which the Canadian people have in the policy of the Government in this respect. In my opinion, protection is the only policy capable of giving to our young country the incentive and impulse which it needs for the development of its natural and industrial resources. If we study the history of the principal nations of Europe, it will be seen that they only began to grow and prosper from the moment they undertook to protect themselves and establish within themselves the industries they felt the want of. The history of England and France is there to give us a convincing proof of this, and without looking further, if we throw a glance at the neighbouring country, we find that if the United States were able to develop their industry, their agriculture and their commerce in such a rapid way, it was due to the protective system they adopted and to which they have adhered now for many years. In perusing a political pamphlet of former times, I found it is something very interesting. It was a speech delivered by the late leader of the Opposition, the Hon. Mr. Blake, in January, 1887, at Malvern. That gentleman was so disgusted with the policy of the Opposition that he renounced the direction of the Liberal party and withdrew into private life. I think this speech was already referred to in this House, but, in my opinion, it cannot be too often quoted. Here is what that gentleman stated on that occasion:

No man, I care not how convinced an advocate of free trade for Canada he may be, has yet suggested—no man, I believe, can suggest—a practicable plan whereby our great revenue needs can be not otherwise than by the imposition of very high duties on goods similar to those we make or can make within our bounds. I invite the most ardent free trader in public life to present a plausible solution to this problem. I have not believed it soluble in my day, and any chance of its solution, if any there were, has been destroyed by the vast increase of our yearly charge and by the other conditions that have been created. The thing is removed from the domain of practical politics.

An interesting pamphlet, edited in Montreal and entitled: "Protection system, or the necessity of a reform of the Canadian tariff," by C. Beausoleil, editor of 'Le Nouveau Monde,' also fell into my hands yesterday. Here is what I find in this pamphlet, very well written indeed, and giving the fullest demonstration of the necessity of adopting the protective system:

We think we have sufficiently demonstrated that the establishment of a strong industry would result in an increase of production and in making us independent of foreign peoples, in furnishing profitable work to a great many Canadians who would remain in the country instead of emigrating, in increasing consequently the consumption and creat-

ing a strong demand for all the products of our soil and farms and giving them more value.

I could quote the whole pamphlet for I find it interesting and it is a real plea in favour of protection. Let us compare the condition of the Canadian industry in 1881 and in 1891 and it will be easy to come to the conclusion that the country is progressing. In 1881, we had 49,923 industrial establishments employing 254,935 operatives and paying wages to the amount of \$59,429,002 yearly, while in 1891, the number of industrial establishments had increased to 75,768 giving work to 367,865 employees and paying wages to the amount of \$99,762,441, which makes in ten years an increase of 25,845 industrial establishments, 112,930 operatives and \$40,343,439 wages paid. Moreover, in 1891, the value of products manufactured in the country having been \$175,445,705, if we deduct from it the cost of the raw material, \$255,983,219, there is left a balance or surplus of \$219,462,486 which remained in the country and was distributed in the shape of salaries to workingmen, building of mills, constructions, purchase of plant, maintenance and other contingent expenses—so many things which remain in the country and contribute to its wealth. And from 1891 to 1894, this increase has been steady. Now, I am of opinion that the establishment of these various industries created by the protective system favour in a most material and direct way the farming community with the prosperity of which I am closely connected as it forms the majority of the voters in my county. The fact is, if we have manufactures, if the Government help to their establishment, these manufactures want operatives for their working, and these operatives, these labourers, taken among such of our citizens as have no liking for agricultural work, form so many families who work in our factories and mills, remain in the country, buy here the provisions they want and constitute a profitable market for the products of our soil, provisions, butter, cheese, eggs, grains, fruits and meats. Experience is there to show that where manufactures are established, the surrounding country becomes prosperous, because it has at its door an easy market for its products. It is indisputable that for the exportation of our goods, our natural market is Great Britain, not the United States. Our butter, our meats, our cheese are exclusively sold in Great Britain. According to the official statistics, 95 per cent of these products are sent to Great Britain and 5 per cent are sold in the foreign countries and the United States. I will in a moment give the official figures in connection with such exports for the years elapsed between 1889 and 1893. I am happy to see that the new tariff is favourable to the farming community. Thus the customs duties are reduced upon manufactured stuffs such as cloths, carpets, oil-cloths, ready-made clothes, agricultural machinery, tools and implements, axes, shovels, pick-

axes, rakes, mowers and reapers. All these articles are used by our farmers. There is a new reduction of duties upon sugar. It will be remembered, Mr. Speaker, that the duties upon tea and coffee were already taken away. I have just heard an hon. member coming from Manitoba or the Northwest state that he approved of the proposed tariff. Well, at the last session, when he spoke on the same question, he stated he would only support the Government under condition that changes should be made to the tariff then in force. The Government were true in their word and that hon. gentleman is now satisfied. I have just said that the Government favour the farming community by the changes made in the tariff. Indeed, Mr. Speaker, it is shown by the reduction of the duties upon the articles referred to by me. But that is not all. The Government favoured them in past years. Thus, in 1892, they lost on their revenue the large sum of \$3,064,462 of taxes by the reduction of duties upon sugar only. A sure indication of the prosperous condition and the easy circumstances of a people is to be found in the quantity of tea and sugar they consume. Well, statistics give as the consumption by our people, before the repeal of duties upon sugar, a quantity of forty pounds per head of the population. Since the taking away of those duties the consumption has increased from forty pounds to seventy pounds and a half per head. That shows, therefore, a large increase, since it nearly doubled in the space of a single year. As just stated by me, Mr. Speaker, not only does the new tariff favour the farming community, but also the poor classes, and that, by the repeal of duties on articles of prime necessity or by the lowering of such duties. Here is the confirmation of my words. A few days ago I read the following in the 'Evening Journal,' of Ottawa, under date of April 3rd, instant :

Montreal Dry Goods Association wants the Government to abandon the increased duty on dress goods, and raise the lowered duty on ready-made clothing.

In other words, the Government having increased the tax on well-to-do people and lessened the tax on the working classes, the Montreal Dry Goods Association wants the Government to go back on its action.

Let the Government stick to the charges. It has done well for the people.

Mr. Speaker, it is not to be denied that in the last few years there was some embarrassment and uneasiness in the country, and more particularly among the farming community. But all right thinking men who are not actuated by the passions of partisanship cannot help acknowledging that this uneasiness, this embarrassment was in no respect due either to the policy of the Government, or their inaction, or even to the tariff, but entirely to the bad harvests which followed in consecutive order during three

or four years. Let us hope that good harvests will bring back easy times everywhere, which will not suit our opponents, as they will then have nothing more to say against the Government. The Government made many endeavours to promote the best interests and the advancement of agriculture as well as the diffusion of agricultural science. The establishment of experimental and model farms, the free distribution of reports of the officers of the various departments of experimental farms, the free delivery of samples of prize seeds, much contributed to improve the farming methods of our rural populations and to add thereby to the prosperity of the agricultural class. That policy acquainted the farmer with new discoveries, caused him to appreciate and love the more his condition, and thereby set him moving forward on the road to advancement and progress, especially as regards the dairy industry. It is interesting, Mr. Speaker, to note the steady and rapid progression of that important branch of the farming industry. Here is a statement relating to our export trade in butter and cheese during these last years. Of course, I am not referring to the home consumption, as it escapes all control. I am only referring to exports in foreign countries. Let us first take butter. In 1889 our exports amounted to 1,780,765 pounds, of the value of \$331,958. In 1890, 1,951,585; value, \$340,131. In 1891, 3,768,101; value, \$602,175. In 1892, 5,736,696; value, \$1,056,058. In 1893 our exports still increased, and they reached in that year 7,036,013 pounds, giving \$1,296,814. Let us now take cheese. In 1889 we exported 88,534,887 pounds of cheese, which gave \$8,915,684. In 1890, 94,260,187; value, \$9,372,212. In 1891, 106,202,140; value, \$9,508,800. In 1892, 118,270,052; value, \$11,652,412. And last year our exports increased to the largest figure they had ever reached, viz., 133,946,365 pounds, giving as value \$13,407,470. Moreover, the World's Fair at Chicago made us known to the whole world. In point of agriculture the Dominion made an advantageous figure at that great competition of all the peoples, as shown by the prizes it took. The fact is, it was awarded the great majority of these prizes allotted to cheese; and out of 2,721 prizes awarded to the Canadian exhibitors, 1,016 were awarded to the Agricultural Department. Canada, Mr. Speaker, is a fine country. It enjoys all climates, and one has only to run through it in one way or another to experience every temperature. We can make of our country one of the most powerful in the world. Its area is considerable, and several countries of Europe could be included in but one of its provinces. Its soil is magnificent and productive; it is run through by large rivers and sheets of water, a great number of which are navigable. Its mineral and forest wealth is inexhaustible. Its water powers are powerful, and everything seems to show,

Mr. GIROUARD (Two Mountains).

Mr. Speaker, that Providence intended to make Canada a prosperous country called upon to hold a high rank amongst the new and young nations which divide an important part of the world. The Conservative party to which I am pleased and honoured to belong added to the gifts of nature by their progressive policy in the building of canals which carry navigation up to our inland waters. They it were who promoted the building of those railways which intersect the provinces in every direction. They it were who built this Canadian Pacific Railway, which is one of the finest railways in the world, and which is the cause that one can almost say that the two great oceans of the world meet. Thanks to those railways, we are at the door of our natural market, Great Britain, and, moreover, we are at the door of China, Japan, India and Australia. A time will come, Mr. Speaker, when our Pacific Railway will be the necessary route, the principal way of communication between Europe and China. Now the Government are forming immigration most particularly in order to give up to farming our vast and fertile lands. We see with the greatest pleasure those of our compatriots who had left the country, thinking they would find, if not a fortune, at least easy circumstances in the neighbouring country, we see, I say, those compatriots coming back to us undeceived and almost disheartened, returning, under the protection of our patriotic Government, to the calm and prosperous life they had deserted for the deceptive allurements of the prosperity of the American trade and industries. They had gone lured by anticipations held out to them of an easy gain and wealth rapidly acquired. But now reality compels them to come back to their native land. I hope the Government yielding to the representations often made to them by several deputations of the representations of the province of Quebec will favour in a still more direct and special way the coming back of our compatriots, by sending agents in the Canadian centres of the United States to make known to them the progress we have made and the advantages which their native country offers to them. I will now draw my remarks to a close, Mr. Speaker, by stating that I think it my duty, in the interest of the voters of my county, as well as in the general interest of the whole country, to vote against the proposed amendment and for the motion of the hon. the Minister of Finance.

Mr. COCKBURN moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not see the leader of the Opposition in his seat, but I hope we may be able to reach the end of the debate to-morrow evening, about midnight. Could the Chief Whip of the Opposition make any statement in regard to that matter?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. The Chief Whip of the Government and I have been trying to make arrangements, but perhaps our plans may miscarry. We will try and meet the wishes of the House as far as possible.

Mr. FOSTER. I think we should try to get a vote to-morrow night, even though we have to sit late.

Mr. FOSTER moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 12.10 a.m. (Wednesday).

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, 11th April, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 63) respecting the Guelph Junction Railway Company.—(Mr. Henderson.)

Bill (No. 64) respecting the Medicine Hat Railway and Coal Company.—(Mr. Ross, Lisgar.)

Bill (No. 65) to confirm an agreement between the Ottawa City Passenger Railway Company and the Ottawa Electric Street Railway Company, and an agreement between the said companies and the Corporation of the city of Ottawa, and to unite the said companies under the name of the Ottawa Electric Railway Company.—(Mr. Robillard.)

Bill (No. 66) to empower the Niagara Falls Suspension Bridge Company to issue debentures, and for other purposes.—(Mr. Lowell.)

Bill (No. 67) to incorporate the Niagara Falls Electric Railway Bridge Company.—(Mr. Taylor.)

Bill (No. 68) respecting the Montreal Park and Island Railway Company.—(Mr. Taylor.)

THE BOYNTON BICYCLE ELECTRIC RAILWAY COMPANY.

Mr. GILLIES moved that that portion of the report of the Committee on Standing Orders, referring to the petition of the Boynton Bicycle Electric Railway Company be referred back to the said committee for further consideration.

Mr. MILLS (Annapolis). With reference to that portion of the report of the Select Standing Committee on Standing Orders, to

which this motion refers, I beg to say that I can hardly see what use it would be to send it back to the committee for further consideration, unless there was some further light thrown regarding the notices that were not given. For the information of the House, I may say that this petition prays for the passing of an Act to incorporate the Boynton Bicycle Electric Railway Company, and to authorize the construction of this electric railway from Winnipeg to Louisburg, N.S., via Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal and St. John, N.B. The notice was published in the Winnipeg and Louisburg papers and in the 'Canada Gazette'; whereas we know, Mr. Speaker, that Rule 51 requires that in such cases the notice shall be published in each county affected by the railway or through which the railway is intended to run. This may be an expensive form of notice, but still, this is a long railway, and, if it is a bona fide company, it must expect to meet the expense of fulfilling the rule. On 30th January, the date of the first appearance of the notice in the 'Canada Gazette,' a circular was sent to the party whose name was appended to the notice, of which this is a copy :

Re Application of the Boynton Bicycle Electric Ry. Co.

EXTRACTS FROM RULES RESPECTING THE PUBLICATION OF NOTICE.

51. All applications for Private Bills shall require a Notice CLEARLY AND DISTINCTLY SPECIFYING THE NATURE AND OBJECT OF THE APPLICATION, which shall be inserted (a) in the *Canada Gazette*, and (b) in one newspaper published in each County, District or Territory affected by the proposed measure, or if there be no newspaper published therein, then in the next nearest locality in which a newspaper is published. All such notices shall be over the signature and address of the applicants, or of their solicitors, and shall be published at least once a week, for a period of two months (9 weekly insertions), during the interval of time between the close of the last preceding session and the consideration of the Petition by the Committee on Standing Orders. In the Provinces of Quebec and Manitoba the Notices shall be published both in English and in French. If the application be for power to erect a Toll-Bridge the Notices shall also state the proposed rates of toll, the nature of the structure, the extent of the privilege, the height of the arches, the interval between the piers and the dimensions of the draw (if any).

These are all set forth with full instructions.

Marked copies of all newspapers containing the first and last insertions of such Notice shall be sent to the Clerk of the House endorsed "Private Bill Notice," to be filed in the Standing Orders Committee Room.

And there are other instructions with regard to notice to be given. This circular was sent, as I have said, on the 30th of January; still no notice was taken of it,

and no notice was published in any of the papers in certain cities through which this road is intended to extend, judging from what appears in the petition. I may say further that the committee were unanimous in their decision. So, if there is nothing more than what has come before the committee, I see very little use of sending this report back. The Standing Orders Committee may err in some of their decisions, but their erring is usually in favour of legislation, rather than against, in a large number of instances.

Mr. GILLIES. Mr. Speaker, I have every respect, indeed, for the judgment and parliamentary knowledge of the Committee on Standing Orders. I was not aware until late yesterday evening that there was any objection to the petition I presented to the House, praying for leave to introduce this Act, which petition is now before the Standing Orders Committee. I may bring to the notice of the House certain facts, and, I hope that when I state them the motion will be carried and this part of the report of the Committee on Standing Orders referred back to the committee for reconsideration. Since I was before the committee this morning, I have received further information as to greater publicity having been given to this application, which was not within my knowledge when I was before the committee. I can show that such wide publicity has been given to this notice as, I think, will satisfy the committee and the House that the rules have been substantially complied with. I may say, Mr. Speaker, that the notice was published in the 'Canada Gazette,' in the 'North Sydney Herald,' in the Manitoba 'Free Press,' in the St. Boniface 'Le Manitoba,' and the 'Eastern Journal'—four newspapers besides the 'Canada Gazette.' That, together with the further publicity that has been given to the project outside of the technical notices, I think will abundantly convince the Committee on Standing Orders that the notice contemplated and intended by the rule has been given. I simply ask that the House will carry this motion.

Motion agreed to, and report referred back to the Committee on Standing Orders.

GOVERNMENT LIABILITY FOR LABOUR.

Mr. McLENNAN moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 69) respecting the liability of the Government and public companies for labour used in the construction of public works. He said: This Bill is intended to protect labouring men on Government works and works conducted by companies, making the Government and companies responsible for the payment of the labour of the men employed thereon. The Bill will explain itself when it is printed.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

Mr. MILLS (Annapolis).

RAILWAY RETURN TICKETS.

Mr. McLENNAN moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 70) respecting the sale of railway return fare tickets. He said: Railway companies issue first class return tickets from stations where they do not issue second class return tickets, therefore discriminating against a class of people who cannot afford to buy first class tickets. It is a discrimination against farmers and labouring men who want to go to market, who want to visit cities, who may want to come here and see the Experimental Farm, and who may find it necessary to travel for other purposes. At stations where they issue first class they cannot get second class return tickets, and so they have to purchase a single fare ticket each way. This amounts to about as much as the return first class ticket. I think it is only fair that they should have the same privilege as the purchaser of a first class ticket, with a proportionate reduction. The Bill does not commit the company to inconvenience in any way: it only requires them to sell second class return tickets where they sell first class return tickets, and only on trains where they carry both first and second class passengers. The Bill is intended to remove a discrimination against those who can least afford to pay the rates that are charged for second class tickets.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

REPORT.

Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries (first half) for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1893.—(Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.)

ELECTRIC LIGHT COMPANIES.

Mr. COCKBURN asked, Whether it is the intention of the Government to introduce a Bill this session for the regulation and inspection of Electric Light Companies?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). Such is the intention of the Government.

THE SOUTH-EASTERN RAILWAY CO.

Mr. LAVERGNE asked, 1. Is the Government informed that the section of the South-eastern Railway, from the town of Drummondville to St. Guillaume Station, in the county of Drummond, has ceased to be operated since about two months? 2. Has the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, which is operating the South-eastern Railway system, the right to cease operating any part of it? 3. Is the Government aware that the municipalities in the section so abandoned have subscribed large amounts for the construction of the said railway, and that, namely the parish of St. Germain de Grant-ham, which is now entirely deprived of rail-

road communication, has alone subscribed thirty thousand dollars towards helping the construction of the said railway? 4. If the trustees and bondholders of the South-eastern Railway Company are unable to continue the operation of said road, and if the Canadian Pacific Railway Company is under no obligation to do so, is it the Government's intention to grant any help towards improving the said road, rebuilding the bridge at Yamaska, and by doing so making it possible for the interested companies to resume the operation of all the sections of said road?

Mr. HAGGART. The Government has been informed that the section of the South-eastern Railway from Drummondville to St. Guillaume station is not being operated. 2. As to whether the Canadian Pacific Railway Company have a right to cease operating this section of the road, depends on the nature of the agreement with the South-eastern Railway Company. 3. The Government is aware that the municipalities in the sections through which the road passes subscribed towards its construction, but is not aware that the parish of St. Germain de Grantham subscribed \$30,000 towards its construction. 4. The question of granting a subsidy to this section of road is one that will be considered among other applications for railway subsidies when the question of granting railway subsidies is under the consideration of the Government.

INSPECTION OF ELECTRICITY METERS

Mr. MACLEAN (York) asked, Whether it is the intention of the Government to introduce legislation for the inspection of meters used in measuring electricity for light and other purposes similar to the law regarding gas meters?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). It is the intention of the Government to introduce legislation for the inspection of meters used in measuring electricity for light, and not for other purposes.

CREED OF CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYEES.

Mr. McNEILL asked, Do the Government intend bringing down at an early day this session the return ordered by this House on the 6th February, 1893, showing the creed or church of each person employed in the Civil Service of Canada? If not, why not?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The return will be ready in a very few days.

RATES ON SUBSIDIZED STEAMERS.

Mr. FAUVEL asked, Is it the intention of the Government to insist that steamers subsidized by Government grants and running in conjunction with trains worked by the Department of Railways, shall carry passengers and freight at the same rate per mile

as is charged by the railways operated by the Government?

Mr. HAGGART. No such arrangements or conditions are included in any contract made with subsidized steamers.

UNIFORMED CUSTOMS OFFICERS.

Mr. GRIEVE asked, Whether it is the intention of the Government to put the officers of the Customs in uniform? Have any uniforms or parts of uniforms been purchased? If so, what was the cost?

Mr. WALLACE. It is intended to uniform certain officers of Customs whose duties bring them into direct and constant contact with the public at the frontier, as in the examination of passengers' baggage on railway passenger trains entering Canada, and at ferry landings. Experience has shown that often serious and vexatious altercations would be avoided if the officer's identity as a customs official were clear. The answer to the last question is, Yes, \$111.69.

INDEX TO THE CUSTOMS STATUTES.

Mr. GRIEVE asked, Whether it is the intention of the Controller of Customs to publish an index to the Customs Statutes?

Mr. WALLACE. It is intended to publish an index to the Customs Statutes in connection with the republishing of the statutes themselves, the supply of which is exhausted. The work was under way last year, but owing to not being sufficiently advanced for publication until shortly before the opening of this Parliament, the work was held over in view of the possibility that some sections might require to be amended during the present session.

DUTIES ON FISHING NETS.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Before the Orders of the Day are called, I desire to ask the Finance Minister whether the collectors throughout the Dominion are acting under instructions in collecting duties prescribed by the resolutions which the hon. gentleman proposes to move in committee, and I wish to call his attention specially to the question of fishing nets. The collectors in the Maritime Provinces are charging—I have a telegram under my hand from one of the large importers—30 per cent. Under the old tariff fishing nets were free, and I am unable to find under what provision it is proposed that fishing nets should be charged duty. I observe on page 19 of the tariff resolutions that hammock and lawn tennis nets and others, not already specified, are charged 30 per cent ad valorem. That is the duty which the collector at Weymouth is charging; and I want to know if the department construes that clause to which I have referred as including

ordinary fishing nets, which have hitherto been admitted free.

Mr. FOSTER. With respect to those resolutions, the customs officers have been acting under them from the time they were brought down, but always with the further instruction that all entries made from the time they were introduced until the enactment of the Act finally, are subject to amendment. With respect to the particular matter to which the hon. gentleman has called attention, I am not aware how the officers have ruled in regard to it, but it was the intention of the Government to keep fishing nets as before.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) That is free.

PAPERS REGARDING PENITENTIARIES.

Mr. BORDEN. I desire to ask the Government when the papers respecting alleged irregularities at Kingston and British Columbia penitentiaries will be brought down?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I cannot state precisely. The papers are very voluminous indeed, and they will be brought down as soon as possible.

THE TARIFF INQUIRY.

Mr. CASEY. I desire to remind the Finance Minister of his promise to bring down at an early date papers relating to the Commission of Inquiry respecting the tariff, and I desire to inquire when they will be brought down?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. At the time I was not aware whether the return had been moved for or not; I presumed it had been. Yesterday it was moved for, and the motion was allowed to stand on the suggestion of the Finance Minister that no such report had been made.

Mr. CASEY. Then the commission has not reported at all?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No.

DUTIES ON MAPLE SUGAR.

Mr. RIDER. Some days ago I inquired whether maple sugar would be classified as raw or as refined sugar, and the Finance Minister did not give me a definite answer. I desire to obtain this information, as it concerns a very important industry in the part of the country from which I come.

Mr. FOSTER. Under the resolutions as at present drawn, I see no other way in which maple sugar can be classified except according to its colour.

Mr. RIDER. That is as refined sugar?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That means it will be taxed.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

Mr. FOSTER. That is if it goes above No. 16.

Mr. RIDER. Do I understand that it will be classified as refined sugar? I understand that even refined sugar under No. 16 is subject to duty.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. RIDER. Is that the case?

Mr. FOSTER. If it is classified as refined sugar, it will have to pay the refined sugar duty, 64-100ths of a cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Is it, or is it not to be so classified?

Mr. FOSTER. I am not giving an interpretation just now.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The hon. gentleman should be able to interpret his own resolution, and answer such a simple question as, whether the authorities consider maple sugar is refined sugar or not.

Mr. FOSTER. The interpretation, no doubt, lies with the customs. Maple sugar so far as it has been discussed in connection with the customs tariff has never come up as a matter by itself. I think it will be classed as refined sugar and be liable to a duty of 64-100ths of a cent.

Mr. RIDER. I think the Finance Minister is treating the matter too lightly. This is a matter of considerable importance to my constituents.

Mr. SPEAKER. Order. The hon. gentleman cannot make a speech.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

House resumed the adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Foster:

That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair for the House to go into Committee of Ways and Means; and the motion off, Sir Richard Cartwright in amendment thereto.

Mr. COCKBURN. Mr. Speaker, if any question seems to have been discussed during the last few years until human nature can scarcely support it any longer, it seems to be this everlasting question of the tariff. My only apology for rising at this late hour to say a few words on this question is my wish to direct the attention of the House briefly to one or two points, which I think are of importance, but to which perhaps sufficient attention has not been directed by hon. gentlemen who have preceded me. I am free to confess that I had fondly hoped that owing to the united efforts of the moderate men on both sides of this House, some tariff might have been devised which would for the future have secured a resting-place for our manufacturing and productive interests so that they might feel that this interminable change must be a thing of the past, and that those who have invested

money in our industries might have some assurance that they would have a fair chance of securing a revenue from the investment made before any change occurred to destroy such chance. But while I looked, perhaps, too fondly towards such a hope or towards such co-operation on the part of hon. gentlemen opposite, I must say that I did not look for their aid through any thin pretext of pure patriotism, but I thought as they had ran the gamut of every possible change, political and commercial, they might be driven as a last resource to find such a refuge with the great party to which I have the honour to belong. It seems, however, that such is not the case, and that after a lengthened labour during last summer the party, after a forty-eight hours' labour, by a grand Caesarian operation was delivered of a child known under the name of Free Trade. We have had various bantlings brought before us of the party opposite. Now, however, they offer a clear, definite policy. They demand free trade, pure, simple and unadulterated, and the hon. member from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) has told the House that if there is the vestige of a trace of protection left in any tariff, he would obliterate it. The cool demand is made to us to hand over to those hon. gentlemen the virtual control of the \$353,000,000 invested in our manufactures. They are to be left free to be dealt with by hon. gentlemen opposite according to their own sweet will. It becomes us, therefore, as guardians of the interests of the people and those to whom the commercial welfare of the country has been entrusted to look carefully into the antecedents of the hon. gentlemen who have made such a demand, and see if they are worthy of the confidence they ask, and worthy of being entrusted with the management of the affairs of the country in future. It becomes our duty, therefore, to briefly review the history of the Reform party. After that it would be but right that we should inquire what has been the history of protection and free trade so far as applicable to Great Britain; and lastly, whether the circumstances under which free trade was adopted by Great Britain are so analogous to these prevalent in Canada that we would be justified in agreeing to the proposal made by hon. gentlemen opposite, to sweep away at one blow our whole Conservative National Policy system. I cannot but remember that during the regime of Mr. Mackenzie his Government reduced the tariff on not one single item, except coal oil, and the only reduction they made on that article was to bring it down to the point at which it now stands in the tariff before the House. Wonderful changes must have come over the views of the leading members of the Liberal party when we find them ready to adopt a policy such as is now proposed by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright); for Mr. Mackenzie, their great leader, when he raised the tariff from 15 to 17½ per cent was particularly cautious to

state: that he did it with the understanding that in making this increase due precaution would be taken to give such incidental protection to the industries of the country as could possibly be given. His words were:

As long as the revenue has to be raised by a duty upon imports it should be raised by placing a duty upon articles that we ourselves can produce.

That was the policy of his Government, but the policy of the present would-be Government is to collect revenue by duties placed upon articles which we cannot produce in Canada; and it is the only possible method, says the gallant knight of South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), of removing every vestige of protection out of the tariff and to still raise a revenue. Such then were the views of Mr. Mackenzie in 1877. Ten years later, we find the leader of the same party, Mr. Blake, state:

The high rate of taxation must be maintained and the manufacturers have nothing whatever to fear.

Mr. Blake was careful to tell us at the same time, that these views were also entertained by his colleague, the member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). Well, Sir, I find that these views are variously held by different members of the Liberal party. I find the member for West Ontario (Mr. Edgar) giving us his views in the following words:—

The manufacturers have nothing to fear. The policy of the Liberal party is not confiscation, and in the event of their accession to power, nothing would be hastily done. It was not proposed to do away with protection at a blow; the change will be gradual. He entirely approved of the statement of Mr. David A. Wells who declared in a recent article: that the duty on manufactured goods should not be lowered too precipitately and that nothing should be done to upset trade.

This again is a different programme altogether from the programme as announced in the amendment proposed by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), now before the House. The philosophic member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) is always careful in choosing his language, but still he said:

I admit we have established industries in this country and we ought make any changes so as to cause as little disturbance as possible.

He was evidently not in favour of this radical policy of eradicating every trace of protection to native industries, for he tells us that he is going to proceed on lines that will cause as little disturbance as possible, and he follows the hon. member for West Ontario (Mr. Edgar), who a few months previously said: "That these duties on manufactured goods must not be lowered too precipitately and that nothing whatever should be done to upset trade." These are the views held by two leading members of the Liberal party. I find at the same time,

that the party has adopted various other views so far as the National Policy is concerned. They advocated commercial and continental union, but the dearest child of all seems to have been unrestricted reciprocity. As the genial member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) told us: It was an unhappy cognomen to give to that child; it ought to have been differently baptized. It has been felt, as he tells us, to be a bugbear, so to speak, in the way of the success of his party. It was felt by loyal men that unrestricted reciprocity would bring about a condition of things that would not be accepted, and so the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) was driven to the extremity of telling us plainly and distinctly that it would discriminate against Great Britain. He told us this as reported in the 'Hansard' of 1891, again in the 'Hansard' of 1892; and again in the House in 1892, he said that every such treaty must necessarily involve discrimination against Great Britain. But the same hon. gentleman when giving an account of unrestricted reciprocity at a meeting held at St. John's, N.B., on the 24th of August, 1893, tells us:

He showed the absurdity of the Cabinet Ministers' visit to Washington to try to arrange a treaty, and that they knew before they went that they would not get what they asked for. He knew from personal interviews with the late J. G. Blaine, that an amicable treaty could be arranged and that would not discriminate against Great Britain.

I leave the hon. gentleman from Queen's (Mr. Davies) to make his own peace with his own assertions, viz.: The assertion in 1891 as reported in 'Hansard,' the assertion again in 1892 as reported in 'Hansard,' his assertion again in February, 1893, as reported in 'Hansard,' and his assertion in August, 1893, as reported in the account of the meeting at St. John's, which I have quoted to the House. Well, Sir, when members of the Liberal party holding such various views come to us and ask us to hand them over the commercial destinies of this country, ask us to intrust to their keeping the management of \$353,000,000 of capital, ask us to allow them to deal with the future welfare of a million and a quarter persons interested in manufactures, ask us to permit them to deal also with wages, amounting to some \$100,000,000 a year, when they ask us for proofs of such unlimited confidence in their ability and integrity, we surely have a right to inquire into their past history, so that we may have some assurance as to what will be their future. I think we have seen from the opinions I have quoted that they are not in a position to come to this House and claim any vote of confidence in such a policy, inasmuch as they themselves seem to be altogether at sea as to what their policy really is. A more important point, however, is to deal with the question of the history of protection. That is a question which must stand by itself, and so, also, must the ques-

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tion of free trade, irrespective of the parties who come here and demand to be intrusted with the carrying out of the principles of free trade. I desire to draw the attention of the House to the fact that the history of protection has indeed been most remarkable. Fifty years ago the question seemed to have been solved. Great Britain had adopted free trade; the United States was apparently following closely in her wake; the whole civilized world, as was expected by Cobden and Bright, seemed also to be willing to take the same step. But, Sir, fifty years afterwards what do we find? We find that every civilized nation, with the exception of Great Britain herself, has found it necessary to adopt a system of protection. Only a year or so ago the last English colony felt that, in spite of its reverence for the mother land and its desire to adopt her fiscal system, it was obliged to fall back on the system of protection. What has been the history of the world during those fifty years? It has been a time when education has been disseminated widely among the people, when political discussion has been rife, when every means have been taken to instruct the people as to their rights and duties as citizens, when universities have been founded, when lecturers and writers everywhere have been developing their economic views. No period of the world has ever seen so much intellectual activity, and we see that as a result every nation in the civilized world has found it necessary to adopt the system of protection. I hold, therefore, that it is but right that those gentlemen who claim superiority for the free trade policy should assume the onus of proof. I know that my hon. friend from Bothwell (Mr. Mills) will be perfectly able to prove by most careful syllogisms that he is correct in proclaiming the doctrine of free trade. Against that I can only bring the greater facts of the last fifty years, and ask him to acknowledge that the whole race has been wiser than any one man. The consensus of enlightened opinion is so strongly in favour of the protective system of government that I do not yet despair of seeing my hon. friend, with all his philosophy, enrolled on this side of the House, so far at least as regards the acceptance of our commercial policy. Now, I should like to draw the attention of the House for a few moments to the true history of free trade. We have been taught to believe that England was apparently on her last legs, that by the system of protection she had been reduced to the uttermost beggary with her manufacturing system broken down, when, in the hour of her distress and destitution, there descended from heaven two men who straightway removed the disabilities under which Great Britain at that time was labouring, and she then entered on her grand career of the last fifty years. Such is the popular notion with reference to Cobden and Bright and the Anti-Corn Law League. What are the facts? The facts are simply

these, that for nearly three centuries wages had been at a comparative standstill in England. The strictest protective system had been observed—so strict, indeed, that even her colonies had not been allowed to build ships, and no machinery had been allowed to be expected from Great Britain. Everything was kept within Great Britain itself. A more exclusive system of protection, a stricter monopoly amounting to prohibition had never existed and never can exist again. But, with the invention of the steam engine, she found her supplies so far exceeding her demands that she was driven by the demand made by her workmen for higher wages, to devise some means by which those higher wages could be obtained. It never entered the mind of Cobden or Bright to run counter to the system of protection as it is understood to-day. What they did was to lead the attack against an odious tax which had been put upon the people—a tax which simply increased the revenues of the aristocratic landlords, an odious tax which made bread dear to the poor man. As we were told yesterday by the hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Boyd), the leaders in that demand, Cobden and Bright, were themselves manufacturers. Their position was entirely different from the position of hon. gentlemen opposite to-day. Here we find no Cobden and Bright, themselves manufacturers, demanding their own freedom and relief from all burdens. The attack to-day is being led against the manufacturers. I suppose that it would scarcely appear possible to some members of this House that such was the case; but if you will allow me to quote from the English 'Hansard' of 8th February, 1842, column 60, page 133, you will find that the Marquis of Lansdowne presented a petition from the woollen manufacturers of England asking that all duties be abolished, including their own, but especially the corn laws, and in the same volume 60, at page 137, you will find Lord Brougham declaring that prior to that time he had laid upon the Table a petition from persons authorized by all the great manufacturing bodies of England, praying for the repeal of every duty levied under the pretense of protection. Such are the very words of Lord Brougham. The fight was not simply a fight against the manufacturers; it was a fight made by the manufacturers who wished to have cheap bread, in order, selfishly, no doubt, that they might not be compelled to raise the wages of the workmen. They said to the workmen: If we do not give you the coin, we give you the money's worth, and what does it matter to you? At that time England, by means of the system of protection that she had long enjoyed, had so absolutely secured the markets against all competitors, that it made no iota of difference to her whether or not every law and every duty levied under the pretense of protection were repealed.

To sum up, Sir, we may say that at the time when England adopted free trade as her fiscal system she was indeed the workshop of the world.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). No.

Mr. COCKBURN. Of raw material she herself had none; but she had her coal and iron and the invention of the steam engine, and she had kept her own machinery to herself. She had had a protection of over a generation and a half. She had had a qualified protection for over 300 years.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). And made no progress under it.

Mr. COCKBURN. I will admit, with my hon. friend from Bothwell (Mr. Mills), that the progress she had made at that time did not correspond with the progress she made later. But she was then preparing the road by which she has since achieved such unparalleled prosperity. The tariff at that time had ceased to give any protection to her manufacturing interests. She no longer required such protection. The one bugbear that stood in the way was this duty on corn, which was simply a tax, making food dearer, just as a tax imposed on sugar makes sugar dearer. The whole crusade of 1840 was for free food. Repeal of the corn laws meant an increase of real wages. Repeal of tariff in manufacturing meant nothing. Protection, in our modern sense, is never mentioned in any of Cobden's free trade speeches. But just let us put ourselves in the position of England at that time, and ask ourselves how we should have acted. At that time the sole limit of work was human strength. Even the children were not spared in the sacrifice to Moloch. Shorter hours of labour were scorned by Cobden and Bright as absurdities. As late as 1880, Bonamy Price, a great authority on political economy on the Liberal side, declared that shorter hours are a repudiation of the doctrine of free trade. Let us look at the position which was held by England when she adopted free trade, and see if we have anything in Canada analogous to it, which would justify us in following her example. Now, Mr. Speaker, suppose England had been in Canada's position—not a small island girt by the sea, but half of a great continent—suppose she had had an unlimited supply of raw material at hand; suppose she had had all the facilities for a great internal commerce, with huge lakes and a canal and railway system, such as we possess, opening up to her a vast internal commerce; suppose immigrants were pouring into her land; suppose wages were going higher and higher, and she had a supply from her own soil of cheap food beyond all her possible wants; suppose her labourers were spending freely their higher wages, and thus becoming great consumers of her

products: suppose she had a people along her border, separated by an invisible line—a people of 70,000,000 of the brightest, most active, energetic and pushing that the world has ever seen—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order: oh, oh.

Mr. COCKBURN. I have no hesitation in saying so, but I do not for a moment say that they are superior, in any way, to our own countrymen. But I ask you, suppose England had had these 70,000,000 people on her borders: suppose cheap freights had brought every country close to her very doors, because you can now carry freight from Liverpool to Montreal as cheap as you can carry the same goods from Montreal to Toronto; suppose England had had those cheap freights bringing everything to her very door, annihilating, as the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) said the other night, distance, so to speak; suppose these 70,000,000 people and all the European countries had had the machinery of Great Britain and equally skilled labour, and an industrial system equal to hers; suppose these countries had the command of immense capital, and that money for investment in manufactures was to be had there even cheaper than in England—for recollect, Sir, that the assessed wealth of the United States at this hour, according to Mr. Mulhall, is \$65,000,000,000: suppose that those countries had had labour 30 or 40 per cent cheaper than England, and suppose the manufacturers of England, with their \$353,000,000,000 embarked in their enterprises, were crying out against any change—do you imagine that, with these facts existing and with that condition of things, if Cobden had then called upon England to take that plunge into free trade, she would for one moment have been so foolish as to entertain the idea? No, Sir, not if the whole angelic hosts of Grits or Reformers, from the earliest times—from heaven or from earth—had gone on their knees at that time, would she have committed the atrocious folly of sacrificing all her interests to a mere whim or fad. I have shown you what was the position of England when she embarked on the policy of free trade. I have shown you the immense resources she had. I have shown you that she had the command virtually of every market, and that it made not an iota of difference to her if you swept away every duty under heaven. She had the absolute command, and owing to her policy for 300 years she was then able to maintain that command. And when that tariff was swept away, that did not alter in one iota the position of Richard Cobden or John Bright, as manufacturers, able to compete with the cheap labour of the continent. But we in Canada are very differently situated. My hon. friend (Mr. Mills) is apt to be carried away by his sophistical turn of mind—by mere syllogisms or a mere fad. I point to the rest of the world, and I ask, in view of what has been done by

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all other civilized nations in the last fifty years, are you prepared to take the ground that the only sensible country in the world is England, and that all the others are fools? I might also draw your attention to the fact that during those fifteen years in which we have had the National Policy, our progress has indeed been rapid. I cannot understand what our friends can want. With wages rising, with prices of manufactured goods falling, with lessening hours of labour—what on earth more do they want for the workingman than what we are offering? But I am told, forsooth, look at our Canadian farmers. The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) says their farm lands have fallen 25 to 30 per cent. Well, I reply, look at English farms. They have fallen 50 per cent. The hon. gentleman says yes, but the English farms had been raised to an abnormal price through the corn laws of two generations ago, and they have been reduced in value because they have been brought nearer to the point of distribution, and to the points in which these great corn crops are raised. Well, have we not been brought nearer to the point of distribution—to the point of supply? What has the Canadian Pacific Railway done? What have we given \$60,000,000 for except to bring us into closer union with those points, and surely the law that applies to England must also apply to us? But I could take the hon. gentleman to the United States, where one-third of the farmers are but tenants at will. I could point him to the North-west. If it has happened that farms in Ontario have fallen 20 to 25 per cent, we must not look at this matter simply from the point of view of Ontario. We must not look at it simply from the point of view of Prince Edward Island or Nova Scotia; we must look at it as we find it throughout the whole mighty Dominion of Canada, and ask ourselves whether our total wealth has not immensely increased, whether our assets are not much greater, by reason of our having opened up these millions of acres of the finest wheat lands in the world. Sir, they say that wheat is only 55 cents. As if, forsooth, they would try to impose upon the farmer and lead him to believe that, if they were only in office, by some god-like power, or fiat, or word of command, they would cause wheat to rise to 60, 80 cents, or a dollar. Why, Sir, they know as well as we do that the price of wheat is not settled by us; that it is determined by supplies from Russia, India, the Argentine Republic. The hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) tells us that in the Argentine Republic they have a hundred millions of bushels ready to ship, to England at 60 cents. They say that the price of land has fallen. I will show them land within fifteen miles of the city of London for which you cannot get any more than for lands fifteen miles from the city of Toronto. Are we so situated that the laws that govern the rest of

the human race are to have no effect with us? Are we to have millions of acres opened up in India, Russia, the Argentine Republic and the great North-west and not find the prices of our farm products fall?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). That is what your friend said in 1878.

Mr. COCKBURN. No, Sir. Our friends prophesied magnificent results from their policy, and the day will come when their prophecies will all be fulfilled. Sir Charles Tupper's 640,000,000 bushels, the product of the North-west will come. They have not come yet, but they will come in time. And, if gentlemen opposite only would have more confidence in their country, if they could see these 640,000,000 bushels, as I see them coming, in my mind's eye, they would have a warmer place in the hearts of their countrymen than they have now.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) How many trains a day would you require to haul that?

Mr. COCKBURN. When it comes, we will run the trains. Then comes this plaintive cry of the farmer, who of late has become the object of anxious solicitude to both parties in this House. The poor farmer; the depressed farmer; the farmer who is overloaded with taxation. The poor farmer now is changing his loan from 7 per cent to 5 per cent. That poor farmer is keeping in his garner the fruits of the last two years of his labour, a thing that very few merchants would dare to attempt. That poor farmer—thousands of them—are holding the last year's crop. Why? Because they are speculating in it in a manner, and they think that, owing to European complications or other causes, instead of 55 cents a bushel they will get 85 cents or a dollar. I am told that these men are suffering almost past human endurance, but these men in Ontario last year, with \$106,000,000 borrowed from the loan companies, were in default only 2 per cent; whereas, twelve years before, shortly after gentlemen opposite had left power, they were in default nearly 9 per cent. To hear hon. gentlemen talk, one would think that the community was divided into two great classes, the producers and the consumers. They tell us: Here are your cotton operatives, numbering six thousand; here are your glass makers, numbering five thousand; here are your mill hands, numbering four thousand, and so on; and they say; What are these to four and a half or five millions of people. They run through the whole list of operatives, and take them, class by class, and demand of us: What are these people to the whole population of the Dominion? If you add these four thousand and five thousand and fifteen thousand together, and so on through the test, you will find you are approach-

ing very close to the five millions of consumers. Hon. gentlemen opposite have tried to draw a false line which would place every man upon one side or the other, making him either a producer or a consumer. Why, Sir, these operatives are the very men who are freely spending their money; they are the men who are our great consumers. And here I would like to say a word or two for our manufacturers, who seem nowadays to be forgotten in this intense new-born love for the farmer. Our manufacturers and their operatives number 367,000 souls, representing probably nearly one million and a quarter of population. Their wages are over \$100,000,000; they are working a capital of \$353,000,000; they have products of some \$475,000,000, and profits of \$90,000,000. The products of these manufacturers are equal to the products of the farmer, and I think these people entitled to equal consideration with the farmers. Perhaps, for certain reasons, I should say they are entitled to more consideration, because they produce wealth more readily, and the possibilities of production with them are illimitable. Sir, let me draw your attention to the fact that the value of the cotton raised in the United States last year, as it left the field, was \$300,000,000, and the same cotton, when it left the mill was worth \$1,750,000,000. This shows how vast is the wealth that may be accumulated by manufacturers when duly directed. Now, Mr. Speaker, I should like, before resuming my seat, to say a word or two with reference to some of the misstatements which were made by gentlemen opposite, and which have not been corrected—at least not during my attendance in the House. I was astonished to hear the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) say, with reference to the debt of Canada:

It is equal, I believe, to the debt with which the United States emerged from their great and desperate civil war.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Oh, no.

Mr. COCKBURN. These are his words as reported in 'Hansard,' and I do not wonder that my honest friend from Bothwell (Mr. Mills) on hearing them is astonished, and says: "Oh, no." I find from the American official returns that the debt of the United States in 1865 was \$2,756,000,000, making an average for the population of that time of \$73.25 per head. And I find our own debt to be \$241,681,000, an average of \$49.50 per head—or, as the hon. member for South Oxford puts it, \$50 per head. The total is \$241,000,000, which is less than the deposits in the banks and loan companies, and less by \$8,000,000 than the amount carried as life insurance. I was the more astonished to find the hon. member for South Oxford pay so much attention to these matters when I found how little he seemed to regard figures. In fact, this seems to be a falling with hon. gentlemen opposite. When

they get hold of a few thousands, they do not hesitate to run them up into the millions. I was rather astonished to hear the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) declare that savings bank deposits were rather an evidence, not of wealth, but of our inability to know what to do with our money—an evidence of poverty of intellect, if not poverty of purse. Our genial friend from Prince Edward Island (Mr. Davies) was kind enough to inform us that the savings bank deposits in the single state of Maine were greater than the deposits of the savings banks of the whole Dominion of Canada. Well, I do not wish to dwell long on the point made by the hon. member for Bothwell, but I will confront him with the declaration made by his friend the hon. member for South Oxford, in making his Budget speech in 1877, when he had all responsibility of a Finance Minister on his shoulders, and speaking under a strict sense, I suppose, of official responsibility. He said :

The banks do undoubtedly afford us certain standards by which we may estimate with tolerable precision the increased volume of business throughout the country. These standards are usually considered reliable signs of the advance of the population in wealth. What are those signs? Increased circulation.

That we have.

Increase of bank deposits.

That we have.

Increase in deposits in Government savings banks.

That we have.

These deposits in savings banks are specially valuable.

My hon. friend from Bothwell thinks they are not.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman is aware that, in consequence of the reduction in the rate of interest by $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, the deposits in the savings banks were diminished by \$3,600,000. Now, does the hon. gentleman think that the country was that much poorer?

Mr. COCKBURN. I understand the question to be, that there had been a decrease in the deposits.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Yes.

Mr. COCKBURN. There had been also a decrease in the rate of interest.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Yes.

Mr. COCKBURN. And some money, I understand, was withdrawn and transferred to the chartered banks, who are paying—

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). We do not know.

Mr. COCKBURN. I know. I am a bank director, and I speak of what I know. I am not talking simple official platitudes. I say that I went to the Government myself, and

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strongly objected to their entering into this competition with the banks; I did not consider it to be their sphere. I said: You are offering 4 per cent for money, and you are forcing the banks to offer the same, and the result is that we are obliged to charge merchants and manufacturers a larger amount for our discounts, and by that means you are impeding the progress of the country, and putting a burden on commerce. They lowered the rate from 4 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and immediately some people withdrew their money from the savings banks and put it into the chartered banks, because some of the chartered banks were offering a half per cent more. A good many people who have their little savings in those banks, think a great deal of a half per cent, and the banks were very wide awake and opened savings departments to catch all those men who had withdrawn their money from the Government banks. They put that money back into the banking interest of the country, transferring it merely from the Government Savings Bank account.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman has not answered my question. My question is, whether the diminution in the amount of the savings banks deposits is a certain evidence of a diminished prosperity, or a diminution of the wealth of the country?

Mr. COCKBURN. If there were a diminution in the deposits in the chartered banks of the country, and a diminution at the same time in the others, I would say that the money was less.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Then, I infer from the hon. gentleman's statement, that these are the only two ways in which people can properly invest their money, and this money could not have been invested in any other form.

Mr. COCKBURN. By no means; I do not see how such an inference could be drawn from my remarks. However, I was reading a portion of the speech of the hon. member for South Oxford, where he states that these deposits are a specially valuable indication. Now, I was a little surprised that my hon. friend from Queen's (P.E.I.) should have taken it upon himself to say that the deposits in the savings banks in the state of Maine were greater than the deposits in the whole Dominion of Canada. I may say, although I do not accuse my hon. friend of any disingenuity, I think there was a slight quibble in his statement, if I may use so unparliamentary a term. I think he is president of a bank in Prince Edward Island, and he ought to know, surely, that there is not the slightest analogy between the savings banks of the United States and the savings banks of Canada. The savings banks of Canada are institutions provided by the Government to receive, up to a certain small sum, the savings of working-men and other classes. The Government in-

stituted these to encourage thrift, and because it was felt at the same time that the moneys this class of people possessed, might be locked up in old stockings, or old drawers, or hidden away, whereas they might be put into banks and used to oil the wheels of commerce. Our savings banks are not dealing in money; they are not discounting; they give but a moderate rate of interest. Now, savings banks in the United States are for another purpose. My hon. friend ought to have told us yesterday, in all honesty and sincerity, that there was no analogy. Taking the report of the Controller of the Currency, he says that in Maine there are deposits to the amount of \$33,000,307. That is true, but, if he had only looked at the preceding page, showing the liabilities and resources, he would have seen what the bank does with this money. It has loans on real estate, for instance; it has loans on collateral security and other real estate; it has large discounts to merchants; it has United States bonds; it has city, county, municipal and other bonds, amounting to seventeen millions; it has railroad bonds and stock, fifteen millions; other bank stocks, three millions; other kinds of bonds and stocks, four millions; it has got real estate, so much. Surely, my hon. friend must confess that there is not the slightest analogy between what we understand by a post office savings bank, or a Government savings bank, in Canada, and a bank which is just run like any other bank, except that it has not got the power of issuing notes. I hope I have shed some little enlightenment on the mind of the hon. member for Prince Edward Island, and that in future, when he turns up the Controller's report, he will look at both sides of the account and know how the bank stands. So much for two misstatements. There is another misstatement I should like to deal with, and that is, that Canada lost, as we are told by the gallant knight from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), \$500,000,000 from 1860 to 1880, being at the rate of \$25,000,000 a year. Now it was a source of extreme pleasure to learn that so immense were our resources, so fabulously rich had we become, that during the last fifteen years we were able to throw away, not \$25,000,000 a year, but no less a sum than \$66,000,000 a year. It is consoling to us to feel that we live in such a country where we are able to throw away millions at a time and not feel the loss, and perhaps it may have been this unlimited confidence on the part of the hon. member from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), as to this competency which led him to make a remark which I should like to quote, and to inquire why he had not redeemed his promise. The statement is indeed an extraordinary one, and here it is. In June, 1891, in the Budget debate the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) used these most extraordinary words:

In Ontario to-day we had 22,000,000 acres of land under cultivation. It is not a matter of opinion that if the policy of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States was carried out, each acre would be worth \$10 more, or \$220,000,000 of gain in wealth in land in Ontario alone.

The hon. gentleman further stated:

We had in Ontario about 1,250,000 horses. Unrestricted reciprocity would make each horse worth \$30 more, or a total gain of \$37,500,000.

I ask in the name of common sense why did this hon. gentleman ever abandon the policy called unrestricted reciprocity, when by a mere stroke of his pen he could thus make us fabulously wealthy? If he had only adhered to unrestricted reciprocity, every horse would have been worth \$30 more, and every acre of land would have possessed an additional value of \$10. In fact the hon. gentleman could add to our wealth by millions by a stroke of gigantic financial genius, and he had such unbounded confidence in the resources of the country, that he said: "What matter is that? In the last fifteen years the Government have thrown away a thousand millions, and during twenty years previous have thrown away other \$500,000,000. We will go in now for free trade." The \$220,000,000, or the \$237,000,000 would have been a godsend to us, obtained as it would have been by a mere stroke of the pen, as that sum would have paid the whole of our national debt. We would have risen in the morning free of debt by the adoption of this policy. I ask if it is yet too late for the hon. gentleman to accomplish that great boon? Will the hon. gentleman not come and save us in this, what he calls, the dire hour of our distress, and by a mere stroke of the pen, a mere act of the government, add \$37,000,000 to the value of our horses alone, and wipe out the national debt, so that we will be happy ever afterwards? Then the hon. gentleman tells us that we have also an adverse balance of trade of \$300,000,000. Why, the absurdities that are perpetrated in this House by some hon. gentlemen are past belief. Does any one imagine that if we had an adverse balance of trade of \$300,000,000 our stocks would be quoted in the London market at the highest value of all colonial stocks? Does any one imagine that if we had an adverse balance of trade of \$300,000,000, there would have been offered for our last loan \$300 for every \$100 we wanted? That statement is on a par with another remark made by the hon. member for South Oxford when the Finance Minister drew attention to our largely increasing exports. "Surely you do not consider \$4,000,000 worth of bullion a very desirable or very valuable asset." I think that when bank after bank in the United States was tottering, when 598 monetary institutions suspended, with liabilities of \$170,295,000, when men, apparently in the most solvent condition were at once reduced

to poverty, we in Canada were able to come to their aid with \$4,000,000 of gold, we may all rest assured that if our banks favoured the United States financial institutions with that sum in their dire hour of need, our banks got a fair return for every dollar they advanced, and no asset was more productive at that time than the \$4,000,000 sent over to our neighbours. I may be asked, What are your views as to the tariff itself? It may be said, You have told us you consider it inadvisable for us to attempt a system of free trade, which however suitable to England is unsuitable to Canada; what, however, are your views with respect to the tariff which is now before the House? I have no hesitation in stating my views. I recollect about a year ago an hon. gentleman ruled me out of the party in his newspaper for ten days for daring to express the views that I thought the tariff needed reform. Luckily some leading members of the Government expressed similar views, and I was released from duress vile, and once more admitted to the company of the faithful, for which I felt duly thankful. It appears to me that the one great fault in the tariff is apparently the non-fixity of its character. I think above all things it is important that changes made in our fiscal system must be gradual, and I feel, rightly or wrongly, that the opinion has gone abroad that this tariff is not a tariff to remain in force for the next fifteen or twenty years, but is a tariff which almost one-half of the members of this House are trying their best to change, alter or modify. So long as this feeling exists, it will be a very difficult matter to induce capitalists to come to our aid, to help in developing our resources. The reductions proposed I am unable to speak of, as I have not had time to reduce the ad valorem to specific duties, and calculate the effect. It is unfortunate for the Government that at such a time as this the change has to be made from ad valorem to specific duties, for when goods are so low in price, the duties according to their value must be correspondingly low. And there is accordingly for the time being, only temporarily, I hope, a stronger strain put upon our manufacturer, and he has not the same protection which otherwise I should like to see him have. If I might say a word for Ontario—although I do not wish to speak from a sectional point of view, and have always taken the ground that we must look at the Dominion as a whole—I should like to see some considerable modifications in the duty upon bituminous coal. I think that we have in Ontario a pretty heavy burden to meet in this respect, inasmuch as out of the \$961,893 duty paid on bituminous coal that we import into Canada, we have no less a sum to pay in Ontario in the shape of duty, than \$901,966. I think that considering the difficulties under which our manufacturers now labour, considering also the changes that have taken place with reference to the raw material, considering that

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their protection has been reduced, while perhaps no corresponding reduction has been made in the raw material; it would be well worthy the consideration of the Government to consider fully if some material change cannot be made in the duty on this article. I cannot by any means call the tariff perfect as a whole, but the principle which underlies it is one which commends itself to me and therefore I have no hesitation whatever in giving my vote in favour of the tariff, as opposed to the principle of absolute free trade announced in the amendment of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). I feel this: That lower priced labour could compete with our labour, whether that lower priced labour is in the form of imported goods or imported Chinamen. My desire has been to see grow up in this country a race of workmen worthy of the position of freemen. We are at present trying in this country, the experiment, whether under God's favour, with the blessings of religion and education and free government and unbounded resources, we can have a country where every man will be born to the possibility that he can rise to a life of culture, and not be condemned from his birth to a life of unending, mechanical toil or hopeless drudgery for the mere comforts and necessities of existence. That is the prayer of our party. That is the reason why we desire to give such full protection to labour. That is the reason why we desire to see, if possible, this country a cheap country to live in and a country in which every man will find sufficient for the comforts and culture of life. I hope that our friends of the Liberal party may take a broader and more patriotic view of the situation and join hands in securing such comforts as the necessities of modern civilization demand for our workingmen.

Mr. CHRISTIE. Mr. Speaker, it is not my intention to occupy the House at any great length as this question has been very fully discussed, and I have no wish to prolong the debate. I simply desire to say a word, merely to show where I stand with reference to this matter. It gives me pleasure to see that the policy of tariff reform so long advocated by Liberals on this side of the House is now beginning to bear fruit. Wherever we look, from one end of the Dominion to the other, we see a strong public sentiment growing up in favour of tariff reform; the people are revolting against the class legislation under the National Policy, notably among the Patrons of Industry, and even in this House. I believe that the action taken by the hon. Minister of Finance is a complete justification of the contention of the Liberal party. It does look as if the Finance Minister has taken a new departure and as if he had taken a first step in the direction of reform. It is true the step is very short, but even these trivial reductions of duty which have

been made would have been a benefit had they not been coupled with corresponding increases, so that the net results of all these increases and decreases will, I fear, be to leave the country a little more heavily burdened, or in about the same position as before. We find by looking at the press that even merchants are amazed to find that they have to pay more duty on their goods under the new tariff than under the old. Taking the whole tariff I feel confident that it will be woe-fully disappointing to the great mass of consumers, and especially to the farmers who have been looking for relief and looking for a substantial reduction in the duties all along the line. What the farmers have asked for again and again, is that the prime necessities of life, articles which are essential to their comfort and to the carrying on of their operations, should be placed upon the free list, and everything else reduced to a fair revenue tariff. Articles such as coal oil, corn, cordage, binder twine, books, agricultural implements and things of that kind should be free. It appears to me perfectly monstrous that an article so indispensable as coal oil should be taxed 80 or 100 per cent. I see by the Montreal 'Star' that the tax on coal oil is even 200 per cent. Be that as it may, the 'Star' denounces the tariff on account of the excessively high duty on coal oil and books. It is quite evident that this proposed tariff has not been framed in the interest of the farmers and consumers, but in the interest of the protected classes. In no sense can it be considered to be a poor man's tariff, because it taxes the poor man's bread, his clothing, his light, and his books and nearly everything else he requires. I believe that it is perfectly futile to cover the defects and deformities of this tariff by blowing the trumpet of the National Policy. The people know by experience that the National Policy has signally failed to bring them that wealth and prosperity which was promised for it. They know that it has not been a blessing, but a curse to the country. They know that the country was never more depressed than it is to-day, notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary. Now, I do not say that the National Policy is wholly responsible for the depression and hard times or for all the evils from which the country is suffering, but I do say that it has largely contributed to that depression, it has contributed to the depression of property. It has reduced the prices of some articles of farm produce, it has increased the exodus of our people, and has built up and fostered many combines and monopolies which have preyed upon our people to the full extent, or nearly the full extent, of our protective duty. I cannot state the exact amount taken from the pockets of the people in this way, some high authorities say \$20,000,000 annually. Now the remedy proposed by the hon. Finance Minister appears to me to be quite inadequate—cutting off a de-

cayed and mouldering branch here and another there. We all know that the whole tree is corrupt, and a corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit. The principle of the National Policy is vicious, morally wrong, and what is morally wrong can never be made right by any amount of pruning and trimming. The only remedy is free trade—as near to free trade as the requirements of our revenue will permit. We know that when we had free trade with the United States, even in natural products, our country prospered, our trade with the United States increased with a bound of ten millions in one year, and during the short period the treaty was in force our trade was trebled or quadrupled in volume. We know, notwithstanding what has been said this afternoon, that Great Britain, before she adopted the policy of free trade, was in a most deplorable condition, but that when she adopted that policy her trade took a great bound. Great Britain took a bound of prosperity, and has continued to flourish ever since, as she never did under protection, and as none of the surrounding nations of Europe has prospered, and has been able to compete in the markets of the world against her rivals from all quarters. Now, we should follow the good example set by the mother country. But that is not sufficient. We should also adopt a policy of economy and retrenchment. It is vain to hope for prosperity as long as we spend \$37,000,000 or \$38,000,000 annually, and so long as we go on rolling up the Dominion debt at railway speed, as we have been doing during the past few years. Since the time of the Mackenzie administration the public debt has been increased upwards of one hundred million of dollars. This course, if continued, must involve disaster. We should cut down our expenditure to the very lowest point compatible with the efficient carrying on of public works. I do not mean that this should be stinted in any way or that necessary expenditure should be cut down, but that we should only spend what is really necessary. In that way I think we could save millions of dollars annually without any detriment to the efficiency of the public service. If that were done, we might expect to enter upon a period of prosperity and wealth, such as we have not had since the National Policy was adopted.

Mr. NORTHRUP. At this stage of the debate, it might well be thought that nothing any member can possibly contribute will be interesting, instructive or profitable, or in any way contribute to a settlement of the vexed questions now before this House. But, Sir, as the debate has progressed, as day has succeeded day and speech has followed speech, it has become more and more apparent that hon. gentlemen opposite are either entirely ignorant of, or wilfully misrepresent, the principles upon which the National Policy is founded. They either ignore or misrepresent the aims, the

objects, and the achievements of that policy, and also the lessons which are written, that all men may read, on the pages of the history of every civilized country with regard to the results of protection. It might seem strange that, after this subject has been before the country for so many years, hon. gentlemen opposite would misunderstand or misrepresent—I hope not the latter—the very end of this National Policy. We have heard again and again the terms “National Policy” and “protection” used as if they were synonymous, and therefore convertible terms. We know perfectly well that the would-be astronomer might as well speak of the solar system as composed of this world and the sun, or the would-be historian of the endless reiterations and maledictions and never-to-be-fulfilled prophecies of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) as voicing the sentiments of the people, as for a political economist to speak of the National Policy and protection as being one and the same thing. The principle underlying the National Policy is that properly expressed by the first word of the term, for it is indeed and in truth a national policy. And the sooner hon. gentlemen opposite understand that gentlemen on this side are not wedded to this or that tariff because it is presented to the House by a Conservative Government—the sooner they understand that we are not wedded to any one tariff, but believe that the rose, by any other name, will smell as sweet, the sooner they recognize that we are attached to the National Policy because we understand—as we hope the country will understand—that underlying this policy are great national principles, on which alone the future prosperity and success of the country can be assured—the sooner they recognize these facts, the better it will be for hon. gentlemen opposite. Now, we have heard statements made again and again on the floor of this House, which hon. gentlemen on this side find it hard to believe are made in good faith. We have heard it said, for example, with regard to this question, that a Canadian is as good as any other man, that he can hold his own in competition with the people on the other side of the border or on the other side of the great waters. Of course he can. Nobody recognizes that more fully than we on this side. But because a Canadian can hold his own against one man or two or even three men, it does not follow that, unarmed and unprotected, he can hold his own against the protected, well armed forces of the United States or Great Britain. Why, hon. gentlemen opposite speak of this subject of protection as if there was but one possible protection known to legislatures—that protection afforded by customs tariff. Now, if the truth were known, I venture to say that it would be found that every hon. gentleman opposite is, in truth and deed, as much a protectionist as any hon. gentleman on this side, the only difference being that they do not know the

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fact, and we do. They point to the mother land as an illustration of all that is glorious and beneficent in the way of free trade. Surely there is no hon. gentleman, representing any constituency in this country, who does not know perfectly well that the manufactures of the mother land are to-day protected just as much—aye, in many respects, more than the manufactures of Canada.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Hear, hear.

Mr. NORTHROP. These gentlemen smile derisively, but it can be practically proved that the manufactures of the mother country are protected in many respects even more than those of Canada. It is because hon. gentlemen opposite allow the notion to fill their minds that the only possible protection to be had is that arising from a customs tariff, that they have been misled. Let us consider the diverse ways in which protection may be given, so that we may see how it has worked in England in past years. Hon. gentlemen fully recognize that a customs tariff may be an effectual means of protection. But there are other means equally effective—means which are available in the mother land, but of which we are unfortunately deprived of in this country. Take, for example, the question of interest on capital. We all know that the rate of interest in the mother land is very much lower than here—from 1½ to 3 per cent there, while here 6 per cent and 7 per cent is paid. In this one item it will be seen that a man, seeking to establish a factory in this country is handicapped at the very outset, as compared with his competitor in the old country, by the difference of interest between 3 per cent and 7 per cent. There are many other ways in which the manufacturers of the old country enjoy a protection which is lacking to us in this country, and it is because the manufacturers of the old country are so protected to-day, and because the manufactures of all other countries are protected, that we here seek to establish a principle, not novel or original by any means, but a principle which is in force at present all over the civilized world, with one single apparent exception, so far as its customs tariff is concerned, and that exception is the mother land. England attained her commercial supremacy under a policy of protection far and beyond anything dreamed of in this country, and only abandoned that policy, in the matter of customs, when the circumstances showed that she enjoyed ample protection in other ways, and could afford to offer to other countries—because her supremacy did not require the protection of a customs tariff—that illusory advantage of free trade, in the hope that they—thinking perhaps that protection depended alone on a customs tariff—would accept the invitation and reciprocate in like manner. Let me take one single industry as an illustration, to avoid indulging in generalities. Let me take the woollen industry, respecting which

we hear a great deal in this country. I think I can convince this House that the woollen manufacturers of the mother land are protected to as high a degree as those of Canada under the tariff now before the House. We know that the first step to be taken by any one wishing to engage in the business of manufacturing is to obtain the money to start his business. If he is a resident of the old country, he can obtain this capital at rates of interest varying from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent, whereas in this country he has to pay 6 or 7 per cent. A careful estimate of the cost of building, machinery fittings, and steam and water piping, shows that a mill costing in England \$100,000 will cost in Canada \$160,000. Here we have at once a vast difference in the interest payable by the manufacturer in this country and that payable by his competitor in the old country, and also a considerable difference in cost, operating as a protection to the English manufacturer. We have there a difference in the first cost of the mill and a large difference in the amount of interest, which must be made good to the Canadian manufacturer, if he is to have the advantage, which hon. gentlemen desire he should enjoy, of meeting on fair and equal ground his rival in the mother land. Having obtained his money, and built his mill, and equipped it, he has to purchase his supplies, such as dyes, oils, fittings, soap, &c., and these will cost fully 25 per cent more in Canada than in England. Then he has to lay in his store of fuel and light. We all know that the cost of fuel is 50 per cent less in England than here, while, owing to a milder climate, about 20 per cent less is required. We have in Canada a winter, which happily they know nothing of in the mother land, and therefore the expense in this country is increased by the climatic disadvantage of the severity of our winters. Then when we come to the question of labour, wages are fully 40 to 60 per cent—some say 70 per cent—higher in Canada than in England, with a greater difference as compared with Germany, France, &c., owing to the longer hours of labour in these countries. There again is another instance in which protection is incidentally given by the circumstances and the position of manufacturers in the mother land, which is not enjoyed by ours. Then there is the wear and tear and depreciation of plant, which every manufacturer must take cognizance of. That is estimated at 5 per cent per annum, and as a mill costing \$100,000 in England would cost \$160,000 here, we have again a considerable discrepancy in the cost of wear and tear in favour of the English manufacturer. Then a large amount of the raw material necessary to carry on his business is close at hand to the English mill-owner. He can order his supplies in the morning and have them at his mill by night, while our mill-owners, being distant from their supplies, are obliged to carry

much larger stocks, which means a further considerable outlay in interest. There again we have an item in which incidental protection is given to the manufacture in the mother land. Then the custom, I believe, in the woollen trade is to sell on eight months' time, so that here again we have a loss in interest to the manufacturer in this country much greater than is suffered by his rival in the mother land. Then, too, there are the freight charges, which are higher here than in England. So I might go through item after item of cost imposed on the manufacturer in this country from which the English manufacturer is either free, or which is much less expensive than it is in Canada. It may be said that our raw materials are allowed in free, but unfortunately, in many respects that free admission is merely theoretical. I have here a list of various items used by woollen manufacturers, and necessary for the production of their goods, on which a duty is imposed. In that respect again there is a protection in favour of the manufacturer in the old country. I have a list here, two pages long, but will not worry the House with reading it. Under the head of acids, belting, dyes and chemicals, oils, and many other articles, there are some fifty items on which the manufacturer of woollen goods in this country is compelled to pay duty. I think, therefore, that while a Canadian is the equal of any other man, if he meets him in a fair field and no favour, I have also shown that if our tariff were reduced, as required by the amendment of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), if no protection of any kind were to be given our manufacturers, they would be of all men most miserable, because of all in the civilized world, they alone would be unprotected. But we often hear it said that the duties imposed in favour of manufacturers operate against the farming interest. Such an opinion could only be entertained by one who had taken a careless glance at the subject. Sir, all our various industries in this country are so interwoven and entwined with one another that it is impossible to strike one without wounding all. It is unnecessary here to keep the time of the House, but I would give one remarkable example. I am sure that the hon. gentleman must be aware and must admit that where a large manufactory is established—say a cotton mill or a woollen mill or any other large manufacturing establishment—the inevitable result is to supply a home market for the farmers of that vicinity, to increase the prices obtained by the farmers for their products, and, consequently, to increase the value of their lands. Hon. gentlemen opposite are very fond of bewailing, not only in this House, but throughout the country, the woes of the unfortunate individual whom they describe as the consumer. It is very easy to conjure with words; it is a very simple mat-

ter to take a term which has an ordinary acceptation and apply it in a way never intended, and not usually understood, and reach results, by arguments absolutely logical, which could not be reached if the word were used with its ordinary meaning. Who is the consumer, Sir? I venture to say, taking the term "consumer" in the only sense which can be attached to it as used by gentlemen opposite, there is no such man in Canada, nor can any such be found in any civilized land. And if it be possible to find such a man, then the sooner he is got rid of the better. Let us consider who this consumer is and try to ascertain his nature and character. As the term is used by hon. gentlemen opposite, the consumer is one supposed to be always desiring to buy, but never having anything to sell; always looking for bargains and desirous that bargains should be floating about on every hand, for he is never going to part with anything and is always going to acquire something. He is not a producer and has no interest in any process of production. He is not a man even living on invested capital, because even had he inherited his wealth it must be disposed of in some form of investment, and in whatever form it might be invested, he must from the nature of those investments be desirous of large prices for some articles upon the sale of which the security of his capital and the payment of his dividends depend. He is looking for bargains in every line and on every hand. Sir, what possible state of affairs would suit the desires of this so-called consumer? Would it not be a state of national bankruptcy in which every man was desirous of selling, because he had to sell, in which every man who had goods was desirous of converting them into cash, because he simply must have the cash. When trade was paralyzed, manufacturing at a standstill, agriculture in a state of ruin, no reward to be gained by labour, this consumer would be in the height of paradise, because bargains in every line would be within his grasp. Is it worth the attention of this House or the time and effort of the people to legislate in the interests of such a class, if there be such a class? I think, on the contrary, it will be found that every man in the country, no matter what his calling may be, is interested in the success of this country, in the prosperity of every branch of industry in this country, whether the manufacturing, the agricultural, the commercial, or the professional branches. But, Sir, they tell us also, that this consumer of whom we have heard so much should have the right to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest—and probably there is no phrase that falls more glibly from the lips of hon. gentlemen, no sentiment more welcome to their hearts than this, of buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest. Now, if the House will pardon me for a moment, I will ask their indulgence while we consider the meaning of these terms—buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest.

Mr. NORTHROP.

In the first place, I think it must be recognized that, as the phrase is put, it is considered of equal importance whether a man buys or sells—in the eyes of these hon. gentlemen the buyer and seller stand on the same plane. But is it not manifest that the buyer is a man who can buy when he will, while the seller, from force of circumstances, is often compelled to sell whether he will or not? With the buyer action is voluntary; if he cannot get what he wants in one place he can get it in another; if he cannot get what he wants now he can await the better opportunity. But the seller, as a rule, must take what he can get for his goods. It seems to me that if we were to apply the rule to the case of any business man, we would see the fallacy of this maxim about always being able to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest. Take, for example, a business man in any line, I care not what. He has in his possession an output which he can dispose of upon certain terms in the home market. But the opportunity is offered to him to sell abroad at a far higher figure than he can obtain in the home market. And so he sells his output to a foreign purchaser. He has done a thing which gentlemen opposite consider it desirable to do, having sold in the dearest market. But, with his next season's output, he comes back to his home market and finds it in the possession of his rivals. His former customers, not being able to buy from him have been obliged to buy elsewhere. So far as he is concerned the market upon which he had depended for his business is a thing of the past. Though, in the single transaction abroad he made money, yet, looking at it as a business transaction it is found to be most unfortunate. And the same rule that applies to individuals will apply to nations. The great thing is not to make money in one transaction, but to have such a current of trade flowing from those of every occupation throughout the country that for every man there shall be steady employment and an honest day's wage for an honest day's toil. And I venture to say that if the effect of buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest is to deprive home labour of due compensation for its exertion, it will be found by the nation that the cheapest market is in the end, the dearest that can possibly be found. It is assumed as an element of the policy supported by hon. gentlemen opposite that the labourer in any line is dependent only on the business carried on by that particular line, and thus they fail to give weight to the fact, which I have already pointed out, that every line of business and industry is so interwoven with the others that you cannot possibly strike one without wounding all. We have illustrations in the histories of other lands that show that the duty devolving upon politicians with regard to the tariff is the same as that devolving upon the business man with regard to his business—that is so to regulate the

tariff or the business that those interested may have steady occupation from the beginning to the end of the year. And, though it may happen that goods can be produced at a cheaper rate elsewhere than they can be produced here, it does not necessarily follow that it is in the interest of our people to prefer the goods of a foreign land to the neglect of those produced at greater expense here. We have a striking example of that in the case of Denmark. The skill of the Danish people in the production of woven goods is well known and they trust to that skill for the supply of their own wants, though they could purchase the goods cheaper from British looms. But they know that they have their long Danish winters in which they have no other means of occupying the time and they spend what would otherwise be idle time in the manufacture of these knitted and woven goods, thus maintaining an industry in the country, and furnishing employment and wages for their labour instead of sending their money to a foreign land. If hon. gentlemen will consider for a moment whether it is better to purchase in Canada or in some foreign country, it seems to me that the point is so clear that only one conclusion is possible. If we desire to buy our manufactured goods abroad, we must send abroad our products, mining, manufacturing, or agricultural. Take, for instance, agricultural products. A man desires to buy a certain amount of goods manufactured abroad. To do so he must send out his agricultural products. These are bulky and the cost of transportation is great, and the unfortunate Canadian must pay the cost of transportation to the British manufacturers. Would it not be better, instead of sending these agricultural products out of the country, paying freight and exchanging them for manufactured goods in the manufacture of which British artisans had been maintained and through them the multitude of local tradesmen, manufacturers and farmers, to the benefit of that country—would it not be better, I say, for our people to manufacture at home, consume their agricultural products at home by distribution among those engaged in manufactures here and spend the money among themselves instead of sending it to be expended in another country? Although it might seem at first glance that these principles were so clear that no man for a moment would question them, hon. gentlemen opposite have called them in question. They seem to have set up a standard of their own—I venture to say, a standard of their own, because there is no civilized country in the world whose whole fiscal system is not founded on protection. I do not intend to occupy the time of this House with discussing the particular system that has been referred to. We are aware that in Great Britain, for centuries and centuries, a system of protection was maintained such as has never been seen in any other land; and it was only when, through the effects of this system of protection, it became necessary for

the British people to obtain free agricultural products for the artisan and mechanics in their mills, when they had attained the supremacy of the manufacturing world, that they threw down the barriers, knowing well that they could hold their own against all competition. But I would like to call the attention of the House to this fact, that in the very country which is referred to as the free trade country, the very country in which Parliament admitted the products of the soil free in order to furnish food to their working classes, still, if one will look beneath the surface of that measure, it will be evident that it was just as much a protective measure as any protective measure we have on the Statute-book of this country. The circumstances of the two countries are entirely diverse. The duty placed on breadstuffs in this country, is a protective duty, but in the old country, where they cannot raise sufficient breadstuffs to feed their artisans, it was just as much a protection there to the manufacturers to put their breadstuffs on the free list, as it is in this country, owing to its entirely opposite conditions, to put a duty on these same breadstuffs. Perhaps, it would not be out of place to take a cursory glance at the several countries of Europe, because hon. gentlemen opposite taunt us in this House with having discovered an original idea. They say: Your idea, even if it seems at first sight to be plausible is one that has been tried and found wanting, and repudiated, in every civilized country on the face of the earth. If we look to the country which is so dear to many hon. gentlemen opposite, if we look to old France, we find there a protectionist country. They have tried both systems. In the old days of Louis XIV. they tried the protectionist policy, and it worked well, but after a short time the teachings of Adam Smith began to penetrate into France, and that country resolved to try what was an approximation to free trade. But it did not work well and they returned to the old policy. We know, too, that under the last empire of Napoleon III., there was nothing which contributed more to render his return to Paris impossible after the battle of Sedan, than the commercial difficulties which had arisen in consequence of the concessions he had made to England by the free trade tariff—so called between France and Great Britain. We know also, that, when the empire became a thing of the past, and when the republic entered upon the stage and the people of France were burdened with the most prodigious debt that had ever cursed any land, when even their best friends supposed that she could never recover herself, that she could never again be prosperous under such a load, still we remember how France, with that chivalry which is characteristic of the race, went to work, paid off the debt year by year, by at once adopting a protective policy, which they have continued up to the present day. If we look to the great empire alongside France, if we look to Prussia,

as far back as the days of the great Frederick, we learn that he was a protectionist—as his great biographer, Carlisle, said, no man was ever less of a free trader than Frederick—he instituted a system of protection which continued for a time, and the country prospered. Even under the great Napoleonic wars, which devastated large portions of the kingdom, still, from the very fact that British goods were kept out, manufactures flourished in the Kingdom of Prussia, and the country prospered. After a while the people were inclined to throw down the barrier, and they gave free trade a trial. But with what result? With the result that in 1819 the king appointed a commission to investigate the causes of the depression that existed in the Kingdom of Prussia, and they reported in favour of an immediate return to a protective tariff, which was at once done. It is well known that a moderate protective tariff was the cause that led to the adoption of the Zollverein, under which the country prospered so much, the objects of which were defined to be :

A prudent and well constructed tariff of duties to protect and encourage German manufactures, to exclude by duties the foreign producer from the German market, and to extend the importation of the products of their industry to foreign markets.

But, Sir, they fell from grace. In 1864, following the example set by France, which had lately made a commercial treaty with Great Britain, they proceeded to readjust the duties in Prussia, with the inevitable result that for fifteen years, from 1864 to 1879, the manufacturers of that country were depressed and almost starved out. Then again the Government inquired into the subject, with the unfailing result that they once more adopted a protective tariff under which Prussia has prospered from that time till to-day. Then, in the Empire of Russia, if we go away back to the years prior to the wars of Napoleon, we find that country was under a protective tariff, and during those wars, when British goods were prohibited from entering into Russia, the country was able to undergo the great strain to which it was subjected. But after the close of the war they again abandoned the principle of protection and fell into the ways of free trade, with the inevitable result that, owing to the failure of the system, protection was again restored in 1822. So high was their protective tariff that they were obliged to modify it somewhat, and in 1869 they reduced their duties to 35 per cent all round. I might also mention that Sweden and Denmark are protectionist countries. Now, let us look to the great republic to the south of us. Hon. gentlemen taunted us at the beginning of this debate, that we were forgetting the teachings of the mother land and were now adopting those of the republic at the south of us. Well, I think I have shown that the great republic can hardly claim to be the teacher of the world with respect to protectionist doctrines. But there

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is generally a germ of truth in almost any reiterated statement, and there was a germ of truth in that statement, in this sense, that after they were first introduced, for fifty years the United States enjoyed the benefits of protective duties, and I fancy in that respect we in Canada will be found ready and willing to follow their example. I do not refer to either the Republican policy or to the Democratic policy, but to the National Policy, which was maintained in that country for generations. As early as their very first Congress, the second Bill assented to by General Washington contained this preamble :

It was necessary, for the support of the Government, for the discharge of the debt of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures, that duties should be laid.

And so satisfactory was the result, that the duties were increased from time to time—in 1790, and after the war, in 1814 and 1816. In 1824 there was a strong protective tariff. So satisfactory was that tariff that the duties were raised again in 1828, and in 1831 speakers throughout that country pointed to the fact, that there never had been such years of plenty and prosperity in the United States as since the adoption of their most highly protective tariff of 1824. But people are inclined to be restless, and the unfortunate divisions between the north and south arose. Concessions were made, not by any means free trade or a revenue tariff, but still a somewhat less protective tariff was adopted in 1833. The country soon found that its industries began to languish, and in 1842 they again returned to a higher protection. In only two instances, in 1846 and 1857, has the principle of free trade been adopted by the United States, and even then only imperfectly. Now, Sir, it is a singular fact that, if we examine the history of the United States, as hon. gentlemen opposite are constantly asking us to do, if we examine the history of the American republics on this continent, we find but one country, not only on this continent, but throughout the civilized world, which has placed in its constitution a provision that a custom duty shall not be levied for the purpose of protecting the trade and manufactures of the country; and it was most fitting that the only country permitted by Heaven to adopt such a clause in its constitution, the only country that recognized such a principle, which means the destruction of the manufactures of the country, which means the impoverishing of the agricultural class, which means the degradation of the labour of the country—I say it was most fitting that such a clause should be found in the constitution of the Slave States on the other side of the line. Article 1 of section 8 of their constitution stated :

Nor shall any duties or taxes, on importations from foreign nations, be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry.

But, Sir, not only in Europe and on this continent, do we find the protectionist principle everywhere in vogue, but, if we turn our eyes to the southern seas, to the Australian colonies, with whom we are endeavouring to work up a system of reciprocal trade, we find the same lesson taught by their commercial history. It is only a short time ago that the Australian colonies were pointed to with pride by free trade writers as presenting an embodiment of free trade principles. An attempt was made to induce those English colonies to accept, loyally, free trade principles. But it was found, in course of time, that one little colony, only one, was sufficiently enterprising, and sufficiently sagacious to cast aside those free trade principles and adopt the principle of protection. And what were the results? Victoria, among all the Australian provinces, has large manufactures within itself. And not only have its manufactories prospered, but, as you all know, to-day all the other colonies of Australia, without exception, now turn their eyes or have already turned their eyes to the adoption of the protective principle and protective duties, simply because they find it impossible for the manufacturer and the farmer to live in face of the competition of Victoria. No less a free trade writer than Sir Charles Dilke, in his "Problems of Greater Britain," speaking on this subject, says:

The view taken in Australia generally of the proceedings at this Victorian election of 1889, is that intercolonial free trade would now indeed suit the Victorians, who by protection have placed their own manufactures in a flourishing condition. Intercolonial free trade would mean that Victorian soap, candles, rope, biscuits, and other articles, would obtain an excellent market.

Later on—and this is the opinion of a free trader and not of a protectionist—Sir Charles admits he is a free trader, but frankly acknowledges the fact. He says:

It cannot, on the other hand, I think, be denied that the effect of the Victorian protective system has been to enable the colony to supply its wants with a better class of Victorian goods. Only a few years ago, while the local manufacturers made all the kitchen and cottage furniture, the furniture of the wealthy was imported. Now the local manufacturers are beginning to hold their own in a better class of goods, in all cases where the goods are of a kind for which there can be obtained a reasonably large colonial sale. Victoria appears to be doing an increasing trade with South Australia, and in the latter colony the protectionist agitation is not an agitation against the cheap labour of Europe, but an agitation for protection against protectionist Victoria.

And so we find that precisely the experience this country had between 1873 and 1878 has been the history of our neighbours under the southern cross. We found then that the high protection enjoyed by the United States on our borders resulted in the American manufacturers flooding our markets with their

goods, and the various colonies in Australia have found that one single protectionist colony was able to drive from the market all other manufacturers, and that by the competition of that protective colony they have all been driven, perforce, to adopt the doctrine of protection. It is not my intention longer to occupy the time of the House, but I desire to call the attention of the hon. gentlemen opposite to one question, not being an original idea on my part, a question to which their attention has been frequently called before, but the force of which has not been so keenly appreciated as to prevent hon. members again reminding them of a duty that devolves on them, as well as on members on this side of the House. The keynote to what I would say to hon. gentlemen opposite will be found in the word with which I started my remarks, the first word of the phrase, National Policy—National—and that this is truly a National Policy, and, while I am sure we on this side of the House are quite willing to admit that differences of opinion, temperament, education, and environment, will naturally lead men to take different views of the same subject, I am sure I have the right to appeal to hon. gentlemen and to trust that they, as well as we, believe in maintaining a truly National Policy, whatever meaning may be attached to the word National, as regards the customs tariff, and that when the tariff which is now before the House comes to be considered in committee, when the various items are discussed, they will rise above provincialism, which has, in many quarters, been the curse of this country. I ask hon. gentlemen opposite to join with us on this side of the House in remembering that we are legislating for a great Dominion, a Dominion whose possibilities are beyond belief, and I ask them to join with us, whatever their views may be on the different items of the tariff, in testing those views by what I believe to be the crucial test, the infallible touchstone, whether or not this idea or that idea will promote and maintain the development of this national idea. I believe if hon. gentlemen on both sides of the House will come to the consideration of this tariff with that idea uppermost in their minds, regardless of sectional, racial, or provincial views, determined to do their duty as representatives in this great conference of the nation, determined to govern the country, not as Nova Scotians, Quebecers, or as Ontario men, or as inhabitants specially of any other province, I have sufficient confidence in the people of this country, in the honesty, integrity, and ability of the members of this House, to believe that when this tariff passes into law, as in one shape or another, it must pass into law soon, it will prove to be one worthy of the representatives of a great country, worthy of a people who recognize the fact that there is a glorious future before them, and are prepared, even if some-

times it may be by sacrifice, to work out the future destined for them.

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (No. 47) to revive and amend the Act to incorporate the Brandon and South-western Railway Company.—(Mr. Davin.)

Bill (No. 48) respecting the Montreal and Ottawa Railway Company.—(Mr. Baker.)

Bill (No. 49) to incorporate the Welland Power and Supply Canal Company.—(Mr. McKay.)

Bill (No. 50) to authorize the purchase of the Yarmouth and Annapolis Railway by the Windsor and Annapolis Railway Company (Limited), and to change the name of the latter company to the Dominion Atlantic Railway Company.—(Mr. Kenny.)

Bill (No. 51) to incorporate the Northern Life Assurance Company of Canada.—(Mr. Mulock.)

Bill (No. 52) respecting the New Westminster and Burrard Inlet Telephone Company (Limited).—(Mr. Mara.)

Bill (No. 53) respecting the Calgary Irrigation Company.—(Mr. Davis.)

Bill (No. 56) to incorporate the Dominion Woman's Christian Temperance Union.—(Mr. Scriver.)

Bill (No. 57) to incorporate the Gleichen, Beaver Lake and Victoria Railway Company.—(Mr. Davis.)

Bill (No. 58) to incorporate the Lake Megantic Railway Company.—(Mr. Pope.)

Bill (No. 59) respecting the Montreal Island Belt Line Railway Company.—(Mr. Bergeron.)

Bill (No. 60) to incorporate the Cariboo Railway Company.—(Mr. Mara.)

Bill (No. 62) respecting the Richelieu and Ontario Navigation Company.—(Mr. Girouard, Jacques Cartier.)

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, in resuming the discussion on the question of the tariff, I propose in the first place to consider, but very briefly indeed, the financial position of the country. This is the proper occasion for this House to deal with the question of the finances of Canada, and while I do not at all despair of the future of our country, and while I do not at all desire to speak in any but the most hopeful strain of our possibilities; yet, Sir, I would but ill discharge the duty which I think I owe as a representative of the people if I did not raise my voice and draw attention to what I consider to be our some-

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what unfortunate financial standing at this moment. We have, Sir, I think, reached a position where the tax production has perhaps come to an end. I think it will puzzle the Minister of Finance who has charge of our finances to devise any further scheme by which he can raise from the people of this country any further sum than has been extracted from them under the present existing tariff. I do not think I misinterpret the language of the Finance Minister—at all events, I express my own conviction—when I say that it appears to me that we are approaching an era of deficits. I shall be very much astonished indeed if the end of this financial year does not find the balance on the wrong side of the ledger, while for the year to come I do not think that matters are very much calculated to improve. Now, Sir, we have heard over and over again what the total debt, known as the net debt, of this Dominion is, and every person who takes any interest in the position of this country is perfectly familiar with what our per capita debt is. It is undoubtedly an enormously large debt. It has increased in a ratio which, when we look back upon it, ought to be, and I think is, alarming to every well-wisher of his country. I do not desire at the moment at all to question whether the creation of that debt has been wise or foolish; I am dealing now simply with the hard facts of the case. Our debt at confederation was \$75,000,000; ten years afterwards it had increased \$33,000,000; at the end of the next decade that had swollen to \$227,000,000, and now, as we know, it has reached to nearly \$242,000,000. Our net taxes have increased from \$11,000,000 at the time of confederation, to \$17,000,000 at the expiration of the first ten years; that became \$27,000,000 in 1887, and it has reached the figure of \$29,000,000 odd in 1893. Our per capita debt has increased in the like ratio. But with these figures we are all familiar, and perhaps their full meaning does not strike us. I must confess that I am not able to realize the full meaning of the figures by simply stating that the net debt of Canada is so many hundred millions, or the per capita debt so much; but I think I have been able in some measure to realize our position when I compare our debt, not merely with that of the great nation to the south of us, with which the comparison is so frequently made, but with the debt of the mother country, which we know is enormous—a debt incurred for carrying on wars which were probably necessary. When I compare the debt of Great Britain with the debt of Canada—and we have had no wars or anything to occasion an enormous increase in our public debt—I am astounded to find that the annual charge for the debt of Great Britain is only 31 per cent of its revenue, while the debt of Canada absorbs no less than 41 per cent of its revenue. Now, that is not an unfair comparison. It has been stated over and over again by hon. gentlemen on both sides of

the House—Sir Alexander Gait long, long ago made the declaration—that the prosperity of Canada depended upon its being a country comparatively free from debt; yet we find that what are called our fixed charges, over which we have no control—irrespective of our subsidies to the provinces or the obligations we have undertaken with respect to our railways—consume \$41 out of every \$100 which the people of this country pay into the revenue, and in that I am not including the income derived from our post office service or other sources, for which compensation is given, but I am dealing simply with the income derived from our customs and excise taxation. Those fixed charges are, of course, made up, not only of interest on debt, but of that portion which we have to apply under our arrangement in connection with the sinking fund—\$41 in Canada, \$31 in Great Britain. When we look to the other side of the line, what do we find? We find that the debt there is practically wiped out. The debt of the United States is now only \$12 and a trifle per capita, and that debt does not require more of the revenue of the country than 7 per cent, while the debt of Canada requires 41 per cent. Now, Sir, in relation to that debt we have had very great advantages—advantages for which neither party have any particular right to claim credit. Our interest charges for 1868 were 4.51 per cent; in 1877 they had fallen to 3.47 per cent, and in 1892 to 2.88 per cent. So that there has been a reduction in the interest charges on our debt of about 38 per cent, and, notwithstanding that reduction, we have still to bear the enormous burden of setting aside 41 per cent of our revenue to provide for our public debt. Now, credit has been taken, no doubt by both parties when in office, for the reduction of the interest charges. But every fair-minded man will, I think, admit that no party can claim any great credit for that reduction. Interest has been going down the world over, and we have had the advantage of it; but it has, I think, practically reached its lowest figure. Well, the hon. gentleman who opened this discussion has very fairly and very candidly told the House that it would need the exercise of the very greatest economy on the part of the Government to make both ends meet. Our public works, he says, are nearly all completed. But, Sir, there will always be more or less public works to be carried on in a country like this, and it will need the very greatest caution indeed, whoever is charged with the administration of our affairs, to see that our expenditure in connection with public works is not so large as to injure and endanger the financial stability of the country. I cannot help, therefore, in my opening observations drawing attention to this. It seems to me a matter of enormous consequence, that we should now realize, after all our expenditure, our present position. I doubt very much if this House or this country would

have incurred the enormous debt which the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway involved, proud as we are of that great enterprise, if we had not been assured by the authorities that sufficient would be realized from the sale of our lands in the North-west to recoup the people of Canada for that expenditure. I doubt very much if it would have been wise in us to incur that expenditure if we had not also been promised, on a calculation deliberately made—accepted, at all events, on this side of the House as reliable—that our population in Manitoba and the North-west would before this period have reached the neighbourhood of 600,000 or 700,000. But we know now that, unless there is an increase of the population in that country in the near future, Canada has practically come to a standstill. Therefore it is that, in discharging what I believe to be my duty, and without any desire at all to depreciate our resources or to look at the blue side of things, I feel that we must now realize exactly what our financial standing is. But, Sir, the more important subject of discussion is of course the question of the tariff. The tariff amendments which, after a year's incubation, have at last been announced to the House and the country—which the Government frankly enough confessed that they were incompetent to devise until they had come in contact with each and every section and each and every interest in the country that was affected by the tariff—we have now before us, and we are called upon to approve or disapprove of them. Some criticism has been directed, in the course of the debate, to the gentlemen who have not agreed with the tariff changes, because they had not exactly specified in what respect they thought those changes were unwise. I think it was the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries who, in the course of his reply to my hon. friend from Prince Edward Island (Mr. Davies), said that really the wind had been taken out of the sails of those who were opposed to the tariff, by the salutary and satisfactory amendments that had been made, and that there was nothing substantial to be said against them. Well, Sir, I believe that the changes in the tariff number more than 300; I have not calculated them myself, but I understand that to be the case, and with regard to each and every one of those changes, when the resolutions are in committee, an opportunity will, of course, be afforded of criticising them in detail. At present it seems to me impossible to do more than speak, as far as we can speak, of the scheme of those amendments, and to realize so far as we can what they mean, and in that way, to determine whether we approve or disapprove of them. Now, Sir, what do these tariff amendments mean? If I have grasped their meaning at all, I would venture to say—and, in fact, it is not seriously questioned—that the tariff is still to be regarded as a tariff in the interest of the manufacturing classes. That is the keynote of the

changes which have been made—that the tariff is still a protective tariff, and that those changes are in the interest, not of the great consuming masses, but of those who are recognized as the protected classes. Now, I desire to be very accurate in this statement, and, in order to show that I do not misinterpret the hon. gentleman who proposed the resolution with reference to these changes, I will read what he says on that subject :

The prime object in view has been to cheapen the cost of manufactures in this country, to cheapen the cost at which the goods issue from the factory itself.

Two ways have been adopted for cheapening the cost of goods, one by lowering the duty upon raw material, and the other by transferring raw materials from the dutiable to the free list. It has been found in the course of the work that we had pretty well exploited that division of the subject already, and that in this country almost all the great staples for manufacturing were already on the free list, in contradistinction to our neighbours to the south, where they are to-day fighting over the vexed question as to whether or not wool, a great staple for a large industry, in that country and an article of enormous consumption, shall bear a tax of 11 or 12 cents per pound or be placed on the free list.

Again he says :

The duties which have been placed on different articles have been regulated according to the vigour and development of the industry itself, according to the condition of the competition outside, according to the advantages that home production has, for various reasons, in our home market, and by reason of the methods of business in some cases as well.

It is impossible to read this language, coming from the financial authority of the Government, and to question at all that the changes have been made, deliberately and designedly made,—I will deal afterwards with whether it is the wisest amendment or not—in the interests of the manufacturing classes, and that the tariff may be well called a manufacturers' tariff, whether the Government is to be designated as a manufacturers' Government or not. And on the question of protection, the hon. the Finance Minister is equally explicit. He defines in his own way, the different methods by which a tariff can be raised and the objects of a tariff. There is, first, what he calls a purely revenue tariff. Secondly, the tariff for revenue, which affords incidental protection. And thirdly, the tariff for protection, which gives an incidental revenue. And again the Government deliberately adopted the latter of the three as the tariff which they think is best in the interests of this country. Having, therefore, justified, so far as I have gone, the statement that this tariff is a tariff from the manufacturers' point of view and in the interest of manufacturers, and not in the interest of the remaining portion of the community—be they more or be they less than the manufacturing classes—I think I may also add that

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the tariff has, in some respects, been amended and amended, I am bound to say, in the interests of the community at large. To a very large extent, though not altogether, the plan of specific duties has been got rid of. These duties still remain here and there. They remain where they ought to be abolished, I think, but in a number of cases the tariff has been amended by abolishing specific and substituting therefor ad valorem duties. Now, the ad valorem duty has this advantage, that we know, and the country will be able at once to know, what the tax is. A specific duty, as we have found from practical experience, years after the duty had been imposed, sometimes is a burden running up beyond a hundred per cent. I do not think the House ever realized—certainly, speaking for myself, I never realized—that we were at any time imposing a duty of anything like the figure which I have mentioned. We know, therefore, when we have an ad valorem duty of 25, or 30, or 35 per cent what that tariff is. The country will be able to appreciate it; there will be no means of hoodwinking the people as to the burden they are called upon to bear, and as to the incidence of that burden. Speaking of the tariff as a whole, I think I may characterize it as an ad valorem tariff of from 30 to 35 per cent. There are duties of less than that, indeed there may occasionally be duties of more, and the bulk of them may perhaps be more properly spoken of as duties of 30 per cent. But I think I am not stating it unfairly—and I have no desire to state it unfairly—when I say that the tariff may be characterized as one of from 30 to 35 per cent. Now, Sir, the tariff has also some other characteristics. It certainly does not discriminate in favour of Great Britain. We on this side of the House have been in the habit of boasting of our desire—and we boasted of it particularly in 1876, and up to 1879—to increase our trade with the mother country, and our desire to adjust our tariff so that we should not, at all events, discriminate in favour of the United States. But, Sir, we know from last year's discussion that when that question was brought prominently—as I venture to bring it prominently—to the attention of the House, the Ministerial spokesman justified the discrimination against Great Britain which he could not deny, by saying that it was necessary to impose the duties which were imposed upon imports from Britain in order to raise a revenue, and because the imports from Britain consisted very largely of luxuries and of articles which were used by the rich and which, therefore, formed more proper subjects of taxation. Now, I will specially draw the attention of the House to a subject which has already been referred to, the discrimination in reference to the importation of tea. We have been importing tea from another country to the extent of 7,000,000 pounds out of the 17,000,000 or 18,000,000 of pounds which we have been importing altogether. By this tariff that

trade is to be destroyed so far as Great Britain is concerned—the trade is to be forced into another channel, or, if it continues in its present course, it is to bear a tax of 10 per cent. We are always complaining that the embargo on our cattle is not taken off; we are always agitating and corresponding and demanding to know why it is that the British Government have scheduled our cattle. We feel that there is no justification for it. But, Sir, at the moment when we are pressing England to remove that embargo and to give to our exporters of cattle the enormous benefit to be gained through that removal, we are proposing a tariff which is to cut off a portion of the trade which has existed between us and the mother country. And, Sir, on the other hand, the tariff does not favour any idea of reciprocity with the United States. The United States has not offered us much, it is true; they have not proposed a great deal in the Wilson Bill or in the Bill which is now before the Senate. But, whatever proposition has been made, we put a counter proposition which does not meet it and which prevents the possibility of any reciprocal relation between us and the other side. They offered us free trade in agricultural implements. That would be a great boon to the people of this country, and particularly to those of the North-west. At first, in the Wilson Bill, agricultural implements were put on the free list. In the Senate Bill—we do not know how it will emerge from the conference of the two Houses—at the instance of the agricultural implement manufacturers, it was declared that so far as Canada is concerned (for that is practically what it means) if there is to be free trade, there must be free trade either way; that is reciprocity. We answer with a 20 per cent tariff. They proposed to put wheat and flour on the free list. We answer that by leaving our tariff on these articles as it was, but we suggest that we are willing to exchange barley for corn. I am not at this moment doing more than just pointing out what I venture to think are the characteristics of the tariff. Summarizing them briefly, am I wrong in saying that, in the first place, it is a manufacturers' tariff; in the second place, it is a highly protective tariff; in the third place, it is as far as it goes a discriminating tariff against the mother country, and, in the fourth place, it holds out no hope of enlarged trade between us and the United States. These, I think, may be said to be the characteristics of the tariff. But the great question after all, Sir, is whether the foundation principle upon which this tariff is built, namely, protection, or what is called the National Policy, is to be perpetuated, or is to be changed. Now, Sir, I think we have heard the last word on the subject of the tariff from the present occupants of the Treasury benches. That we have not heard the last word from the country goes, I think, without saying. It is unfortunate, very unfortunate I think,

that this question of the changes of the tariff could not have been postponed until after the next election when it would have been known what the people had determined to do. Every one will admit that nothing can be worse for business and industry than the constant changing of and tinkering with our tariff, our fiscal policy. It is inevitable now, however. But we know that, after a year's deliberation, after every care has been taken by the Ministry to ascertain the feelings of their supporters and what the country are prepared to accept, we have this tariff which I think we may know and realize as the last word from the Ministry and from the gentlemen who endorse them. Now, I desire to say that, so far as that matter is concerned, I take issue with the Government on this question of the tariff and upon the policy that underlies the changes that have been proposed. We have had fifteen years' experience of the protective policy. We have had the benefit of the knowledge of the condition of affairs which the census has given us, and we ought now to be prepared, if we are ever to be prepared, to determine whether this scheme of protection for Canada is in the best interests of the country or whether the policy of free trade—or freer trade to say at least of it—would not be wiser in the interests of this Dominion. And, as there is no mistake about the Government's position and policy—for the Finance Minister himself speaks of it in these words:

That, so far as this Government is concerned, its policy is historical, it is definite, it is undoubted. So, I think, Sir it is well that there should be no mistake as to the view which those who are opposed to this policy take; so that the people of the country, who are now alive to the great importance of the fiscal problem and have taken an enormous interest in the question during the last few months, when the proper time comes—as come it must before many months longer—may be prepared to say which is the policy that they prefer to accept. There is one thing that all this discussion has evolved. We have now a frank admission, not from all the hon. gentlemen who spoke, it is true, but we have a frank admission from the financial authority of the Government that a protective policy, at all events, in its first stages, enhances and increases prices; and there is nowhere—and I have read the speech over and over again with the greatest possible care—any statement made by the hon. Minister of Finance that within the fifteen years past prices have come down. There is a guarded expression that prices tend to decrease, that that has been the experience of other countries; but the hon. the Finance Minister has not ventured to say, and I think the hon. gentleman could not honestly have said, that that has been our experience since the introduction of the National Policy in 1879. I do not mean to say

that the prices are not less now than they were in 1873, that is not the question; what I mean to say is that with regard to the fall of prices all the world over—that is what we have to look at—prices have not come down under the system which has prevailed for the last fifteen years. Now, if prices have not come down, what advantages have accrued to this country from the adoption of this National Policy? We are told there has been a buoyant revenue; not that the Finance Minister puts that down in terms to the fiscal policy that has prevailed, but inferentially he places to the credit of this policy that there has been a buoyant revenue. Undoubtedly the people have paid large sums in taxes from year to year, and the taxes have been steadily increasing. Up to this time the people have been able to pay, and I only trust that my prediction, uttered in the earlier part of my observations, may not be true, and that the time has not arrived when the people will cease to be able to pay. But, Sir, is that a reason of the National Policy? Why, how has it been elsewhere? I have been astonished to read in the Government organs from time to time, I have been astonished to hear statements made, as to the decadence of England under free trade. It has become a popular argument on the Conservative side in politics, so strong is their desire to uphold the policy, to represent the old mother land itself as unwise in adhering to free trade and as actually in a state of decadence. Now, if that be so it is a serious reason for us to pause before we make the change from the present 30 or 35 per cent system to a freer trade system. But what are the facts in regard to that? Why, Sir, from 1879 to 1893, the debt of Great Britain decreased no less than 13 per cent, decreased from seven hundred and forty-four million—I will not trouble the House with the odd figures—to six hundred and sixty-eight millions. During the same period the debt of Canada increased 69 per cent. But that, after all, one may say, was a matter of administration. Let me take something that is more definite and certain. In the 'Financial Abstract,' which is furnished yearly by the English officials, we have very good means of determining how England prospers or how England goes back, because her statistics are more accurate, perhaps, than those of any other country. Let us take the return with reference to the income tax between the years 1881 and 1891, or 1892, and I take 1892 because it is the last year for which they have returns. I find there has been an increase during that period, of property upon which the income tax is paid, of from five hundred and four millions to five hundred and ninety-seven millions, or 18 per cent. So this country that is going to the dogs under free trade, with all the adverse conditions, and they have not been few, or have not been matters of small moment—with all the adverse conditions that have existed during that period, we find there has been an increase in the property upon

which the income tax is assessed, of 18 per cent. Well, Sir, what am I to compare with that? What matter is there here which offers a fair subject of comparison? I know of no other except the returns we have with reference to the condition of the farmers in the province of Ontario. Since 1882, that is for the same period of 10 years, we have had a Bureau of Industries in Ontario furnishing returns of the value of the farms, of farm buildings, of farm implements, and those things which go to make up the wealth of the farmer. What is the result? Now, I do not think it will be disputed that among the wealthiest people of the Dominion, are the farmers of Ontario. They are those, we are told, who have prospered most; certain their average condition is as good as that of any other class of the community. Well, we find from 1882 to 1892 their increase, according to these returns, is only 11 per cent. So, while the English free traders have been getting poor to the tune of 18 per cent during those ten years, the Canadian protectionists have been getting rich to the extent of 11 per cent. That is the result on this basis. Now, let me take our trade as to which the Finance Minister has incidentally taken credit for the National Policy. I am glad to see that comparing the five years before the change of policy, from 1876 to 1880, with the last five years—and I do not think any person will doubt the fairness of that comparison—there has been an increase in Canadian domestic trade alone of \$23,549,015, or 33 per cent. It would be most extraordinary if there was not an increase. Why, Sir, during that period the whole North-west has been added, over a million acres of land in Manitoba have been cultivated during that time; and it would have been a most extraordinary result, a most curious ending, if our trade had not increased. But I am glad to say it has increased to that extent, and taking the average for the five years I have mentioned, it was \$69,692,000. It has swollen in our best years—because the two last years have been our best years—to \$93,000,000, or an increase of 33 per cent. But how much of that goes to the credit of the National Policy, how much goes to the credit of the present fiscal system? I have analysed it, and let us see what it is. In the produce of the forest, including lumber—which is curiously enough, in our statistical book, classed under the head of manufactures, in one sense, perhaps, correctly enough—there has been an average increase of nearly six millions. Will any hon. gentleman on this side of the House pretend to say that the lumber industry has received any benefit from the protective system? Do not we all know that it has injured, and certainly has not promoted, the industry with which I am dealing; and yet the increase in that is nearly \$6,000,000. Our fisheries have increased by \$2,413,000, that being the average increase. The average increase in animals and their products and in agricultural

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products has gone up nearly \$10,000,000, from \$33,844,000 to \$43,690,000. I shall have occasion, before I have done, to deal with the question whether the agriculture of the country can be said to be prospering, and whether agricultural interests have been assisted by the protective policy; in the meantime I pass it by, and I come to our manufacturing exports. If the hon. Finance Minister had been able to point to an enormous increase in manufactured goods, there would have been some result from this National Policy; but of the total of \$23,549,000, deducting household effects, which I do not suppose hon. gentlemen want to claim credit for as being due to the National Policy, the average increase in manufacturing exports is less than one and a half million dollars—to be exact, \$1,446,000. That is the result so far as the manufacturing industry of the country has gone. What has been the trade of Great Britain during this period? How has her trade progressed? We know perfectly well; we have heard it in speech after speech that every effort has been made to close the ports of almost every country against the manufactured goods of Great Britain. The United States has raised a tariff which one would have thought was almost prohibitory, and yet we are astonished to find that England's largest exports are to the United States. Germany, France, Russia and Canada have been raising their tariffs and endeavouring to keep out British goods. With what result? With the result that, notwithstanding all I have said, the increase during this period has been an increase of 12 per cent. It has not been a retrogression, it has not been an enormous increase, but taking into account the diminution in values—because I am speaking in money—the increase is substantial. It is an increase in manufactured goods of 12 per cent as compared with the paltry million and a half by which Canada has been increasing her exports. But if this policy is good and is wise, surely there is no country where we can see its beneficial results so clearly demonstrated as in the United States. With their enormous natural resources, with practically free trade through the greatest half of the continent, with their enormous population, if the United States are able to show a large increase in their output of manufactured goods as compared with the mother country, there would be some ground, as I have said, and as I repeat, to pause in our determination with respect to any change in this tariff. But what is the result? I suppose of all the articles that are manufactured, the United States have greater advantages in cotton goods than in almost anything else. The raw material is produced in their own country, the carriage is saved; they have their own home market; and, looking at the exports of cotton goods, everybody must admit that there has been time enough to develop that industry in the United States. Looking at the exports, what

do I find? I find that the exports of cotton goods from Great Britain is in the ratio, stating it in millions, of \$297,000,000, taking an average of the last five years, as compared with \$12,000,000 from the United States. In cotton goods you cannot speak of it as a ratio; there were \$98,000,000 from Great Britain—I am speaking in dollars—and not one million from the United States. On metals, machinery and telegraph wire, the exports were of the value of \$215,000,000 from Great Britain and \$22,000,000 from the United States. Taking the aggregate of the trade, the figures are as follows: In exports of cotton goods, Great Britain, as compared with the United States, stands as 97 is to 3; of woollen goods, as 99.6 to 0.4; of metals, as 91 is to 9. Those are the results of protection in the United States, and hon. members at the same time see the results of free trade in Great Britain. But if there is anything at all in which the United States ought to have been able to compete with Great Britain, it is in the iron industry. It is a fact most hon. members know that in recent years the United States has overtaken Great Britain in the iron industry. Her manufacture of iron was larger. Now, if the manufacture was greater in the United States than in Great Britain there can be no ground, pretense or reason for the goods of the United States being dearer than those of Great Britain. The figures are as follows: In 1893 the production of iron in Great Britain was 6,829,841 tons, in the United States 7,124,502 tons, and it had been much larger. It was 9,000,000 in 1892; 8,000,000 in 1891; 9,000,000 in 1890. As I said before, if this policy is what is claimed for it, if the policy of protection, while at first it enhances prices and cost in the end tends downwards, that end ought surely to have been reached in the United States before this time. But taking an article in which the United States deals very largely, steel rails, let me give the House the different prices, and when the House remembers the output is larger in the United States than in Great Britain, to what can the difference in cost be attributed? The price of steel rails in Great Britain last year and this year is \$19.86 a ton; the price of steel rails in the United States up to quite a recent period, though I think it is less now, but I give the last quotation in 1893, was \$28.12, or \$8.26 per ton more than in the mother country.

Mr. WHITE (Cardwell). What is the price to-day?

Mr. McCARTHY. To-day I think the price is \$24.

Mr. WHITE (Cardwell). It is \$20.

Mr. McCARTHY. I have not seen any quotation at that figure. The last quotation I have seen is \$24, and that figure was given in a statement made by Mr. Johnson in Congress. I read from an official return, prepared by

the journal 'Iron and Steel.' Let us take these figures and compare them. Let us look at the prices of steel rails, and for comparison calculate the additional cost to the people of that country in this item alone. Steel rails have varied in price as follows : In 1883, they were \$37.75 a ton ; in 1884, \$30 a ton ; in 1885, \$28 a ton ; in 1886, \$34 a ton ; in 1887, \$37 a ton ; in 1888, \$29 a ton ; in 1889, \$29 a ton ; in 1890, \$31 a ton ; in 1891, \$29.92 a ton ; in 1892, \$30 a ton, and in 1893, \$28.12 a ton ; always some \$7 or \$8 or \$9, and sometimes more, than the price of the same article in England. Now, Sir, after all the great question is : Is the price enhanced or is it not ? It boots not to tell us that our trade is buoyant ; it does not satisfy a practical man to be told that the deposits in the savings and other banks have increased ; it does not answer any argument to be told that our trade is growing when we realize that the growth of that trade is not due in any sense or shape or form to the National Policy. And, if none of these benefits flow, if nothing of this kind is to be put down to the credit side of this particular fiscal policy, what are we to say with regard to the cost ? The hon. Minister of Railways and Canals has made no bones about it, for he told us that goods were not only better but that they were cheaper in Canada. He is more cautious, and if he will pardon me for saying so, his colleagues who knew more about what he was talking about did not venture to say that at all. The hon. Minister of Finance said that the tendency was towards a decrease in price, but nowhere in his speech will it be found that he pretended to say that prices had decreased. That, Sir, is a simple question of fact, and I suppose that we will all have to settle it for ourselves, and the electors of this country will have to settle it for themselves. Speaking for myself, and from all the information I have been able to get, I venture the assertion here upon the floor of Parliament, that prices have not decreased. I venture the assertion on the floor of Parliament : that substantially and practically the prices of the goods which are manufactured in Canada are as high as the tariff will permit them to be. I venture the assertion : that there is no reason for keeping up the tariff unless for that object, because if those goods are better and cheaper in Canada than we can import them, the Canadian people are not fools enough to buy the imported article and to leave the home article on the shelves and counters unpurchased. Therefore, it is almost unnecessary, it seems to me, to discuss with any degree of seriousness this question, or this supposed question, of the price of goods. Let me, however, use such information as is open to me. We have had these changes proposed, and no one will pretend that they have been of a very radical description. No one will pretend that these changes are such as ought to have

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alarmed the manufacturers of this country, when it is remembered that, with, the exception of agricultural implement makers, the tariff is still 30 or 35 per cent. But let us see what the manufacturers say. They have been interviewed by the press, and their statements have been published. I have no doubt that if the Minister of Finance would tell us what statements have been made to him in secret we would have a very full and complete view of the manufacturers with regard to it ; but judging just from what has been made public, let us see what they do say. I will take two or three of them, and if the House will pardon me, I will trouble hon. gentlemen with an extract from their statements. Mr. George Brush, proprietor of the Eagle Foundry, declared :

That the revision was an abomination, and that it was not a reduction but an increase in the wrong direction. He considered the raising of the tariff on boiler tubes of wrought-iron or steel an iniquitous proceeding. These tubes are the most important part in the construction of a boiler, and are not made in this country at all. The result will be to throw the entire trade into the hands of American manufacturers, who already have sufficient opportunity to compete. Mr. John A. Pillow, of the Pillow-Hersey Company, manufacturers of bolts, nuts, bar iron, drawn wire, &c., says : "The change in the iron duties will have a bad effect, because Canadian manufacturers will be compelled to compete with the extraordinarily low prices prevailing in the United States at present. Cut nails and railway spikes would be the principal articles affected. Prices will have to be reduced, but to what extent he was not prepared to say, because he had not sufficient time to study the changes in detail. The change of duty will probably result in the manufacturers being compelled to use puddled bars instead of scrap iron."

They say that prices will have to be reduced. Then, Sir, it is because the tariff has been reduced, and it is to the extent the tariff has been reduced, says this gentleman, will prices have to be reduced. Mr. McBride, the manager of the Massey-Harris agricultural implement makers, said :

We expected a reduction both of the duties on implements and the materials entering into their manufacture, especially pig iron and steel. Pig iron is still left at the old rate of \$4 per ton. This means that there cannot be any reduction in cost so far as gray iron and malleable iron castings enter into manufacture. As for bar iron, we notice there has been a reduction of \$3 per ton, but comparatively little bar iron is used in the manufacture of our goods. The reduction on steel is confined to sheets thinner than 17-wire gauge. This will not make any difference in the manufacture of implements, as such material is not used. The new tariff, as outlined, will assist in finding a market for American manufacturers, but so far as can be seen at present, it will not assist Canadian manufacturers to reduce the cost of manufacturing to any appreciable extent.

Will the reduction actually lessen the cost of farming implements in Manitoba and the Territories?

That remains to be seen. Unless there are reductions in raw materials other than those outlined, I do not see any possibility of reduction in prices, as our prices are now fully 35 per cent lower than Americans charge for their implements in this country. It has been the policy of the Massey-Harris Company to reduce their prices year after year in proportion to their savings in the purchase of large quantities of raw materials, &c. We were in hopes that when the tariff was tampered with such reductions would be made on raw material as to enable us to reduce our price, and thereby give the general farming community the benefit.

Now, Sir, we have the cotton manufacturers, and Mr. A. F. Gault, the president of the Dominion Cotton Mills, says :

He was disappointed at the action of the Government in regard to gray and white cottons. The new duties were down to within 5 per cent of the Cartwright tariff. On the whole, he thought that Mr. Foster had taken great pains and made a fair tariff, which would satisfy the country. Cotton manufacturers would do their best and try to pull through without shutting down their mills. "Low-priced woollens are largely imported from England," said Mr. Gault, "and our woollen mills will have to close up or go into the manufacture of finer grades. The change in the duty on undyed material will benefit a Toronto firm which has gone into that business."

The cotton manufacturers will do their best, said Mr. Gault. Poor fellows! That would rather seem to say that the cotton manufacturers will have to reduce prices on account of the tariff, and if I prove that they have to reduce prices on account of the tariff I think I establish pretty fairly that their prices are up as far as the tariff will permit. Then, with reference to the sugar industry, the refiners say :

Sugar refiners say that they have got decidedly the worst of the tariff changes, although they never took from the consumer the full amount of the duty. The average net price of extra granulated for 1892 in the United States was \$4.48 per 100 lbs., and in Canada was \$4.29; for 1893, it was in the United States \$4.98, and in Canada \$4.93. The result of decreasing the duty from 80 cents to 64 cents will be the importation of German and other European bounty-fed sugars to compete with Canadian refined. Raising the colour standard from 14 to 16 will lead to the introduction of another class of cheap raw sugars, which will also displace some of the Canadian product. The competition between Canadian refiners is keen enough already, and these tariff changes will intensify it for the benefit of the consumer. On the other hand the heavy duty on the machinery required for refining, all of which has to be imported, remains unchanged. The refiners are, therefore, hit all round. They say that the changes must lead to further economy, cutting down of expenses and possibly reducing of wages. Neither the St. Lawrence nor the Canada Sugar Refining Companies has made any change in quotations.

Mr. MacMaster, speaking of wages, said :

There might be a reduction owing to the tariff changes.

Mr. G. J. Crowdy, of the firm of James Hutton & Co., hardware agents, said :

The duties on the high grades of steel appear to have been left unchanged. The principal charge is on the low grades. The change from specific to ad valorem duties will benefit the importer and consequently the consumer. It will enable the English steel to compete again.

I need not trouble the House any further with reference to sugar. Nor need I refer to wall-paper, for I dare say that hon. gentlemen know that the wall-paper people are by no means pleased with the change from specific to ad valorem. Now, Sir, if these statements are true at all—and I do not think we have any right to assume that these gentlemen have not made a fair representation of their business—is it open to argument that they have not been charging the full extent the tariff permits? I have some evidence here, which I will venture to give to the House, which goes to establish that very clearly. I asked two of the leading wholesale merchants in Toronto to give me a statement as to the relative cost of goods made in Canada and purchased at the factory, and the cost of similar goods purchased or purchasable in England or Scotland, and I will give the House the figures, with the difference in cost :

| Articles. | Price at Canadian mills. | Price in England or Scotland. | Difference. |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------|
| | \$ cts. | \$ cts. p. c. | |
| 34 to 36-inch dyed silesia..... | 0 06 | 0 04½ | 33 |
| 40-inch printed do | 0 08½ | 0 06 | 45 |
| Oxford shirtings | 0 07½ | 0 05 | 45 |
| Prints..... | 0 06½ | 0 05 | 35 |
| do another kind..... | 0 08½ | 0 06 | 37 |
| Flannellettes..... | 0 08 | 0 06 | 33 |
| Averages..... | 0 45½ | 0 32½ | 41 |

Mr. BOYLE. The old tariff was 32½ per cent.

Mr. McCARTHY. I am not speaking of silesias only, but of cotton goods generally, on which the old tariff was specific and ad valorem.

Mr. BOYLE. No, Sir.

Mr. McCARTHY. Well, I am only giving the figures which I got from merchants in whom I have the fullest confidence. I obtained them from two sources.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. gentleman is quoting the 32½ per cent class.

Mr. McCARTHY. I am quoting these articles. I do not carry the tariff in my head. All I can say is, that these are the statements which have been given to me.

Mr. BOYLE. Somebody has misled the hon. gentleman.

Mr. McCARTHY. The hon. gentleman may say so. All I can say is that I have had these statements from gentlemen in the city of Toronto in whom I place the highest trust, and who, I am satisfied, would not deliberately deceive me. I have a similar statement from similar sources with reference to woolen goods, which is as follows:—

| Articles. | Cost at Canadian mills. | Cost in England or Scotland. | Difference. |
|--|-------------------------|------------------------------|-------------|
| | \$ cts. | \$ cts. |  | p. c. |
| Tweeds, $\frac{3}{4}$ -yard wide | 0 25 | 0 19 | 31 |
| do another kind | 0 50 | 0 32 | 53 |
| do do | 0 60 | 0 42 | 42 |
| do do | 0 65 | 0 54 | 20 |
| Serge, 27-inch | 0 18 | 0 09 | 100 |
| do 54 do | 1 40 | 1 05 | 33 |
| Ladies' box-cloth, 54-inch | 0 80 | 0 64 | 25 |
| Tweed ulstering, 54 do | 0 65 | 0 60 | 8 |
| Wove overcoat lining, 54-inch | 0 70 | 0 56 | 25 |
| Average | | | 32 |

Here are some articles, of which I give the prices at the Canadian mills and the prices at the American mills, with the difference:

| Articles. | Cost at Canadian mills. | Cost at American mills. | Difference. |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| | \$ cts. | \$ cts. |  | p. c. |
| Wool carpet | 0 65 | 0 47 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 36·8 |
| Union do | 0 26 | 0 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 40 |
| Another kind | 0 91 | 0 66 | 38 |
| Table oilcloth | 2 10 | 1 75 | 20 |
| Low grade blankets | 0 25 | 0 16 | 56 |

These are figures with reference to the actual cost of these goods under the late tariff. But, Sir, it always seemed to me an extraordinary thing that gentlemen should pretend that it was necessary to keep up a 35 or 40 per cent tariff and at the same time claim that the cost of goods was less here than in the foreign market. The tariff is imposed, not for revenue purposes—that is frankly admitted; it is a tariff for protective purposes, which incidentally gives us a revenue. Well, Sir, the height of that tariff can only be justified or maintained or defended on the ground that it is essential, in order to keep the home market for the

Mr. McCARTHY.

Canadian manufacturer. So, Sir, I will assume that the price under the old tariff has been in the neighbourhood of what I have mentioned, and that the price under the new tariff will be just as high as the tariff permits. What is the result of it all? We have had the returns from the census trotted out again. They formed a table in the Finance Minister's Budget speech of last year, and they are repeated this year. We have to take these returns and make the best of them, and I propose to deal with them and just see what they amount to. In the first place, we were told that the increased number of employees in the decade was 112,000. We were told that the total number of those engaged in manufacturing industries was 367,000. When the further census returns came down, we were astonished to find that instead of 367,000 people being occupied in manufacturing pursuits, there were but 320,000, and the difference is explained in the preface to the last volume of the census which has been issued, in this way. Many of those who are employed by the manufacturers are merely temporarily employed, and although they are returned as having been more or less engaged in these pursuits, they cannot be classed as belonging to any particular grade of operatives. But leaving that for the moment—and it is not an unreasonable explanation—let us see what this really amounts to. Is there an hon. gentleman in this House, on either side, who accepts that number of 112,000 as the legitimate increase in ten years? Is there any one of us who has had occasion to examine the census returns, who is not perfectly satisfied that whatever the cause may be—and the cause is not very far to seek—these returns for 1891, as compared with 1881, are enormously swollen. We know why that is the case. We know that the officials were paid for making the returns with reference to manufacturing establishments in 1891, and thus encouraged to make them, whereas the same officials got nothing for these returns in 1881. And I happen to know—and I daresay it is in all our experience—that many places and industries have been returned as manufacturing establishments, coming under the head of manufacturing industries, which have no pretension to the same, and which, if it were only known, would cover the return with well deserved ridicule. Wherever I have gone I had only to read that return to invoke from the people I have addressed—and I have addressed a number of meetings during Parliamentary recess—the most derisive laughter. There was not any place that I went to, and where I just read from an official return of the number of manufacturing establishments—

Mr. MONTAGUE. Has the hon. gentleman compared it with the schedules used in other countries in taking the census?

Mr. McCARTHY. I have.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Was the comparison favourable to Canada ?

Mr. McCARTHY. I do not know exactly what the hon. gentleman means by the comparison.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The hon. gentleman objects to the number of industries mentioned in the census, and the number of those who are called employees of those industries. What I asked is whether, in the taking of the census in other countries, those same industries are not included, and whether even other industries are not included, which are not comprised in the Canadian census ?

Mr. McCARTHY. I think the hon. gentleman must have misunderstood me.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Not at all.

Mr. McCARTHY. If the hon. gentleman will allow me, I was speaking of the census of 1881 as compared with that of 1891. I was asking, as a fact, whether there had been an increase and whether we could rely upon the figures of the census. The object of a census is to enable us to see how we are getting on, and if the census had been taken in 1881 in the same accurate way, and if the same inducements had been held out to the officials taking that census as were held out to those who took the census of 1891, there would be no reason, so far as I know, from discrediting—however valueless for other purposes—the comparison I have instituted.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Is there any difference between the schedules of 1881 and 1891 ?

Mr. McCARTHY. There is no difference in the scheme. Surely the hon. gentleman must understand what I say. He must know perfectly well that those figures do not accurately represent but vastly exaggerate the numbers in connection with manufacturing interests in the different communities. Why, in my own town of Barrie, there are put down 62 industrial establishments with 196 employees, and I declare you could not find 10, in the ordinary acceptance of the term. Milliners and dress-makers are included.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Why should you not include these ?

Mr. McCARTHY. Would the hon. gentleman not mind interrupting ? He is there, no doubt, to speak. He will have the opportunity to reply. He is the spokesman of the party, and has a good opportunity allowed him. I say that, compared with 1881, the census returns of 1891 are practically valueless. That is all I say, and it is not unnatural. You pay a man for making a return and he will be careful to omit nothing. But if he is not paid, it is quite possible he will not take the trouble of making the inquiry. And some curious re-

sults we have in the census. For instance, in Stratford there is an increase of 61 establishments and 1,515 employees, and the whole increase in the population is 1,262. So that although 1,500 people are engaged in the manufacturing industries there more than were engaged in 1881, the population has actually decreased by nearly 300. In St. Mary's, a place where I had the honour of addressing a meeting. I found there was an increase of 9 establishments, according to the official document, and an increase of 17 employees, but the increase in the population was one. So that these 17 men had apparently driven 16 away, and one alone had taken the place of the others who had gone. In Port Hope the increase of employees was 56, and the decrease in the population 543. In Ingersoll the increase in the official document of employees was one, and the decrease in population 127. In Strathroy there is an increase of 26 in the census, and a decrease of 511 in the population. But take London, where there has been a considerable increase of population, and take Kingston, where there has also been an increase of population. The official document shows an increase of 1,199 in the number of employees in Kingston, and 1,128 in London, and an increase of 214 manufacturing establishments in Kingston and 433 in London. There is no use in my wrangling with the hon. gentlemen. The people of Kingston know if that increase exists. I had the honour of addressing a meeting there, and when I mentioned these figures it was merely to bring a laugh and to show that the people placed no value in them. Let us see now what is the result of it all. I take the occupations of the people, and these are more likely to be accurate than are the returns of the manufacturing industries. No doubt each man has returned his own occupation. The manufacturers have returned—I do not know with that care—the number of people employed by them. I see it is not stated in our census, as in the American table, "the average number of employees," but it is stated "the number of employees." Whether that is by design or accident I am not prepared to say. But taking the number, what do we find ? We find in the agricultural, mining and fishing classes there are 790,210, or 47·6 per cent of the total number of people who have occupations in this country. We find those engaged in trade and transportation number 186,695, or 11·2 per cent ; those engaged in domestic and personal service, 246,183, or 14·9 per cent ; those engaged in professional avocations, 63,280, or 3·8 per cent, and those who are classed amongst the non-producers, 52,986, or 3·2 per cent. We thus account for 81·7 per cent of the people of this country, none of whom are to be attributed to the manufacturing industries. There remain, however, a balance of the manufacturing industries of somewhere near 19 per cent. But, Sir, from that number we

have to take a very considerable proportion. I do not think that any hon. gentleman will claim that carpenters and joiners—though they may be manufacturers; I am not finding fault with the classification—are to be counted among those whose employment in Canada is dependent upon the National Policy. In considering this question of the fiscal policy these classes must be excluded, as also must the saw and planing-mill men, the ship and boat builders, the coopers, the boot makers, the marble and stone cutters, the masons, the painters and glaziers, the plasterers, the blacksmiths, the dressmakers and people of that kind. We do not have any more blacksmiths by reason of the National Policy. If we had a revenue tariff no man would think of crossing the border to get his horse shod by an American blacksmith. No man thinks of going across the line to employ people in any of the industries that I have named. We had these people with us before the National Policy came in, and we will have them long after it becomes a thing of the past. Well, deducting these—and I do deduct them—from the 19 per cent, from the 320,000 which are put down to manufacture and mechanical industries, we have a balance of 144,000, which is somewhere about 8 or 9 per cent. I think that is too much, but 8 or 9 per cent is certainly the outside number that can be put down pro-

perly or fairly as those engaged in manufacturing industries that are dependent in any shape or form upon the National Policy. This is not 8 per cent of the total population, but 8 per cent of those who have occupations. Now, Sir, let us see whether these figures are borne out, because I have endeavoured to test them in other ways. I have taken the number of employees in the following industries—cotton mills, woollen mills, agricultural implements, rolling mills, foundries, sugar refineries, cabinet and furniture shops, and boot and shoe manufactories. The number engaged in these industries in 1881 was 48,077, and the number in 1891 was 60,037, an increase of 24 per cent. The output of these industries in 1881 was \$59,162,000, and in 1891 the amount was \$86,000,000. These are the principal industries that we must put down to the credit of the so-called National Policy. So we have an increase of 24 per cent in these during the decade. And now let me compare that with the table which the Finance Minister has given us where the total increase of the number employed is 44 per cent, being from 259,000 to 367,000, or 112,000. I have here a table taken partly from answers given in the House last session and partly supplied by Mr. Johnson, the Dominion statistician, the tables being ready, but not yet published:

| Articles. | Employees. | | Increase. | Product. | |
|-----------------------------------|------------|--------|---------------|------------|------------|
| | 1881. | 1891. | | 1881. | 1891. |
| | | | | \$ | \$ |
| Cotton | 3,527 | 8,033 | 4,506 = 127% | 3,759,412 | 8,451,724 |
| Woollen | 6,877 | 7,470 | 593 = 8.5% | 8,113,055 | 8,441,071 |
| Agricultural implements | 3,656 | 3,887 | 231 = 6.3% | 4,405,397 | 7,494,624 |
| Rolling mills | 699 | 831 | 132 = 18.8% | 1,026,900 | 1,750,000 |
| Foundries and machine shops | 7,789 | 12,604 | 4,815 = 61.5% | 8,863,957 | 16,031,515 |
| Sugar | 723 | 1,927 | 1,204 = 166% | 9,627,000 | 17,127,100 |
| Cabinet and furniture | 5,857 | 7,180 | 1,323 = 22.5% | 5,471,742 | 7,706,093 |
| Boots and shoes | 18,949 | 18,050 | ..... | 17,895,903 | 19,020,381 |
| Total | 48,077 | 60,037 | ..... | 59,162,366 | 86,021,506 |

Increase of hands, 24.8% : increase of product, 45.3%.

Now, if that is not a fair citation from these returns I do not know what can be, and the result is that, while the increase in number of people employed in the occupations of the country generally was 44 per cent, the increase in these occupations affected by the National Policy was only 24 per cent.

Mr. TAYLOR. I would like to ask the hon. gentleman one question. I know he does not want to misrepresent the case. Did I understand him to say that he had taken from the list of the occupations affected by the National Policy that of the blacksmiths?

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Mr. McCARTHY. I have deducted the blacksmiths from the 320,000 who, according to the census are engaged in manufacturing and mechanical employments. No doubt blacksmiths are included in some of these industries affected by the National Policy. But it is impossible to be very precise or accurate in such general statements as these.

Mr. TAYLOR. I just want to say that I know of two industries in the town of Gananoque, each employing forty men, who are blacksmiths, and who were engaged there since the National Policy came into force—

that is in the industry of carriage building. They are all put down as blacksmiths.

Mr. McCARTHY. No doubt there are such cases. In such statements as I am making, it is impossible to do more than approximate. I have taken these classes because I think that the far and away the greater proportion of them are not engaged in occupations that are in any way due to the National Policy. Deductions would have to be made on either side, and these, I think, will balance each other.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. There are the butchers and bakers whom you did not mention.

Mr. McCARTHY. I may not have read them, but they are included in the figures I have given—there are 20,000 of the classes named by the hon. gentleman. Now, we are told that the effect of the change of policy would be to drive out not merely the 112,000 I have referred to, but the 320,000 employed in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. That is the argument that has been used in the campaign which the Ministers carried on during the summer, and that argument has been more or less used during this debate. I have only to state, Sir, with regard to that—and every hon. gentleman can judge for himself whether my estimates are correct—that I believe the figures I have given will show that the number dependent upon the National Policy in the sense referred to by hon. gentlemen does not exceed 3 per cent of the people who have occupations. Call it 10 per cent—and that will take in the forty men working as blacksmiths in the carriage industries in Gananoque—and let us see what is the practical meaning of it all. Let us see what it costs the consuming classes of this country to keep this 10 per cent of people employed here in Canada—for surely that is the practical way of looking at it. The Finance Minister admits that there is a tendency in a protective policy to increase the price of protected articles. He states that later there is a tendency to reduction, but this, so far, I think, has not been realized here. The hon. gentleman from East York (Mr. Maclean), who gave the House an essay on protection, also tells us very candidly that there are disadvantages, that there are disagreeable incidents to this protective system. His argument is that the advantages outweigh the disadvantages. I want to look at it from the same practical point of view. If we can afford to subsidize these manufacturers and their employees, and if the result of that is beneficial to us all, why let us continue the policy; but if, on the contrary, the advantages far outweigh the disadvantages, if it can be demonstrated to almost a mathematical certainty that the consuming masses of this country suffer more disadvantages than advantages, then let us change the policy. I have enumerated some of those consuming masses. An hon. gen-

tleman who preceded me this evening thought the consumer was a man who did nothing but consume. But, Sir, the consuming people of this country, in the sense in which the term is used, are those who are just as actively engaged in their respective walks of life, and are bound to work as hard, as the manufacturing classes, and what they are beginning to realize is that they have got to pay for the support of the latter and they cannot much longer afford to do it. Now, what is the result of all this policy? We are told that the output of these manufacturing industries is something incredible, that four hundred and seventy-five millions per annum is the actual output according to the census returns. Well, if that is the figure of all those engaged in mechanical and industrial pursuits, and if the deduction which I have mentioned is proper to be made, we must correspondingly reduce the output. As I have already indicated, for the purpose of testing my figures, I take the increase in the output of those leading industries, and the increase of this output during that period is 45 per cent. Among those industries are cottons, woollens, agricultural implements, rolling mills, foundries, sugar, cabinet furniture, boots and shoes. Now, the total increase in the output according to the census returns is no less than 53 per cent. It is quite evident, therefore, that the whole of that figure cannot be attributable to the National Policy, and if it cannot be attributable to the National Policy, to what else is it fair to attribute it? Now, last session I took a great deal of trouble to analyze the table of 1881 which we have. I divided the industries which are shown in that table into those which are dependent upon the policy of protection more or less, because we have had these industries long before there was any thought of protection in this country in the sense in which we understand the term now. But, putting it down in that way, I arrive at the conclusion that the product of those who are dependent in the sense I have spoken of, amounts to one hundred and sixty-five million dollars out of the total of that period. Adding to that one hundred and sixty-five millions the 45 per cent which the figures I have mentioned with regard to these leading industries, show, and we have a total output of two hundred and forty-one millions. Now, the practical question which I desire to impress upon the House is this: If there are two hundred and forty-one million dollars worth of goods manufactured in Canada, and if these manufactures are dependent upon the National Policy, how much of that two hundred and forty-one millions are the people of this country paying more than they would under a system of free trade? That is the disadvantage which all admit is attributable to the National Policy. The advantages are, the increase of population, the diversification of industries, and the home market for the farmer.

I have stated about the figure to which I attribute any increase of population, and I now come to the disadvantages. Well, according to these figures with which I have already troubled the House, and if the tariff itself does not woefully mislead us, it is not too much to say that the increase in the prices of these goods has been, is, and will continue to be, under the changed tariff, in the neighbourhood of 35 per cent. Now, it is only fair to say that it does not apply to all of them. For instance, I have made a calculation that that increase does not apply to sugar, because the sugar is enhanced in price to the people of this country to the extent of about 10 per cent as compared with the English sugar. But, speaking of the bulk of the manufactured goods in Canada, and I speak after giving the subject the very best consideration in my power, and after making every inquiry, the enhanced cost to the people of this country is not short of 35 per cent, and sometimes it has been much more. I gave illustrations in woollen goods, and I gave illustrations in cotton goods; and I judge the bulk from these illustrations. So that, according to the statement I made last session, a statement which I understand the hon. member for South Oxford substantially corroborates this session—and the statement was made. I think, by the hon. member for Prince Edward Island (Mr. Davies)—it is not too much to put down that for twenty million dollars we pay into the Treasury, the people of this country are paying fifty or sixty million dollars more into the pockets of the manufacturers. Now, I do not want to be misunderstood as saying that the manufacturers are pocketing these enormous profits; I do not want to be understood that these fifty million dollars are being transferred from the pockets of the consumers to the pockets of the manufacturers as pure profit. I accept the statement made by the hon. gentleman who preceded me this evening, that our manufacturers cannot manufacture at the same cost they can in other countries. My hon. friend from East Hastings (Mr. Northrup) pictured to us to-night, evidently from figures furnished to him by authority, the position of the woollen manufacturer. First, there was the increased cost of the capital; secondly, there was the increased cost added to the machinery of no less than 90 per cent, \$100,000 to \$160,000; then there was the increased cost of the raw material, and of having to store it; these were the various and enormous disadvantages under which he told us the manufacturers of this country labour. All the same, what boots it to the consumer why it is, if in fact and in truth the people of this country are being bled to the extent of more than two and a half dollars for every one dollar which they pay into the treasury? Now, that these are important matters no one will doubt. I have no desire here to injure any manu-

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facturer. On the contrary, my anxiety and hope will be that with the start they have had, with the fifteen years during which they have enjoyed protection, they will be able to prosper when this tariff is changed, as I am confident it is going to be changed, and that before very long. But we have, and we may as well realize it, an enormous force to contend with here. I was astonished on reading a work the other day to find it stated by a competent authority that protection would never have been changed in England if it had not been for the Irish famine. If it had not been that the people were starving, and, therefore, could be aroused on the question of the increased cost of the means of subsistence, such was the strength of the manufacturing industries, and of those forces gathered around them, that the policy would not have been changed. And we have the same battle to fight here. It is a contest which is perhaps not so formidable as on the other side of the line, but still there is this formidable element that the consuming people have to fight. What has happened since this change was proposed, only a fortnight ago? The railway trains have been borne down with deputations of manufacturers coming here to protest against these decreases proposed, light as they are, and I do not know what is yet in store in committee; while the 48 per cent of the population, comprising farmers, miners, and fishermen, have no organization, no means of appearing here before the Cabinet Ministers to plead their cause. It is true they were interviewed in the summer; but what was the motive of those interviews? They were asked whether they wanted protection on corn, ham, pork, oats, and wheat. They were not asked the question, whether they desired to pay protective prices on the particular goods they consumed. They were told that they were not expected to make free trade speeches or go into the general question, but they were asked whether they wanted protection on their own particular industry. Naturally, each man said, I want protection. Some of them tried to say, but they were choked off, that they would rather have no protection, but free trade markets all round, but they were told that was not the subject of investigation and discussion by and between them and the Controllers, that the question was: Do you want protection against American corn, pork and wheat? So the bulk of the people, 50 per cent if you add the domestic classes and the professional classes, have no organization which can appeal to the Ministers to change the tariff, while the voices of the manufacturers are heard in the land. I am glad to observe that at last the farmers, at all events, have been aroused, that at last they have taken to themselves, throughout the province from which I come, the duty of organizing in their own interests, and I mistake if most of the farmers in this country are not to-day studying political

economy, and with the results which will be evident at the coming elections. No other possible way was open. The Finance Minister was astonished. He said that for years the charge had been wrung through the country that the tariff was legalized robbery. But the hon. gentleman pointed to the result of the elections in 1881, in 1887, and in 1891, and said, How is it possible that the people would again return the Government if legalized robbery was being perpetrated. It was a fair argument, and an argument which has to be met and which I am not afraid to answer. The answer is a plain one. Of all the people in Canada, of all the people I know, I think the Ontario farmer is probably the best party man. He is not very anxious to find out exactly his position or his rights, but he is anxious to see that his party is up and the other party down, and the man on the concession lines is as proud of his party allegiance as the Duke of Devonshire was to belong to the Whigs, or the Marquis of Salisbury is to belong to the Tories. But endurance has ceased to be a virtue. They have realized at last that the interests of one class of the community were all paramount, and were commending and controlling the destinies of the country, and they have not failed, as I firmly believe, to grasp the necessity of looking after their own interests, and I hope in that I am not going to be mistaken. Let me read to the House the view of some farmers of the North-west who have sent me from the constituency of the hon. Minister of the Interior, the resolutions of a meeting held on April 6th. The letter is from Mr. D. S. Wilson, and is addressed to myself. It is as follows:—

BRANDON, MAN., April 6th, 1894.

DEAR SIR,—A committee which was appointed to attend to the matter by the farmers of Brandon County met yesterday and adopted the enclosed resolution, and I was instructed to forward it to you and request you to see that it was brought up in the House of Commons. A copy of the resolution has been sent to the Hon. T. M. Daly.

I have the honour to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) D. F. WILSON.

DALTON MCCARTHY Esq.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

(Resolution.)

BRANDON, MAN., April 6th, 1894.

FARMERS MEETING.

At a meeting of the Executive of the Farmers' Association of Brandon County, held in the City Hall, Brandon, on Thursday, April 6th, Mr. John Leech in the chair, the following resolution was adopted:—

Moved by Samuel Honnor, seconded by W. Postlewaite, that we a committee of the Farmers' Association of the county of Brandon, who memorialized the Federal Government a year ago

for alterations in the tariff to aid the development of agriculture in the Canadian North-west, express with great regret our feeling of dissatisfaction with the insufficiency of the reductions recently made.

We feel that with the increase of competition in our natural markets from countries that can produce with greater facility than we can, agriculture must become an absolute failure in this country unless the restrictions that affect the cost of production and transport to our natural markets are greatly reduced.

We therefore repeat for the earnest consideration of the representatives of the people in Parliament the spirit of our memorial of a year ago.

1st. That the abolition of the duty on lumber be complete and embrace all kinds of dressed material: a removal of duties on rough lumber alone which cannot be imported under any circumstances will be of no benefit whatever to the county.

2nd. With the duties reduced on raw materials and the American markets thrown open we feel the Canadian manufacturers of agricultural implements are in position to compete even handed at home, as they have always been abroad without further protection. Further trade restrictions in their interests is only continuing the unbearable burdens on the struggling settlers of the North-west and the agriculturists of the whole of Canada which must speedily end in complete disaster.

3rd. We regret that the duties on coal oil and binding twine remain as before; two articles of extensive consumption in the North-west, and we are fully convinced that the benefits arising to the country through their production are in no way commensurate to the loss entailed upon the many consumers.

4th. That as the representatives of the Government, the Hon. Messrs. Foster and Angers when in the North-west last year strongly recommended the farmers to go into mixed farming; we do not think it consistent with their advice that there should be any duty on fence wire, which is one of the essentials to mixed farming.

We therefore protest against the insufficiency of the modification already announced and repeat the spirit of our former memorial: that the duties on coal oil, binding twine, fence wire and dressed lumber be entirely abolished, and that those on farm implements be reduced to at least 10 per cent. This we feel to make agriculture even moderately profitable in this country must be done, and nothing else can give satisfaction to the settlers of the Canadian North-west. We also feel that everything that can be done should be done by the Government to reduce the extortionate railway rates to and from this country which are heavily discriminating against the successful settlement and development of our great North-west.

(Signed) D. F. WILSON, Sec'y.

That, Sir, is the view of the farmers in a constituency represented here by a Minister of the Crown.

Mr. DALY. Good Grits, too.

Mr. MCCARTHY. The hon. gentleman says "good Grits." I do not know whether they are good Grits or good Tories, but I suppose they have a right to express their sentiments and to protest against the changes

that are proposed to be made. This subject is one which I cannot hope to cover in the time that I would be warranted in occupying the attention of the House. I can only say, that I have gone through separately, as well as in the aggregate, these various industries, and if I may be allowed to trespass just for a few moments longer, let me give them in detail, and then we will be able as well to realize as in the aggregate, the result of these particular industries. With regard to my old favourite the cotton industries; it forms a ready illustration, because as we know the raw material is free. Of all the manufacturing industries in this country they stand I think the best chance of manufacturing at a low cost. What is the result of the cotton industries of this country, and what is its value to us? The output is said to be \$8,451,724. If my figures are right that the enhanced cost of this output is at the rate of 35 per cent; we have of that \$8,451,724 to pay the sum of \$2,197,447. Now, what is the corresponding benefit, because if they cannot be justified in detail they cannot be justified at all. My constituents want to know what benefit they get from the cotton industries of this country. They want to know where are their large markets, and where their increased prices come in? The Government says: I must try and tell them that they must not be narrow, they must remember this great broad Dominion, they must remember that they are citizens of Canada and not merely of the North Riding of Simcoe, and if they find that these industries are promoting results of a beneficial character elsewhere they ought to be satisfied even if they cost them a little. They naturally ask: what does it cost them? I find it costs them \$2,197,447, and what is the benefit? We are told: Oh, the wages that are paid. Let us see how much that is. The wages amount to \$2,102,000, so that we are paying over \$2,197,000 in order that the cotton manufacturers may pay their employees \$2,102,000; in other words we are paying the whole cost of the establishment. That is what it comes to, and we get nothing for it. On the same product of cotton goods, at a 17½ per cent tariff there would be over \$1,000,000 coming into the treasury, but nothing comes into the treasury now. Raw material is free, raw material is still to be made more free if possible; the duty is to be piled upon the manufactured article. The raw material goes to the benefit of the manufacturers; the increased duty enhances the price to the consumers, but say hon. gentlemen: we have taken the tax off sugar, we have taken the tax off bill stamps, we have taken the tax off tea. That is the argument of the Government. Why, Sir, the figures I have already mentioned show that the taxes have not been taken off. They have been shifted. We do not pay it on sugar, or on tea, or on bill stamps, but our taxes are all the same, and they have been increasing. We are paying the tax and we are paying

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an additional price as well, and I have shown ample, we pay more in additional prices than the total amount paid out to the employees, according to the returns which the manufacturers made. Let me give the House the woollen industries on the same basis. It is not disputed that the woollen industries charge the full figure of 35 per cent. It is justified on the ground stated by my hon. friend from East Hastings (Mr. Northrup) this afternoon: that they cannot possibly get on at less, and we have been told that the result of the change from specific to ad valorem (the tariff still being 35 per cent), that several of these woollen industries will have to close. The result of our protection to the woollen industries is that the wages come to \$1,941,000, and the additional cost to the people amounts to \$2,194,000; and you take it through the whole of these different industries and you get no more satisfaction. Then, Sir, see the enormous possibility of doing injustice. Take even the manufacturing industries. On what ground can the Minister of Finance justify leaving the agricultural implement manufacturer with only 20 per cent protection, with a large portion of his raw material subject to a duty of from 40 to 50 per cent, when the adjoining manufacturer gets his raw material free and has a protection of 35 per cent. On what ground can you justify giving the raw material free to one class of manufacturer, and putting the raw material of the farmer at a duty bearing from 20 to 35 per cent. It cannot be justified. With every intention on the part of the Government to do what is fair and right, it is impossible for them to do so, because the raw product to one man is the finished article of the other man. Its very injustice calls upon this House for redress. There is no morality, says the hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean), in the protective system. Morality is out of the question, he says, and I quite agree with him. It is an enlightened selfishness, that is the key note of such a policy. An enlightened selfishness; well, I do not know whether those who are suffering from this selfishness very much appreciate that kind of thing.

Mr. MACLEAN (York). They voted for it.

Mr. McCARTHY. Well, they will not do it another time I am inclined to think.

Mr. MACLEAN (York). Yes, they will.

Mr. McCARTHY. Perhaps so, we will see; there is no use prophesying but we will see. All I can say is, that as far as I can see, the man who can justify the inequalities necessarily incident to this protective system cannot be actuated by any sense of morality, as the hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean) tell us. That hon. gentleman sweeps away with a wave of his tongue all the political economy of the age. He utterly repudiates and laughs to scorn, from Adam

Smith to John Stuart Mill, these ignorant, short-sighted, benighted men; these men whose teachings are to be found in every college of the country, in every course, in every curriculum. We are told by the hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean), not in a breeze of enthusiasm, but in a cold-blooded, deliberate document read and prepared for the House, that these men did not know what they were talking about, were treating of the subject when the world was very young and under conditions which were so small and so limited that their conclusions were lame and impotent. Well, it may be so. I have had the honour of living in the same city as the hon. member for many years. I have known and heard of him, and undoubtedly he has a reputation; but I declare to you, Sir, I never heard that he had a reputation which entitled him to slay, at one foul breath, all the political economists of the century. It is, I think the gem of the debate. We have had a very long debate and perhaps not a very interesting or a very great one; but of all the subjects dealt with, I think this one, dealt with by the hon. member for East York, and his manner of dealing with it, deserves the special attention of the House and of the country. That this hon. gentleman should undertake, in this summary way, to dispose of all that we have been taught, all we have been brought up to believe in, all we have ever recognized as correct political economy, is, to me, a marvel, to say the least of it.

Mr. MACLEAN (York). You did the same, years ago.

Mr. McCARTHY. Now, Sir, in the former discussions on this subject, which took place years and years ago, there was one extract from this writer on political economy, the late Mr. J. Stuart Mill, who is not to be heard—this is the last time he is to be mentioned in this House—an extract which we were very fond of quoting. I will read it again, although, in doing so, I shall perhaps incur the censure of the hon. member for East York:

The only case in which, on mere principles of political economy, protecting duties can be defensible, is when they are imposed temporarily (especially in a young and rising nation) in hopes of naturalizing a foreign industry, in itself perfectly suitable to the circumstances of the country. The superiority of one country over another in a branch of production often only arises from having begun it sooner. There may be no inherent advantage on one part or disadvantage on the other, but only a present superiority of acquired skill and experience. A country which has this skill and experience yet to acquire may in other respects be better adapted to the production than those which were earlier in the field: and besides, it is a remark of Mr. Rae, that nothing has a greater tendency to promote improvements in any branch of production than its trial under a new set of conditions. But it cannot be expected that individuals should at

their own risk, or rather to their certain loss, introduce a new manufacture, and bear the burden of carrying it on until the producers have been educated up to the level of those with whom the processes are traditional. A protective duty, continued for a reasonable time, will sometimes be of the least inconvenient mode in which the nation can tax itself for the support of such an experiment. But the protectionism should be confined to cases in which there is good ground of assurance that the industry which it fosters will after a time be able to dispense with it; nor should the domestic producers ever be allowed to expect that it will be continued to them beyond the time necessary for a fair trial of what they are capable of accomplishing.

Mr. MACLEAN (York). It is a question of time alone.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). And during that time there is a loss.

Mr. FERGUSON (Leeds). What is twelve years in the lifetime of a nation?

Mr. McCARTHY. Well, I am going to answer each question put to me, and I will answer my hon. friend from Leeds first. What is twelve years in the life of a nation? I ask the hon. gentleman what in the world has the lifetime of a nation to do with it? You establish a business, you give a man capital, you give him an opportunity of acquiring skill and employing men; he manufactures and prospers, and dies. What has that to do with the lifetime of a nation?

Mr. FERGUSON (Leeds). A great deal to do with it. A nation is only an aggregate of the individuals.

Mr. McCARTHY. If you have enabled that man to acquire skill, if you have enabled him to surround himself with competent assistance, surely you have done all you can be expected to do. You talk of a manufacturer inheriting these things. He does nothing of the kind; he becomes a manufacturer because he has served his apprenticeship to it; and no person would pretend to say, anywhere except in politics, that more than a few short years would be necessary for any industry to establish itself so as to be able to compete with the other industries of the world. I put it to my hon. friend, What does he say of the United States? It has been proved to-night that they have had protection for a hundred years, except in one or two solitary industries, and have had enormous wealth and mechanical skill; and what is the result? Why, in the industry that has been the most prosperous in that country—the steel rail industry—they have been charging, up to this moment, \$8 a ton more than free trade manufacturers.

Mr. HAGGART. They are selling them in Belgium and England to-day.

Mr. McCARTHY. I do not say that they are not selling them in Belgium and England to-day, whatever that very intelligent observation means. I wonder if it is true

that the hon. gentleman is speaking without his coach. I see the gentleman sitting near him who coached him for the great Budget speech that he delivered, but who, we are told, was terribly mortified at the poor delivery. It fell far short of the rehearsal; and the proof positive of it was that the hon. gentleman had introduced quotations from Shakespeare, which was possible; also quotations from Sir Walter Scott, which I could even credit; but it was added that he also quoted from the Bible, and that was taken as proof positive that the hon. and reverend doctor, who sits near him, was the creator of the speech. So, Sir, when the hon. gentleman interrupts again, let him do it with a little more intelligence, because no person contended that England was not selling steel rails, or Belgium either.

Mr. HAGGART. The hon. gentleman mistook my observation altogether. I say that the United States manufacturers in Alabama are selling them in Belgium and England.

Mr. McCARTHY. The hon. gentleman may have meant that, but I think the House will agree with me that he did not say it. I have given the hon. gentleman the prices of steel rails in the United States in the year 1893, quoting from the official returns; I have given the prices in England; and I have shown the difference between the two; and I want to know how it is possible that in the largest industry in the United States—an industry in which their production has outstripped the production of the mother country itself—they are not able to compete with the mother country.

Mr. WHITE (Cardwell). Perhaps the hon. gentleman will allow me to state that the price of steel rails in England is £3 15s. per ton at the mills, while steel rails from Pittsburgh can be laid down in Montreal at \$20 per ton.

Mr. McCARTHY. The hon. gentleman says so, and I am quite willing to suppose that he is speaking by the book. But I will refer to a debate that took place in Congress on the 10th of last January on this subject, and I will give the figures then mentioned.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). That is not an authority.

Mr. McCARTHY. This is the Statistical Abstract of the United States for the year 1893, sixteenth number. I do not know where you are to get better authority. I find here that the average price of domestic pig iron, rolled bar iron, iron, and steel rails, per ton of 2,240 pounds, cut nails, per keg, for each year from 1850 to 1893, furnished by the American Steel Association, is \$28.12, and, as the hon. member for Cardwell (Mr. White) says, the price in England was £3 15s.—I find that, in a discussion which took place in Congress on the tariff, Mr. Johnson, of Ohio, who complained of the reductions not being greater, said on this steel question:

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Take steel rails, of which I happen to know something, as I am a manufacturer of steel rails. I appeal to the Democrats of the House to join me in putting steel rails on the free list. The present duty on steel rails is \$13.44 per ton, which is estimated to be equivalent to 50.44 per cent ad valorem. The committee have reduced this to 25 per cent. This seems like a great reduction. But it is only nominal, for 25 per cent is all the steel rail trust want. It is as good to them as 1,000 per cent, for it is practically a prohibitory duty.

Steel can be made here as cheaply as anywhere else in the world, and would not now be imported, save in exceptional cases, even if there were no duty; while the tendency of invention and improvement is in favour of the United States as against Europe. The steel made into rails in this country is from native ore. What pig metal, billets and blooms are imported are used entirely in other iron and steel manufactures. Now it costs less than \$2 a ton to make steel rails from blooms, including straightening and punching. On to-day's market steel blooms are selling at less than \$17; steel rails should, therefore, not bring over \$19. They did fall nearly to that price a few weeks ago, during a temporary break in the steel rail pool. But that pool was quickly reorganized, and the price of steel rails was put up, and is now maintained at \$24 a ton; so that by virtue of the duty which keeps out foreign rails, the pool is compelling the users of steel rails to pay them 25 per cent more than a fair price.

Mr. DALZELL. Does the gentleman speak now from the attitude of a steel rail manufacturer?

Mr. JOHNSON of Ohio. I do. Our mill makes about one-thirtieth of all that are produced in the United States.

This new steel rail pool is composed of seven manufacturers, headed by Carnegie, who absolutely control the product of more than one-half of the rolled steel produced in the United States, and who have combined together to pay other large manufacturers heavy annual sums to close their works, discharge their men, and make no steel.

Now, observe, the 25 per cent duty of the committee's bill is just as good to the steel rail pool as the greater nominal duty of the existing law, and will enable the pool to keep the price up to the highest point that they deem safe.

And so on dealing with that question.

Mr. DALZELL. Is the gentleman a party to the steel rail trust?

Mr. JOHNSON of Ohio. I am not; but whether I am or not would make no difference. Outside of this Hall, as a steel manufacturer, I might be perfectly willing to enter a trust, but I will not defend trusts here.

Then he goes on, after some discussion, and he produces the trust document which exists among these seven manufacturers, and by which the price is put up to \$24, or 25 per cent beyond what he says is the fair cost of the manufactured goods. But I was not dealing with that part of the subject so much. I was drawn to it by the contradiction of the hon. gentleman. What I point out is that the experience of it all is that the

price of these articles do not decrease, and that is exactly what was pointed out by the author of the book which I was reading from a moment ago. The experience everywhere is—and it is against this I desire to warn the House and the country—that the manufacturers do not decrease the prices. Why, look at the Wilson Bill, as modified in the Senate. These protected manufacturers in the United States, protected by a tariff of from 35 to 40 per cent—these manufacturing establishments, established for nearly a century, are crying out in the most piteous way as if they were absolutely ruined. Who has ever heard of a manufacturer saying that he had too much protection or being willing that the protection afforded him should be reduced? So that when Professor Fawcett, whose book I am reading from, makes this statement, we can all accept it:

There is no one more ready than I am to recognize the high authority of Mr. Mill as an economist, and I will at once admit that the arguments which he advances in favour of the imposition of protection in a young country would be conclusive if there were a reasonable probability that the conditions under which he supposes that such a protective duty could be imposed would ever be realized. It will be observed in the passage above quoted that he is most careful to explain that protection can only be justified as a temporary expedient; and every word which he says in support of protection rests on the supposition, that when an industry has been fairly established the protective duty will be at once voluntarily surrendered by those who are interested in the particular industry. It is, however, incontestably shown by what has happened in the United States and other countries where protection has been long established, that it is absolutely impossible to impose a protective duty under the stipulations on which Mr. Mill so emphatically insists.

Now, this was written in a series of lectures delivered at Cambridge in 1878, fourteen years ago; and its truth is incontestably shown by what has happened in the United States and other countries highly protected.

Whatever professions may be made by those who first asked for protection that it is only required for a limited period and that it is only needed to enable an industry to tide over the obstacles which may beset its first establishment, it is invariably found that when an industry has once been called into existence, those who are interested in it, whether as employers or employed, instead of showing any willingness as time goes on to surrender protection, cling to the security and aid which they suppose it gives their trade with increasing tenacity.

Every word of that written fourteen years ago is verified by what has been seen on the other side and is being confirmed and corroborated by what we are seeing around us to-day. Now, I have been taunted here by the hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean) that this country is only fit for a pas-

toral country, that I have placed the intelligence of Canadians at the lowest possible ebb, that I have denied their ability to compete as manufacturers, and that I have scorned the possibility of this becoming a manufacturing country. Sir, I have not hesitated, after giving the matter the fullest consideration, to state publicly elsewhere, and I am certainly not going to fail to state here the conclusion to which I have arrived on that subject. Sir, I believe Canada is an agricultural country; I believe, Sir, the great industry and the natural industry of this country is agriculture; and, if we looked at the question simply from a business point of view, and cast our eye over our great Dominion, with its scattered population, its enormous territory, its abundant resources, I think it will be clear to us that what we ought to do is to promote the natural industry of the country, instead of fettering it and crippling it. I deny, Sir, that within a reasonable time we can reasonably hope to become a great manufacturing country. Hon. gentlemen sneer at that. But is it not a fact? What is the possibility? A market of five millions of people, or, as the hon. member for South Oxford very correctly described it the other evening, not a market of five millions, but, on account of the enormous distances that separate different portions of our people, a market of not more than three and a half millions, is all that we can hope for. Is there a man in this House who expects that we shall be able to create manufactures in this country that can go beyond our borders and hold their own with the established industries of England, of the United States, and other lands? Is there even a possibility that that can be accomplished? We will have manufacturing industries; we will have towns and villages dependent upon our agricultural country, and we will have those industries which are the reasonable and proper growth of the surroundings to which I have referred. And, Sir, the attempt that we are making to establish manufacturing industries with the view of selling to our own people at an enhanced price, is, to my mind, the maddest project that any country ever engaged in. I say that, Sir, with the full knowledge of responsibility in that I had something to do with establishing the National Policy; I say that, with the full knowledge of responsibility that I did, in good faith, adopt the principles of protection in the early part of my political career. But, Sir, when I consider the whole position, when I consider what the farmers have accomplished, and are accomplishing without the aid of protection—

Mr. MULOCK. In spite of it.

Mr. McCARTHY. And in spite of it, as the hon. gentleman says; when I consider how the towns have grown to the extent that the country behind them can give them support, and that everything else is

a mere fictitious growth which cannot long endure, and which must end in disaster—when I consider this, I hold that we ought to retrace our steps; we ought to give the farmers a chance, and not fetter them, hamper them, and destroy their resources as we have been doing in the vain hope of establishing sound industries by artificial means. I give hon. gentlemen who surround me every credit for candour in entertaining their beliefs, and I trust they will give me credit for the same in the views I hold. I do not say we can have no towns. Let me give an example. What town is growing better to-day than Winnipeg? It has passed the period of depression incident to its boom, and it now grows just as the country behind it grows; and will anybody say that the progress of Winnipeg is in any way due to manufacturing industries? What are our country towns throughout the whole Dominion dependent upon? How far do they grow, and where do they stop? They go on until they have attained sufficient development for the country upon which they are dependent, and you cannot force them beyond that. I do not mean to say that if you are successful in establishing in any particular locality a number of industries, you do not promote the prosperity of that locality. Just as the railway works in St. Thomas have increased the growth of St. Thomas in ten years, just as the works established at Stratford by the Grand Trunk Railway have helped the growth of Stratford; but these places grow to the point required by the country behind them, plus these special industries, and then stop, and you cannot put them beyond that. But what we have been doing is not with the hope—because we never had the hope, I suppose—that we should enable our cotton manufacturers, for instance, to compete in the open market. True, there is a little export of cotton to China. We do not know at what price it is exported. We do not know that it is sold at the same price as to the home consumer. We do not know that when Americans export to our country, they sell to us cheaper than to the home consumer, and, perhaps our export of cotton goods is made upon the same basis. The whole market of Canada consumes about \$8,000,000 worth of cotton made at home, and about \$3,000,000 or \$4,000,000 worth made outside. We import, if my memory serves me right, somewhere about half as much as we manufacture, and it is on that import that we pay the 28 per cent duty to which the hon. Minister of Finance refers. The hon. Minister knows perfectly well that the kind that is imported is the kind upon which the lowest duty is charged, and that the kind upon which the high duty is charged is practically prohibited by the duty, and is not imported at all. So, I do not mean to say that we cannot have manufacturing industries. If I read these words correctly, we are bound to have them as we had them in 1871; and as they grew

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from 1871 to 1881, possibly under exceptional conditions with regard to the United States, so we will have them without a protective tariff, and we would then have them without burdening the mass of consumers of this country in the way they have been burdened for the last fifteen years.

Mr. MASSON. Mr. Speaker, I must certainly apologize for rising at this late hour, and at so late a period in the debate, to take part in what I think, notwithstanding the opinion of my hon. friend who has just sat down, has been an interesting discussion. I will promise the House this, that I will not detain hon. members long, and I will try to confine myself very closely to the remarks that have fallen from the hon. gentleman. I have no prepared essay, or even the material for one, to give to the House. I have taken a few notes of the hon. gentleman's speech, and to the points I have noted I will confine my remarks. I was pleased to hear the hon. gentleman state in his opening remarks that he had faith in the future of the country. But I was sorry when he closed his speech by decrying his country, by telling us that we need never hope that this country will be a manufacturing country, that we need never hope that this country will ever be anything else but an agricultural country. The sequel of these remarks can only be this: That, like every other purely agricultural country, we must remain a poor country. Never in the history of the world has there been a country devoted entirely to agriculture but it was a poor country. The people of such countries have been the hewers of wood and the drawers of water for the richer nations around them. They have sold in the cheapest market, and they have bought in the dearest; they had to send all their produce outside, and to bring in from outside everything they required. The whole benefit of mixed industry and the fostering of manufactures in a country is in this—that it brings the producer and the consumer nearer together, and the nearer these two can be brought together the better it is for both. Now, with the mixed industries of agriculture and manufacture that we have in this country, there is the benefit that the product of each is largely consumed in the country. In this connection, I would just refer to a remark that was made by the late speaker a little further on. He referred to the exports of this country in manufactured goods as compared with the exports of manufactured goods from England, saying that, while in England the increase of manufactured goods had been 12 or 13 per cent, in this country we had only increased a paltry one million and a half. Well, now, the hon. gentleman was a little ingenious in the way he put that. Lawyer-like, I am afraid he tries to make a strong case out of a weak one, and in this case he has resorted to rather an ingenious statement. Now, he takes the ratio in one

case, and he puts the paltry one million and a half in the other. If it was proper to give the ratio of increase in Great Britain, why did he not give the ratio of increase here? Why, this paltry one and a half millions of increase in the products of manufactures in Canada was no less than 25 per cent, small as it was. But that is not the point that I think is of most importance. Let us remember that we have only been exporting a few years under this policy, fifteen years, perhaps thirteen years more correctly, or even less, so far as many of our manufactures are concerned. But during this short time we have increased our manufactures very materially; and, if we did not export a pound, we have increased them to such an extent that we largely supply the home market in many articles. Take the hon. gentleman's pet article of cotton. Why, the manufacture of cotton alone has increased to such an extent as to be now nearly double the large import that we used to make of cotton. So that, in considering the increase of our manufactures, we have to take account of the increase, not only of export, but of the output from the factories, whether that is consumed at home or exported. Now, the hon. gentleman, after having expressed his faith in the future of the country, became suddenly a prophet of evil, and declared that, in his belief, the balance of the next fiscal year would be on the wrong side. Well, I do not know that the hon. gentleman is much of an authority on matters of finance, or in the details of the tariff and their practical working out; therefore, I will not pursue that subject further. He next took up the subject of the public debt, which he told us was alarming. Now, the hon. gentleman to-night did not question the justice or the reasonableness of any of the expenditures which caused that debt. He has, on many other occasions, defended one and all these expenditures, and his silence on the subject to-night must be taken as a direct admission that he approves of every one of them. Well, in a new country, developing its resources, it is absolutely necessary to borrow money to do it. Had we not incurred this debt we never would have had the great public works and other improvements which we now possess, and which the hon. gentleman does not question, and never did question. He only threw out a slight hint to-night against the Canadian Pacific Railway; I do not know that he intended even to question the propriety of assisting the Canadian Pacific Railway, though, perhaps, his speech may be read in that way. Do the people of Canada, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, even in the province of Prince Edward Island, question the reasonableness of that expenditure? I think that enterprise is one that every Canadian should be, and every Canadian is, to-day proud of. But the hon. gentleman told us, that during these various years the taxes had increased from eleven millions to seventeen millions, to twenty-eight millions, to twenty-nine millions,

and so on; while, he said, the debt of Great Britain had decreased. Well, now, that also is a very unfair comparison. We are a young country developing our resources as rapidly as our means will allow, pushing forward great public enterprises, and it is unfair to compare our increase of debt with that of England, an old country, in the time of peace, but most of whose debt was incurred in wars from time to time. War means an addition to the income tax; it is intended to meet the debt in a few years; so that, notwithstanding her long wars, the income tax of England, imposed from time to time, has kept down her war debts. That is the most direct tax that any nation can adopt. England resorted to it originally for war purposes, and she now continues it for other purposes. The hon. gentleman also made another unfair comparison, when he said that the ratio of the percentage of taxes was 31 per cent in England and 41 per cent here. He told us candidly enough that that includes a sinking fund in Canada, but he did not tell us that there is no such a thing as a sinking fund in England; therefore, it is quite unfair to make such a comparison. He made a reference to the Federal debt of the United States, but, as that subject has been frequently referred to before, and the argument which he used has been so often refuted, I will not occupy the time of the House in referring to it. It is very unfair to compare the federal debt of the United States with the debt of Canada; in the United States the debts incurred by the several states were never embraced in the federal debt, while our federal debt does include the debts of the old provinces. Another point the hon. gentleman referred to requires notice. He had to admit that this country was prospering, because the interest was reduced; but, said he, the interest was reduced the world over and we come in for our share. Is that strictly true? Have interests reduced very much in England? Have they reduced in England at anything like the rate they have in this country? Interests were always low in England, far back of the time the hon. gentleman was speaking of, and they are much the same to-day. But every farmer and every mechanic in the country knows that interest in Canada is a great deal lower than it was when the National Policy was introduced. How does the rate of interest in the United States compare with the rate of interest in Canada to-day? Has the rate decreased in the United States, as to farmers who are paying 10 per cent on time for their reapers and threshing machines, while our farmers would grumble at 6 per cent, and especially when they were asked 7 per cent on the second and third year. But farmers of the United States, when they ask for time on a similar class of machines, are obliged to pay 8, 9, and even 10 per cent. Yet the hon. member for Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) says no credit is to be given to the National Policy and no faith is to be

placed in the prosperity of the country because the rate of interest has decreased here. There is no test of the prosperity of a nation or an individual so true as the rate of interest paid. If a private individual is in good circumstances, even when the rate of interest is high, he can obtain money at a cheaper rate than can other individuals in less fortunate circumstances. The credit of the country had an important bearing on the interest it pays, and the same reasoning applies to localities. But the hon. member for Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) addressed his principal argument to the changes in the new tariff. He told the House there were some 300 changes, and he asked what did they mean? He declared that they meant that the tariff is purely a manufacturers' tariff. If so, the hon. gentleman differs from the press of the country, the general feeling expressed by it being that this is a farmers' tariff. The hon. gentleman also declared that this is a manufacturers' tariff, and that the requirements of the consuming population had not been considered, and he threw out the suggestion, that it might possibly be a manufacturers' Government. What change has the hon. gentleman pointed out as showing that this is a manufacturers' tariff? The hon. gentleman admitted that specific duties had been taken off in many cases, and that where there were both specific and ad valorem duties imposed, the ad valorem duties had been allowed to remain, or a very small percentage of increase given. On the whole, taking the tariff as regards manufactured articles, any person who has gone into particulars, which I do not suppose has been done by the hon. gentleman, although he made a statement which he should not have made without careful consideration, must arrive at the conclusion that the chances are all, or nearly all, against the manufacturers. How about the position of the farmer? Are these changes all against the farmer's interest, or are any of them against him? If any of the changes are of that character, they are very few. The hon. gentleman has declared that the reduction in the tariff, as regards agricultural implements, is not sufficient. Is that reduction in favour of the farmer? It is, provided he can obtain agricultural implements any cheaper. I doubt very much whether the change will have that effect. I doubt very much whether the duty increased the price of agricultural implements one iota. My reason for doubting it is, that the only country with which we compete in agricultural implements, is the United States, and I know that implements were bought by Ontario farmers cheaper than by farmers in western New York. I, therefore, doubt very much whether, in Ontario at least, there will be any marked reduction. But the reduction was made, not for the farmers of Ontario, but for the benefit of the farmers in the North-west, and they probably will receive the full advantage of the reduction. If so, it is a change in favour of the farmer. Is the change in duty on salt in favour of the manufacturer and against

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the farmer. No. But I will not occupy the time of the House by passing these duties in review. At a later stage they will be dealt with in detail. According to my reading of the tariff and my estimation of its effect, it will prove to be a tariff favourable to the farmers. My belief is that it will be favourably received by the farmers, and that, in framing it, the Government have given the farmers their best consideration, and that the results of the operation of the tariff will prove beneficial, on the whole, to the farming community. The hon. member for Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) agreed with the change proposed in many cases from specific to ad valorem duties. He alleged that the old tariff was on the whole one of specific duties, while the new tariff is on the whole one of ad valorem duties. There are one or two items in which the farmers are interested, where specific duties would be better, and at the proper time, when the items come before the committee, I will refer to them. The hon. member for Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) afterwards proceeded with his second objection, namely, that this tariff discriminated against Great Britain. This argument, like all other arguments presented by the hon. gentleman, was copied almost verbatim from speeches to which we have listened from members of the Opposition during a number of years, during eight years in my case, and much longer in the case of the hon. gentleman. I do not think, however, that any hon. member ever put forward the statement so emphatically as it was presented by the hon. member for Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), and I will read a speech delivered by him outside of the House, in which he dealt with the same subject, when speaking in my constituency. The hon. gentleman said:

Why should we tax articles from Great Britain at a higher rate than those from the United States? Yet the loyal Canadians have put a tariff upon the statute-book which imposes a higher duty upon goods coming from England than on goods from the United States.

So strongly was that statement made that many farmers went away thinking there were two lists in the tariff, and that goods coming from the United States were charged at a certain rate, and those from Great Britain at a higher rate. The hon. gentleman did not want any farmers to go away with any other impression, for he added the following:—

The country which is prepared to stand by us receives this gratitude at our hands, the gratitude of loyal Canadians exemplified by placing a higher tariff on her goods than on those of the American.

That was a very emphatic statement. It was a condensed statement of what the leader of the Opposition and his followers have advanced before this country; but they have done it in a much fairer way, accompanying it with a statement showing how they arrived at that conclusion, showing by the total

importation from the respective countries, that the dutiable imports were, on an average, higher in the case of Great Britain, not that one article was taxed higher. While their arguments and their deductions bear truth on their face, still we do not agree with them, nor has the country ever taken any particular stock in them. They know equally well—they do not require to be told in this House or anywhere else—that the imports from the United States are not the high manufactured articles, the luxuries, that come from England; and especially do they know very well that one of the largest revenue producing imports from Great Britain is spirits and such things. I think therefore that the hon. gentleman's statement that the present tariff discriminates against Great Britain is not worthy of his ability in setting forth a case. He should at least tell how he arrived at that statement, and not allow people to pass from his hearing, believing that there were actually two sets of duty. The hon. gentleman waxes eloquent over the English tea trade, and he tells us that in that one particular we discriminate against Great Britain. The tariff in force last summer and which he abused, discriminated in favour of Great Britain as against every other country not producing tea, and the change in this tariff only places Great Britain on a par with other countries; so that when he was abusing the tariff as discriminating against Great Britain, instead of there being items in that tariff that discriminated against Great Britain there were in it, and are to-day in it, items that discriminate in favour of Great Britain. The hon. gentleman then alluded to the embargo on our cattle and he would leave this House to understand that this embargo was brought about because Canada has discriminated against the mother country. The connection in which he makes the remarks, if not the remarks themselves, would warrant persons in coming to the conclusion that he intended it to go forth that the scheduling of the Canadian cattle was by reason of discrimination against Great Britain. He asked the question: How could we, while asking to have that embargo removed, discriminate against the tea trade of Great Britain. I think that every reader who has studied the question at all—perhaps the hon. gentleman has not—will agree with me when I say that the cause of that embargo is the fact that the English agriculturists are seeking protection. They are seeking to be protected in the most drastic manner possible against Canadian cattle by demanding that Canadian cattle shall be kept out of their country altogether. It is the existing distress amongst the agricultural classes of England that has roused them to fight for their interests and demand all the protection that they can get. Yes, the free trade farmers of Great Britain are to-day clamouring for more protection. Only a few days ago they had deputations waiting on the authorities, asking not only that the scheduling should continue against

Canada, but that the cattle from every other country would be scheduled as well. The hon. member for Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) then told us that our Government have slightly treated the offers made by the Wilson Bill as it goes to the Senate. Let me ask him: Are any offers made in that Bill which are not for the benefit of the Americans and for their benefit solely? Is it any very great benefit to Canadians that the Americans propose to open their markets for our pork, the United States being a country which produces and exports more pork than all the rest of the world.

Mr. McCARTHY. It does not offer that.

Mr. MASSON. Yes, the Bill did as brought down. Is it any great benefit to us that they should open their markets to our wheat and other grains, when they are exporting year after year far more of those products than Canada produces altogether. Even with our North-west as at present opened up, the Americans are exporting to-day twice as much wheat as we produce. The hon. gentleman says that we treated the American people slightly because we have offered to allow their corn free, if they do the same with regard to our barley. Let me remind him that our offer is not one sided, while every one of their offers to us is in favour of themselves. The free importation of corn would be a disadvantage to the farming class of Canada. I know that there is a difference of opinion as to that, but the understanding is that it would be a disadvantage to a large proportion of our farmers. We offer the United States free corn, provided they give us free barley. Free corn coming into our market would be an advantage to them, and our barley going free into their market would be an advantage to us. We are willing to give and take in our offers, while their offers to us in the matter of reciprocity have been, from the first, one-sided. There was another expression of the hon. member for Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) which struck me as rather remarkable and inconsistent on his part. He said: It is a pity that this revision of the tariff had not been postponed until the people had pronounced upon it. If my recollection is not very far wrong, the hon. gentleman on the floor of this House only last session declared, that the Government was afraid to bring down their tariff changes, and that they were derelict in their duty because they did not bring them down. He told the people of the country during his campaign last summer that the Government were only dallying with the people in sending their commissioners around, and he created some laughter in his references to the hon. gentlemen who were seeking information, just, as he said, to put the farmers off. How inconsistent is the hon. gentleman. Last session he blamed the Government for not bringing down their tariff changes; this summer he blamed them for making inquiries from the people, and now

he blames them for making changes in the tariff before appealing to the people of the country. The hon. gentleman is as hard to please as members of the Opposition. If things are put off the Government is to blame; if things are brought before the House the Government is to blame; if they move to the right the Government is to blame; if they move to the left the Government is to blame; and I think we may fairly come to the conclusion that the hon. gentleman is "agin the Government." The hon. gentleman then goes on to assume that it is a settled question that the price of articles is increased to the full amount of the duty, and he went at some detail into figures which fall far short of proving any such contention. His quotation of the prices of cotton and woollen goods in England did not prove that the full advantage of the duty was taken; far from it, because there would always be the expense of transport, and the expense of handling, although the figures he gave did not come up to much more than the ad valorem duty, leaving the specific duty out of the calculation altogether. He dwelt with particular emphasis on the idea that woollen tweeds—I think he calls them tweeds, but most people would call them shoddy—purchased in England at 9 pence a yard were actually 100 per cent dearer in Canada. Now, when specific duties were put on these articles by weight, I think that it was the intention to keep out that shoddy. It was considered, whether rightly or wrongly, that the shoddy was no benefit to the farmer, and that he was only throwing away his money by purchasing it. But the hon. gentleman says that because the price was 100 per cent dearer in Canada than it was in England this 9-penny stuff, that the woollen manufacturers were taking the full benefit of the duty. However, the hon. gentleman had to face the fact, and he admitted it frankly, that the prices of many things had been reduced. But here he falls back upon what I admit to be the true criterion: he asks if prices have relatively come down? Are they lower in this country than in other countries? As compared with former prices, the prices are now lower in cotton and woollen goods, the two articles commented on, as compared with the prices in Great Britain at the time of the introduction of the National Policy. The fall in price has been greater in Canada than in Great Britain. Therefore the National Policy has been carrying out the intention of its founders in decreasing the relative prices of manufactured goods, while at the same time it has increased relatively to the farmers the prices of their grain. For instance, the price of wheat, as I have stated before in this House, was at the time of the introduction of the National Policy from 57 to 70 cents below the price in Liverpool, while now it is not more than 20 cents or 25 cents below. Our price used to be 20 cents or so below the New York

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price; now the two are on a par. Although the prices of grains have fallen, they have not fallen in Canada as much as they have in other countries. Relatively they are higher in Canada. Therefore, from both points of view, the outcome of the National Policy has been that manufactured goods have not increased in price, or if so, only temporarily, domestic competition having had the effect of reducing the price to a lower point than before; and, on the other hand, the increase of our home market has raised the prices of farm products. The hon. gentleman quoted from a very good authority on political economy, John Stuart Mill, who, however, wrote entirely from a free trade standpoint, as being the height of excellence; but even in that quotation it is stated that in a young country which is seeking to develop its industries, protection is justifiable for a short time. That was certainly a very great admission for a writer like John Stuart Mill to make, and it is no wonder that that admission has been quoted by protectionists so often. But what the hon. gentleman contends is that the time has now arrived for removing the protection. A few short years, he said, would be enough. The question was asked him, what was twelve years in the life of a nation, and the hon. gentleman asked in reply what has that to do with it? He said these things were not hereditary. Why, the very quotation he had just read stated that a new country, where manufacturers had to train their employees, could not compete against an old country where they were not only trained, but where their instincts in these matters were hereditary. So that there is something in the admission of John Stuart Mill, that those trades and the ability to do the work of those trades, are hereditary. But the hon. gentleman says that Canada should have reached that stage by this time—that twelve years of application of protection ought to be sufficient, and that now it should be wiped away. If I learn anything from the hon. gentleman's speech from beginning to end, it is that he thoroughly endorses the doctrine of the Opposition in favour of wiping out every vestige of protection; for that is his position. What country in the world ever succeeded in establishing its industries in twelve years? England took hundreds of years; the United States has taken a hundred years; France, Germany and other countries have taken a still longer time, and they are still standing by the principle of protection. The hon. gentleman tries to make sport of the statement of the hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean) by saying that he was wiping away by one fell stroke all the writings of John Stuart Mill and the other great political economists. Well, the hon. member for East York is not alone in that. Every civilized nation in the world (England only excepted) has done the same thing. They have all wiped away with

one stroke the doctrines of John Stuart Mill and the other free traders. The hon. gentleman then quoted from a number of manufacturers—for what purpose I know not. He tried to show that they were not satisfied with the changes. The Massey-Harris Company he quoted as saying that they could not make their goods any cheaper. That was not in the line of the hon. gentleman's argument, and for what purpose he quoted it I do not know. The Massey-Harris Company had reduced their prices year by year, which I believe all honest manufacturers do, especially where there is competition such as there has been in agricultural implements. Increased production also tends to reduce prices. The example has been frequently given, of a man working at his bench and turning out in a week a dozen articles of a certain class. He sells that dozen for \$12, on which, counting his own time as worth \$1 a day, he makes only \$1 each. The next year he increases his establishment and gets a little better machinery, so that, instead of turning out one dozen, he turns out two dozen a week and sells them at a reduction, but makes more money. He brings in improved machinery, which enables him to turn out ten dozen a week, which he sells at half the price of the others, and makes double the money, making less on each article, but more on his whole output. He increases his establishment until he is turning them out by the thousands, and instead of making a dollar on each, he makes only 10 cents on each, but he is making his millions. That is the way the consumer in the country gets the benefit of fostering an industry so as to enable it to produce a larger output; and when the consumer is getting that benefit in the way of lower prices, he is indirectly reaping an advantage from the policy that was framed to protect the manufacturers. But the hon. gentleman asks why cannot the United States, that have been protected so long, compete against England. The first answer I will give is that they do compete against England in very many articles, and in the matter of iron, on which the hon. gentleman dwelt at some length, they have been for some time competing with the English manufacturer and that competition is growing. But why do they not sell in their home market as cheaply as the iron could be laid down there from England, at the cut prices which England would give to get in there? The hon. gentleman read an article which gave the answer to that, in which it was said that there was a pool that controlled the price. The other reply is that it is not part of the American policy that American labour should compete with the cheap labour of Great Britain. Their tariff is intended to prevent the products of the cheap labour of Great Britain and Europe coming into their market. If they did, the price of labour in the United States would go down. And we hear the cry raised, even in free trade England, against the competition of

the cheap labour of Belgium and other European countries. Therefore if the American manufacturers do not compete in the home market and sell as cheaply as they do in England, it is because they are paying much higher for their labour and consequently ask more for their iron, but their output is so great that they can afford to throw their extra production into the markets of England in competition with English goods.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The protection on iron is in excess of the whole amount of wages in the United States.

Mr. MASSON. That statement, I suppose, is about on a par with the hon. gentleman's statement to which I was just going to refer, that in the case of the cotton industry, the people paid the whole cost of running the machines and gave all the profits to the manufacturer. I think it would tax the ingenuity of the hon. gentleman to figure that out very closely. Further, the hon. gentleman says that the question for us to consider is what are the benefits and what are the disadvantages, and he says that so far the burden has far overrun the advantages, and the consuming classes are suffering in consequence. Now, that is so closely on a par with the statement made by the hon. gentleman in this House last session, in which he went into an example of that kind, and which he repeated in my constituency this summer, that I will read from the report of his speech on that occasion. He was speaking to the farmers, and he told them they received some benefit from the National Policy. He said, that but for it there would be about \$12,000,000 worth of grain brought into the country. That has been the case before and would be again, and that would drive out of the country twelve million dollars worth of grain, which would go out at a loss. I will give the hon. gentleman's words :

What do you gain by keeping the twelve millions of American produce out of your markets? On twelve millions worth you would have to send to a foreign market, you would lose ten per cent.

What does it amount to. It comes, you farmers, to \$1.70 per head, and what are you paying to save that loss? The benefit of keeping the Americans out of your market is that you gain \$1.70 a head.

Then he went on to tell them that they were paying through the nose for it, and he proceeded to enlarge upon the subject. He told them there were 730,000 farmers, and that 12 per cent on \$12,000,000—the amount of grain that would have to seek a foreign market—only amounted to \$1.70 per head. He admits that the introduction of that grain would lower our market 10 per cent. But does he imagine that that 10 per cent would only be upon the amount exported. Does he mean to say that the miller in this country will pay a higher price than was given for that exported. The miller will buy as

cheap as he can, and the decrease would not be on the \$12,000,000 grain brought in but upon the \$400,000,000 worth, being the value of the grain product of Canada according to the hon. gentleman. So that the loss of 10 per cent instead of being only \$1,200,000 would be \$40,000,000—a tidy little sum for the farmers to lose these hard times. But that is not all. The hon. gentleman takes his \$400,000,000 from statistical returns no doubt. But what about the cheese, pork, and beef, and the other articles on which the farmer would lose directly if flooded with Armour's beef and pork and other American articles. So that, adding to the farmers' loss on grain what they would lose on their cheese, butter, pork, beef, and other articles, the amount would be so great that the farmers would be very glad to save it. Now, the hon. gentleman admits that protection dies hard. He says that free trade would not have been obtained in England but for the Irish famine. Perhaps the hon. gentleman has, at some former time, considered the cause of that Irish famine. Perhaps he will recollect that shortly prior to that, the tariff wall between England and Ireland had been broken down by the Union. Five millions of Ireland's operatives had to succumb to the competition of English manufacturers. These men were, one after the other, dismissed from service and the factories were shut down. They then betook themselves to agriculture, as the hon. gentleman would have Canadian manufacturers do to-day. Then rents went up, the competition in land was a benefit to the landlord, the famine in the potato crop capped the climax, and those who had not sought refuge in other countries were dying by thousands of famine. It was just the tariff changes that started the trouble. These changes put them out of employment, made them resort entirely to agriculture, and when agriculture failed they had to starve.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Then we should have protection among the provinces according to that view.

Mr. FOSTER. That is a non sequitur.

Mr. MASSON. But the hon. gentleman says the farmers have submitted to all these things because they were not interested. I suppose the hon. gentleman speaks his honest belief. I know he never took any very active part in many constituencies among the farmers. He made some nice speeches occasionally in large centres where very large audiences could be had. But I do not know that he ever went about outside his own constituency, or very much even there, or that he ever had very much opportunity to ascertain what interest the farmers took in these matters. In all the constituencies that I have ever visited, meeting the farmers, I found them very much interested; and I know that we can trace our changes in the various elections to changes in the farmer vote. This is true of constitu-

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ency after constituency. And what causes the change? The farmers have these matters explained to them; and they get enlightened on the subject and they change in favour of protection. And in the last general elections, and in the bye-elections that followed, I can assure the hon. gentlemen, the farmers did take a very active interest in the duty on pork and meats. One complaint of the hon. gentleman against protection was, that it could not be fair. He said that it was impossible to have a fair protective system, that one man's raw material was another's finished product, and that, therefore, one man would get his raw material free and the other had to take his with the duty; consequently it was impossible to have fairness. It may be that that would be one of the difficulties the hon. gentleman would have to overcome if he were framing a tariff. I have no doubt the Minister of Finance thoroughly understands the difficulties that arise in this connection. And how far has he succeeded in overcoming them? I believe the manufacturers, as a rule, will be satisfied that the Finance Minister has overcome this difficulty. He has certainly overcome it in a different way from that adopted in the tariff Bill in the United States. In that Bill they started with duties on raw material and went on higher and higher, piling up a perfect pyramid of duties, the higher the protection on raw material, the higher being protective duties on the articles produced from it, amounting at last almost to prohibition on many articles. In the tariff we are now discussing, another method has been adopted—that of lowering the duty all round, placing it on an ad valorem basis and giving an advantage to the manufacturers using partly manufactured goods, to enable them to compete in the finished article. In some cases we had arrangements made under which special articles might be imported free for manufacturing purposes, and, in the iron schedule, one of these difficulties was met by the granting of a bounty as a means of giving a protection or benefit to the manufacturer of articles that enter largely, as raw material, into other articles. Now, Mr. Speaker, I have followed, in about the order adopted by the hon. gentleman, the various subjects to which he spoke. I left out the long dissertation he gave on the census returns. I think the question of the census returns and the application of their lessons to the population and the increase of prosperity of the country has been threshed out so frequently that I shall not attempt to say anything on the subject. It would be useless at this late period of the debate to analyze the census returns. Much time as the hon. gentleman took up, I do not think he gave the House any real light on the subject. It matters not what the census returns may be; the question whether this country is prospering or not, is best answered by the people themselves. Here in this House, and throughout the length and breadth of the land, we have had repeated by hon. gentlemen

opposite, and by the hon. member who has just taken his seat, the statement that the country was going to the dogs; that the farmers were poor and tax-ridden. Well, now, I appeal to the farmers themselves to say whether they are as poor, whether they are as highly mortgaged as they were; whether they pay the interest they used to pay; whether they are not paying off their mortgages; whether they are not increasing the size of their farms and of their barns; whether they are not improving their houses both inside and out; whether they are not better dressed; whether they do not live more comfortably than they did twenty years ago? These are questions the farmers can answer for themselves. Great changes have come over them in the markets for grain, there can be no doubt. They used to have all their money come into their hands near the end of the year. All the money received in the course of twelve months would come in within one month, and thus they had a large sum in hand at one time. But there were store bills to be met, and interest on mortgages and taxes to pay, and, in many cases, though the sum received in hand was large, they soon found a way of disposing of it. But, having paid off these things, very often they were able to lay by a tidy sum, and this they did though they had to stint themselves for the rest of the year. In those days, no doubt, many farmers laid by money who do not lay it by to-day. The money came to them in large sums, and they were tempted to deposit it although they and their wives and sons and daughters suffered the deprivation of many things they would like to have had, until the next crop was sold. Now their money comes in in spring and summer and fall and winter, from various industries in which they are engaged, from their cattle, sheep, pork and many other sources from which they formerly did not expect to receive any revenue except at one particular season of the year. Their cheese and butter and other things are a constant source of supply. So, all things considered, the farmer actually receives more cash now than he did in the time the hon. gentleman refers to, and, if they do not reap the benefit by having money in the bank, they reap the benefit by better living, better clothing, better furniture in their houses. No person who knew the country twenty years ago can drive through to-day without seeing that there has been a vast change for the better. As to the artisans and the employees of manufacturers, we leave them to answer for themselves. They know they are better off, even if they have to pay a little more for some things they buy from the farmer. They are ready to pay these increased prices, because they have, not only better wages, but steadier wages. That is the great matter with the working classes—to have steady wages. High wages they wish for, but, whatever the wages may be, they must be steady. Therefore, I think the hon. gentleman's state-

ments regarding the country cannot be borne out by the fact. I thank you, Mr. Speaker, and I thank the House for the hearing you have given me, and I apologize for having taken up so much time.

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, I can promise that, if the remarks I have to address to the House have no other merit, they will at least be brief. The hon. gentleman who has just spoken, in closing his remarks, tried to show that the country was prosperous. Sir, I will not undertake to say that the country is not in some measure prosperous, neither will I undertake to say that under high protection this country may not be prosperous, nor will I undertake to say that at all times under free trade would this country be prosperous; but I will undertake to say that under a system of free trade this country would be more uniformly prosperous than under a protective system. I think the House will agree with me that the speech made by the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) was not at all answered by the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat; however, I have taken notes of a few of the remarks made by the hon. gentleman, to which I will briefly refer. In the beginning of his speech he said that the member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) had wound up his speech by decrying his country. How did he decry his country? He decried his country, if at all, by simply saying that this country was fundamentally an agricultural country. I also say that this country is fundamentally an agricultural country. It is first of all an agricultural country; next in importance comes the product of its forest; next its fisheries, and next its mines. But while I say this I do not deny that this country may be to a fair extent a manufacturing country under existing conditions. In considering a question of this kind we have to take into account our geographical conditions, and our climatic conditions, and the fact that this country extends for 4,000 miles along the northern border of the great republic to the south of us, is, in my opinion, to some extent against us. Why is it against us? Because we have not got the market to the south of us in which to sell our manufactures. Mr. Speaker, I have some knowledge of this country and its capabilities, and I will say this, and say it fearlessly, that if I were a manufacturer of anything that can be produced in this country I would fear nobody to the south of us, if I had that market in which to sell; but with the restricted market that we have, it is ridiculous to say that we can ever become a great manufacturing country. It is true, as the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) said, that we will have a certain number of manufactures, that the home market will support a certain number of manufacturing industries. Now, it is not the manufactures that are natural to the country that we complain of, it is the manu-

factures that are not natural to the country, and have to be artificially supported. The very worst kind of protection is that which brings about such a condition of things as that the raw material from other countries is imported into this country free of duty, while a high protection is placed upon the manufactured article, giving to those engaged in those industries the market to themselves, and enabling them to fleece the producers of the natural resources of the country. The hon. member for North Grey (Mr. Masson) said that a country that was essentially an agricultural country always remained a poor country, and that the people were hewers of wood and drawers of water for the richer classes. Now, Sir, I want to know where, if a country was a poor one under those conditions, would he get his richer classes? That is exactly the case in Canada. The producers of the natural resources of the country are hewers of wood and drawers of water, supporting in our midst manufactures that never should have existed in Canada. I would ask him, where is the wealth of Canada if it is not among the agricultural classes? If he will study the statistics and look at the wealth of the farmers, the value of the farms and the belongings thereto, he will find that the farmers of Canada possess the largest share of the wealth of this country, but it is distributed among a great many, while we have a few manufacturers who are fattening at the expense of the farmers. The hon. member for Grey (Mr. Masson) said that the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) had not shown that the manufacturers' interests were in any way improved by the revised tariff that has been laid before the House. Well, if the speech made the other evening by the hon. member for North Ontario (Mr. Edgar) is correct, and I believe it is correct, he has conclusively shown that the interests of the cotton combine have been very much improved by the revised tariff, and I think it will also be shown on investigation that the sugar interests of this country have been improved by the new tariff, taking into account the molasses and syrups, and other products of this industry. Now, Sir, to show the importance of the agricultural interests of Canada, I will quote from the statistics of 1893. The exports of the farms of 1893 amounted to \$53,785,989, showing conclusively that the farmer above all others contributed largely to the prosperity and to the wealth of this country. What is the farmer's position. The products of the farm are sold in foreign countries in competition with the products of the world. But is that all? Before the farmer exports, he first feeds the people of this country, feeds even these very manufacturers of whom we complain, and then he contributes more to the exports of the country to pay foreign indebtedness and for our imports from abroad than do all other classes put together.

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His wheat, barley, coarse grains, cheese, butter, beef, in fact all his products, I say, are sold in the markets of the world and in competition with those of other countries. Has the farmer any protection?

Mr. CAMERON. Yes.

Mr. EDWARDS. I deny that he has any protection on any article whatever except pork.

Mr. CAMERON. And on butter.

Mr. EDWARDS. He has not one cent of protection on butter.

Mr. CAMERON. He has 4 cents a pound.

Mr. EDWARDS. No. The Canadian farmer produces a surplus of butter, as also does the United States farmer, and his butter is sold in the foreign markets. Can it be contended for a moment that he has any protection? No. It is a snare, a delusion and an insult to the intelligence of the farmers to say that they have any protection.

Mr. CAMERON. He is protected by the duty on butter.

Mr. EDWARDS. He has no protection on butter, or on his wheat, or his cheese, on nothing but one article; that is pork, and that is a very doubtful protection indeed. It is more a packers' protection than a farmers' protection. How does the farmer supply his wants? He buys his supplies under two conditions: First, he pays duties on the articles imported and not manufactured in this country; second, he pays a higher tribute to certain manufacturers on articles the raw material of which is imported free of duty, and high protection is placed on the manufactured articles. Is that justice to the great producing classes of this country? No. I would forgive ignorant men who know no better and believe in a policy of protection: but, judging the subject from my standpoint and honest belief, if I voted for any such principle, I would feel that I was committing a high crime as against the great producing classes of the people. I desire now only to refer simply to the question of cotton and sugar, because they are more readily understood by the people generally. It would pay the farmers and the consuming classes better to give \$400 a year to each person engaged in those industries and close them up. We would be better off in two ways: First, we would get our necessaries in those lines cheaper; and, second, a large amount which now goes into the pockets of the manufacturers would go into the public Treasury. I will not pretend to say that protection on wheat and some other articles may not have local effect. That may be quite true. I can understand how, under protection, wheat grown in the west and sent to the east, under the greater competition for freight on the other side of the line, can be taken more cheaply by that route than by the Canadian route, and the result, under

those conditions, would be that eastern buyers and consumers would pay higher prices, but the farmers who produce the wheat do not get one cent additional for it. What is our next largest item of exports? It is the exports of the forest, amounting in value to \$27,669,134 for 1893. I should like any hon. gentleman opposite to show me by what means the lumber industry is in any way protected. It is not protected. The lumbermen occupy precisely the same position as do the farmers. Next to the farmers they contribute more to the public Treasury than do any other classes. How is the lumberman treated? The material he exports is sold in the markets of the world in competition with the products of other countries. How does he buy? Exactly as the farmer, and the lumberman has no protection. The same remark applies to the fisheries and to our mines. I will not say it applies as fully to them, but in a very marked degree it applies to them. The total exports of these four classes of products amounted in 1893 to the value of \$95,538,063. What are the exports of our manufactures? They amounted in 1893 to \$6,374,375. Yet it is pretended by hon. gentlemen opposite, that by the establishment of manufacturing industries here, the value of farmers' products is thereby enhanced. I deny any such proposition. Just so long as we have a surplus to export, our prices are fixed by the prices obtained in the foreign markets, and not by anything sold in our own markets. The Finance Minister, in his Budget speech, referred to the benefits of the tariff as regards labour. I claim that this question of labour is the foundation of the whole matter. I deny in toto that the condition of the labourer can be improved by any system of protection. Trade is nothing more or less than the exchange of the products of labour. Labour is the foundation of all wealth, and each country has resources that are natural to it, and the people of each country are best employed in producing what is natural to the country, and exchanging their surplus products with other countries. Let us take, for instance, the manufactures of cotton and of sugar. Can it be pretended for one moment that the labour engaged in these industries receives any higher wages because of protection? Not at all. Can any system of protection keep out labour from any part of the world? Not at all. The price of labour is fixed, as is the price of any other commodity, by the law of supply and demand. If there are two men wanting employment and only one employer, the employer will fix the rate of wages; if only one man needs employment and there are two employers to engage him, then the labourer fixes the rate of wages. It is simple nonsense to say that under any system of protection the price of labour is enhanced one single fraction, and I firmly and honestly believe that there is no class in the world that is injured so greatly by protection as is the labouring class. Now, if a man is a producer and an exporter through the instru-

mentality of his labour, and his surplus products are sold in the markets of the world, how can he be enriched by placing a duty on the articles which he buys and which are imported into this country. It is preposterous, it is ridiculous to contend that, and it is time that every protectionist should wipe out of his mind the nonsensical idea that protection enhances the price of labour. While I claim that this country is first an agricultural country, next a lumbering country, next a fishing country, and next a mining country, I also claim that a certain number, and a very large number of legitimate manufactures could be maintained here. But they can only be maintained as the agricultural industry, and the lumber industry, and the other industries that are natural to the country are prosperous. It is my firm belief that under free trade the development of our natural resources would be far greater than they are to-day, and consequently I believe that we could maintain a great many more manufactures than we have at the present time. If in 1878 the system had not been changed, and had we continued as we then were under a revenue tariff, I believe that the development of Canada would be far greater by this time. It is much easier to build up a protective system than it is to remove it, and that difficulty is perhaps being found out now. Free trader as I am, and much as I am opposed to protection, I would not remove very suddenly even our present protective system.

Mr. CAMERON. Hear, hear.

Mr. EDWARDS. I will tell the hon. gentleman why I would not do so. It is because that in 1878 the people of this country committed themselves to a policy of protection, and under that system certain industries have been built up and large investments have taken place, investments that to-day are perhaps depending upon our banks, and in which many individuals in this country have sunk all that they possess. As I understand the position of the two political parties in this country it is this: The Conservative party adheres firmly to the principle of protection and nail their flag to the mast on that principle. We on this side of the House advocate the principle of free trade, but considering the conditions of the country, considering the industries that have been built up under this system of protection, we do not—I do not at least, and I am speaking for myself now—I do not believe that it would be well with a scratch of the pen to wipe out these industries and to bring upon this country immediate commercial disaster. I believe that the people of this country are tired of protection, and that they desire to have that system wiped out just as soon as they can, but I do not think it would be right for any party to say that they will do away with it at once. But, Mr. Speaker, I do say that we should wipe it out just as quickly as we

can. It is my honest conviction that no class in the country is satisfied with the present tariff. I know that a large number of the manufacturers are dissatisfied with it; I do not believe that the farmers are satisfied, I do not believe that the consuming masses of the people are satisfied with it, and I do think that under this tariff a very grave wrong has been done the commercial classes. I believe that when large imports have been brought into the country and duties paid, it was a very unfair thing to reduce materially the tariff on these goods. It is my opinion that it should be done by a sliding scale. I do not believe that it should be done suddenly, although I do believe that in the best interests of the country it should be done as rapidly as possible. Now, if a change had not taken place in the minds of the people with regard to this fiscal system, would we have among us to-day the Patrons of Industry? I think we would not. What are both the Conservative and the Liberal Patrons of Industry claiming now? They are contending for precisely the same thing that the Liberal party of this country have been contending for for many years. I believe, Mr. Speaker, that the consuming masses of this country, those who develop its natural resources and produce its wealth, will never be satisfied until the change has been brought about, and until we finally arrive at what I consider the best condition of things not only for this country, but for all other countries in the world, that of free trade.

Mr. CARGILL. Mr. Speaker, at this late hour of the evening and at this stage of the debate, I could not possibly expect to give to the House very much new matter on this question. I do not propose following in the line of any of the speakers who have preceded me. I just want to narrate a few facts from a business point of view, and to give you a few of the observations which I have taken while carrying on my own business for a number of years past. It is very unfortunate from a layman's point of view that we have so many legal gentlemen in this House. These gentlemen are supposed to be able to fill any position in the country. I am very sorry that I did not become a lawyer myself. However, they are liable to change their minds. The hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) was some years ago a very zealous advocate of the National Policy; but his peculiar training in the legal profession has caused him to change. In taking up cases for clients, if they have not a very good case, these legal gentlemen sometimes persuade their client to give it up; but if they are offered a pretty good fee for their services, the client may succeed in inducing them to take hold of the case and prosecute it in their behalf. In that way a client can enlist the services of almost any solicitor in the country. Although they have not a very strong opinion as to the probability of their succeeding in

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the case, they will at least undertake it, and before they get through prosecuting it in the court, they persuade themselves that their client was right after all. The hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), a very able lawyer, and a gentleman for whom I have the greatest respect, has been a success in his particular sphere in life; but as a politician I am afraid he will never be able to succeed. Now, why has this change come across the hon. gentleman? I think probably the fee necessary to retain him in fealty to his political friends has not been sufficient, and for that reason he has seen fit to leave the party. I have no doubt in my mind that if he had received what he was in quest of, he would still be a strong Conservative and as strong a supporter and advocate of the National Policy as he was in 1878. Now, Mr. Speaker, the history of protection, not only in this country, but in all other countries, has been pretty fully gone into, and at this late stage in the debate I can scarcely ask the House to listen to any remarks that I may make upon it. However, I have not risen to-night for the purpose of edifying or instructing those who are here, but for the purpose of talking to my constituents in East Bruce. That appears to be the practice of the representatives who have come here. But I am an exception to the general rule; and I hope that the House will be kind enough to listen to me until I get through, because I do not very often ask for this privilege. Now, I have always been a zealous advocate and supporter of the National Policy from its inception. I as firmly believe in that policy to-day as I did in 1878. I believe it has developed the national resources of this country and built up various manufacturing industries throughout the country. I have no reason to change my mind with regard to that policy, although I believe that the circumstances of a country change and that the legislation in the interest of the country necessarily has to keep pace with its changed circumstances. For that reason I can see nothing wrong or improper in the Government attempting to revise the tariff. I commend the Government for the revision that they have made. I commend them for the way in which they have acquired information to enable them to arrive at proper conclusions as to the changes necessary in the interest of the country. They have put themselves to a great deal of expense and inconvenience in going throughout the length and breadth of the country in order to acquire this information. Although the proposition was ridiculed last session by our opponents, I am satisfied that they feel to-day as we do, that it was the best course that could possibly be pursued. Having acquired that information, I believe that the Government have brought down a revision of the tariff which will result beneficially to all classes of the community, and commend itself to the people at large. Therefore, I think that it deserves not only the

hearty support of every supporter of the Government, but that it will be in accord with the sentiments of many of the gentlemen occupying seats on the Opposition benches. Now, we had a reciprocity treaty with the United States from 1854 to 1866. Canada was well satisfied with that treaty; while the United States was not, and they brought about an abrogation of it. Frequent attempts have been made since then to bring about a renewal of this treaty. The authorities at Washington have been approached by both Canadian political parties, at different times, for the negotiation of a reciprocity treaty or to obtain a renewal of the reciprocity treaty which existed from 1854 to 1866. From 1873 to 1878 we had the Reform party in power in this country. Since they relinquished power in 1878, they have been in the habit of making certain charges against the present Government for not bringing about certain reforms which, they say, are necessary. It is wonderful to me that, during those five years when they were in power, when they did not carry on any public work in the country, when they were not handicapped by large expenditures of public money, when they had no large contracts on hand, they did not see their way to making those reforms. They were interested chiefly in connecting water stretches and building important lines of road for the purpose of ultimately getting the produce out of Manitoba and the North-west to the East. I have often thought, if their scheme had been carried into effect, what an admirable one it would have been. How would they carry out the millions of bushels of grain produced in that immense country during the winter season? I presume they would have put the trains on skates and in this way got them over these water stretches. That is the only way I can conceive of by which they could transport produce during the winter season. Now, when the National Policy was being advocated, previous to 1878, our opponents, the Reformers, took a great deal of exception to it. I remember that in connection with my own business, the lumber industry, it was predicted by the Reformers that it would ruin that industry. Well, as you, Mr. Speaker, are a practical lumberman, I think you will bear me out in my assertion that at no time in the history of this country previous to 1878 have the lumber interests been so profitable to those engaged in them as it has been subsequently. Consequently the predictions of the hon. gentlemen as to that industry were fallacious. I might say that they predicted, as a duty was being imposed upon saws, axes, rubber belting and everything necessary for carrying on the manufacture of lumber, and as no protection was afforded lumbermen, that industry would necessarily be ruined. Now, the outcome of the whole thing is that to-day we are buying our axes, saws and rubber belting, and

all supplies required for the manufacture of lumber, at a good deal lower rates than we did previous to 1878. That was brought about by the establishment of some industries in this country which grew up under the fostering care of the National Policy, and produced largely the articles at home which we formerly imported from the United States; and to-day we all know very well that these things are purchased 50 per cent cheaper than they were in 1878. Now, I think that the thanks of this House are due to the Government for their courage. The Opposition predicted that the Government dare not revise the tariff, because they were dependent upon the votes of the manufacturers in this country. Therefore, I think the thanks of the people of this country are due to the Finance Minister for the very courageous step which the Government have taken in bringing about a reduction of the tariff. We all know that when the Government announced last year that they intended going round the country and obtaining this information, how the proposition was ridiculed by our opponents, especially by the hon. member for South Brant (Mr. Pater-son). I was very much amused at the way in which he minimized the efforts of the Government to get at the real facts by going round and interviewing the different manufacturers, and in which he pointed out the time it would take to obtain all these details. He did it very nicely, as he always does, for he makes a very nice speech whenever he gets on his feet. I consider that this revision of the tariff is certainly in the interest of the farmer, because all the protection previously afforded him has been retained. If the reduction in other duties, as hon. gentlemen opposite have always contended, would be in the interest of the farmer, then I claim that besides all the reductions made, the farmer has the advantage of the protection which he previously had. Therefore, I say that the change is certainly in the interests of the farmer. Now, I think I might refer briefly to the hon. gentleman who had the privilege of leading the great Reform party of this country for years, who was certainly an ornament to the party, and an able debater and orator—I refer to the Hon. Edward Blake. I think if he had a seat in this House to-day, we would be entitled to his support on this revision of the tariff. Mr. Speaker, you will remember that Hon. Edward Blake went about the country addressing the people, and had large meetings in different sections of the country. You will remember that he stated that the requirements of this country were of such an extensive character that no material reduction could take place in the tariff, and, consequently, the manufacturers had nothing to fear if they reposed their confidence in him and his colleagues and placed them on the Treasury benches, which he hoped they would do, which he expected they would do

in a few days. He not only said he was voicing the sentiments of his party, but he took the privilege of specially coupling with his statement the name of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). He said that his opponents were so fond of quoting that hon. gentleman as being hostile to the National Policy that he specially included the hon. member for South Oxford. Now, I think the revision of the tariff made to-day is all the reduction that can possibly be made while still affording sufficient revenue to meet the requirements of the country. Consequently, I say that we are just in line with the policy advocated by Hon. Edward Blake in 1887. One year later, the hon. member for South Oxford introduced his resolution in this House in favour of commercial union or unrestricted reciprocity. Now, in 1887 the Hon. Edward Blake pledged himself to the people of this country that if they entrusted him with a seat on the Treasury benches, no material change would take place in the tariff; and when, one year thereafter, he, as leader of the party—as he was at that time, I think—permitted his party to come down with a resolution in favour of unrestricted reciprocity, thus wiping out, as I hold, all the manufacturing interests of this country, I do not think it was a very commendable procedure. Hon. gentlemen opposite have made very many promises at different times. I must confess that I have very little confidence in their fulfilling any promises they give to the people of this country. Now, they say we have stolen their clothes. Well, if we have stolen their clothes, the gentlemen should appreciate their own uniform. And, as we have reduced the tariff considerably, in accordance, as they say, with their policy, and that at their instance, I do not see why they should remain away from us any longer, why they should not commend us for what we have done, join hands with us and assist us in carrying on the affairs of this country, and let us live more harmoniously together than we have done in the past. Now, I think, Mr. Speaker, that, taking into consideration the radical change that has been made in the tariff of this country, considering the systematic way in which it has been done, very little confusion has taken place in the affairs of the country. I do not know that in Canada to-day business has been retarded at all. At least no disturbance has been perceptible to me. For my part, I have been going on in my usual way and doing business as comfortably and as profitably, and as much of it, as I did before there was any word of reducing the tariff. Now, I consider that, when you take this into consideration and compare it with the state of things which exists and which has existed for some time past in the United States in anticipation of the revision of the tariff, the people of Canada have great reason to be joyful over the little commotion which has been caused in this country. I

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hope that, under the present tariff, our people will go on and prosper as they have been doing. Now, hon. gentlemen opposite deny that they have ever advocated unrestricted reciprocity. They go in for free trade. A little while ago it was freer trade. I have a letter here, published in the 'Week,' which is an independent paper. It is a criticism of several letters written to the 'Globe' by the Hon. James Young. I believe they were written at the request of the Reform party. Mr. Young was formerly a very prominent Reformer, but when his friends took to the fad of commercial union and unrestricted reciprocity, like Hon. Edward Blake, he could not follow them any further, and cut himself loose from his party. Now, if the House will pardon me, I will just read that letter:

Mr. Young is a prominent Reformer, who, like most of the business men of his party, was too intelligent to accept the policy of unrestricted reciprocity or commercial union, into which the wily Mr. Wiman entrapped the coterie of lawyers who control the organization and policy of their party: Messrs. Laurier, Cartwright, Davies, Edgar, etc. For several years these gentlemen advocated, on the floor of Parliament, on the platform and through the press, this policy of American birth and tendency, and assiduously contended that the salvation and prosperity of the Dominion depended upon its adoption. They hoped that they, as its prophets, would be entrusted with its inauguration. Unfortunately for themselves, it was found, as the discussion on the question proceeded, that the disadvantages which they had overlooked outweighed all the advantages which they could claim. The anticipated favour and support which they looked for failed to materialize, and its promoters would willingly have consented that their policy and their speeches should be forgotten or forgiven. Something new in the shape of a party policy had to be found. Warned by their previous failure, the leaders shunned the responsibility of the formation of a new platform, and summoned a mass convention of the faithful, to be held at Ottawa, to accept without discussion the resolutions which the machine should prepare for them. There was no reference to commercial union or unrestricted reciprocity. These questions were quietly shelved, and the leaders were condemned to submit to the tacit disapproval of their advocacy of a policy of which their party had become ashamed. The platform of the party on commercial questions was embodied in the following resolutions:

(1.) A revenue tariff restricted to the needs of honest, economical and efficient government, and so arranged as to promote freer trade with the whole world, more particularly with Great Britain and the United States.

(2.) Negotiations for a reciprocity treaty to be entered into with the United States, including a well-considered list of manufactures, said treaty to receive the assent of Her Majesty's Government, without whose approval no treaty can be made.

The first resolution is vague enough, in the "go-as-you-please" order, that would admit of the assent of thousands who differ very materially in their opinions as to what a "revenue tariff" really

means. The words, "more particularly Great Britain," in the first resolution, and all the words after "manufactures" in the second resolution, convey a direct rebuke to those Reform leaders, who had for some years previously been constantly depreciating the value of our trade with the mother country and maintaining not only our right but our duty to legislate without any regard to our colonial position.

In order to show that complete harmony and agreement have been established between the machine and the commercial section of the party, Hon. Mr. Young, one of the leading dissentients from its former policy, appears to have been invited to write a series of letters, addressed to the 'Globe,' on the subject of "Canada's Best Policy," and this he has done at great length and with some ability.

All through these letters Mr. Young appears to feel keenly the inconsistency of his position. He takes repeated pains to clear himself from all participation in the former errors of his leaders. In one place he writes: "Six years ago, in a series of letters to the 'Globe,' I endeavoured, in my humble way, (how humble, like Uriah Heap, these Grits are!) to give no uncertain sound on these questions, and I need scarcely say I continue firmly opposed to commercial union, etc." When Mr. Young attempts to relieve his leaders from all responsibility for the advocacy of this policy, his method would be laughable if it were not so disingenuous. Speaking of the adoption of the Ottawa platform, Mr. Young says: "Its unanimous adoption proves, as did the discussion on the subject, that the Liberal party is entirely opposed to commercial union advocated by Mr. Goldwin Smith and others, or, indeed, to any other relations with our neighbours inconsistent with our present connection with Great Britain," etc. Does Mr. Young imagine that the people forget that not Mr. Goldwin Smith, but the leaders of his party, Laurier of Quebec, Davies of Prince Edward Island, Fielding of Nova Scotia, Cartwright, Mowat, Mills, Charlton, Edgar, Paterson, Mulock, McMullen, and many others of Ontario were the active promoters and agitators of this policy? Has Mr. Young been authorized to announce that this policy has been definitely abandoned? It can hardly be disputed that the adoption of this policy would be more far-reaching in its effects on our political and commercial relations than any political measure which has been proposed since confederation. Mr. Young emphatically condemns this policy. With what consistency can he now appeal to the people for their support and confidence in those men who, by his own admission, erred so greatly on this important question? If their judgment was so misplaced then, what has transpired to show that their judgment is sounder now? If they were insincere in their advocacy of commercial union, what assurance can he give as to their sincerity in their new policy?"

I will not detain the House by reading this at any greater length. I have got about half through it, but I will not continue, because I think the House is becoming impatient. Sir, the Opposition are always contending for an economical administration of the affairs of this country. That question has often been discussed in this House, and on many occasions I have had the pleasure of listening to

comparisons made between the expenditures in the different departments under the Mackenzie regime and those now made under the present Government, and the results have been in favour of the present Government. Taking into consideration the increased population, the increased developments of the country, the increased postal facilities that are necessary in this country, I think that the balance is very much in favour of the Conservative party. When our opponents speak of economising, we must remember that at the Interprovincial Conference they pledged themselves to subsidize the different provinces, which means an annual increased expenditure of one million and a half of money. Now, that is certainly not in the direction of economy. In the matter of letting contracts for public buildings, I know of no better system, no more economical system, that could be adopted by any Administration, than that which is pursued by the present Government. All contracts are advertised for and given to the lowest tender. There was a public building erected in the county town which I have the honour to represent, and I do not know that there were any extras in connection with that building. I know that there was good value rendered for the expenditure, and I never heard a single charge made against the Government in connection with the erection of that building. Now, it has been said that the present Government, owing to the reduction that has been made in the tariff, will have to economise. I am very much in favour of economy myself, and I deem it a good characteristic on the part of any Government; still, I would say that necessary expenditures undertaken in the interest of the country, such as the subsidizing of steamers for the purpose of transporting freight at reduced rates, or any means which will facilitate transport and bring about reduced rates for the carriage of the agricultural products of this country to the best markets of the world, will have my hearty support. Now, I believe that the farmers of this country have been protected quite as much as the manufacturers. Everything which they produce and which formerly came into this country in competition with their products, is protected by a duty, which has certainly resulted beneficially to the interests of the farmer. All the Government have done is to afford similar protection to the manufacturers. I suppose many hon. gentlemen here have had an opportunity in their various constituencies to vote upon bonuses given to parties who proposed to go into their towns and cities and erect some kind of manufacturing industry. I know that, in the town of Walkerton, bonuses have been given, and both Conservatives and Reformers have supported the bonus system. They have done so because they expected to derive some benefit from the erection of that industry in their midst, because it would afford employment to a great many people; because it will increase the population of the city or town, and

create a demand for agricultural products : because the business of the merchants will increase, and there will be an increase in the consuming classes of the town, the mechanics and the artisans. The prosperity of the town keeps pace with the prosperity of the country. The hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) said that if he confined his view to that phase of the matter, and without taking a broad liberal view, he might be adjudged to be selfish, and he informed hon. gentlemen on this side of the House that they did not take a liberal view, but rather a narrow and contracted view. I believe any manufacturing industry established in Toronto benefits me, although I am 150 miles away, and I would like to see increased growth of manufacturing industries not only in Toronto, but in Brantford, Hamilton, Kingston, in every city in Ontario, and the more we have the greater prosperity we enjoy, and the greater benefits will result to the agriculturists of this country owing to the increased demand for their products. A good deal is said about the reduction in the value of agricultural products. I admit that in the single article of wheat there has been a material reduction. However, that has taken place all over the world, and I know of no period in the world's history when wheat has been cheaper in Great Britain than it is to-day. Many countries raise a surplus of wheat. We in Canada raise a surplus, and of course at times the European market is glutted, and consequently the price falls, but when we take into consideration the purchasing power of a dollar, the farmer to-day, notwithstanding the reduction in the value of his products, occupies a better position relatively so far as the necessaries of life are concerned, not only as regards the implements he uses, but everything he requires for the household, than what he occupied previous to 1878. There has been no such material reduction in the price of agricultural products as has taken place in the necessary articles which the farmer uses, both in his household and on the farm. I contend that before hon. gentlemen opposite can make out the National Policy as being injurious to the agriculturists they must show that while the price of agricultural products is low, the farmer is at the same time paying much more for everything he uses in his house and for the implements with which to cultivate his farm than prior to 1878. Then I would admit that a case has been made out against the National Policy; but until that is done, I claim that no case has been made out against that policy. The hon. gentleman who preceded me admitted that financially speaking there was no class better off than the agriculturists. I agree with him. I believe that if you take the county of Bruce to-day the farmers, man for man, are better off financially than are the manufacturers in that county. The hon. member for North Simcoe

Mr. CARGILL.

(Mr. McCarthy), has also declared that agriculture has not proved successful, because of protection. I know farmers in my county who are well off, and I also know farmers settled on adjoining lots who are poorly off. Is that the fault of the Government? Has the Government anything to do with that? One man has probably equally as good land as the other. One man has succeeded in obtaining a competency and has raised his family, educated, and clothed them, and is living comfortably, with a house that is a perfect palace, barns of extensive proportions, sheds filled with cattle and every comfort that any one could desire. On the adjoining farm held by a man who settled at about the same time, there is nothing but cause for complaint, the occupant blames the Government for everything and attributes his failure to an imaginary cause. If a farmer succeeds, all farmers who are equally industrious should succeed also, but we will find that in the same business one man makes a success and another a failure of it. The Government has nothing to do with that. With respect to the expenditure and the National Policy hon. gentlemen opposite assert that all the capital invested has been lost. Who have lost it? Has it been the original investor? Even if the capital invested in cotton factories and other industries is now lying idle, the original investor has been injured, and the factories have passed into the hands of new corporations who are carrying them on with success and are furnishing cotton equal to that produced anywhere in the world. The hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), stated that some of the manufacturers had made fortunes. In my experience the manufacturers who have made money are the exception, and I believe they are men who acquired their wealth previous to the adoption of protection. It is a very easy matter for a man who has sufficient capital to carry on a business. I do not give a man much credit for business capacity who has plenty of capital in the bank, but to men who go into business with a limited capital I say they deserve credit. Take two men who go into business, one with sufficient capital and the other with limited capital which is perhaps just sufficient money for establishing his plant. In order to carry on his business and to procure raw material he has to go to the bank and get accommodation and borrow capital. Now, the man who was running business on his own capital, if he makes 6 or 7 or 8 per cent interest on his investment, at the end of the year has made a little money, but the man who has to go to the bank and borrow money at 6 or 7 or 8 per cent will not have anything at the end of the year. You can therefore readily understand how difficult it is for a new country, or for new manufacturers starting up, to compete with older established concerns which have any amount of wealth at their back. Under protection

Great Britain accumulated wealth, and her people amassed fortunes. When Great Britain declared in favour of free trade, it was in the interest of Great Britain to do so, because she had arrived at that state of perfection in the art of manufacturing that she could compete against the world; and it was to her benefit to declare in favour of free trade in order that she might get cheap breadstuffs to feed her people. I believe that it will be found in the history of the United States that that country will stand by protection until she gets such a population that she will not have sufficient breadstuffs to supply the wants of her people. I believe that then the United States will follow in the wake of Great Britain, and declare in favour of free trade; but never will our neighbours have free trade until they have reached that stage in their history. Now, Mr. Speaker, in conclusion I thank you, and I thank the House cordially for the attentive manner which you have listened to my remarks. I do not often trouble the House in the way of making speeches; that is not my forte, for I am a better hand at rolling saw logs. I will say, however, that I am very much obliged to the members present for the attentive hearing they have given me, and I hope and trust that the revised tariff brought down by the Government will be satisfactory to the people of this country, as I believe it is. I am quite sure that I can go home now and be well received by my farming friends up in Bruce. I have had several letters from my constituents congratulating the Government on the admirable revision of the tariff which they have made, and stating how satisfactory it is to the agricultural interests. I feel very much relieved now because last summer I felt somewhat depressed. The excitement of that northern country in favour of a reduction in the tariff or free trade, rather brought about a kind of depressed feeling on me until some of the greater lights in connection with the Government of this country made their appearance in the county of Bruce and explained the policy of the Government and the position of affairs to the people, after which I settled down and made up my mind that the country was pretty safe for a few years longer. The hon. member for South Grey (Mr. Landerkin), whom I have in my eye just now, in company with his friends came up there and he headed a procession from Durham to the town of Walkerton, a distance of some twenty-four or twenty-five miles, I think. It was an immense procession; they had all the bands from the intervening towns between Durham and Walkerton, and all the gray horses mounted with the farmers' sons along the route, and I can assure you, Mr. Speaker, that when they arrived in the town they presented a very formidable appearance.

Mr. LANDERKIN. You felt the country was safe then?

Mr. CARGILL. I began to shake in my boots. I attended their meeting and had the pleasure of listening to Mr. Laurier, who made a very fine speech, and to the other gentlemen who accompanied him. I listened with a very great deal of pleasure to what they said, although I did not believe it all, and I remember that the hon. member from South Grey (Mr. Landerkin) announced that the demonstration was what he called a circus, and that next week would arrive what usually follows a circus, I forget what you call it.

An hon. MEMBER. A menagerie.

Mr. CARGILL. I did not think it was a menagerie he said.

An hon. MEMBER. A side show.

Mr. CARGILL. Yes; he said the circus had arrived in town and that the side show would make its appearance the following week. I can assure Mr. Speaker and hon. gentlemen that I had a great deal of pleasure in attending upon the side show, and in my opinion the hon. gentlemen who took part in the side show acquitted themselves much more creditably than the participants in the circus. They made promises there to the people, which they have carried into effect, because no promises are ever made by this Government that are not carried into effect. I feel that these promises, and the deeds following on them, will entirely satisfy the people of Bruce so that I have no apprehension about the result of the next election, come when it may.

Mr. SUTHERLAND moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

Mr. DALY moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 1.30 a.m. (Thursday).

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, 12th April, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 71) to incorporate the New York, New England, and Canada Company.—(Mr. Flint.)

Bill (No. 72) to consolidate and amend certain Acts respecting the Ottawa and Gati-

neau Valley Railway Company, and to change the name of the company to the Ottawa and Gatineau Railway Company.—(Mr. Bryson.)

Bill (No. 73) respecting the Atlantic and Lake Superior Railway Company.—(Mr. Bergin.)

Bill (No. 74) to incorporate the Ottawa Electric Company.—(Sir James Grant.)

Bill (No. 75) respecting the Chaudière Electric Light and Power Company (Limited), and to change the name thereof to the Ottawa Electric Company.—(Sir James Grant.)

Bill (No. 76) to amend the Act to incorporate the Canada Provident Association.—(Sir James Grant.)

Bill (No. 77) to incorporate the Dominion Gas and Electric Company.—(Mr. Boyd.)

Bill (No. 78) to incorporate the Metis, Matane and Gaspé Railway Company.—(Mr. Turcotte.)

Bill (No. 79) respecting the St. Catharines and Niagara Central Railway Company.—(Mr. Carpenter.)

Bill (No. 80) to revive and amend the Act to incorporate the Rocky Mountain Railway and Coal Company.—(Mr. Davis, Alberta.)

Bill (No. 81) respecting the Erie and Huron Railway Company.—(Mr. Cockburn.)

Bill (No. 82) respecting the Lake Erie and Detroit River Railway Company, and the London and Port Stanley Railway Company.—(Mr. McGregor.)

Bill (No. 83) to incorporate the Ste. Emelie Railway Company.—(Mr. Grandbois.)

Bill (No. 84) to incorporate the Alliance of the Reformed Baptist Church of Canada, and the several Churches connected therewith.—(Mr. Colter.)

Bill (No. 85) to incorporate the Boynton Bicycle Electric Railway Company.—(Mr. Gillies.)

THE FAST ATLANTIC SERVICE.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT asked, 1. Will the terminal point of the proposed fast Atlantic service be in England or in France? 2. If the terminal point be in England will the line call at any French port?

Mr. FOSTER. 1. The terminal point will be in England. 2. It is intended that there shall be a service to a French port.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. By the same line?

Mr. FOSTER. The same line or a cross line.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Can you not tell which?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

BOUNTY UPON FRENCH BUILT SHIPS.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT asked, What is the bounty now paid per ton and per voyage upon French built ships?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Bounties are only payable to vessels engaged in the long sea trade, which was defined to be a navigation to the south beyond the 30th degree of latitude north; to the north beyond the 15th degree of longitude, meridian of Paris; to the east beyond the 44th degree of longitude. Coasting was defined as navigation within the above limits and between French ports only. Bounties on long sea voyages were given at the rate of 1*l.* 50*c.* (1*s.* 2½*d.*) per ton per 1,000 miles for the first year of the ship's service, and an annually decreasing scale of payments for the following years, the decrease being 7½*c.* (¾*d.*) per ton for wooden ships, and 5*c.* (½*d.*) per ton for iron ships. Half bounties only were given to foreign-built ships registered as French. A second form of bounty was that conceded for the building of ships at the rate of 60*f.* (£2 8*s.*) per gross ton for iron and steel ships, and 20*f.* (16*s.*) per gross ton for wooden ships above 200 tons burthen. The new law which altered the incidence of the bounties was put in force on January 30th, 1893, and enacted that the bounty on building should be raised for steam or sailing ships of iron and steel to 65*f.* (£2 12*s.*) per gross ton, and for wooden ships of over 150 tons burthen, to 40*f.* (£1 12*s.*) per gross ton. The navigation bounty was reduced from 1*l.* 50*c.* (1*s.* 2½*d.*) to 1*l.* 10*c.* (10½*d.*) for steamers, with an annual decrease of 6*c.* (6-10*d.*) per ton for wooden ships, and 4*c.* (4-10*d.*) for iron and steel ships. For sailing vessels the bounty was raised to 1*l.* 70*c.* (1*s.* 4¾*d.*), with an annual decrease of 8*c.* (8-10*d.*) for wooden ships, and 6*c.* (6-10*d.*) for iron and steel ships. But a new feature was introduced which was quite an innovation. It was enacted that there should be two sorts of coasting in future, one including vessels trading from port to port locally, another comprising all voyages inside the limits of long course were to be called international coasting, that is, voyages between French and Algerian and foreign ports, and voyages between foreign ports provided the distance run in each case exceeded 120 miles. To international coasters a bounty of three-fourths the amount of the ordinary premium was granted.

TARIFF AMENDMENTS.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT asked, Do the Government intend to propose any amendments to the tariff now before the House?

Mr. FOSTER. I may say to the hon. gentleman that that matter is under consideration.

FLOODING OF LAND AT WEST RIDEAU LAKE.

Mr. DAWSON asked, 1. Has the Government, or any member of the Government, received any petitions, letters, or other com-

munications from certain residents of the township of Bedford, in the electoral district of Addington, in reference to the flooding of their lands by the waters of West Rideau Lake, caused by a dam constructed by order of the Government at the foot of said lake ? 2. What action has been taken in the matter ?

Mr. HAGGART. The Government have received communications from certain residents of the township of Bedford in reference to the flooding of their lands, alleged to have been caused by a Government dam at the foot of West Rideau Lake. The Superintending Engineer is under instructions to personally examine into these claims upon the ground at an early date.

COMPENSATION TO THOS. SWEETMAN.

Mr. DAWSON asked, 1. Has the question of compensation to Mr. Sweetman, of Fermoy, for damages done to lot 26 in the seventh concession of Bedford, been under the consideration of the Council ? 2. What action has been taken ? 3. Has he received compensation yet ? 4. If so, when was he paid, and how much ? 5. If not yet paid, why not ?

Mr. HAGGART. The question of compensation to Mr. Thomas Sweetman for damages to lot 26, in concession No. 27, Bedford, has been under consideration. It is proposed to ask Parliament to vote \$220 in the Supplementary Estimates for 1893-94 in discharge of the claim. He has not yet received any compensation. It was not paid because he refused to accept the sum of \$220 when offered him, and afterwards when he intimated his readiness to accept, there was no appropriation available.

EXPORTATION OF LIVE CATTLE.

Mr. MULOCK asked, What was the total number and value of live cattle exported to the United Kingdom in the calendar years 1890, 1891, 1892, and 1893 ?

Mr. WALLACE. In 1890 there were 104,133 live cattle exported to the United Kingdom, of the value of \$8,114,145 ; in 1891, 99,967, of the value of \$7,381,284 ; in 1892, 93,206, of the value of \$6,920,748 ; in 1893, 89,572, of the value of \$6,799,638, or a total during the four years of 386,878, of the value of \$29,215,815.

AMERICAN SWINE.

Mr. FEATHERSTON asked, Has the Government issued an order admitting American swine in bond for slaughter purposes ? If so, have they to comply with quarantine regulations as now in force when imported for breeding purposes ?

Mr. FOSTER. Swine may be imported for slaughter, in bond, under the provisions of an Order in Council, passed in 1880, and

an Order passed in 1883, being chapter 9 of the Consolidated Orders in Council of Canada. Swine imported for slaughter in bond have not to comply with the quarantine regulations in force relating to animals for breeding purposes, but the regulations are special, having for their object to secure complete isolation until they enter the slaughter-houses, from which they are not allowed to be removed alive. Such slaughter-houses are required to be distinct from those in which Canadian swine are slaughtered.

THE NORTH-WEST SCHOOL QUESTION.

Mr. BRUNEAU (for Mr. Tarte) asked, Whether the Government or any of its members have, since the opening of Parliament, conferred with Lieutenant-Governor Mackintosh and Mr. Haukain, with reference to the school question and to the recommendations made to the Executive of the Territories by the Dominion Cabinet ? Have the Government received from Lieutenant-Governor Mackintosh a favourable answer as to the said recommendations ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The answer to the first branch of the question is Yes, and to the second branch, we have not received any answer from the Lieutenant-Governor of the Territories to the recommendations made by the Order in Council.

REVISING BARRISTER FOR QUEEN'S.

Mr. FORBES asked, Is the Government aware that the revising barrister for the county of Queen's, in Nova Scotia, is now a resident of Alabama, in the United States of America ? Does the Government propose to appoint a successor to said officer as revising barrister ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The answer to both questions is, Yes.

REVISING OFFICER FOR SHELBURNE COUNTY.

Mr. FORBES asked, Will the present revising barrister for Shelburne County, Nova Scotia, act as revising officer at the ensuing revision of the electoral lists, for the county of Queen's ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. That matter will be considered.

POSTMASTER OF HULL.

Mr. LANGELIER asked, 1. What is the name of the postmaster of the city of Hull, in the province of Quebec ? 2. What are the names of the persons whom he gave as his sureties when he was appointed, and of his sureties each year since that date ?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. James H. Kerr is postmaster of the city of Hull. The

postmaster was appointed on 1st January, 1879; his bond is dated 17th February, 1879; the sureties were Charles E. Graham and William Washburne. No change was made until 12th July, 1886, when a new bond was given, in which Alfred Rochon was substituted as surety in place of William Washburne. No other change has been made. The present sureties are Charles E. Graham and Alfred Rochon.

QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

Mr. CHARLTON. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to read a brief letter from a firm whose reputation has been impugned or injured by an action instituted in this House, in which I took the initial step. The letter is from Caldecott, Burton & Spence, Toronto.

Mr. SPEAKER. I warn the hon. gentleman that if he intends to read a letter referring to any proceedings in Parliament, he will be out of order.

Mr. CHARLTON. It does not refer to any proceedings in Parliament, but to a matter charged against those gentlemen, which may have been referred to in Parliament.

Mr. SPEAKER. If it was referred to in Parliament, and the hon. gentleman proposes to refer to the proceedings which have taken place in this House, he will be entirely out of order.

Mr. CHARLTON. I submit the letter.

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman may take the responsibility of reading it, if he chooses, on the ruling I have given. If it does not refer to matters that have taken place in Parliament, the hon. gentleman may read the letter, with the indulgence of the House; but if it refers to any matters in Parliament, he will be entirely out of order.

Mr. CHARLTON. This is entirely an unpolitical matter, and as a mere matter of business fairness I submit the letter to be read.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The point is this, as I see the matter: Are the Orders of the Day to be interrupted by persons outside of this House being permitted to make observations by letter referring to matters which do not relate to the proceedings in the House? If the communication does relate to the proceedings in the House, the hon. gentleman is out of order; the hon. gentleman has avowed that it does not relate to such proceedings, and therefore there is no necessity to allow it to be read.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to make a suggestion to the Finance Minister.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON.

I understand from a recent answer he has given that divers amendments to the tariff are under consideration. It would be a very great convenience, not only to members of this House, but to the trade, if it were possible for the Government, when we go into committee, to state generally the several amendments which they propose to introduce. I should like to know from the Finance Minister if he thinks he can do that. The Opposition and the trade generally would be very much aided in the discussion, and it would tend to shorten the debate if the several amendments that are proposed to be introduced were stated collectively when we go into committee.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman has sprung his suggestion very suddenly upon me, but I will assure him that every possible consideration will be given to the trade in the way in which he suggests, and it is their due. As far as possible, the hon. gentleman's suggestion will be followed. I do not wish him, however, to take for granted that there are to be any or many amendments to the resolutions already brought down.

Mr. FRASER. I desire to ask the Finance Minister if the statement showing the old tariff and the amended tariff in columns will be brought down at an early date?

Mr. FOSTER. They are nearly printed, I think. They may be ready for us to-morrow.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

House resumed the adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Foster:

That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair for the House to go into Committee of Ways and Means; and the motion of Sir Richard Cartwright in amendment thereto.

Mr. LAURIER. Mr. Speaker, I do not rise on this occasion with the hope nor even with the intention of affording anything new to the discussion which has taken place in this House for some two weeks past. My object is simply to review the arguments which have been offered from this side of the House against the policy of the Government, and in this respect, perhaps I might rest content with the effort of an hon. gentleman who does not belong to the Opposition (Mr. McCarthy), who, in what I consider one of the most remarkable speeches ever delivered in Parliament since I have been here, has exposed what is, perhaps, the fullest, the most detailed and the most comprehensive arraignment of the policy which has been pursued by the Government for the last fifteen years. With regard to the debate so far as it has gone up to the present moment, I may be allowed to remark, that to the extent that it has been participated in by members and supporters of the Government, it has been characteristic that one and all have expressed their unbounded satisfaction with the proposed

amendments to the tariff. It may not be uncharitable to suppose, and perhaps to say, that, if there had been no amendments whatever, the satisfaction of the supporters of the Government would have been just the same, because all their arguments—we have all heard them—were in support of the tariff as it existed and as if it had not been amended at all. At all events, there is this satisfaction; and to the members of Her Majesty's loyal Opposition it is a satisfaction which might be termed pride: that at last, after many efforts and many assaults, the Government have been forced to capitulate, forced to come down from their position of hide-bound protection, forced to yield to the determined protests and remonstrances of a long-outraged people. Whether the amendments proposed to the tariff, whether the concessions offered by the Government, are sufficient or insufficient to meet the just expectations of the people, is the question which at present is the issue before this House and before the country. Whether the measure of relief offered by the Government, if indeed I may use such a dignified expression as "measure of relief"—is adequate or not adequate, is a question which may be held to depend very largely upon the views entertained by those who offered it as to the necessity of any reform at all; and, judged by that rule, it must be found upon examination that the measure presented by the Government is stamped with the stamp of inadequacy and insufficiency. Why, Sir, it is within the recollection of every one here, that the whole of the speech of my friend the Finance Minister, wherein he introduced his amendments to the tariff, was in favour of the proposition that there was no necessity, and no need for any reform at all. He told us that the formation of the tariff was perfect in itself, that this country was enjoying an unbounded measure of prosperity, and that this was all due to the principle underlying the tariff, that is to say, the principle of protection. For three hours, at least, the hon. gentleman piled up facts upon facts with the object of making us believe that the country is prosperous; for three hours, at least, he wrestled, desperately wrestled, with facts and logic, with the same end in view. Why, Sir, you heard the hon. gentleman driven to the expedient of giving it as an evidence of prosperity, that during the last fifteen years which the country has been under a protective regime, the finances of the country balanced year after year by surpluses which now aggregate the enormous sum of \$20,000,000. This fact, which I do not hesitate to say to the hon. gentleman, is nothing short of a disgrace and a shame for the Administration, was treated by him as a boast. I assert that such a condition of things is a shame and a disgrace to any Government. In England the aim and the purpose of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is so to calculate the expense and the expenditure as to make them balance evenly, and

the reputation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be lost for ever if, year after year, his calculations were found to be wrong. If, instead of having just the revenue which is wanted to meet the expenditure, it was found that there was such a discrepancy in his calculations as exists in Canada, the reputation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would, I repeat, be lost for ever, unless he were able to show that the discrepancy arose from a sudden disturbance in the condition of business. What is the truth about these surpluses? Twenty millions of dollars, says the Finance Minister. The truth is, that these surpluses represent \$20,000,000 of unjust taxation, which have been wrung by the Government from the consumers of the country; twenty millions of dollars which would have been left in the pockets of the people for the purpose of their own business, for instance, to be applied to the redemption of the mortgages with which the country has been plastered during that term of years. What is the truth about these surpluses? If it is an evidence of prosperity that we should have surpluses, why, in the name of common sense, is the hon. gentleman to-day proposing a reduction of duty, which places him, as he says himself, in the face of a deficit? The truth is, that if the hon. gentleman is now reducing the duty, it is because the people have seen the true inwardness of these surpluses; it is because the people are in earnest; it is because they are determined to be relieved of a system of taxation which indeed produces surpluses in the pockets of the Government, but which takes millions of money out of their own pockets. But, Sir, even while my hon. friend was indulging in these loud boastings, which constituted—and I say it without offence—the main part of his speech; even at the moment while he was exhibiting for the admiring gaze of his friends these glowing pictures of prosperity, it was evident that his vision was haunted by a pursuing shadow. Even at the moment while he was making use of his extravagant language in encomiums of the National Policy, the thought must have struck him, that it was, after all, a singular thing that one million of Canadians had deserted this land of plenty. The thought must have struck him, because he paused in his laudatory refrain to notice that fact. He tried to explain it away anyhow or somehow, and the explanation which he gives, I commend to both friend and foe; I commend it, not on account of its novelty, because there was no novelty in it. We have often heard it before: we have heard it since. The explanation was that if, after all, one million of Canadians have deserted this land of plenty, this prosperous country of ours, it was not because their native land, which God had made fertile, had been made barren for them by a vicious policy; it was because the Grits were decrying the country. But, Mr. Speaker, I submit that if the Grits have been decrying the country for the last fifteen years, the Tories have not been mute

dogs by any means. They were extolling the National Policy to the skies. And yet, in spite of all their assertions, the people rather believed the Grits, who were decrying the country, than the Tories, who were proclaiming the country to be prosperous. If I notice an argument of this kind, it is not for the purpose of giving any answer to it. It is simply to notice the great compliment paid by my hon. friend to the policy of the Liberal party. If my hon. friend and his friends beside him are sincere, if they believe that the country was as prosperous as they say it was, and if they believe at the same time, that, prosperous as the country was, the people believed the Grits who said it was not prosperous, what a tribute that is to the hold that the Liberal party have upon the people of this country. Why, Sir, I do not wonder that the hon. gentlemen opposite trembled in their boots at the idea of the fate that would come to them if only we could meet them at the polls on fair terms, free from the gags of the Gerrymander Act, and the gags of the Franchise Act, with the people in such a position as to be able to give their opinions at the polls as they have them in their minds and hearts. Let me come to the speech of my hon. friend, after this digression. There was but one logical conclusion to that speech; it was to maintain in its entirety the National Policy, which had done so much, as my hon. friend claimed, to promote the prosperity of the country. And yet, strange to say, after having extolled for three hours the National Policy and the principle of protection, my hon. friend concluded by announcing that the Government had determined to lay sacrilegious hands upon that sacred ark; though, it is true, my hon. friend proceeded at once to give an excuse for such a sacrilege. The excuse was that since 1878 the conditions of trade had somewhat changed, and it was to meet the new conditions now existing that the amendments were offered. But, Sir, I am within the judgment of every man in this House when I assert that in not a single instance, so far as any particular item was concerned, did he say anything which would support his contention that the change was necessitated by the altered conditions of trade. No, Sir; that is not the true spirit which has moved my hon. friend in making these changes. It was not because he was convinced that the conditions of trade had changed; but, as the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, the fear of the people may be the beginning of some wisdom on the part of my hon. friend. It was simply because he had the fear of the people before his eyes that he determined to do something to alleviate their discontent. But, Sir, my hon. friend was between fear and fear—fear of the people on the one side, and fear of the monopolists on the other side. Tossed to and fro by those two conflicting influences,

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thrown on one side and then on the other—on one side to reduce the tariff, and on the other side to maintain and even increase it—between those two conflicting influences my hon. friend was not able to come to a decision to propose a substantial measure. He simply proposes a mere perfunctory measure, in which there is not enough to disturb, but not enough to afford to the people the measure of relief which they had reason to expect at the hands of the Government. But, Sir, I suppose it will be said by hon. gentlemen on the other side, what else are we to expect from the Opposition? We could not expect that they would be satisfied; and they are naturally playing their own role in expressing their dissatisfaction. I will presume, for the moment, Mr. Speaker,—though, perhaps I shall not be pardoned for taking such a liberty—to speak not as a member of the Opposition, but I will endeavour to place myself in the position of those who, in 1878, were of opinion that a change was necessary, and that protection should be given a trial. Placing myself in that position, I say that if there were, in 1878, reasons for trying the system of protection, there are now overwhelming reasons why the policy then adopted should be abolished—not changed or altered, more or less partially, but abolished in toto, and the principle thereof wholly rooted out of the tariff. My hon. friend, in the course of his speech, stated that the conditions of trade had changed since 1878; but, so far as I remember, he specified no such conditions in his comments on the alterations. But I will point out an alteration which has taken place since 1878 in the trade and production of the country—an alteration of the greatest consequence, which, in my judgment at least, is nothing short of an absolute revolution in the history of political economy. I refer to the enormous decline which has taken place in the price of wheat, and in the price of all cereals and agricultural products, since 1878. In 1878, and for some time afterwards, the price of wheat was about \$1.20 a bushel. Of course, there were fluctuations and variations, the price being sometimes above and sometimes below that figure, but never very far from it. What is the price of wheat to-day? About 55 cents a bushel. There have been jumps up and down, but from year to year the price has shown a steady decline until it has reached that low figure. Nor is it certain that it has yet touched bottom, though there may be reason to suppose that for some years to come the present value will remain the standard value. Now, before I proceed any further I must remind the hon. gentlemen on the other side that one of their objects in adopting the protective system in 1878 was to increase the price of wheat, and the price of cereals generally. It was contended at that time that the cultivation of wheat was not profitable, even at the price

which then ruled; and it was their boast that by the adoption of protection the price would be increased to the producers. It is true, Mr. Speaker, that hon. gentlemen opposite have chosen to forget that page of history; but, if they forget it, it only proves that, apart from their other failures, they are afflicted also with a very deficient memory; and you will find a deficiency of memory, even in quarters where you might least expect it. There is my hon. friend from West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) whose brilliant gifts we all admire. It is sad to reflect that those eminent gifts of his are marred by an absolute want of memory. The hon. gentleman looks at me with astonishment. I was no less astonished when I read the other day in the *Montreal Star*, an interview with him, in the course of which he makes use of the following language:—

In that year we never did what Sir Richard Cartwright on Friday night accused us of doing—say that by duties we could raise the price of wheat in a depressed market.

Why, it is true that in 1878 my hon. friend from Western Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) was not a member of this House, but he was then, as he is to-day, a distinguished member of his party. He defended its cause with pen and tongue; he defended it in the press and on the hustings. He was even a candidate, though an unfortunate one, in 1878. The position the hon. gentleman then took he has since forgotten. He has forgotten the arguments which, I will not say he made use of, but which certainly he must have heard in the mouths of his friends. Has he forgotten that at that time it was predicted—probably by himself—that if we had a protective system, the land would be dotted with tall chimneys, there would be labour for the sons and daughters of Canada, and not only that, but for the large immigration which would pour into our land from abroad? And that the increase of labour would be mand an increased production of food, and that the price of wheat would be increased accordingly. If my hon. friend has forgotten these arguments, I must conclude that, as it is natural to man to readily believe what he desires, it may be natural for him also to forget what is unpleasant. Why, Sir, I had the curiosity some few days ago to look over the debates which took place at that time, and I found a speech delivered then by a gentleman who represented one of the Hurons (Mr. Farrow), who repeated the story told year after year in 1876, 1877 and 1878, that the price of wheat would be increased by protection and diminished by free trade. And this sentence I found in one of his speeches:

The following figures would show the relative prices obtained under protection and free trade. From 1849 to 1861—a free trade period comparatively—the farmer obtained \$1.20 per bushel for

his wheat; from 1862 to 1874, a period under protection, he got an average of \$1.37 per bushel.

That was given as an evidence that if we had protection, the price of wheat would be increased. Well, shortly after the adoption of the National Policy, the price of wheat jumped from \$1.20 to \$1.40 per bushel. In those days Mr. Rufus Stephenson represented the county of Kent, but has been taken since to his reward—and in saying that, do not imagine that I say he has been taken to another world. On the contrary, he has received the reward which very often awaits a good supporter of the Government. He has been provided with a good berth in the Civil Service. But Mr. Stephenson, finding that the price of wheat had jumped from \$1.20 to \$1.40, gave that as an evidence that the National Policy had increased the price. And in one famous speech which he delivered in the province of Ontario, looking back to what he had predicted and at the existing facts, he imagined that he had been more a prophet than he intended, more of a political economist than he supposed; and in a moment of exultant triumph, he exclaimed: I am going to vote for the Government which has brought up the price of wheat to \$1.40. Now, if Mr. Stephenson had not been taken to his reward, if he were still a member of this House, with a parity of knowledge he would have to say: I am going to vote against the Government which has lowered the price of wheat to 55 cents. I doubt very much that he would do so. Perhaps, like the hon. member for Assiniboia (Mr. Davin), he would rather take refuge against his former record in the vacuum of his memory. But what is the cause of this decline in the price of wheat? In the days of old, when Imperial Rome had a population of four million souls, when it held sway over the whole then known universe, when it was not only the political, but the commercial centre of the world, it drew its food supply from the lands washed by the basin of the Mediterranean, from Spain, Egypt, Sicily and even that part of Africa now known as Tunisia and Algeria—lands which have long ago ceased to be wheat-growing countries. In the present day, England is the great commercial centre of the world, and like Rome she cannot produce wheat enough for her own consumption. She has to import it from abroad, and for many years, apart from what she got from her own territory, what she wanted was obtained from the continent of North America. But of late years, with the facilities of transportation, to these former sources of supply have been added others—chiefly the vast plains of southern Russia, the numerous valleys of India, and even the valley of the Plata River in South America. Now, having so many sources to draw from, it is not perhaps surprising that wheat should have reached in England a lower price than at any period known to history. And at last we have the acknowledgment—we had it even yesterday from

the hon. member for Centre Toronto (Mr. Cockburn)—that the price of wheat in Canada is regulated by the demand in England. How often have I heard that proposition contested in the days of old by the advocates of the National Policy? How often have I heard it stated that the Government would not be flies on the wheel, but would by their policy, increase the price of wheat to the consumers. Now, at last they are forced to acknowledge that all their pretensions were pretensions only, that it is not in their power to increase the price of wheat, that the price is regulated by the demand in the English market. What is true of wheat is also true of all other agricultural products, with the exception, perhaps, of cheese and butter. What is the conclusion we must arrive at? It is this, that to-day the price of wheat and other cereals has been decreased to the farmer almost one-half, and that his profit has been decreased to one-half what it was in 1878. Such being the case with regard to the position of the farmer, his income being diminished by more than one-half, how is it with what he has to buy? Hon. gentlemen opposite are strong in denial, but they will not longer deny, that the primary object of protection was to increase the price of commodities—to increase the profits to the manufacturers on the articles the farmer has to buy. It is true that the farmer was promised that he would be recouped, even if he had to pay a little more for his commodities, by the increased price of wheat. But such has not been the case, the tariff has not increased the price of wheat and other cereals, because Canada produces a surplus of agricultural products, and the price is regulated by the English market. Not so, however, with manufactured goods. Though I admit that the price of manufactured goods, even in this country, must be the price in England, still to this must always be added the cost of transportation, which is unavoidable, and the amount of duty which is avoidable.

Mr. FOSTER. All avoidable?

Mr. LAURIER. Yes, when it is raised, as you gentlemen are raising it, not for revenue, but simply to favour special interests.

Mr. FOSTER. Then it is not all avoidable.

Mr. LAURIER. But a protection tariff is avoidable. Of course there is a limit, and that is the necessity of the revenue. That, however, is not the limit set by the hon. gentleman. But we are told also that the prices of manufactured goods are being decreased. I have no hesitation in admitting that the prices of manufactured goods have decreased; but, even in the lines in which they have most decreased, the cost of transportation and the amount of the duty cause them to be, as I have stated, from 30 to 40 per cent more than the price of these goods in England. Now, Sir, if the tariff had operated the same all round; if it had affected the prices of agricultural

products and manufacturing products alike; if it had either increased or decreased the prices of both, the position of the farmer would be better than it is. But, it is not so, as I have already said. The produce of the farmer has been driven to the lowest point, but what he has to buy is sold to him at an increased price as compared with the price in England. What is the lesson to be deduced from this state of things. It is this: (and this is the proposition we rely upon on this side of the House) as the price of agricultural products has been reduced to the lowest point, it should be the aim of the tariff to reduce the prices of manufactured goods also to the lowest point. The farmer is bound by his circumstances to sell in the freest and cheapest market; so also ought he to be privileged to buy in the cheapest market consistent only with the imposition of such duties as are necessary for raising the revenue of the country. That is the proposition on which we stand, and it is a proposition perfectly fair, perfectly just, perfectly equitable—so fair, so just, so reasonable and so equitable, that the Government dare not attack it openly. And yet they cannot adopt it. Why? Because they are chained and yoked to a system which is the reverse of just and fair and equitable. Why, Sir, I will take the policy of my hon. friend the Minister of Finance as set forth by himself. He said there were three methods of raising revenue:

One is to have simple free trade, under which you have no customs imposts at all, the revenue necessary for the country being raised by direct taxation.

We had supposed up to the time the hon. gentleman spoke that this was the English system. We supposed this upon the authority of Sir Robert Peel, Richard Cobden, Bright and Gladstone. But, my hon. friend says, all these authorities are in error, that they have not free trade in England—that they have what he calls a revenue tariff. I shall not discuss that with my hon. friend. I shall accept the opinion of the English people that they have free trade. But, whatever system they have in England, whether it is free trade or revenue tariff, my hon. friend and the Government will have none of it. And why? They give us reasons. One of their reasons is that England is going down all the time under such a system. The hon. Minister of Marine and Finance gave his reasons. I hope his opinions are not shared by all the gentlemen on the other side, but, if they agree with him, I do not wonder that they say we should not imitate the example of England. He gave his reasons in plain language. He told us that the British nation under free trade is no longer able to compete with the civilized nations of Europe, but that she is driven to spend millions upon her army and her navy in order to force her trade upon un-

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willing savages in the uncivilized countries of the world.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. LAURIER. Yes; here is the language used by the hon. gentleman:

Driven from the civilized markets of the world, steadily and every year finding their output to those markets decreasing, they spend millions on their navy, and millions on their army, to force their wares, and their goods, and their merchandise, into the uncivilized markets of the world.

Sir, I never yet heard the fair name of the great nation so slandered and insulted. At least I never heard the name of England so insulted by a man of English blood. The charge was not new to me; I had read it in the pages of continental pamphleteers; but I am sure we were not prepared to hear it from the mouth of a man of English blood. And such a man! A Conservative; a Tory; a member of the Imperial Federation League; a member of the Canadian Privy Council; an aspirant, perhaps, to the British Privy Council; a K.C.M.G., and a preacher of loyalty in season and out of season! And is this really the estimate of hon. gentlemen on the other side, is this really what they believe to be the commercial condition of England? Do they really believe, as stated by the hon. Minister, that England is no longer able to hold her own with the civilized nations of the earth? Do they believe that the soldiers and the sailors of England, whose banners bear the proud inscriptions of Malplaquet and Ramilles, Aboukir and Trafalgar, the soldiers who once met the steel of the most famous troops of the world, under the greatest general of modern times, perhaps the greatest general of all times, are now employed in forcing upon helpless barbarians the wares and products of Sheffield and Manchester. It is a slander. There was a time indeed when England, then having a high tariff, found closed against her trade, by the power of Napoleon, the harbours of France, Spain, Italy, Belgium, Holland, and even of a part of Germany. These harbours she opened by the strength of her arms. And the hon. gentleman would tell us now that the great nation whose motto in the modern world seems to have been borrowed from that of the ancient Romans—"Debellare superbos"—must retire before the competition of other nations and use her army and her navy to force an undesired trade upon helpless savages and inferior races. I say that to-day England is armed to fight the hostile tariffs of Europe. She has a weapon more potent by far than the weapons of her most valiant warriors. That weapon is the principle of freedom of trade, which enables her to manufacture at a cheaper rate than any nation in the world, and to overcome all the difficulties that are placed in her way. The hon. gentleman spoke of Prince Bismarck and said that Bismarck, having the

choice between the English system and the American system, chose the American system of protection. So he did, and a great service he rendered to his country in doing so! Look at Germany to-day, torn by the factions of Socialism, which is the direct outcome of protection. It is true, I admit, that some industries in England have at times been injured by the hostility of foreign tariffs. But the injury aimed at England redounded with ten-fold force upon the nations which inflicted it. You have spoken of Bismarck. Yes; we have greater Bismarcks and smaller Bismarcks in this world. Prince Bismarck wanted to create for Germany a national industry, a special industry, that of beet-root sugar. He commenced to do what was done by gentlemen opposite—he placed an enormous customs duty on foreign sugar; and, not satisfied with that, he induced the German Parliament to vote considerable export bounties upon German sugar. And thus, one day, the English market was flooded with German sugar, which was sold there at a price lower than the English refiners could produce it for. There was naturally some commotion among the English refiners. They went to see the Government and represented that it was impossible for them to compete with the German refiners, fed as these were by bounties. If the Government in England had been composed of the school of hon. gentlemen opposite they would have said: What! German sugar coming to England! Englishmen are too patriotic to eat German sugar. England for the Englishmen! We will have none of it! But they said nothing of the kind. On the contrary, they said: Well, if the German Government is willing to tax the German people in order to supply the British people with sugar at a cheaper rate than it can be produced for here, we cannot see that it is a very great injury to the English people. If the Germans are foolish enough to prefer such an arrangement, why should we complain? The refiners were not daunted. They purchased all the German sugar that was in the market, they converted it into jam, into jelly and into preserves, which they sent back to the Germans at an increased profit; and it has been proved that there were more people employed in England in producing jams, jelly and preserves than there had been in refining sugar. The hon. gentleman tells us that he wants neither a revenue tariff nor a free trade policy, but that he wants a protective tariff. Let me again quote his language:

The other and third method is the protective tariff, by which you select a certain list of articles and place upon them certain rates of impost with a view to raising a certain amount of money for the services of the country, but more especially with this view, that whilst you raise the amount of money that is necessary for the country, you shall stimulate the development of the resources of the

country, you shall make its industrial life broad and diversified, and progressive.

Sir, this sounds very well, and as a mere assemblage of words it can hardly be excelled. If the object of the hon. gentleman is to develop the industries of the country by a policy which will give favour to no one and which will hinder no one, I am with him with all my heart, but that is not the policy of the hon. gentleman. He wants to develop the industries of the country, but in what way? By increasing the cost of commodities, by compelling the people to purchase at a higher price at home than they could obtain the same goods elsewhere. Well, I admit that with such a system he might develop special industries, but I assert that he will stifle the growth of the country. What has been the experience of our north-west country? Surely no one will pretend that Manitoba and the North-west Territories have realized that amount of prosperity which was expected for them at one time. It was expected that in the year 1894 Manitoba and the North-west Territories would have a population of 600,000 souls at least, and you know what a beggarly number were found there at the last census. More than that, you have developed the east at the expense of the west. Why is it that the growth of that country has been stunted? It is simply because in order to favour certain industries in the east you have prevented the people in that country from acquiring their goods at as cheap a rate as they could get them under a freer system of trade. But there is another objection to the system of the hon. gentleman, and perhaps a more serious objection in a certain way. One of the most serious objections to the protective system followed by the hon. gentleman is this: that it induces the investment of capital in industries which are not congenial to the soil, which cannot stand by themselves, which have to be supported at all times out of the taxes of the people. I can point out to the hon. gentleman a number of instances of that kind; I will only take one or two. Take, for instance, the coal oil industry. Coal oil is taxed in this country $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents a gallon. Last year we imported \$430,000 worth, and we paid just as much in duty as the value of the goods, that is to say, we paid a duty of 100 per cent. Well, as a revenue tariff, this would be outrageous; in fact, if the duty were decreased by one-half or two-thirds, we would have more revenue than we have now on coal oil. This is not, therefore, a revenue tariff, it has been imposed altogether for protection, and for nothing else. Even yet, though there is a duty of 100 per cent on that article, that is not all. Other obstacles have been put in the way of the importation of coal oil, amounting to as much, perhaps, as the present tariff. It is calculated upon good authority, that the protection afforded

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to coal oil is 200 per cent, at least. Well, Sir, it is a fact well known, that Canadian oil cannot be produced as cheaply as American oil. But what has been the effect of all this? Why, that by the protection which has been given against foreign oil, you have induced the investment in the oil regions of a million dollars in capital, and now it is said that you cannot remove that protection because that capital will be wiped out. That may be true, but if it be true that Canadian coal oil cannot maintain itself against American competition without protection, I say it is all the more an evidence of the pernicious effect of a protective system; the pernicious effect is this, that you cannot remove the protection without, to some extent, endangering a large portion of the capital of the country. Well, I admit that is always a grave issue, and a thing which has to be carefully considered. I am clear upon one thing, and that is that such protection, such taxation as this, is unjust; but, at the same time, I am also free to say that, though the tariff in this respect has to be reformed, it has to be reformed cautiously, so as to effect the minimum of injury, and, if possible, no injury at all. I would not be the man to say, much as I deprecate the protective system, much as I believe it to be injurious to the well-being of the country—I would not be the man to say that it should be wiped out at one fell swoop.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. LAURIER. I am surprised at these exclamations. I say that protection should not be removed at one fell swoop; but the difference between the hon. gentleman and myself is that they are not prepared to remove it even at a gradual swoop. I would have no fault to find with these amendments to the tariff so far as they go; I would have no fault to find if the Government did not tell us that they are going to maintain the principle of protection. If they were proposing gradually to remove or abolish the principle of protection, I would be with them, but that is not their policy. As the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) knows very well, this is not a system of scientific protection, it is protection without any science in it at all. What I say about coal oil I also say about the iron duty. How many years is it now? Six or seven years, since the iron duties were remodelled, remodelled to be increased by 50, 60 and sometimes 100 per cent. Now, with what object? With the object of developing in this country the manufacture of pig iron and of bar iron. No one has forgotten, I am sure, the great flourish of trumpets with which those duties were heralded into the world; no one has forgotten, I am sure, the language of Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Charles Tupper on that occasion. We know how Sir Charles Tupper rolled figures off his tongue, but he never rolled them off

as he did on that occasion. Why, we almost heard the roar of the smelting furnaces, we almost smelt the smoke of the charcoal that was to be used in them. There were to be 200,000 men employed in that industry. Well, after six or seven years, what has been the result? The same company who received that amount of protection are again coming to the Government, and, like Oliver Twist, they are asking for more. It has only whetted their appetite. If you increase the tariff, as I hope it will not be increased, the consequence will be that in a few days, in a few years, you will have more capital invested in this industry, and you will not be able to remove that protection, because they will come here and say: Don't touch us; if you do, you will wipe away all the capital we invested in these industries. Now, I want to prevent these consequences to ourselves. I say that a system is false which can produce such results as these. But that is not all. There is something worse than all that in a protective tariff. We charge upon the protective tariff—and no one knows it better than the hon. the Minister of Finance—that it is base and degrading. Under such a system the Government deliver themselves into the hands of masters who are stronger than they, and who hold them fast in submission; and whenever the Government make some attempt at rebellion, immediately their masters take them by the throat and force them back into bondage; and then when they have been forced back into bondage, covered with confusion and shame, they would have the people believe that their attempts at freedom were not genuine, not sincere, but mere "clerical errors." Clerical error, forsooth? I tell the hon. gentleman that the country sees through the phrase, and will not accept the base explanation and the fruitless humiliation. Clerical error! Was it a clerical error which induced the hon. gentleman some few days ago to reduce the duty on democratic wagons from 35 per cent to 25 per cent? That reduction in the duty was proposed in a moment, not of weakness, but of fairness; but immediately he heard the crack of the ministerial whip over his head the Finance Minister was forced into the humiliating condition of coming back and placing again on the farmers' shoulders the duty which he intended to remove. Was it a clerical error also in regard to tea, I want to know, or what is it? The hon. gentleman the other day brought down his tariff respecting tea in such a mild and unobtrusive manner that no one noticed the departure from the old policy. For the last twenty years tea and coffee have been free, with the exception that when imported from the United States they have been subject to a duty of 10 per cent, and from the manner in which the hon. gentleman made the announcement I, for my part, supposed he was re-enacting the old policy without any change. But

what are the facts? As the tariff is now constituted, it is intended to levy a tax of 10 per cent on the tea and coffee which comes from England. For what object, I want to know? According to the figures of last year's importations, such a duty collected on tea and coffee would yield a revenue of over \$140,000. Is that the object, or is it not? We have been told by some of the ministerial organs that the object is not to levy a duty on tea coming from England, but that the object is simply to build up a trade with the east, to import our tea direct from China and Japan. I want to know. I ask the Finance Minister, or any man in his senses, what object can we in this country have in destroying an industry only to build up another, to prevent a man from bringing in tea from England and compel him to buy it in China or Japan. What object can we have in compelling our tea to be purchased in the east or rather the west. I very much suspect that there is a nigger in the fence, and that he will be discovered. The Finance Minister has taken some pride, and I do not blame him, for he has been showered with compliments, for having removed specific duties. I do not think, however, he deserves all of them. I confess that the hon. gentleman has removed the most iniquitous duties, the infamous duties upon woollen and cotton goods; but the hon. gentleman has still left in the tariff that iniquity called a specific duty. He has, moreover, introduced in the tariff some of specific duties, which he passed over very gently, but which I suspect will press with the greatest weight on the consuming class. There was a duty on syrup last year of $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents per gallon on the lower grade, which is worth 10 cents a gallon, this duty amounting to about 15 per cent. Now the duty on syrup is placed at $\frac{1}{2}$ a cent per pound, not per gallon. I want to know what is the reason that has induced the Government to change the specific duty from gallon to pound? What is concealed underneath? In a gallon there are 14 pounds, and at $\frac{1}{2}$ a cent per pound the duty will be equal to 7 cents per gallon, and on syrup worth 10 cents per gallon this will be equivalent to a duty of 70 per cent, which the poorer classes of the consumers will have to pay. So I say that though we are removing a good deal of the anomaly connected with the specific duties, yet there is a great deal yet to be removed, and which I hope will be removed before we have concluded the revision of this tariff. But I am asked perhaps, what is your own policy on all these matters, what is the policy of the Liberal party? The policy of the Liberal party is not free trade absolutely, as in England, I am sorry to say. This is the ideal, this is the goal which we will reach some day, a long time perhaps, but towards which we are turning our eyes and are directed at the present time. But while we must for a good many years still continue to levy revenue by customs duties, I say even at this moment

while levying duties from customs, it is possible to do so upon the principle of freedom of trade. I challenge, we challenge, as completely and absolutely false and vicious, the principle adopted by hon. gentlemen opposite, that duties should be levied, not for revenue, but simply to favour special interests. Our policy is to levy duties, not for special interests, but for the general good of the community. I say this, that under such a tariff even manufacturers will have a better field than under the present system. When manufacturers know that duties are imposed for revenue and are not therefore raised on revenue at the caprice of the Government, and are not liable to be removed from one day to another, they will have a stability in business which they have not under the policy pursued to-day. Take, for example, the agricultural implement manufacturer. He has his protective duty; he knows what it is. He knows what the cost of production will be, but a man comes to the Finance Minister and says: Mr. Finance Minister, I want to establish a special industry, to develop a great trade, and I desire to have a duty on a certain article. We all know the ordinary phrases used. I will employ so many hands, give increased employment, develop the resources of the country. The result may be that the duty is increased, and 40, 50, or 100 industries are thereby placed in jeopardy. When we have a tariff for revenue only there will be, as I have said, a security which does not exist at the present moment under the policy of the hon. gentlemen opposite. I desire to refer for a short time to the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin), who the other day in his speech fired a shot at me, by asserting that once upon a time as a young man I had been a protectionist. Well, I am always averse to discussing my own personal opinions or my personal affairs on the floor of Parliament, but I have too much respect for the words of the hon. member not to give an answer to which he is entitled at my hands. Let me say at once that I am somewhat surprised to see the hon. gentleman in his present position. Only a few months ago my hon. friend announced to the world that he was entering into a crusade in favour of tariff reform, his object being to secure scientific protection. Has he found it? The hon. gentleman did not tell us so the other day, he found protection, but no science in changing the tariff. The hon. gentleman only shows after all that a man may be great in learning in certain directions, but his heart may fail him when he comes to carry out his projects. The hon. gentleman also shows that a man may be good at preaching and poor at practising. He is the Peter the Hermit of the new crusade. Peter the Hermit aroused the whole of Western Europe against the east, and raised an army to accompany him to rescue the holy sepulchre. But he weakened before he reached the goal. After leaving the confines of Europe, when his army was in

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straightened circumstances, and suffering from famine, he lost his head, he grew faint at heart, and deserted the camp and sought a hiding-place. The crusaders followed him and brought him back to camp, and made him swear not to desert the cause he had preached. Shall we not bring the hon. gentleman back into camp and make him swear he will not again offend? I am afraid, however, we shall have to perform the duty without him. The hon. gentleman has made the charge against me, that in my young days I was a protectionist, a charge as to which I have to offer neither denial, nor defence, nor justification. If it be a crime as you advance in life to think and reflect, and by thought and reflection to review the ideas of younger age, and to substitute for the inexperienced views of youth the more calm and more deliberate opinions of mature age, I have to plead guilty of many crimes of that kind; because apart from political economy many are the subjects as to which I do not hold now the views which I held twenty-five years ago; and if I had to commence my career anew, in the light of the experience which I have acquired many I hope are the mistakes I would avoid. I have to say to my hon. friend from West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin), that if in this respect he has been more fortunate than I have been, I do not envy his good fortune at all, but I hold that I have not grown older in vain, and that I am wiser to-day than I was twenty-five years ago. If I wanted to justify myself there are the most illustrious names of the world that would come to my lips: the name of Robert Peel, the name of Gladstone, and what more could I want. But, Sir, I do not stand upon this ground at all. I stand upon the ground of principle and the condition of the country. What is it that is wanted to-day in Canada to develop Canada as she ought to be developed? It is population and nothing else. There have been a series of letters published in the London 'Times,' which perhaps members of this House have all seen, but there is a sentence to which I shall specially call their attention. Speaking of Canada it says:

Her equipment for internal development is excellent, and the greatest want she has is lack of population.

Population is our greatest lack; what we want is population. And, Sir, when I consider that once I was a protectionist in my younger days, and when I consider that during a decade from 1871 to 1881 under a revenue tariff the increase of population in Canada was 13 per cent, and that during the decade from 1881 to 1891 under a protective tariff, this increase of population fell down from 13 to 9 per cent; I also remember the famous words of Victor Hugo when he said: The absurd man is he who never changes; and I leave it to gentlemen on the other side of the House to remain protectionist in the face of these facts.

Mr. DAVIN. My hon. friend has not met my charge.

Mr. DEVLEN. Your charge is discharged.

Mr. LAURIER. Mr. Speaker, the hon. gentleman also stated that in 1872—

Mr. DAVIN. Mr. Speaker, may I rise to order?

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. DAVIN. I am in perfect order. The hon. gentleman professed to state a charge that I made against him. If he will permit me to say so—of course it was unintentional on his part—he has not stated my charge, and I think it is in perfect order that I should say what the charge was. The charge was not that in the course of twenty years he changed his mind; but that a few years after proclaiming himself a protectionist and in favour of a number of other things, he went into Mr. Mackenzie's Government and was as silent as that desk.

Mr. LANDERKIN. It would be a blessed thing if you could get into some place like that.

Mr. LAURIER. Well, Sir, I am sorry to say that there is not anything more to the charge as amended, than as it was preferred before. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) stated that in 1872, the Liberals of Lower Canada while they were assembled in Montreal laid down a platform and adopted as a basis of that platform the policy of protection. I deny the charge in toto. I deny the charge wholly. I am sure my hon. friend has not gone into the records. He must have it from the pickings of newspapers in Lower Canada, but he never found it among the real facts. On the contrary, the Liberals of the district of Quebec have always been in favour of free trade, and as far back as 1847 the Liberal Association, which at that time was presided over by a gentleman who left an honoured name among us, Hon. René Caron, afterwards Lieutenant Governor of Quebec, issued a manifesto in which I read this:

What the firmness and wisdom of the Liberal party have accomplished with regard to these matters, as well as the admission of the responsibility of the executive advisers, must be for all Liberals an indication of what they will be able to achieve through a more active organization and a more vigorous expression of public opinion in favour of these reforms now required by the present condition of affairs.

And the third article of the manifesto was this:

Free trade with all the world and the free navigation of the St. Lawrence.

This manifesto was issued by the Liberals of Quebec, who were of the school of Mr. Lafontaine. I am free to admit that in the district of Montreal the ideas of Mr. Papineau prevailed, and there was a marked

tendency in favour of protection, and in so far as I am concerned, I admit that I have been brought up in the school of Mr. Papineau, but time and again for twenty years at least I have declared in Lower Canada that I was a disciple of Mr. Lafontaine. Why should I not hear the whole truth as to this. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) accuses me of having changed my views upon protection. He said a moment ago that I wrote protection in the newspaper 'Le Defricheur.' I never wrote a word about protection in 'Le Defricheur,' but I made a speech once, I remember, in 1871 in the Legislature of Quebec. That was the only speech which I ever made upon that question in which I brought up the views held by Mr. Papineau and which I had derived from him; and I am surprised, I must say, that the loyal gentlemen who support the Government should reproach me for not now holding the views which I held then. Sir, it is a well-known fact in Lower Canada, and to those who know anything of the history of Canada: that Mr. Papineau, prior to the rebellion of 1837, laid down as his doctrine that we should buy nothing from England. And when I spoke in the Legislature of Quebec, coming flush with youth and victory, I stated that at that time there was as much reason to adhere to the policy of Mr. Papineau as in the year 1837. But, Mr. Speaker, what did I find? When I went to the facts I found that Mr. Papineau had not introduced that doctrine for any reason of political economy, but simply for political reasons to fight the British Government and to force them to give us that protection for our liberties which we required, or else to force the country into independence. Shall I read the resolution moved at the famous meeting held on the 7th of May, 1837: a resolution which was not moved by a Frenchman, but by an Englishman, Dr. Wilfred Nelson. It was as follows:—

That the measure of Lord John Russell, which takes away from the Assembly all control over the revenue, is a flagrant violation of all the rights granted to Lower Canada by the capitulation and the treaty.

That the Government which can adopt such violent measures and thus destroy right, by force and violence, is a contemptible Government unworthy of respect and even of allegiance.

That the people of Lower Canada will refrain as much as possible from the consumption of imported articles, and will make use of products manufactured in the country so as to deprive the Government of the revenue which it is its hope to obtain by collecting the duties imposed on foreign goods.

Now, Sir, that was a political object as I said, and not an object of political economy, and now that we have obtained all the liberties which we were striving for then, I leave it to gentlemen on the other side of the House to pursue the policy of buying nothing from England, a policy which to-day they are pursuing with a vengeance. Hither-

to their policy has been, not to buy anything from England; and their defence has been: that they applied this policy only to such goods as we produced in this country in order to force their production here. But to-day they have gone a step further, and when they tax tea, it is not for the purpose of promoting the growth of that article. This is the defence which I have to make on that point. Now, Sir, I have only this more to say: Speaking here in the maturity of my years and in the maturity of my convictions, formed, as I hope, by deep reflection and thought, I say this—and in saying it I am voicing the sentiments of all the Liberals in this country—that whatever may be our future relations with England—whether we remain as we are to-day, or whether the bond between us becomes closer or looser—it shall always be our aim and purpose to cultivate and maintain and promote, not only the most friendly sentiments, but also the most ample business relations with the great nation which, notwithstanding all that may be said by hon. gentlemen opposite to the contrary, is to-day by all odds the foremost commercial power that the world has ever seen.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Mr. Speaker, I am aware that the House is exceedingly anxious to divide upon the question which is now before it; and, upon that account, it is against my own wish that I am intruding in the debate, and I only arise, Sir, because the member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy)—who I regret to see is not now in his seat—seemed last night when he made his speech upon the resolutions before the House, to look longingly towards me that he might be not entirely neglected or passed over in the debate. Before I begin to deal with some of the remarks which were made by him, I wish to say a word or two as to the hon. leader of the Opposition, who has just taken his seat. I regret that I was unable to be present during the whole of his speech, and that, in consequence, I shall be able to refer to his closing remarks only. I have no hesitation in saying that my hon. friend from Western Assiniboia (Mr. Davin, does not require any defence at my hands; nor have I any desire to mingle in the little disputes in which that hon. gentleman may be engaged with the leader of the Opposition or any of the gentlemen who sit around him. I only enter into this dispute for a moment to say to the leader of the Opposition that when he announced that his speech in 1871 was the only speech in which he had advocated protection in the Dominion of Canada, he had, to say the least of it, an exceedingly bad memory. The hon. gentleman was in this House in the year 1876, and if he will go to the 'Hansard' of that year, he will find that he was a protectionist still, notwithstanding the fact that from 1871 to 1876 he had five years of maturer light and investigation, notwithstanding that the ques-

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tion had then been fully and voluminously discussed, inside and outside of Parliament. Let me, for the edification of the hon. gentleman, quote the speech he then delivered, and place it against the contentions which he has made in this House this afternoon:

What my hon. friend has said as to my protective proclivities is perfectly true, and I do not deny that I have been a protectionist, which I am still. It is asserted by many, and assumed by others, that free trade is a Liberal principle, and protection a Conservative principle. I beg to dissent from this doctrine. If I were in Great Britain—

It appears this, his geographical position, has now changed—

If I were in Great Britain I would avow free trade; but I am a Canadian, born and resident here, and I think that we require protection. I consider, however, that the present tariff affords sufficient protection.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The hon. gentlemen opposite grab at a very small straw when they are sinking. I ask the hon. gentlemen to cheer when I have done. He continues:

It may be said that this was not the real object in view; but I care little for the motive—I only regard the results. We have at the present time a 17½ per cent tariff, which is protection for Canadian manufacturer against foreign competition. But that is not all. Against the English competitor he has the difference of freight in his favour, and against the American competitor he has the difference in the price of labour.

Why, Sir, the hon. gentleman is surely in sympathy with this Administration. But that is not all:

We have within ourselves the ability to create an industry. If it be shown that we cannot maintain it, unless by legislation either in the way of premium or prohibitory tariff, then I should be ready to take that into consideration.

Sir, I do not hear the cheers of hon. gentlemen opposite. The only difference between the hon. gentleman who leads the forces on the other side of the House and we so-called selfish restrictionists on this side is that we are protectionists while he is a trade prohibitionist. Now, Mr. Speaker, I am exceedingly sorry, as I said before, that the member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) is not in his place this afternoon, because I have a few words to say to him with regard to some statements he made, and particularly with regard to some gratuitous insolence that he saw fit to offer to a member of the Cabinet as well as to my humble self, who happened to be sitting beside him. I must say, Sir, that, however delighted hon. gentlemen opposite may have been with the remarks which the hon. member for North Simcoe made in the House last evening, the members on this side were not at all disappointed. Neither we nor the country were hanging in breathless expectation on the words which

that hon. gentleman was to utter. The day has long gone by when the member for North Simcoe might be regarded as an independent member of this House. Last year when I was saying a few words to him in connection with a resolution which he had placed on the Notice paper, I took occasion to note a speech which he had once made against the genial member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), whom he had described as balancing himself upon a pole only waiting to fall into the arms of hon. gentlemen opposite, and I ventured to predict in my humble way that the fate, if I may be permitted to use the word, of the hon. member for South Oxford, would be the fate of the member for North Simcoe. I fancy, Sir, that as you and the country peruse his speech of last evening, you will find that the fatal fall has taken place, and that the member for North Simcoe, instead of being an independent of this House, is a member of Her Majesty's loyal Opposition, endeavouring to let no opportunity pass of bringing injury and destruction to the Conservative Administration of this country. Examine the hon. gentleman's speech from beginning to end, and I defy any gentleman, in this Chamber or out of it, to show one single line or sentence that is the judgment of a fair-minded, independent man with regard to a Government against whose members he has not a personal and individual hostility. What is the fact? Instead of being the judgment of an independent, unbiassed, impartial man, his utterances here last night were but the echoes of his own disappointed hopes and ambitions. Well I do not object to the hon. gentleman's position in any particular regard. He has a perfect right to move from this side of the House to that; he has a perfect right to adopt this platform or that; he has an undoubted right to change his position just as often as he likes, and I am bound to say that he is making splendid use of that liberty. But what I do object to is that the hon. gentleman should pose as an independent statesman or public man, and that his judgment should be taken as an independent judgment against this or any other Government. I know that the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) objects to being told that he has joined the hon. gentlemen opposite. Only a few months ago, he said he detested hon. gentlemen opposite, and when one of the members of this House, a short time ago, chaffed the hon. gentleman with having joined the party opposite, he was modest enough to say, "No; but the party of hon. gentlemen opposite have joined me." And then, when my hon. friend said to him: But what are you going to do with the present leader of the Opposition—the brilliant and scholarly gentleman whom we have just listened to? Oh, he said, he was never anything but a makeshift. And when asked: What will you do then with the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), who is

in the direct line of the leadership of that party? He said: We will dismiss Sir Charles Tupper and send him to England as the representative of the Canadian Government.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Would the hon. gentleman give us his authority? It is a matter of some interest to me.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Let the hon. gentleman possess his happy soul in patience. The hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) cannot have the appointment made just now, but he will attend to it as quickly as possible. Now, I may say to the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), that we have no objection whatever to his occupying the position he does—a position of sympathy with hon. gentlemen opposite. But I do not fancy that there is very much love between them. I do not imagine, for instance, that there can be very much love between the genial member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) and the intellectual member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy). Both have too large, selfish ambitions of their own. But this I will say, that the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) is an undoubted addition to the combination of statesmen who sit on the other side of the House, endeavouring to attract public attention and public confidence. Heaven knows, Sir, they have tried everything in this country to gather crowds around them and gain support. For instance, Sir, last year, down in the city of Montreal, they wished to get a great demonstration together for the purpose of listening to the views on the new trade policy which they had just then adopted. And in order to gather the forces together, I think in Sohmer Park, they had the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) advertised; they had the leader of the Opposition advertised; they had the philosophical gentleman who sits beside him (Mr. Mills) advertised; they had the Liberal whip (Mr. Sutherland) advertised, besides a large number of local politicians in the province of Quebec, and then, in addition to that, they had a little programme of sports. There was to be a married women's race; there was to be a boys' race; there was to be a barrel of water race; there was to be a potato race; and there was to be a blindman's race, the contestants in which it was understood would be the confiding partisans who follow these individuals with no explanation of their policy. And now, I submit that in addition to this splendid array of talent and entertainment, it only requires the addition of the most celebrated political acrobat of this decade to draw a crowd and afford amusement for almost any portion of the population. I have waited thus far to make a personal explanation, hoping that the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) would be in his place, because what I say behind his back I am exceedingly anxious to say to his face. Last

light, gratuitously, as I have said, the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) offered an insult to a Minister of the Crown in the person of the Minister of Railways and Canals. I am not here to defend the Minister of Railways and Canals, he needs no defence from any one in this House or out of this House. As the administrator of a great public department, he has made a record, Sir, which will go down in the annals of Canadian administration as unsurpassed, if equalled. But when the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) endeavours to cast a personal slur at the Minister of Railways and Canals—when he charged that I had been called on, or that I had been honoured with the request to assist the hon. Minister in the construction of the speech he made, the hon. gentleman made a statement for which he had not the slightest foundation, and a statement which no gentleman should have made in this House without serious consideration, and a statement in which there was not even a modicum of truth. But, Sir, men who live in glass houses should not throw stones. There are other men in this country who have been assisted in preparing their speeches. There are men of no less importance than the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) himself, and I have the evidence in my possession this afternoon that is no great credit to him. Sir, the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), a few years ago, made a series of speeches in the province of Ontario, and among those speeches he made one in the county of Haldimand, whose good people I have the honour to represent in this House. He made a speech there, and the hon. gentleman had had some little assistance in preparing the notes for that speech from an individual who has since attained considerable celebrity in rather an un-Canadian quarter, in connection with the public life of this country. I have here in my hands the notes of that speech. They are in the handwriting of the celebrated Edward Farrer. Apparently they were not sufficiently complete, and, so in Mr. McCarthy's own handwriting, they are completed, forming a happy union of effect, and if you examine these notes and read the speech in the 'Mail' as published at the time you will find the hon. gentleman faithfully followed the lead given him by Edward Farrer, who was then editor of the Toronto 'Mail.' The man who regards it as his duty to advise the people of the United States to put on the screws against Canada and bring Canada to her knees. Now, last year, in speaking to the motion which the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) made in this House, I had occasion to say something with regard to the different positions which that gentleman had taken upon the trade question. I quite agree with the leader of the Opposition, that a man has a perfect right to change his opinions as his thought matures and his

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judgment ripens. But what I want to show is that the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) not only changed his opinions as his judgment matured or ripened, but, within the short space of a year, he has radically changed his position upon the trade question, as evidenced by his speech in this House last night. Last year he laid down certain principles by which he declared that he should be guided. In a speech made just before he came to the House, he declared that he was a National Policy man. He said, addressing his supporters: We are all National Policy men, and it is not so much a matter of policy which has driven me from the ranks, but the question of a personal dispute between myself and some of the members of the Government, and between me and the party organ which supports the Government. I showed then that that was the hon. gentleman's record all the years back to 1876. I showed then that in 1882, after he had had time to examine the effects of the National Policy, he declared that it was a wonderful success in this country. But let us examine for a moment or so the various positions which he has taken during the past year. Speaking at Orangeville only this past summer, the hon. member for North Simcoe said he was not going to entirely abolish protection, but that he thought that the manufacturers would be able to get along with the protection that was afforded by a revenue tariff. Speaking in Toronto, he said: Are you going to admit the Yankees to this market? and he answered no, because the Yankees will not admit us to their market, and, therefore, I am opposed to admitting them to ours. Now, Mr. Speaker, I ask hon. gentlemen to put these statements beside the statements which he made here last night. One was that he would absolutely destroy protection in this country, and, next, he condemned the Government because in this tariff, he said, there was no hope held out of closer trade relations with the people of the United States. Sir, it appears to me that the hon. gentleman is suffering from a sort of political melancholia. This is a disease one of the symptoms of which is a complete distaste and aversion to everything that one loved when in health, and I fancy the hon. gentleman's political disease has been that sort of political melancholia which makes him now go back upon everything he thought right when he was upon this side of the House. And so, last night, when he made his speech, he was no longer a National Policy man, no longer even a revenue tariff man, but he held the principle of protection in any form to be a monstrous principle, and the policy of this Government to be a monstrous policy, to use the very language which he employed in addressing the House. So much for the hon. gentleman's change with regard to this question during the past year. Now, Sir, I want to look for a moment at an extraordinary pro-

position which the hon. gentleman made in this House last night. In the first place, last year's resolution upon the trade question moved by the member for North Simcoe, contained this clause :

That the Government should forthwith reduce the duties upon articles which are enumerated in our customs list.

Not one moment's delay should be allowed. The Government asked for time to inquire into all the circumstances and to be fully informed as to the views and opinions, the wants and desires and interests of the people. But the member for North Simcoe said : No ; we must condemn this Government because they had not done this, without a moment's reflection and without a moment's preparation for the task. What did he say last night ? His announcement to the House last night was, that this Government should not have touched the tariff until after the general election had been held and the people of this country permitted to voice their sentiments upon it. Was any position of a public man in this country ever so ridiculous ? Sir, the hon. gentleman mistook the character of this Government and this party. We are not anxious to go to the country under false pretenses. We are not anxious to go to the country with indefinite, hazy promises, such as hon. gentlemen opposite make when they discuss these questions with the electorate of Canada, when they offer a different policy for every section of the Dominion. We want one policy for the whole Dominion. Even an opponent of the Government will not contradict my statement, when I say that the Government has taken a manly stand. They have come down to this House two years before the general election with their pronounced policy. They declare that they will protect the industries of this country in a fair manner, but that they will continue that protection no longer, if it should be put to improper use ; and they say they will reduce, as far as lies in their power, the taxes upon the necessaries of life. And they submit that policy to the people of this country and ask the people, in their good judgment, to say whether they are right or whether they are wrong. I ask the member for North Simcoe to say whether the policy of the Government, whether the stand taken by the Government has not been a manly stand, such as the people of this country would expect from a Government having confidence in their own policy and believing that it was the best policy to be pursued in the interest of the whole Dominion of Canada ? The member for Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) has declared in this House, that we will not be here after the next election. He has declared that this is the last word we shall hear upon the tariff from the members of the present Government. I tell him, Sir, that the country has passed judgment upon many a political leader such as he, and that judgment has been adverse to

their political ambitions and aspirations. And I tell him also, that the members of this party have no hesitation in saying that they believe they ought to enjoy the confidence of the people of this country, as they believe they do enjoy that confidence and will enjoy it after the election is over. In one part of the province of Ontario the member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) said the party will never trust the present leader of the present Conservative Administration. I tell him once more that he is wrong ; I tell him that the ranks that were solid behind the old chieftain who is gone, are solid now behind the new chieftain who fills his place. And I tell him still further, that, when the voice of the whole people speaks in the next election, it will be found that the men of Ontario, who are said to be recreant to the leader, will send a message to the members of our party in the little province by the sea, that they have helped to carry to victory the standard of a great Nova Scotian, just as the men of Nova Scotia have often helped in other days to carry to victory the standard of the leader whose home was in the province of Ontario. But, Sir, coming down to some of the particular questions with which the hon. gentleman dealt last night, I wish to say something in connection with the preface to his remarks upon the trade question. The preface to these remarks dealt with the debt of Canada. Surely, Sir, the hon. gentleman is being contaminated, if I may be allowed to use such an expression, by his associations. Surely he has borrowed the blue goggles that are worn by my hon. friend from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), because, as he looks around upon the country and its prospects, everything wears that bluish, or bilious, or greenish, tint, that is demonstrative of political ill-health, and ill-temper. Now, I ask the hon. members of this House to read the hon. gentleman's speech ; as many of them listened to it, they will be able to follow me as I deal with its statements. I say, in the first place, that the hon. gentleman, while he gave a gratuitous advertisement of the debt of Canada—so fondly advertised by the member for South Oxford, whose splendid descriptions of that public debt are copied by the politicians of the United States, who use them to enthuse any one that happens to be Anglophobic in his tendencies on the other side of the line—the hon. member for North Simcoe, while he gave a gratuitous advertisement of the public debt of Canada, I say did not point out one single item composing the increase of that debt which he condemned. If he had done so, the members of this House would have called to mind a time when, with feelings of pride, the member for North Simcoe supported those very increases of public debt to which he might have referred. Sir, the public debt has been so thoroughly and so often discussed in this House that I do not desire to go into its details, but to

pass along in comment upon the position which he took. He says if we had known the burdens that are now falling upon us, we would have hesitated to make the grand improvements that were made in our endeavours to nationalize the Dominion of Canada. Sir, is there a man in this House who, at this day will dare to stand up and say that we made a mistake when we burdened ourselves with a paltry million and a half for the purchase of that great empire of the prairies? Is there a man in this House will say, in common sense, and in his right mind, that he would undo the work we performed in connection with that great national highway, which has been the grandest achievement that any people of five millions have ever performed in the progressive history of the world? Does the hon. gentleman say that he would undo the work which we have done in connection with our canals, or the dredging of our harbours, or our rivers? No constituency has received more advantages in these respects than the constituency of the hon. gentleman who made the attack upon the public debt last night. Will the hon. gentleman say that we should not have given assistance to railways to open up various portions of the country? Is it a wise policy for this Government? Let me answer it by saying that it is regarded by municipalities sometimes, indeed, often, as a wise policy to burden themselves with a heavy weight of direct taxation for the purpose of placing themselves as closely as possible within reach of the great consuming markets of the world. And that has been the policy of this Government—to lend its assistance to every portion of the country by placing it as closely as possible to the great consuming millions to whom we must sell the products of our Canadian farms. But I fancy the hon. gentleman will offer no objection to the railway bonuses which have helped to increase the public debt, and which have effected the development to which I refer, for the hon. gentleman's section of country, as usual, got the lion's share; the hon. gentleman's constituency got twice as much per mile as any other constituency, or any other section of country within the boundary of the Dominion of Canada. Now, then, the hon. gentleman has pointed us to the United States, and has asked us to make a comparison between our debts and theirs. I am not going to weary the House with figures, but I want to mention two or three facts which the hon. gentleman carefully hid from this House when he made the comparisons between their debt and ours; and we wept, metaphorically speaking, when he spoke of that comparison. He said: Why, they have very little public debt, and we have a very large public debt. I tell him that the two cannot be compared at all. I tell him that we have done work that the Federal Government of the United States never dreamed of doing.

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I tell him that we have given large subsidies to the provinces, which have saved the mass of the people in those provinces from direct taxation, and the Federal Government of the United States never did anything of the kind, their State Governments by direct taxation paying their expenditures. I tell him that this Government have digged our canals; but, on the other side of the line it is the State Governments, by direct taxation of the people, which have done those works. I tell him that we have bonused railways to an enormous extent for the development of Canada. but, on the other side of the line that has been done by the various State Governments. So the hon. gentleman could have had no sentiment of fairness when he made that comparison. Why, Sir, had the Federal Government here failed to do these things, and pursued the American system, we should now have no debt, but a large surplus in the Treasury. But what is the fact at the present time? I might mention also that in the United States objection is being made to our Canadian railways. Why? Because they say that the Canadian railways are able to carry freight cheaper. And why are they able to carry freight cheaper? Because they are not held down with a bonded indebtedness, the bonded indebtedness of railways on the other side of the line being double that of the railways of Canada. The Federal Government of this country has endeavoured to assist the construction of railways in order that the people may have better access to the markets of other countries. Now, I want to tell the hon. member for North Simcoe, who has been talking generalities, that there is no more contemptible—I use the word, of course, in its political and not in its personal sense—there is no more contemptible manner of attacking the policy of a Government “or its conduct in administration” than by assertions or innuendos, or leaving inferences to be drawn, as when details are not presented by the man who is making the innuendo, or allowing the inference to be drawn. What was the object of the hon. gentleman? His object undoubtedly was to have it go before the country as coming from an independent member of this House, that this country had arrived at a position of alarm, financially. His word, I think, was that “we were in an exceedingly unfortunate financial position.” Now, he could not have selected a more inappropriate time for the utterance of such a sentiment. He selected a time when Canada has been held up by the statesmen of other lands as being the only solid rock that has stood the storm of commercial catastrophe “sweeping over the world.” He selected the time when we are complimented everywhere, even in the columns of the ‘Globe,’ which echoes the sentiments of the hon. member for South Oxford, who never was charged anywhere with painting a too silvery and roseate condition of

Canada and its people. Even the 'Globe,' pointing the finger of scorn to the grand sixty-million market, to which my hon. friend bids us turn our eyes—even the 'Globe' says they are having serious trouble over there, the banks are being ruined, great commercial institutions are collapsing the whole financial world of the United States is in a sort of chaos, but it adds: "As regards Canada, our last bank failure is so long ago that it requires an old inhabitant to remember it." Yet this is the time which the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) selected to say that we are in a distressing financial position. Why, Sir, last year in the city of Chicago there was held what might be called a congress of the nations of the world. There were gathered in competition civilized and barbarous nations. I ask the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) to investigate the facts, and he will find that Canadians should be proud of the position that Canada, blue ruin Canada, to which the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) so often refers, occupied amongst the civilized nation represented in that great gathering in Jackson Park, that it was the only one of those of civilized nations whose trade was not decreasing, it was the only one of those nations whose revenue was not diminishing, even while its taxation was being reduced, as it was being reduced in the Dominion of Canada under the rule of hon. gentlemen who now occupy the Treasury benches. Sir, I think in view of these facts it was an exceedingly unfortunate time for the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) to say we are in exceedingly difficulty financial position. There is even better evidence than this, and I use it because the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) dealt with it last night. He took the greatest pains to show to this House that the rate of interest on our public debt had not decreased through any good management or the high standing that Canada occupies in the money market of the world, but that it had decreased simply because there had been a decrease all over and we could not avoid participating somewhat in that decrease so far as the debt of Canada was concerned. Sir, what is the fact? The fact is this, that Canada's credit stands higher than the credit of any other colony that owes allegiance to the British Crown. Not only that, but Canada's credit stands second to the credit of Great Britain herself; and not only so, but we have decreased our rate of interest at a greater rate than has the mother land herself. I give the hon. gentleman the figures, as he may wish them. In the past four years English consols, instead of yielding as they did in 1878, £3-2-6, in 1892 yielded £2-17-6, a reduction of 8 per cent in fourteen years. Canada in 1879 paid as a rate of interest 4-06 per cent, in 1893 she paid 3-26 per cent, or a reduction of 21 per cent in the same

fourteen years to which I have referred. Another evidence to me that the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) had borrowed the blue glasses that are worn by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) is the fact that breathing the atmosphere with which he is now surrounded, breathing that somewhat billous atmosphere which so permeates the ranks of hon. gentlemen opposite, he saw in the misty and hazy distance one of those creatures that disturbed the slumber of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) when he was in power—a deficit, and so he warned the House that he saw in the distance a deficit, and he warned the Finance Minister that he had better take care because this deficit was coming. Let me say to him this, that the Finance Minister thoroughly understands his work, that notwithstanding an occasional sneer that may be hurled across the House in regard to my hon. friend being a poor successor to the great man whom he has followed, he thoroughly understands his position, and he has guarded against future difficulty. What is the fact? The announcement has been made by the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy): You are reducing taxation and a deficit must follow. But that is not the experience of this side of the House. In 1882, I think, the duty was taken off tea; but the revenue bounded up in a very short time. In 1891, \$3,000,000 in duties was taken off sugar. The Minister of Finance acknowledged that there must be a decrease in revenue; but after one year's decrease in revenue, the improved condition of the people enabled them to purchase more, and the result was that the revenue bounded up again. What is the position at the present time? The Minister of Finance has now reduced the duties to such an extent as to cause a probable decrease of revenue to the extent of \$1,600,000, and the Toronto 'Mail' declares that the sum will be nearer \$4,000,000 than \$1,600,000. But the hon. gentleman has taken pains to say to this House: If there is a deficit, I am not going to meet it by borrowing funds, as was done by hon. gentlemen opposite, borrowing money, not for the construction of public works, but to pay for the ordinary running expenses of the Government of Canada. I am not going to adopt the policy which hon. gentlemen opposite adopted on another occasion, of taking the duty from one necessary of life and putting a duty three times as high on another necessary, that bore still more heavily on the people, namely 5 and 6 cents on two varieties of tea that were imported here. The Finance Minister has come down to the House in a manly, straightforward, statesmanlike manner, and has said: The revenue must fall, but this Government will exercise the most rigid economy, and when the year rolls round I hope to see that Canada has again adjusted the balance and the revenue meets the expenditure even with these duties re-

moved. That is the spirit in which the Finance Minister has met the House, and the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), instead of meeting it with carping criticism should have received the Finance Minister's statement in a frank, manly way, when he spoke on the tariff changes in this Chamber. The Government might have adopted another policy. They might have adopted the policy of raising their revenues from duties on raw material. That was a policy also adopted by hon. gentlemen opposite. Those hon. gentlemen had a sort of trinity of policies: first, taxation of raw material, which was destructive to the industries of Canada; second, taxation of those articles which were upon every table in the land; and third, when those two did not produce sufficient revenue, borrow a little money to pay the ordinary expenditure in the years that have passed. The Minister of Finance has discarded these three policies as being, although perhaps expedient for the Liberals, not wise in the interests of Canada, and he has taken the course to which I have referred. I desire to say a word or two as to one class of raw material which hon. gentlemen opposite taxed. When those hon. gentlemen were in power they placed a high specific duty upon sugar—and I only mention it because it was referred by the hon. member from North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy)—and in his admirable speeches throughout the province of Ontario, and I am glad to say that every part of the province he visited, he described it as the garden of Canada, the leader of the Opposition declared that there was a curse, and an iniquity was being perpetrated on the people of this country in consequence of the sugar duties that had been levied by this Government. I pass by the fact that the hon. gentleman stated it twice, and neither time hit the proper percentage, because it made no difference with the calculation which the hon. gentleman made. But I state this as a fact: that if there is one line of policy which they followed when they were in power, and one article which these gentlemen never should mention before the electors of this country, it is the article of sugar and the sugar industries. What was their position? They placed a high duty upon each and every pound of raw material or raw sugar that came into Canada. What was the result? I do not need to conjecture; I do not need to suppose nor to reason from the facts of the case. When their friends were behind them, when Mr. Workman, of Montreal, and Mr. Devlin and others were behind them, Mr. Jones, of Halifax, as well, they stood up in their seats and declared that the policy of those men, by taxing at a higher rate the raw material which entered into the refining of sugar, than the refined material itself, had closed up every refinery in the land, and had driven thousands—I use the word "thousands," as used

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by these men—of hands out of employment in the Dominion of Canada. What was the price of sugar in these days? I need not refer to it. What are the facts when at the present time raw sugar has been made free? Millions of dollars have been invested in this industry, thousands of men are engaged to-day in earning a livelihood for their families and paying for the value of their homes. It is the pride of the Dominion of Canada at the present time; and what is the result so far as the people of Canada are concerned? Three or four millions of dollars of taxation has been removed from their shoulders, and instead of the people of this country being burdened down by the price of sugar complained of by the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) last night; while the average price of sugar delivered in New York last year was \$5.17 per 100 pounds, the Canadian sugar made by Canadian hands, employing profitably Canadian capital, was delivered in Montreal, not at \$5.17, but at \$4.93 per 100 pounds. Sir, there is a difference between the two policies; the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite and the policy of this Government, and I ask the members of this House as I ask the people of this country to apply a calm and impartial judgment to it, and I have no hesitation in saying that I have no fear as to what that judgment will be when the proper time comes.

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Mr. Speaker, when you left the Chair at dinner time I had just dealt with the policy of the Liberal party—with which policy the member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) seemed to have expressed his agreement—in connection with one of the great industries of Canada. I come now to discuss, Sir, for a very few moments, not the assertions which have been made by the hon. gentleman, but some of the omissions; glaring omissions, it seemed to me, having regard to the position which he occupies as the leader of a party, having regard to the place which he aspires to in Canadian public life. I say that under these circumstances they were very glaring omissions. During a speech of about two hours to which this House listened very patiently, to which this House listened, I fancy, rather expectantly, the hon. gentleman failed to propound in any one particular a policy of tariff, or a system of raising the revenue which is necessary for Canada. I ask hon. gentlemen to read that speech over carefully, and they will find that the member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), during the two hours he occupied the attention of the House, did not inform us as to one single tenet of the policy which he would carry out if he were in control of the affairs of

Canada. Although he swept away the revenue with a master stroke, he neglected to provide any substitute or to tell us in what manner he would produce sufficient revenue for the needs of Canada. He failed to do, as hon. gentlemen opposite are very fond of doing, in generalities; he failed to point out not only where he would raise a revenue, but he failed also to point out one single item of expenditure from which he could relieve the people of this country. Such being the case, we must take it that the hon. gentleman agrees with the expenditure which is now being made by Canada, as absolutely necessary for the requirements of the public service. I fancy that the hon. gentleman thinks it is not sufficient for the needs of Canada to perform the duties which as a colony of Great Britain she ought to perform. These gentlemen who are tariff reformers, whether they sit on the Opposition side of the House or whether they pretend to sit upon the cross benches, are very fond of saying what they would do in regard to the fiscal system; but at the same time they are very fond of loading up the necessities of the revenue by schemes and fads of their own. The leader of the Opposition is distinctly pledged, not to a reduction of expenditure, but, as he answered to the Minister of Railways the other night, and as he answered to myself in the session of 1891, he was prepared to load the expenditure by an increase of many millions of dollars in accordance with the agreement which he made with Mr. Mercier as to the Quebec resolutions. My hon. friend from North Simcoe, who with one bold stroke of a master statesman's pen is to slash and cut and hew away the revenue of Canada—not caring, as the theorists never care, for the necessities either of the present or the future—has also provided a scheme whereby the expenditure is not to be decreased, but whereby it is to be increased. I did not notice it in the speeches which the hon. gentleman delivered to the poor, burdened farmers of the province of Ontario, but I did notice it in an after-dinner speech which he delivered, not when he was looking for votes, but when he was hob-nobbing with the great and the wealthy and the loyal in the old land across the seas. There, speaking at the dinner table, he said he was ashamed, as a Canadian—his policy was the very opposite—that we did not help to support the navy and the army of Great Britain. And so, this gentleman, who would sweep away the revenue of Canada at a single stroke, wishes to load up the expenditure of Canada, not with additional subsidies to Mr. Mercier and his various friends in the different provinces, but with additional burdens for the purpose of helping to pay the navy and army expenses of the Empire to which we belong. I remarked to the hon. gentleman that in two hours he had not told us one single word as to what his system would be. Hero as he may be, he was not so heroic as the

hon. leader of the Opposition. The hon. leader of the Opposition this afternoon recognized the position he was in, and made an effort to explain what his system was. Was it free trade? Oh, yes, in the dim and distant and hazy future; and I think that when he uttered the words he was praying to Heaven that the time might never come. Nevertheless, that was his policy. But the hon. member for North Simcoe, while indulging in a large amount of fault-finding with the policy of this Government, did not deign to take into his confidence this House—composed as it is of 215 of the chosen representatives of Canada, charged with the management of its public affairs;—he did not deign to take this House into his confidence to the extent of one single word as to the system which he intended to adopt should he lead a party successfully to power. Possibly the hon. gentleman thought no such necessity would ever arise, and I am bound to think that his judgment was correct for once. However, Sir, I want to show, by a simple and homely illustration, the position the hon. gentleman has taken. He says to the Canadian people: You are living in a miserable hovel, the rain is falling upon you, you are shivering in the cold; and yet he takes his axe and hammers down the hovel, but fails to erect even a single board or canvas under which the people of this country are to be protected from the storms. Now, Sir, what is the hon. gentleman's policy? Is it absolute free trade? I do not hear him answer. Perhaps it is absolute free trade in the dim and distant future. He has not given us even the satisfaction of reading a resolution of his. Last year he gave us a wonderful resolution. It was a resolution which, as I said then, put to shame the man of many resolutions, the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). But this year he has not even told us whether or not he is going to vote for the resolution of the hon. member for South Oxford. He has left us entirely in the dark. While doing this, he read a lecture to my hon. friend from East York (Mr. Maclean) as to certain arguments which that hon. gentleman had been presenting to this House. It seems that recently the hon. member for North Simcoe has been reading some books upon trade questions, and, like the students whom he mentioned as just having graduated from college, he has apparently imbibed these model policies. The only difficulty which the hon. gentleman will probably experience will be to find a model country to which to apply a model policy. But I fancy that when he criticised, as he did in unmeasured and not too kindly terms, the hon. member for East York, the hon. gentleman was forgetful that the very authorities which he was quoting on his side saw better in other days, and went back on practice upon the statements which he was quoting for the edification of the House. But, Sir, he is

not the only free trade prophet that has arisen; nor is the hon. leader of the Opposition the only free trade prophet that has arisen. I remember reading a prophecy of Cobden, delivered when England had carried the measure of free trade which she possesses, to the effect that in less than a quarter of a century, every civilized country under the sun would have adopted the same policy as England. Sir, fifty years ago it looked as if the nations of the world were going to adopt free trade; but, as the hon. gentleman for East York said, the theory is one way, and the practice the other, and, instead of the nations of the world adopting free trade, we have, with the exception of Great Britain, a solid phalanx of protected nations, who have adopted protection as the best method of serving the interests of their people. Now, Sir, the policy which my hon. friend is advocating, if he has any policy, must be one thing or the other. As he has not told us, let me ask him again, what is his system? Is he an absolute free trader? My hon. friend is silent. Evidently he is not an absolute free trader. But supposing he is an absolute free trader, what does that mean? It means certainly that no duty shall be charged against any import that comes to Canada. Now, what is the result of that? There is only one result, Sir, and that result is direct taxation to the extent of twenty or twenty-one millions of dollars to supplement the other items of our revenue. Does he advocate the English system? Once more I pause for a reply. Will he throw down the bars upon our great manufacturing industries, and tax only eight or nine articles which are the necessaries of life?—and I pause once more and ask the hon. gentleman whether that is his system; because, having read all those books recently, he must have some system fixed in his mind. Now, Sir, supposing that my hon. friend adopts the English system, what is the result? The result is, supposing that he taxes the necessaries of life to the extent of \$8,000,000, then he has a balance of from \$12,000,000 to \$13,000,000 to raise. How shall it be raised? I ask the hon. gentleman to say whether I am wrong in stating that there is only one way—by some form of direct taxation on the people of this country; and I ask my hon. friend here and now whether in any of his addresses in his campaign throughout the province of Ontario, he dared mention direct taxation to the people of that province. And yet in saying that he would sweep away our tariff with a sweep of his hand, he is leading up, as sure as death and taxes come to us all, to direct taxation. Now, then, if he is not in favour of any system, is he in favour of the system these gentlemen adopted between 1874 and 1879. I think I heard an inkling of it in his speech—I think he mentioned the mystic number, 17½. Seventeen and a half per cent was the duty placed by hon. gentlemen opposite. Has

the hon. gentleman come down now to a 17½ per cent basis. Once more I pause for a reply. I desire to know whether he has adopted the old programme of hon. gentlemen opposite. But the hon. gentleman, I fancy does not care to reply. Perhaps he has read so many of his books that he has not exactly classified his knowledge, and consequently has exactly made up his mind as to just how the details of his system may be carried out. Let me tell him this, that should he adopt the policy of 1878, taking the imports of last year, the dutiable imports, which amounted to \$69,000,000, and deducting from that amount the necessaries of life, which he says ought to be free, you have \$61,000,000 of imports upon which to raise a revenue. At 17½ per cent you would raise about \$11,500,000, and you would have a deficit, to be raised by direct taxation, of \$9,000,000 or \$10,000,000. But, supposing the hon. gentleman says: No, we will not adopt the 17½ per cent, but will put just sufficient on for revenue and nothing more. Where does the hon. gentleman find himself then? He finds himself raising from \$20,000,000 to \$21,000,000 upon \$61,000,000 of imports, and he will be compelled to place a duty on these of 32 per cent, which is 4 per cent higher than the tariff against which he made a two hours' speech last night. Now, I have presented to the hon. gentleman the alternative. He must take one of these ways in which to produce a revenue for Canada, and until he does so, he is not entitled to the confidence of the House or the country, who want a definite plan laid before them, and no hazy will-o'-the-wisp for which to vote and follow. I come next to the statement of the hon. gentleman—a positive statement—that this tariff brought down by the Government is a manufacturers' tariff. But in the very same breath he complimented—no, Sir, he did not compliment, for it is not in his heart to compliment this Government upon anything—but he allowed himself to say that specific duties, the bane of the consumer, had been taken off very largely, notwithstanding it was a manufacturers' tariff. And then, notwithstanding his statement that it was a manufacturers' tariff, he grew gleeful when he said that the railway trains were full of manufacturers who were coming down to kick, because the Government were cutting their throat. Now, Sir, these statements cannot all be true. In what sense is this a manufacturers' tariff? It is a manufacturers' tariff in the sense that it encourages manufacturing, that it increases the home market, and employs our own men and women in our Canadian workshops. It is not a manufacturers' tariff in the sense that this party or Government is under the control of one or a dozen or a hundred manufacturers. Sir, the statement which was made by the hon. gentleman last year, that the manufacturers would not let this Government revise this tariff, is a state-

ment not worthy of a gentleman so distinguished as he is, who has sat in this House for the last twenty years. So far as I know, the policy of this Government is a policy which has regard to the interests of no particular class in this community. So far as I know this Government, it is one which is not controlled by the manufacturers or any set of manufacturers, but which endeavours to legislate, in the interest of the general public, for Canadians upon a Canadian plan. Now, Sir, the hon. gentleman sneers at agricultural protection. In that respect he differs somewhat from hon. gentlemen opposite. They do not outwardly sneer very much at agricultural protection. They touch it with a pole just as long as they can possibly get, when they discuss the tariff before the electors of this country, because they are disturbed by unpleasant memories upon this very question. They remember the farmers of this country knocking at the doors of Parliament, to the extent of 100,000, asking that the market of Canada be given to them, when these gentlemen were in power. They remember that their Finance Minister absolutely refused to do that, and they remember too that the effect of his refusal was that many a hundred, many a thousand farmers, assisted to sweep them out of power in 1878. Sir, sneering at the question of agricultural protection just reminds me of an incident which happened two or three years ago in connection with our legislation. We had at that time an offer upon the statute-book, which declared that when the United States were willing to give us free trade in certain large classes of products, we would do the same thing as regards similar products. The United States selected such articles as were advantageous to themselves. They took the duty off just the articles they wanted them off, and none other. Our Government felt bound, as a matter of international courtesy—though they knew it was injurious to Canada—to take the duty off those articles. What was the result? Almost every Liberal in the Niagara peninsula signed a petition asking for Heaven's sake that these things be put back again upon the dutiable list, in order that the agricultural protection should not be taken away from the people of that country. There is still a more recent event. Last year, when the French treaty was discussed, as I, among others, represent a section interested partly in the growing of grapes and making of wine, I went with a deputation and waited upon the Minister of Finance to urge that in any ratification or discussion of that treaty, the interests of the fruit growers and the wine growers should not be left out of the question. We were all Conservatives there! It was a secret conclave to advise the Minister of Finance!! Sir, it was the very opposite. I see opposite me the smiling faces of good Liberals who were occupying cosy corners in the Finance Minister's room, and

who said to him: Look here, Sir, this is an important matter in the section of the country from which we come, and we ask you to very carefully consider it because it is a very important industry. In other words, they sneer at agricultural protection, but at the same time they know in their hearts that the farmers of this country want it, and if to-morrow—and I make the statement without fear of successful contradiction—this Government should take off the duty on agricultural produce, what would be the result? There would be a noise among the farmers, there is no doubt about that, but there would be an outcry among the hon. gentlemen opposite as well. But there would be a noise among hon. gentlemen opposite; there would be a shaking of the dry bones, and immediately the telegraph wires would bear many messages, and the next day the newspapers of the Liberal kin would tell the farmers of Canada: We are your friends; these fellows have cut off your agricultural protection and consequently are not worthy of your support. I ask hon. gentlemen opposite whether that is not the case? I ask hon. gentlemen opposite whether they are prepared to cut off the agricultural protection which the farmers enjoy at the present time? But the hon. gentlemen are silent.

Mr. EDWARDS. I will answer for myself. I am prepared to vote for the removal of the delusive snare and pretense that is offered to the farmers of this country.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I am very glad, indeed, to see the smiling member for Russell rise in his place, and I congratulate him upon the hearty applause with which his sentiment was received. I tell the hon. gentleman that I knew he was not in favour of it. I remember perfectly well, when in 1891 or 1892, the Minister of Finance discovered that there were about thirty million pounds of American wheat coming in here, produced so cheaply on the other side of the line that it could be brought over here, the small duties which Canadians had against it paid and the material thrown upon the market to undersell the Canadian producer, and when he proposed, as this party backed him up in doing, to stop this, I remember these men took sides with the lumbermen as against the farmers, and opposed the duties by their votes.

Mr. EDWARDS. May I be allowed to answer the question? On the occasion to which the hon. member refers I never opened my lips with regard to the matter, but took this ground—that if that small measure of protection was a protection to the farmer, I was quite willing that they should have it. But, Mr. Speaker, I have never believed, nor do I believe now, that it is a protection to the farmer. It is a protection to the packers and not to the farmers.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I think the hon. gentleman is like the individual in the old song: "He's sorry that he spoke." The hon. gentleman seems, by his explanation, to be convinced that he would have been wiser to have kept his lips closed now.

Mr. EDWARDS. Not a bit of it.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I am quite willing to allow the hon. gentleman to speak, because he is doing my work much better than I can do it myself. However, the fact is as I have stated—these hon. gentlemen, while telling about what they will do in removing protection, are very silent with regard to the protective duties that now rest upon the foreign products that would compete with those of our farmers. The hon. gentleman says he never opened his lips against it. Well, Sir, I will take his word for that. I do not remember the facts in detail; but I have no doubt he is telling us the truth. But his hon. leader opened his lips about this question, and the hon. gentleman is supposed to follow his leader's lead, and not to lead his leader. My hon. friend shakes his head and says he does not follow his leader. Well, he is to be excused for his regard for his personal safety in not following his leader through those labyrinthine paths which he sometimes traverses. But let me say that, down at Abbotsford in the province of Quebec, the hon. gentleman's leader did condemn agricultural protection. And why? Because it seems to have been in the opinion of my hon. friend a silly business, such as my hon. friend has described. My hon. friend nods, showing that he does not follow his leader, that he does not even know what his leader said. But the hon. leader of the Opposition, speaking at Abbotsford in the province of Quebec, said: We voted against these increased duties upon flour and pork. And for what reason? Because they are intended to and will increase the prices to the consumer, and are of advantage to the farmers of Manitoba and of Ontario. Now, Sir, I leave the question of agricultural protection, but before doing so I give the member for North Simcoe the opportunity of saying whether he is in favour of removing these duties. That is a question he ought to answer. He represents an agricultural constituency, a constituency deeply interested in the home market of Canada, and the very first thing he should do in this House is to say just exactly what his position is, in order that his electors in North Simcoe may know whether it is to their interest to support him as a member of this House or not. But the hon. gentleman chooses to be silent. The hon. gentleman did not mention this subject in his speech, except that he said that the necessaries of life ought to be free. Among the necessaries of life are these very articles that are protected to a large extent by the agricultural protection to which I have referred. And I infer—and if I am drawing a wrong inference my hon. friend will correct

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me here and now—that he is in favour of withdrawing these duties entirely and of going back to the one-sided tariff in agricultural matters which the Liberals had in 1872. Now, Sir, passing by that (as the hon. gentleman does not answer) I tell him that, in another sense this is not a manufacturer's tariff, for the reason that it reduces duty wherever it can which bore upon the consumer. And I tell the hon. gentleman this—that when he said this was the last touch this Government would give to the National Policy, in other words that they would never remodel it again, that no one can expect any more relief than has been given in this act—I tell the hon. gentleman that he is wrong. If I know anything of the Government's policy, if I know anything of the minds of the members of the Government, the Government will remodel the National Policy whenever the circumstances call for it. For instance, if industries are thoroughly established and protection need no longer be afforded, the Government will act as it has acted in the present case, and as it has acted before. And if the hon. gentleman can show that combines have been formed in order to increase prices, this Government will legislate just as it is legislating now, the policy of the Government being: No combines, but cheap production by home labour and the conservation of the interest of our Canadian artisan. I was rather amused to note how sweetly the hon. gentleman spoke on this country being a pastoral country, a wholly agricultural country. There was one gentleman who agreed with him—the late lamented James G. Blaine, who was never charged with being a very great friend of Canada. When Mr. Blaine was approached on the question of reciprocity, he said to our plenipotentiaries: Yes; we are anxious to supply you with manufactured goods, and we are willing that you shall be a prosperous, happy, quiet, agricultural community. That was Mr. Blaine's answer, and now the hon. member for Simcoe agrees with this statement and says that we must be a great agricultural country and have no varied industries. I prefer to take the position taken by the leader of the Opposition in 1876, when he said: We must have a national industry, and I go for protecting that national industry in the Parliament of Canada in order that we may become, not a wholly agricultural people, but a people of varied industries and great prosperity, as no purely agricultural people. The hon. gentleman neglected to state that the interests of the manufacturer and the interests of the farmer are so closely interwoven that no distinction can be drawn between them. I see the hon. gentleman has been reading the statistics of America. Did he ever read the census statistics of the United States, showing the mutual inter-dependence of the farming, manufacturing and artisan classes? As he may have looked over it in his extensive reading, I shall give him the statement as prepared by Mr. Dodge, the statis-

tician of the United States. It is a statement as to the value of lands in purely agricultural, in partly industrial, and in largely industrial sections of country. The statement is this, as the hon. gentlemen will find from the official records. He divides the country into four sections. The population of the first one was 18 per cent agricultural, and the land there was worth \$38 per acre. In the second, there was 42 per cent agricultural, and the land there was worth \$30.55 per acre. In the third, 58 per cent was agricultural, and the land there was worth \$13.53. In the fourth, 77 per cent of the population was agricultural, and the value of the land was \$5.18 per acre, showing, as I think this House will agree unanimously, if they express their candid opinion upon it, that the interests of the agricultural producers and the interests of the industrial consumers are interdependent and closely connected with each other. Now, what is the next fault which the hon. gentleman finds with the tariff which has been brought down by this Government? He says we have not met the United States in friendly terms. He is exceedingly anxious now to meet the United States, though last year in Toronto he said, We don't want the Yankees, they won't give us their markets, and we won't give them ours. Now, I tell the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), as I tell every hon. gentleman on the opposite side of the House, that it is impossible to show in the records of history that we have ever failed to deal fairly and squarely with the American people. We have looked upon them as a neighbour. We have wished that we should regard one another as the two great daughters of the one mother, going together hand in hand, in prosperity, in happiness, and in wealth upon this continent of America. We have made proposal after proposal, with which I do not wish to deal at any great length to-night, and the hon. gentleman will not find in all the history of the past a record of a single instance where we have not agreed to deal honourably and have kept our agreement, and to meet them with proper concessions. The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills), whom I respect exceedingly, on account of the amount of study he has given to all these great questions, argued the other day in this style: This Government was to be condemned. Why? Because there was a tax upon the agricultural produce that went into the markets of the United States. Now, my hon. friend must know that such an argument is not based upon any sound foundation. This Government has nothing to do with that. My hon. friend knows just as well as I do, and a great deal better, that this Government does not place a duty upon products that go into the United States. It is the Government of the United States, as the hon. gentleman knows, who does that, and I only explain it to him be-

cause he seems to have forgotten it, not, I am sure, because he did not know it. The hon. gentleman smiles and shakes his head. His answer would be, no doubt, But you have refused to get reciprocity. That would be his answer, but I tell the hon. gentleman that he has no foundation for that statement. I tell him further that the Government of Canada, of which he was afterwards a member, once made a trial, and I ask the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) whether he is prepared to-night to make a more liberal proposal to the people of the United States than the Hon. George Brown did in 1874? That was as fair a proposal as any plenipotentiary ever made to the plenipotentiary of another country; it was a proposal which gave us free trade in agricultural produce, in the produce of the mine, of the forest and of the seas. It included a large number of manufactures of leather, of wood, of cotton, &c. In addition to that, we agreed to spend millions of dollars to deepen our canals for their use; we offered to construct another canal that, after they had completed a link, would have given them an uninterrupted waterway from New York to the very base of the prairies. In addition to that, George Brown, as the representative of our Government, offered to yield up the rights which we had under the Fishery Commission then sitting at Halifax, and which afterwards gave us \$5,000,000 in gold. Now, was that not a fair and honourable offer? But what came of it? It was hung up in the Senate of the United States, and never even referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. And what was done afterwards? I have gone through the pages of the 'Hansard,' and these men who stand here and weep by the mouth as to the value of reciprocity, in all the years in which they were in power after the Hon. George Brown failed at Washington, have only twenty lines upon the 'Hansard' itself in regard to reciprocity. And what are those twenty lines? An announcement from the leader that: We have made no new proposals; we have made our proposals, and they have been rejected, and when the United States wish to make a proposal we are willing to consider it. That is the record of hon. gentlemen opposite on the question of reciprocity. Now, what have the United States offered us?—because my hon. friend weeps that we have not met them in a proper spirit. Well, they have said to us—no, they have not said to us, they are thinking about saying to us—for the Bill is not yet passed, we hope in some respects it will pass, but the hon. gentleman knows as well as I do that it has not yet passed. But one of the expected provisions of that Bill is that they will offer us free trade in wheat, in flour, in provisions, in corn, in pork, in butter and in meats—just the things, I am bound to say, that we do not want to come in here, and giving us nothing that we want to send over there, and the hon. gentleman weeps

that we have not accepted this offer upon the part of the United States. Now, what does this tariff do that has been brought down by the Government? It makes a tariff offer according to a principle that I am bound to say I would be willing to extend as far as possible, namely, that if you will give us a market for this article we will give you a market for another article. We want mutual advantage, we do not want it at all on your side, and we are not selfish enough to ask it all on our side; but if you will let our barley go into your markets we will let your corn come into our markets. That is a fair and honourable exchange. I do not think the Government will confine itself to that particular item, but they will go all through the list, and will deal in a straightforward and honourable way, only asking that we get some advantage, only asking that we shall retain control of our own tariff, only asking that we shall not be required to do anything that will disturb the cordial relations which exist between this country and the old land from which we come. Now, the hon. gentleman complains that we have not reciprocated in the offer that they seem to be intending to make, that we shall have reciprocity in agricultural implements. Sir, I do not know the minds of the Government on this question, having had no consultation with the Minister of Finance upon it, nor with any other member; but I will say to him that while they, by a tariff, would offer us the free introduction of agricultural implements into their markets, in reality, by vexatious patent laws, they would absolutely shut us out of that market. Do hon. gentlemen question that statement? Let me say that away back in the early '80's before the Canadian Pacific Railway was constructed, when the first Canadian agricultural implements were sent into the province of Manitoba, the bonded car passing through one of the states of the North-west of the United States was seized. Why? Because it was said those agricultural implements were patented in the state of Minnesota, and consequently they did not desire to allow them to go through on the lines of railway in the United States. It was settled on the plea that it was a bonded car and they had no right to interfere with it. But these patents would prevent our agricultural implement manufacturers to a large extent enjoying any of the advantages of reciprocity intended to be given us in connection with the reduction of rates. But there is another instance, which the hon. member for Monck (Mr. Boyle) will remember very well, because he had a great deal to do with it. It will be remembered that two or three years in connection with the statutory offer we removed the duty from seedlings and various other stock raised in nurseries. What did we find? We found this, and I ask the fruit growers of the Niagara district to bear me out in the assertion, that there was no advantage to the consumers so

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to speak on the other hand, but on the other hand we found that while we were admitting American stock absolutely free, many states had a law placing exactions on agents, one even preventing foreign agents from working, and another state demanding a cash deposit with respect to certain technicalities, the effect of which was to prevent our people selling stock in the markets of the United States. My hon. friend from Monck (Mr. Boyle), I think, went to the extent of introducing a bill with the object of securing for our people fair play in connection with this one-sided business which was then being transacted. The policy of Canada, as I have stated it on that question, and my hon. friend knows it very well, is a policy of friendship to the United States, but also a policy which demands our rights and insists on the maintenance of those rights, with the war ships of England to back them if necessary, but we ask nothing more than our rights in dealing with our neighbours. In the next place, the hon. gentleman says, We do not discriminate in favour of Great Britain. We do not claim to do so. Great Britain makes her own tariff. We make our own tariff. Great Britain does not ask us to discriminate in connection with her exports to us. In the next breath the hon. gentleman says that we do not make any special arrangements with the United States. How does the hon. gentleman expect we are to discriminate in favour of the United States and in favour of Great Britain too? It is a double-barrelled shot-gun, each barrel loaded a different way. If we were to throw down the barriers against Great Britain we would annoy the United States, whereas if we were to give wide and special privileges to the people of the United States we must annoy Great Britain. We may do the one or the other, but the hon. gentleman knows from the books he has been reading that it is impossible to do both. In the next place, I desire to say that we do not discriminate against Great Britain. Hon. gentlemen opposite have been arguing that we do discriminate against Great Britain. What is discrimination? It is placing a higher duty against Great Britain than against any other country. Can the hon. gentleman point to one item in the tariff which makes an exception as against Great Britain. That is discrimination; nothing else is discrimination. The hon. gentleman from Bothwell (Mr. Mills) smiles. I know his argument as well as I knew the pictures which hung on the walls in the home of my childhood, I have heard it so often. He says that on certain classes of goods imported from Great Britain we charge more on them because we are importing raw material from the United States and the manufactured products from Great Britain, and therefore there is discrimination against Great Britain, because the rate of duty upon the manufactured goods

coming from Great Britain is higher than the average upon goods coming from the United States, because their exportations are largely raw material.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). That is not the argument.

Mr. MONTAGUE. It is so very close to it that there may be a distinction without a difference.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). No.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Admitting that is discrimination, I will give the hon. gentleman figures—or rather I will ask him to look them up, or perhaps he knows them—figures which will satisfy him that when his Government was in power they discriminated three times as much against Great Britain as we do today. It is just as nonsensical to say that we discriminate against Great Britain as it is to assert that Great Britain discriminates against the country from which it obtains its raisins or its cocoa. It has one system. In that system it happens that duties are paid on the products of one particular country. We have another system. It happens under it that we get a large quantity of raw material from the United States, but while there is an apparent discrimination, there is no real discrimination to the extent of one millionth part of a cent in one single item of the customs tariff of Canada. Passing by that question, I come to the statement which the hon. gentleman made, and he grew merry over it, that the National Policy had produced no industry in this Dominion. Such was the statement made by the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy). Then how did he arrive at it? He first grew merry at the schedules. He told the House that milliners, dress makers, boot and shoe makers, harness makers, blacksmiths, and all those industries were included in the schedules and named manufactures. The hon. gentleman, while intending to be entirely honest, was rather disingenuous, I think. I venture to ask the hon. gentleman a very humble question. I said to him, "Does the hon. gentleman know that the same course is followed in other countries? Does he not know that the men must be scheduled somewhere? Does he not know that in Great Britain, his model, not only manufacturers of boots and shoes, coats and pants, are included, but the men who split kindling wood and sell it on the streets are called manufacturers, and are so included in the schedules?" Having grown very merry at this system, what did the hon. gentleman do? He immediately began, with that skilful handling of the question that a great lawyer always possesses, to diagnose in a manner which we physicians call by exclusion, and he immediately excluded the greater portion of the people who are engaged in the industries of the country. First, he says bakers are not manufacturers. That is pretty hard on the hon. member for South Brant

(Mr. Paterson), who is not only a manufacturer, but is also a member of a manufacturers' combine, and the hon. member from South Brant (Mr. Paterson), in his splendid works, which have grown two hundred or four hundred per cent since the National Policy came into operation, works which the hon. member is doubling this year under the policy of this Conservative Administration, employs a great many bakers, who are as much artisans as are men in machine shops or in any other industrial establishment. Then he excludes coopers. Of course the making of barrels in the hon. gentleman's mind is not combined with any other industry. Next, he strikes off blacksmiths, who, according to the hon. gentleman's knowledge of the industry, have nothing to do except to shoe horses. The hon. gentleman should know that in the rolling mills and the great foundries and the machine shops there are thousands of blacksmiths, who are kept in this country by the National Policy; and yet he excludes them from the list. The fact is this, that some years ago many of those men were engaged at the country cross roads in the pursuit of their avocation. Sir, the hon. gentleman has forgotten to take note of the progress of time and industry. In the course of progress the industrial trades have changed and manufactures have changed. It becomes a question whether these men—because the article they produce is being produced so much cheaper in the factories of another country—It should be driven to other lands, and the products of other lands come in here, or whether they should go to the factories and take their places there as the artisans of the industries of this country. Our policy says: let them take their place in the army of the workingmen of this country, the policy of my hon. friend says: let them go, and let us bring in the finished product for the people of Canada. The hon. gentleman grew merry once more, and he said: the export of manufactures has been a trivial thing: he forgot, of course, the consumption of the home market. That did not amount to anything in his great mind, but he said that our export of manufactures was exceedingly trivial, and then he made an ingenious comparison. He compared the percentage in Great Britain with the absolute increase in Canada, and that was very much to our disadvantage, because they had increased their exports 12 per cent in Great Britain, and the increase was only \$1,000,000 or so in Canada. The hon. gentleman found that the percentage business did not work, because in England it was about 12 per cent, and in Canada it was about 100 per cent. The hon. gentleman prepared to give us what suited his argument exactly; but, Sir, are these not the carpings of a man who wants to criticise; are these not the breathings of a man who would not be satisfied anyway; and are these not the wallings of a man whose business it is to be dissatisfied?

Let him go to the facts of the case, and if he wants the results of the operation of the National Policy let him take the truth itself as it is given in the imports of raw material. And more than that let him not go to 1881, but let him go to 1879, because we do not propose allowing the tariff of hon. gentlemen opposite to have the credit of the increase between 1879 and 1881. Now, Sir, what are the facts? The hon. gentleman knows them very well, having quoted them many a time. Let me give figures to this House which indicate what have been the true facts regarding the National Policy in regard to industries. I take first raw sugar. We imported in 1878, 19,000,000 pounds; in 1881 we imported 125,000,000 pounds, and in 1893 we imported 252,000,000 pounds, and the increase between 19,000,000 pounds and 252,000,000 pounds is the measure of the occupation and employment that has been given to the people of this country. Well, Sir, in 1878 we imported cotton and waste to the extent of 8,000,000 pounds; in 1881 we imported cotton and waste to the extent of 16,000,000 pounds, and in 1893 we imported 41,000,000 pounds, and once more the increase between 8,000,000 and 41,000,000 pounds is the measure of good that the National Policy has done to the woollen industries of this country. Of crude rubber we imported 458,000 pounds in 1878; 597,000 pounds in 1881, and 1,543,000 pounds in 1893. Of wool we imported 6,000,000 in 1878; 8,000,000 in 1881, and 10,000,000 pounds in 1893. Pig iron has doubled in import, as well as increased largely in home production. I say that this is the true test of the impetus that has been given to our industrial life by the National Policy, and the hon. gentleman (Mr. McCarthy) may exclude a set of employees here and a set of employees there, but he cannot get away from the fact that the true test is: that to-day we bring in five and six times the amount of raw material to be made up by the hands of Canadian men and women than we did in 1878. Now, Sir, one or two more remarks, and I am done. First, the hon. gentleman (Mr. McCarthy) said in this House last night: the manufacturers are not such bad fellows.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I would ask the hon. gentleman whether he has under his hand now the estimated amount of wool produced in the country in each of these periods, and whether it is not a fact that a very much larger quantity was produced at the earlier period than at the later period to which he referred?

Mr. MONTAGUE. I may say to the hon. gentleman that I have not the figures he refers to, nor do I know exactly as to his statement with regard to it. The hon. gentleman (Mr. McCarthy) said last night: the manufacturers are not keeping this money that they are overcharging the people of the country. The member for South Oxford

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(Sir Richard Cartwright) has divided the manufacturers into minor thieves and major thieves, but the member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) said: Oh, no, they are not loaded down with wealth, and they don't make any more money, perhaps, than they would under another system. It is all right to say that in this House, but the hon. gentleman does not say that when he is out in the country. The hon. gentleman tells the farmers of the country that when a manufacturer gives an item here or there for a charity or for another purpose: Oh, that is your money and mine. I only mention the fact to call attention to the different tones of the hon. gentleman when he comes before those who are perhaps better able to judge. Now, Sir, I intend to deal only very generally with the question of prices, because I have not had time to go into his calculations. But let me say this: that the very first man to say the prices would be reduced under the National Policy was the member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). In 1879, when this question was up he called the attention of the House to the fact that the manufacturers would be in worse straits under the new policy than under the old, and he gave as his reason that home competition would be more severe than competition from abroad. The member for South Brant (Mr. Paterson) went out to Uxbridge and he told the people: we are worse off than ever, because new industries will start and the consequence is we will be driven from our own market. But, Sir, the member for Quebec West (Mr. Laurier), the distinguished leader of the Opposition, only the other day made a speech at Newmarket, and what was that speech? My hon. friend from Quebec County (Mr. Fremont) will be able to say whether I am right in regard to the facts in connection with Quebec East. The leader of the Opposition said this: the manufacturers do not want this policy, and he substantiated his statement and backed it up by a recital of these facts: that in his constituency there were a large number of boot and shoe manufacturers, and that the effect of the tariff has been that there are too many of these shoe manufacturers, and their prices are not nearly so good as if they had no protection at all. And he called a friend who was on the platform to him, and he said: You are just in the same boat namely, the agricultural implement manufacturer, who was his friend and who sat with him on the platform presiding, I think, over the meeting which the leader of the Opposition addressed. Now, Sir, the fact is, that the hon. gentleman (Mr. McCarthy) last night tactfully admitted that home production had decreased the price. He did not say so directly, but he said: of course, there are exceptions to every rule. If the hon. gentleman had gone into the figures he would have found that that statement applied with equal truth to every indus-

try in this country. With regard to the very class of agricultural implements upon which he spoke, the binder that seven years ago cost \$210 cost last year in the Dominion of Canada only \$110 to the farmers, and so with regard to the many articles which have been produced in Canada under the National Policy. But as hon. gentlemen who sit beside me may perhaps deal with this question in detail, I leave it for their consideration, and pass to the consideration of one other item, and then I have done. I pass to the consideration of the statement made by the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), which to my mind was the highest compliment the farmers of the province of Ontario have received for years. In order to show the progress of England, he said: that this England that is decaying, between the years 1881 and 1892, has increased the incomes upon which the income tax is levied to the extent of 18 per cent, and then what did he compare it with in Canada? Generous heart; he compared it with the poor farmers of the province of Ontario. He said not a word with regard to the merchants or the bankers or the capitalists of this country. I am glad to say that he spoke of the farmers of the province of Ontario as among the wealthiest of the farmers of Canada; and he will not deny that no better or happier or more prosperous class of farmers exist in the world. He said to them: I compare you with the capitalists and merchants and bankers of England; and what was the result? They had increased their wealth, he said, 11 per cent, while those capitalists and merchants and bankers had increased their wealth only 18 per cent. Not a bad compliment, I think, to the farmers of the province of Ontario. Now, Sir, I have gone very much further and detained the House at much greater length than I had intended. I wish to say, in conclusion, that, so far as the members on this side of the House are concerned, and I believe as far as the people of this country are concerned, they have confidence in this Government, because it has carried out its promises—its promises to investigate the facts, to relieve the people of the burden of taxation wherever possible, and to take away undue protection wherever it existed—in short, to legislate in the interest of the greatest number of the Canadian people.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that this House cannot have failed to notice the great contrast between the speech delivered by the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) last night and that just delivered by the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague) in reply. The hon. member for Haldimand was smarting under an assumed insult. He felt that the hon. member for North Simcoe had made a statement that he ought not to have made in regard to himself and the hon. Minister of Railways. If I understood the hon. member for North Simcoe, he simply stated that the

Minister of Railways, like all distinguished men in older countries—and why should we not have the same practice here?—found it necessary to have the benefit of clergy, and had a private chaplain; and I am sure, Mr. Speaker, that no man needed a chaplain more than the hon. Minister of Railways, and no man was better able to give spiritual advice in the direction in which it was required by the hon. Minister of Railways than the hon. member for Haldimand; and the cheers that went up from the supporters of the Government showed, not appreciation of the hon. member for Haldimand at all, but the bitter feeling that ran through them all at the fact that the hon. member for North Simcoe had stood at last on firm ground on the subject of the tariff and that the loss to them of the brains of the Conservative party was a very serious loss indeed. The hon. gentleman represented that the hon. member for North Simcoe had left the Conservative party because he had felt affronted by it in some way. Well, I think there is authority to the contrary. I am reading from the Toronto 'Evening News', where I find that a member of the Government did not think so at a meeting of the stockholders of the 'Empire' newspaper, held about the 10th of March last. At that meeting some remarks were made about the paper, when the Hon. Mr. Patterson came to the rescue:

At this juncture Mr. Patterson intervened in the defence of the Government. He said the Government had not authorized the stupid article attacking Mr. McCarthy and intimating to that gentleman that the Conservative leaders wanted no more of him. An administration would be foolish thus to injure itself. It was the policy of the Government to draw the people to it, and not to drive them away.

Did that look as if the hon. member for North Simcoe had left the Conservative party because he could not get a position from the party? I am not here as the apologist of the hon. member for North Simcoe. In Ontario, I take it, he can take care of himself. In Ontario, I take it, he is as well known as the hon. gentleman who last addressed this House; and if the hon. member thinks that by pointing to him as a reader—as a man who is studying the question he proposes to speak upon—he is going to bring contempt upon him, he is very much mistaken. It would be well for the hon. member himself to learn the first principles of political economy before he finds fault with any man for studying the subject. Of course, it was a strange thing for him to think that any man had to study political economy. Oh, no, there is no principle in it; there is nothing in it at all. The hon. gentleman sought to show that the hon. member for North Simcoe was not able to prepare a speech for himself. The hon. gentleman is absent—I am sorry for it. He expressed regret that the hon. member for North Simcoe was out of the House when he spoke; but

he evidently thinks that he is so great a man that he can leave the Chamber while I am speaking. I would be glad to get the notes of that speech from him. How did he get them? I will tell you how he got them. Mr. Farrer, who he says prepared the speech, was the man who prepared all documents for the Conservative party. He was the soul of the Conservative party, so far as getting literature for it was concerned.

Mr. LANDERKIN. And the brains, too.

Mr. FRASER. He was called the brains. Perhaps he could use the pen better than the hon. member for North Simcoe, being a newspaper man, and so, at the dictation of the Conservative party, he made up a speech of the worst character against the French of Quebec, while at the same time they were asking for the support of the French people. Mr. Farrer was the man of all others who not only prepared that speech, but who prepared also the facts for Protestant electors and the facts for the Catholic electors. He was the man who was ready on all occasions. Now, I will tell you how that speech came into the possession of the hon. member for Haldimand. It was in this way: He saw that it was a good speech, and not being able to prepare one himself, he took it, and he has been using it ever since. If he produced it here you would find in it the germs of his speech of to-night and of all his other speeches. I do not think it fair of him, now that he has used it with advantage before the public, to bring it up now against the hon. member for North Simcoe. At times the hon. gentleman was prophetic; at other times he was interrogative. Oh, he wanted so many questions answered. One time he spoke about backing the Government up, and how the people would again rally to their support. Brave man, was he not? He had to gerrymander his own constituency and handicap his opponent to the number of three or four hundred votes before he would dare to meet him. He can easily talk about having men at his back. Now, let us come to two or three matters of which the hon. gentleman spoke. He said that protection was to be kept up no longer than the time when it was found that an improper use was being made of it, and therefore the tariff has been modified. Has there been an improper use made of the various items in which changes have been made? The argument is irresistible that every change made in the tariff has been made because there has been an improper use made of the protection which it gave. There is no getting away from that argument. Now, I will give the hon. gentleman one instance of an improper use made of the tariff, and yet no change has been made. We have a glass factory in the town of New Glasgow. We were making glass, but the Montreal glass factory were making glass too. And they found that they did

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not want competition. And what did they do? They came down to New Glasgow where we had two hundred hands employed; they bought out every article of manufacture—all the raw material, all the moulds, and they said: We will work this factory for you part of the year, and we will pay you 8 per cent on the capital you have invested in the business. They then closed the factory, and from that day to this, have not opened it, but have continued to pay the shareholders 8 per cent on their money—and they only run the factory in Montreal. There is an instance in which an improper use is made of a combine, and there is a chance for the Finance Minister to do something. But no, there is no likelihood of his interfering. My hon. friend seems to think that when he says manufactured articles are cheaper in Canada than in the United States, he has made a good point. Now, this strikes me, as it would any ordinary, common-sense man. If you can buy manufactured articles in Canada cheaper than you can in the United States, would it not be a good thing for us to be able to send our goods there? And why do you require a duty when you can manufacture cheaper here than they can in the United States? In one breath, the hon. gentleman says the article is cheaper here, and in the next he says it is absolutely necessary to keep the American article out altogether. Does it not seem extraordinary that we cannot trade with a people who are unable to manufacture articles as cheaply as we do. In ordinary business, a merchant in one town is not afraid to send his goods to another town to enter into competition with a rival who has to sell dearer. That does not happen in ordinary business, and it is somewhat remarkable that it should happen in our relations with the country to the south of us. What the Government have done, said the hon. gentleman, is to so arrange that we only pay duties on the articles we need least. Now, I have prepared a little statement of my own, which I shall read to the House in order to show the way that taxation is imposed in this country. House furniture and hardware is taxed 32½ per cent, but we are solaced with the fact that broom corn and ice comes into the country free. Shovels and spades are taxed 35 per cent, but the man who uses the shovel and the spade has the great satisfaction of knowing that he can obtain arsenic free of duty. When he is almost driven to death with paying 35 per cent, he has the consolation of knowing that he can buy arsenic free. Cordage for fishermen pays 30 per cent, but locust bean meal, tortoise shells, bees and leeches come into the country free. Is not that a consolation for the poor farmer? Of course, bees come in free in order that there may be honey made, so that the hon. member for St. John (Mr. Hazen) can make a little extra taffy for the Finance Minister. Binder twine pays 12½ per cent, but then

precious stones and cochineal come in free, in order that the hon. member for Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) and others like myself, who are fond of fun, may paint the town red. Coal oil comes in at 200 per cent, but then aux vomica, beans, sausage skins uncleaned, catgut, fossils, and rags come in free. The rags for the poor man after he has paid his 35 per cent on all these articles, come in free. Again, agricultural implements pay 25 per cent, but the farmer has the profound satisfaction of knowing that tartar emetic and grease are free. It will indeed be a great satisfaction to the poor man, after he has paid his 35, 30, 27½, and 40 per cent on articles of daily use, which he must have, to feel that he can go to sleep with the heavenly satisfaction of knowing that at least sausage skins and uncleaned rags are free. That is the tariff of hon. gentlemen opposite. Now, these things, by contrast, show exactly the character of the tariff. Everybody knows that it is not designed in the interests of the consumer. Everybody knows that it is designed in the interests of men who are using it for their personal advantage. Everybody knows that just as you shift the duty from one article, there is an advance on the other side, on some other article. The hon. gentleman who spoke, gave great credit to the hon. Finance Minister, because, when he took \$3,000,000 off sugar, he was still able to have as large a revenue as before. Is it not a brilliant feat to reduce the duty on one article and put it on another? Is it not a stroke of genius that when you have to raise \$24,000,000 you continue to raise it by changing the duties from one article to another. What statesmanship is there in that? It is just as easy to make the duty 35 or 30, as 40 per cent. It simply consists in writing down the figures 30 in place of 40, and so on. If that is statesmanship, then I admit that the hon. gentlemen opposite are statesmen. We have heard a good deal about this tariff, but there is one thing which strikes me as very peculiar in hon. gentlemen opposite. I am not able to understand it, but perhaps hon. gentlemen opposite may be able to explain it. How is it that whenever any change is made hon. gentlemen opposite cheered. They cheered when the duty was taken off sugar; they cheered when the duty was put upon something else. They cheered when the tariff was high; they cheered when the tariff was low. They cheered when the Finance Minister came down and said he was going to take a million and a half dollars off the taxation of the country. They cheered when the clerical errors were discovered. They will cheer no matter what change is made. Why, the only consistent gentleman on the other side is the hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean), for he manfully said that, rotten as was the principle of protection—and I give him credit for standing by it—you should not touch it at all. He has an able

assistant in the hon. member for Inverness (Mr. Cameron), who warned the Government that if they took one single brick out, the whole structure will come tumbling down.

Mr. CAMERON. Did they take one away?

Mr. FRASER. They have taken more than one, and the hon. gentleman is their most servile supporter. He cheered when his brick was taken away, and he will cheer when every brick is taken away. He will stand on the ruins of the building, when every brick is gone, and will still cheer. He cheers every time. Now, does it not strike any one that the argument of the hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean) is the only consistent argument from the protectionist's point of view. If protection is to be maintained in the tariff, any change made should be in that direction if it be changed at all. The hon. gentleman says, and says with candour, that it should not be changed at all. And in that he is consistent. But I fear that, even although they have broken his heart by taking away something from his darling protective system, he will be found with the Government just the same as if they had not touched the holy thing he worshipped. Have the Government attempted to reform the tariff on the line they have said? Let us see for a moment. The hon. gentlemen opposite are very fond of referring to speeches made upon various occasions by gentlemen on this side of the House. Now, I will not reply in kind. I will not speak, for example, about the speeches of the hon. Finance Minister. Last year he spoke about the farmer not being taxed at all. We all remember his beautifully-rounded periods, as he spoke of the farmer's wife collecting the wool of the sheep and taking it to the nearest stream to wash it, then drying it upon the sward and taking it home and combing, spinning, and weaving it, and making it into clothing for the family. And the farmer going to the woods to get his firewood free. And so the farmer was free from taxation.

An hon. MEMBER. And the water was free.

Mr. FRASER. And the water was free. Yes, water was free to the farmer. And they cheered the hon. gentleman to the echo. The men who represent the manufacturing districts, and the men who represent the agricultural districts cheered together. And, this year, when the Finance Minister came down and said the Government were very sympathetic for the farmer, these same gentlemen cheered again. The farmer, who last session was all right, has sympathy thrown at him this year. But the cheers come from gentlemen opposite on all occasions. The hon. member for Centre Toronto (Mr. Cockburn) had given his views previously upon this great question. Like the statesman that he is, he spoke about industries that ought to receive protection and those that ought not

to receive it. He said that if an industry was flourishing, it should get protection; if not, cut it down, for it cumbereth the ground. This, no doubt, was an application of the well-known text of scripture: To him that hath shall be given; and from him that hath not shall be taken away, even that what he hath. But, Mr. Speaker, when the hon. gentleman came to address the House upon the changes made in the tariff, with that true devotion to his party which never swerves, he was found the strongest, the ablest, and withal, the most cheerful supporter of the Government. I might reply in kind by going all over the list of hon. gentlemen opposite. But would that be an answer? The hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague) says: that the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), once upon a time had a speech prepared for him by somebody else. And gentlemen opposite cheered him to the echo, evidently thinking the hon. member for Simcoe had been answered. Suppose the hon. member for Haldimand had said anything about the tariff that was worth answering, would it be an answer to say that he himself had taken a hand in preparing a paper for somebody else, that he had looked for higher game and had prepared a paper for the Queen, which was to be distributed among the Indians in his constituency. It would be a far better answer than that given by the hon. gentleman to my hon. friend from North Simcoe, because the speech prepared for the hon. member for Simcoe was a speech to be delivered to intelligent people, while this fraud practised upon the poor red man was unworthy the dignity of a man. Still this would be no answer to anything the hon. gentleman said. The question before us is: Is the tariff made upon lines in the interest of the people? I was rather amused at one of the hon. gentlemen, I have forgotten which, who spoke about the glories of protection. By the way, Mr. Speaker, it will be noticed that every speech made by hon. gentlemen opposite was a speech for the old tariff. They seemed like the minister of whom I once heard, who had lost the text for his sermon. He was obliged to find another text, but, whatever the text, he had to preach the sermon as he had prepared it. Hon. gentlemen opposite seem to have been like the hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean)—they thought there would be no change made. The hon. member for East York in the paper of which he is the editor, and which does him credit, gave out from time to time that there would be no change. It was considered that he was a power behind the throne and knew what would happen. And when the changes come in, we find that they are neither in the interests of protection nor are they in the interests of the masses. As to the contention that this is a tariff for protection, I have prepared a little statement about a matter of which I know something to illustrate this point. I am sorry the Min-

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ister of Finance is not here. I would be glad to give him these memoranda. Take, for example, ferro-manganese. The old duty was \$2 per ton. The material is largely used in the manufacture of iron; 75 per cent of it is iron and it is worth in bond \$52 per ton. The present duty is 10 per cent, equal to over \$5 per ton, or an advance in the duty of 150 per cent. And when I tell hon. gentlemen that two manufactories of ferro-manganese supply the whole of the United States and two supply the whole of Britain, he cannot but agree with me when I say that not until we are a nation of twenty or thirty millions can we have a manufactory of this material in Canada. So the tariff, in place of running on protective lines is a mere hotch-potch. Now, take iron and steel bridges. They formerly paid a duty of \$25 per ton but not less than 35 per cent. Now the duty is 30 per cent. The finished girder, plate and lattice work bridges bring \$40 per ton. Thus the present duty is equal to \$12 per ton, or less than one-half of the old duty, and foreign bridges came in even under the old duty. The hon. member for Haldimand stated that the Government policy was to take off the protective duty if an improper use was made of it. Was an improper use made of it by the bridge-makers in Canada that the Government reduced the duty to less than one-half what it was before? I can find only one explanation for this change, and that is that the Curran bridge scandal has raised such a cry against bridges that they are determined to bring down the price so that such a thing may never occur again. The duty on fish-plates is reduced one-half. By the former duty the Government led the iron and steel makers to put in heavy and expensive plant for the production of their goods. The duty on the bars from which fish-plates are manufactured is \$10 per ton. In converting a ton of three bars into fish-plates \$3 worth of labour is employed. And, although the raw material pays a duty of \$10, the finished article has a protective duty of only \$6. This, no doubt, is on the line of protection. Now, for myself, I do not for a moment think there should be any special legislation in favour of the manufacture of iron or of anything else. The hon. Finance Minister said there was only one pure free trader in this House, the hon. member for Charlotte (Mr. Gillmor). He was mistaken. There are more here, and there are more in the country. Let there be no misunderstanding about the position of the Liberal party upon this question. The hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague) thought he was making a point against the leader of the Opposition when he spoke about free trade being far in the future. Yes, I regret to say that it is. Evil of all kinds, and selfishness of all kinds, are not easily rooted out. On account of the hardness of the Israelites' heart they were allowed to practice polygamy; and on account of the ignorance and selfishness of

many of the people of Canada, we shall have protection as long as selfishness can govern. Refined selfishness was the proper description given of this system by the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy). Now, let us see whether this proposed tariff is in the interest of the majority of the people. For example, the duty on dress goods largely used in this country, has been raised. I will give you a quotation. An importer paid \$800 more in Montreal for those goods the day after the tariff was brought down than he would have paid the day before. He paid \$11 more on \$125 worth of goods, and he paid \$8 more on \$90 worth of goods. To be specific, goods costing 10 cents per yard and under, paid 22½ per cent under the old tariff. Goods costing 10 cents and under 14 cents, paid 25 per cent; and goods costing 14 cents and overpaid 27½ per cent. In 1893 the duty upon these articles was \$1,011,000, the duty under the new tariff upon these same goods will be just \$115,000 more than it was under the old tariff. It is in the interest of the people of Canada, is it not? Our wives and daughters and sisters and mothers who buy dresses, will have to pay, or we will have to pay for them, \$115,000 more for their dresses the next year. And still it is a great thing! There is one article alone. The hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Kenny) knows about tea as well as I do. I venture to say that in the next two years there will not be a cargo of tea taken directly to Halifax by water from China, or Japan, or Ceylon. Everybody knows about the tea business. They know, for example, that the first crop is gathered in May, the next crop six weeks after, and the next crop six weeks after that. They know there are men in China, Japan, and Ceylon who are busily picking up this tea, and they are in direct communication every day with London. They sometimes make or lose fortunes by single purchases of tea. Now, with all the communication we have between Halifax and London every day, we get such quantities of tea as we want direct from London. For example, the importer in Halifax will order a cargo of tea, and it might be discovered by the time it reached Halifax that they do not want the tea, and he would have to suffer; whereas those who do business in the great centre of all business, London, understand it so well that they can treat directly with these men who want to purchase. But we have taken a great deal of tea from London. Now, despite my hon. friends opposite, who do not think that all trade is exchange, I will venture the old-fashioned remark that when we buy tea in London we send them something for it. No man goes over from Halifax with \$10,000 or \$20,000 in his pocket to purchase tea; some other articles are sent there to pay for the tea. But the Government are going to destroy that particular trade, they are going to do this, unless you can find other channels by which exchange

can be made for other articles. But where is the sense of it anyway? In whose interest is this tea business? Who is going to benefit? Is it going to benefit the Canadian Pacific Railway? Is it made in the interest of Montreal? The hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Kenny) represents what we think is about as good a city as can be found anywhere, for its size, and yet here is a blow struck directly at the business of that city, and with no reason whatever except some reason that the country cannot see, in favour of somebody who is going to get the advantage of that 10 per cent. Does the country get the advantage of it? Not at all. For, besides the carriage by the longer direction, and subject to all other incidents, every bit of tea that comes from Great Britain pays 10 per cent more. And yet this is a tariff in the interest of a free breakfast table! Now, the hon. member for St. John was pleased to speak about the lower provinces, and particularly St. John, N. B., and the great state of prosperity that St. John was enjoying. Sir, while the echoes of his sonorous voice were still ringing in this Chamber, and he thought he had shown to the satisfaction of himself and his friends that the province of New Brunswick was in a remarkably flourishing condition, a property owned by Daniel & Boyd—the Mr. Boyd who was a Senator during all the years of this National Policy, and afterwards became a Governor, grown out of his connection, and rightly so, for I am not finding any fault with his advancement—that property that was bought after the fire in St. John in 1876 at a cash price of \$66,000, situated in one of the best streets of the city, was sold, while the hon. gentleman was talking of the prosperity in St. John, for the sum of \$20,000, or less than one-third of what it cost in 1876. That is prosperity for you. And a street railway in the city of St. John that cost about \$500,000 was sold the other day for \$90,000, or nearly one-sixth of the original value. Is there enterprise in St. John, or have values changed? I thought that any man from the province of New Brunswick would hesitate to talk about prosperity after the shameful disclosure made by the census. But when you have pinned your faith to that which is not right, when you have pinned your faith to an error, you must support that error in every way against all facts, and that is what the hon. gentleman is doing. Now, I ask you, Can there be prosperity in a country where property sells at one-third what it cost in 1876? And when I mention the fact that that property was sold for actually one-third less, I suppose there are some hon. gentlemen opposite who will say I am running down my country. That is the answer. Blue ruin, and I am running down my country. Am I? When men were crying peace, peace, and when there was no peace, was the prophet wrong when he raised his voice against that kind of teaching? When the facts show that property in

this Dominion in place of increasing in value, as it ought to increase, has gone down, I ask you: Are those men the true friends of the country who give an untrue version of the facts, or is it the men who set the facts before this House and before the country? How can you advance the value of any property by taxing the people? Although the census has been referred to again and again, I will venture to speak of it in so far only as one matter is concerned, and that is the North-west. Last year there was a good deal said about the new policy that was going to be inaugurated with the advent of the hon. gentleman from Selkirk (Mr. Daly) as Minister of the Interior. He was the man who was going to change the whole current of affairs and carry out a vigorous policy that was to fill the North-west. The Minister's report is brought down to the House, and after a year's experience, the hon. gentleman has to admit that not so many people have entered that country last year as in the previous year. But the hon. Minister has a consolation, for he says that the people who go there now are better than those who went there before, and he states, as an example, that immigration has largely decreased from Great Britain and Ontario, but has increased from Dakota, and he says, in effect, that the people of Ontario and Great Britain are not as good settlers for the North-west as from Dakota; in other words, that our shameful neighbours across the line, those bad Yankees are better people to go into Manitoba than the people of Ontario and Great Britain. Let me read what the hon. gentleman says:

There were from Great Britain and Ireland only 524 homesteaders, as against 841 for the previous year, a decrease of 317; and from Continental Europe 698, as opposed to 817, a falling off of 119; making a total falling off of homesteaders from the European side of the Atlantic of 436. From the province of Ontario alone there was also a falling off of 731 homesteaders, which in itself more than makes up the total deficiency for the year. There is one feature of this portion of our statistical information which is highly encouraging, and that is the rapid and marked increase of homestead entries obtained by people from the United States, the number of which rose from 513 for 1892, to 818 for 1893, or an increase of 305.

It is a matter of congratulation, according to the hon. gentleman, that there was a falling off in immigrants from Ontario of 731, but an increase from Dakota of 305. And then the character of the men who go out there is better. I am satisfied that the only safety and hope that this country possesses is in the peopling of the great North-west, and that we can never recover the ground we have lost, or be able to meet the interest and fixed charges on our large debt except by peopling that country. Manufactures may be increased by millions, but if there are not people to purchase them, they are worthless. You may fill every store

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in Ottawa with manufactured goods, but if you have not farmers to purchase them, of what use are they? This Government has been moving in the direction of declaring that you can make a country great by manufacturing. Common sense would have dictated that you can make a country great only by filling it with people, and that when sufficient capital and skill would have engaged in manufacturing to supply the demands of the people for clothing and other necessaries. What is the country better if manufactories are established, unless there are people in the country to purchase the goods? It is true we are not exporting them. Hon. gentlemen opposite point to the fact that there is a home market for the manufacturer and a home market for the farmer, but between them we do not keep even the home market. In spite of all that has been done to foster the manufacturing industries by unnatural means, we are importing largely. How else, in fact, could we meet our collections and raise the revenue, and is it not a primary truth in political economy that if we import articles it is because our people need them, and having more than enough of certain products we are willing to exchange them with other people who have more of what they want, and so the bargain proceeds. Did any one ever hear of a political economist who wanted to sell in his own country and no where else? Yet that is the policy of the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague). I would venture to suggest that he should buy a primer on political economy, which would cost him 5 cents, and learn something in that regard. He taunted the hon. gentleman from North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) with studying the subject. It would require very little study on the part of that hon. gentleman to answer the hon. gentleman from Haldimand (Mr. Montague) on the trade question. When will men recognize the fact that trade is the exchange of that which men produce? I cannot emphasize too strongly the remarks of the hon. member for Russell (Mr. Edwards), that in this country we have been going backwards. We have recognized that capital is the only wealth. It is worthless; it never existed until labour made it, and it will not continue to exist unless labour supports it. Labour is the creator of everything, and hon. gentlemen opposite are worshipping the creature more than the creator, following in a direct line the ancients, who, in spiritual matters, sought to worship the creature. If we are going to succeed in this country, we must get down to the solid ground, that is labour, not protected, because it asks for no protection, for labour is no mean creature that knocks at the door of Parliament asking that it may be protected. All labour asks is to get a fair return for what it does, is recognized as the true source of wealth, so can the country prosper. But when labour has accumulated capital, capital with

that selfishness that characterizes it comes forward and asks to obtain the support of the Government to make more capital. Our shores are free to the labour of every nation except the Chinese, but we meet the people of the world with a tariff wall of 30 or 35 per cent. We stop every vessel and every train at the frontier. Labourers may come in of every race, except the Chinese—and that exception is only made in the interest of British Columbia—and compete with our labour, while the products are taxed 30 and 35 per cent. Can you build up a country by that policy? No. We must increase the population of our country. The lower provinces of this Dominion have increased only 2 or 3 per cent during ten years. We cannot repeat too often this fact in order to awaken the people and the Government to the fallacious methods they have been pursuing. But even so far as protection is concerned, I am bound to say that we have been working upon an insecure basis. There is more than one hon. member who has made large outlays, having been carried away in the swim, and by observing prosperity all around him, and who imagined that by building ginger-bread houses in little villages prosperity would be secured, and who finds to-day that protection has ruined him and not given him the return he hoped to secure. You can do that even with protection. Why? Because men forget. Do you think that soldiers fight best who know that ten times their number are behind them, ready to come to their assistance? No. Those men fight best who feel, and feel truly, that with them alone lies the victory against the army they are opposing. So, protection takes away from men the skill and the energy and the impetus that is giving by having to come into competition with other men everywhere. I believe that protection is not only wrong in principle, but that it is degrading to the manhood of Canada. It raises up a number of men who think they cannot live unless the Government feeds them. Everything like self-confidence is broken down, and, coming here begging and begging and depending upon their 35 or 40 per cent protection, they feel there is no danger. So it is with such combines as I have named, and the result is, that these men are not making the money which men in similar lines of business are making in a free trade country. The hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague) said that England was the only nation in the world that had free trade. Well, I have been here for four sessions, and I leave it to hon. gentlemen opposite, and to hon. gentlemen on this side of the House, if the loud cry, if the shout, if the clapping of hands, if the jumping up and flinging their hats in the air by hon. gentlemen opposite, was not always when the name of Great Britain was mentioned? Now, they tell us: She is the only nation in the world that lives under the worse than abject folly of having free trade. As

they state, she has to send her soldiers at the point of the bayonet to carry the goods of England into the barbarous countries of the world. Well, she can only send a little cotton to the people of Africa, because that is about all they need in the way of clothing, and they won't purchase anything else. When these hon. gentlemen are praising England, as being the greatest country in the world, I want them to think for a moment on that free trade which has made her great. England, the mother of nations, the leader of the world, the country that receives in interest alone some two hundred millions of contributions from the world universal, before a dollar comes in return for any manufactures which she sends abroad. England that goes to every country in the world for her raw material, manufactures it and sends it back to the very country which produced it, and makes them pay whatever price she wishes. O, England! according to the Conservative party in this country, you are benighted and degraded and far behind bright, cheery, wise, and stately-protected Canada. Why, Mr. Speaker, to hear hon. gentlemen opposite talk of England and her greatness at one time, and of her decadence at another, one would think they should stop to think for a moment. Every one admits that England is great in her free trade, and I cannot help feeling the force of the remark made by the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), when he said, that it was passing strange that hon. gentlemen on that side of the House should have thought—not only thought, but should have with cheers received the statement—that England was going to the bad. Do they hope to make England protectionist? I appeal to hon. gentlemen opposite to know if their whole arguments have not been that they want trade with Great Britain. We want to send her our surplus products; we want to send her our animals, our cheese, and everything we can sell there to the best advantage, but yet these hon. gentlemen would make her a protectionist country. Do they want England to be like the United States? Do they want her to shut out our products from her markets by a system of protection? Hon. gentlemen opposite must understand the great truth about that mother of nations, opening her ports to the whole civilized world, putting every country under heaven under contribution to her by lending money, carrying not only her own merchandise but the merchandise of every other nation, sending not only freedom and intelligence, but her manufactured articles as well, into every nook and corner of the globe, standing, as she does, the mother of nations and the mother of commerce; hon. gentlemen opposite need to learn what has made her thus great. I can put her against the United States and Germany and France, with their protection, and I claim that the man who believes with the English people, that free trade is her glory and her wealth, is the truly worthy descendant of that noble race

from which we sprung. Fancy that great little island; first she fought the world, then she took the world captive by her manufactures, and yet hon. gentlemen opposite clothe themselves with the wretched garments of American protection and claim to be the only loyal citizens of Great Britain. They take their protection from the United States, and they take the old flag from Great Britain, and, through the combined effort of trading upon the sympathy and upon the loyalty of the people of Canada, by waving that flag and through getting contributions from the wretched system they imported from the United States, by these two methods they join together the high sentiment of the country and the baser element that they have purchased. Let me for a moment call attention to the increased tax on books. Literature has now to pay a duty by the pound weight. That is something new. There is only one man I have ever read about that that tariff would suit, and that was Baird of Gartsherrie. He was not a man of very much education, and having built a fine house, he wanted a library; and so he went to a Glasgow bookseller and said: Send me two tons of books, and if two tons does not do, send me two and a half. And, when the bookseller asked him if he would have them bound in Morocco, he replied with an emphasis which it would not be parliamentary to use: "Na, I will not have them bound in Morocco; I'll have them bound in Glasgow." The Finance Minister's new duty on books would suit Baird of Gartsherrie, because he bought his learning by the ton. Suppose, for example, a dealer imports 500 books in one box; he has got to weigh every one of these books to find what the price will be. He must weigh every one separately, and he must make a calculation as to its weight before he knows the price he can sell it for. Then, the books that we need most pay the highest duty. Sunday school library books are especially severely dealt with in this new tariff. A London bookseller, who has been investigating the effects of the change, took five Sunday school books of a total value of 70 cents, and under the old duty at 15 per cent, the tax would be 10½ cents. The books weighed four pounds, and at 6 cents a pound the duty will be 24 cents, or an increase of 150 per cent, on Sabbath school books. On two books, costing 56 cents, the old duty was 8½ cents. They weighed two pounds three-quarters, and the duty under the new rate is 16¼ cents, an increase of nearly 100 per cent. As far as I am concerned, I have only one opinion on this matter, and that is that books should be free. Believing, as I do, that the necessaries of life should be free, so I believe that the necessaries for the intellect should be free. I believe that every child born in this country, should get every book that he needs without a single cent of duty. Fancy a Government that increases the duty on books and taxes them by the pound, which

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at the same time takes \$300,000 in duty off malt, to intoxicate the people of Canada. That is a pretty Government for you, is it not? Three hundred thousand dollars of malt duties thrown off in order to satisfy the brewers, and 6 cents a pound put upon books in order that the people may not get intelligence. Ignorance is the mother of devotion; and hon. gentlemen would like very well that our people should not be a reading people, and so they tax books. They have made a small contribution to the ultra religious element—so I suppose they think—by making Bibles free; but much as I prize that book, there are other books that the people of this country ought to read, and therefore I believe that all books should be free. It is a policy that cannot be justified for a moment—decreasing the duty on what intoxicates while increasing it on what enlightens. That is not only wrong in principle, but wrong in morals. Are the Government going to encourage the people to drink more beer and read fewer books? Do they think they will have more force in this country if they have cheaper liquor and dearer literature? Do they want at election times to have the opportunity of purchasing liquor at a lower rate, while leaving the people in a condition not to understand the questions of the day, but in a condition to receive the stimulants? Both of these things are wrong. The hon. member for Haldimand spoke of direct taxation. Now, I am not afraid of direct taxation. The hon. gentleman would seem to think that there is a charmed way by which we get our revenue. He would lead the country to suppose that in the way in which we get our revenue the people do not pay at all. Does not the veriest child understand that the taxes we raise come from the people? How else can you get taxes? I admit that the method of imposing them may be a matter of discussion; but as to the source, it is always one and the same, in whatever way you impose them. I have made a little calculation here which may be of a matter of surprise to some hon. gentlemen opposite, as it was to me. Now, I believe that we ought to tax what men have, and not what they need; I believe that we should tax wealth, and not consumption. Believing that, let us see. The wealth of the United States is about \$1,000 a head, or in all \$65,000,000,000. I take it that the people of Canada are worth as much as the people of the United States—\$1,000 per head of our population. Now, if you put one-half of 1 per cent of taxation upon the wealth of Canada, you will get nearly \$2,000,000 more than you get from all the duties which are levied at the rate of 30 to 35 per cent. Now, I ask any man, which is the more economical method of taxation? Would not the same people pay it? Not all. The man that had a farm worth, with everything on it, \$4,000, would at that rate pay \$20 a year; but a man who was worth \$200,000 or half a million, like the hon. member for Centre Toron-

to (Mr. Cockburn) would pay more, and he should pay more. I went too low—I will say a million.

Mr. COCKBURN. Will the hon. gentleman allow me to thank him for the kind revelation that he has made to me; but there is nothing in it.

Mr. FRASER. I will take any other hon. gentleman. I only mentioned the hon. member for Centre Toronto, because, being on terms of the closest friendship and intimacy with him, I felt that I could fairly take his case as an illustration; and I believe that his devotion to the country would be equal to the payment of the necessary charge that would be made upon him.

Mr. COCKBURN. Tell me how you would collect it?

Mr. FRASER. Collect it! The hon. gentleman would pay it as soon as the bill was presented. There would be no difficulty in collecting it, because every honest man is willing to pay his taxes. I am only saying this to show that the bugbear of direct taxation is not a bugbear at all. Now, I am not advocating the imposition of direct taxation. It took a long time to destroy slavery, and it will take the people of this country a long time to understand the advantage of direct over indirect taxation. But I say, so far as that question is concerned that direct taxation has no terrors for myself at all. If the principle is right that we should tax what we have and not what we need, that we should tax wealth and not what we consume, then that principle, fairly applied in Canada, would give us a larger revenue at the low rate I have named than we have to-day. Now, what farmer in Canada worth \$4,000 does not now pay into the revenue at least five times as much as he would pay under that system? Is there a farmer in Canada worth \$4,000 who does not pay \$100 into the revenue every year, unless he gets his wife, as the Finance Minister said, to make his clothing, and gets his wood and water free, and gets nothing else? Now, I believe that that is the correct method of taxation; I believe that under the present system the people are being robbed and do not know it. It is easy to put 25 per cent here and 25 per cent there; but every time a man goes into a store to buy anything, he has to pay that duty just as truly as if the tax collector came around to collect it from him; and if hon. gentlemen opposite were honest and had the interests of the country at heart, they would consider the question, because they know that the less you take from the people, the better off they are. Now, the hon. member for Haldimand said that the tariff had given universal satisfaction. I will only read two extracts out of a hundred which I could read to show that it has not given satisfaction. My first extract is from the Ottawa 'Citizen,' April 2, 1894:

There is one bad feature of the tariff which has not been reformed. The duty on stereotype plates ranges from 90 to 160 per cent. There is neither sense nor reason in this extravagant impost, which strikes newspapers all over the country for the sake of concerns employing a few dozen men in Toronto.

That is not a Grit paper or a paper that wants to attack the Government; that is the Ottawa 'Citizen,' the organ of the Government in this city. It says that there is neither sense nor reason in this particular item; I suppose that its devotion to the Government will not allow it to cull out, as it might, a large number of other items. The Montreal 'Star,' discussing the tariff, asks: What is the reason that the duties have been increased upon tapestry carpets, velveteens, woollen dress goods, cordage, and other articles of general use, and says that "The increase of taxation was certainly not the errand upon which the country desired Mr. Foster to go," and it adds, "That even the dropping of a paltry percentage of an enormous duty has about it more of the appearance of pretense than of honest purpose." That is a Government organ too. I take these two as samples. Does not everybody know that there is no intention at all on the part of the Finance Minister, of having that deficit of \$1,500,000? I can imagine him coming down next year and saying that although he had reduced the taxation and expected less revenue, he had got as much as ever. The hon. Finance Minister says we must stop building railways; the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries says we must build more. Between them there seems to be very little concord. The hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague) spoke of this side of the House as a combination, as a troupe. I thought that was not kind; I thought it was not even smart, to use a common expression. The hon. gentleman did not prove it, however. I might reply in kind. I might say that the Government is composed of very strange elements. I might say that it is one of the strangest combinations in the world. After having attempted to reform the Government, they tried to reform the tariff. Mr. Chapleau was sent to Spencerwood. Sir Hector Langevin was dismissed. Mr. Chapleau was metaphorically kicked up stairs, because, I suppose, the position at Spencerwood is more honourable than one on the Treasury benches. And then, when the new elements came into the Cabinet, we were told to congratulate ourselves on the reform of the Government. It reminds me of a story that was told by that very witty man, Lord Bute. When Pitt left the Ministry and Fox remained, one of the friends of the Government spoke to Lord Bute about the great improvement. Lord Bute said it reminded him of a circumstance that occurred at the time of the gunpowder plot. The Lord Chamberlain was sent to find out how many barrels of gunpowder were under

the building. He returned and made a report, which he considered a very satisfactory one. He found twenty-five barrels and removed ten, and reported that the building was, in consequence, perfectly safe. That is the way in which our Dominion Cabinet was reformed, and the country made safe. Talk about combinations; if the hon. gentleman had spoken in the way he did about the leader of the Opposition, and those who follow him, I would not have replied in kind. He said truly that gentlemen who live in glass houses should not throw stones. The policy of the Opposition has been uniform in the direction of decreasing the taxation of the country by any and every method by which they could accomplish that end. Have hon. gentlemen opposite been consistent? Let the hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean) reply. I leave my hon. friend to settle the question of consistency with that hon. gentleman, one of the most devoted followers of the Government. There is one note that seems to prevail amid all the discordant arguments of hon. gentlemen opposite. Like followers of Mahomet, each gentleman that cheered and spoke seemed to be repeating: Great is the Finance Minister, and great is his prophet the Controller. The Controller said that what we had here was a Conservative protective policy. That is what he called it. I thought its friends believed protection was a principle. Now, fancy a Conservative protective principle. There was a man who set himself up to be a political economist in the United States, and he wrote a work on American political economy—and everybody laughed at him. But the Controller of Customs knows so much about political economy that he calls this system: "A Conservative protective policy." I suppose he imagines there must be other protective policies as well as Conservative ones. No doubt he believes that there is a Government protective policy and an East York protective policy. But the hon. gentleman spoke more truly than he thought. It is a Conservative protective policy, because it is the only policy by which the Conservatives can hope to maintain themselves in power, no matter what may be the disadvantage to the country. Fancy a man in this city, where books can be had, even though there be a duty on them, in which he can read something of political economy, talking about the "Conservative protective policy." And that man is the Controller of Customs. I think the country is beginning to understand, as it never understood before, this great question. I take it that the speech delivered by the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) is one that will be thought out and acted upon in this country. It takes men a long time to find out the effect of a policy, but once they do find out that they have been deluded, they will turn on and rend those who designed and perpetuated the fraud. We have been going on for fifteen years under this policy, and our

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country is becoming depopulated. The hon. gentleman spoke of the thousands who are at work in our factories. Where are the thousands that were born in the country? Where are the thousands that have come into the country? We have, by our policy, been sending them out by the thousand, and they have to-day a society in the city of Quebec called a repatriation society. Somebody in the city of Quebec wants an office, some individuals want to have the spending of Government money, and they actually ask the Government to spend money to bring back from the United States the Canadians whom our policy drove away. The National Policy sent them away, and we are asked to allow the people to be bled by an expenditure for the purpose of bringing them back. Several gentlemen came to interview the Government. There was a doctor and a president, and a Senator, and a Member of Parliament, who wished to have the president sent on a trip to the United States to try and bring these people back. Did you ever hear of such a thing? Men move about in this world according as their interests impel them. If they go to the United States, it is to better their condition. They may not succeed in doing so; but if they do not, they will come back of their own accord. Make this a country in which men can live upon the least possible amount by paying taxes out of what they actually earn, and you will make it a country into which people will come. Why have we not an immigration from England? Did you ever hear, Sir, such a statement as that made by the Minister of the Interior who reports that only four hundred homesteads were taken up by immigrants from Great Britain in the North-west last year. Fancy spending millions and tens of millions of dollars to people that country, and then having only some four hundred people settling there from Great Britain. Hon. gentlemen opposite may say that that is not the fault of the National Policy. If not, to what is it to be attributed? Is the country not a good country to live in? Is it not a country in which a man can live and make money? Is not the soil rich? Are not all the advantages there which an agriculturist can require? Why then do men not go into that country? Simply because the conditions of things in Canada are such that they can better themselves by going elsewhere. And we have been spending thousands of dollars on offices in London and Edinburgh and Liverpool, with the result of bringing in but four hundred homesteaders to Canada during last year. We have a High Commissioner in England, on whom we spend \$20,000, and yet we see this poor result. What else is going to benefit us but lowering of our tariff. I wish to emphasize what was said by the hon. member for North Simcoe, that this country is, in the first place, an agricultural country. Take the province from which I come, and see how it

stands. Hon. gentlemen opposite say that we ought not to trade with the United States. I will take some of the articles in which we are particularly interested in the lower provinces. For example, we exported 177,000 tons of gypsum last year, and every ton went to the United States. We exported 31,728 tons of building freestone, and all except 100 tons went to the United States. We exported 1,668,125 pounds of mackerel, and 1,570,310 went to the United States, and paid one cent per pound duty. We exported 346,460 pounds of halibut, which is subject to the same duty, and every pound of it went to the United States. Of fresh herring, we exported 16,175,000 pounds, and it all paid a duty of one-quarter cent per pound to be admitted to the American market. We exported of smoked herring, 4,568,953 pounds, and, notwithstanding a duty of $\frac{3}{4}$ cents per pound, 3,253,055 pounds went to the United States. We exported 1,229,533 pounds of fresh salmon, and 1,144,891 pounds went to the United States, paying a duty of 1 cent per pound. We exported of fresh cod, 161,652 pounds, of which over 150,000 pounds went to the United States, paying a duty of $\frac{1}{4}$ cent per pound. With the exception of dried codfish, the greater part of which went elsewhere, the great bulk of all these articles went to the United States. We exported 1,112,833 bushels of potatoes, and, notwithstanding a duty of 25 per cent, two-thirds of the whole quantity, or 800,225 bushels were exported to the neighbouring republic. Of coal we exported 1,006,126 tons, and 852,703 tons, or four-fifths of the whole, went to the United States.

Mr. KENNY. Does my hon. friend mean to say that four-fifths part of all the coal produced in Nova Scotia went to the United States?

Mr. FRASER. I say that of the coal exported to foreign countries, four-fifths went to the United States and paid 75 cents per ton duty. And yet gentlemen opposite say this is not a country to trade with. At one time gentlemen opposite want reciprocity; at the next they say that the United States is not a country to trade with, because articles there are higher there than they are here. At one moment they say we must have a duty to keep certain articles out, and the next moment they declare that goods are cheaper and can be made cheaper in Canada than in the United States, therefore there will be no importations. Oh, the philanthropy of gentlemen opposite! Everybody but the person interested is the object of their sympathy and every person interested in them and they in him can get the benefit of the tariff. The tariff is to be made without regard to the consumer and in the interests of the producer and you are going to make a country great and prosperous in that way. No, you cannot do it. The figures I have given show the condition of the export trade in the lower provinces. Does

any man in his senses think that a maritime country like the lower provinces can fail to be benefited by trade with the United States? We have, in Nova Scotia, the most intelligent fishermen in the world. The Government thought they were going to instruct these men by bringing in some persons from Scotland or Norway. But they found that the native fishermen knew more about their business than the imported men did. Our fishermen can build their own boats, large and small. And if we were allowed to trade freely with our natural market, we could build ships, man them with our hardy sailors and carry on a trade that would be beneficial to them and their whole province. A ship starting out from a Nova Scotia port would reach the United States in two or three days and deliver her cargo there and could easily find a return cargo making a profitable trip both ways. But the Government attempt to make the goods go over a thousand miles of railway and expect thereby that they are going to make the country prosperous. You cannot do it. Natural trade is not only dear to the people as their existence, but it is the only profitable trade, and I am sure that the policy now carried out under the hon. Controller of Customs is not a beneficial one to Canada or likely to make Canada what it ought to be. The hon. member for Haldimand when he spoke with gusto about the result of the election. I know nothing about the result of the election. I am not a prophet, and I am not going to prophesy about a matter of that kind. I know how the elections ought to go; I know how I believe they will go. The fact that the Government has had to capitulate and has had to bring down the semblance at least of tariff reform is an indication that they are going to be defeated. They are doing what they can to make it appear, as the Finance Minister has said so tenderly and so sympathetically, that they are trying to improve the condition of the farmer. They hope, no doubt, to get the farmer's vote. But fifteen years' experience has convinced the farmer that he has not been protected. Fifteen years' experience has shown him that, if he is going to advance as he ought to advance in this country, the shackles of trade must be broken. We on this side believe that the unshackling of trade would be in the interests of this country. The leader we followed before believed it, as our leader does to-day. Our leader believed and proclaimed it in the darkest days of the history of Canada, when every change in the tariff made in the interests of manufacturers was hailed with shouts and the country was made to believe that through the efforts of hon. gentlemen, it was prosperous. It is beginning to be understood now, as our leaders have said, that you cannot make a country prosperous by taxing it. The capitulation of the Minister of Finance is the best proof that the Government regard tremblingly the approach.

of an election and the changes they make are with the hope of convincing the taxpayers of this country that they are trying to relieve their burdens. But, it will not advantage them. The farmers are being instructed, notably through the efforts in certain quarters of the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) and his lieutenant, the hon. member for Muskoka (Mr. O'Brien). No sneering of gentlemen opposite at the member for North Simcoe is going to stop the tide of instruction that he is giving the people. Gentlemen opposite mistake the temper of this country if they think that by cheering in the Legislature they are going to drown the voice of reason among the people. The fact that the farmers are banding themselves together is the greatest possible protest against the methods followed by the Government. When men band themselves together for the purpose of helping one another what is the explanation? Why do men form societies to assist one another in sickness and to relieve their families in case of their death? Because, in this country, as in others, we have a state of things existing under which the man who works is denied a fair return for his labour. The fact that the farmers are banding themselves together is proof that they feel that they are denied the proper return for their labour by this tariff. And when the day of reckoning comes, as come it must, it will be remembered that only when driven by fear of the rising tide of public opinion did the Government yield and then they conceded only what they could not withhold. The people will distrust them, for they will see that this tariff reform is but an attempt to hoodwink them and they will fear, and justly fear, that if the Government is given a majority again they will recall the concessions that were extorted from them through the fear of public opinion. It has run long enough. Convinced I am, at least, that this is not such a reduction, either as was promised or as was hoped for, and believing that the Opposition will move in the direction, not only of opposing it, but of setting the matter fully before the electorate of this country, I have confidence that when it is all explained the subterfuges to which, in the dying moments of this Parliament, the Government found themselves forced to resort, will not be found effective in the direction that they expect. I believe it will be found that the people once having got information, and a taste of freer trade, small though that taste may be, they will see to it that men are returned to power who will give them not only fuller trade, but complete freedom, so far as possible under a revenue basis. Then we shall have no more census returns showing an increase of only 2½ per cent in the province of New Brunswick, but that province will bud and blossom as the rose. We shall have no more instances like that of the property of the late Senator Boyd selling for \$20,000, which cost \$66,000. In contrast with that

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state of things we shall have such activity in that province, and in all the lower provinces, and all over Canada, as will give an impetus to every trade which is natural to Canada, and the trade that is not natural to Canada, which can only live by the assisted efforts of the Parliament of Canada is worthless, and never can succeed in making a nation great.

Mr. KENNY. I have listened, and I am sure that hon. gentlemen on both sides of the House have listened, with pleasure to the very cheerful speech of my learned friend from Guysboro' (Mr. Fraser). I noticed that my hon. friend, in the early part of his address, found fault with the Government—at least so I understood him—for not giving sufficient protection to certain iron industries in this country.

Mr. FRASER. No; let me correct the hon. member. What I said was that it was not a protective tariff, and I showed it by that example.

Mr. KENNY. My hon. friend, then, was dealing with general principles?

Mr. FRASER. Precisely.

Mr. KENNY. But when he applied the argument to the existing tariff, as I understood him, he found fault with the Government for not having given sufficient protection to certain interests.

Mr. FRASER. Not at all.

Mr. KENNY. I am sure that the discussion which took place last night when the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) called special attention to the condition of the iron industry of the United States was a most valuable addition to the debate, for the reason that it elicited the fact that the price of iron in the United States is now as cheap as it is in Europe, and so cheap that even from the State of Alabama, which is some distance from the Atlantic coast, iron has been shipped to England and Belgium. My hon. friend who has just taken his seat knows full well the history of the iron industry of the United States, and he knows further, that when the American people applied protection to the iron industry of their country it was in recognition of the fact that the iron industry is the basis of all manufacturing industries in every country, and with the knowledge that England had attained her manufacturing supremacy in iron, as in everything else, under a protective tariff. Let me tell my hon. friend—or rather let me remind him, for I will not pretend to give him information—that after England had had 40 years of protection for her iron industries, the duty on pig iron in that country was £6 10s. a ton. I think that in Canada we are fully warranted in adopting a protective policy for the development of our iron industries, when we see that it was only under a system of protection

that this industry was developed in England, and has been developed so wonderfully in the United States. I think it is a logical conclusion, it is a just inference, that if the policy of protection has resulted in the development of the iron industries so successfully in England and in the United States, so we may expect it will in Canada. My hon. friend has told us that at all events we are to have no deficit. That is exceedingly gratifying to hear, because last night the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) indulged in melancholy eloquence in portraying the terrible condition of the finances of this country, and the certainty that a deficit awaited us. I am glad to hear from my more cheerful friend from Guysboro' that there is no possibility of a deficit. In noticing some of the points raised by my hon. friend, let me say to him that there is one point on which I agree with him, and that is in reference to the proposed change in the duty on teas. I hope sincerely that the tariff will be so adjusted that we may be able to continue to purchase tea in bond in London as we have been doing for so many years. My hon. friend, like the hon. gentleman who leads the Liberal party in the Maritime Provinces, has endeavoured to show that commercial atrophy, failure and stagnation, prevail in the Maritime Provinces, and especially in the city of St. John. My hon. friend from Queen's, P.E.I. (Mr. Davies), in order to emphasize his assertion of the decay and stagnation of commerce in the Maritime Provinces, referred to the condition of shipping in those provinces. This is not the first time the hon. gentleman has blamed the policy of the Government of Canada for the diminution which has taken place in the shipping interests of the Maritime Provinces. He has made that statement across the House more than once. It has not only been not proved, but it has been disproved, and yet he repeats the statement. Mr. Speaker, I do not know what parliamentary term can be applied to an hon. gentleman who continues to make in this House a statement which, I say, is not only incapable of proof, but which has been disproved. I know what we would term it out of doors. Let me refer to the remarkable roles which the leaders of the party opposite play in this House. I have previously alluded to the fact that the hon. member from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright seems to be told off to abuse, belittle and decry Canada. His neighbour, the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), afterwards rises to praise and magnify the United States. He is the most pronounced advocate of the Monroe doctrine I have ever listened to on either side of the border. Then the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) has been delegated to do what, I will do him the justice to say, I think must be an uncongenial task, to belittle and decry the Maritime Provinces. The hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) grew

eloquent when he was describing what he called the stagnation, failure, decay and commercial atrophy of the Maritime Provinces. In support of that statement he pointed to the fact that the tonnage of the Maritime Provinces, owned and registered there, is less than it was twenty odd years ago. He made the same comparison with the United States as an argument against protection, and pointed out that the tonnage of the United States engaged in the foreign trade is also less than it was in 1856. Every man who is familiar with the shipping of the United States and of Maritime Provinces knows that he was referring to wooden sailing ships.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman has said I made a statement of the shipping of the United States. I only did so, in this way: I said that many years ago the foreign carrying trade of the United States was carried in United States bottoms, and that to-day out of, I think, 56,000,000 bushels of grain shipped from New York alone, only 17,000,000 bushels were carried in American bottoms, and all the rest was carried in foreign bottoms. I said the same effect followed in Canada, because of the total quantity of our seaboard freight carried from Canada, 80 per cent was now carried in foreign bottoms, and in 1878 35 per cent was carried in Canadian bottoms.

Mr. KENNY. That is exactly what the hon. gentleman did say.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Is it true?

Mr. KENNY. The hon. gentleman's inferences are all wrong. The statement is correct, but it is misapplied and disingenuously used. The hon. gentleman's contention is, that because the United States have adopted a protective policy, as a consequence the shipping of that country has diminished, that is the wooded sailing ships. Will the hon. member for Charlotte (Mr. Gillmor) who I see before me, rise in his place and tell the House that the decrease in the wooded sailing shipping of the United States and of Canada is, in his opinion, due to the policy of this Government or due to the policy of the United States?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) It contributed largely.

Mr. KENNY. The hon. gentleman previously stated that it contributed considerably. I give due consideration to the hon. gentleman's statements, believing him to be the leader who has been told off to specially belittle and decry the provinces by the sea, but it was a work of supererogation on his part, because it has been admirably persisted in also ever since I came here by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright); but as the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) has assume that role, let me say to him that

the policy of this Government, and the hon. gentleman ought to know it, has not contributed in the slightest to the reduction of the wooden sailing tonnage of Canada. The same argument will apply as regards the condition of the same class of tonnage in the United States. In order that the House may thoroughly appreciate the question, with which hon. gentlemen residing in the western provinces may not be familiar, and in order to remove from their minds the unfavourable impression produced by the statement of the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) as regards the state of the Maritime Provinces, I have taken some pains to inform myself as to the condition of the wooden shipping of the world. I find on referring to Lloyd's statement, which is an undoubted authority in all matters connected with shipping, that for the years 1890 to 1893 the tonnage of wooden sailing ships was reduced 690,000 tons, and the tonnage of iron and steel vessels increased during the same period by 2,870,474 tons. So the hon. gentleman was not treating his fellow-countrymen of the Maritime Provinces fairly when he rose in this House and, with the full responsibility of his utterances as the leader of his party in the Maritime Provinces, endeavoured to convey to hon. members and to the country the impression that the reduction of the shipping in these provinces was due to the policy of the Government. The hon. gentleman knew full well that it is due entirely to influences which neither the Government of the United States nor the Government of Canada could possibly control, that it is due to the fact that steam as a motive power in displacing sail, and further that sailing ships constructed of wood have been displaced by those built of iron and of steel. Let me point out to the hon. gentleman that in 1875—and I think that was the year to which the hon. member for Queen's referred—there were under construction in England 132 steam vessels and 317 sailing vessels, that the tonnage of the steam vessels was 158,531 and of the sailing vessels 157,643, or nearly, as regards tonnage, an equal amount. In 1893 there were under construction 252 steam vessels, of an aggregate of 533,201 tons, and 74 sailing vessels with a tonnage of 83,359 tons. So, in 1875, the tonnage under construction was equally divided between steam and sail, whereas in 1893 the proportion of steam vessels was as 6 to 1. Further, let me tell the hon. gentleman, that the average size of vessels built in 1892 is two and a half times that of vessels built nineteen years ago, and that where as in 1875 there were no steel vessels built in England, that to-day not only have wooden sailing vessels been replaced by steam, but as a matter of fact iron has been supplanted by steel. The hon. gentleman was wrong when he stated that the decrease in the

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tonnage of the Maritime Provinces was due in any way to the policy of this Government or to the condition of the people of the Maritime Provinces. He was doing the people of these provinces an injustice when he endeavoured to create that opinion in this House. But the hon. gentleman went on and in a glow of free trade eloquence, he told us that the tonnage of the United Kingdom had immensely increased. That is true, and it is for this reason: They build what we have never built in the Maritime Provinces, they built not only steamers, but steel and iron sailing ships as well. Looking at the shipbuilding trade of the United Kingdom, I find that in 1881 there were 611 vessels of 1,000,000 tons under construction, and in 1893 there were 326 vessels of 616,500 tons. The fact is, that unfortunately there has been over-production in ship-building as in many other things, and as a consequence our shipping has become most unprofitable to us, and no portion of the Dominion of Canada has suffered so much in this respect as the city of St. John. The city of St. John was the largest ship-building centre in the Dominion; not only ship-building but ship-owning. The wooden sailing ships which were built there were of a higher class than those built in any other part of Canada, and these vessels were a most valuable industry in their building, and valuable subsequently as property, because these vessels sailed on every sea, and their earning came back to enrich the community in which they were owned and in which they had been built. There is depression prevailing throughout the world, unprecedented in magnitude and duration, and no man knows the universality of that depression better than the ship-owner, because if he cannot employ his ship in the Atlantic, he will sail her into the Pacific or Indian ocean; but to-day there is no country in the world to which he can sail his ship and earn a fair remuneration. In fact he is happy if he can make sufficient to pay the running expenses of his ships. As St. John was the largest ship-owning centre in the Maritime Provinces, or for that matter in the Dominion of Canada, as a consequence when ship-building decreased in value, when it became not only unremunerative but a positive tax to its owners, the city of St. John naturally felt the result severely. I believe that as far as the city of St. John is concerned, there is no city in the Maritime Provinces where there is more energy and more vigour displayed by its people.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Hear, hear.

Mr. KENNY. The hon. gentleman says "hear, hear." When he was making his speech why had he not a kind word to say for that community?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I did.

Mr. KENNY. The hon. gentleman praised it geographically and he could not help that,

for he cannot control geography; but there was no necessity for him to attempt to create the impression in this Legislature, that commercial atrophy and stagnation and decay prevailed in St. John. Even if the depression which prevails throughout the world—a depression which is unparalleled—had reached the Maritime Provinces, he might have remembered that at all events if he could not say a kind word for those provinces, he need not have decried and belittled them in this Parliament. In taking that course and in making that argument he attempts, I do not know how far he succeeds, to make hon. gentlemen on both sides of this House believe that Mr. Fielding and Mr. Blair misstated the condition of affairs in their provinces when they made the statements which were given by my hon. friend from St. John (Mr. Hazen). The hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) smiles. Does he consider himself a better authority on the condition of the people of the province of Nova Scotia than Mr. Fielding is?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) No.

Mr. KENNY. Does he agree with Mr. Fielding as to the condition of the people in that province.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I think so.

Mr. KENNY. Certainly not. Compare the speech of the hon. gentleman with the remarks of Mr. Fielding as to the condition of the people in the province of Nova Scotia, and you will find a wide difference between the two. The hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) told us: While after all you have in Canada a certain amount of prosperity it is only ephemeral. Now, in the good old days between 1874 and 1878 to which these hon. gentlemen opposite are so fond of referring, when the Grits ruled in Canada, and when wages were 75 cents a day, and flour was \$8 and \$9 a barrel; in these good old days there was no prosperity; not even ephemeral prosperity. I can tell the hon. gentleman that as far as the people of the Maritime Provinces are concerned we would sooner have some prosperity, ephemeral though it be, than the terrible condition of things which prevailed in Canada during the years of Grit rule.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Does the hon. gentleman want to make the Grits responsible for the price of flour?

Mr. KENNY. I simply wish to remind hon. gentlemen opposite that their standard of prosperity for Canada seems to be the condition of things which prevailed under Grit rule from 1874 to 1878, and I wish to point out to those gentlemen that to-day all the necessaries and many of the luxuries of life are cheaper than they were in the halcyon Grit period and the wages are a great deal higher. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Davies) in the course of his argument said: You have by your policy secured in

Canada a certain progress and development, but it has been at the cost of the masses of the people. It is a slight satisfaction to know that the hon. gentleman does recognize that there has been development and progress, whatever the cost be that he sets it down to. My hon. friend from King's (Mr. Borden), had also some unfavourable references to make to the people of his own province, and he was asked across the floor of the House to name a country in the world where the people are any better off to-day than they are in the province of Nova Scotia. My hon. friend recognizing the difficulty of the task imposed upon him—and I hope having a disinclination to run down his province unnecessarily—refused the challenge, and was not able to point out a single part of the world where the inhabitants are better off than are the people of Nova Scotia. Let me tell my hon. friend from Queen's (Mr. Davies), who has depreciated and belittled Nova Scotia in this Legislature: that not very long ago in Halifax, in a gathering of business men, a gentleman who differs from me politically, made the statement that there were no people in the Dominion of Canada as well off to-day as the people of that province. I went further: I said to my friend, "If you will just extend that expression of opinion and say that there are not 5,000,000 people in the world to-day who as a whole are better off than the people of Canada, I will agree with you." And when hon. gentlemen opposite decry the Dominion, my answer is that taking the people of Canada as a whole they are better off than they were under Grit rule and that we have had progress and development under the present policy. They admit the progress and development; it is too palpable to be denied. You have only to walk along the streets of our cities to recognize the fact that the general condition of our population is infinitely better than it was fifteen or sixteen years ago, and it is positively imposing on the good nature of the members of this House to attempt to convey the impression that our people as a whole are not better off than they were at that time. The condition of the leading politicians opposite may not be so pleasant; but the condition of the people as a whole is infinitely more satisfactory. Now, my hon. friend from Queen's, Prince Edward Island (Mr. Davies) told us—and I always listen attentively to all he has to say—that in looking to the commerce and trade of our country it is not fair to take an isolated year, but you should take a number of years. I do not know that he very fully carried out that suggestion himself. I am inclined to think that in order to draw a comparison between the present and what he considers the more favourable condition of trade under the Grit regime, he took a certain isolated year.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) No; I took the last five years.

Mr. KENNY. Very well ; I have followed the hon. gentleman's advice. I have taken the trouble to compare the condition of trade between 1875 and 1878 with the condition between 1890 and 1893, with the following results, and I take 1875 because I think it was the first year in which Prince Edward Island was included in the general returns. I find that the total imports of Canada in 1875-78 were \$408,690,378, and in 1890-93 were \$498,306,216, or an increase of \$89,614,838. That does not indicate a condition of commercial atrophy. The imports for home consumption were : in 1875-78, \$401,851,935, and in 1890-93, \$464,794,681, an increase of \$62,942,746. The increase in the exports for the same period was \$113,641,698. The exports, the produce of Canada for the same period, were : in 1875-78, \$278,221,606 ; in 1890-93, \$379,195,822, an increase of \$100,974,000. In regard to these I could not follow the hon. gentleman for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) who I understood made the difference \$20,000,000. From these figures it will be found that the total increase of the aggregate trade in the latter period 1890-1893 over the former 1875-1878 is \$203,257,536. So that we have not been marking time nor standing still, but have enjoyed a fair increase in our trade. But the hon. gentleman says that that condition of things will not apply to the Maritime Provinces, for he claimed that the aggregate trade of the Maritime Provinces had declined. The hon. gentleman I believe is correct in that. I think that whilst the exports of the Maritime Provinces have increased the imports have decreased—largely due, as the hon. gentleman must know to the fact that now we manufacture many of the goods which we formerly imported. If he will turn back to the imports of raw cotton in 1878 in the province of Nova Scotia, he will find that they amounted to I think some 5,000 pounds, where as now they are, I think, about 4,000,000 pounds, and consequently the imports have declined, having been displaced by the goods manufactured at St. John, Windsor and Halifax, besides which many of the imported goods consumed in the Maritime Provinces pay tribute at the port of Montreal and Quebec, and even as far west as Toronto. These cities now compete with the cities of St. John and Halifax in the supply of imported goods, very much, I regret to say, to the detriment of the importers of those two cities. As regards the trade of my own province, I have compared the condition of things in the two periods I am referring to and I find that the total value of the exports from Nova Scotia in 1875-78 was \$29,456,512, and in 1890-93, \$41,011,427, or an increase of 35 per cent. These were the exports to foreign countries, having, of course, nothing to do with the interprovincial trade. Now, the total imports of Nova Scotia, from 1875 to 1878, amounted to \$38,005,800, and from 1890 to 1893, they amounted to \$38,464,135. The imports are greater during the

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former period by \$418,335, thus showing a decrease in the imports of $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, against an increase in the exports of 35 per cent. The hon. gentleman had not so many unpleasant things to say about Halifax as he had about St. John ; and I think we owe our comparative immunity to the fact that St. John sends three Conservatives here, and Halifax only two. When speaking about St. John and pointing out its present position, he might have added the fact that now there are two railway systems running into that city, that they are beginning to export grain, and that there is every chance of the community reviving from the depression caused by the fact that their great industry of wooden ship building has been supplanted by steam and steel sail tonnage. As regards the condition of Nova Scotia, the Government savings banks show that in 1880 the deposits there amounted to \$3,016,355, and in 1893, \$8,333,546 and there is a still more gratifying increase in the positions of the chartered banks of Halifax. In 1880 the paid-up capital was \$3,500,000, the circulation was \$1,387,514, the deposits payable on demand \$1,461,616, and the deposits bearing interest \$2,799,535. Compare that with the condition of these institutions on the 30th June, 1893. The paid-up capital was \$4,300,000; the reserves in those banks amounted to \$2,020,000; the circulation had increased in those thirteen years 200 per cent, amounting to \$3,526,212; the deposits, payable on demand, had increased 150 per cent, or \$3,741,653; and the interest bearing deposits had increased 400 per cent, amounting to \$10,573,117. I admit that, in common with the rest of the world, we in Canada are experiencing serious commercial depression to-day—and in the Maritime Provinces perhaps to a greater extent than in the upper provinces, for this reason, that confederation has inured very much more to the advantage of Ontario and Quebec than to the advantage of the smaller provinces.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Hear, hear.

Mr. KENNY. I suppose that is the reason why the hon. member for Queen's, P.E.I., cheered the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) when he insolently referred to us as the shreds and patches of this Dominion. The hon. gentleman shakes his head.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman is rather unjust ; I do not know whether he intends to be unfair. He said that I cheered the sentiment which he puts in the mouth of my hon. friend from South Oxford. I did not cheer it ; never heard him say it. What I cheered was the remark of the hon. gentleman that confederation had resulted more beneficially to the provinces of Ontario and Quebec than to the Maritime Provinces.

Mr. KENNY. The hon. gentleman has sat in this House when the hon. member

for South Oxford gratuitously insulted every man who came from the Maritime Provinces.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) No.

Mr. KENNY. The hon. gentleman himself was making a speech in this House when there was an interruption across the floor, and the hon. member for South Oxford said that the people of the Maritime Provinces had offered to sell themselves to Mr. Blake, but Mr. Blake was too honest to buy them. At that very moment the hon. gentleman sat alongside the hon. member for South Oxford, and he had not the manliness to contradict him. Since I have been in this House, there never has been a session when the people of the Maritime Provinces have not had offensive things said to them needlessly by the hon. member for South Oxford, and yet the hon. gentleman tells us that he never heard of the epithet "shreds and patches." It is true that it was not first applied in this House. I might excuse the hon. member for South Oxford if he had, in the annoyance of political disappointment, forgotten ordinary courtesies for the moment, but when that gentleman sat down, and in the quiet of his own study, penned the lines that the men who came from the Maritime Provinces came to boodle in this House, for themselves or for their constituents, I say he made a statement which I pronounced, and as it has come again I repeat, is slanderous, calumnious, and diabolically false. And yet the hon. gentleman thinks that that is quite an innocent expression.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I did not say so: I made no remark about it.

Mr. KENNY. The hon. gentleman said nothing about it. He certainly never expressed dissent or disapproval. Reference was made by the hon. member for West Ontario (Mr. Edgar), who, I regret, is not in his place, in reference to the cotton industry, but as there is a possibility of his being in his seat, and as I do not wish to make those references in his absence, I will meanwhile refer to the fact that the leader of the Opposition, during the course of the speech which he made this afternoon, made the statement that the people of Manitoba are taxed for the benefit of the manufacturers in the eastern provinces. The hon. gentleman is an adept in sewing little seeds of sectional dissention throughout the country. He will pardon me for saying so, but I almost think it is a part of his political platform. The hon. gentleman went down to Halifax in 1890, and at a public meeting there he told the people of Halifax that they were being terribly taxed for the benefit of the farmers of Ontario and Manitoba. But when he came to the provinces of Manitoba and Ontario—and I do not think it is becoming in the leader of a great party and in the ordinary acceptance of the terms, I do not think it can be called good statesmanship or a patriotic course—

he said to the people there, and he reported it here to-day, that they are taxed in order that the eastern portion of the Dominion may be benefited. That is the sectional strife policy which these hon. gentlemen preach up and down the country. Reference was made by my hon. friend from West Ontario (Mr. Edgar) to the cotton industries of Canada, and his attack was quite in accord with the cruel war which the hon. gentlemen opposite wage against their fellow countrymen who are engaged in manufacturing enterprises in this country. I desire just to say one or two words in defence of those men who earn their living and who have their capital invested in these manufacturing enterprises. I find, Mr. Speaker, that the investments in factories in this Dominion amount to \$353,000,000, they have 367,000 people employed, whose wages amount to \$100,000,000 a year, and the output of these establishments is valued at \$475,000,000. My hon. friend from West Ontario (Mr. Edgar), in referring the other evening to the condition of the cotton factories of this Dominion made the statement, if I took his figures down correctly, that the goods manufactured in Canada last year amounted to some \$14,000,000. He also made the statement that Mr. A. F. Gault, the President of the Dominion Cotton Manufacturing Company, had stated at a public meeting that the 17½ per cent tariff of the Mackenzie Government was all the protection they required. At the time I questioned the accuracy of that report of Mr. Gault's statement, across the House. The following day I received unsolicited the following telegram from Mr. Gault. It is dated Montreal, 10th April, 1894, and is addressed to myself, and reads:

With reference to statement made yesterday in the House by Mr. Edgar in which my name is mentioned, I have to say that the statement attributed to me, as having been made last year, that the cotton industry could be maintained under the Mackenzie tariff, was contradicted by me in the press the following day, and that contradiction I now affirm. Mr. Edgar is also wrong in his figures as to the output of the Canadian companies, the whole product of the Dominion being under \$9,000,000. The dividend paid by the Dominion Company is 8 per cent; by the Montreal Company 8 per cent. The Canadian Coloured Company pays no dividend.

(Signed,) A. F. GAULT.

I recognize that my hon. friend from West Ontario (Mr. Edgar) made this statement with no intention to deceive the House, that he had been misinformed. But, I think, as the statement was made publicly, the correction should be equally public. I am a little surprised that the hon. gentleman repeated this year his reference of last year to the Dominion Cotton Company, for this reason that last year the position of that company was explained by me in the House. And the hon. gentleman went on to repeat again that this company had watered their stock, that it was originally a

company having stock of \$1,500,000 capital, and that they had watered that stock to the extent of \$1,500,000. When the hon. gentleman told us that the Dominion Company had increased their capital from \$1,500,000 to \$3,000,000, he should have told us also that the increased stock was represented by eleven mills, which are said to have cost, etc., their original shareholders between \$3,000,000 and \$4,000,000. The property of the Dominion Company is estimated to be worth \$5,000,000, and I say that, under these circumstances, and when the fact is known that they have issued bonds and found the cash to pay for these eleven new mills, no one is warranted to-day in saying that its capital of \$3,000,000 has been watered to the extent of \$1,500,000. The hon. gentleman also referred to certain prices of cotton goods, and endeavoured to convey the impression to the House that these so-called cotton lords have been making fabulous profits. I believe that on both sides of this House there must be hon. gentlemen who, like myself, have owned stock in these companies, and I think—nay, I am sure—that their personal experience has been very similar to my own. As a matter of fact, for ten years these cotton mills paid no dividend with the exception of one or two mills. That was our experience, certainly, in the east. I do not believe we ever had a dividend from the investment we made, and I can only say that, so far as I am personally concerned, and I fear I am not exceptional. I lost 75 per cent of the investment I made in cotton mills. These cotton mills were unremunerative, and many would be closed to-day if they had not been acquired and worked by the Dominion Cotton Company. When we invested our money in these mills it was certainly with the expectation of a return from the investment, and also largely from a desire to find employment for the people in the community in which we lived. To the extent that the mills have furnished employment our wishes have been attained, and, though we have lost our money, numbers of men and women are employed in them who, but for the existence of the factories would be working in Lowell, and enriching the cities of the United States. The hon. gentlemen opposite therefore are wrong, and it is not fair for them to say that the people who have invested their money in cotton have made very large returns. I expressed the opinion last year, when this matter was under discussion in this House that from first to last the men who invested their money in cotton mills have not received 2½ per cent per annum on their investment. I know that such a statement was made recently in Montreal by one of the most enthusiastic supporters of hon. gentlemen opposite, a gentleman who is well known in that community as one of the most prominent Grits in it. I say he made a statement that since he put his money into

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cotton mills he has not had 2½ per cent per annum on his investment. Those of us who have given this matter any attention and particularly those who have had any personal relations with the cotton mills or with the trade realize this: that the goods which are made in in Canada are made of the best American quality, and that they are better than the ordinary run of goods which are manufactured largely in Lancashire. My hon. friend from western Ontario was very much mistaken when he questioned the accuracy of the statement made by the hon. Finance Minister in reference to the amount of filling which is put in the goods manufactured in England. The hon. member for North Simcoe made a comparison of prices last year between English and Canadian goods, and as he was good enough to name the authorities from which he had gathered his information, I was able to examine them for myself. And the result of my examination was this: that while in Canada, from 1878 down to 1891, cotton goods had declined 24 per cent, in England, during the same period they had declined only 18 per cent. Therefore, prices have relatively declined more in Canada than in England. I think it would be impossible for any one, unless he had the goods actually before him, to institute such a comparison as the hon. member for North Simcoe has made. He has told us that you can buy silesias at a certain price in Canada, and you can buy them in England at a certain price. Well, that is quite possible, but there may be a great difference in the relative values of the two goods, and unless one had the goods before him, in fact unless they were examined by an expert, you could not institute any fair comparison. Then my hon. friend from West Ontario also said that the changes in the tariff have resulted beneficially to the cotton manufacturers, and in proof of it he made the statement that the stock of the Dominion Cotton Company and the stock of the Montreal Cotton Company had advanced, I think one of them, two points, and the other, two or three points, a day or two after the tariff had been announced. I find that on 5th April the Montreal Cotton Company was quoted at about 130, and the Dominion Cotton Company was quoted at about 122, and the Coloured Cotton Company was quoted at 62½ or 37½ below par. And so my hon. friend argues that the tariff has not been lowered because the price of these stocks has advanced a few points. In order to institute a fair comparison I would ask my hon. friend from West Ontario to ascertain for himself if the price of the Montreal Cotton Company's stock twelve months ago was not 140, whereas to-day it is 130. I am told just now that it subsequently went up to 156, and declined again, and it is down now to 130. The stock of the Dominion Cotton Company, twelve months ago, was 131, to-day it is 122. Twelve months ago the stock of the Coloured Cotton Company was 100, it

is now down to 62½. Therefore, the proposed tariff has had no very great effect, and therefore the argument of my hon. friend from West Ontario cannot be sustained, if the figures which I have now submitted to the House are accurate, and I believe them to be. At all events, they show this fact, that if the stock of the Dominion Cotton Company is selling in Montreal to-day on the open market at 122, it is positive evidence that the Montreal people who buy it know very well that the stock was never watered, as they never would pay any such price for watered stock. As I have made these corrections, I trust that my hon. friend from West Ontario, when this matter comes up again and we are discussing details in committee, will do these companies, will do himself, the justice to correct the errors into which he has been misled. Now, Mr. Speaker, having dealt with these items of the tariff very hurriedly, as the hour is late and the House is impatient for a division, time will not permit to go into the general question, I shall have an opportunity of doing so when we get into committee, I shall conclude with saying I cannot conscientiously vote for the amendment proposed by the hon. member for South Oxford.

Mr. RIDER. I have listened with a great deal of attention to the remarks of the hon. member who has just taken his seat (Mr. Kenny); in fact, I always listen to that hon. gentleman with great interest, expecting to hear from him something useful when important questions are being discussed, and, Sir, there must be something woefully wrong with the new customs tariff, as the hon. member resumes his seat without defending a single item therein. The discussion which has been occupying the time of this House for a number of days past, and the serious attention of the country as well, proves conclusively the importance of the subject at issue, which I propose to treat for a short time from an agricultural standpoint. Hon. gentlemen on the opposite side of the House who never falter in protestation of loyalty to their country when election time comes around have evinced a strange desire to shun the question which is before the House at the present time, and that is the amended tariff. The farmers of this country had reason to expect some important modifications in their favour. I for one feel that the future prosperity of this country depends largely on the agricultural interests. We have now had an experience of fifteen years under the National Policy, and we are called at the present time to a sort of crystal wedding, a renewal of their union with the old idol of protection by a high tariff. Now, Sir, I felt that after all the time which had been consumed by the Government in studying the various interests of the country, the farmers at least would receive some practical benefit from this revision. I followed the Finance Minister carefully in the remarks

he made in introducing the amended tariff, and my attention was particularly called to the only two items which he was pleased to place upon the free list. That I may do the hon. gentleman no injustice, I will quote his words:

But there is one item made free which deserves special mention, and the object of which is to afford a healthy amusement at a cheap rate to a large and deserving class of our population. Curling stones have been made free. Dogs have been added to other fowls that come in free for breeding purposes.

Now, I think the farmers of this country will wonder how the hon. Finance Minister comes to class dogs with fowls. But they will wonder none the less at his lack of knowledge upon matters of great interest to farmers of the province of Quebec, when so very important an item as maple sugar has been omitted from the tariff schedule altogether, and which up to the present moment the hon. gentleman does not know himself how to classify. Maple sugar is an item of considerable importance to the farmers of the Eastern Townships, who have for a number of years been following a line of mixed farming, and this is an important product at a season of the year when but little else can be done, and deserves due attention. I shall have occasion to refer to this item later on, showing its importance. Sir, some members of the Government have been advising the farmers in other parts of the country to adopt mixed farming. I understand that the Minister of Public Works, speaking to an audience of farmers in the county of Two Mountains, who had reason to complain of the loss of the United States market for their horses, told them that they must change their avocation, and if they could not sell their horses in Canada keep them and turn their attention to the cultivation of strawberries. Such advice is poor consolation for a deserving class of our people. Sir, owing to the lateness of the hour I do not intend to occupy any considerable portion of the time of the House, but there are some items which I consider very important to the electors of the county which I have the honour to represent, and which we expected to see fairly treated by the Government when they came to finally adopt their amended tariff. I will refer to the item of coal oil. This article, it seems, has borne for a number of years, a very high rate of duty. According to the Trade and Navigation Returns, we imported the past year 5,980,183 gallons, upon which a customs duty was paid amounting to over \$500,000. But what do we find when we look at the exports of coal oil? The total exports from Canada for the last year was only 1,111 gallons, valued at \$100, showing conclusively the consumption of this country requires the importation of nearly 600,000,000 gallons more than the refiners are able to turn out, and I would like to know how we can impose a more direct and onerous tax than the one

that is levied upon this article. Last session, the Minister of Finance was pleased to take this item into consideration, and the country was led to believe, at the time, a change had been made that would be for the general benefit; but that advantage, if any, had no effect whatever in the rural districts, that suffer the most, and which should have relief by placing coal oil upon the free list. There is a feature in connection with the storage of kerosene to which I would like to call the attention of the Finance Minister, and that is the system of storing coal oil in tanks. At the present time no permission is granted for storing except in the barrels in which the oil is imported. This entails great loss, and to obviate loss merchants are compelled to use tanks. I trust the Finance Minister will see his way clear to arrange so as to permit the storage of oil in tanks by allowing it to be emptied out of the barrel in which it is imported. Another very important item to the agricultural interests is corn. The duty, $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents per bushel, was placed upon corn under the pretense of affording protection to the farmers, but it seems the farmers desired no such kind of protection. The question then came up, whether the duty was really placed upon Indian corn as a protective measure. If so, why did the Government secretly legislate to remove the duty in favour of the distillers, by granting a rebate of duty paid on corn when imported to be manufactured into liquors for export; and why, when this question was brought to the attention of the House, the privilege granted to distillers was flatly refused farmers and others importing corn for stock-raising purposes? It is very evident that the duty placed upon corn, an article largely used by our farmers, was not imposed for the purpose of protecting the farmer. Our natural conditions will not admit of the successful raising of corn. It is an article on which farmers largely depend for feeding purposes, and to the farmer it is as much raw material as is cotton and wool to the manufacturer, and should be placed upon the free list. If a farmer can, from a dollar's worth of corn, produce a dollar and a quarter's worth of beef, pork, butter or cheese, I fail to see why he should not have the same privilege as regards obtaining the raw material as is enjoyed by manufacturers. I think there should be no contention between classes, except it be the patriotic one of how best to serve the country. I fail to understand why the manufacturer is not interested in the welfare of the farmer. The permanent success of this country depends more upon agriculture than on any other industry; and when we consider the extent of the exports of manufacturers we see at once that the manufacturers depend upon the people of this country for their consumers. I believe that, considering our geographical position, free trade on a broad and reciprocal basis between Canada and the United States is desirable. The natural

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avenues of trade between the two countries, are largely from the north to the south. We find the products of the Maritime Provinces trending southward to the New England states. When we reach Ontario we find that, notwithstanding there is a duty on coal, Ontario manufacturers have to depend for their coal supply on the Alleghany region. As we go further west, we have products which find a ready market to the south and vice versa. It cannot, therefore, be in the interest of this country, or in the interest of the United States that the natural avenues of trade should be restricted by artificial barriers. We have evidence of the skill, ability and courage of our Canadian farmers by laurels won at Chicago in competition with the world. But what benefit is this if our farmers are compelled to pay more for every article which enters into their business than is necessary. Indian corn, kerosene oil, fence wire, nails, tools, agricultural machinery, and so forth, are as much raw material to the farmer in the prosecution of his business as are articles which are admitted free on behalf of the manufacturers. The American market is our main and only natural market for many articles, notably barley, the total export of which from Canada last year was 2,040,648 bushels, and of this 1,431,378 bushels found a market in the United States, notwithstanding the high import duty in that country. Of beans we exported a total of 276,955 bushels, and of that we sent to the United States 273,900 bushels. Our total export of potatoes amounted to 1,112,838 bushels, and of this we sent to the United States 800,225 bushels. We exported of poultry \$99,467 worth, and of this total export the United States took \$83,500. Our total export of eggs amounted to \$868,007, and of this the United States took \$324,355. Our total export of maple sugar was 738,514 pounds, and of this we sent to the United States 718,615 pounds. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, this latter article is really an important item of our export. It is an article produced by the farmers at a time of the year when they cannot profitably be engaged in any other pursuit, and it is an article, the price for which, depends more upon the demand as a luxury than for domestic use, nearly all of our export trade going into the United States. Of hay, our total exports amounted to \$1,452,872 worth and of that the United States took \$854,958. Wool is an article which is admitted into our country free of duty. The manufacturers have all the advantage of going to the cheapest and best markets of the world for their supply. There is no import duty placed upon wool which would in any way protect the farmer, and therefore the class of wool which our farmers can best afford to raise is that which finds its best market in the United States. Of wool, we exported, 1,168,834 pounds, and of that the United States took 1,146,766 pounds. Now, in regard to coal. We find that

the total exports of coal was to the value of \$3,357,185, and of this the United States took \$2,982,656 worth. Of horses our total export was \$1,588,007, and of this we sent to the markets of the United States to the value of \$1,250,189. Sheep, total export, \$1,288,540 worth, and of this we sent to the United States \$1,129,499. Swine, total export \$146,000 worth, and of this amount we sent to the United States \$130,092. The foregoing statements of many of our exports show the necessity and good to be derived in extending to the utmost our trade relation with our neighbours to the south. Now, Mr. Speaker, let me give you a little idea of the extent of the exports of our manufactures; not with the idea of belittling at all the manufacturing industries of this country, because I believe we should encourage manufacturing as much as possible. I believe, Sir, that the natural wealth of this country should be manufactured at home and sent out of the country in its finished condition. The timber in our forests, the mines hidden in the recesses of the earth, and all of our natural products should be sent out of the country in a finished state as far as possible. But what are the results at the present time? The exports from this country consist very largely of raw material. From our mines we exported to the world at large to the value of \$5,329,890, and of this total export we sent to the United States \$4,756,890 worth. From our fisheries we sent in total exports to the value of \$8,743,050, and of this we sent to the United States \$3,503,904. Of the products of our forests, our total exports were \$26,359,910, and of this we sent to the United States \$13,859,960 worth. From the products of the farm, that is animals and their products, and agricultural produce, we sent of total exports to all the world \$53,785,989 all told. Now, Mr. Speaker, when we consider that the larger portion of the exports from our forests was in the shape of lumber in its cheapest condition, largely logs with the bark on, we can see that we must be losing a large amount of the entire advantage which would accrue from the manufacture of this native product in our own country. If we had a fair trade policy between Canada and the United States, they being our natural purchasers for all of these articles, the saving of freight would compel the finishing of that product at the place of production. With reference to the export of manufactured goods we exported during the past year agricultural implements to the extent of \$462,253, only. Yet in order to protect this comparatively small industry as considered from its export, the farming community, the great industry of this country, will be taxed to the extent of thousands of dollars by the duty on their implements which amounts to from 20 to 35 per cent. These implements are something that the farmer has got to have. The farmer

is obliged to send his surplus products into the markets of the world, there to compete with the products of other countries, and why would it not be in the interests of the agricultural industry of the country that the farmers should have the best market in which to sell as well as to purchase their goods. At the present time, according to the rate of duty established by this country, every consumer, be he farmer or mechanic, who is expending \$300 a year, be it for machinery or for the necessaries of life is virtually paying \$100 of that amount in the shape of taxes. In regard to refined sugar we are always told in years past that the duty on sugar was really in the interests of the country, that it cost the consumer nothing, that protection was not a tax, and that sugar could be bought as cheap here as in any other country. But when the hon. Minister of Finance a few sessions ago removed the duty on refined sugar he claimed that he had relieved the people of this country from a burden of three and a half million dollars. It seems, however, that there is to remain on that most necessary commodity, a tax of 64 cents per 100 pounds. Now, how can this be justified? The hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce, the hon. leader of the Senate, speaking upon the question of the day, took occasion to say:

I have under my hand a statement showing that we exported between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 pounds of sugar to the United States and Newfoundland last year, and I also have letters from the refiners at Halifax showing that they exported some 10,000 barrels of sugar to Boston alone, and from the Redpath refinery showing that they sent over 5,000 barrels to the market of Chicago in the previous year, paying the freight upon the whole of it, and paying six-tenths of a cent per pound upon it, and underselling the United States refiners who were getting two cents per pound bounty on all sugar grown in the country—even maple sugar—and were allowed all sugar free under 16.

Then, the hon. gentleman goes on to give a comparative table showing the ruling prices of sugar in New York and Montreal at different dates throughout the year. I will give the first date for each month:

Weekly Prices, New York and Montreal, Granulated Sugar for Year 1892.

| Date. | New York, Net per lb. | Montreal, Net per lb. |
|--------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Jan. 8..... | 4 00 | 4.30 |
| Feb. 5..... | 3.92 | 4.33 |
| Mar. 4..... | 3.92 | 4.33 |
| April 1..... | 4.29 | 4.39 |
| May 6..... | 4.23 | 4.39 |
| June 3..... | 4.23 | 4.39 |
| July 1..... | 4.23 | 4.14 |
| Aug. 5..... | 4.23 | 4.08 |
| Sept. 2..... | 4.50 | 4.26 |
| Oct. 7..... | 4.72 | 4.30 |
| Nov. 4..... | 4.72 | 4.39 |
| Dec. 2..... | 3.50 | 4.39 |

Now, I find by computation that the aver-

age price for the year in both places was about the same, that is 4.30 cents. Now, if the sugar refiners of this country can ship sugar to the United States in such large quantities as stated, and pay the freight and the duty, which amounts to at least one cent per pound, I fail to see why they cannot give us sugar here at a lower rate. It seems from this statement that the sugar refiners are sending their sugar to the United States market and selling it there at least 1 cent per pound less than they are selling it here in the home market. This is a kind of class legislation which should not prevail in this or any other country. Now, Mr. Speaker, time and time again we here it stated that the breakfast table is practically free, that is to say, that the people have no taxes whatever to pay on the necessaries of life. Now, I have made a careful computation, taking only the articles which we are obliged to import, which we cannot produce owing to our climatic and other conditions, and I find that on the following articles, which are used largely for the so-called breakfast table, we pay duty to the amount named :

| | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Baking Powder and Soda | \$ 34,986 70 |
| Yeast | 12,522 92 |
| Mustard | 17,350 15 |
| Spices | 28,827 14 |
| Rice | 99,096 96 |
| Tapioca and Arrow Root | 6,697 62 |
| Macaroni and Vermicelle | 3,237 64 |
| Currants | 53,630 31 |
| Figs | 9,227 92 |
| Prunes | 12,592 97 |
| Dates | 9,537 69 |
| Raisins | 126,553 21 |
| Tea | 8,861 00 |
| Coffee | 9,654 99 |
| Sugar | 10,335 91 |
| Molasses | 61,821 64 |
| Salt | 15,306 19 |
| Bags the salt comes in | 2,834 25 |
| White Granite and China Ware | 149,244 24 |
| Table Cutlery "N.E.S." | 71,009 69 |
| Total | \$743,319 14 |

And this list does not embrace nearly all the articles so used. In regard to fertilizers, I was glad to see that the Government had decided to reduce the duty by one-half, the duty being placed at 10 per cent; yet this rate, applied to the cost of fertilizers, amounts to from \$1.25 to \$4 per ton. This is an article of great importance to the farmers of Canada, and I wish to point out the difference between the policy adopted by this Government in regard to that important article and the policy of the McKinley tariff, of which we have heard so much as being the most exorbitant tariff upon the face of the earth. I find under the McKinley tariff all kinds of fertilizers for increasing the fertility and productiveness of the soil are admitted into the United States duty free from all countries; and I have heard no good reason yet advanced why the farmers of this country should not receive equal consideration by having fertilizers free. We should remember that

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the United States market is the best and only foreign market for our barley, and according to the prices ruling in New York to-day 100 pounds of Canadian barley will purchase 160 pounds of corn. It is a well-known fact that corn is worth more per pound than barley for feeding purposes. Therefore, if we had no artificial restrictions on our trade, and could have a fair exchange of commodities between the two countries, it would be in the interest of the people of both countries. It would enable the people of Canada to produce that which they are best fitted to produce by nature and ability. The United States is beyond doubt our best market in which to sell our barley, beans, potatoes, pork, poultry, eggs, maple sugar, hay, wool, coal, horses, sheep and swine. But as regards the English market, although our beef, butter, cheese and pork are admitted there free, the same privilege is granted to the producers of all other countries; and I should like to know how the Canadian farmer can profitably compete even in the British market if he is handicapped by being obliged to pay a greater amount on those articles which constitute his raw material. For instance, Indian corn largely used in the production of beef and pork is taxed 7½ cents a bushel, virtually 15 per cent. The following table shows the taxes our farmers have to pay on their raw material :

| | |
|------------------------------|--------------|
| Indian Corn | 15 per cent. |
| Kerosene | 120 do |
| Nails | 75 do |
| Fence wire | 60 do |
| Fertilizers | 10 do |
| Farming tools | 35 do |
| Carriages | 30 do |
| Agricultural machinery | 25 do |

Making an average tax of 46 per cent, which the Canadian farmer has to pay on those articles, over and above what similar articles cost his brother farmer in the United States, and which are as much his raw material as cotton and wool are the raw material of the manufacturers. But, so far as I understand the methods of the administration of this country, the schedule which is known as the tariff schedule is very little understood or appreciated by the people. This schedule is continually changed by secret legislation—by Orders in Council and rulings in the department, so that it is almost impossible to tell what rate of duty really the importer is obliged to pay. Very often we see rulings which will enable manufacturers to bring in certain lines of machinery duty free. Mining machinery of all kinds is allowed into this country duty free, also salt, twines, &c., for the use of the Maritime Provinces in addition to a bounty of \$160,000 yearly paid to the fishermen of those provinces. A rebate of 90 per cent of the duty is allowed on corn when kiln-dried to be used for human food, which is also for the benefit of the Maritime fishermen. Where, then, is there any protection to the farmer in the duty of 7½ cents per

bushel on corn? The farmers all through the country ask for the removal of this duty, and surely they are the best judges whether it is in their interest or not. But did you ever hear of an Order in Council or a ruling that enabled a carpenter to bring in free any tools which he requires in the prosecution of his business. I believe that the freest system possible of trade should be adopted. I believe, judging by the history of the past, it is not the policy of this Government to foster trade with the United States. I believe that a system of fair reciprocity would be the best possible arrangement which could be consummated between the two countries, as it would enable the people of both countries to work at that for which they are the best fitted by nature and the natural conditions of their country. The Government is in duty bound to show that they are disposed to reciprocate in the tariff changes now going on in Washington, and thus inaugurate a policy of conciliation and enable the two countries to come together for the purpose of removing these artificial barriers to trade. With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I would like to explain what will be the tendency of reciprocity. In view of women franchise, naturally the ladies wish to post themselves on political matters. The following is a graphic description of the explanation:—

“Pray tell me,” she said as they stood together
By the garden gate in the bright spring weather—
“Pray tell me, and tell me without verbosity,
What is meant by the system of reciprocity?”

“Tis a system arranged between two nations
For the fostering of friendly trade relations,
A system of mutual interchanging
Which Laurier has a long time been arranging.

“You don't understand my explanation?
Then I will give you an illustration:
I kiss you thus—this is not audacity—
And you kiss me back, and that's reciprocity.”

She kissed him back, and a flush as tender
And soft as the sunset's dying splendour
Stole over her face as she giggled sweetly,
Tis a system that takes my heart completely.”

I believe that reciprocity in trade with the world would take the hearts of the farmers just as completely and enable our people to make the best use of their natural wealth. In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, let me thank you and the hon. gentlemen present for the kind attention accorded to me while thus briefly expressing my views on the important subject now before the House.

Mr. PATTERSON (Huron). The hon. member for Guysboro' (Mr. Fraser) introduced my name into this debate in connection with an article which appeared in the Toronto 'Evening News.' Now, I make it my invariable rule never to interfere with the members of the press. I always recognize the fact that the individual is unable to cope with journalistic enterprise, and therefore I have not noticed that article

hitherto. When the little meeting of private gentlemen, who were with me that night, unanimously contradicted the statement of that journal, I thought that would have been sufficient for any gentleman in this House. But as it is not, I now rise to say that the report in that paper is an invention made out of whole cloth. Nothing of the kind ever occurred directly or indirectly, and I am not responsible for one word printed in the Toronto 'Evening News' with reference to the private meeting which it describes.

Mr. PRIOR. I trust that hon. gentlemen will pardon one who holds the humble position that I do in this House, if I take up the time of the House at this late period of the debate and of the night, and I promise that my remarks shall be short. We have heard speeches from hon. gentlemen representing constituencies in every province and in every section of the country; and these speeches have given forcible and able voice to arguments of every description for and against protection and free trade. We have been asked, Sir, to believe, on the one hand, that Canada is in a prosperous and flourishing condition; that trade is good; that her people are contented and happy, and that only under a policy of protection can she continue in her successful career. We have also, on the other hand, been asked to believe that Canada is at a standstill; that her treasury is depleted; that her trade is stagnant; that the manufacturers of the country have been making colossal fortunes at the expense of the farmer and mechanic; that misery and starvation are found throughout the land, and that the only panacea for this pitiable state of affairs is the inauguration of a free trade policy. Sir, I have listened to these arguments with great interest, and I may say, with great respect. The gladiators in this political arena have hurled defiance of each other across the floor of the House, and have called upon their henchmen to stand firm in their principles and by their party. I was proud that I belonged to Canada, when I heard the magnificent speeches made by hon. gentlemen on the floor of this House. Sir, after these champions have exhausted themselves in expatiating upon the graces and beauties of their lady loves, it would be presumptuous in me to think of saying anything new or anything even that would interest hon. gentlemen here to-night. But I do think that it is right, upon an occasion of this kind—an occasion which, I may say, I consider one of the most momentous that has occurred for a long time—that every hon. gentleman should rise in his place and, in a few words, state what his convictions are in regard to the trade policy of this country. I can honestly say, after listening attentively to the arguments that have been presented, that I am to-night, if possible, more than ever an out-and-out protectionist. In my humble opinion, not

one single argument has been presented by gentlemen opposite that should convince me in the slightest degree that the affairs of this country would be in a better condition under a free trade policy than under the policy we have at the present time. Not one argument have hon. gentlemen opposite made use of that has not been combatted, aye, simply pulverized by the speakers on this side. I have the honour to represent a constituency in the province of British Columbia, and I have not the slightest doubt in my own mind that if it was not for this policy under which we are fortunately carrying on the affairs of the country, there would be hardly a trader, hardly a manufacturer, hardly a mechanic who would be making the decent living he is making at the present time. I may be wrong, but this is my firm conviction—and not only is it my firm conviction, but it seems to have been the conviction of the people of British Columbia, if we may judge by the result of the elections for the last fifteen years. I noticed one thing with regard to what some gentlemen opposite have said during this debate, and that is, that they have argued solely as to how the tariff affected certain interests and certain localities; losing sight of the fact that we must have only one tariff, and that it must do for the whole country, and, therefore, necessarily there must be a large measure of give and take between the different provinces. Sir, I am proud to say that the average British Columbian is a large-minded and liberal-minded man. It may be that the vastness and grandeur of the country in which he lives, impresses him and expands his ideas. But, be that as it may, though he thinks that his first duty to himself and his family is to look after his own individual success, still he knows he is called upon to do more, he knows that if we are to build up this country and make a nation of it such as we have a right to expect it will become, he and every other man in Canada must help his fellow citizens and all must stand together from one coast to the other. It may be that under a protective, and equally under a free trade or any other tariff some individual, or some one industry may suffer. There is no tariff that can be framed by the ablest statesman that ever lived or by the man with the most experience in such matters that can give exactly equal rights and advantages to each individual and each industry in a country of this size. Hon. gentlemen perhaps know that the people of British Columbia pay large sums into the Treasury in the way of customs and other duties. But, though they pay these large duties, do hon. gentlemen opposite think that British Columbians believe they would be better off under a free trade policy? No, Sir, not for one single moment. Though they pay about three times as much per head as the Ontario man, still all they ask is that they should

Mr. PRIOR.

have a proper and equitable return made to them in the shape of useful and necessary public works and subsidies. They know that in a new country like this; a country of great possibilities; aye, of great certainties, before the country can take its proper position industries must be built up and fostered and the natural resources of the country now lying dormant at our doors must be made use of. Sir, do hon. gentlemen opposite believe that in a new country like British Columbia, if it were not for the protective policy, we could carry on and build up the industries we have. At the present time we have large iron works and shops that are struggling along for a bare existence. It is all they can do to pay a dividend on the capital invested. We have sash and door factories; we have rice mills where the rice brought from China is cleaned and prepared for the consumer; we have spice mills, chemical works, vinegar works, breweries, and many other smaller industries which in the aggregate employ large numbers of men who are earning good wages, though the proprietors cannot manage to make more than a decent profit. But, suppose, the protection which they have was taken from them, what would be the consequence? Every one of these industries, so far as I know, I am sure would be forced to close up. The influx of goods from the American side would fill the market, and, instead of our own people being engaged in manufacturing these goods, these men who are now happy and have steady work would be out of employment and, in a short time would be wanting the necessaries of life. Sir, hon. gentlemen on either side of this House have paid great attention to the farmers of this country. Now, there is nobody has a greater respect for the farmer than I have, no one better aware of the fact that the farmers are a large majority in the country. But surely, other men should be protected as well as the farmer. If you do away with the industries of the cities and towns, what becomes of the home market for the produce of the farm? The home trade is, by a long way, better for the farmer than the export trade. The farmer of British Columbia particularly must be a protectionist. At the present time the prices of many of his products are kept down and ruled by the prices of the same articles brought from the North-west and Manitoba. But if you were to open the country under free trade, the British Columbia farmer would be literally swamped by the products brought across from the American side. Even at the present time large quantities of these products are brought across—the duty being paid upon them—and sold at prices at which the British Columbia farmer could not make an honest living. If it were not for protection, not 25 per cent of the traders and manufacturers of that province would be in business. I said at the beginning of my remarks that it would be presumptuous in me to take up the time of the House in trying to voice arguments

that have been put forward by abler men than myself, but still I think I was right in rising and giving utterance to my convictions. I may say that I am rather sorry the Government have seen fit to make such large reductions on some articles in the new tariff. However, it is not a subject that I can deal with here, and I shall have a good chance to return to it when we get into committee. I cannot say that trade is prosperous in British Columbia, nor indeed in Canada. But is it prosperous anywhere in the world? Is it prosperous in free trade countries, any more than in countries under protection? There is a general stagnation of trade all over the world, and it is due to causes that I do not think the ablest and most experienced financier can explain any better than I can myself. If we look to the south of us, we find that trade there is also slack; it is more than that, it is simply in a deplorable condition. In a weak moment the voters of the United States gave up their allegiance to the policy that had made them the envy of the world, and now look at them. Go into the manufacturing towns in the States and see the condition of affairs. It is simply financial chaos from one end of the country to the other. You see silent looms, extinguished forges; you meet with ruined merchants; you hear of the crash of falling fortunes that men are losing from day to day. But, most pitiable of all is to see the large army of unemployed with their wives and families, tramping through the silent streets of the cities. Sir, Mr. Joseph Buchanan, of New York, has published a somewhat elaborate paper, showing the numbers of unemployed in the States. He puts the number of adult males in the United States at 13,000,000, of which 6,000,000 are employed in agricultural pursuits, and 1,000,000 are proprietors of various establishments, thus leaving 6,000,000 wage-earners. Of these 6,000,000 he says there are at the present time 2,390,000 out of work. Is that not a most deplorable state of things? Workingmen all over the world are slow to learn, but in the end we generally find that their judgment is correct. Like Artemus Ward, I do not care to prophesy unless I know, but I will venture for once to say that the first opportunity the people of the United States have of pronouncing their opinion upon free trade at the polls, the party now in power will be swept out by a wind of popular disfavour compared to which a Dakota blizzard would be a zephyr. Sir, I ask this House, I ask the people of Canada, to take warning by them and to stick to a good thing when they know they have got it. In conclusion, I may be allowed to tell a little story, and, as it has a moral, I will tell it with a purpose. Hon. gentlemen from the Maritime Provinces may perhaps have heard it, as I am told the incident took place somewhere in their country. It seems there was a very hot election being waged in some portion of the Maritime Provinces and at a certain meeting the feel-

ing rose to fever heat, and there was a great deal of excitement among those present. One candidate got up and made a magnificent speech, and was cheered to the echo. When the other candidate came forward in a trembling state of excitement, he looked around on the sea of faces, gesticulated, and grabbed at his throat, but he could get nothing out. At last he managed to blurt out: "Boys, it's all here, but I can't get it out." Well, Sir, the moral of that story is, that that candidate was elected. Now, British Columbia members come from a long distance, and they have not the privilege, as you all know, of being able to run down to their homes every week or two; and, therefore, they naturally get a little irritable and a little impatient as the days go by to see the end of the session. Well, Sir, I trust that hon. gentlemen who are thinking, after this debate is over, of making two or three hours' speeches, will imitate the man who could not get it out, and they will not only do us a good turn, but they will also make their own election sure.

Mr. FOSTER. Before the House divides on this question, I wish to lay on the table of the House, before we go into committee, some additional resolutions. A number of them are Orders in Council which have had effect during the last year, and some of them for a longer period, and it is proposed to put them in the enactment under the free list. Another is the amended package laws, and the resolutions with reference to malt and vinegar, and some additional resolutions which are in amendment of a few items on the first eight pages of the resolutions, as they have been laid on the Table of the House. They are not very numerous, but are somewhat important. They are as follows:

- Meats, N. E. S., two cents per pound.
- Live hogs, one and one-half cents per pound.
- Lard, lard compound, and cottolene, two cents per pound.
- Condensed milk, three cents per pound.
- Rice, cleaned, one and one-quarter cents per pound.
- Chicory, four cents per pound.
- Cocoa paste and chocolate and other preparations of cocoa, twenty-five per cent.
- Cocoa nut, desiccated, sweetened or not, five cents per pound.

Resolved, That it is expedient to repeal so much of the Inland Revenue Act and amending Acts as determines the Excise duties to be levied upon Malt and Vinegar, and to provide that on and after the 28th March the Excise duties thereon shall be as follows:—

- Malt, one and one-half cents per pound.
 - Vinegar, eight cents per proof gallon.
- That the value of all bottles, flasks, jars, demijohns, carboys, casks, hogsheads, pipes, barrels, and all other vessels or packages, manufactured of tin, iron, lead, zinc, glass or any other material, and capable of holding liquids—and all packages in which goods are commonly placed for home consumption, including cases in which bottled spirits, wines or malt liquors or other liquids are contained,

—and every package being the first receptacle or covering inclosing goods for purpose of sale, shall in all cases not otherwise provided for, in which they contain goods subject to an *ad valorem* duty or a specific and *ad valorem* duty be taken and held to be a part of the fair market value of such goods for duty, and shall be charged with the same rate of *ad valorem* duty as is to be levied and collected on the goods they contain; and when they contain goods subject to a specific duty only, such packages shall be charged with a duty of customs of twenty per cent *ad valorem*, to be computed upon their original fair market value; and all or any of the above packages described as capable of holding liquids, when containing goods exempt from duty under this Act, shall be charged with a duty of twenty per centum *ad valorem*, provided the contents thereof are not of such a nature that the destruction of the package becomes necessary in order to release the goods,—and all other packages containing free goods and being the first receptacles or inner coverings inclosing goods for the purpose of sale, shall be dutiable at the same rate as if imported empty; but all packages not hereinbefore specified, and not herein specially charged with or declared liable to duty under regulations, and being the usual and ordinary packages in which goods are packed for exportation, according to the general usage and custom of trade, shall be free of duty.

Provided further, that all special packages or coverings unlike those in which such goods as they contain are usually packed for home consumption, and all such packages or coverings as are apparently designed for use other than in the importation of the goods they contain, shall be subject to the same rates of duty as they would be if imported empty or separate from their contents.

Brass cups, being rough blanks, for the manufacture of paper shells or cartridges, when imported by manufacturers of brass and paper shells and cartridges, for use in their own factories.

Brass, iron or steel rolled, round wire rods under half an inch in diameter, and rolled copper rods one inch or under in diameter, when imported by wire manufacturers for use in making wire in their own factories.

Calcareous tufa, when imported for use in the manufacture of indurated fibreware or sulphite fibre, and for no other purpose.

Crucible sheet steel, eleven to sixteen gauge, 2½ to 18 inches wide, when imported by manufacturers of mower and reaper knives, for the manufacture of such knives, in their own factories.

Copper rollers, for use in calico printing, when imported by calico printers for use in their factories in the printing of calicoes and for no other purpose (such rollers not being manufactured in Canada).

Elastic rubber thread, for the manufacture of elastic webbing, when imported by the manufacturers of elastic rubber webbing, to be used for that purpose only, in their own factories.

Felloes of hickory wood, rough sawn to shape only, or rough sawn and bent to shape, not planed, smoothed or otherwise manufactured, when imported by manufacturers of carriages and cart wheels, to be used in the manufacture of such articles in their own factories only.

Fish skins and fish offal, when imported by manufacturers of glue, for use in their own factories.

Mr. FOSTER.

Grease, rough, the refuse of animal fat, for the manufacture of soap and oils only.

Gum Chicle or Sappato Gum in a crude state.

Hatters' bands (not cords), bindings, tips and sides, hat sweats and linings, both tips and sides, when imported by hat and cap manufacturers only, for use in their factories for the manufacture of hats and caps.

Hemp paper, made on four cylinder machines and calendered to between .006 and .008 inch thickness for the manufacture of shot shells, primers for the manufacture of shot shells and cartridges; and felt board sized and hydraulic pressed and covered with paper or uncovered for the manufacture of gun wads when such articles are imported by the manufacturers of shot shells, cartridges and gun wads, to be used for these purposes only in their own factories, until such times as the said articles are manufactured in Canada: Provided always that the said articles when imported, shall be entered only at such port or ports as may be named by the Controller of Customs, and at no other place; samples of such articles to be furnished to the collector of said port or ports by the Customs Department for the guidance of the officer when accepting free entries of such materials.

Molasses, second process, or molasses derived from the manufacture of "molasses sugar," testing by polariscope less than 35 degrees, when imported by manufacturers of blacking, for use in their own factories in the manufacture of blacking, conditional that the importers shall in addition to making oath at the time of entry that such molasses is imported for such use and will not be used for any other purpose cause such molasses to be at once mixed in a proper tank made for the purpose with at least one-fifth of the quantity thereof of cod, or other oil, whereby such molasses may be rendered unfit for any other use, such mixing to be done in the presence of a Customs officer at the expense of the importer, and under such further regulations as may from time to time be considered necessary in the interest and protection of the revenue, and that until such mixing is done and duly certified in the face of the entry thereof by such Customs officer the entry shall be held to be incomplete and the molasses subject to the usual rate of duty as when imported for any other purpose.

Horse hair, not further manufactured than simply cleaned and dipped or dyed, imported for use in the manufacture of horse hair cloths.

Lastings, mohair cloth, or other manufactures of cloth, when imported by manufacturers of buttons for use in their own factories, and woven or made in patterns of such size, shape or form, or cut in such manner as to be fit for covering buttons, exclusively—these conditions to be ascertained by special examination by the proper officers of Customs, and so certified on the face of each entry.

Ole-ostearine and degrass, when imported by manufacturers of leather, for use in the manufacture of leather in their factories.

Platinum and black oxide of copper, for use in the manufacture of chlorate.

Potash, chlorate of, not further prepared than ground, and free from admixture with any other substance.

Rolled iron tubes not welded, under 1½ inch in diameter, angle iron, 9 and 10 gauge, not over 1½

inch wide, iron tubing, lacquered or brass covered, not over 1½ inch diameter, all of which are to be cut to lengths for the manufacture of bedsteads, and to be used for no other purpose; when imported for the manufacturers of iron bedsteads to be used for these purposes only in their own factories, until such time as any of the said articles are manufactured in Canada.

Sawdust of the following woods: amaranth, cocoboral, boxwood, cherry, chestnut, walnut, gumwood, mahogany, pitch pine, rosewood, sandal-wood, sycamore, Spanish cedar, oak, hickory, whitewood, African teak, black heart ebony, lignum vitæ, red cedar, redwood, satinwood, white ash, persimmon and dogwood.

Square reeds and raw-hide centres, textile leather or rubber heads, thumbs and tips, and steel, iron or nickel caps for whip ends, when imported by whip manufacturers, for use in the manufacture of whips in their own factories.

Steel for the manufacture of hammers, augers and auger bits, when imported by the manufacturers of such articles for use in their own factories only.

Steel of numbers 24 and 17 gauge, in sheets 63 inches long and from 18 inches to 32 inches wide for the manufacture of tubular bow sockets, when imported by the manufacturers of such articles, for use in their own factories only.

Steel strip and flat steel wire, when imported into Canada by manufacturers of buckthorns, plain strip fencing, and safety barb wire fencing, for use in their own factories in the manufacture thereof.

Steel wire, Bessemer soft drawn spring, of numbers 10, 12 and 13 gauge, respectively, and Homo steel spring wire of numbers 11 and 12 gauge, respectively, when imported by manufacturers of wire mattresses, to be used in their own factories in the manufacture of such articles.

Typewriters, tablets with movable fixtures, and musical instruments, when imported by and for the use of schools for the blind, and being and remaining the sole property of the governing bodies of said schools and not of private individuals, the above particulars to be verified by special affidavit on each entry when presented.

Yarn spun from the hair of the alpaca or angora goat, when imported by the manufacturers of braids for use exclusively in their factories in the manufacture of such braids only, under such regulations as may be adopted by the Controller of Customs.

Provided that with respect to goods imported for manufacturing purposes that are admissible under this Act for any specific purposes, at a lower rate of duty than would otherwise be chargeable, or exempt from duty, the importer claiming such exemption from duty, or proportionate exemption from duty, shall make and subscribe to the following affidavit or affirmation before the Collector of Customs at the Port of Entry:—

I, (1) the undersigned, importer of the (2) mentioned in this entry do solemnly (3) that such (4) are imported by me for the manufacture of (5) in my own factory, situated at (6) and that no portion of the same will be used for any other purpose or disposed of until so manufactured.

(1) Name of importer.

(2) Name of the goods or articles.

(3) Swear or affirm.

(4) Name of the goods or articles.

(5) Name of the goods to be manufactured.

(6) Name of the place, county and province.

House divided on amendment (Sir Richard Cartwright):

YEAS:

Messieurs:

Allan,
Bain (Wentworth),
Beausoleil,
Béchar, d,
Beith,
Bernier,
Borden,
Boston,
Bowers,
Brodeur,
Brown,
Bruneau,
Campbell,
Carroll,
Cartwright (Sir Richard),
Casey,
Charlton,
Choquette,
Christie,
Colter,
Davies,
Dawson,
Delisle,
Devlin,
Edgar,
Edwards,
Fauvel,
Featherston,
Flint,
Forbes,
Fraser,
Fremont,
Geoffrion,
Gibson,
Gillmor,
Godbout,

Grieve,
Guay,
Harwood,
Innes,
Landerkin,
Langelier,
Laurier,
Lavergne,
Leduc,
Legris,
Lister,
Lowell,
McDonald (Huron),
McGregor,
McMillan,
McMullen,
Martin,
Mignault,
Mills (Bothwell),
Monet,
Paterson (Brant),
Perry,
Préfontaine,
Proulx,
Rider,
Rinfret,
Rowand,
Sanborn,
Scriver,
Semple,
Somerville,
Sutherland,
Tarte,
Vaillancourt,
Welsh, and
Yeo.—72.

NAYS:

Messieurs:

Adams,
Amyot,
Bain (Soulanges),
Baker,
Belley,
Bennett,
Bergeron,
Bergin,
Bosd,
Boyle,
Bryson,
Burnham,
Cameron,
Cargill,
Carignan,
Carling (Sir John),
Carpenter,
Caron (Sir Adolphe),
Carscallen,
Chesley,
Cleveland,
Coatsworth,
Cochrane,
Cockburn,
Corby,
Costigan,
Craig,
Curran,
Daly,
Davin,
Davis,
Denison,
Desaulniers,
Dickey,
Dugas,
Dupont,
Dyer,
Earle,
Fairbairn,
Ferguson (Leeds & Gren.),
Ferguson (Renfrew),
Foster,

La Rivière,
Leclair,
Lepine,
Lippé,
Macdonald (King's),
Macdowall,
Maclean (York),
McAlister,
McDonald (Assiniboia),
McDonald (Victoria),
McDougald (Pictou),
McDougall (Cape Breton),
McInerney,
McKay,
McLean (King's),
McLennan,
McLeod,
McNeill,
Madill,
Mara,
Marshall,
Masson,
Metcalf,
Miller,
Mills (Annapolis),
Moncrieff,
Montague,
Northrup,
Ouimet,
Patterson (Colchester),
Patterson (Huron),
Pelletier,
Pope,
Pridham,
Prior,
Putnam,
Reid,
Robillard,
Roome,
Rosamond,
Ross (Dundas),
Ross (Lisgar),

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Fréchette, | Ryckman, |
| Gillies, | Simard, |
| Girouard (Jacques Cartier), | Smith (Ontario), |
| Girouard (Two Mountains), | Smith (Sir Donald), |
| Grandbois, | Sproule, |
| Grant (Sir James), | Stairs, |
| Guillet, | Stevenson, |
| Haggart, | Taylor, |
| Haslam, | Temple, |
| Hazen, | Thompson (Sir John), |
| Hearn, | Tisdale, |
| Henderson, | Tupper (Sir C. Hibbert), |
| Hodgins, | Turcotte, |
| Hutchins, | Tyrwhitt, |
| Ingram, | Wallace, |
| Ives, | Weldon, |
| Jeannotte, | White (Cardwell), |
| Joncas, | White (Shelburne), |
| Kaulbach, | Wilmot, |
| Kenny, | Wilson, |
| Lachapelle, | Wood (Brockville), et |
| Langevin (Sir Hector), | Wood (Westmoreland).—128. |

PAIRS :

| | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Ministerial.</i> | <i>Opposition.</i> |
| Messrs. Corbould, | Messrs. Mulock, |
| Barnard, | Livingstone, |
| Hughes, | Bowman, |
| Baird, | Bourassa. |

Amendment negatived, and House resolved itself into Committee of Ways and Means.

Committee rose and reported progress.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 1.35 a.m. (Friday).

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, 13th April, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

REPORT.

Annual Report of the Commissioner of the North-west Mounted Police, for 1893.—(Mr. Ives.)

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

House again resolved itself into Committee of Ways and Means.

(In the Committee.)

On resolution (page 247) ; see also amended resolutions (page 1322).

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Are these verbatim et literatim what we had before, or are they changes ?

Mr. FOSTER. The idea was to consolidate all these different classes. There are some omissions which I will explain as I proceed, but nothing material.

Mr. FOSTER.

(f) The expression "proof" or "proof spirits," when applied to wines or wine spirits of any kind, means spirits of a strength equal to that of pure ethyl alcohol compounded with distilled water in such proportions that the resultant mixture shall at a temperature of sixty degrees Fahrenheit have a specific gravity of 0.9198 as compared with that of distilled water at the same temperature.

Mr. FOSTER. In the second line strike out, "Wine spirits of any kind," and make it read, "wine or spirits."

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Is that precisely the old formula ?

Mr. FOSTER. It is the old formula, except that the figures are a little changed to bring it up to the most exact definition. The Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce has made a thorough study of the subject.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Is the formula used a copy of the United States formula ?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, it is almost the same, except as regards the last figures.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Does the hon. gentleman mean to say that the scientific authorities have not yet ascertained what the standard should be ?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, it is practically the same.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Do I understand the scientific men submit this as the exact scientific result ?

Mr. FOSTER. As the nearest possible, for practical use.

Mr. LAURIER. Would it not be preferable to have the same standard as the United States, as the difference is so small ?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think it makes any difference. I have taken the recommendation of the Deputy Minister with respect to this matter, and he is an expert.

Mr. CASEY. Would it not be more simple if, instead of adopting this process of testing for proof and then increasing or reducing the quantity for duty according to the figures, to exact at once the duty on the alcohol contained in the liquor. This could be done by using Sykes's hydrometer, and taxing the liquor according to the quantity of spirit contained in the liquor ? This could be done according to a graduated scale, an increase being made for every 1 per cent or 5 per cent. Has the Finance Minister considered this point ?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know any better way than that proposed. There must be a standard, and the liquor must be taxed according to the strength of proof, and this is the definition of that standard. This system is adopted by the excise departments of all countries.

Mr. CASEY. Sykes's hydrometer is to be used for ascertaining whether the liquor is of proof. Let the tax be so much for liquor of proof standard; when this has been ascertained a judgment has to be arrived at as to how much it is below or above the standard adopted before the duty can be determined. My proposition is that instead of having an artificial standard for proof, and ascertaining how much the liquor is below or above proof, you should begin with Sykes's hydrometer and ascertain exactly the percentage of alcohol in the liquor, and tax it according to that percentage of strength, without reference to the standard of proof. Let the tax be so much per gallon for liquor of a certain strength and an increased amount as the strength advances, 1, 2, or 5 per cent. This, I submit, would be a better way of ascertaining in a direct manner the taxable percentage of alcohol in the liquor, namely, beginning with the hydrometer and imposing a tax in proportion to the quantity of alcohol.

Mr. FOSTER. That is exactly what is done. The subsection must be read in connection with section 12; one gives a definition of proof, and after that the liquor is graded up or down, according to Sykes's hydrometer.

Mr. CASEY. I submit, however, that the system proposed is a roundabout way of doing the work. Instead of reducing the number of gallons up or down to a proof standard and fixing an estimated number of gallons to be taxed according to the percentage of alcohol, the department should begin with the hydrometer at the lowest percentage, and tax the actual number of gallons according to each percentage ascertained.

Mr. FOSTER. The trouble is to find out the percentage of alcohol.

Mr. CASEY. That would be ascertained, as now, by the hydrometer.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The Minister has told us how this compared with the American standard. Does he know how it compares with the English standard? What is the present English standard for proof?

Mr. FOSTER. I think it is the same but I am not certain.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Perhaps the Controller of Inland Revenue would know.

Mr. WOOD. My impression is that it is the same, but I will inquire.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It is obvious that there would be a great convenience for many reasons in having either the English standard or the American standard. We import a good deal from England, not much, I think, from the United States, and if there is any material difference I would suggest

that the English standard should be employed. I have been informed by some gentlemen in the trade that that would be in their opinion a very desirable thing and it seems a reasonable proposition, especially as the Minister knows that almost all the brandy, whisky and gin we import, substantially comes from England.

Mr. FOSTER. How should I know that?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. You have lately been making such proficiency in the study of these matters in connection with the French Treaty and other subjects, that I presume, as other hon. gentlemen have done, you have acquired a great deal of new light on these particular questions.

Mr. FOSTER. I will try and obtain the information.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Does this make any difference of any moment in the amount of tax which would be levied?

Mr. FOSTER. No, it does not, as I am informed; it is practically the same.

(g) The expression "gauge," when applied to metal sheets or plates or to wire, means the thickness as determined by Stubbs's Standard Gauge.

Mr. CHARLTON. How do you determine the thickness of sheets, and so forth? Are there any other gauges besides Stubbs's?

Mr. FOSTER. There are, but this is the English standard and the one we have always used.

(i) The expression "sheet," when applied to metals, means a plate or sheet more than three-sixteenths of an inch in thickness.

Mr. CHARLTON. Upon what basis is the distinction made between plates and sheets?

Mr. FOSTER. It is an arbitrary distinction the same as has been used always.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) This first section repeals a large number of statutes, including chapter 33, respecting the duties of Customs. In that statute there are contained certain provisions with respect to the importation of fish and other products of the fisheries. There is a proviso in section 3 of that Act regulating the imports of fish and fish products in Newfoundland and the United States, to the effect that a proclamation of the Governor in Council may, under certain conditions, be issued with reference to reciprocity in these articles with the United States.

Mr. FOSTER. All that is necessary with reference to that, remains in the statute. It is exactly the same as before. That section is word for word re-enacted under section 3.

2. That the expressions mentioned in section two of "The Customs Act," as amended by section two of "The Customs Amendment Act, 1888," when-

ever they occur herein, or in any Act relating to the Customs, unless the context otherwise requires, have the meaning assigned to them respectively by the said sections two; and any power conferred upon the Governor in Council by "The Customs Act" to transfer dutiable goods to the list of goods which may be imported free of duty, is not hereby abrogated or impaired.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I would recommend to the Government to re-enact these statutes in full. It is a clumsy way of making regulations to refer men back to the Revised Statutes, and for the general convenience of the trade and for our own convenience I think that these should be extended and put in here.

Mr. FOSTER. I had that thought at first, but, when I came to look into it, I found that there were two Acts which are complete in themselves, and this simply draws attention to the second section of the Customs Act of 1888.

Mr. CHARLTON. We ought to know what these powers of the Governor in Council are.

Mr. FOSTER. They are the same as before.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) It is the latter part of the section to which my hon. friend refers:

And any power conferred upon the Governor in Council by the Customs Act to transfer dutiable goods to the list of goods which may be imported free of duty, is not hereby abrogated or impaired.

Mr. FOSTER. That does not change any of the existing powers.

Mr. CHARLTON. But the question is, how great were those powers. It seems to me, from the application that has been made of them in the past, that the powers of the Governor in Council in this respect are unlimited. I think we had better have them defined.

Mr. FOSTER. Section 245 of the Customs Act gives the powers of the Governor General in Council, which are very extensive, covering a great many subjects. I find the following, in subsection "L":—

For transferring to the list of goods which may be imported into Canada free of duty, any or all articles (whether natural products or products of manufactures) used as materials in Canadian manufactures; and any such materials transferred to the free list by such Order in Council, shall be free of duty of customs for the time therein appointed for that purpose.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I think that is a power that ought not to exist. This House has the control of the taxation, and this House ought to determine, after very careful consideration, what the taxation shall be. If the Government find that a tax is mischievous or oppressive, then it can submit the matter to Parliament. The business of the Government is to administer; what they

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are to administer it is for this House to determine. To say that a Government shall take into consideration whether a particular article is a raw material of some manufacturing enterprise or not, is, it seems to me, an indefensible proposition. Take the one case that we have frequently considered—the case of iron. That is a raw material in almost every manufacture. The Government do not propose to put that on the free list; and if they will not do so in that particular case, why should they do so in any other case? Why should they be judges in any other matter, any more than in that one? Now, Sir, this is a question upon which this House is pronouncing judgment. This House has, at the instance of the Ministers, refused, over and over again, to put iron on the free list, simply because it is the raw material of a great many manufactures. Why should we give to the Government the power of doing that with regard to any other manufactured product, which may be the raw material of some other manufacture? It seems to me that this is a power no Government ought to possess. It is handing over to the Administration of the day the legislative power of Parliament.

Mr. CHARLTON. In the exercise of this power, I find that the Government have made very extensive use of it. I find that in 1885 there was an Order in Council putting crucible steel on the free list; also one putting on the free list lastings and mohair cloth. There was in 1886 one putting hatters' bands, bindings, tips and sides and linings on the free list; another putting on the free list steel strip for buckthorns and plain strip fencing; another putting on the free list wire rope; another putting on the free list twisted brass and copper wire; another putting on the free list yarn spun from the hair of alpaca or angora goats; another, in November, 1888, putting on the free list, felloes of hickory wood; another in December, 1888, putting on the free list, homo spring steel wire, smaller than No. 9, and not smaller than No. 15, for the use of manufacturers of mattresses. In July, 1887, an Order in Council was passed putting sweat leathers on the free list; another in the same year putting on the free list, square reeds, raw-hide centres, textile leather or rubber heads, thumbs and tips, and steel, iron or nickel caps or whip ends; another, in November of the same year, putting on the free list copper rollers for use in calico printing; another, in 1888, putting on the free list steel of No. 12 gauge, and to No. 30 gauge; another, in the same year, putting on the free list yarns of wool and worsted, for the use of manufacturers; another, in the same year, putting on the free list jute yarn, cotton yarn finer than No. 40, and wire of iron or steel, galvanized or tinned, or coppered, or not, of No. 16 gauge, or smaller. These are very extensive changes, which were made without con-

sulting Parliament, and with Parliament left in entire ignorance of them; and, looking at the extensive use which the Governor in Council has made of this power—more extensive, I believe, than Parliament intended or should warrant—it seems to me that the Government have usurped the functions of Parliament to a large extent. Deputations come down here asking for very important changes, and here are fifteen Orders in Council under which the Government granted privileges and concessions that ought to have been granted only by Parliament, and after full discussion. I think, therefore, this is a power that we should abridge, if not remove entirely. We have had a little too much of Government by Orders in Councils in this country. The intention of Parliament in placing this power in the hands of the Government may have been good; but it is so liable to abuse and has been abused to such an extent that I think it should be taken from the Government.

Mr. CASEY. I must endorse in the strongest way the position taken by my hon. friend from Bothwell (Mr. Mills). I think this is a power that should not be delegated, that cannot be constitutionally delegated by Parliament to any committee of the House, whether that committee be called Her Majesty's Privy Council or not. The power is nominally a power to relieve certain things from taxation; the exercise of that power, of course, causes a loss to the revenue; and that revenue must be made up in some other way. This power, nominally to relieve from taxation, is really a power to tax the people, or to transfer the incidence of taxation from certain classes of the people to certain other classes. The point made by my hon. friend from North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) is also extremely good—that there is very much greater danger of abuse when this power is left in the hands of the Government than when that tariff is discussed in the House. We see enough of the caucusing and cabaling that goes on in the making of a tariff, when the tariff is discussed in the House, and we can easily imagine how much further that sort of thing would go when nobody has to be consulted in the Cabinet except the Finance Minister. The fact that one man's finished product is another man's raw material makes it impossible to disturb the existing system of tariff in any one particular, without disturbing the whole list of other manufactures, and affecting the interests of a great number of persons other than those who ask to have the changes made. The principle of putting raw material on the free list, as explained in this authority delegated by the House, simply leaves to the discretion of the Minister to decide how far a certain manufactured article ought to be regarded as a raw material or a finished product. Having that power in his hands, and with delegations from the larger combines and the principal manufacturers waiting

upon him, it goes without saying that the weaker must go to the wall. The large manufacturer, who wants to import free the manufactured or half-manufactured article produced by some smaller manufacturers in the country, can get it put on the free list to the disturbance, or perhaps ruin, of the smaller manufacturers. The same remark applies in the case of those who have only raw products to sell—the farmers, miners and lumberers of Canada. Their interests must be made and always have been made under a protective tariff subordinate to the manufacturing interests, in the exercise of this power, as has been shown in the cases cited by the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). The protection given to these classes is illusory, if we allow tariff tinkering to go on in the Council Chamber. In the interests of these classes especially I urge that we should renounce our unconstitutional proceeding of past years, which has nothing but the precedent set by ourselves in its favour, and give to this House the sole power of amending the tariff.

Mr. GIBSON. I wish to say a few words with reference to an importation of necessary plates for the construction and repairs of vessels. One ship-builder in the town of Port Dalhousie wrote me to say that he was obliged to pay a higher rate of duty for the plates he imported for the construction and repairs of vessels, which he had to make during the winter, than was charged those engaged in the same business in the city of Hamilton. He wrote the Government on several occasions, and I laid the matter before the Controller of Customs shortly before Christmas. He promised to answer the question, but I am sorry to say, although I have asked once or twice for a reply he has not yet given it. And I am also aware that the wholesale merchants in Hamilton were enabled to get steel plates cheaper, even to sell them again, than the ship-builders in the town of Port Dalhousie. This is a matter of importance. The Government should not take advantage of their opportunities to deal unfairly with those politically opposed to them, and in another way with their friends. The House should not allow this power to be retained by the Government. I regret having to bring up this matter, but in all fairness to the gentleman who made the complaint, the Controller should have answered this complaint some months ago. This is just one of the inequalities our friends suffer at the hands of the Government. I understand also that wire for the purpose of manufacturing is to be admitted free. Certain smaller manufacturers, who are obliged to buy the wire from the wholesale dealer, will have to pay the duty. It simply puts the larger manufacturer in a position to crowd out the smaller ones.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not understand what the hon. gentleman has been driving at. I

did not catch the first part of his address. The impression that I have got from what I heard is this, that there were two parties engaged in importing some kind of material, one of whom got it in at a certain rate and the other got it at a lesser rate, and the second party got it in at the lesser rate because he was favoured by the Government. If that is what the hon. gentleman meant to say, I think he ought to be a little more explicit and give more reasons. That is a power the Government has not got. The Government has no power to grade duties.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) They have the power of rebate.

Mr. FOSTER. They have the power either of putting a thing on the free list or letting the party pay the duty at which Parliament says it will come in, and this is in pursuance of the authority given us. But what the hon. gentleman said is that there were two importers, one of whom got his material at a certain rate and the other got it at a lesser rate, and he complains of the action of the Government with reference to the second party. I would ask the hon. gentleman to state explicitly his grievance.

Mr. GIBSON. I repeat what I said before, for the benefit of the Minister of Finance. The complaint made to me was made by Muir Bros., of Port Dalhousie, and it was to the effect that on the necessary plates which they imported for the construction and repairs of vessels in the town of Port Dalhousie, they were charged a higher rate of duty than the ship-builders in the city of Hamilton.

Mr. FOSTER. Both were charged duties.

Mr. GIBSON. Yes; but the duties for the same material were different in Hamilton to those in Port Dalhousie. Then, in addition to that, I understand that there is a firm in Hamilton—I do not think it is necessary for me to give the name in the House, but I will give it to the Minister if he wishes privately—which was allowed to import plates for the same purpose at a lesser rate than the firm in Port Dalhousie, and the latter wrote to me in the month of December stating their grievance on this point. I came down to Ottawa—I had business here of a private nature—and I called upon the Government. Mr. Bowell had not returned from the west, but I wrote to him when I got home. He arrived a day or two after I left Ottawa, and he referred the matter to the Controller of Customs. From that day to this, I have never had any reply about the complaint of Muir Bros. I do not wish to place the Government in an unfair position before the country, but am stating the facts as I received them. I have not the letter of Muir Bros., because I gave it to the Minister of Trade and Commerce, but I took the trouble, a week or two ago, to have an exact

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copy sent to me. I did not think the matter was coming up this afternoon or I would have had the letter here to read to the House, bearing out what I say.

Mr. FOSTER. Then, I have just this to say: that the hon. gentleman is talking about a thing which is not germane to the subject under discussion.

Mr. LAURIER. It may be.

Mr. FOSTER. No; the principle involved is whether the Government shall have the power, which the Act gives it now, to put certain articles for the use of manufacturers on the free list. But the trouble in the case my hon. friend has cited, if there is any trouble, is that there has been a different ruling at one port from that given at another. But he ought not to draw the Government into that. He ought not to blame the Government for that, unless he can show to the House that the Government favoured one person or establishment as against another. With three or four hundred ports, and appraisers and customs officers at each, it occasionally happens—indeed frequently happens—that different rulings are given upon the same article. And the Government has a Board of Appraisers through which they try to make uniform the different rulings. That is a different matter from saying that the Government is showing favour by giving a lower rate of duty to one than to another.

Mr. GIBSON. I want to point out this case to the hon. gentleman. Suppose there is some large undertaking in the way of ship-building, say, in the city of Hamilton. A gentleman furnishes plans and specifications and prepares a model for construction. The contract for building the vessel is awarded, let us say, to some friend of the Government. That friend of the Government comes down to Ottawa, and, through his influence with the Government, gets the material put upon the free list, a thing which the others who tendered could not have done, and which they did not count upon. I wish to point out that such a power ought not to be left in the hands of the Government.

Mr. EDGAR. I would like to ask the Minister, if it is intended that this clause we are considering in the new resolutions, shall cover subsection "M." as well as subsection "L," the former relating to the amount of drawbacks?

Mr. FOSTER. No; this refers to transferring dutiable goods to the free list.

Mr. EDGAR. From the way my hon. friend here describes his grievance, I think it is very likely not to be a case of revaluation, but a case of getting drawbacks under subsection "M" of the old Act, and I would like to know if that section is going to stand?

Mr. FOSTER. I think my hon. friend is wrong in imputing to the Government any such action with reference to drawbacks. If

the Government should, upon the application of any one from any city, grant a drawback, they must grant the same drawback to all others under similar conditions.

Mr. EDGAR. If it is applied for.

Mr. FOSTER. Does the hon. gentleman mean to say that it has ever been refused? Do not let us have charges upon mere supposition. Is there any case where a drawback has been allowed to persons applying for it, and afterwards refused to others under similar conditions?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I understand that there is a broad distinction between these two. Subsection "L" provides:

For transferring to the list of goods which may be imported into Canada free of duty, any or all articles (whether natural products or products of manufactures) used as materials in Canadian manufactures; and any such materials transferred to the free list by such Order in Council shall be free of duty of customs for the time therein appointed for that purpose.

Now, I understand that is a general section and that the hon. gentleman could not, under proper construction of it, transfer to the free list certain goods when imported by A, while at the same time this same class of goods was left dutiable if imported by B. We will discuss whether the policy of allowing that section to remain is a wise one or not. But the section "M" to which my hon. friend refers, is worded differently, and it provides that the Government may grant:

A drawback of the whole or part of the duty upon paid on articles which have been used in Canadian manufactures, or for granting a specific sum in lieu of any such drawback.

Now, that, I take it, means that on application by the party, the Government may grant this to A, and yet not grant it to B—in fact, B may know nothing at all about it. I think, if the hon. Minister makes inquiry in the proper quarter, he will find that it has been done; at any rate, I have been so informed. A short time ago there was published in one of the leading papers of the Dominion a list of articles to which Orders in Council applied under subsection "L," and I regret that my hon. friend from North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), who referred to the list just now, did not give it completely. If he had read it completely, it would not be necessary for me to go through it now. I desire to call the attention of the House to this list, and to some remarks the Minister of Agriculture made upon this very power which the Governor in Council exercises, as well as to the effect of the exercise of that power. When we see what has been the result, we can judge whether it is proper to continue this power or not. Hon. gentlemen will see that they are now passing a most important clause, vesting in the Governor in Council power which I humbly believe ought

to be retained and controlled absolutely by the Parliament of the Dominion. Hon. gentlemen well know that we on this side of the House believe that raw materials for manufacture should, as far as possible, be admitted duty free. We do not object to such extension of the free list in itself; what we are questioning now is the policy of Parliament delegating to a committee, whether the Privy Council or any other, a discretion which, many believe, should devolve upon and be exercised by Parliament itself and by Parliament alone. The hon. gentleman will see, by the book published by the Customs Department about a year ago, that a large number of Orders in Council were given under subsection "L"—relating to the placing of articles under the free list, and if my information is correct, they did not give the Orders in Council under subsection "M," which provides for the granting of drawbacks. The action under subsection "L" is general, but, if I construe the Act aright, the Governor in Council has power, under subsection "M," to grant drawbacks to A or to B, and I understand that they have exercised that power in a great many instances, and that the Orders in Council have not been published at all. Some, I happen to know from personal knowledge, but no doubt there are very many others of which I have no knowledge. Thus we cannot tell whether the Government have exercised their discretion under subsection "M" properly or not. No person can tell until the Orders in Council are brought down, and the special facts upon which the exercise of that discretion took place is made known to individual members. We give up our powers, which we should reserve to ourselves, to men who act in secret, and whether they act impartially or partially we do not know. It is stated that the action under this clause does not depend upon the merits of the case, but upon the persistence of the applicant and the political influence he can bring to bear. I do not know whether that is the case; but, if it is so, this is manifestly a very dangerous condition of affairs, and one to which the attention of Parliament ought to be invited at the earliest moment. I do not desire to take up the time of the House, but let me call attention to some special features of the list quoted by my hon. friend from North Norfolk. The list is given in the work published by the Customs Department. I will quote from the examination of that book made by the correspondent of the Toronto 'Globe' and published by him some months ago:

Crucible sheet steel, when imported by manufacturers of mower and reaper knives, free.

Mohair cloth, lastings or other manufactures of cloth, when imported by manufacturers of buttons for use in their factories, free.

Hatters' bands, bindings, tips, sides and linings, when imported by hat and cap manufacturers only for use in their factories, free.

Steel strip, when imported into Canada by manufacturers of buckthorn and plain strip fencing, free.

Brass cups for the use of manufacturers of brass and paper shells, free.

Yarn for the use of manufacturers of braid, free.

Fish skins and fish offal for the use of manufacturers of glue, free.

I wish to call the attention of the House to the fact that they do not admit these articles free when imported for the purpose of manufacture, but when imported for the purpose of a particular style and class of manufacture, and that these Orders in Council on their face appear to have been made at the instance and on the application of parties interested in a particular form of manufacture, and they are admitted free only when used for that particular class of manufacture.

Square reeds and raw-hide centres, textile leather or rubber heads and steel, iron or nickel caps for the use of whip manufacturers, free.

Copper rollers for calico printing, free.

Elastic rubber thread for the manufacture of elastic webbing, free.

Rolled iron tubes for the manufacture of bedsteads, free.

Second process molasses for use in the manufacture of blacking, free.

Hemp paper, primers and felt board for the manufacture of shells, cartridges and gun wads, free.

Felloes of hickory wood for the manufacture of carriage and cart wheels, free.

Gum chicle or sappato gum, when imported for the purpose of manufacture, free.

That is general—that is the first one that I have seen that is general.

Grease for the use of manufacturers of soap and oils, free.

Paper in the use of manufacture of cartridges, free.

Chlorate of potash imported for manufacturing purposes, only.

Platinum and black oxide of copper for use in the manufacture of chlorate, free.

Steel for tubular bow sockets when imported by manufacturers, free.

Steel for hammers, augers and auger bits, when imported by manufacturers for their use, free.

Alum cake used by manufacturers of paper, free.

Plant for the use of manufacturers of sulphuric acid, free.

Brass and copper wire for the use of manufacturers of boots and shoes, free.

Tagging metal used in the manufacture of corsets, free.

German silver for manufacturing purposes, free.

Jute cloth when used for manufacturing purposes, free.

Steel and iron used in the manufacture of chopping axes, scythes, &c., rebate.

That is the only one, I think, contained in the book where the Order in Council granting a rebate is given. Now, I am of the opinion—I may be incorrect—that the Government have not properly construed the power which Parliament placed in their hands. I do not think that the proper construction of subsection "L" gives the Government the right of discrimination to say,

for instance, that an article imported for the manufacture of corsets, when imported for that special purpose, shall be free, but when imported for the purpose of manufacturing something else, shall pay duty. I submit as a proposition of law that Parliament delegated no such power to the Government, and that in exercising that power from time to time in favour of those who applied to them, or limiting the exercise of it to the applicant who may want it for a special purpose, they were not properly carrying out the general power which Parliament gave. Now, I submit this point to the House, that Parliament only went this far: they said, There may be certain articles required for manufacturing purposes in Canada, and we will delegate to the Government the right, when they are so required for any or all manufacturing purposes, to admit them free. But I do not think Parliament ever intended to give the Government power to discriminate, to exercise a whim or a caprice, fairly or unfairly, to say to the manufacturers of one class of goods: We will admit this free for your special purpose, but we will not admit the same article free for your neighbour's purpose, although he is engaged in manufacturing, too. Therefore, I challenge the legality of the Orders in Council so far as that point is concerned. Then I submit to the House, Is it a fair power to give to any Government or to any committee? Hon. gentlemen know that members of the Government are influenced by human passions and human feelings. It is said they have a desire to maintain themselves in power, and there is no better engine for maintaining themselves in power than an improper exercise of the powers which they contend is contained in that clause, and which I say is not contained in it to the extent of their contention. They can give and retake, take or withhold, just as they please. Is it possible that Parliament, sent here to determine what the tariff of the country should be, has said: We will not determine the tariff, we will not determine what it ought to be, but we will give to certain gentlemen sitting in secret conclave power to say to A: We will give this remission to you, but we will withhold it from B; to the west we will give it, to the east we will not give it? A large number of men who may have the ear of the Government will get it; other men who may not be on the inside track may not get it. Now, as regards section "M," I think it is open to a more serious objection, because, in the first place, for some reason or other, the Government have withheld the Orders in Council that they have made under section "M." There is no living being outside the Government who knows to what extent, or in whose favour, the power granted in section "M" has been exercised, who has got the benefit of the drawbacks under that, what classes of people, and to what extent. The Customs authorities do not give the information.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

Mr. FOSTER. Did you ever read it in the Auditor General's Report?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I have not seen it there. If the hon. gentleman says that all the Orders in Council giving drawbacks are there it will save me the necessity of putting a Notice on the Order Paper which I have prepared.

Mr. FOSTER. The payments and to whom.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) But I want the Orders in Council, which I think the hon. gentleman might have published along with the other Orders in Council. Now, when this matter came up in the Senate last year the Minister of Agriculture made a statement to show the extent to which that power had been exercised, and he said that between 1879 and 1883 the value of the goods admitted under Orders in Council for use in the manufactures of Canada was \$8,240,000 a year, and from 1889 to 1892 it was \$13,167,000. I mention these figures to show to the hon. gentleman what a very important matter we have under consideration just now. It is not a trivial matter at all. The Government are granting Orders in Council by the statement of the Minister of Agriculture—

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Will you be kind enough to read that again?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I will read the hon. gentleman's words as I have got them down here:

The value of the imports admitted free for use in the manufactures of Canada from 1879 to 1882, was \$8,240,000 a year, and from 1889 to 1892, \$13,167,000.

I am reading from information which I derive from a memorandum, or letter, sent by the local correspondent of the 'Globe' to his newspaper.

Mr. FOSTER. Was that admitted by Order in Council?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. Before this free list?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I understood it to be so. But let me read what the Minister said:

There has thus been a constantly growing amount of goods entering into our own manufacturing, brought in without duty. Again and again we have said to the manufacturers, we will enlarge the free list for the articles you need, so that you may be able to produce cheaper and cheaper and thus supply the consumer at the least possible cost.

I understand the hon. gentleman here refers to goods which we admitted under Orders in Council.

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, no.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) If I am wrong, I stand corrected. I have no other inform-

ation; but I certainly understood the Minister of Agriculture to mean that the value of the goods which were imported under these Orders in Council was so much; perhaps I am wrong. But be that as it may, there is no doubt whatever from the Order in Council that it must be a large amount indeed, and I would invite the attention of the Minister to the several considerations which have been advanced as to whether it is desirable to continue this enormous power, and to vest in the Government for the time being a discretionary power which may be exercised to the public detriment.

Mr. WALLACE. With respect to the charge made by the hon. member for Lincoln (Mr. Gibson), that some letters written by him were not answered, I may say that I had a long correspondence with Muir Bros. themselves with respect to the case he brought up. It was not under an Order in Council, but an Act of Parliament, item 977: "Iron or steel beams, sheets, plates, angles and knees for iron or composite ships or vessels." I sent an officer there to fully investigate the matter, with the result that it was found Muir Bros. were not entitled to a free entry.

Mr. EDGAR. Are not those goods on the free list?

Mr. WALLACE. They were not entitled to free entry because the ships building or repairing were neither iron nor composite ships, and therefore these goods were not entitled to free entry under the Act of Parliament.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What kind of vessels were they?

Mr. WALLACE. Wooden vessels.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON I think the remarks of the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) call for further discussion, and I quite agree with him that the subject should be very carefully considered, but on two or three points he will find, on reconsideration of the subject himself, that he is mistaken in the view he has put forward. In the first place, with respect to the argument presented to the Minister of Agriculture, if I remember it rightly, as I recognize it from the quotations which the hon. gentleman read, the Minister was speaking, not of the value of goods imported under the Order in Council placing them on the free list, but he was referring to the fact that, taking those in connection with dutiable goods at former times, which had been put on the free list under the policy of the present Administration, taxation to that amount had been saved annually to the people of this country, but that goods to any such amount imported under the power conferred in subsection "L" would be an entirely different matter.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Under subsection "M."

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Under subsections "M" and "L." I would be perfectly within the mark in saying that not one-tenth would be the value of all the goods imported and drawbacks given under those sections, nor one-twentieth, as my colleague mentions. I think the first point to be settled is, whether it is desirable, as a matter of principle, that these powers should exist or not. I think that has been well established. The subject has been fully discussed in this House from time to time with the view of having, as new inventions arise and new industries are established, some means of applying the free list principle to articles which enter into the manufacture of others. In fact, the admitted policy of both sides of the House time and again has been to make a liberal free list so far as regards what can be called raw material, and that raw material can only be regulated from time to time as new appliances are invented and new machinery comes into play, making the component parts of which other manufactures consist. In order to show that the question has been well recognized in times past, let me call attention to some clauses of the Act of 1877, because this is not a provision merely dating from the date of the Revised Statutes, but dates at all events as far back as that year, and I have not had opportunity of observing how much further back the same provision has existed. Section 11 of the Customs Act of 1877 provides :

For transferring to the list of goods which may be imported into Canada free of duty, any or all articles (whether natural products or products of manufactures) used as materials in Canadian manufactures; and for granting a drawback of the whole or part of the duty paid on such articles which may have been used in Canadian manufactures; and any such materials transferred to the free list by such Order in Council shall be free of duty of customs from the time therein appointed for that purpose.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). That is very different from the concluding part of section "L."

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No, I do not observe the difference. What is the difference?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman transferred the goods from the free list to the dutiable list.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. For the time.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Under that section, the Government could place certain articles on the free list, and after importations had been made, they could restore the duty, so that the rule that applied to one importer would not apply to another.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The hon. gentleman now is claiming that our present Act is more limited.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). No, it gives greater power.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Inasmuch as the Governor in Council may limit the time for which those articles should be on the free list. I can assure the hon. gentleman of this, that in no case has any change been made in that regard, and I think he will find that during the last ten years not a limitation has been made, and in no case had an article been restored to the list of dutiable goods except by Act of Parliament. The distinction drawn by the hon. gentleman between the Act of 1877 and the present Act has not the least materiality. The hon. gentleman will see that I was perfectly correct in stating, and that was the reason I referred to the Act of 1877, that the principle of having such power vested in the Governor in Council, was to give facilities for the decision of matters of that kind, and such principle has always been recognized in this Parliament. That principle has been recognized in every other country, I think, and certainly it is very much more liberally exercised in the United States than in this country. Let me call attention to the Act of 1888, in the Consolidated Statutes of that year. In that consolidation sections "L" and "M" read :

(L) For transferring to the list of goods which may be imported into Canada free of duty, any or all articles (whether natural products or products of manufactures) used as materials in Canadian manufactures; and any such materials transferred to the free list by such Order in Council shall be free of duty of customs for the time therein appointed for that purpose.

(M) For granting a drawback of the whole or part of the duty paid on articles which have been used in Canadian manufactures, or for granting of a certain specific sum in lieu of any such drawback.

As regards the complaint that this is done in secret, I can assure the hon. gentleman that every Order in Council, under section "L," which places dutiable articles on the free list, is published in the 'Canada Gazette.'

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I stated that all Orders in Council were collected and published by the Customs Department under section "L." But the reference I made was to Orders in Council under section "M."

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. As regards section "L," we both agree that publicity is always given to these Orders in Council, and the objection of the hon. member for Lincoln (Mr. Gibson), that this power could be exercised so that one manufacturer could be given advantage over another, has no foundation, because the orders are published in the 'Canada Gazette.' Let me refer to the Orders in Council under subsection "M." There is a general Order in Council on this

subject, and that is an Order which makes regulations that must be conformed to by persons who desire those drawbacks. That has been published. By its regulations are made as to the way manufacturers may get a drawback on goods which have entered into the manufacture of other articles; that is done departmentally, without Order in Council.

Mr. CASEY. How does the hon. gentleman mean that it is done departmentally?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. That it is done by the Department of Customs.

Mr. CASEY. Does the hon. gentleman mean to say that the department has power to determine whether a manufacturer shall receive a rebate or not?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Every application is considered. The Order in Council establishes the provisions which have to be observed in order to entitle a manufacturer to a rebate, and to establish the proportion of the rebate which he shall receive, if a rebate of the whole amount is not to be allowed. Then the department deals with every individual case. Just as with respect to articles re-exported after being imported, Orders in Council have laid down regulations that have to be conformed to by applicants, but every individual case is dealt with, not by Order in Council, but is treated departmentally, or by the Treasury Board. The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) says that is wrong and that injury is done to the trade, and the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) has presented the view that we have exceeded our powers under subsection "L" in deciding that the importation free of those goods shall be restricted to certain uses in the country. I think that both views are subject to correction if the hon. members will refer to the main sections of which those are subsections. By looking at it, it is found to be a section giving the Governor General in Council power to make regulations as to all these subjects. Hon. gentlemen will see that to carry out the principle which is embodied in these two sections, it is obviously necessary to restrict the use which shall be made of these articles so transferred to the free list. The principle is this: that those enter into the manufacture of other articles more finished, or more highly finished, or adapted to some different purpose from that which they were capable of when introduced in the raw state. Clearly, it must be confined to the purpose of the manufacture. If we do not restrict in some way articles which may be put on the free list, they may never be used in Canadian manufactures at all; they may be used in the condition in which they are imported.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Does the hon. gentleman contend that an article of iron which may be used in the manufacture of agricul-

tural implements, could be by Order in Council admitted free of duty, and that the same article, when used in the manufacture of wagons would not be entitled to a similar privilege?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Oh, no; what I am arguing is this: that the article of iron or steel intended to be imported under the provisions of this subsection for use in an agricultural implement, unless the importation is limited to its use in that implement—

Mr. CASEY. In a particular kind of implement?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Any kind of implement, if the Order in Council says so, unless the importation is limited to its use in that implement, may be converted into use in a wagon or may be used for some other purpose.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). That is not what it says.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. To do anything else would be to go against what it says, because used as materials in Canadian manufactures; it is not "used for that purpose."

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). It says, "articles used as materials in Canadian manufactures;" it is not "used for that purpose."

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. You must put them on the free list before they can be imported, and you must put them on the free list with some restriction as to their being used in Canadian manufactures, or the purpose of the section will be defeated entirely.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Not at all.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. You establish a protection as regards iron and steel. You may authorize the introduction into the country, free of duty, any given article made of steel, but, if you do not restrict the use of that article, it might be used for any other purpose for which steel is imported, and the purpose of the section be defeated. You take any one example of an article so put on the free list for the purpose of being used in Canadian manufacture, you will find that, if put on the free list indiscriminately, it might be used for any other purpose and never go into Canadian manufacture at all; it may be used in the very form it comes into the country, and still it comes under the free list. I contend that it is not only contrary to the spirit, and contrary to the words of the subsection, but the whole matter is free from doubt, when we look at the main section and see that the duty of the Governor in Council is to make regulations on this subject. Obviously, we must make the regulations so clear that there shall be no opportunity of the articles being imported not for use in Canadian manufactures, but for use in the state in which it comes into the country.

Mr. CASEY. In what form is the decision of the department in regard to rebates put in force? Is it by departmental order?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I think it is; but the returns are given every year in the Auditor General's Report of what rebates are made, and the hon. gentleman will see that the power has been very sparingly used as regards drawbacks. I think that one of the best vindications of the propriety of having this policy on the statute-book is: that, in the course of so many years that it has been there, there has been no complaint of an injustice as between one applicant and the other.

Mr. CASEY. That has been secret.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It has not been secret. It has been published in the blue-books and distributed to every member of this House.

Mr. CASEY. I am speaking of the rebates and drawbacks.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. These are published every year in the accounts of the country. They are payments made at the Treasury, are public, and are subject to audit every year.

Mr. CASEY. That is, simply the names and the amounts. The articles on which the rebates are given are secret.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. What difference does that make?

Mr. CASEY. We want to know on what articles the rebate is given.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. If the hon. gentleman asks for information, he will get it. It can be inquired into before the Public Accounts Committee.

Mr. LAURIER. If I understand the right hon. gentleman, the Orders in Council are not public.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The hon. gentleman did not hear me when I said that there was no Order in Council on the subject, except the one establishing the regulation on which these rebates are paid.

Mr. LAURIER. I think there are Orders in Council granting rebates. I think I can show to the hon. gentleman an Order in Council which reads this way:

Certified extract of a report of a Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the 13th April, 1893.

Customs:

That the terms of the Order in Council of the 28th June, 1886, granting drawback to the Weland Vale Manufacturing Company, of St. Catharines, Ontario, at rates as prescribed therein, upon iron and steel used in the manufacture of

Sir JOHN THOMPSON.

axes and tools exported by them be repealed, and that the rates as follows be substituted therefor. * * * * *

This recommendation is made in view of the increased duty upon iron and steel (\$13 per ton of 2,000 lbs.) which is being collected under the existing tariff, and which is largely in excess of the duty (17½ per cent) exacted under the tariff in force when the original Order in Council was framed and approved of. * * * * *

This Order in Council grants a rebate for a special purpose. Has it been published?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Possibly there may be and there may not be, but I am speaking of the general rule which is this: that under this section we have established a series of regulations as to the restrictions on drawbacks, and the mode in which they are to be given and the proof which is to be given, and the proportion which is to be repaid.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). That seems to be a special Order in Council.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It would seem so on the face of it, although it is rash to speak of anything one sees for the first time. This, however, simply establishes that right, in view of the changed conditions as to iron and steel for that purpose.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). And for one firm only.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. For one firm only. Instead, therefore, of this being dealt with under the general Order in Council, it is dealt with under a special order. There may be other such cases. Any Order in Council dealing with any similar case will be produced when asked for. But is the argument this: That a power to act under Order in Council ought not to be granted lest it might be abused? Surely, before the power is taken away, evidence should be presented to show that it has been abused. Granted, that it is exercised in secret—I am assuming that in the case the hon. gentleman puts in my hands. Surely, if the hon. gentlemen have not asked for the Order in Council and have not shown that any case of abuse exists, then there is no case made out as regards any abuse of the power. The general Order in Council on the subject is open to the public, so that every manufacturer knows under what regulation he can get a rebate.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Would that regulation not be unfair to every other establishment engaged in the same business?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I do not know that it is.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Would not every other be paying the ordinary duty imposed by the statute, while those to whom the Order in Council refers would be getting

in their material free of duty? That is the expressed provision.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I think the hon. gentleman will see, when he reads it, that it is not. Every case that comes forward is the case of an individual applicant. The cases come one by one; no two men apply together.

Mr. CASEY. That is just the trouble.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Every man who has a demand to make brings his own demand; in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, this is dealt with by an Order in Council, and these Orders in Council are not published. Every man looks after his own rights. But I will show why this is a special case. It is not a case simply of a rebate under subsection "M" of duties paid on articles which enter into manufactures, but a case setting forth what rebate should be allowed in view of the fact that the finished article has been exported from the country. The regulations made on that subject were made by Order in Council of the 28th of June, 1886; and it was claimed, as regards this particular applicant, that we had not fixed a fair price, because the price of iron and steel had been affected by the legislation of Parliament. For that reason, an Order in Council appeared to be necessary.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Would not that be a reason for adopting a general Order in Council? You do not undertake to apply a particular rule to the case of each individual?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No doubt; but it only happened that there was one application to deal with at the time.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Admitting that, would not that be a reason why the Government should adopt a general rule or not touch the matter?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Very likely. Granted that there are a hundred Orders in Councils that might be improved; but show us a case in which there is an abuse.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I submit that that would be an abuse—if you adopt a rule applicable to one individual, or firm, or company, and to nobody else, and putting them in a more favourable position for the exportation of their product than you put any others.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No other applied.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). But surely that is not a reason for legislating specially in the interest of this one. The hon. gentleman is exercising the power that has been conferred on the Government by Parliament. How has that power been exercised? Has it been exercised in accordance with the policy of legislation? Not at all. This is not a general declaration of a rule applic-

able to everybody. It is an order making a rule applicable to particular parties, whom it puts in a different position from any other class of the community, and in a more advantageous position. Now, I do not think that the section bears the construction which the right hon. gentleman puts upon it. Look at the very first words of the section:

The Governor in Council may, from time to time, and in the manner hereinafter provided, in addition to the other purposes and matters in this Act mentioned, make regulations for or relating to the following purposes and matters.

Now, what are those regulations to be? Every one of these subsections gives a power to adopt a general regulation. There is no power granted to the Government by this statute to say that John Smith or Thomas Brown shall have special regulations made in his behalf. If you are to exercise a power at all, it is to be exercised generally. There is no rule of legal construction better established than that. Let me take a case with which the hon. gentleman must be familiar, because it was brought before the courts at his instance: The case in which the city of Toronto undertook to impose special water rates on the Government—higher rates than those imposed upon other parties. What did the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council hold in that case? That the council, while it had the power to make the water rates higher or lower, could not make a different rate for the Dominion Government from the rate it made for any other person in the city of Toronto. While the Government may make a general rule or regulation, they have no power under any provision of this section to make a special rule or regulation.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I grant that.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Under subsection "L," the Government have power to make regulations for the purpose of transferring to the list of goods which may be imported into Canada free of duty. To transfer what?

Any or all articles used as materials in Canadian manufactures.

"Any or all articles" does not mean so much of any article. If the Government choose to think that the article of piping requires to be put on the free list, they can put it there. But they cannot put it there for the purpose of being used by A, B or C, or in the factory of X, Y or Z. If they make it free at all, it must be made free generally. It must be generally transferred from the tax list to the free list. Why, look at the wording of the section:

For transferring to the list of goods, which may be imported into Canada free of duty, any or all articles.

Steel is an article and iron is an article;

but steel for a particular purpose is not an article within the meaning of this subsection, and that being so, it is clear that the Government have to come to Parliament to have articles imported for a specific purpose put upon the free list, for they have not the power of putting a particular article used for a specific purpose on the free list. They must put the article on that list for all purposes, or leave it where Parliament left it.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Will the hon. gentleman let me give him an illustration? Suppose we desire to admit free of duty silk for the manufacture of umbrellas, would the hon. gentleman say that we are bound to put silk on the free list, irrespective of what it is used for?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I think so, under this section:

Used as materials in Canadian manufactures, and any such materials transferred to the free list by such Order in Council, shall be free of duty of customs for the time therein appointed for that purpose.

Now, I hold that the Government ought not to possess such power.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I would like to make an explanation. I said that that power had not been exercised in the sense of putting a thing on the free list and off again. The only way in which that power has been exercised is by saying, as we have done in many Orders in Council, that they should remain on the free list until the next meeting of Parliament.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Let me give an instance. You have under the Customs Act, a heavy duty on steel rails, and on various materials imported by the railway companies. Have those duties always been collected to the full amount?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Always where we thought, as a matter of law, the duties applied to the article.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I understood, in some instances, the Government admitted those articles with a remission of duty or free of duty.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Only in some cases where we thought that they were exempt under the law in view of the charter and other circumstances.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I was about to point out that this is a power the Government ought not to possess. Even if you give the power to the Administration, in my opinion when that power is exercised it ought to be regarded as exhausted by its exercise. But when you give the power to put on the free list or take off the free list and restore to the dutiable, you give the widest power of legislation possible—just as wide as the power of Parliament itself.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

And the discretion is as large as the discretion possessed by Parliament.

Mr. CASEY. I understood the First Minister to say that articles were only put on the free list until the next session of Parliament.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I was correcting a remark I made before. I said that the power of limiting the time that articles should remain on the free list had only been exercised in that way. I said at first that we had not used that power, and I wished to correct that observation by saying that we had used it and had limited the operation of the Order in Council until Parliament should sit.

Mr. CASEY. In the Order of Council relating to the Welland Vale Company, which the Minister read, we find that one Order in Council had been passed to put articles on the free list for the special use of that company.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. That is under subsection "M," relating to the drawback.

Mr. CASEY. In that case a drawback was granted and then withdrawn, or the terms were changed by a subsequent Order in Council. So that there, with regard to rebates, we have the Government legislating and imposing taxation under subsection "M." They seem also to have exercised the power of first putting articles on the free list and then replacing them on the duty list at the former rate of taxation.

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I will explain what the position of that Order in Council is, as I understand it. A particular manufacturer applied to the Treasury for payment of a drawback, to which he conceived he was entitled, under subsection "M," and the original Order in Council bearing on that subject, established the regulations under which the drawback might be paid. They came in afterwards, and said that they were aggrieved as regards the amount which had been repaid as drawback, because the values which had been taken as the standard of duty were not correct values, and that Order in Council was passed to correct and adjust that claim.

Mr. LAURIER. It was not correct.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It was to correct an error.

Mr. CASEY. A clerical error.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No; their contention was that we were wrong in computing values, and the Order in Council was passed with the view of correcting that. The ground of their pretension or grievance was that the new duty on iron affected the prices contained therein. Let me say at once that that Order in Council was not passed under powers given in subsection "M."

The powers given under that subsection had been applied to their case. The drawback had been offered them under the Order in Council passed under subsection "M." They came in and said that was not a fair amount. Their contention might have been well or ill-founded, but the Order we are discussing now was dealing with a claim of theirs not passed under subsection "M" at all.

Mr. CASEY. The hon. gentleman says that the application in all these cases of rebate was individual. It seems to me very unsound in principle and utterly unconstitutional to allow the Cabinet—even as a whole—to deal with individual cases of this kind. It gives them the power to favour one party at the expense of another. The Welland Vale Company asked for a rebate and got it, although there seems to have been some difficulty about the details afterwards. At all events, they got relief of some kind. We are not told whether any other company applied for a similar rebate or not, or whether any company knew that the Welland Vale Company had got the rebate. In fact, we are aware that no other company had any means of knowing that the Welland Vale Company got a rebate, until this Order in Council was brought down to Parliament. There was no notice given at the time that the rebate would be granted. The whole transaction was secret until this Order in Council was laid before Parliament, months later. Supposing it were known that this company had got a rebate, and supposing half a dozen other companies had made similar application. The Government were not compelled, as I understand the hon. gentleman, by anything in the Act or Order in Council regulating the granting of a rebate, to give it to the other applicants. They could say this man had a good case, and the other had a bad case, and decide according to their personal views on the subject—or rather the Cabinet do not decide on it at all, since the Minister has told us that it is left to the Department of Customs—meaning, of course, the Minister and the other half Minister who now runs that department. They have it in their power to decide, in each individual case, whether a rebate will be granted or not, and whether a case has been made out or not. That, Sir, opens a wider door to all sorts of irregularities, and—I may put it frankly—for corruption and favouritism, than any other enactment in our statutes. There is no use in saying that until we establish an actual abuse we should not complain of the granting of this power. Anything that puts it in the power of Ministers to create an abuse should be wiped off the statute-book at once. Ministers are only men, Ministers have been found—I am not alluding to the present Ministers or to any Ministers in particular; I put it in the most general terms—doing things that were corrupt; doing things so corrupt that they have

had to leave the Government of which they formed a part. Ministers have been found taking money from contractors and using it for election purposes. Are not the same temptations likely to meet them when dealing with individual manufacturers asking for favours? When the Welland Vale Company came before the Ministers, they were backed by political influence, cash and such arguments as they could bring besides. It was not to be expected that the Government should give an absolutely impartial decision in that matter. Persistence itself would count for something and would be apt to win the day under ordinary circumstances. As to the use or abuse of the power of putting things on the free list, the hon. gentleman asks if the Government can put silk for some particular manufacture on the free list without making it free for others. I say undoubtedly, that, under the terms of the clause, that is not the power he has. He has the power to put an article on the free list if imported to be used as a raw material of manufacture. But he has no power to say that a certain article shall only be imported free for use as a raw material in a certain manufacture. The hon. gentleman has mentioned silks. Let us go to the hardware list and take the instance of bolts and screws. These are the raw materials of nearly every manufacturer of agricultural implements. They are used besides in many other trades (such, for instance, as house-building) which are as much manufactures and as much a means of producing wealth as the manufacture of agricultural implements. Now, under the clause, the Minister has the power to say that all bolts and screws shall come into Canada free, but I contend that he has not the power to say that bolts and screws for use in the manufacture of threshing machines and agricultural implements shall come in free, and that if imported for us in other manufactures they shall be taxed. It is bad enough that the Government should have the power of changing our system of taxation even in a general way. But it is simply outrageous and beyond the intention of Parliament that they should have power to declare that an article imported for the use of one manufacture shall be free, while, if imported for the use of some other manufacture, it shall be taxed. This discussion has come upon many members of the House as a surprise and I think it will surprise a good many in the country. I am a pretty old member of Parliament, but I confess I did not understand how completely this provision of the old Customs Act undermines the privileges of this House and all the people represented in this House. I hope the result of the discussion will be to remove that power utterly, because I cannot imagine any modification of it that would make it harmless. And at all events, the whole discussion and the misunderstandings that have arisen during it show the force of the original point urged by my hon. friend from

Bothwell (Mr. Mills), that all these subsections of the old Customs Act which it is proposed to leave standing, should have been copied into this Act and re-enacted so that the House might have had before it the points it was discussing. Even in this House there is difficulty in going back to the old Customs Act to learn what the law was. How much greater will that difficulty be for a customs officer handling the new tariff, and having to refer to revised statutes partly repealed?

Mr. LAURIER. Mr. Chairman, this case of the Welland Vale Manufacturing Company, which came up for discussion a moment ago, is, in my estimation, a perfect illustration of the danger which must arise from the latitude given to the Government in altering the tariff to suit their own convenience, even if their intentions are unimpeachable. The Prime Minister stated a moment ago, and this appears by the Order in Council which I have now in my hand, that in 1886 an Order in Council was passed providing generally for a rate of rebate to be given to manufacturers under certain circumstances. It was open to the Welland Vale Company and to all other manufacturers in 1886, or any subsequent year, to come to the Government and ask for the rebate provided by the Order in Council. Up to the time that the Order in Council was passed the duty on iron and steel was 17½ per cent. In 1887 the duties were altered, and, instead of an ad valorem duty, a specific duty of \$13 per ton was imposed, which, if I am correctly informed, amounts to about 50 per cent. Even after that Act was passed increasing the duties, the Order in Council still remained, and it was open for manufacturers to take advantage of it, and come to the Government and ask for a rebate. Probably, though I do not know the fact, several manufacturers came and asked for this rebate. Now, what took place? In 1893, five years after the new duties came into force, one firm of manufacturers, the Welland Vale Manufacturing Company come before the Government and say: We ask for a rebate. The Government tell them: There is the rebate that you have under the Order in Council of 1886. They say: We ask for a larger rebate. The duties on iron have been increased from 17½ per cent to 50 per cent, and we ask for a rebate based upon these increased duties. And an Order in Council is passed, not for manufacturers generally, but for that one firm, the Welland Vale Company, giving them a special advantage because of this Act of 1887, which, when it was passed, was supposed to apply to all manufacturers equally. Now, Sir, suppose there had been two manufacturers at that time side by side, the Welland Vale Company, and another. One firm comes to the Government and says: You have passed a law which is really injurious to the trade; and we ask for a larger rebate. Under ordinary circumstances, they would be entitled only to the rebates which should ap-

Mr. CASEY.

ply to all. But a special Order in Council is made for that firm, and for no other. It is not a general order. Can there be a justification for such a case as that? Was I not justified a moment ago in saying that such an Order in Council gives the Government power to discriminate?

Mr. WALLACE. Not a bit.

Mr. LAURIER. If it does not, then the hon. gentleman has proceeded in a manner which is not at all defensible. If the Order in Council which was passed in 1886 was general and applied to all manufacturers, why was the order passed in 1893 applied to one firm only, and not to all firms? Why was there a departure made in 1893 from the principle of 1886? Now, will the hon. gentleman pretend that under the Order in Council of 1893 all manufacturers could have been treated in just the same way? Not at all. Under the Order in Council of 1886 all manufacturers had only to make their application to the department in order to get a rebate. Not so under the order of 1893, under which no one could come to the department except the Welland Vale firm to have a rebate.

Mr. FOSTER. Did any other company apply and not get it?

Mr. LAURIER. I am not aware of that, I hope not. But I say this as a complete answer to the hon. gentleman's observation, that in 1886 you made an Order in Council which entitled the manufacturers to come to the department and not come before the Government; in 1893 you made a different Order in Council under which, if a manufacturer wanted to have the same privilege, he could not go to the department but he had to come to the Government and have it discussed by the Council before he could get it. So that in 1886 you made a general law; in 1893 the Government made one special law for one firm only. I am informed that this Order in Council never was published anywhere, and no other manufacturer was aware of it, or could take advantage of it and be treated as other manufacturers were treated.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The hon. gentleman is arguing the propriety of continuing the power given to the Government, on a particular case which has no reference to that power at all, otherwise than as being simply an individual case which occurred under that power. Now, what is the power which has been all along upon our statute-book which we are discussing the propriety of continuing to-day? It is the power of making a regulation as to the terms on which a drawback shall be given. I agree perfectly with what was said by the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills), that that regulation must apply to all. Now, what are we discussing? We are discussing the state of facts which arose under an Order in Council applying to all manufacturers as to the rate of drawback to which

they should be entitled under the circumstances, namely, that they should prove the amount of duty which they paid before they could get back the drawback of 90 per cent. One day one manufacturing company came and stated: You have passed that Order in Council applying to everybody, you have addressed it to the Department of Customs for administration; but we have a grievance, and we ask that our claim be considered by the Governor in Council. Now, is it possible that an individual claim under these circumstances can be refused a hearing, or be refused redress, on the ground that every other manufacturer must be heard at the same time? Why, this class of cases constitutes the principal business of the Governor in Council every day they meet, namely, that under some statute, under some general Order in Council, somebody claims that he has not received the full amount of favour which he is entitled to.

Mr. LAURIER. Was this a special grievance?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It does appear to be a special grievance.

Mr. LAURIER. No, it was a general grievance.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It was a grievance stated by this company alone in relation to their goods, and when the hon. gentleman says that it was a general grievance, he is merely assuming that there may have been other cases which were not dealt with.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The grounds on which the Governor in Council granted the concession, were general grounds.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. But would apply generally to all persons manufacturing in the same line. Now, show us, or give us an opportunity to inquire, whether there was any other person on the same footing, and entitled to the same consideration as this company, whose complaint has been disregarded. But upon a mere suspicion that there may have been others, without an allegation that there were others, it is proposed that the power that existed all along shall not exist any more.

Mr. LAURIER. The hon. gentleman will see there is an immense difference. He will not contend that when complaint is made by any individual of a grievance which is not special to himself, but which applies to all others of the same class, the Government should have the right to make a law for himself alone. The law should be as universal as it was previously, and it should be published. If the Order in Council of 1893 had been made in the same terms as that of 1886, the case would be different. This shows the great danger there is in clothing the Governor in Council with the power of legislation, with doing what Parliament alone should do, the Government claiming

to themselves a delegation of powers from Parliament which should be exercised by Parliament alone. It amounts to this, that the Government may alter the tariff from day to day and from year to year, if they choose, without any reference to the law as laid down by Parliament.

Mr. WALLACE. The leader of the Opposition says that the rule should be made universal and that it should be published. That is just what the Government has done. On the 25th July, 1888, they passed an Order in Council governing drawbacks on the exportation of imported goods, providing exactly what the leader of the Opposition says should be done. The section is as follows:—

Section 1. The manufacturer of any article wholly manufactured in this Dominion out of materials imported into it, and upon which any duty of customs has been paid, may, unless otherwise provided, upon the exportation of the said manufactured article, be entitled to a drawback equal to 90 per cent of the duties that shall have been paid upon such quantity of the raw or duty-paid material as shall have entered into and been consumed in the production of the manufactured article to be exported.

That was published to the world. Every manufacturer in Canada knows that. Then it provides still further certain safeguards for the Government:

Section 2. To entitle himself to the drawback, the manufacturer shall make due entry of the manufactured article for exportation, and deliver to the collector of the port where such entry is made, a statement showing the marks and numbers of the packages,—the designation of the contents of such package,—the quantity of the manufactured article,—the place where manufactured,—the quantity of the raw and duty-paid materials entering into the composition of the said manufactured articles.

Afterwards, when he exports the manufactured article and makes a claim for a drawback, he shall furnish the bills of lading, and the prices at which the goods have been exported. Every safeguard that the Government may require, is provided. Then when he does that he comes to the Government and asks them for a refund, as the law provides, of 90 per cent of the duties that he has actually paid. If the duty is increased on iron, he asks for the increase of his refund; and the Governor in Council passes that order saying, Yes, you have paid the increased duty, instead of \$6 or \$10 per ton on iron, as the case may be, you have paid \$13 per ton on iron, or you have paid \$12 on steel, or whatever the duty may be, and you get 90 per cent of the amount you have actually paid, returned to you. That is the general rule, and the special rule is the proof that he gives of the quantity of materials that he uses in the manufacture of his article. For instance, Massey-Harris send binders to Australia, and they come to the Government for a refund. They prove

to the Government that they have paid duties to the amount of \$3.30, say, on one binder. There are the whole particulars, every pound of iron, what it is used for, the description of the article, and the actual duty paid upon it. Further than that, the Government requires that it shall be proved that the articles are not produced in this country, and then they receive 90 per cent of a refund, or in that case, \$2.97 on each article, because that is the amount of duty they have paid to the customs on the materials that are used in that one binder.

Mr. EDGAR. Not a special Order in Council?

Mr. WALLACE. The leader of the Opposition has read the Order in Council.

Mr. EDGAR. The hon. gentleman is dealing altogether with the Massey-Harris Company. Did that firm obtain rebates to the amount of \$10,000 under a separate Order in Council applicable to them or under the general regulation?

Mr. WALLACE. The Massey-Harris Company proceeded to prove to the Government the value of the materials used, say for example on a seven-foot binder, and the quantities of the material they brought into this country, and on which they paid duty, and a general Order in Council for them was passed. An Order in Council is not required for every exportation.

Mr. EDGAR. Was that Order in Council published?

Mr. WALLACE. No.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Then there was not an order passed at that time?

Mr. WALLACE. An Order in Council is passed for each firm. Take a manufacturing firm exporting binders. They come to the Government and submit a statement giving all the particulars and prices, and the Government examine into the matter, and grant them under a general Order in Council for implements of that kind exported, a drawback, say of nine-tenths. They lay down the basis. When the firm come to make a claim, it does not pass before Council, but they produce all the proofs before the department, including proof of the export of the article, its destination and full particulars, and upon that they receive by departmental order the refund. The Order in Council for the Massey-Harris Company passed in the first instance fixed the basis and the amount to which they were entitled on every mower or reaper of certain sizes. Of course the articles are of different sizes and of different qualities as regards materials used, and a different amount is paid. After the Order in Council is passed with respect to particular articles, the manufacturers are paid under that order on submitting full proofs

Mr. WALLACE.

to the department, as the general and particular Order in Council may require.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Then the First Minister was wrong in his explanation?

Mr. CASEY. The First Minister said the matter was controlled in the department and only one general Order in Council was passed. Now it is stated that an Order in Council is required for each trade and each particular class of goods exported, and that the departmental orders refer to particular Orders in Council. One or other of the Ministers is correct, probably the Minister of Customs, as he is perhaps better acquainted with the work.

Mr. LAURIER. The explanation given by the Controller of Customs confirms, if anything more were wanted, what I stated a few moments ago. The hon. First Minister has referred to the Order in Council passed in 1888. At that time the duty was 17½ per cent, on which a rebate was granted. In 1893 a special Order in Council was passed.

Mr. WALLACE. No.

Mr. LAURIER. Let me read to the hon. gentleman.

Mr. WALLACE. Perhaps the hon. gentleman will allow me to explain. The general Order in Council was passed in 1888. A special Order is passed for each particular case, and on the manufacturer furnishing proofs of the quantity and values of the materials used, he obtains a refund.

Mr. LAURIER. According to the duty in force in 1888, 90 per cent of rebate was to be given. In 1893 the following Order in Council was passed:—

That the terms of the Orders in Council of the 28th June, 1886, granting drawback to the Welland Vale Manufacturing Company, of St. Catharines, Ont., at rates as prescribed therein upon iron and steel used in the manufacture of axes and tools exported by them, be repealed, and that the rates as follows be substituted therefor:—

| | Cents per Dozen. |
|---|------------------------|
| Black Prince axes..... | 46 |
| Silver steel axes..... | 46 |
| Princess Louise axes..... | 46 |
| Ontario Champion..... | 46 |
| Chopper's Trust axes..... | 46 |
| Boys' axes..... | 20 |
| Altons axes..... | 46 |
| Hunter's axes..... | 20 |
| Clipping scythes, grass..... | 20 |
| Silver steel cradle scythes, grass..... | 27 |
| T-handled hay knives..... | 27 |
| Lightning hay knives..... | 30 |
| 3-pronged hay forks, plain..... | 7½ |
| 3-pronged hay forks, strapped..... | 10 |
| 3-pronged hay forks, socket..... | 8½ |
| 4-pronged manure forks, plain..... | 13 |
| 4-pronged manure forks, strapped.. | 15 |
| 5-pronged manure forks, plain..... | 16 |

| | Cents per dozen. |
|---------------------------------------|------------------|
| 6-pronged manure forks, plain..... | 18 |
| 4-pronged spading forks, plain. | 20 |
| 4-pronged spading forks, strapped.. | 22½ |
| Garden hoes..... | 7½ |
| Solid neck hoes..... | 10 |
| Cultivator hoes (Dominion)..... | 9 |
| Socket hoes..... | 10 |
| Turnip hoes..... | 7½ |
| Dutch hoes..... | 6 |
| Weeding hoes..... | 6½ |
| Weed cutting hoes..... | 6½ |
| Reversible rakes (malleable)..... | 1½ |
| Common rakes (malleable)..... | 1½ |
| Nero rakes..... | 1½ |
| Steel rakes, 12 teeth, common..... | 11 |
| Steel rakes, 10 teeth, patent braced. | 9 |
| Steel rakes, 12 teeth, patent braced. | 11 |
| Steel rakes, 14 teeth, patent braced. | 13 |
| Hoes, ferrules, plain..... | 1½ |
| Hoes fork ferrules, plain..... | 1½ |
| Manure fork ferrules, plain..... | 1½ |

This recommendation is made in view of the increased duty on iron and steel (\$13 per ton of 2,000 lbs.), which is being collected under the existing tariff, and which is largely in excess of the duty (17½ per cent) exacted under the tariff in force when the original Order in Council was framed and approved of.

The reason given for this action is that there has been a change in the tariff, because the tariff is no longer 17½ per cent, but \$13 per ton of 2,000 pounds. That is the reason why a departure was made, because a general law had been passed which applied to all manufacturers. Yet here is an Order in Council departing from the previous order, which applied to all manufacturers equally and this order is made to apply to one firm only. This is a departure from the general principle. Why was this special Order in Council passed? I am told, I do not know how far it is correct, that a firm in Quebec accidentally learned that the department had made this change.

Mr. WALLACE. There is no such change made in the regulation. There was no change made in the principle.

Mr. LAURIER. I do not know whether to believe the Controller of Customs or the Governor General in Council, for the Order in Council reads:

This recommendation is made in view of the increased duty upon iron and steel (\$13 per ton of 2,000 lbs.) which is being collected under the existing tariff and which is largely in excess of the duty (17½ per cent) exacted under the tariff in force when the original Order in Council was framed and approved of.

This Order in Council was issued because there was a change in the law and it provided a new rate of rebate because the change of duty had taken place. This is not a general regulation, but a special one, and it is liable to be abused.

Mr. WALLACE. Under the general rule a firm would be entitled to a drawback equal

to 90 per cent of the duties paid on such quantities.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) From what is the hon. gentleman quoting?

Mr. WALLACE. From the general Order in Council. If Parliament changes the duties, then the manufacturer is entitled to come to the Government and ask for an increased rebate in proportion to the increased rate of duty. Parliament had reduced the amount of duty on iron from \$13 to \$10 per ton, and the amount of the refund would be consequently reduced.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) But you did not act upon that general order.

Mr. WALLACE. We certainly did, to the very letter.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) You made a new order, because that would not permit you.

Mr. WALLACE. The reason they did not apply before was, I presume, because they had not exported articles the year previously, or they would have been entitled to rebates then. They applied for a rebate the moment they exported these articles, and they were entitled to it.

Mr. GIBSON. That is the reason I make a complaint with regard to the case of my friends from Port Dalhousie. According to the Controller, the Welland Vale people got a rebate of 90 per cent up to 1893, and now he gives them a rebate at so much per dozen, which amounts to more than they got before. He gives as an excuse that there has been an increase in the duty upon iron. It is well known that our friends in Port Dalhousie and our friends in St. Catharines occupy two different positions politically in this country, and so the St. Catharines people were favoured by the fostering care of the Government with a duty of \$2 per dozen and 20 per cent on their manufactured goods; and, when the Welland Vale people saw fit to send anything out of the country, they got this special rebate given to them by an Order in Council which was never published; thus giving them an unfair advantage over the whole of the manufacturers employed in this particular industry. That was one of the reasons why I make this complaint to the House. I wish to refer to the matter on which the hon. the Controller of Customs differed from me, with respect to the duties paid upon the iron. He states that my friends, the Messrs. Muir, were not entitled to the same amount of duty as that given to people who were engaged in the manufacturing of iron or composite vessels. I would like to know—if the Controller knows anything about ship-building—how they can strengthen wooden vessels with iron beams and girders, and not make them composite vessels? They come directly under the class of composite vessels.

Mr. WALLACE. I think I am correct in saying that, in the case of Muir Bros., it was "plates," not "beams."

Mr. GIBSON. The plates that were put into these vessels were for the purpose of strengthening the vessels, and in consequence of these plates being in the vessels, they are composite vessels. If the hon. gentleman knows anything at all about what he is talking on, he will know that. I happen to know something about it myself, because I learned the profession in my younger days. I complain of the unfairness shown to my read a letter which will bear out my complaint. If the House will allow me, I will read a letter which will bear out my complaint. The Minister of Finance said that I have no grievance, because of the fact that each and every individual pays duty. At the time I was only speaking from memory, and I had not this letter by me; but I find now, that there were some entries made free of duty. From this letter we will see that the Controller of Customs has not dealt as fairly with my friends as he did with the people in Toronto; because I find there is a discrimination in favour of the people there, who are engaged in the same business in Toronto as my friends are in Port Dalhousie. The letter was dated December the 7th, and it says:

DEAR SIR,—When Mr. Spillette was collector at this port we imported some steel plates for use in strengthening wooden vessels, and we were charged by him 17 per cent. Shortly after Mr. Clark was appointed, we imported some more, same class of goods and for same purpose, and he charged us 30 per cent. We then wrote to Customs House, Toronto, asking if there had been any change in the duty on steel plates. He said: No, not in the last ten years. We wrote Mr. Robinson, ship-builder, Hamilton, and instructed him to go to the Customs House there and see what they would charge him for same class of steel for same purpose, and they told him that they would enter them for 12½ per cent. Last winter, Messrs. Adam Hope & Co. imported about thirty or forty tons for Messrs. A. E. D. Mackey & Sons, for strengthening propellers "St. Magnus" and "Lake Michigan." They entered them at the bridge and they were allowed free of duty. We have written to every one in authority that we know, to find out how it was that a merchant could import free what a ship-builder could not, but could not get any satisfactory answer. Will you kindly look the matter up for us and oblige.

This is the first opportunity I have had of bringing this matter before the House, and I might say that if our friends are to be dealt with in the matter of giving rebates to the manufacturers of agricultural implements, right in the same section of country and within half a mile of each other on the Welland Canal, how is it that the Government will insist upon a greater duty being paid by them than they do in Toronto? And, at the same time that they are allowing steel or

Mr. GIBSON.

iron vessels to come into the country free, they are depriving our Canadian carpenters, whom they pretend to have so much feeling for, of work and driving the business of strengthening vessels over to Buffalo, when it ought to be done on the line of the Welland Canal, where we have good docks for such work.

Mr. CHARLTON. I wish to refer to another branch of this subject, if we are through with the discussion of the question of drawbacks. The Order in Council that I referred to a short time ago, permitted the importation, free of duty of numerous articles for manufacturing purposes. I suppose I am right in assuming that these were articles to be used in the production of goods to be consumed in Canada. Now, if that is the case, Mr. Chairman, I wish to point out what I deem to be in the system an unfavourable discrimination and an injustice that would be visited upon a certain class of manufacturers. The large manufacturer, whose operations were upon a scale of sufficient importance to warrant him in making importations direct, would be able to take advantage of this Order in Council permitting the importation of the articles used by him in the production of his goods. But the smaller manufacturer, whose business was not of sufficient volume to warrant him in making direct importations, would, I apprehend, be unable to avail himself of this provision of the Order in Council. The small manufacturer, in purchasing this article from the importer, who had paid the duty, would be obliged to pay a higher price than his competitor whose business was so large as to enable him to import direct. Consequently, the provisions of this Order in Council would be of a character to necessarily discriminate against the small manufacturing establishments of this country. The system is unjust in that respect. It is that view of the case to which I desire to call the attention of the Minister of Justice. It is one of the inevitable incidents of the system that it will discriminate in favour of the larger manufacturer who can avail himself of the provisions of the Order in Council permitting him to import his materials free of duty, and discriminate against the smaller manufacturer, whose operations are not large enough to permit him to import and who is compelled to purchase from those who import in the regular way.

Mr. WALLACE. In reply to the hon. member for Lincoln (Mr. Gibson), I would say that in the late tariff there is no 17½ per cent item, nor any 30 per cent item that could apply to iron of that kind. It is a question whether it would come in under item 977 of the free list as being used in the manufacture of iron or composite ships. I must admit that we have not the special knowledge that the hon. gentleman has of the character or classification of such ships; but we have availed ourselves of the technical knowledge of the Department of Marine,

and we have their decision that the vessels in which these materials were used were not either iron or composite; and, therefore, under the law they were not entitled to that free entry. If the hon. gentleman will permit me to have that letter, I will see that the whole of the facts are given to him in writing, so that he may satisfy his friends.

Mr. BORDEN. I desire to refer for a single moment to the question of the rebate on iron and steel entered for the manufacture of axes. I understood the hon. First Minister to say that no case of grievance or hardship had been quoted. Now, it so happens that only yesterday I received a letter from a manufacturer of axes in the Maritime Provinces asking for information on this point. In that letter he says that he understands that an Order in Council was passed during last recess, remitting the duty on iron and steel used in the manufacture of axes, and he desires to know the facts. Now, it seems to me that the Government ought to publish—

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. These are published—every one.

Mr. BORDEN. The special Order in Council which has been read here?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It does not come under that.

Mr. WALLACE. That refers to a refund for exportation.

Mr. BORDEN. Did I not understand that this Order in Council was not published?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Every Order in Council making regulations is published, but an Order in Council granting a refund on steel used in the manufacture of axes for exportation would not be published.

Mr. BORDEN. This man is an exporter of axes. I understand that he has exported some to the State of Maine.

Mr. WALLACE. If he has exported them, he is entitled to a refund under these conditions.

Mr. BORDEN. But the conditions have been effectually changed by the Order in Council which has been read to-day by the leader of the Opposition.

Mr. WALLACE. In what way?

Mr. BORDEN. In the way that was read, by an enormous increase in the refund of duty.

Mr. WALLACE. The law says that he will be entitled to a refund on the amount that he has paid.

Mr. BORDEN. At any rate, this particular Order in Council, which was read by the leader of the Opposition, has never been published anywhere.

Mr. WALLACE. The general Order in Council was published.

Mr. BORDEN. But this particular one was not, and I contend that in a matter of this kind the Government should not have power to make secret regulations. Any regulations that they make should be published to the world.

Mr. WALLACE. There is no secret regulation about it. If Parliament calls for any Order in Council, with a statement of the amounts paid and the conditions under which they were paid, they will be furnished at once.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Before we leave this item I desire to re-state shortly the point which I took, and which has been somewhat departed from in the discussion. There are two distinct classes provided for in the Customs Act. There is one provision for a rebate on goods used in Canadian manufactures, and the Government may make regulations providing the terms and manner in which that rebate shall be given. Those regulations must be general; they cannot discriminate. If they do, they will, in my opinion, be illegal. But Parliament has also decreed that, in addition to the list of free goods in the Act of Customs, the Government may from time to time add to that list. They may do it when they arrive at a certain conclusion, the conclusion being that a certain article is used in Canadian manufactures. Now, I submit to the hon. Minister of Justice that a regulation made under subsection "L" is made only as and when the Government determine that the article is used in Canadian manufactures generally. When they so determine, they can make a regulation transferring that article to the free list absolutely. They cannot transfer it to the free list as regards the Massey-Harris Company or any other company. Nor can they transfer it to the free list for the purpose of having it manufactured in a particular way. For instance, all these Orders in Council which I read when I introduced the subject, say that specific articles shall be transferred to the free list if and when they are manufactured in a certain way. Those Orders in Council are utterly illegal. You may have the right under subsection "M" to grant a drawback on articles manufactured in Canada; but under subsection "L" you have only the right to determine whether an article shall be transferred holus bolus to the free list or not. So that, if you exercise properly the power which the law gives you, there can under no circumstances be unfair discrimination between man and man, between interest and interest, or between class and class; and I respectfully submit to the hon. Minister of Justice that the Orders in Council have heretofore been made on a wrong construction of the power conceded to Parliament to the Governor in Council. I do

not think that Parliament would have conceded to the Governor in Council a power as large as that which the Government have attempted to exercise, and which may be used under certain possible circumstances to the advantage of one man and the disadvantage of another. Is it possible to conceive that Parliament itself would adopt a tariff granting a special advantage to one firm? That is incredible. Is it possible that Parliament can delegate that which it would not dare to exercise itself, to be exercised in secret by the Governor in Council? That is still more incredible. Parliament would not do it, and has not in my opinion done it; and the Governor in Council, in undertaking to exercise such powers, has not only dealt unjustly, but has gone right in the teeth of the Act.

Mr. LANDERKIN. A few sessions ago, on examining the Orders in Council, I discovered that the Government had granted a rebate on corn imported by distillers for the purpose of making liquor to be afterwards exported, and I asked the House to grant a similar rebate to farmers and others who imported corn to fatten stock for exportation. That request was denied. Now, in looking into this matter, it seems to me one of the most vicious systems that can possibly arise. I do not know anything that tends to greater demoralization than this very system. I do not see why the Government, charged to administer justice fairly and impartially among all classes of the community, should single out an industry here and there to be granted a rebate or reduction of taxes, as was shown to have been done by the Order in Council read by the hon. leader of the Opposition. Parliament should not delegate its rights to the Government, nor should the Government ask Parliament to grant them rights calculated, if misused, to do such great injury and injustice to the people in this country. Of course, I do not suppose that this Government will wilfully do it, because their record is such as leads people to have confidence in them; but under other circumstances this thing might be abused. We have protected the manufacturers by a high tariff; we have given them the home market; and, after we have done that, the Government, in addition, give them a rebate of the duty on those articles which become their raw material.

It being Six o'clock, the Committee rose, and the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (No. 63) respecting the Guelph Junction Railway Company.—(Mr. Henderson.)

Bill (No. 64) respecting the Medicine Hat Railway and Coal Company.—(Mr. Ross, Lisgar.)

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

Bill (No. 65) to confirm an agreement between the Ottawa City Passenger Railway Company and the Ottawa Electric Street Railway Company, and an agreement between the said companies and the corporation of the city of Ottawa, and to unite the said companies under the name of "The Ottawa Electric Railway Company."—(Mr. Robillard.)

Bill (No. 66) to empower the Niagara Falls Suspension Bridge Company to issue debentures and for other purposes.—(Mr. Lowell.)

Bill (No. 67) to incorporate the Niagara Falls Electric Railway Bridge Company.—(Mr. Montague.)

Bill (No. 68) respecting the Montreal Park and Island Railway Bridge Company.—(Mr. Girouard, Jacques Cartier.)

Bill (No. 71) to incorporate the New York, New England and Canada Company.—(Mr. Flint.)

Bill (No. 72) to consolidate and amend certain Acts relating to the Ottawa and Gatineau Valley Railway Company, and to change the name of the company to "The Ottawa and Gatineau Railway Company."—(Mr. Bryson.)

Bill (No. 77) to incorporate the Dominion Gas and Electric Company.—(Mr. Boyd.)

Bill (No. 78) to incorporate the Metis, Matane and Gaspé Railway Company.—(Mr. Turcotte.)

Bill (No. 81) respecting the Erie and Huron Railway Company.—(Mr. Cockburn.)

Bill (No. 82) respecting the Lake Erie and Detroit River Railway Company and the London and Port Stanley Railway Company.—(Mr. McGregor.)

Bill (No. 83) to incorporate the Ste. Emélie Railway Company.—(Mr. Pelletier.)

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

House again in Committee of Ways and Means.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. MARTIN. It appears to me that this clause requires some further discussion and consideration, because the hon. Minister of Justice has taken one view of the law—a view upon which the Government has acted in issuing these Orders in Council—while hon. gentlemen on this side of the House lay down the proposition very broadly that that interpretation is entirely illegal. It does seem to me a matter of very serious importance for the House to consider whether all these Orders in Council, by which very large sums of money have been prevented from reaching the public trea-

sury, are, or are not illegal. The clause, it appears to me, is very clear, indeed :

For transferring to the list of goods which may be imported into Canada free of duty, any or all articles (whether natural products or products of manufactures) used as materials in Canadian manufacture.

Surely that is a definition of the kind of articles to be admitted free. There are two points to that definition : 1. They may be manufactures or natural products ; 2. They must be such articles as are used in Canadian manufactures. And, to show that these words are a mere definition of the kind of articles, and not a provision as to what these articles shall be used for, read the second part of the clause :

And any such articles transferred to the free list by such Order in Council, shall be free of duty of customs for the time therein appointed for that purpose.

That is, not that they are to be free of duty, if used in manufacture, but they are to be absolutely free to all persons. It is very clear, indeed, that the words, "used as materials in Canadian manufactures" are to define the kind of articles, and not to give power to the Government to place any restrictions upon the imports of these articles, once the articles are placed on the free list. The first part of the clause shows clearly that that is what it means. But if there can be any doubt, the second part of the clause removes that doubt, and shows that, once placed upon the free list, they are to be on the free list without restriction or qualification. But, Mr. Chairman, not only has the Government taken the power which the statute has not given them, but they have gone very much further indeed. They have not only said that these articles are to be brought in for the purpose of being used in manufactures in Canada, but they have undertaken to discriminate between manufactures. They do not simply say : If you import a certain article for the purpose of using it as a raw material in manufactures, it shall be free ; but they say : If you import that article in order to manufacture one particular thing, it shall be free. Take a case, say that mentioned by the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) : Mohair, imported for the purpose of making buttons. Now, it does seem to me we are entitled to have from the Minister of Finance or the Minister of Justice the legal authority for the Government passing an Order in Council such as that referred to, by which mohair is allowed to be imported free, provided a particular manufacturer makes buttons of it. Of course, we have not the information before us that we may judge as to what particular stripe or colour the manufacturer who makes buttons in Canada is. But, certainly the use that has been made of this power intensifies the argument used here against

the continuance of this system. Of course, Mr. Chairman, the real objection to the power is the unconstitutionality of this Legislature delegating its powers in that way. It seems to me an unconstitutional and improper delegation of the powers of the House, and it allows the Government to make this still more than it is, in a general way, a purely manufacturers' tariff. What we complain of on this side of the House is that the Government, instead of merely being the collectors of the revenue, by means of the customs duties, it is brought into such close relation with the manufacturing industries of the country that it is enabled to give to some manufactures advantages as against the rest of the community, and that naturally the Government will expect the manufacturers to give some returns for these favours. It has been well said that protection and corruption always go hand in hand. It does seem to me, Mr. Chairman, that we are really entitled to a further explanation from the Minister of Justice. I understood him to lay down the law distinctly and clearly that the Government had the right, under this clause, to pass these Orders in Council. If that be so, it would be very easy, indeed, to put in words which will remove all doubt as to the meaning of the clause. If the section had read that these articles might be imported free "for the purpose of being used as materials in manufactures," it would be clear. But, when the words are, "used as materials in Canadian manufactures," it seems to me that the Government have only power to put them on the free list, and, when put on the free list, they may be used for any purpose whatever. This is not a light matter : it is a matter involving very large sums of money, and the question whether there is power in the Government of the day to dispose arbitrarily, and without appeal, of large sums of money which belong to the people, is a matter, it seems to me, which requires most careful consideration. I think we are entitled to further explanations from the Ministers.

Mr. LANGELIER. Before the clause is disposed of, I would like to call the attention of the Government to the inconvenience of the existence of this power in the hands of the Government—inconvenience not only to the people generally, but to the Government itself. I can best illustrate this by a case which came before the public of Quebec. I can speak more freely, because I have no charge to make against the Government. A company was formed in the city of Quebec about a year ago to carry on an industry in the canning of a certain kind of fish called sardine, that is caught below Quebec. It was considered very important that the olive oil, which is used in large quantities for the canning of that fish should be admitted free of duty. As usual—I do not say it was anything extraordinary under the circumstances—the directors applied to a sup-

porter of the Government to obtain that remission of duty. It will be so in all such cases. It will never occur to anybody asking for a remission of duty to apply to a member of the Opposition. But if the thing was not to be granted as a favour, it should be granted just as freely on the request of a member of the Opposition as on the request of a supporter of the Government. On the occasion in question, the directors applied to a supporter of the Government, a member of this House. I state the case as it has been published in the papers of Quebec, a great deal of correspondence on the subject having appeared. It is alleged that the report from this hon. gentleman was that the Government would most probably grant the remission of duty on olive oil. This was very natural under the circumstances, because it was a new industry, and the olive oil unquestionably was a raw material of great importance to the industry. Just at the time the demand was pending, a friend of the member of this House went to the manager of the company and asked him how much his company proposed to give to that member to obtain the remission of duty. The manager of the company was rather startled when he heard such a proposal. He said: "We always intended to reward him in a suitable and proper manner—in such a way as not to offend the feelings of the gentleman, and not to injure his position as a member of Parliament, but simply as people who have some sense of propriety would think of doing. What do you suppose he would think of wanting?" The man, who professed all the time to be the emissary of the member of the House, said he would expect \$5,000. The manager was more startled still. He said: "Five thousand dollars? You must be joking. The whole remission of duty would not be worth \$5,000 to us; we would prefer paying the duty to obtaining its remission on such conditions," and he refused point-blank to have anything to do with the man. The same man went to him three times, though he did not say that he was charged to do so. He finally came down a little in his demand; he asked the manager to place paid-up shares in the company, which were at par, in the names of trustees, who would hold them for the benefit of the member; but the manager of the company refused point-blank to do so. Finally the man said to him: "You will not obtain that remission of duty unless you give something; what I am asking is the last word." I must say, to the credit of the Government, that the remission of the duty was granted, and very properly granted, without a cent being given. But I mention this fact to show the great danger to which that power exposes the Government and their supporters. For instance, if the remission had not been granted, everybody in Quebec, friends as well as opponents of the Government, would have believed that it was because the company

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would not pay the \$5,000 or something near \$5,000 for the favour; but, very fortunately for the Government and for public morality, it was made known publicly that the remission had been granted without any improper means being adopted to secure it, and the public now know all about it. It was by mere accident that the matter was discovered; and I know that some friends of the Government, seeing the damage that was likely to result to them from the rumours that were flying about the streets of Quebec, came to Ottawa to interview them. I think no case could be mentioned to show more strongly the danger of this power being left in the hands of the Government than this case, the facts of which are known all through Quebec, and have been the subject of discussion in the papers for some time past.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I think the statement made by my hon. friend should not be allowed to pass without some notice from the Government. There is no doubt that such powers are extremely susceptible of abuse. Every man who has any experience in business affairs knows that the Government, without being accomplices, are very much at the mercy of friends of theirs, who come to them for favours. My hon. friend has shown, what is pretty well known in business circles, that very frequently, while the Government may be perfectly innocent, influential supporters of theirs are asked to use their influence, and do use their influence, to obtain such favours as this clause enables the Government to grant. I do think that, if the power is to be continued, far greater safeguards should be thrown around it than now exists.

Mr. CHARLTON. I wish to refer to one little matter which has come under my notice. We have a duty on Indian corn, imposed ostensibly for the purpose of affording a little protection to farmers in the corn belt of Canada. On the 12th of June, 1890, an Order in Council was passed permitting the payment of a rebate of 90 per cent of the duty imposed upon corn imported into Canada when the corn was kiln-dried and used for human food. The quantity of corn imported under that provision is said to have been about 676,000 bushels. I am informed that it is customary in the Maritime Provinces to put corn into a large bin and run through the bin a single pipe conveying steam, and to let the steam pass through for twenty-four or thirty-six hours, or whatever the length of time may be. That does not kiln-dry the corn at all; it has no effect whatever upon it; but steam having passed through the bin, it is held that the corn has been kiln-dried. Then it is ground up and used for feeding to cattle and hogs. It has been customary to allow the rebate of duty on corn dried in this way. That is an example of the advantage taken of this power which is placed in the hands of the Government.

It is open to all kinds of abuse and favouritism, and I think the Government ought not to insist on retaining any longer a power so dangerous. They are, as my hon. friend says, at the mercy of unscrupulous subordinates, whose conduct cannot be thoroughly watched, and who are tempted to make use of the influence they have with the Government to secure sums of money from the parties receiving favours. The whole thing is subversive of the independence of Parliament. This House should carefully arrange the scale of duties and the details of the tariff, and no change in those details should be permitted except after full discussion in this House, and this House should not delegate to the Governor in Council its own functions with regard to the management of the fiscal system of the country. I think the charge made by my hon. friend from Quebec Centre (Mr. Langellier) deserves some notice at the hands of the Government.

Mr. EDGAR. I would like to ask the Minister of Finance if he intends to include in the free list he is here proposing, the Orders in Council which are in force to-day placing goods on the free list for the purpose of manufacture. It is a very extraordinary thing if we are legislating to put on the free list fifteen or twenty distinct articles which are only free when used in certain manufactures, while we are going to leave I do not know how many other articles free by means of Orders in Council. Is the hon. gentleman going to include in the free list the Order in Council making certain articles free?

Mr. FOSTER. If the hon. gentleman will look at the Votes and Proceedings which he has before him he will see they are included.

Mr. EDGAR. I do not see where.

Mr. FOSTER. In the notices of motion I gave last.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Are we to understand that these notices of motion include the various articles which up to this date have been made free under Order in Council?

Mr. FOSTER. The first resolution I laid on the Table included some of those on the free list, and those others I think include nearly all that are intended to be perpetuated.

Mr. EDGAR. Here we are legislating to place these articles on the free list. Parliament meets every session, and it would not hurt us if we were called upon to legislate respecting particular articles which circumstances show ought to be put on the free list. It seems to be exceedingly unnecessary to delegate to the Government this power to legislate. The only possible excuse the Government can present is that between the two sessions some great occasion of urgency might arise, some very important industry that was not known to

be in process of incubation while the House was in session showed within the next few months before the next session has arrived to be in such a position of maturity that it would perish unless the Government had power to legislate in its favour as to certain manufactured articles. The Government is asking this committee to confirm a very vicious and improper principle of legislation by Order in Council simply for that very exceptional and unusual case. Even if there were some argument in favour of stretching a point for such an exceptional case, the power of the Government should be restricted so that no article would be placed on the free list until the end of the next session. The committee should not be asked to go further. What is the reason that the Government require power to give special legislation for four, five or fifteen years when the House will meet within a few months.

Mr. INGRAM. The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) has made the charge that the Government have favoured their friends in regard to granting a rebate on kiln-dried corn.

Mr. CHARLTON. I made no such charge.

Mr. INGRAM. I inferred from the hon. gentleman's statement that he charged that corn which had not been properly kiln-dried had been granted a rebate. I happen to have some experience of this matter. We have a corn mill in St. Thomas, and I am aware that it had to comply with the law before it was granted a rebate. I had to come to Ottawa on two or three different occasions, and an officer of the department visited St. Thomas to investigate whether the corn was properly kiln-dried or not. I do not see, therefore, that the Government favoured their friends and allowed a rebate when the law had not been complied with.

Mr. CHARLTON. I did not charge that the Government had favoured their friends. The charge I made was that under the Order in Council with respect to kiln-dried corn, permitting a rebate of 90 per cent, in many places the intention of the Order in Council was evaded and corn was used after being placed in the bin with a steam-pipe passing through it for one or two days. I do not say that was done at St. Thomas or that any one was connected with such fraud. I said there were rumours of that kind abroad, and I am inclined to believe that in certain sections these rumours are not without foundation.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) If the law was being complied with, why had the hon. gentleman to visit Ottawa on one or two occasions?

Mr. INGRAM. I desire to say—

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Denison.) I think the discussion has taken too wide a range.

Mr. CHARLTON. I move that these words be added:

Provided, however, that all Orders in Council relating to any matters in connection with Customs whereby any ruling or decision is made for remission of duty or rebate of duty or any matter connected with the Customs Department, and acted upon, shall be published in the 'Canada Gazette' the week following the passage of such order.

That will obviate, if such abuses exist, the issuing of secret Orders in Council, and will allow the public to understand what has been done.

Mr. FOSTER. Has the hon. gentleman reflected what the three or four last words would bring about? The customs rules and acts upon ten thousand different matters in the course of the year. A very large number of the Orders in Council pass every year with respect to matters not in any way connected with rebates. What is the hon. gentleman's object in desiring to have all those printed?

Mr. CHARLTON. My object is this. The Welland Vale Iron Company secured the passage of an Order in Council bearing materially on the interests of that company and granting it certain rebates and advantages of which the trade was ignorant. The object of the motion is to prevent a recurrence of any such action; it is to prevent the Government acting in any matter and concealing their action from the public. The object is to provide that the Government shall show their hands and put their action with respect to rebates and duties on record in the 'Canada Gazette.'

Mr. LAURIER. The answer given by the Finance Minister to the hon. member from North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) must convince him that this amendment does not go far enough. If there are ten thousand orders passed under such a law—

Mr. FOSTER. I did not say so. The motion requires that everything that the customs does by Order in Council shall be published.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It would include payment made to a clerk for day wages.

Mr. LAURIER. It is evident that the amendment does not go far enough, for it would wipe out the power of the Government to legislate under this section.

Mr. CHARLTON. I moved this motion under the supposition that the Government would force the passage of this section, and they would retain the power, to which we object, to deal with these questions by Order in Council. Possibly my motion should have been preceded by a motion denying this power to the Government, and if that motion had been lost, the present motion would then have followed.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I suggest to the Finance Minister that there should be a limitation to those matters that have been dealt with by Order in Council by which

Mr. CHARLTON.

certain articles have been transferred to the free list.

Mr. FOSTER. That is a different matter.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). They should be put on the free list now, if it is proper for Parliament to do it, because the power that the Government exercises is but a delegated power, and its exercise can only be justified on the ground of extreme necessity. The Government is proposing to reserve this power with regard to acts actually accomplished. Let these articles be put upon the free list by this schedule which is to become part of the Act.

Mr. FOSTER. My hon. friend was not here when I explained that such is the intention, and you will find in the Votes and Proceedings that last night I gave notice for this.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The hon. gentleman did not state that that covered everything admitted free by Order in Council.

Mr. FOSTER. I think it covers everything now free by Order in Council that we intend to remain.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. But not in the future.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). There of course remains the objection against the retention of this power. At most there are but eight months elapsing between the close of one session and the beginning of another, and the necessity in this particular case cannot exist.

Mr. FOSTER. The objection I made to the motion was that every single act of the Customs Department which requires an Order in Council, would if it were carried into effect, have to be published in the 'Gazette.' I do not see that there is any objection to having the Orders in Council under which transfers or drawbacks are made published. If it were limited in that respect I would see no objection to it.

Mr. CHARLTON. I see no objection to amend it.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I would ask the First Minister: Does he concur in the construction which the legal men on this side of the House placed on subsection "L" of the Customs Act?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. That is to say that we have to admit them free for all purposes if we think they ought to be admitted free for one?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Yes.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. On the contrary, I think that would be a violation of the section. I thought I gave reasons for dissenting from that opinion this afternoon.

Mr. MARTIN. I understood the First Minister to give as a reason: that if the con-

struction, we on this side of the House put on it, were the true one, it would be very unfair and very unreasonable. I have never understood that to be conclusive in discussing the legal effect of an Act of Parliament. It is a question for the Legislature to consider when they are enacting a particular clause, whether the effect of it will be reasonable or fair or otherwise; but if a section plainly means a certain thing, then the fact that the working out of it is unfair, has no effect whatever upon the legal interpretation to be put upon the clause. I would be very sorry indeed to think that the Minister of Justice, without giving any better reason for it than that, should undertake to lay down the principle: that because he says so, it must be the meaning of the section. The section says "articles used as material in Canadian manufacture." It does not say: "articles for the purpose of being used as material in Canadian manufactures." The latter part of the section reads: "and any such materials transferred to the free list by such Order in Council shall be free of duty." It does not say that they shall be free of duty for the purpose of making buttons, or any other particular article. But if they are of a particular kind as are defined in the first part of the clause, and if the Government exercises the power given to them they become free of duty to every person. That is the contention we make on this side of the House. The hon. the First Minister says: that he thought he had fully answered that argument this afternoon, and the only reason he gave was, that that construction would lead to unfairness and to this condition of affairs: That if mohair were allowed into the country free, it might be sold as that, and not necessarily made into buttons. It seems to me that that is not an argument on the legal point. We are not discussing the original Customs Act, as to whether we should change or modify it, but we are discussing as to what it really does mean, and what power the Government have under this particular subsection "L." Unless the Minister of Justice has some better argument to offer than he has already offered, I think the House will come to the conclusion that hon. gentlemen opposite have been remitting duty in favour of manufacturing friends of theirs, without any authority whatever under the law and the statutes of this land, and that large sums of money have been lost to the country and placed in the pockets of these manufacturers without any authority whatever, except the strained construction placed upon the Act. that hon. gentlemen opposite might have an opportunity of befriending friends of theirs who are engaged in these particular manufactures.

Mr. FOSTER. With reference to this amendment, if the hon. gentleman wishes a vote on it, of course it is so wide that we cannot accept it; but when we go into com-

mittee again. I will make some provision in the direction he aims at.

Mr. CHARLTON. I will change it.

Mr. EDGAR. I wish to move an amendment of a different character. Objection has been taken on this side of the House that there has not been sufficient publication of the number of changes made in the tariff. Another objection has been taken such as has just been repeated by the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin): that the Government has been incorrectly interpreting the language of the statute and exceeding their powers under that clause. I go further than that and object to the principle of the clause altogether. It was introduced, I think first, into our Legislature in 1877, but I contend that that does not make it any better, and as the Minister of Finance has announced that he will put into our new free list all the articles that have been made free under Order in Council, then we have a clean sheet to begin upon; and if between this and the next session of Parliament any extraordinary case arises I think the Minister can ask it to stand over to be dealt with when the House meets. Instead of asking us to debate a principle which nobody can justify of delegating legislative powers to a Cabinet Council, I would prefer to raise the issue on that question and I move:

That the word "not" and the words "or impaired," in the last line, at the end of section 2, be struck out.

Then if the amendment is adopted the section will read:

And any power conferred upon the Governor in Council by the "Customs Act" to transfer dutiable goods to the list of goods which may be imported free of duty, is hereby abrogated.

Amendment negatived.

Mr. McMULLEN. It appears to me rather singular that, notwithstanding the very clear and distinct manner in which the peculiarities of this clause have been pointed out to the hon. First Minister by the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin), as well as by other legal gentlemen on this side of the House, the hon. First Minister will persist in sitting still and making no reply whatever. If the Government are going to commence the business of this session by treating the Opposition in this manner, I can tell them that they are not going to make very rapid progress in passing this or any other item. It is discourtesy to the Opposition, after the manner in which they have shown the peculiarities of this clause, that no lawyer on the other side of the House, neither the First Minister nor the Solicitor General, has got up to explain the points that have been raised. I do not for a moment pretend to be able to discuss the legal bearing of this clause; I wished to leave that to the gentlemen of legal talent

and education on this side of the House. But from the general application of the principle, I hold that it is highly desirable that it should be abrogated. We should not leave in the hands of the Government the power to confer favours in this way. As my hon. friend from West Ontario (Mr. Edgar) has pointed out, not more than eight months can elapse between one session of Parliament and another, and any cases that may arise in the recess may very well be allowed to stand until Parliament meets, when they can be dealt with. If we are going to leave a clause of this kind on the statute-book, which will virtually bring every manufacturer in the country on his knees to ask the Government for favours, we shall be doing something very imprudent, and be placing the Government in an improper position. It is our duty not to allow this clause to pass until the Government give some satisfactory explanation why they persist in retaining it, or else admit that they have misconstrued it in the past. We will forgive them their past sins if they will admit that, and try to do what is right in the future.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant.) I was on the point of asking the question put by the hon. member for West Ontario (Mr. Edgar) with reference to the articles that have been made free in the Orders in Council. I listened to the answer of the hon. Finance Minister, who, if I understood him aright, said that the Government proposed to transfer to the free list in these resolutions almost all the articles that had been made free by Orders in Council. I understood that there were some exceptions. I would ask him if those exceptions are such as have been fixed for a short time, and will soon expire, or does he propose to rescind the Orders in Council relating to items which are not included here?

Mr. FOSTER. I think I stated, but the hon. gentleman did not probably hear me, that all those which it was intended should be operative were to be transferred to the list.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant.) How do those that are not transferred become inoperative?

Mr. FOSTER. They become inoperative by the fact that at the end of the session of Parliament they will not be operative. I mean to say that we transferred to the free list most of the articles made free by Orders in Council.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant.) The hon. gentleman qualifies again by the word most.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Will the hon. gentleman submit to the House a list of the articles that he does not transfer to the free list, and the reason for not transferring them so that the House will know that there are certain articles which will still come in free under Orders in Council?

Mr. McMULLEN.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not say so. What I meant to say, if the hon. gentleman did not understand me, was that what we proposed to remain free should be put upon the free list.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant.) The hon. gentleman does not understand me, though I think I understand him. There are certain things made free by Orders in Council, and a certain number of these are to be transferred to the free list by these resolutions. In addition to those there are certain other articles made free by Orders in Council. Does he intend that they shall remain free, or does he intend to terminate the effect of those Orders in Council?

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman ought to be able to answer that for himself.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Everything will be taxed under this tariff, except what is specified to be free; and therefore anything that is not named in the free list will come in under duty.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Then, do I understand that the hon. Minister of Justice states, as the legal effect of this Act, when passed, that it terminates all Orders in Council?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes, terminates everything in the way of taxation or exemption excepting the orders that are reserved in force by these resolutions. There are, for instance, certain interpreting Orders in Council, but all that are not named here as being reserved, will lapse on the passage of these resolutions.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Do we understand distinctly that every Order in Council granting a remission of duties is terminated the moment this Act comes into force?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Unless it is reserved here.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I understood the First Minister to say that those reserved here were only interpreting orders. I am speaking of orders that grant a remission of duties. Are these now terminated?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. I think I can make this point clear. This Act, when passed, will make some articles dutiable and others non-dutiable there will be no others.

Mr. MARTIN. Under subsection "L," certain goods have been made free heretofore. Does this Act effect these in any way?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes; it repeals everything of the kind; but, by expressed words it continues in force the powers given to the Government in the Customs Act, and that is what we have been debating all the afternoon—whether those powers shall be continued in the future. But, as re-

gards the past, everything that has been done will lapse.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I do not understand the hon. gentleman's reasoning. He may be referring to clause 2. Certainly, the resolution now before us does not propose to repeal the existing Orders in Council.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The effect of subsection 22 is to continue the powers which were exercisable by the Governor in Council. But as we go on, the hon. gentleman will see that all the past is repealed, both as to the statutes imposing duties on customs, and as to Orders in Council.

Mr. MARTIN. The Minister says that as we go on we will see it all repealed. I see no clause in these resolutions that repeals any portion of the Customs Act with regard to free goods.

Mr. FOSTER. When the hon. gentleman, in the course of time, gets to the end of the free list, he will know what it means.

Mr. MARTIN. There are two ways of making a free list. There is the list made by Parliament, and that is the way it ought to be done, and there is another hon. gentlemen make in Council under a separate Act of Parliament. Now, because we happen to deal with the subject of free goods in one Act of Parliament, that does not affect the other Act.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. There are goods specified in relation to which there is a duty charged; there are goods free; and there are goods not elsewhere specified, which are taxed at a certain rate.

Mr. MARTIN. They are taxed under this Act, but under another Act they will be made free.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No.

Mr. LAURIER. The hon. gentleman stated this afternoon a hypothetical case with regard to silk. If silk, used in the manufacture of umbrellas had been put on the free list by Order in Council, and if this silk is taxed under the new tariff, what would be its position under the Order in Council?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The exemption would lapse, and it would be taxed as silk.

Mr. LAURIER. Then a new Order in Council would have to be passed.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes.

Mr. LAURIER. That may be, but we have doubts as to the authority under which this is done.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. That will be made perfectly clear as we progress.

On subsection 3,

That the whole or part of the duties hereby imposed upon fish and other products of the fisheries may be remitted as respects either the United

States or the Island of Newfoundland, or both, upon the proclamation of the Governor in Council, which may be issued whenever it appears to his satisfaction that the Governments of the United States and the Island of Newfoundland, or of either of them, have made changes in their tariffs of duties imposed upon articles imported from Canada in reduction or repeal of the duties in force in the said countries respectively.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Any alteration in this?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No change.

Subsection 4,

4. That whenever it appears to the satisfaction of the Governor in Council that the Governments of France and Spain, or either of them, have made changes in their tariff of duties imposed upon articles imported from Canada, in reduction or repeal of the duties now in force in the said countries, he may by proclamation, order the whole or part of the duty of thirty per centum ad valorem hereby imposed upon wines imported into Canada to be remitted as respects importations from the said countries, or from that one of the said countries by the Government of which such change in its tariff of duties has been made as aforesaid.

Mr. EDGAR. This, I think, is an exact copy of section 11 of the Consolidated Statutes as to France and Spain. So that the Government is proposing fresh legislation to the House to enable them to discriminate in favour of France and Spain, or either of them, against the whole world in the matter of wines imported into Canada. If I can make head or tail of anything in the English language, I think that that is the undoubted meaning of this clause. I am not at all finding fault, but I want it to be clearly understood where we stand. I would like to understand from the Government what they really mean by this clause. I do not think it can possibly be construed as proposing to put these wines either on the free list for the world, or at a reduced tariff for the world. My recollection of the standing offer of the United States is that in case they place certain articles of produce on the free list—in case they admitted them free from Canada—we shall place them on our free list. That is not discrimination. But here we say we shall, as respects those countries, or any of them, reduce the duties, or throw them off altogether, which is clear discrimination. I would like to understand that clause.

Mr. FOSTER. I think the hon. gentleman understands it pretty well. He has given a pretty good explanation of it himself.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Equal reciprocity and equal discrimination.

Mr. FOSTER. If he asks whether or not I agree with his interpretation, I may say that I do, in the main. It has been on the statutes for a number of years. The object of it was, of course, to use this, if possible,

as a leverage for bettering the trade relations with these two countries.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell.) Why not depend on the home industry?

Mr. FOSTER. As the article of wine is one in which both countries are specially interested, so far as its export is concerned, it is an offer of reciprocity, whereby we give them an advantage in the admission of those articles into this country provided they give us corresponding advantage in the entry into their market of articles we wish to export. So it may be said, that whilst it is to give an advantage to their exports of wine, it is primarily designed to give an advantage to the export of goods from Canada to these countries.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell.) That is discrimination.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman says it is discrimination. If he interprets discrimination as being a bargain between two countries whereby each gives an advantage to the other,—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. FOSTER. That may be discrimination in that respect. It is not, however, discrimination against any of the most favoured nation countries, because they would not be on the same plane with these.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That is a very doubtful point. The hon. gentleman has perhaps forgotten that that point has been discussed in this House more than once, and unless my memory is wholly at fault, the Minister of Justice himself delivered an opinion on that subject, which I concurred in, as I understood it, at any rate. It was to the effect that the most-favoured nation clause did not apply where reciprocity took place between two countries. Now, it appears to me, while I do not object to the clause, that it clearly and distinctly lays down the proposition that you may discriminate, and discriminate to any extent, in the case of reciprocity.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell.) It seems to me that this section does not admit quite of the construction put upon it by the Minister of Finance. All it says is that:

On subsection 4.—

That whenever it appears to the satisfaction of the Governor in Council that the Governments of France and Spain, or either of them, have made changes in their tariff of duties imposed upon articles imported from Canada, in reduction or repeal of the duties now in force in the said countries, he may by a proclamation order the whole or part of the duty, and so on.

Now, the hon. gentleman proposes that we shall take off specifically the duties on wines imported from other countries. That will be discrimination on our part against any other country that would undertake to export to Canada, and it would be a discrim-

Mr. FOSTER.

ination, according to the arguments we have heard, against the grape growers and wine growers of Canada. The hon. gentleman does not take that class into consideration at all. Under this proposition the hon. gentleman will be equally bound, though this reduction is not a reduction in favour of Canada simply, but a reduction applying to all Christendom. The hon. gentleman does not specify any particular article. It might be fish, and fish only; it might be flour. It might be one article or two or three upon which the reduction would take place, and the reduction might give to the people of Canada no advantage whatever. I think that the hon. gentleman, before he insists upon a clause of this sort being put in the Customs Act, ought to be able to point out to the House what particular articles he is seeking to have introduced into the markets of France and of Spain, and to which this particular section is to apply. We are left wholly in the dark with regard to this. If I remember rightly when this matter was dealt with by the House before, there was nothing said on the subject. We did undertake to petition the Imperial Government to take Canada out from under the provisions of the most favoured nation clause. We did that on the very last day of a particular session. I think my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition and myself were here, also the hon. member for North Oxford (Mr. Sutherland), and, so far as I recollect, no other representatives of the Opposition were present at that time. I think the House is entitled to know from the Minister of Finance, as he has considered the subject, what he has in his mind with regard to it; what he expects or desires that Canada should export to Spain or to France. Up to this moment, we have no information on the subject. Why should we go on to declare that we are going to do a certain thing upon the happenings of a certain contingency, and at the same time not know as a Parliament what that particular thing is? The hon. gentleman proposes to accomplish something; he has in his mind something at which he aims by this amendment. But what he has in view when he proposes this section is something of which this House has no information. Surely this House is not going to legislate in that sort of fashion. We ought to know what the hon. gentleman's proposition is. When we know what he is proposing, his friends sitting around him will have an opportunity of saying whether they concur in his judgment. He has not given them that opportunity as yet. And he is not giving the Opposition an opportunity to concur with him. That would be a matter of great delight to members on this side, for it would be a novel sensation, should the hon. gentleman introduce a measure in which we can concur.

Mr. LAURIER. I do not see the use of this section, so far as France is concerned,

as we have a treaty with France about to be ratified. I see that the clause so far as Spain is concerned is useful and right. But I do not see the object of keeping it so far as France is concerned. There need be no standing offer, since the standing offer whatever it was has been accepted by both countries.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The hon. gentleman will see that, while we propose to ratify the French Treaty, as was announced in the House a little while ago, and while it is true that, if that treaty is ratified there is no object in maintaining the statutory offer, still the treaty is to be ratified by the two parties. I suppose action will not be taken in the French Chamber until action has been taken here. The statutory offer will become obsolete if the treaty is ratified by both countries.

Mr. LAURIER. Am I to understand that the hon. gentleman expects the treaty will not be ratified?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No; but the statutory offer should remain, in case it should not be superseded by the ratification of the treaty.

Mr. LAURIER. Precaution upon precaution.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). While the hon. gentleman mentions the specific article to be imported, he does not mention what Canada is to get.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Before we act we will see what these countries are prepared to give.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). But, before the offer can have any reason, the hon. gentleman must have in his mind the object of wishing to find a market either in France or Spain for something we desire to sell. What are these things for which the hon. gentleman expects to find a favourable market in either of these countries? There is not a thing said here as to what Canada expects to sell and upon what France or Spain is to deal favourably with in her laws of taxation.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Whatever we may be able to export to these countries at the time the offer may be accepted or the negotiations take place in pursuance of the offer.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I am afraid I have not made myself understood. The House of Commons is the original party on our side of this transaction. Now, the hon. gentleman asks the House of Commons to delegate to the Government certain power for a purpose, and yet he declines to tell the House what that purpose is. He has left the House in the dark on that subject. Surely the House itself could not act in this way, unless it knew what advantage France or Spain was bestowing, and not a

single article is mentioned here. When we made the standing offer to the United States, which stood on our statute-book for years, we mentioned specifically certain articles. Nothing is mentioned here that we are to sell, and only one thing mentioned that we are to receive.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. We specify the article to be received, because it is a principal article of export of these countries. It is true, as the hon. gentleman says, that we are asking the House to delegate certain powers to the Government, but these powers are simply to negotiate. It would be a lamentable result, after passing such a clause as this, if, for the omission of a certain article, our powers were nullified.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). This is not power to negotiate, but power to proclaim a certain condition of things to be the law.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I fear the quantity of articles we are able to export under the provisions of the minimum tariff will form so insignificant an addition to what we now export that the matter need not trouble the House or the Government very much. After the statement made by the hon. gentleman, I begin to entertain doubts whether the French Treaty is likely to be consummated by the French Chamber. I am sorry that the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, who is presumably better informed on these matters, is not here to give us some explanations.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) It strikes me as extraordinary, after having agreed to a commercial treaty between the two countries, and it having been signed by the plenipotentiaries, and the Minister having declared his intention of asking the House to ratify it, that instead of bringing in a measure to ratify the treaty and so conclude our commercial relations with France, he should bring in a clause which supposes that the treaty will not be carried into operation at all. What would be the effect in any person's mind outside, of reading the legislation now proposed? They will say: Why, the plenipotentiaries representing Canada have agreed upon a treaty, the French representatives have agreed to that treaty, and the Prime Minister has stated it is his intention to carry it out; that treaty covers the whole commercial relations between the two countries, but instead of proposing legislation having the object of carrying out that treaty, he proposes legislation in the directly opposite direction, and based upon a supposition of a state of facts exactly opposite of what he tells us does exist. Surely the hon. gentleman is not serious in saying he is going to carry out the treaty, when at the same time he asks us to enact a clause relating to a state of facts utterly inconsistent with the existence of the treaty.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The hon. gentleman seems to think the two things are con-

tradictory because they present an alternative. Now, we propose that Parliament shall ratify the treaty, we will bring forward legislation with that view, and in case Parliament should not adopt it, or that the treaty should not be ratified on the other side, we propose to continue a standing offer, which is not now adopted for the first time, and therefore does not present an inconsistency with the French treaty. It has been on the statute-book something like twenty years, and will present an alternative if, by any mischance, the present negotiations should not be ratified.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Would it not be more consistent with our dignity if the hon. gentleman acted upon the assumption that the act of his plenipotentiaries will be carried out, he having pledged himself to that effect, and not act upon an exactly contrary assumption?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It would if this were a new clause.

On subsection 8,

That on imported Indian corn, to be kiln-dried and ground into meal for human food, or ground into meal and kiln-dried for such use, under such regulations as are made by the Governor in Council, there may be allowed a drawback of ninety per cent of the duty paid.

Mr. CHARLTON. I have spoken briefly in reference to this matter in connection with the general question of Orders in Council. I am unable to see why, a regulation having been adopted that would permit the introduction of so large a quantity of corn as 576,000 bushels, that regulation should not be further extended so to give to feeders of stock the advantages of cheaper food, as well as to human beings who use corn for food. Of course my hon. friend is well aware that corn is the cheapest of all grains for fattening purposes, for feeding either cattle or swine. The western producers of corn and pork have a decided advantage over Canadian producers for the reason that they grow corn at so cheap a rate. While the duty upon corn may perhaps be held to confer some benefit upon the belt of counties along Lake Erie which produce corn in considerable quantity, my own experience as a resident of one of those counties enables me to say without hesitation that the corn duty has probably conferred no benefit upon the corn growers of that region. There is only a small surplus raised for export, if any surplus at all, in those counties, and the duty in so far as it is intended to serve as a protection to the corn growing interest in those counties, is practically of no consequence, and produces no practical results. That being the case, there being no interest to be benefited by the duty, and so large an interest being engaged in fattening of beef and of swine that would be benefited by cheapening the cost of this grain, it strikes me that, even in the light of the interest of

Sir JOHN THOMPSON.

the farmers of this country, the imposition of the duty is not a desirable line of policy. The effect of introducing corn into Canada is not to cheapen other coarse grains, it is to enable the farmer to displace a given amount of barley, or a given amount of oats or pease, to sell these at a relatively higher price, and replace them with corn bought at a lower price; and in the mere matter of exchange between corn and the other grains, a large profit is realized. But if he has no grain to sell and has to buy corn to feed, of course the duty is a serious burden. I was making a calculation in 1880 when the question of the duty upon corn was under consideration in the House, and speaking from memory, my estimate was that if corn had been admitted that year free of duty the profit to the Canadian farmer in the exchange of 56 pounds of oats at market rates for 56 pounds of corn at importation cost would be 20 cents, if of 56 pounds of barley, 38 cents, if of 56 pounds of rye, 30 cents, and of 56 pounds of peas for 56 pounds of corn, 20 cents. That is the practical result to a greater or less extent of importing American corn into Canada and releasing a corresponding quantity of other coarse grains, so far as the farmer is concerned. If he has coarse grain to sell, if he can sell his oats at 34 cents, peas at 60 cents, and buy corn at 50 cents, and a given number of pounds of corn cost less than a given number of pounds of peas or of oats, I do not think that the retention of the duty upon corn is a wise policy for the Government to pursue. I speak from the farmers' standpoint, and I speak as a representative of a riding that belongs to the corn belt. I think my constituents who raise corn in large quantities, care nothing for this duty, and do not feel they are benefited by it. I know that the farmers further north where corn is not raised, feel that the burden placed upon them by the imposition of the duties on corn, is a serious one, that it places them at a disadvantage for fattening cattle for the English market, and in fattening swine. I seriously question whether this arrangement had not better be changed by the issuing, not of an Order in Council, but a mandate of this House that corn imported into Canada shall be free, whether it is kiln-dried, or intended for human food, or for any other purpose.

Mr. McMULLEN. There is an important point in connection with the question raised by the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). I know a person who is largely engaged in the milling business, and also is an exporter of coarse grain, and he went to the Maritime Provinces for the purpose of seeking an outlet for those coarse grains, and found when he got there that the corn that is imported there, presumably to be ground into human food, is largely used for feeding cattle. When we come to realize the fact, from the answer given by the Minister of Customs,

that 67,676 bushels of corn are ground for human food, on which a rebate is allowed of 90 per cent of duty, and that, in addition, there is a large quantity of cornmeal shipped into the Maritime Provinces, we must come to the conclusion that an enormous quantity of corn is consumed there. I am satisfied, however, that it is not all used for human food. If this injustice has been done under the operation of the present statute, the Government should amend it and make it more stringent. From its wording it appears stringent, but I am certain its terms are evaded. I have a letter under my hand from a person cognizant of the fact, who states that at some mills a steam-pipe or two are run through the corn bin, and the corn was then pretended to be dried, and it was ground and sold for human food. But really it was sold to feed cattle and hogs. If that evasion of the law prevails to any great extent, the Act should be amended to meet such cases. The hon. member for Elgin (Mr. Ingram) stated that he had a great deal of difficulty in obtaining a rebate for a mill entitled to a rebate to the extent of 90 per cent on corn ground for human food. No doubt, the Government are very anxious to make an impression on the people of that district where they grow corn, for they are, of course, anxious to have the law very strictly applied so as to be protected against corn coming in from elsewhere and being ground for animal food. If the hon. gentleman will visit the Maritime Provinces, I assure him, on undoubted authority, that he will find a very different condition of affairs, that the law is to a very large extent set aside, and that a very large quantity of the corn imported is used for feeding cattle and comes into direct competition with coarse grains from the western portion of the Dominion. The object of the National Policy was supposed to be to keep Canada for the Canadians, but, when it suits hon. gentlemen opposite to adopt some other policy, they do not hesitate to desert it. I would advise the Minister of Customs to look closely into the application of the law in the Maritime Provinces, and, if he does so, he will find the result I have indicated.

Mr. WALLACE. I have looked into the question very thoroughly. The Department sent one of its most efficient officers there, and he investigated the whole matter. There was only one small irregularity discovered, and it appeared that the corn millers in the Maritime Provinces were complying with the law. The statements made by several hon. gentlemen, that kiln-drying is only a farce, is not correct, as the departmental investigation shows. It was evident that the millers in the Maritime Provinces are acting in accordance with the law and are complying with it in every respect, except, as I say, in one slight instance, which involved a small penalty.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). How can the Government tell what is done with the corn after it is ground?

Mr. WALLACE. They cannot, of course, follow it all over, but we can do what the law requires, obtain the affidavits of the corn miller. That is obtained in every case.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Is an affidavit from the purchaser taken as to the use to which he will put the corn?

Mr. CHRISTIE. I am confident that it would greatly benefit the farmers in my section, if corn was put on the free list. Farmers use corn very largely for feeding and fattening purposes, and it is also used by milkmen. Many of the farmers send their milk to the city, and they find corn is the best food they can use. At a public meeting held in my county the farmers unanimously resolved that it would be in their interest to have corn put on the free list, and they asked me to do what little I could to bring about that result.

Mr. McMILLAN. I have always been in favour of free corn, and it is a question which I have looked into very carefully. It has always been argued that, if corn came in free, it would injure the farmers in the sale of their coarse grain, but, from all investigation made, and even from a report laid before the House to show the beneficial effects of the National Policy on agricultural interests, I am convinced that the farmers in no part of the country would suffer if corn was allowed to come in free. The farmers are now compelled in a great measure to change the system of farming, to abandon the raising of crops for export, and I consider it is the duty of the Government to give them every advantage possible, and I know of no greater advantage that could be conferred both on dairymen and those who feed cattle and hogs, than to admit corn free. It has been stated by the hon. member from North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), that we can sell our coarse grains and obtain a larger quantity of food for the same money. I was present a year ago when a delegation from western Canada, I think from the Patrons of Industry, interviewed the Government and when the First Minister asked the question whether it was considered desirable to admit corn free, if the United States would not admit our barley free, the answer was at once given: Let us have free corn, whether the United States admit our barley or not. I am convinced, from what I know of agriculture, and I have made it the study of my life, that free corn is one of the benefits that the Government should confer on the farmers of the Dominion.

Mr. MCGREGOR. I belong to a corn county, and I, too, say, give us free corn; but there should be certain conditions attached to the concession. When our farmers cross the river, they meet with a duty of \$4 per

ton on hay, also a very high tariff on barley and other products, and, while we in Essex county can grow thousands of bushels of corn, and can grow it with greater advantage than any county in Canada, yet we feel that it would be unfair to our farmers to allow the Americans to come over with their cheap corn and enter it in competition against our corn. We want an exchange of products and are prepared to make an exchange, nothing more and nothing less. We want free trade as nearly as possible. We feel satisfied that, if we allow the American corn to come in, we will get over with our hay, barley and oats and other grains and products we raise. We are prepared to exchange on a free trade basis. Let the Americans come over here, and we will go over there.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I simply desire to say a word or two as to the grinding of corn, as I have had a good deal of experience in the business, and I understand the process. As regards the millers of Ontario—and I am not now interested in the business, but I was engaged in it for a number of years—I know that in kiln-drying corn for human food they comply with the law in every respect. I do not believe any of the cornmeal made in Ontario and sent to the Maritime Provinces is used for anything else than human food, because the expense of manufacturing it and the manner in which it is prepared makes the meal too expensive to use for anything else than human food. At the same time I do not know how well that law is complied with down in the Maritime Provinces. I only wish to speak for the millers in Ontario and I can assure the Controller of Customs that they are honest men and comply with the law.

Mr. INGRAM. Mr. Chairman, as you have heard from Essex and Kent and also from Elgin, I might say on behalf of my county, that I am opposed to taking the duty off corn, the same as are the hon. members from Essex (Mr. McGregor) and Kent (Mr. Campbell). I understand that my hon. friend from North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) is in favour of taking the duty off corn, while the representative of the next county to his is opposed to it. I think the majority of the counties in the west where corn is grown are in favour of retaining the duty, and how the hon. gentleman (Mr. Charlton) is against it, I cannot understand.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I am like my hon. friends. I am a property holder in a corn district, and my impression is as it has always been: That free corn would be—I do not say a special advantage to the particular district in which it is grown—but it would be a very great advantage, I have no doubt whatever, in the feeding of stock all over the country. I looked into this question some years ago, and I am satisfied that the farmers who live in districts where pease are

Mr. MCGREGOR.

grown could sell their pea crop for very much more than the corn and so they would have upon the sale of their pea crop and the purchase of corn for fattening purposes a very substantial gain. I think the experience of every farmer in the corn-growing district is that it does not pay to raise corn for sale on the market. I have no doubt whatever that the farmers, whom my friends from South Essex (Mr. Allan) and North Essex (Mr. McGregor), represent who sell their corn to Hiram Walker & Sons, are getting a better price in consequence of the tax that is upon corn than they otherwise would get, and so far they are substantial gainers. But every bushel of corn that is fed to the cattle of Essex or Kent or Elgin, is not in any way affected by the duty that the Government put on corn. If you could put a tax on corn that would raise the price of it, say 25 cents a bushel, so that it would be more profitable to the farmer for the moment to sell his corn for cash than to convert it into beef or pork, why, you would put an end to the industry of the production of beef and pork, because the exchange of corn for cash would be more profitable. But in the case of all the corn that is converted into animal flesh for the purpose of human food, no tax that the Government could impose would increase its fattening properties in the smallest degree, and therefore cannot add a mill to the value of the corn that is so used. It can only be for corn put upon the market, and every farmer who is conducting his farm upon scientific principles, and with a view of making the most of his opportunities, will certainly not put his corn on the market to sell it as such; he will convert it into pork and beef and in that form sell it. There is no doubt whatever, as to what my hon. friend from North Essex (Mr. McGregor) says: That the duty on corn might furnish a lever to the Government in case they were negotiating with the United States and they could say: If you will take the duty off barley we will take the duty off corn; but my impression is Mr. Chairman, that the reduction of the American duties, or changes in the American tariff, will never be brought about in that way. The Government in 1878 told the people of this country, that it was in this manner that it would bring Congress to its knees and force Congress to give to the people of this country a reciprocity treaty. Fifteen years have gone by and that resolution has accomplished nothing. If we had retained our revenue tariff; if we could have shown the American people that we could prosper under a low system of taxation in spite of all the impediments they put in our way; we would have done more to break down the delusive and illusive theory which they have adopted, and which hon. gentlemen opposite have copied, than could have been done in any other way. There is no way in my opinion in which we would do so much to promote commerce on this continent, and a healthy competitive indus-

try among our population, as by throwing each man on his own resources, and by showing to our neighbours across the border that it is possible to prosper under a free system, no matter what impediments may be offered.

On subsection 9,

That any person who, without lawful excuse, the proof of which shall be on the person accused, sends or brings into Canada, or who, being in Canada, has in his possession, any bill-heading or other paper appearing to be a heading or blank capable of being filled up and used as an invoice, and bearing any certificate purporting to show, or which may be used to show, that the invoice which may be made from such bill-heading or blank is correct or authentic, is guilty of a misdemeanour and liable to a penalty of five hundred dollars, and to imprisonment for a term not exceeding twelve months, in the discretion of the court, and the goods entered under any invoice made from any such bill-heading or blank shall be forfeited.

Mr. MARTIN. I would ask the Minister of Justice if this change is found in the Criminal Code?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No.

Mr. MARTIN. I would suggest to the Minister that it should also be there. The system is often adopted of having the same clause in different statutes. The hon. Minister has prepared a criminal code which is supposed popularly to contain all the criminal law of Canada, and I would suggest that it would be very advisable that it should really contain all the law. This, of course, is a serious crime, and it is intended to be dealt with as such, and a lawyer looking to see if such a crime existed in the statutes would naturally look to the Criminal Code, and not finding it there he might easily be led astray. I would suggest to the hon. gentleman the advisability of including it in the code.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I will look at that, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) No one would ever suppose that a clause of this kind would be found in this Act. It seems to me that it is entirely out of place, and that it is more applicable to the Customs Act than to an Act regulating the duties of Customs.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Nearly all the sections we have been passing belong really to the Customs Act.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Yes, and this one more particularly than the others.

On subsection 10,

That the export of deer, wild turkeys, quail, partridge, prairie fowl and woodcock in the carcase or parts thereof, is hereby declared unlawful and prohibited; and any person exporting or attempting to export any such article shall for each such offence, incur a penalty of one hundred dollars, and the article so attempted to be exported shall be forfeited, and may, on reasonable cause of suspicion of intention to export the same, be seized by any officer of the Customs, and, if such inten-

tion is proved, shall be dealt with as for breach of the Customs laws; Provided, that this section shall not apply to the export, under such regulations as are made by the Governor in Council, of any carcase or part thereof of any deer raised or bred by any person, company or association of persons upon his or their own lands.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Why put in these words. "under such regulations as are made by the Governor in Council"?

Mr. FOSTER. There must be some regulation.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It is only to guard against abuse.

On subsection 11.

That regulations respecting the manner in which molasses and syrups shall be sampled and tested for the purpose of determining the classes to which they belong with reference to the duty chargeable thereon shall be made by the Controller of Customs; and the instruments and appliances necessary for such determination shall be designated by him and supplied to such officers as are by him charged with the duty of sampling and testing such molasses and syrups; and the decision of any officer (to whom is so assigned the testing of such articles) as to the duties to which they are subject under the tariff shall be final and conclusive, unless upon appeal to the Commissioner of Customs within thirty days of the rendering of such decision, such decision is, with the approval of the Controller, changed; and the decision of the Commissioner with such approval shall be final.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Do you want that power under the new Act?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). These regulations ought to be made and submitted to us. While you are authorized or required to publish the Orders in Council, you are not required to publish the regulations. How are we to know what the laws are?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. We will include that in the amendment.

Mr. WALLACE. The regulations or rulings of the Department of Customs are always printed and sent to every collector.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The public ought to know.

Mr. WALLACE. We furnish them also to every Board of Trade.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). That is not enough. They should be as widely known as the statutes themselves, where the regulations are to be the law of procedure, as they are here.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Under the new regulations, syrups are to be of a uniform price. Where would the testing come in? Where is the necessity for power to test syrups? How do you test now as between what you would pronounce molasses, and syrup? Syrups of all kinds are here mentioned. It does not matter what tests you apply to them as long as they are syrups.

but you are taking power here to test syrup as well as molasses. Of course, as to molasses, you describe that the test shall be by polariscope.

Mr. WALLACE. It applies to molasses more than to syrup. It is not needed for syrup.

2. Resolved, That it is expedient to cancel all Orders in Council and all departmental regulations contrary to or inconsistent with any of the provisions of the foregoing resolution or of the schedule thereto.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Would it not be better to make that read, "all Orders in Council and all departmental regulations under subsection" so-and-so of the Customs Act, because it does not follow that Orders in Council are necessarily inconsistent. There may be some difficulty in saying whether they are inconsistent or not; we want to put the matter at rest. You might say all Orders in Council, or all regulations made pursuant to the Customs Act, or any section of the Act, stating what section they are made under.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. We will come back to that resolution.

Mr. LANDERKIN. Would that repeal the Order in Council that the leader of the Opposition read this afternoon, such as the one referring to the Welland Vale establishment?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes.

Committee rose and reported progress.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 10.15 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, 16th April, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

REPRESENTATION OF GLOUCESTER.

Mr. SPEAKER. I have the honour to inform the House that I have received a notification of a vacancy having occurred in the representation of the Electoral District of Gloucester, N.B., by the appointment of Kennedy F. Burns, Esquire, to the Senate of the Dominion of Canada. In conformity with chapter 13, section 8, of the Revised Statutes, I have issued my warrant to the

Mr. PATERSON (Brant).

Clerk of the Crown in Chancery to make out a new writ of election for the said electoral district.

N. W. T. ACT AMENDMENT.

Mr. DAVIN moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 86) further to amend the Act respecting the North-west Territories.

Mr. LAURIER. Explain.

Mr. DAVIN. The first clause of the Bill provides that the judge who has tried a case shall not sit in banco when the appeal is discussed. The second clause repeals sections 59 and 60, and the object is to get rid of the doubt as to the power of the court to fix the fees of registrars, sheriffs, counsel, and others. The third section repeals section 64, and substitutes a clause identical with it, but with an addition providing a form of oath for magistrates to take. There is no form of oath provided at present by statute.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

IN COMMITTEE—THIRD READINGS.

Bill (No. 20) respecting the Wood Mountain and Qu'Appelle Railway Company.—(Mr. McDonald, East Assiniboia.)

Bill (No. 25) respecting the Canada and Michigan Tunnel Company.—(Mr. Montague.)

Bill (No. 29) to again revive and further amend the Act to incorporate the Lindsay, Bobcaygeon and Pontypool Railway Company.—(Mr. Fairbairn.)

NEWFOUNDLAND FISHING LICENSES.

Mr. KAULBACH asked, Has the Government received any information regarding the suits instituted through the Department of Justice to recover the license fees exacted by the Government of Newfoundland from Canadian fishermen during the seasons of 1890-91? If so, and favourable, when may the fishermen expect their claims to be settled?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. A test suit was entered at the instance of the Dominion Government on behalf of the fishermen to recover the license fees exacted by the Government of Newfoundland from Canadian fishermen during one of the seasons mentioned, and the right of the plaintiff to recover was upheld by the decision of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland. Under these circumstances it is expected that the claims of the fishermen will be settled without much further delay.

Mr. KAULBACH asked, Has the Government requested the fishermen of the Maritime Provinces, through the Customs officials of their respective ports, to file their claims for refund of the license fee exacted

from them by the Newfoundland Government during the seasons of 1890-91 ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. That request was made some time ago.

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF LUNENBURG COUNTY.

Mr. KAULBACH asked, Is it the intention of the Government to authorize a geological survey of the county of Lunenburg, N.S., during the coming season, recent prospecting having given evidence of the existence of coal and iron deposits ?

Mr. DALY. There are no coal deposits in Lunenburg County. There may be some of iron ore. The Government survey has been in progress for some years in the southwestern counties of Nova Scotia, and it is proposed to continue the survey next year into Lunenburg County. Partial examinations over the greater part of the county have already been made in previous years by Dr. Selwyn and other members of the survey.

FISH EXPORTS TO CUBA AND PORTO RICO.

Mr. KAULBACH asked, Is the Government aware that, owing to the operation of the Norway-Spanish Treaty which came into effect the first of this year, Canadian exporters of fish are being placed at a serious disadvantage in the markets of Cuba and Porto Rico ? Is it the intention of the Government to make further treaty arrangements with Spain which will retain those markets to Canadian fishermen ? Failing this, is it the intention of the Government to allow an export bounty on all fish shipped to these islands sufficient to enable them to retain the market ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The subject of negotiations with regard to arrangements in view of the conditions of those markets is under consideration.

MONTREAL STREET LETTER BOX CONTRACT.

Mr. McMULLEN asked, Does Patrick Kennedy, member of the Legislative Assembly of the province of Quebec, hold a contract from the Dominion Government for the collection of mail matter from the letter boxes, Montreal ? When was the contract entered into ? Were tenders asked ? Was his the lowest tender ? Has the contract been awarded the lowest tenderer ? If so, at what price, and what is the annual amount paid him for the services performed ?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. The contractor for the street-letter box service in Montreal is Patrick Kennedy, master carter. The contract was entered into on the 1st of September, 1891. Tenders were not asked as Mr. Kennedy's previous contract was renewed

for a further term. The amount paid last year for this service was \$4,658.14.

FITZROY-GALETTA MAIL SERVICE.

Mr. McMULLEN asked, Whether a contract has been entered into for carrying the mails from Fitzroy to Galetta ? Were tenders asked for by advertisement ? How many tenders were sent in ? The name and amount asked by each tenderer ? Which of the tenders was accepted ? If the lowest was not accepted, why not ?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. A contract has been made for the service between Fitzroy and Galetta. Tenders were invited by advertisement. Three tenders were received : H. Kedey, \$148 ; J. McMillan, \$150 ; and W. A. Sheriff, \$160. The lowest tender was that of Mr. Kedey.

Mr. McMULLEN. Was it accepted ?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Certainly.

Mr. W. H. CLUFF.

Mr. DEVLIN (for Mr. Campbell) asked, Has Mr. W. H. Cluff, alderman of the city of Ottawa, ever been employed at the post office in Ottawa ? If so, when was he appointed, and has he been dismissed ? If so, for what reason was he dismissed ?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Mr. Cluff was in the private service of the postmaster of Ottawa for many years, and remained in the service of the department when the Ottawa post office was made a city or staff office on the 1st of July, 1867. Mr. Cluff resigned on the 19th of November, 1869.

MONTREAL DRILL HALL.

Mr. ROBILLARD (for Mr. Lépine) asked, Whether it is the intention of the Government to cause the drill hall at Montreal to be paved this year ?

Mr. PATTERSON (Huron). The matter is under consideration, and will be dealt with when the Supplementary Estimates are brought down.

RETURNS ORDERED.

1. Copy of Order in Council appointing Théophile Sabourin fishery overseer for the Division of the Lake of Two Mountains and Isle Perrot ; 2. Of the Order in Council appointing Julien Monpetit fishery overseer for the same division ; 3. Of all instructions and orders issued by the Fisheries Department to the said overseers. 4. Of the reports of the two said overseers for the years 1891, 1892.—(Mr. Harwood.)

Copies of report of engineer who inspected Rives aux Roseaux, River aux Rats and River La Seine, in the Electoral District of Provencher.—(Mr. LaRivière.)

Return showing the amount of money that has been paid out of the funds of the Six Nation Indians for the payment of debts incurred by individual members thereof since the year 1886, and giving (1st) The names of the several persons who incurred the debts with the separate amounts, the date or dates when incurred, and the proportion thereof that has been paid; (2nd) The names of the creditors to whom the payments were made, the dates when paid, with the total sum paid to each of such creditors; and stating in each case the authority given for incurring the debt, the authority for payment of the same, and whether such amounts have been repaid to the fund in whole or in part out of the annuities of the individuals on whose account the payments were made, and whether such was the condition on which such payments were authorized.—(Mr. Paterson, Brant.)

Copies of all Orders in Council in force in Canada (provinces of Lower Canada and Upper Canada) in 1858, concerning any drawback or bounty with respect to the building of Canadian ships, barques and other vessels; and also all Orders in Council amending the same, or concerning the same from 1858 up to the beginning of the Confederation.—(Mr. Amyot.)

Return showing: 1. The names of all officials employed in connection with the Canadian exhibit at the Columbian Exposition held in Chicago last year, together with the salary paid to each and the term of service of each in connection with the said exhibit, and the province to which each of said officials or employees belonged. 2. The total sum paid to officials and employees in connection with the Canadian exhibit at the Columbian Exposition. 3. The total amount of travelling expenses allowed to officials and employees connected with the Canadian exhibit. 4. The cost of buildings erected for and in connection with the Canadian exhibit. 5. Amount of incidental expenses and cost of maintenance of the Canadian department of the Columbian Exposition not included in the above divisions or items. 6. The total cost incurred in connection with the Canadian exhibit at the Columbian Exposition.—(Mr. Charlton.)

Copies of all Orders in Council, departmental orders or other authority by which drawbacks or rebates or specific sums in lieu thereof, have been granted under subsection M, section 245 of the Customs Act.—(Mr. Casey.)

Copies of all advertisements inviting tenders for the construction of sections 1 and 2 of the Soulanges Canal; also copies of specifications connected with said work, copies of extensions of said specifications and tenders with estimated quantities and work to be done according to engineer's estimate; also, copies of all tenders, copies of contracts let, of correspondence which took place between the contractors tendering for this work and the contractor to whom the contracts were awarded and the Department of Railways and Canals in the matter, copies of all reports of engineers since the letting of the contract.—(Mr. Tarte.)

• Return of the receipts and expenditures to dates of 10th April, 1894, and 10th April, 1893.—(Sir Richard Cartwright.)

Mr. PATTERSON (Huron).

HALF-BREED LAND GRANTS IN MANITOBA.

Mr. MARTIN moved for:

Return showing all lands allotted to half-breeds in Manitoba for which patents have not been issued, giving along with a description of the land, the name of the allottee and the reasons why the patent has not been issued.

He said: Mr. Speaker, when this motion came up before, the First Minister stated that the return asked for would cost some thousands of dollars to prepare. I think the hon. Minister's information with regard to that point is entirely astray; I cannot see how the return can possibly cost more than perhaps ten or twelve dollars. Of course, I do not know where the hon. gentleman got his information on the subject, but, presumably, he got it from the hon. Minister of the Interior. If the Minister of the Interior states that the return asked for in this motion would cost thousands of dollars, or a thousand dollars, or even a hundred dollars, I must say the hon. Minister can know very little about the department over which he presides. The object of the motion, I may say, is to get information as to the land undisposed of which was granted by Act of Parliament to the half-breeds of the province of Manitoba. The House will remember that when Manitoba came into Confederation, the half-breeds of that province were unsettled. There had previously been a great deal of trouble among them which had come among the French half-breeds, at least, to the point of incipient rebellion. The half-breeds were settled with on the basis of a grant of land. A commission was appointed which investigated and judged individually the claims of individuals to the grant. Each half-breed was entitled to 240 acres of land. The commission sat, claims were disposed of, and the land allotted. Over twenty years have elapsed since then, Mr. Speaker, and, naturally, in the course of time, the bulk of this land has been patented, either to the allottees or their assignees. There is, however, a very considerable portion of the land which has never been disposed of under these half-breed grants. It is mainly for the purpose of getting information with regard to the quantity of this land remaining undisposed of that I move this motion. Another object is to bring to the attention of the House the conduct of the Department of the Interior in connection with these grants. I may say, at the outset, that it is patent to every one who has anything to do with this matter, that the granting of this large tract of land to these half-breeds was a very great error of judgment on the part of the Dominion. However, that is past, and gone, and there is no particular object in discussing it now. What any one who is at all conversant with the circumstances might have known would come to pass, has come

to pass in this case. Instead of this land being an advantage to the half-breeds and of being made a home for them, in almost every case the only advantage of the grant has been derived by speculators who purchased the land, or the right to the land, from the half-breeds, these purchases having been made for very small sums of money. I fancy there is scarcely a case in which the half-breed or his family are actually resident on the land that was granted to him, presumably for that purpose. However, the object I had more particularly in mind in bringing the matter before this House, is this: There is a considerable quantity of this land which is undisposed of, and lying unused, to the great disadvantage of the province at large, and to the advantage of no one in particular; and I claim that, for this state of affairs, the administration of this land grant by the Department of the Interior is entirely to blame. It was provided by statute of Manitoba that these lands could not be taxed until the half-breeds had attained the age of eighteen years. But, of course, as the date at which the half-breeds were entitled to land was the 15th of July, 1870, since which time almost twenty-four years have elapsed, all those who were entitled to participate in this grant, have passed the age of eighteen years, and therefore, for the past five or six years, all the land has been subject to taxation. I am sure, Mr. Speaker, that a very considerable portion of these lands are of no great value. Especially by reason of the depression that now exists and has existed for several years in the value of all kinds of lands in the province of Manitoba, it has naturally happened that very many of these parcels have been sold for taxes. Now, it is certainly not a proper course for the Department of the Interior or for the Dominion Parliament, or its executors to work in such a way as to hamper the provincial authorities in the administration of any law that they may properly pass for provincial purposes. And it is assumed by the legislation of all the provinces of Canada that it is necessary, in order to protect the municipalities in the collection of taxes levied by them to provide that lands may be sold for taxes; and, that, as I say, has been done with regard to a number of these parcels of half-breed lands. Now, Mr. Speaker, the Department of the Interior takes this stand—they say they will not recognize a tax-sale deed. I may say that they are not asked to recognize a tax-sale deed, but what they are asked to do, and what they are expected to do in connection with these grants is to deal with the matter and dispose of it so far as they are concerned. As it is now, the fee still remaining in the Dominion Government, although the right to the land has passed away from the Dominion Government and is vested in the person to whom each parcel has been located, the fact that the Department of the Interior refuses to issue the patent to any person what-

ever, keeps the title in a state in which it cannot be dealt with. I say that is very detrimental to the interest of the province at large, it prevents the municipalities from collecting their taxes from those lands, it prevents them from being occupied by settlers, and they lie there a waste tract. I ask the Minister of the Interior to explain to this House what advantage it is to Canada to decline to deal with this subject, what advantage it is to the Dominion of Canada to say: We refuse to deal with these matters, we refuse to issue patents to these lands. I may say that in some instances the department claims that the patentee is dead, that they do not know anything about his whereabouts. Well, if the department has information that the half-breed is dead, it is a very simple thing indeed to issue the patent to the legal representative of the half-breed, as has been done in hundreds of cases already. I think, in 1876, in the time of the Mackenzie Government, an Order in Council was passed with regard to these lands with the object of preventing speculation in the land. That Order in Council provided that a patent was not to be issued to the assignee, but that the patent was to be issued to the original half-breed. The Department of Interior have interpreted that Order in Council to extend very much further than it was ever intended to go, or than its terms will bear. They have held that they will refuse to issue a patent to a half-breed unless they get a request from that half-breed for the issue of the patent. Well, the House can easily see that where the half-breed has disposed of his land, he will not make any request to the department for the issue of the patent unless he is paid again for that request. That is the very natural position that the half-breed has taken with regard to this matter, and thus the action of the department has had the effect of creating a great deal of annoyance to those persons who have paid for the land, who have purchased from the half-breeds, for, generally speaking, the transfers have been very numerous, perhaps eight or ten, the last purchaser having had no knowledge as to the original dealings with the half-breed, and being simply dependent upon the chain of title as it existed in the registry office. But after having paid his money, and done everything that his legal adviser would suggest, when he desires to perfect his title and is ready to take possession of the land and settle upon it, he finds himself blocked by the action of the department, who take the stand that they will not issue the patent to this assignee because the original half-breed has not asked for it. I may say that I brought this question myself before the Department of Interior. The matter was referred to the Department of Justice, and the Department of Justice had no hesitation whatever in overruling the action of the Department of the Interior with regard to

the stand they had taken. But I am sorry to say, that in spite of that precedent the Department of the Interior have gone on in their old course of refusing to issue these patents. Not only have they done that, but they have adopted the course to which I have also alluded, of refusing to issue patents where the lands have been sold for taxes. Now, Mr. Speaker, we claim in Manitoba that the department should issue the patent. They do not own the land, they are not even trustees of the land; as a matter of law the title has entirely passed out of their hands by Act of Parliament, and it is their duty to issue these patents either to the original half-breed, or, if that half-breed be dead, then to his legal representatives or to the assignee of the half-breed. We do not care to whom the department issue the patent as long as it is not issued, as I am sorry to say it has been in a number of cases, to some person who has no shadow of claim or title to it whatever. If they do not adopt that course, but if they are careful to issue the patent to some one who either is now, or has been at some time, entitled to the land, then the laws of Manitoba are quite sufficient to deal with the land after that. But the course they are taking now has the effect, as I say, of tying up considerable portions of land in the province of Manitoba, and preventing the settlers from taking possession of those lands and cultivating them and making improvements, for fear their title might never be recognized by the department. They are preventing municipalities from collecting the taxes, and you can see how harshly their policy works in some cases. As you are aware, one of the great difficulties in Manitoba is the question of schools. Settlement is so scattered there that in many portions of the province it is a very difficult thing indeed to collect enough money to run a school. Then when the department comes in and holds up eight or ten sections in a particular school district by refusing to issue a title, they make it practically impossible for the settler to get a school, and in that way they much discourage settlement in that province. I may say that the facts which I am now bringing before the House with regard to the treatment of that province by the Department of the Interior, are only a sample of the manner in which that department has administered the public lands in the province of Manitoba. They have been administered in what I may call an official way. The department lay down a particular rule; they do not know themselves why, or for what reason, they have adopted that particular rule, but having once adopted it, no consideration of public policy, no arguments however strong, seem to have the slightest effect upon them. They have taken a particular stand, and no matter how much that stand may be against the interest of the

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settler, no matter how prejudicial it may be to the interest of the province, they rigidly adhere to it in spite of all argument. For that reason I have laid this matter before the House. It is perhaps not a matter of very wide importance, but so far as it affects particular neighbourhoods, and especially those neighbourhoods which lie along the Assinibola River and the Red River in the province of Manitoba, it is a matter of considerable importance. I am quite satisfied that the Minister of Justice has been entirely misled when he said the return would be an expensive one. I do not think a return, giving this information, could cost very much, when it is remembered that almost all these lands have been disposed of, and this return only refers to a small remnant of them, the House will see that it cannot possibly cost very much to give the information I ask for. I do not desire any detailed statement as to the reason why the patent has not been issued, but simply the name of locatee, the description of the land, and, in brief, the reason why the patent has not been issued, as, for instance, that it has not been applied for, or that the department does not know whether the half-breed is living, or any short reason of that kind.

Mr. DALY. In answer to the hon. gentleman, I may say that there is no objection to the return asked for being brought down. When the Minister of Justice stated the other day that it would cost thousands of dollars, he was speaking without knowledge of the actual facts, and the motion was allowed to stand in order to obtain the necessary information, and that I might be informed as to what was required. I find that even as it is, the preparation of the return will require the services of a clerk for the period of three weeks or a month, but in view of the fact that the information is required by hon. gentlemen opposite, there is no objection to the return being prepared. The hon. gentleman has made a great deal out of nothing. Only 229 claims remain unpatented, out of 6,000 claims for half-breed land, and so the House will understand that there is very little of which to complain. The hon. gentleman is not speaking on behalf of any settlers whatever. There are no settlers affected in this way, or in regard to any matter in connection with this question; but there are a number of speculators in Winnipeg who have tax-deeds for those lands, and they met me in Winnipeg and I discussed the matter with them, and I have been able to meet some of their requirements, and if the hon. gentleman had come to me, I could have told him that an Order in Council was passed in October of last year, which meets a number of their wants.

Mr. MARTIN. I was quite aware of the Order in Council.

Mr. DALY. As regards these tax sales, the Department of the Interior has acted on the advice of the Department of Justice, and acting on that advice, we refused to accept any tax-sale deeds. Of course, that advice may not be so good as the advice of the hon. gentleman, but as Minister of the Interior, I am bound to act on the advice of the Minister of Justice, who is the law officer of the Crown. As to the gratuitous statements of the hon. gentleman about the conduct of the Department of the Interior, I let them pass without reply. The administration of the Department of the Interior, so far as I am concerned, speaks for itself.

Motion agreed to.

TIMBER SALES FROM INDIAN RESERVES.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell) moved :

That in the opinion of this House, the sale of timber from any Indian reserve in any other manner than by public auction after due public notice, would be highly unsatisfactory to the country, and detrimental to the interests of the Indian bands having a beneficial interest therein.

He said : The Government are aware that difficulty occurred in one instance covered by the terms of the resolution, in which certain charges were preferred against a member of this House, that he acquired, through the instrumentality of the Department of the Interior, a few years ago, an Indian reservation at far less than its market value, and which he was able to sell at an advance of about \$60,000. I believe the department has since that time acted upon the rule indicated in this resolution, a rule which, I think, is of very great importance to have clearly enunciated in Parliament, accepted by the Administration, and one from which it should be fully understood the Government will not depart. There are reservations in the province of Ontario upon which timber is found of very great value, and which should not be permitted to be acquired unless by public advertisement and sale at public auction. I think the rule is a sound one. I have no charge to make against the Administration in recent times with a view to supporting the rule, and I trust it is one that the Government are prepared to accept, for it is one that ought to be embodied in legislation, and strictly observed. The Administration, or at all events the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, acts as trustee to the Indians, who are wards of the Government, and it is of very great importance that whatever rights or interests they possess in any reservation or any timber thereon should be strictly guarded against importunities of parties who may seek to acquire them in any other way than by sale at public auction, at which all parties who may desire to purchase may have an opportunity of offering what they consider fair remuneration for the timber. I trust the motion will

not be opposed, but will be acquiesced in, and when the rule is so laid down, it will no doubt save the department trouble, and protect the interests of the Indians whose rights will be affected.

Mr. DALY. In answer to the hon. gentleman, I may state that, as he may be aware, as far back as September, 1888, by Order in Council, the sales of timber belonging to the Indians were prohibited except as follows :—

The berths or limits when surveyed and set off, and all new berths or limits in surveyed territory, shall be explored and valued, and then offered for sale by public auction at the upset price fixed by such valuation, at such time and place, and on such condition and by such officer, as the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs shall direct, by public notice for that purpose and shall be sold to the highest bidder for cash at the time of sale.

The regulations were amended by Order in Council dated November 10, as follows :—

Section 3. The berths or limits when surveyed and set off, and all new berths or limits in surveyed territory, shall be explored and valued, and then offered for sale by public auction at the upset price fixed by such valuation or by tender, at such time and on such conditions as the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs shall direct by public notice for that purpose ; but in the event of berths or limits being offered for sale by tender, the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs shall not be bound to accept the highest or any tender should he deem it in the interest of the Indians owning the timber to do otherwise.

The change that was made was to enable the department to sell by public competition, either at public sale or by tender. The reason for the change was that it was thought that it was in the interest of the Indians that we should have the two modes of dealing with the sale of their timber. In sales by public auction, only those who found themselves greatly interested would attend the locality at which the sale was to take place, and many people might be deterred from going on account of the difficulty and expense of reaching the place of sale. As a great deal of interest is taken by those interested in lumber in this country in purchasing what remains of the timber, it was thought that a better price could be obtained for the timber on Indian reserves by admitting of public competition by tender, as persons living at a long distance—not only from Ottawa, but from the reserve on which the timber was to be sold—would be enabled to make an offer for it. It was solely for that reason that the change was made. The Government would be agreeable to this motion passing if the hon. gentleman would allow the word "auction" to be struck out after the word "public," and the word "competition" inserted in its place.

Mr. CHARLTON. What length of time has the sale to be advertised ?

Mr. DALY. For a month, as far as I can understand, in the newspapers published in the locality where the reserve is situated. No sale has taken place for some time.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). It is just to prevent an arrangement like that which the hon. gentleman has mentioned as being provided for in the last Order in Council adopted, that I proposed this resolution. I think that it is not in the interests of the Indians that sales should be made by private tender at all. I think that the timber for lumbering purposes upon an Indian reserve should be sold in no other way than by public auction after proper advertising. I do not believe that an adequate price can be obtained in the way that the hon. gentleman suggests, and I am satisfied that it will always lead to suspicion, and that suspicion may, in many cases, even where the Minister himself may not be aware, prove to be well founded upon investigation. I have in my mind a reservation about which parties have written to me that many, many lumbermen have applied to the Indian chief with a view of having the timber on his reservation put upon the market, and the chief has declined to have that done. It seems to me that the proposal of the hon. gentleman to change the mode of selling the timber upon a reservation is one that is calculated to secure sales to private parties who may possess influence with officers of the department, and which would certainly not be in the interest of the Indian population. The experience of the Ontario Government shows that an adequate price can be obtained at a sale by public auction. Does the hon. gentleman suppose for a moment that in the case of a reservation containing \$200,000 or \$300,000 worth of timber parties interested would not be present to bid themselves or employ others capable of properly representing their interests to bid for them? It does seem to me that if the Indian Department is to have its affairs conducted without suspicion, and if the Indian interests are to be duly protected, then there ought to be no sale upon tender as the hon. gentleman suggests, and as his last Order in Council proposes. There is but one adequate and proper way of making a sale, and that is by proper advertisement and by public auction. The declaration on the part of this House—upon whom ultimately the responsibility rests—that these sales shall be made in no other way, will protect the department against importunities, and will protect the interests of the Indians against sacrifices such as those that took place a few years ago. Why, the hon. gentleman has before him what happened previous to the adoption of the Order in Council of 1888. He knows to what extent Indian interests were sacrificed in a sale that was made to certain parties in this city when they immediately parted with what the Government had sold to them at an advance of \$60,000, money which should

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have gone to the Indians and not to the speculators. If the sales had been by public auction after due advertising there could be no ground of complaint; but a sale in any other way will certainly be a ground of suspicion always, and a just ground of complaint in many cases.

Mr. McNEILL. I dare say that what the hon. gentleman (Mr. Mills) has said, may in certain cases be very correct. But from personal knowledge in reference to Indian lands in my own constituency I can safely say that the rule he has laid down would not be universally applicable. I do not think it would work well in my own constituency for example. I know that some years ago we had an auction sale of Indian lands there, and the lands sold at that time brought a reasonable price; but there were a good many detached parcels of land which could not be disposed of by the plan of public auction.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I referred to the timber.

Mr. McNEILL. I am speaking of the timber also. There are small detached quantities of timber on rocky lands which are, so far as the lands are concerned, valueless. The timber is of considerable value to the settlers in that locality, but if these small parcels of timber which, sold sometimes for \$60 or less were put up for public auction the cost of the sale would amount to more than the price realized. It is a very great benefit to the settlers to be able to purchase these small lots of timber upon these isolated rocky lands, and in this respect I do not believe that it would be at all possible for the system proposed by my hon. friend from Bothwell (Mr. Mills) to be carried out.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The object which the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) has in view would not be best served by the adoption of his resolution. His object is a very commendable one: it is to protect the rights of those for whom we are trustees in regard to valuable portions of their property; but experience has proved that a strict, hard and fast rule, that these properties shall only be disposed of by public auction, has led to the withdrawal of some of these properties from sale on account of our being convinced that a sacrifice would result if that course were persisted in. As regards the timber licenses of the Dominion—taking that as an illustration—experience has proved that in some cases the parties who will attend at an auction sale—if an auction sale must be resorted to—can in a very few minutes combine to prevent any competition at all. Cases have actually occurred in which the auctions went off entirely without the department being willing to effect a sale, and in which a liberal price was afterwards obtained through tenders being invited. I would not,

therefore—and I hope the House will not—agree to this proposal to adopt any strict rule as regards either course. In some cases it may be very necessary to adopt the rule as regards public auction, and in other cases it would be much better to advertise liberally for tenders.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Would the hon. gentleman allow me to ask him a question? Does he think that in any one of the older settled provinces, from Manitoba eastward, there is a single Indian reservation having timber only fit for lumbering, that could not be best sold by public auction?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes, I do think so. I think it could be sold in some instances better by inviting tenders, and for the reason I have given, that in every case of the sale of timber lands by public auction there is at least the danger of a combination to prevent an increase of price by public competition.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The Ontario Government have managed to get very much more than the Indian Department in that way.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I agree with the hon. gentleman this far, that, generally speaking, that is very much the best way of disposing of such properties; but we ought to have it in our power, without the instruction of the House to the contrary, to resort to the system of tender where we think there might be a combination, or where there is actually a combination, to prevent competition at the auction sale.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). That may be a reason for withdrawal.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. But the Indians may desire the sale to take place, and it may be to their advantage that it should take place. In that case, although I admit that it is a rare case, they should have the benefit of a sale by tender. Sale by tender has been found to defeat, utterly, the possibility of a combination, because tenderers come from abroad who would not attend an auction sale, or, if they did, they would be induced by those whose interest it was to get the lands at a low price, and divide them between them, to frustrate the sale by means of a combination. As the hon. gentleman declined to accept the proposition of my hon. colleague, I beg to move:

That all the words after "That" in the main motion be erased and the following inserted instead thereof: "in the opinion of this House, the sale of timber from any Indian reserve in any other manner than by public competition after due public notice, would be highly unsatisfactory to the country, and detrimental to the interests of the Indian bands having a beneficial interest therein."

Mr. LISTER. The objection raised by the hon. Minister of Justice is that if the de-

partment were bound to sell those limits by public auction, those who attended the auction might combine and thus prevent a larger sum being obtained than would otherwise be obtained. The difficulty he apprehends might be overcome by adopting the course pursued by the courts in regard to chancery sale of lands. An upset price is fixed, which is secret; a public auction is then called, and, if the bids are not equal to the upset price, the property is withdrawn from sale, and tenders are invited for the purchase of it. There is no doubt a great deal of truth in the statement made by the hon. member for Bothwell, that, in connection with these sales of timber on Indian lands, a great deal of suspicion has heretofore attached, perhaps not to the heads of the departments, but to those under the heads, as to their bona fides, so far as the Indians are concerned. The history of these matters, for ten years past, at all events, has proved that many valuable tracts of lands and timber limits belonging to the Indians throughout the North-west Territories and Manitoba, as well as in the province of Ontario, have been sold at merely nominal prices. The recognized figure for many years was \$5 per square mile, whereas, in the province of Ontario, at any rate, timber limits have brought many hundreds of dollars per square mile. The sale of these timber limits became such a disgrace that in 1888 the Department of the Interior caused an Order in Council to be passed for the purpose of securing better prices for the limits to be sold thereafter. I am not aware that since that time any timber on Indian lands has been sold; but certainly, up to that time, the administration of the affairs of that department was scandalous in the extreme. The instance given by my hon. friend from Bothwell of one valuable timber limit being sold at the nominal price of \$5 per square mile, and immediately after being disposed of by the purchasers at an advance of \$60,000, and the fact that one of those interested in that transaction was a member of the House of Commons, lent additional strength to the charge that improper influences had been brought to bear on the officials of the department for the purpose of getting a fortune at a cost of almost nothing. Now, I think that if the plan adopted by the courts in the administration of trust property and estates which it is necessary for the courts to sell, were followed in this case, there could be no difficulty whatever. As my hon. friend says, there is no pressing necessity for the speedy sale of the lands, and, until the department are thoroughly satisfied that they are getting a price which the property is fairly worth, they are not bound to sell, and should not sell, in the interest of the wards of the Government. In the practical working of the sale by auction of timber limits, by the Provincial Government, no difficulties of the kind suggested by the hon. First Minister

have ever arisen. The fact is that in all the sales, that have taken place in that province, at all events for the past eight or ten years, there has been the liveliest and keenest competition, and there is no question that the province receives, by means of public auction, the very highest prices obtainable for those limits. It is highly desirable, I think, in the interest of the Government, as well as in the interest of the Indians of the country, that there should be no suspicion whatever that the Indians are being robbed to the extent of one farthing, but every proceeding taken by the Government should show, beyond any peradventure, that they have done the very best they could in the interest of the Indians who are confided to their care.

Mr. DAVIN. I quite agree with my hon. and learned friend that it is highly desirable that no suspicion whatever should attach to the means by which these timber limits are disposed of. But I cannot agree with the reasoning of my hon. friend. He states that the best course would be to put these timber limits up at auction, and, if the department failed to get a satisfactory price by auction, then they should be withdrawn, and tenders invited.

Mr. LISTER. A reserve price should be put on them, after investigation by the Government.

Mr. DAVIN. I understood my hon. friend to say that a reserve price should be placed upon them. But what I point out is this, that having placed a reserve price and failed to get the reserve price at auction, he has recourse to tenders. Surely if we can get the adequate price, under the system of calling for tenders, which we cannot get by auction, the more logical course would be to call for tenders in the first instance.

Mr. LISTER. The courts do not think so.

Mr. DAVIN. The courts are not infallible. My hon. friend is well aware that, under orders of the courts, lands have been sold at ridiculously low figures. We have had in the North-west experience of the two systems. A few years ago, when Mr. Dewdney occupied the position of Minister of the Interior, the Passpasschase Reserve was put up for sale at auction. It is an exceedingly valuable reserve, south of Edmonton. A railway was about to pass through it, and a river—I am not sure whether there are not two rivers—passes through it. An auction was advertised, and the choicest lands on this Indian reserve, contiguous to a prospective railway, and close to a river, did not sell, if I remember rightly, for more than \$5 an acre. At all events, the very highest figure was ridiculously short of what those choice sections should have fetched.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Lands or timber.

Mr. DAVIN. I am speaking of lands, and am only referring to the method. We have

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the experience of those men who have been accustomed, in the North-west, to supply the Government with supplies for the Mounted Police and Indians. What is their experience of the tender system? I know men in the North-west who were very eager to supply the Indians and the Police, but who actually do not think it worth their while to tender, so low and so fine has the system of buying and selling by tender brought things. I see, therefore, no force whatever in the argument of my hon. friend. In the first place, from the very nature of his argument, he stamps the system of selling these timber limits by tender as the better course, only he would have it the ultimate recourse. And in the second place, we know by experience in the sale of lands and other matters in the North-west how very effective the system of calling for tenders is.

Mr. LANGELIER. I can speak of the experience we have had of the two systems in the province of Quebec. Until 1872, the Commissioner of Crown Lands in that province was at liberty to dispose of timber lands by private sale. The result was that the finest timber limits of the province of Quebec were sold for a mere trifle. Some of the finest timber limits on the Gatineau and Ottawa rivers were sold as low as 50 cents a square mile, whereas to-day they could not be got for \$100, and in some cases \$1,000 a square mile. That system was the subject of a great fight between the Liberals and the Conservatives in that province. From confederation to 1872, the Liberal party were continually asking that the timber limits be sold at public auction, in order to give every one a chance, whether he supported or opposed the Government. The Conservative party resisted this movement to the last moment; but, at last, after the scandals of 1872, even the Conservative party had to give in and submit a law to the Quebec Legislature compelling the Commissioner of Crown Lands to sell timber limits at public auction. It was proved successfully that over a million dollars public money had been lost through the disposal of timber limits at private sale. It was found out that some of the Cabinet Ministers were interested in some of the finest timber limits that had been sold—not in their own names, of course, but in the names of other parties with whom they were in partnership. Since the system of public auction has been followed, we have never heard a word of complaint, nor has there been the slightest inconvenience experienced. I was Commissioner of Crown Lands myself in the province of Quebec for a year. During that time we sold public lands, and never had the slightest trouble in discovering whether there was a combine among the parties attending the sale. In the first place, before the sale is made, the Commissioner of Crown Lands sends an inspector to visit the lands or timber and fix an upset price. No bid

under that price is accepted. And even then, if it be found that there are combinations among the parties attending the sale, the Commissioner has the power to withdraw the lots. In one case, some two years ago, he withdrew half the lots put up for auction on this account. I do not see why we should follow here the old system too long followed in the province of Quebec, and which was the cause of our finest timber limits being sacrificed to favourites of the Government.

Mr. CASEY. It seems extremely absurd to speak of sale by tender as being sale by public competition. There is no publicity at all about a sale by tender except the advertisements calling for the tenders. There can be no public competition unless one of the parties to the competition knows what the other is doing. That is the only kind of public competition there can be, and to speak of a sale of timber by tender as being carried on by public competition is a thoroughly improper use of language and conveys an idea of what does not really exist. Now, Sir, my friend the Minister of the Interior made two very inconsistent statements. He said that he was afraid enough people could not be got to attend an auction because they would not come from a distance. And, when asked about advertisements for tenders, he said that they were published in the locality of the reserve.

Mr. DALY. Not at all; I said nothing of the kind. The hon. gentleman asked how many times they were inserted.

Mr. CASEY. I heard the hon. gentleman say that some advertisement was published in the neighbourhood of the reservation.

Mr. DALY. No; the hon. gentleman did not understand me. The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) asked me how long the advertisements appeared and where. That was as to public auction, because we have had no occasion, up to the present time, to advertise for tenders.

Mr. CASEY. Then, these advertisements for public auction were inserted in papers near the reservations. No wonder, under these circumstances, that people would not come from a distance—they did not see the advertisements. The Minister of Justice says that, even if purchasers did come to the public auction, they might combine and agree not to go above a certain figure. A remedy for that has been pointed out, a remedy that exists in every auction—simply to withdraw the timber from sale. Let it be understood in advance, that, if any combination can be traced, the timber will not be sold. If this is done, the combination must break, for these men are very anxious to get the timber, and, if the backbone of the Government is sufficiently strong to cause them to withdraw the limit from sale until a sufficient price to fair-

ly represent the value is offered, the combination must break at once. It has been proved in evidence before this House that even tenderers may combine. We have had tenders put in by persons who were in collusion with one another, some of the tenders being put in in the name of purely imaginary persons. This was in connection with public works. Why cannot the same collusion as between existing persons and as regarding imaginary persons, the same hallucination, be used in the purchase of timber? It would seem that hon. gentlemen opposite are so used to seeing that sort of thing done that they have grown to look upon it as an evil—if it be an evil in their eyes—which cannot be got rid of. The great argument, the strongest argument in favour of sale by public auction is the experience of the province of Ontario, coupled with that of the province of Quebec, which has just been given by my friend from that province (Mr. Langelier), who preceded me. The Government of Ontario have adopted the principle of full investigation beforehand and of exercising their full powers of reserve bids and withdrawal from sale. The record of their sales has been one of constantly increasing prices, and the prices they have obtained within the last twenty years are far in excess of any obtained by this Government for any timber they have sold. The lumbermen of the country are all aware of the value of existing tracts of timber on Indian reservations. If not, they will undoubtedly make themselves aware of their value intimately and in detail, if they get notice that those limits are to be sold. And, if they will take the trouble to either go themselves or to send an efficient person to inspect these limits, they will come or send an efficient person to represent them at the auction. On these two grounds, therefore, I must declare my adherence to the terms of the original motion, as embodying the only system of selling timber lands which can be looked upon as honest and free from collusion, and as calculated to obtain the highest price for the property offered.

Mr. BRYSON. Mr. Speaker, I do not desire to enter into any lengthened discussion of this question, but merely to express, as briefly as possible, the views I hold as the result of my own experience and observation with regard to the sale of timber berths. The hon. member who introduced this motion, states that all limits belonging to the Indian reserves should be sold by public auction. Well, Sir, there is a great deal to be said in behalf of their being offered for sale by public auction; but, in my humble judgment, the proper way is to offer them by public competition, and my reasons for saying so are these: Within the last few months we have had timber limits offered for sale by public auction in this city. A very large number of lumbermen were present. In the case of one or two berths that were offered for sale, they were knocked down to the

highest bidder, but the supposed buyer afterwards refused to take them. Then they were offered to the second bidder, who declined to take them. The result was that two of these berths were put up twice, and, as a matter of fact, did not realize, within several thousands of dollars, what they were knocked down for in the first place. The statement has been made that the Provincial Government of Ontario sell their timber lands by public auction. It might be stated, with equal truth, that the province has sold timber berths by tender. In the province of Ontario, within the last few years, certain timber lands that were partially burned, have been thus sold. When fires occurred in the spring of the year, they were advertised during the summer, and an upset price fixed of so much per thousand feet over and above the Crown dues. It has been found by the Government of Ontario, I understand, to be a good method to fix a certain period within which the burned timber must be removed; and, on certain occasions, to my own knowledge, this term has been extended from time to time. Where it is advertised that only one or two years shall be allowed for the removal of the standing timber in the burnt district, the fact may debar certain persons from competing, particularly when they find that friends of the Government are allowed an extension of the time for three, or four, or five years. I recollect a timber sale in the province of Ontario, where certain berths were sold, and the following day, when the money was to be paid, the purchaser was not in a position to meet the requirements, and the berth was thrown back on the hands of the Government. Let me state, also, what I know of the experience of the province of Quebec. The hon. gentleman who has been Commissioner of Crown Lands for that province (Mr. Langelier), has told you how admirably the system has worked. I quite agree that during his term it may have worked very well. But I would ask him to reflect what was the result of the sale a few years ago, when several members of Parliament and others formed a combine and purchased a large number of timber berths at Grand Lake Victoria. These berths were thrown back on the hands of the Government, showing that there had been unfair competition against the lumbermen, that those in the combine had outbid the lumbermen. The result was that a year ago last December these berths were again advertised for sale; and, as a matter of fact, some were sold for a little over one-eighth of what they had originally been sold for. I believe that a fair, honest and legitimate way is to offer the limits by public competition, and, if by public auction, with a reserve bid in the hands of the Minister, after having first explored the territory and having sent a practical man, in whom the country has confidence, to make a proper estimate of the value of the limit. Then let the Government place a value on

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the standing timber, reserving the Crown dues and stumpage upon this timber, and holding this reserve within their hands privately. If the tenders by public competition are not up to what the Government expect to receive, then they can decline to sell, because they are not bound to accept any tender unless they know that they are actually receiving the value of the timber according to the estimate in the hands of the Government. I have no hesitation in voting with the leader of the Government for his amendment, that the limits should be sold by public competition, for, from my own personal knowledge and observation, I believe that a much larger sum of money will be realized from a timber berth by that system than by any other that can be adopted.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). I think it is a pity that the First Minister should not accede to the proposition of the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills). I think the difficulties he anticipated have been shown not to exist by hon. gentlemen who have spoken from this side. His difficulty seems to be that there might be collusion on the part of the buyers at a public auction, a combination formed, and that the full value would not be realized; but I think it has been pointed out that the same danger would exist in asking for tenders. It is true they might ask for tenders and not be bound to accept the lowest or any tender. But if sold by public auction, why should not the values be ascertained by the Government in the first place, and then, if they found the offers did not come up to that point, they need not necessarily press the sale at that particular time.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON: Then you do not sell. The object is to effect a sale, and if you try both by auction and by tenders you are very likely to effect a sale.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). The Indians also should request the sale, and be parties to the sales that are made. They have to be, but what influences may be brought to bear upon the Indians at times, I do not exactly know. I think it would be well for the Government to have a conference with the Indians, with those who have a beneficiary interest in them, and if they are pressing for a sale at a time that the Government feel convinced is not the best time, and if they are not able to obtain the amount which an expert sent by the Government to determine the timber to be worth, it would not be in the interests of the Indians to push a sale at that time. Of course, we do not want to go into matters that have transpired, but the House is sensible, and the Ministry are sensible, that sales have been made which, unfortunately, have turned out not to have been what the timber was worth, and the interests of the Indians consequently has not been best served. It behooves the Government, it seems to me, to do away

with any charge that might be made that the best available means has not been taken to secure the highest possible price. The member for Assiniboia has pointed out where property was sacrificed in the North-west much below its value. I do not know why that should have occurred. If it was patent to the Government that a great sacrifice was being made, it seems to me the sales should not have gone on. The First Minister says they have that power within their own hands, but, having that power it seems to me it must have been available in the case mentioned by the hon. member for Assiniboia, and so with all cases. I think it would be well for the Government to follow the rule that is followed in the province of Ontario, and I believe in the province of Quebec now, for wherever that rule has been followed, it has met with the approbation of the people. I desire to give the Ministry every credit for desiring to secure the best terms they could, and for honestly believing they could secure better terms by tender, but, I say, as has been said before, that if there is any danger of combination on the part of the buyers at a public auction, you are liable to the same danger precisely in asking for public tenders. Let there be a reserve power in the hands of the Government, who will honestly ascertain the value of the timber, and have a conference with the Indians, who, I think, in all these matters, in the older provinces, at any rate, ought to be fully consulted, and only after that should sale be made, a sale made that would approximately be a fair price, as ascertained by one competent to judge, acting on behalf of the Government and on behalf of the Indians.

Mr. MASSON. I am sure there is no member of the House who is not anxious that the very best price should be obtained from the sale of any Indian property, and the question of whether better prices could be obtained by sale by auction or by tenders, is one that can only be settled by persons who have had experience of both ways. Now, it has been stated that this is the universal method in Ontario, both by the Government and by the courts of Ontario in the first instance. Now, Sir, my experience teaches me that the reverse is the case, that it is not the universal way, either by the courts or by the Government. It must be in the memory of hon. gentlemen opposite that many sales have been made by the Government of Ontario of timber lands by tender. The Government of Ontario have, within themselves, the power of selling by public auction, or by tender. It is true that they have generally resorted to sale by public auction; it is true that they have, in many cases, received very large prices, especially of late years. But hon. gentlemen must remember that it is not many years ago that very serious charges were made against the Ontario Government for allowing sales to be made by public auction at much below a fair value, and instances were given where,

within a few months after a sale by public auction, the property changed hands at five or ten times the price first paid for it, and in some cases even more.

Mr. CHARLTON. Can the hon. gentleman give any instances?

Mr. MASSON. I have not got instances at hand, but the hon. member must remember that these charges have been made not many years ago. We know that even in sales under the supervision of the court, the purchaser at public auction frequently sells the property a few days afterwards at a much higher price than he paid for it. Now, it is not at all the universal practice that sales are made by the courts at public auction. The formal decree of the court generally direct the master or other officer of the court to carry out the sale under his direction, and the formal order gives him power to sell by public auction or by tender. It may be that in the majority of cases the sale by public auction is first resorted to, and, failing that, as the hon. member for Lambton (Mr. Lister) said, they resort to tender. But those who have had any experience in the sale of lands by the courts know that the very best prices have frequently been obtained by sale by tender. I had the honour myself of being Master of the Court of Chancery for some twelve years, and, during that time I found that my best sales were by tender, so much so that in the latter years during which I held that office, wherever the parties were agreeable, I offered by tender. It may be possible for combinations to be formed to keep down prices where tenders are asked for, but not to the same extent as in the case of sale by public auction. At a public auction, a person wishing to form a combination, knows whom he has to compete with, he is brought face to face with those with whom he has to compete, and he may then and there form his combination. Where tenders are advertised, persons quite unknown to each other have put in offers, and offer what they consider to be a fair price, and the Government are just as likely to obtain high bids as if the lands were put up to competition at auction. Reference has been made to the sale of timber lands in Ontario, and to the prices being in an increasing ratio. Certainly timber lands are increasing in value, and they may realize higher prices than those which have been sold by the Indian Department. But it is to be borne in mind that the sales of timber in Indian reserves are small sales as compared with the extensive limits placed on the market by the Ontario Government. Those provincial limits are so large and valuable as to attract the attention of the lumber kings and speculators of the United States. They come here, and as some hon. gentleman said, the competition at times is very sharp. Not only are the Ontario Government limits more extensive, but the timber is much better than

that on the Indian reserves. These reserves do not contain choice timber, in no case were they reserved for timber purposes; on the contrary, the timber on Indian reserves is generally patchy and broken and not nearly so valuable as that on the large limits sold by the Provincial Government. My experience would lead me to believe that it is only right and proper for the Indian Department to have the same power in their hands as is exercised by the Government of Ontario in the sale of their land and the licensing of limits, in which they reserve to themselves the right to sell on such competition as they deem advisable, by public auction or by public tender. No comparison can be instituted between sale by tender and private sale. The hon. member for Quebec (Mr. Langelier), referred to private sales made in the province of Quebec. Every one knows that jobs would be likely to be common where sales were made by private sales, but when tenders were asked for quite a different state of affairs existed. At a private sale an individual will attend at the Government office, make his proposal without competition and the sales may be made, as the hon. gentleman said, as low as 50 cents per acre, but where tenders are advertised for publicity is given and other parties have notice, and the prices received at tender are as likely to be high as they are at public auction. Timber limits on Indian reserves are also liable to be scattered. In my own neighbourhood there are timber limits on islands. They are small in extent and poor in value. But if any one wants to buy them he is told, they cannot be obtained except at public auction or at tender. Tenders will be advertised for; there may be very few competitors, but the offers are bona fide, and there is no opportunity given for fraud, the limits being sold to the highest bidder. The desire expressed that Indian timber lands should realize the highest price is one in which every member will agree, but experience has shown that there is more chance of jobbery and fraud in sale at public auction than by tender, and so I see no valid reason for contending that these lands should all be sold at public auction. My own experience is otherwise, and the experience of the courts is also otherwise. At public auction parties are bought off more frequently than at public tender, and it will be tying the hands of the department to the detriment of the Indians if the department are prevented selling by tender. It is not, however, asserted that sale is generally made by tender; I do not know of any cases, the common way of selling being by public auction. The department are disposing of the timber lands of the Indians in a similar manner to that adopted by the Ontario Government and by the courts. The department do not resort to public auction in every case, this depending on the nature of the limits, their situation and value, and it would be unnecessarily tying the hands of the depart-

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ment to deprive it of the privilege they now enjoy.

Mr. CHARLTON. How and when did the Ontario Government resort to the system of selling by tender?

Mr. MASSON. Within the last two years the sales have been advertised.

Mr. O'BRIEN. I desire to offer a few remarks on this subject as it is one in which I feel some interest, because in my own constituency there are valuable timber limits belonging to Indians. I think I know the timber limits to which the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) has referred. I am sure the House is anxious that the Government should be placed in the best possible position to deal with this subject. This is not a party question, but is as to how the interest of the Indians can be best preserved. While I think it will be exceedingly foolish for the Government, even in their own interest to avoid selling at public auction whenever that system can be adopted, I do not feel inclined to go as far as the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) and confine the action of the department to that particular method of sale. I believe in the case of such a limit as that referred to by the hon. member, it would be the height of folly to adopt any other course than that of sale by public auction, because that is known to be an exceedingly valuable limit. It is within my knowledge that influences of every description have been brought to bear on the Government and the Indians to get possession of that particular limit, but so far apparently without effect, because the old chief will not sell, a very foolish decision in his own interest because the limit is liable to be destroyed by fire and full value can now be secured. But I can understand that cases may arise with which the department have to deal where the circumstances are not at all similar to those existing in Ontario, and I do not think the hands of the Government should be so tied as to compel them, under all circumstances, to sell by a particular method, and so long as we have the assurance and guarantee that there will be competition, I am inclined to accept the amendment of the First Minister and not tie the hands of the Government so that they cannot sell by tender, if in the interests of the Indians it should prove desirable to do so. At the same time the power is one that should be exercised only when it is quite evident, from all the circumstances, that the other method would be less desirable.

Mr. DALY. In answer to the remarks offered by the hon. gentleman opposite I may say that probably considerable discussion would have been avoided if the hon. member had listened to the reading of the clause in amendment to the Order in Council of last November. It reads as follows:—

Section 3. The berths or limits when surveyed and set off, and all new berths or limits in surveyed territory, shall be explored and valued and then

offered for sale by public auction at the upset price fixed by such valuation or by tender,—

That meets two of the difficulties raised by the hon. gentleman opposite: First, the timber must be valued, and second, it must be sold either at public auction or by tender, at an upset price. The clause continues:

—at such time and on such conditions as the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs shall direct by public notice for that purpose; but in the event of berths or limits being offered for sale by tender, the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs shall not be bound to accept the highest or any tender should he deem it in the interest of the Indians owning the timber to do otherwise.

The reason of our amending the Order in Council was simply to meet a condition of affairs that existed in connection with some of the timber limits in the northern portion of Ontario, namely, that certain limits which a few years ago were considered of trifling value have now become valuable on account of pulp wood. The department did not desire to go to the expense of putting up such limits at auction as the proceeds would not be sufficient. In answer to the hon. member for South Brant (Mr. Paterson), I may say it is a condition precedent to all sales of timber on Indian lands, that we must first have the consent of the majority of members of the band, and after we have that consent the timber has got to be valued and then it can only be sold at the upset price of that valuation. Therefore so far as the interest of the Indians is concerned it is safeguarded in every particular. It was only to meet the condition of things that I have spoken of that the change was made. On certain reservations, timber of no value a few years ago is now acquiring value; in order to avoid the trouble of a sale by public auction and to get a better price for the timber I have described, it was thought better we should ask for tenders. In answer to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Mills) as to the reservation he refers to, he is perfectly correct in saying that efforts have been made on the part of people to get the old Chief Dokis—I suppose it is to him he refers—to surrender his timber for sale. So far as the department is concerned they are interested only in getting that man to surrender his timber in his own interest and that of his people, because it is liable to be destroyed by fire at any time, and the full value that there is in the timber for himself and his band may be lost at any moment. But until such time as he sees fit (without any coercion on the part of the department) to surrender, no timber will be sold. The surrender can only be made to the department, and until such a time as he decides to do it the department are powerless to sell. If it is sold, it will be sold at the highest valuation after it has been inspected and valued.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). That is the law as it stands.

Mr. DALY. That is as the law stands now.

Mr. CHARLTON. The usage of the Department of the Interior and of the Government at the present time, with regard to the sale of timber limits, is certainly an immeasurable improvement on the usage of the Government in vogue prior to 1888. We had, previous to that time, about 25,000 square miles of timber lands, not placed upon the market, but disposed of by private sale to friends of the Government without any bonus being received whatever. That was one of the greatest abuses that ever existed under any Government. When the extent of that abuse was laid bare the outcry against it led to a better arrangement, and I quite agree with the statement made by some hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House that the question now is a question of business method as to what is the best course to take with regard to the disposal of Indian lands. I am very clearly and strongly of opinion, judging from my own experience in these matters, that the plan of disposing of these lands by public auction is much the better. I have to criticise the course taken by the Government with regard to what they deem due notice of sale. One month, I think, was the time mentioned by the hon. Minister of the Interior, and one month's notice is totally insufficient.

Mr. DALY. I may say that that is not the rule—it depends on the case.

Mr. CHARLTON. In any case whatever one month's notice would be insufficient. If land of this kind is to be sold, no person would think of purchasing it without examination. It requires more than a month's time to make preliminary preparations for the examination of a timber berth. Men have to be sent into the woods, and if it is a limit of any extent it will take two or three months to make a satisfactory examination. The men have to be allowed time to go in and to come out, and to communicate with the parties who sent them. If the Government have been proceeding upon the assumption that this short notice of one or two months is sufficient, then that is enough to account for the unsatisfactory results of sale by auction. They have got to give adequate notice, they have to give sufficient length of time for intending purchasers to examine the property, and if they wish to make their attempt at a sale by auction effectual they have got to communicate with as many persons interested as possible. It is not necessary to hold the auction sale in the region where the timber limit is situated. It should be held in some commercial centre. If the limit is situated in the province of Ontario no more suitable place could be found for the auction sale than in the city

of Toronto, and if the limit is situated in the province of Quebec no more proper place than either the city of Ottawa or the city of Quebec could be selected. It does not cost very much to send a notice by mail to every individual engaged in the lumber trade who is likely to have any interest in the sale of a limit of that kind. It is not an expensive mode of advertising, as circulars can be printed and sent by mail to lumbermen; their names can easily be ascertained by consulting catalogues or registers of the trade. When the trade is apprised of the fact that this sale is coming, and a sufficient length of time given—not one or two months—but a length of time sufficient to get the notice to these men, to allow them to make their arrangements for examination, to allow them to send men to make their examination, and then time enough for the men to come out of the woods and make their reports to their principals—if this course is taken I can assure the Government that they are not likely in these days, with an active demand existing for timber, to have an unsatisfactory sale by auction. But if they will adopt the plan of having the notice insufficient, and the time for making the examination too short, then they adopt a plan that is exactly calculated to defeat the purpose of having a bona fide sale by auction. It is possible—I would not charge it would be done—that certain individuals, favourites of the Government, might be apprised of the fact that the Government intended at some future day to give a month's notice that they were going to sell a certain limit by auction, and these favourites of the Government who were in the inner ring could have their examination completed, and the data all in their hands, before the public were let into the confidence of the Government as to their intention to make the sale. Then there would be what would be ostensibly a public competition for the purchase, but these men who had the information at first hand would have an immense advantage over those who in a legitimate way had striven to obtain this information. As my hon. friend the Minister of the Interior has the option of selling by tender or public auction, I would advise him to try his sales by public auction after having given due notice—a notice of not less than four months, sent to every man in the lumber trade—to see what prices he can get at auction. It will only cost three cents each to inform these men that a certain territory is to be sold on a certain day, and that day far enough ahead to enable these men to make an examination of that territory. If the Minister will do this, I will guarantee that his sale by auction will be satisfactory, and that no combination can be made or attempted. If I were bidding by tender, or if any other lumberman was bidding by tender, he would not be likely to bid for the property to the utmost limit he

Mr. CHARLTON.

would bid at a sale by public auction. I think my hon. friend from Pontiac (Mr. Bryson) will bear me out in that. Neither he nor I would ever bid to the fullest extent in a written tender for a property we wanted to buy, at all events we would not bid to the figure which we probably would go to if we were competing against each other at open sale. I know from my own personal experience that in the sales of timber by the Ontario Government, combinations have been impossible. The last sale of timber was for the extent of 630 square miles, and it brought bonuses to the amount of \$2,300,000 to the province. If it were possible to effect a combination there was an object in having one there. I may say that I have never known of a sale of timber berths by public auction in Ontario where combinations were effected and evils such as the Government profess to fear were met, and there is no danger of anything of the kind happening, always supposing that the Government takes pains to apprise the trade and all persons likely to be interested that the sale is to take place, and that they shall have abundance of time to examine the property, and to put themselves in a position to know if they want to buy it, what is the utmost figure that they will give for it. With regard to the statement of the hon. member for North Grey (Mr. Masson), that the Government of Ontario was in the habit of selling either by public auction or tender at their pleasure, I am very sorry that the hon. gentleman was not in the position to tell us of any instance where the plan of inviting written tenders at sales of berths had been resorted to. The uniform policy of the Ontario Government has been to sell at public auction, and the uniform result of that policy has been in the highest degree satisfactory. There may possibly have been cases where it was necessary to make an immediate disposition of a small tract of a few hundred acres on which the timber was burned, but these exceptions rather prove the rule.

Mr. MASSON. The hon. gentleman will admit that the Ontario Government are not so tied down that they must sell by auction.

Mr. CHARLTON. They have made a uniform practice of selling by auction, except in those isolated cases that I have mentioned. The hon. gentleman said that purchasers at auction had afterwards sold their limits for five or ten times the price they had paid. I would like to know one of these instances; it would be better for him to give the proof rather than to simply make the statement. I know one case in which a limit was sold for \$325,000 which I positively believe was not worth more than \$100,000. At these auction sales men get together and stimulate each other to bid, and the prices realized are almost invariably satisfactory. It was alleged by the right hon. leader of the Government that in many of

these cases, when an upset price had been put on the timber, combinations were formed and the Government could not sell. Very well, if you cannot sell, withdraw the property. It is property which it is safe to hold. The Ontario Government withdrew a number of townships in 1872, some of the bidders not having consummated the sale, and others not having offered the price which the Government thought the property was worth; and to my personal knowledge many of those limits so withdrawn were sold in 1884 and subsequently at, speaking roughly, ten times as much as they brought in 1872. There is no risk run by the Government in holding these limits if they do not receive a bid equal to what they consider a fair value. The only risk they run is the risk of fire; otherwise the property is sure to rise in value. No better investment can be made than the purchase of timber limits at the current price, and the Government is at no time obliged to sell. I believe that the policy of selling at public auction, with proper safeguards, with the proper degree of publicity given to the sale, and with an adequate length of time afforded for an examination of the property by intending purchasers, is the best policy the Government can adopt. Even if the Indians insist that the limits should be sold, or bring pressure on the Government to sell them, the Government are not necessarily obliged to do so. The Indians are wards of the Government, and the Government are charged with the duty of deciding when the sales can best be made in their interests. This is a business question entirely. I do not attribute any improper motives to the Government in the course they are pursuing. I hope they are perfectly honest in adopting their last regulations, which they, no doubt, believe to be the best; yet I question the soundness of their judgment in adopting them. I do not say that they should be compelled under all circumstances to sell by auction, because cases may arise where they must sell burnt districts in order to utilize the property. But, in ordinary circumstances, I believe firmly that the proper policy for the Government to pursue is that of selling by public auction with proper safeguards, and after giving purchasers ample time to examine the property.

Mr. DEVLIN. If I were not unable to vote to-day, in consequence of having been paired with an hon. gentleman on the opposite side of the House, I would vote in support of the motion of the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills); but as it is, I can only express my opinion. I have heard with a good deal of interest the opinion expressed by the hon. member for Pontiac (Mr. Bryson) in regard to the two sales recently made. I am sure that he has had, as he says, a very large experience of sales of timber limits. There was recently a sale in the city of Ottawa at which he was pre-

sent, and at which, if I mistake not, he bought some limits at extraordinary prices. That sale was not by tender, but by public auction. If I mistake not, it was the sale of the Perley limits; and, instead of any combination being formed to defeat the object of the sale, there was very severe and sharp competition. It is known to-day that whenever a timber limit is put up for sale, there is competition, the lumbermen being very anxious to purchase these limits. The hon. gentleman also referred to the fact that the Ontario Government had on certain occasions offered to sell limits by tender. The hon. gentleman approves of that to-day; but I think that at that time he denounced it, although it was merely a sale of some burnt territory. I do not believe that the Ontario Government ever put up well-wooded limits for sale by tender. The territory sold by tender was territory which, if not entirely damaged, was at least very severely scorched by fire, and in that case the highest tender was accepted. What guarantee have we that the Government here will accept the highest tender? They do not bind themselves to accept the highest or any tender. In view of the experience which both provinces have had in regard to the disposal of timber limits by public auction, I believe that such a policy is the best in the interests both of the Indians and the Government.

Mr. BRYSON. I wish to say that I never condemned the Ontario Government for selling timber limits by public tender. What I did condemn, and am prepared still to condemn, was that in the advertisement of the sale it was stated that the terms of payment should be one and two years, and that the time was afterwards extended by the Government in the interests of their own friends.

Mr. DEVLIN. Was not that in connection with the disposal of this particular limit that had been burnt?

Mr. BRYSON. Certainly.

Mr. DEVLIN. Does not the hon. gentleman admit that during recent years all the timber limits belonging to the Ontario Government, apart from the burnt territory, have been disposed of by public auction, and that very high prices, which in fact caused astonishment throughout the country, were obtained? I know that he, as a lumberman, would desire to buy the limits at the lowest possible figure. That is one reason why I would vote for the motion of the hon. member for Bothwell. Perhaps the hon. gentleman himself would like to tender, and thereby obtain limits at lower figures than he could by public auction. I do not wish to attribute any motives to the hon. gentleman; far from it; but he knows very well that the prices obtained by tender, whether for timber limits or for any other properties,

do not come up to the prices obtained by sale at public auction.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I certainly did expect that the hon. Minister of the Interior, if he was going to oppose my motion, would have assigned some reason for doing so—would have given the House some information in reference to the business of the department, to show that the change in the Order in Council, which was made in November, 1893, was a change necessitated by some public inconvenience which experience had revealed in the practice under the Order in Council previously in force. The House will remember what very serious sacrifices were made in the department in charge of the Indian population before that Order in Council was adopted. That order, I suppose, arose out of the matters which came before the House, which were here made the subject of discussion, in which it was pointed out that in the sale of a single reservation the Indians had lost at least \$60,000 to which they were entitled, and which they would have obtained, and perhaps more, if the sale had taken place at public auction. Under the law of Ontario, as I recollect it, there is no power to sell otherwise than at public auction, except in the case of burnt districts, and that exception arises from the necessity of getting something out of the timber, which would otherwise go to decay. When the territory beyond the province of Ontario was first acquired by the Government of Canada, the law of the province of Ontario was copied. The same rule was adopted here, but experience pointed out that when you were hundreds of miles remote from settlement, where there were no means of access to the territory, you could get lumbermen to bid or make an offer for reservations at all. And so it became necessary to confer upon the Department of the Interior the power of selling otherwise than at public auction. They made in the interest of the early settlers of Manitoba, the best bargain they could, under the circumstances, to induce parties to cut lumber for the supply of the settlers who were going into that remote district. That condition of things did not last many years; and that a change had taken place was shown by what happened with reference to the sale of certain timber limits to a member of this House and by him to a certain American lumberman, by which timber was acquired for, if I remember rightly, \$5 per square mile and was sold at the rate of \$2,000 per square mile. So that, in the case of the Indian reservation I have mentioned and the sale in the North-west Territories, it became evident that a condition of things had arisen which made it highly expedient for the Government here to adopt a policy similar to that which exists in Ontario—a policy which imposes restraint upon the Government and relieves it both from the suspicion and the pressure, which the anxiety of some to become sud-

Mr. DEVLIN.

denly wealthy would subject the Government to. Now, the hon. gentleman says that a change was made in this resolution in November. The change was not in the direction in which it was necessary the Government should move, and in which public opinion required them to move, but was in the opposite direction. There was a condition of things, as I have already pointed out, when the Government could not put up timber limits to competition—when they were obliged, in the interest of remote settlers, to offer those limits on terms which would induce lumbermen to cut lumber for the supply of the local market. That rule, that condition, although it has passed away, was not a rule which ever applied to timber on the Indian reserves at all. Those reserves belong to the Indians. The beneficial interest is theirs. They are to be administered in the interest of the Indians, and there is no pressing necessity for sale. And it is because there is, and never can be, a pressing necessity for sale, that I would not be disposed to adopt the rule suggested by the hon. member for Lambton, that in case of failure to make a sale at public auction, you should adopt the rule which prevailed in the Court of Chancery. When the Court of Chancery makes a sale, it sells under execution or under some regulation for partition, or some power. It is selling as a matter of necessity. The persons are obliged to have the property sold and distribution or payment made. And wherever there is a pressing necessity for the sale, neither at public auction or by any private arrangement are you likely to get anything approaching the actual market value of the property. That rule does not apply to the Indian lands. The Government are the trustees acting in the interest of the Indians. It is their business to watch their opportunity and make a sale, when it can be made, with the consent of the Indians, upon terms most favourable to them. And if there should be an error of judgment and the timber upon an Indian reservation be placed upon the public market at a time not favourable to make a sale, that will be disclosed upon the failure to get an adequate price offered, and the property should be withdrawn until more favourable circumstances arrive. There is no necessity, there never can be, under the condition of things that exists in the various Indian reservations, for an immediate sale being made. And so I say that experience has shown that there is but one permanent and satisfactory way of making sales of the timber upon these reservations, and that is at public auction, after due notice has been given, both as to time and the notoriety of the notice. The hon. gentleman made a change last November, he says, in these regulations. He has not mentioned a single circumstance that has transpired out of which that Order in Council has grown. Did the hon. gentleman undertake to make a sale at public auction of Indian timber limits without success? How

came it that the hon. gentleman undertook to supplement the previous powers possessed by his department of making a sale at public auction, by the further powers to make a sale by tender? If there had been a series of instances in which the attempted sale at public auction had resulted in failure, the hon. gentleman might have had some justification—some apparent show of reason for the change in the Order in Council. I would like him to say whether there has been any other reason than this—that there has been a strong pressure upon Chief Dokis to make the sale of his reservation or permit it to be made, and that the Government pressed the chief into making the sale.

Mr. DALY. These regulations have nothing whatever to do with the Dokis reserve, good, bad, or indifferent.

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

After Recess.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Mr. Speaker, the Minister of Interior says, with regard to the amendment to the Order in Council made in November last, which confers upon the department power of making sale of timber limits upon Indian reserves otherwise than by public auction, that it had not the remotest reference to Chief Dokis, and I do not know what reservation the Government had in view, or whether they had any particular reservation in view when the change was made. But I think that this may be said with certainty—that changes of that sort are not made without some reason. That reason has not been disclosed by the Minister. The original Order in Council, as I pointed out, was adopted immediately after a matter was brought to light in connection with the proper sale of another Indian reserve. That was in 1888. Now, five years have gone by without any change, and we have not had, either by the Prime Minister or by the Minister of the Interior, who is Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, any case cited to show that the practice of selling by auction has inconvenienced the Government in any way whatever. It has not been shown that reservations have been advertised, people convened at a suitable or convenient point, the timber offered to the highest bidder if the price fixed by the Government was exceeded, and yet that no sale took place. We have not a single instance to show that such a condition of things has arisen; and, that being the case, we have had no reason brought before the House for the change in the Order in Council which has been made. I have pointed out, Mr. Speaker, that, in order to avoid any ground of suspicion on the part of the public or on the part of the wards of the Government, the Indians, sale ought to be by public auction after the sale has been

widely made known by advertisements. That system or practice, from which no inconvenience has been shown, is now departed from, and departed from, to my mind, not in the interests of the public and not in the interests of the Indians who are to be affected by it. Mr. Speaker, you have this remarkable fact, as the hon. member for Quebec (Mr. Langelier) has pointed out—that in the province of Quebec, since the system of selling timber limits at public auction has been followed, no one has proposed any departure from that system, nor has any exception been proposed as a rule of convenience. Moreover, in the province of Ontario, the practice of selling by public auction has been followed for at least fifteen years, and no member of the Opposition in the Legislature who may have criticised the practice of the Government in this particular has ever suggested that any other method should be adopted than that of selling by public auction. Every one knows that all over the Dominion, east of the Rocky Mountains, timber is becoming, year by year, a more scarce commodity. There is an increasing demand with a diminution of supply; and so, the more the time elapses the fewer will be the instances in which the timber on Indian reservations offered for sale will fail to find purchasers at a very fair valuation. The later the period we chose, the weaker will be the reason for any departure from this rule. Why, Sir, if the hon. gentlemen found no inconvenience from the rule providing for the sale exclusively by public auction, which existed from 1888 until November, 1893, they will find still less reason for so doing in time to come, because the quantity of timber is diminishing and those who require it are increasing in number. So I say, Mr. Speaker, that if this House is to give due consideration to the interests of the Indian population, then we should safeguard their rights by insisting that, whenever a sale of timber upon these Indian reserves does take place, it shall be carried on by public auction. As I said before, so I say again: The Indian population are not in the position of debtors against whom executions have been issued; there is no pressing necessity on the part of the department for the sale of the timber upon the Indian reserves. Year by year this timber is increasing in value and is thus securing to the Indians an additional amount of capital just as certainly as if the timber were sold and the proceeds invested at interest. That being the case, if the Government upon offering for sale the timber upon an Indian reservation fail to find a purchaser at an adequate price, no serious injury to the Indians could result, for the sale could be postponed to a more favourable opportunity. No necessity whatever has been shown for the rule which the hon. Minister of the Interior has adopted in the Order in Council, and no reason whatever for the comment of the right hon. the Prime Minister. It seems to me, Sir, that it would be in

the interests of the Government itself to avoid the suspicions of undue favouritism to those who are powerful and not over-scrupulous, who press for the sale of these lands without any regard to the well-being of the Indians. I would like the Minister of Interior to say what protection, under such a rule as he has adopted, the Indians would have against such an occurrence as that which took place in 1887, and which was complained of under the administration of his predecessor. Surely, Sir, if the timber on an Indian reservation was sold in 1887, in defiance of the rule providing for sale by public auction, and sold for a mere percentage of its value, I want to know what protection there is against a similar occurrence taking place again. In this matter the House has a responsibility resting upon it, and it cannot relieve itself of that responsibility by declaring that it will leave the whole matter in the hands of the Administration. I have brought this matter to the attention of the House for the express purpose of giving the House an opportunity of asserting a sound principle which is to guard the Government in the discharge of its administrative duties. Why, Sir, the Government are hedged in at all points in its work of administration in order to prevent abuses. Experience has shown that abuses have, in the absence of the general rule that existed under the Order in Council of 1888, grown up before; and that being the case there is no assurance that similar mistakes or similar wrongs will not occur again. I again call attention to the fact that it is this House, by what it may do with reference to the resolution and the amendment that are before us, that must assume to itself the responsibility of deciding whether the Indian population are to be properly protected. Sir, we had brought under our attention last year the fact that in some cases the principal of Indians' funds had been used, and the House was called upon to make appropriations for the purpose of providing the necessary moneys to supplement those funds and to restore them to their original condition. Why was this done? Because the House admitted its responsibility for the diminution of the funds that had taken place, and it called upon the public to contribute, and by the exercise of its authority it has compelled the people of this country to contribute to make good the funds the principals of which were misdirected. Now, in this case you have this fact before you, that it is people who are the wards of the Government, whose estates you are called upon to administer, and you are bound to see that the property under your control is not wasted and not improperly employed. The Indian people of this country are not a self-sustaining population; you find it necessary to make some provision for them in some way or another. You cannot permit them to die of want or starvation, and where there is an extreme necessity, you compel

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

the public to contribute something towards their maintenance and support. I say, therefore, that it is in the interest of the public as well as in the interest of the Indian population to see that both the timber and the lands belonging to the Indians, when put upon the market, are so dealt with as to secure to the Indian population who are the beneficiaries in the matter, the largest amount of money that can be obtained from these sources. That being so, I am convinced, as I think every one in this House who takes the trouble seriously to consider the subject, will also be convinced, that it is not in the interest of the Indian population and not in the interest of the people of this country that the timber upon these Indian reservations should be disposed of otherwise than at public auction, after the fact that a sale is proposed, has been made widely known.

Mr. HASLAM. While the rule of selling timber on the Indian reserves by public auction is a very good one under certain circumstances, I am satisfied it is not a good one under all circumstances. Where there are large tracts of land likely to attract a good many purchasers, sale by public auction would be the best method; but where the reserves are small I think that great injustice may be done by selling them by auction, for the simple reason that the comparatively few men who would be likely to attend the sale, would know each other well, and before the sale commenced they could enter into a combination in five minutes that would burk all the efforts of the Government to obtain a reasonable price for that timber.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). There need not be any sale, then.

Mr. HASLAM. You would obviate the difficulty by calling for tenders, and when you call for tenders no man knows what another is sending in. The idea has been advanced that the antagonism and antipathy existing among purchasers at auction, have caused them to bid a higher figure than the property is worth. I do not think that is a proper view to take of the case. The money that these lumbermen have paid over and above the actual value of the property, has got to come out of somebody, somebody has to lose it, and I think when the proper value of the land is paid for, that is quite sufficient. When a man goes and examines the property, he knows exactly what that property is worth, and he will accordingly give a tender for what he thinks it is worth to him. In case of small areas the Government will get a better price, and a price more in accordance with the value of the property, if they called for tenders, than they will by selling at public auction. I have seen many instances where, when there were but few bidders at the sale, they came to an understanding and gave exactly what they thought they could get it for, and then divided it up amongst themselves. It was they who pocketed the profit, and not the

owner of the property. The fact that higher prices have been realized in later years than formerly, is no argument in favour of the auction system. The reason why prices of late years have been so much higher, is owing to the diminution of timber lands in the state of Michigan and other places, where there were formerly large tracts of land. I think so far as I can understand this question, it would be unbusinesslike and unwise to lay down a hard and fast rule governing the sale of timber lands for the benefit of the country, or of the Indians. There are circumstances that would justify selling by auction, and there are others again in which it would be better to sell by tender; and the property can be just as well advertised, and just as much facility can be given to people for examining the property, when sold by tender as when sold by public auction. I would be very slow to vote for a resolution binding the Government to any particular method of selling such property.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. We have had some examples of the mode in which the Government deal with timber lands owned by them as trustees to the Indians. I need hardly recall to the recollection of the members of this House that a tract of 79 square miles, I believe, was sold to a member of this House for \$316, and was resold within three months for \$50,000, and I believe was worth a great deal more. With the knowledge of that fact, the Government take upon themselves the responsibility of refusing, apparently, to dispose of these lands in such a way that the Indians may be protected, and that full publicity may be given to the whole transaction. Now, if my hon. friend was merely moving this as an abstract question, there might be something in the remarks of the hon. gentleman who has just spoken; but he comes here with the knowledge, and the whole House has knowledge, that very greivous frauds—I use the word in the most emphatic sense—have occurred in the disposition of the lands of which the Government is trustee, the Indians have been wronged and defrauded, and possibly one of these days the country at large will be called upon, as I believe the country at large ought to be called upon, to make good a sum of money which went out of the coffers of the Indians practically into the pockets of a private member of this House. Under these circumstances I think my hon. friend should at least insist on having the sense of the House taken on this motion.

House divided on amendment (Sir John Thompson):

YEAS:
Messieurs

Amyot,
Bain (Soulanges),
Bennett,
Bergeron,
Boyd,
Boyle,
Bruneau,
Bryson,

Lachapelle,
Langevin (Sir Hector),
LaRivière,
Leclair,
Macdonald (King's),
Macdowall,
McAlister,
McDonald (Assiniboia).

Cameron,
Cargill,
Carpenter,
Caron (Sir Adolphe),
Carscallen,
Chesley,
Cockburn,
Corby,
Craig,
Daly,
Davin,
Davis,
Dugas,
Fairbairn,
Foster,
Girouard (Two Mountains),
Grandbois,
Guillet,
Haggart,
Haslam,
Henderson,
Hodgins,
Hutchins,
Ingram,
Ives,
Joncas,
McDonald (Victoria),
McDougald (Pictou),
McDougall (Cape Breton),
McLennan,
McNeill,
Mara,
Masson,
Mills (Annapolis),
Ouimet,
Patterson (Colchester),
Pridham,
Reid,
Roome,
Ross (Dundas),
Smith (Ontario),
Temple,
Thompson (Sir John),
Tisdale,
Turcotte,
Tyrwhitt,
Wallace,
White (Cardwell),
White (Shelburne),
Wilmot,
Wilson,
Wood (Brockville).—48.

NAYS:
Messieurs

Allan,
Bain (Wentworth),
Beith,
Boston,
Bourassa,
Bowman,
Campbell,
Cartwright (Sir Richard),
Casey,
Charlton,
Christie,
Colter,
Davies,
Dawson,
Delisle,
Edgar,
Fauvel,
Featherston,
Flint,
Frémont,
Geoffrion,
Godbout,
Guay,
Harwood,
Landerkin,
Laurier,
Leduc,
Legris,
Lister,
Lowell,
Macdonald (Huron),
McGregor,
McMillan,
McMullen,
Martin,
Mills (Bothwell),
Paterson (Brant),
Perry,
Rinfret,
Rowand,
Sanborn,
Semple,
Somerville,
Tarte,
Vaillancourt.—45.

PAIRS:

| <i>Ministerial.</i> | <i>Opposition.</i> |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| Messrs. Lépine, | Messrs. Choquette, |
| Belley, | Bernier, |
| Robillard, | Beausoleil, |
| Lippé, | Lavergne, |
| Cleveland, | Rider, |
| Ferguson (Leeds) | Brown, |
| Pelletier, | Proulx, |
| Desaulniers, | Monet, |
| Jeannotte, | Carroll, |
| Dickey, | Mulock, |
| Taylor, | Sutherland, |
| Kenny, | Forbes, |
| Dupont, | Langelier, |
| Wood (Westmorel'd) | Welsh, |
| Weldon, | Borden, |
| Miller, | Innes, |
| Fréchette, | Brodeur, |
| Madill, | Edwards, |
| Bergin, | Devlin, |
| Dyer, | Yeo, |
| McKay, | Grieve, |
| Northrup, | Gibson, |
| Stevenson, | Soriver, |
| Carignan, | Migneault, |
| Simard, | Bécharé. |

Amendment agreed to; and main motion, as amended, agreed to.

INSPECTION OF IMMIGRANTS AT QUEBEC.

Mr. LAURIER moved for:

Copies of all correspondence between the Canadian Government, the Imperial Government and

the American Government, concerning the privilege asked by the American Government of having an inspection at Quebec of immigrants landing there on their way to the United States.

He said: My object in making this motion is to ask some explanations concerning the matter referred to, and to ascertain the facts regarding the position in which this country stands. It appears that certain statements were made in the American press. It was alleged that although the American Government had made application to be allowed the privilege of having inspectors at Quebec to inspect immigrants who landed there, but intended to proceed to the United States and settle there, it had been denied by the Canadian Government for a long time, though as I understand after some correspondence it was granted, and there have been inspectors since exercising the authority which was at first claimed. My object in making the motion is simply to have the papers brought down, if there are any.

Mr. DALY. There has been no such correspondence either between this Government or the Imperial Government, or between this Government and that of the United States in regard to the matter referred to in the motion. The Government learned through the press that certain officers of the United States Government had been sent to inspect immigrants arriving at Quebec who were destined for American points. The officers desired to examine those immigrants, to ascertain whether they came within the provisions of the Alien Labour Law of the United States. Representations were made to the Government on behalf of the Canadian Pacific Railway, but the Government declined to have anything to do with those American officials, and subsequently I understand an arrangement was arrived at between the steamship companies and the Canadian Pacific Railway whereby the examination sought to be made by the United States officers was made on board the steamships. That seemed to satisfy both the steamship companies and the Canadian Pacific Railway. That is all the information I can furnish.

Mr. LAURIER. Then there is no correspondence?

Mr. DALY. None whatever.

Motion withdrawn.

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH FRANCE.

Mr. LAURIER moved for:

Copies of all correspondence between the Government or any member thereof, and Sir Charles Tupper, asking for and giving explanations with regard to the following statement made by Lord Dufferin, Her Majesty's ambassador to the French Republic, and Sir Charles Tupper to Mr. Develle,

Mr. LAURIER.

French Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the 6th of February, 1893, viz.:

We take this opportunity of confirming what we have already made known to your Excellency during the progress of the conferences, viz., that the Canadian Parliament, desirous of favouring the development of commercial relations between the two countries, has voted a subvention of £100,000 for the purpose of establishing a line of steamers to run between a Canadian port on one side and a French terminus on the other.

He said: In the blue-book which has been brought down with respect to negotiations which have taken place concerning the French treaty the extraordinary sentence quoted is to be found at page 46. It is extracted from a letter dated 6th February, 1893, which is on the very same day the treaty was signed, addressed by Lord Dufferin and Sir Charles Tupper to Mr. Develle, who at that time was Minister of Foreign Affairs for the French Republic. The statement is in extraordinary form as follows:—

We take this opportunity of confirming what we have already made known to your Excellency. During the progress of the conferences namely that the Canadian Parliament desirous of favouring the development of commercial relations between the two countries has voted a subvention of £100,000 for the purpose of establishing a line of steamers to run between a Canadian port on one side and a French port on the other.

I cannot conceive that such an extraordinary statement should have been made by agents of the Canadian Government, that is to say by the English Ambassador at Paris, and by the High Commissioner at London, who was authorized by this Government to negotiate with the French Government. I cannot conceive but that the Government must have at once remonstrated with Sir Charles Tupper and asked for an explanation, if he had any explanation to give, why such an extraordinary statement was made, not as to any intention on the part of the Government, but that actually as a fact the Canadian Parliament had voted the sum of £100,000 to subsidize a line of steamers between a Canadian port and a French terminus. The more we examine into the matter the more clearly it appears that there must have been explanations as to that statement. After the Government had stated that it was their intention to ask Parliament to ratify the French treaty I put the following question to the Government on 9th April:—

Mr. LAURIER asked, Is it the intention of the Government to ask Parliament for a subsidy of £100,000 for the purpose of establishing a line of steamers to run between a Canadian port on one side and a French terminus port on the other, as it was understood in the negotiations which led to the commercial treaty with France?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The Finance Minister is not present, but in his absence I beg to say that I think the hon. gentleman is mistaken in supposing that it was understood in the negotiations which

led to the commercial treaty with France that a subsidy of £100,000 should be asked for a line of communication between Canada and France. My reading of the negotiations is that, while that was suggested, it was declined. At any rate, it is not the intention to ask for a subsidy of £100,000 for a line between France and Canada.

The hon. gentleman, according to his answer, did not understand the negotiations as I understood them. I understood from the negotiations that while there was not an actual agreement arrived at, still there was an understanding between the two contracting parties, the French Republic on the one side and the Canadian Government on the other, that there would be a subsidy granted for a line of steamers to run between a Canadian port and a French port, and all the negotiations which took place make this contention which I now affirm imperative in its conclusion. It is easy to understand why the French Government should have insisted on such a subsidy being granted, because without a line running between Canada and France—there is not much in the treaty, I admit, and the Prime Minister himself characterized it the other day as the little treaty—would be altogether without any advantage unless there was a line of steamers to carry the trade, because according to the terms of the French treaty, there is what is called *surtaxe d'entrepot*, a tax upon every kind of merchandise which enters France. That is to say: that for every 100 kilos of goods which come into France they have to pay, apart from the duty under the tariff, an additional duty; *surtaxe d'entrepot* they call it, when their goods are brought in not directly from the country of growth. If they are brought in directly from the country of growth they are subject only to the tariff, but if they are not brought in directly from the country of growth then they would be subject to the additional duty. At the present time there are two tariffs in France: what is called the general, and the conventional tariff. Under the treaty we have the advantage of the conventional tariff, which is the minimum tariff, but if goods are sent from Canada to France passing through Great Britain and re-shipped in Great Britain for France, they would be subject to the *surtaxe d'entrepot* of 3 francs and 60 centimes per 100 kilos, which would practically take away altogether any advantage there may be in this little treaty. The hon. gentleman now says that it was not understood that there should be a subsidy granted to a line of steamers to apply between Canada and France. I submit to the hon. gentleman that if he makes that contention he has evidently not read the negotiations with such care as some other members of the House have. Let me first call the attention of the House to a letter of Sir Charles Tupper, to be found on page 10, of the Blue-book. The letter is dated the 28th October,

1892, and it is addressed by Sir Charles Tupper to the then Prime Minister, Sir John Abbott. This is what he writes:

With regard to the *surtaxes d'entrepot* on Canadian exports to France through the United Kingdom, I suggested the propriety of asking for the removal of this impost in the case of such exports forwarded on a through bill of lading to France which were transhipped in England, instancing that this course was permitted at the present moment in the case of Canadian exports to France despatched through an American port. His Excellency (that is to say the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Develle) agreed with me that it was a point upon which strong representations ought to be made, but I am by no means sanguine of accomplishing much in this particular matter as the object of the *surtaxe d'entrepot* is to promote direct trade with France.

So at the very outset of the negotiations, Sir Charles Tupper pointed out that it was absolutely indispensable, if a treaty were to be negotiated at all, so as to make it valuable to the Canadian people that the *surtaxe d'entrepot* should be removed. But, as he said, he was not sanguine that he would be successful with the French Government, and the subsequent negotiations show that he had reason not to be sanguine, because upon that point the French Government would not yield. Therefore, if the *surtaxe d'entrepot* continued to remain, the difficulty—for it was a very serious difficulty—had to be overcome in some other way. On the 7th of November following, Sir Charles Tupper, in another letter addressed to Sir John Abbott, relates an interview which he had with some of the officers of the French Government, and he writes as follows:—

I stated that I did not propose to raise the question of the *surtaxes d'entrepot*, as the Government of Canada were at present engaged in providing for an excellent fast service between France, Great Britain and Canada, that would thus enable us to avoid transshipment of goods passing through Great Britain. I added that I could give no greater evidence of the great desire of Canada to obtain more intimate trade relations with France, and to promote intercourse between the two countries, than by calling their attention to the advertisement inviting tenders for this service, which I did, and to the condition that there should be direct communication between France and Canada, and vice versa, a French port being stipulated for as the point from which the steamers should start and to which they should return.

You see here the method which was suggested by Sir Charles Tupper in order to overcome the difficulty of the *surtaxes d'entrepot*. He pointed out, as we all know, that in 1889 the Canadian Parliament was induced to vote a subsidy of \$500,000 to a line of steamers which were to ply between Canada and Great Britain, calling at a French port, and by so doing the *surtaxes d'entrepot* would have been avoided, because goods could have been shipped by

that line of steamers from Canada to France, thus avoiding transshipment in England. But evidently the French Government were not satisfied even with that, and they claimed something more, as is to be found later on in the correspondence. On the 10th of November Sir Charles Tupper writes again to Sir John Abbott, and he relates an interview which he had with MM. Hanotaux and Roume, officers of the French Government, who had been appointed to act as commissioners on the part of the French Republic. This is what Sir Charles Tupper writes :

I submitted that although the tariffs of France and Canada had both been raised, the minimum tariff was relatively very much higher than any increase in the Canadian tariff, that Canada had, moreover, given the same remissions of duty which had been made by the United States and in respect of which France had given the latter the minimum tariff on a number of articles, that the fact that Canada received nearly ten times as much from France as she sent to it, and that the large subvention the Dominion was prepared to give for the purpose of establishing direct trade between the two countries and which could not fail to be of very great advantage to France appeared to me to warrant the extension of the minimum tariff as a whole to Canada.

This is, therefore, the inducement which was held out to the Commissioners of the French Republic to yield upon this question, and to make them agree to the treaty, viz. : that the Dominion Government was prepared to establish direct steam communication by means of a subsidized line between France and Canada. Later on Sir Charles Tupper, on the 21st of November, writes directly to MM. Hanotaux, Pallain and Roume, as follows :—

It also appears that you are not disposed to recognize the value of direct communication between France and Canada by a fast line of steamers for which the Government of Canada stand pledged to grant an annual subvention of £150,000 sterling, although it must be perfectly evident that such a line of direct communication between the two countries will be of very great value to France.

Well, Sir, this was therefore the basis, the very basis, upon which the negotiations took place : that the Canadian Government stood pledged to give a subsidy. Sometimes it was said the subsidy was to be £100,000 sterling, and other times a £150,000 sterling, but whatever was the amount it is evident that the negotiations took place upon the statement made on behalf of the Canadian Government, that there would be a subsidy given for a direct line of service between France and Canada, and upon these assurances the French Commissioners at last, on the 22nd of November, laid down their proposals, and amongst them was the following :—

Mr. LAURIER.

The Canadian Government undertake to give a subsidy of £100,000 to a line of steamers having for terminus a French port.

That was the basis of the negotiations on the part of the French Government ; that was the condition which they laid down as the basis upon which they insisted. That was on the 22nd of November, 1892, and the negotiations here stopped for a while. From the 22nd of November, 1892, up to the 18th of January, 1893, there is a blank in the negotiations. December elapsed, and the better part of January had also elapsed, and nothing took place, and what was the reason ? The reason was that Sir Charles Tupper had transmitted to the Canadian Government the proposals of the French Government, whereby the latter insisted that the Canadian Government would pledge itself to such a subsidy as I have here mentioned. On the 18th of January Sir Charles Tupper, writing to the Hon. Mackenzie Bowell, who was, I believe, acting at that time as Prime Minister, refers to a telegram he had sent on the 11th of January to which on the same date Mr. Bowell had replied as follows :—

Re French negotiations, Government cannot accept conditions involved in clauses regarding steamship subvention and reduction duty French books.

Here you see the position is taken by the Canadian Government that they will not make this a condition of the treaty. In the same letter Sir Charles Tupper refers to an interview which he had had with M. Hanotaux and the French Commissioners, to whom he had given the following answer :—

I stated after full consideration the Government of Canada had accepted the proposals of the French Government as embodied in the memoranda which he (M. Hanotaux) had handed to me at our last meeting on November 22nd, with the exception of the proposition to reduce the duty on French books and the clause relating to the direct steamship service between France and Canada ; that I was not aware of any change in the policy of the Government in regard to the steamship service, but that it was not considered proper to make a question of this kind the subject of an engagement to another country ; and that I would write a letter to him (see enclosure) explaining that fact, and furnish him with a copy of an extract of the speech I had recently addressed in London to a large deputation of gentlemen interested in the port of Milford Haven, from which he would see the importance that Canada attached to obtaining direct communication with France.

Then, there is a letter which Sir Charles Tupper sent to M. Hanotaux on the very same date, the 18th of January, 1893, in which he says :—

DEAR M. HANOTAUX.—As I informed you to-day the Government of Canada have agreed to the proposals in your memoranda which you handed to me at our meeting on 22nd November last, with the exception of the proposed reduction of duty on French books, and the clause relating to the steamship service between France and Canada. This

does not arise from any change in the policy of the Government in the latter question, as I have placed it before you, but there does not seem to be any ground for embodying the intentions of the Government in a treaty to which there are obvious objections.

So the question was reduced to this. Sir Charles Tupper declared again and again to the French Commissioners that the Canadian Government were pledged to give a subsidy to a line of steamers to ply between Canada and France, but that for obvious reasons, as he says—whatever the obvious reasons may be I do not know—the Government would not consent to make this a part of the treaty; but Sir Charles Tupper insisted that the policy of the Canadian Government remained the same; and it is evident that it was on the strength of that assurance, given by the Canadian Commissioner, that the treaty was negotiated. In the same letter Sir Charles Tupper goes on to say:—

Since our meeting on the date mentioned, I had occasion to refer to this subject in replying to a very influential deputation which waited upon me to advance the interests of Milford Haven as a point of communication between Canada and England. I inclose a copy of my speech in reply to the deputation in which you will see that I explained to them that Canada attached a great deal of importance to that feature of the project which provided for direct communication with France.

You will also readily perceive that the concession of the minimum tariff on a number of articles which it is proposed to give Canada will be practically of no value unless direct communication between the two countries be provided, as the surtaxe d'entrepôt would make it impossible for Canada to derive any advantage therefrom.

So Sir Charles Tupper states, as a basis for the treaty, that there must be such a subsidy voted by the Canadian Parliament,—that it is the policy of the Administration,—and that unless there is such a subsidy voted and a line of steamers plying between Canada and France, the whole benefit of the treaty will be lost. Then to prove that this is the policy of the Canadian Government, Sir Charles Tupper sends to M. Hanotaux a report of the speech he delivered a few days ago before to the parties who waited upon him on behalf of Milford Haven; and this is the report:—

There was, however, one feature connected with the matter which had not been prominently adverted to. It was a feature to which Canada attached a deal of importance. That was they proposed to have not only a direct and rapid communication by going to an English port, but they proposed also to have a direct line of communication between Canada and the continent of Europe by requiring vessels to proceed on to a French port. Owing to the system adopted, and held with such tenacity by France the trade between Canada and France was greatly obstructed by the want of direct steam communication between the two countries.

So the policy of the Government, as expounded by Sir Charles Tupper, not only to the French Commissioners, but also to the parties in England who were interested in the port of Milford Haven, was clear in this respect. Then Sir Charles Tupper, writing on the 21st of January to Mr. Powell, gives resumé of the negotiations which he has had with M. Hanotaux on this question. He says that he stated to M. Hanotaux that the Canadian Government would not agree to put in the letter of the treaty the engagement that they would subsidize a line between France and Canada, but that at the same time the policy of the Government remained the same. He says it was well understood between him and the French Commissioners that the treaty would be absolutely without any value unless it was supplemented by such a subsidy, and that the French Commissioners expressed themselves as perfectly satisfied. Sir Charles Tupper says:—

Monsieur Hanotaux informs me that my letter in reference to the steamship service was considered quite satisfactory.

And again, Mr. Develle, writing a few days later, in February, to Lord Dufferin, and Sir Charles Tupper, says:

You have also confirmed what you had made known to be during the conference, namely, that the government of the Dominion wishing to encourage the development of the commercial relations between the two countries has caused to be voted by the Parliament of Canada a subsidy of one hundred thousand pounds sterling to a line of steamers sailing from a Canadian to a French port.

So that the French Government were negotiating upon the assurance of Sir Charles Tupper that not only this Government had pledged themselves to grant such a subsidy to a line between France and Canada, but that actually the Canadian Parliament had voted such a subsidy. Obviously, when Sir Charles Tupper made this reference to the subsidy, which had already been voted by Parliament, he must have referred, and Lord Dufferin must have referred also, to the fact that the Canadian Parliament, in 1889, had voted a subsidy to a line to ply between Canada and Great Britain, but to call at a French port. Now came the letter which I have just quoted, at the beginning of my remarks, on the 6th February, addressed by Lord Dufferin to Sir Charles Tupper, by which, for the last time, they confirmed everything that had been said before as to such a subsidy having been granted by Parliament. And then, to crown all, there is the letter from Sir Charles Tupper addressed to Sir John Thompson, on the 6th February, in which is to be found the following sentence:—

Under the proposed steamship line with France, which will enable us to have a much more rapid communication and relieve our trade from the surtaxe d'entrepôt, I see no reason to doubt that the

exports from Canada to France will be very rapidly and greatly increased.

In the face of all this, it is impossible to contend, as was stated the other day by the Prime Minister that there was an understanding that such subsidy was to be granted by the Canadian Parliament to a line of steamers between France and Canada. I admit it was not part of the treaty. It was not put into the four corners of the treaty. But all the negotiations were made on the part of the French Government upon the assurance given by the Canadian Commissioner that not only would the subsidy be voted, but that, as a matter of fact, it had been voted. As I said a moment ago, there was a subsidy voted in 1889. One condition of that subsidy was that the steamers to be subsidized would call at a French port while the terminal ports were to be in Great Britain and Canada. But the Finance Minister a few days ago, said that this condition was cancelled and was not to be carried out. So that, taking the case as it is, the Government to-day have refused to carry out the conditions laid down by their commissioners; and the least that can be said is that it is a most extraordinary situation. I am not going to qualify it to-day by any strong terms, as I am only asking for information, but it is evident to me that there is something very mysterious in this treaty. Once the treaty is ratified, the Government stands pledged in honour towards the French nation to carry out the promises which were made, while the negotiations took place, and which finally led to the signing of the treaty.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. There can be no objection to the motion being carried. If there are any papers giving additional information on the subject, they will be produced cheerfully. I have no objection to the statement of the case which the hon. gentleman has made, although my conclusions are directly opposite to those at which he has arrived. The hon. gentleman called the attention of the House to this subject by a question on the 9th April, in which he presented the subject in this light: He wished to know "whether the Government intended to ask a vote of one hundred thousand pounds for the purpose of establishing a line of steamers to run between a Canadian port and a French terminal point, as was understood in the negotiation which led to the commercial treaty with France." My statement, in reply, was, in the absence of the Minister of Finance, that I did not so view the negotiations, and that it was not the intention of the Government to ask for a vote for that purpose. It will be seen that the leader of the Opposition, in that question, put the matter to the House as if one of the conditions contained in the negotiations which led to the treaty was that a vote of this Parliament should be

Mr. LAURIER.

asked for a new subsidy. The view which I endeavoured in my answer to put forward in contradiction to that, was that no such condition was contained in the negotiations, and that is just the view that I put before the House this evening. The hon. gentleman has stated with perfect accuracy, as I have already intimated, the various passages of the correspondence connected with the treaty, in which this subject was discussed; but I submit to the House—and I shall quote those passages again, or some of them, for the purpose of supporting the view I now present—that what the correspondence shows is this: There was no promise from beginning to end, that the Parliament of Canada should be asked to vote one dollar or one pound for steamship connection between Canada and France. But there was simply a representation by Lord Dufferin and Sir Charles Tupper to the French Government, of the facts which then existed, namely, that in the session of 1889 a subvention of one hundred thousand pounds sterling had been voted to procure a fast service between this country and Europe, and that the scheme which the Government had in view was to have direct communication with France by the same steamship which should cross from Canada to Great Britain. That was not only the state of the facts existing at the time, but our advertisements calling for tenders were in the press and distributed through various parts of Europe, so that what the negotiators were stating then was not based on any promise as to a future vote or action of this Parliament, but was simply a representation of what the existing facts were with regard to this subject. Later, it transpired that the effort to establish direct communication with France—that is to say, to have steamers to go direct from Canada to France, was not capable of realization, and that the subsidy which Parliament had voted for that purpose was entirely inadequate. But, at the time these representations were made, that result had not been demonstrated, and we were still in hope of securing that direct communication with France. The state of facts, as I have said, was represented by Sir Charles Tupper and Lord Dufferin to the negotiators, on the part of the French Government, and the negotiations went forward until the French negotiators, not satisfied with a simple statement of the facts which then existed, proposed to put in this treaty, as a condition, that a connection with France by a line of steamers to cross between this country and Europe, should be made. When the proposal was made that that should form a condition of the treaty, it was promptly declined on the part of the Government of Canada, showing that the difficulties in the way were so great that, in all probability, the expectation which, at one time, had been formed, could not be realized. And, therefore, the view which the hon. gentleman presented, to the House in the question he put—which

question, he thinks, I answered inaccurately—that that was one of the terms on which the treaty was negotiated, is expressly negated by the terms of the negotiation. And the view which the hon. gentleman has presented this evening that we are in the position of refusing to carry out a condition agreed to by our negotiators, receives the most emphatic contradiction by the narrative of the negotiations themselves. No matter what discussion may have taken place, no matter what assurances may have been given as to the policy of this Government—and those assurances were undoubtedly true as to the desire and policy of this Government—when the negotiators, on behalf of France proposed to insert that as one of the terms of the treaty, their proposition was declined. A treaty on those terms was declined by this Government, so that it is impossible to say that this was one of the conditions laid down in the negotiations for the treaty, or that it was in any sense a condition, or that we are in any sense bound by it now. And in the consideration of that question I beg to call the attention of the House once more to the fact that, while the policy of the Government in desiring and seeking to have this direct line established was repeatedly insisted upon by the negotiators, and explained even in the speech by Sir Charles Tupper in London with regard to Milford Haven, which the hon. leader of the Opposition has read; while the policy was fully stated, this Government, and the negotiators on behalf of the Government, declined to be bound by that as a condition; declined to pledge that policy as a condition of the treaty, and, from the beginning to the end of the negotiations there is not a line or a word on record to show that any promise was made that this Parliament should be asked to vote another pound for the service or a pound conditional upon the terminal port of the trans-Atlantic line being in France. Now, notwithstanding that I do not dispute the accuracy of the hon. gentleman's quotation, let me, after stating that view of what took place—and it is our view—call attention to what these quotations were. Reference to this subject practically began on the 28th of October, 1892, when Sir Charles Tupper, writing to the Hon. Sir John Abbott, referred thus to the matter of the steamship line. Hon. members will find the quotation on page 10 :

With regard to the surtaxes d'entrepôt on Canadian exports to France through the United Kingdom, I suggested the propriety of asking for the removal of this impost in the case of such exports forwarded on a through bill of lading to France which were transhipped in England, instancing that this course was permitted at the present moment in the case of Canadian exports to France despatched through an American port. His Excellency agreed with me that it was a point upon which strong representations ought to be made, but I am by no means sanguine of accomplishing much in this particular

matter as the object of the surtaxe d'entrepôt is to promote direct trade with France.

Hon. members will see that the reference to the establishment of the French line, the policy of establishing a direct line from France to Canada, if it were possible to do so, was being put forward at that time by Sir Charles Tupper as a reason, not why the treaty should be entered into in its present form, but why additional concessions should be made, and why the surtaxe d'entrepôt should be waived in favour of the exports of Canada. On the 7th of November, 1892, Sir Charles Tupper wrote to Sir John Abbott. At that time the policy was still expected to be direct communication with France by the steam line :

I also referred to the fact that Canada received at present nearly ten times as much of the products of France as she sent her. I stated that I did not propose to raise the question of the surtaxes d'entrepôt, as the Government of Canada were at present engaged in providing for an excellent fast service between France, Great Britain and Canada that would thus enable us to avoid transshipment of goods passing through Great Britain. I added that I could give no greater evidence of the great desire of Canada to obtain more intimate trade relations with France, and to promote intercourse between the two countries, than by calling their attention to the advertisement inviting tenders for this service which I did, and to the condition that there should be direct communication between France and Canada, and *vice versa*, a French port being stipulated for as the point from which the steamers should start and to which they should return.

Again, when the matter is most fully explained by Sir Charles Tupper, more fully than at any other stage, he is simply calling attention to the existing state of facts, reading the advertisements issued by the Dominion Government calling for a direct line of steamers between Canada and France as the best assurance he could give of the desire on the part of the Canadian Government for such communication—not a single promise as to anything in the future, but simply calling attention—

Mr. EDGAR. Will the hon. gentleman read the next line ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Certainly.

I mentioned that the Government of Canada stood pledged—

Mr. EDGAR. Pledged ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Exactly.

I mentioned that the Government of Canada stood pledged to the appropriation of £150,000 per annum for the proposed service, and that when it was organized and in operation, as I believed it would be at no distant date, the speed required would enable mail matters and passengers to reach not only Canada but all the western states of America more than twenty-four hours sooner than they could be conveyed to the same points by the direct route now in existence by New York.

The hon. gentleman who desired me to read that passage, now that I have read it, will not say that Sir Charles Tupper meant that we were pledged to France or that we proposed to pledge ourselves to France. He was not talking of any pledge to France whatever, but was speaking of the public pledge we had given in this Parliament and to the country as to the kind of service we desired to establish.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). He also said that the treaty would be worthless without it.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. That was Sir Charles Tupper's opinion at that time of the effect of the treaty. What the effect as to the want of communication with France would be in view of the *surtaxe d'entrepot*, I do not propose to refer to, because this is a motion for papers, and the Government will state what we can state with regard to the negotiations, and the French Treaty will be discussed at another time. Let me call attention to an extract from a letter from Sir Charles Tupper to MM. Hanotaux, Pallain and Roume, dated 21st November, 1892. The extract appears at the top of page 24 :

It also appears that you are not disposed to recognize the value of direct communication between France and Canada by a fast line of steamers for which the Government of Canada stand pledged to grant an annual subvention of £150,000 sterling, although it must be perfectly evident that such a line of direct communication between the two countries will be of very great value to France.

If there could be any doubt as to the meaning of the preceding passage, in which it was said that the Canadian Government stood pledged, that doubt would be completely removed when it becomes apparent that Sir Charles Tupper did not refer to a pledge under the negotiations which took place between France and the British Government or negotiators, but he referred to the pledge given by the policy of this Government, as stated in Parliament and before the public. Now, these negotiations had proceeded thus far, and it was completely understood on both sides that the negotiators on behalf of Great Britain had been telling simply the policy of the Canadian Government, as expressed by the Government, and as conveyed in the public call for tenders. But at this period, the 22nd of November, 1892, when it became a question what the terms and conditions of the treaty should be, the French Commissioners proposed that the condition, as regards the steamship subsidies, should be embodied as one of the terms of the treaty, and if that had been adopted the hon. gentleman would have been in a position to say that it was one of the conditions laid down in the negotiations, and one that it was the duty of the Government to observe. They proposed that it should be stipulated that :

Sir JOHN THOMPSON.

The Canadian Government undertakes to give a subsidy of £100,000 to a line of steamers having for terminus a French Port.

This was on the 22nd of November, 1892. The paper begins at page 25 and the extract is found on page 26. Now, on page 24 we find the next reference, being a telegram from Mr. Bowell. We find a quotation of a telegram from Mr. Bowell, dated January 11th, 1893 :

Re French Negotiations, Government cannot accept conditions involved in clauses regarding steamship subvention and reduction of duty on French books, but agree.

And so on as to the other conditions. On page 35, in the continuation of the same letter from Sir Charles Tupper to the Hon. Mr. Bowell, in which that telegram of Mr. Bowell is quoted, Sir Charles uses this expression :

M. Hanotaux said that he quite understood this, and was very glad to welcome me back to Paris. I stated that after full consideration the Government of Canada had accepted the proposals of the French Government as embodied in the memoranda which he (M. Hanotaux) had handed to me at our last meeting on November 22nd, with the exception of the proposition to reduce the duty on French books and the clause relating to the direct steamship service between France and Canada ; that I was not aware of any change in the policy of the Government in regard to the steamship service, but that it was not considered proper to make a question of this kind the subject of an engagement to another country ;

Now, if it is not to be considered proper on the part of this Government to make any arrangement on that subject with a foreign country, I should like to know how it could be said with any degree of accuracy that we are refusing to carry out the conditions laid down in the negotiations with that foreign country in declining to vote a further subsidy of £100,000.

Mr. AMYOT. Was there any complaint from France about that ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. None whatever. But the hon. gentleman will see that without any further negotiations on that subject whatever, either in the way of complaint or in the way of request, a request for any pledge, promise or assurance, the treaty was made without that clause in it :

And that I would write a letter to him (see enclosure) explaining that fact, and furnish him with a copy of an extract of the speech I had recently addressed in London to a large deputation of gentlemen interested in the port of Milford Haven, from which he would see the importance that Canada attached to obtaining direct communication with France. I added that the fact that the minimum treatment which it was proposed that France should give to Canada on a number of articles would be practically of little value without direct communication between the two countries, affording a sufficient guarantee of the interest which

Canada had in obtaining that direct steamship service.

I have only to say that the interest we have in that subject, the subject of obtaining direct communication with France, both in view of the provisions of this treaty and for the purpose of the enlargement of the trade between the two countries, is not less now than it was then. It is simply a question of practicability so far as we are concerned, but so far as the view presented by the leader of the Opposition is concerned, it is a question of obligation, although we distinctly declined to be pledged. Now, here is another letter which Sir Charles Tupper seems to have addressed to M. Hanotaux in pursuance of that promise, on the 18th January, 1893 :

As I informed you to-day the Government of Canada have agreed to the proposals in your memoranda which you handed to me at our meeting on 22nd November last, with the exception of the proposed reduction of duty on French books, and the clause relating to the steamship service between France and Canada. This does not arise from any change in the policy of the Government in the latter question, as I have placed it before you, but there does not seem to be any ground for embodying the intentions of the Government in a treaty to which there are obvious objections.

Since our meeting on the date mentioned, I had occasion to refer to this subject in replying to a very influential deputation which waited upon me to advance the interests of Milford Haven as a point of communication between Canada and England. I inclose a copy of my speech in reply to the deputation in which you will see that I explained to them that Canada attached a great deal of importance to that feature of the project which provided for direct communication with France.

You will also readily perceive that the concession of the minimum tariff on a number of articles which it is proposed to give Canada will be practically of no value unless direct communication between the two countries be provided, as the surtaxe d'entrepôt would make it impossible for Canada to derive any advantage therefrom.

I hope the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills), when he suggested a reference to that passage of the correspondence a little while ago, was not misconstruing it in his own mind as indicating that Sir Charles Tupper was of the opinion that the treaty would have no value to Canada unless a direct line of steamships referred to in the negotiations about a £100,000 subsidy, were established. Sir Charles Tupper was calling attention to the fact that the surtaxe d'entrepôt would apply to the goods forwarded through other countries to France, and that direct communication was absolutely necessary as regards many of the articles which were referred to in the treaty. That is no doubt the case.

Mr. LAURIER. And without direct communication, the treaty would be valueless ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Certainly, as to many of the articles contained in it, but not necessarily direct communication by means of this line of steamships.

Mr. LAURIER. Why not ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Direct communication, for instance, in forwarding our lumber to France, which is not sent by steamer. There is a reference with regard to Milford Haven, which I do not think very important, but in which he refers to the fact that owing to the system adopted :

They proposed to have not only a direct and rapid communication by going to an English port, but they proposed also to have a direct line of communication between Canada and the continent of Europe by requiring vessels to proceed on to a French port. Owing to the system adopted, and held with such tenacity by France the trade between Canada and France was greatly obstructed by the want of direct steam communication between the two countries. Now, a vessel coming to an English port in the first instance would not at all affect the regulations in France, provided the vessel went on under through bills of lading and delivered her cargo, if intended for France, or any port of the continent of Europe, without having landed it in England first.

Now, my hon. friend from Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot), asked me whether there was any remonstrance on the part of the French commissioners. On page 38 we find a statement made in a letter of Sir Charles Tupper to Mr. Bowell, Minister of Trade and Commerce, that M. Hanotaux informed him that his letter with reference to steamship service was considered quite satisfactory, and that is a letter assuring him of the desire and the policy of the Canadian Government to secure direct communication with France, and to secure it also in relation to a steamship line which would be worth £100,000, as evidenced, not by anything that he pledged this Parliament to do, or that the Government intended to do other than they had done already, namely, offering that sum of money to secure such a steamship line. Then on page 44 is another communication from Lord Dufferin and Ava and Sir Charles Tupper to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, in which they say :

We take this opportunity of confirming what we already made known to Your Excellency during the progress of the conferences, viz. : that the Canadian Parliament, desirous of favouring the developments of commercial relations between the two countries.

The hon. gentleman, to establish his conclusion, and to justify his argument, would need that the paragraph should go on to say "Will vote a subvention of £100,000," but what they actually say is :

Has voted a subvention of £100,000 for the purpose of establishing a line of steamers to run between a Canadian port on the one side and a French terminus on the other.

Just what they had done, and just what they had then made a public offer of. The last passage I will read is an extract from a letter to myself from Sir Charles Tupper in which he said :

Under the proposed steamship line with France, which will enable us to have much more rapid communication and relieve our trade from the surtaxe d'entrepôt, I see no reason to doubt that the exports from Canada to France will be very rapidly and greatly increased.

My contention then is that while we are perfectly willing to give my hon. friend any further correspondence—and I am afraid there is no more to give him—while we are willing to give him anything we have that will throw any light on the subject—and the hon. gentleman seems to think there must be some more on account of the long interval which elapsed between two communications—while we are perfectly willing to produce anything we cannot admit that at any time from first to last of the negotiations, there was a pledge on behalf of this Government that a subsidy should be voted for the establishment of a line of steamships between Canada and France ; but we contend that the references to that subject were legitimate references to what had already been done, and that when it came to the question of whether any pledge should be given or any condition made on the part of the Government of Canada, we distinctly declined to be bound by any such condition whatever.

Mr. EDGAR. I desire to ask the Finance Minister if the Government have communicated their change of policy to the French Government ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. We have not made any change of policy.

Mr. LAURIER. As I said a moment ago, I do not desire on the present occasion to discuss the question involved in the motion before the House ; still some remarks have been made by the First Minister which require comment on my part. When the other day I put the question to the hon. gentleman with respect to the line of steamers that was to be subsidized between France and Canada, I did not state that this stipulation was part of the contract entered into as regards the treaty between France and Canada, but I stated that it has been an understanding in the negotiations that had taken place, and which led to the treaty. The hon. gentleman cannot deny, and no candid man can deny, that it was well understood in the negotiations which took place between the French and the English Commissioners, Sir Charles Tupper, especially, that the policy of the Canadian Government was that there should be such a line of steamers subsidized between France and Canada, and it was not only the policy of the Canadian Government but it was an actual fact and the money had been voted

Sir JOHN THOMPSON.

by Parliament. It was not a promise, but the basis on which the negotiations were conducted. The French Government desired that this provision should be embodied in the treaty, but the English Commissioners said that for obvious reasons—whatever they were I do not see—they could not enter into such engagements towards another nation. But at the same time it must be remembered that although this condition was not embodied in the treaty, it is part of the policy of the Government, and actually the money has been voted. Not only the honour of the English Commissioners, but the honour of the English Ambassador to France, Lord Dufferin, is pledged to the statement made, and which was made on the very day the treaty was signed, that the Canadian Parliament had actually voted £100,000 towards the subsidizing of a steamship line between France and Canada. That was not an untruth stated by Lord Dufferin on that occasion, it was a fact, because in 1889 the Canadian Parliament voted the sum of money there mentioned, \$500,000, towards the subsidizing of a steamship line between Canada and Great Britain, the vessels calling at a French port, and thereby being able to avoid the surtaxe d'entrepôt, which otherwise would make the treaty valueless. What is the position now ? The Canadian Parliament has determined to ratify the French treaty, a treaty which was signed on the part of the Republic on the understanding that a line of steamers was to be subsidized, and the Minister of Finance told us a few days ago that the conditions on which the subsidy was granted in 1889 had been cancelled, and that the vote would not be found in the present Estimates. A departure has therefore been made by the Canadian Government from the basis upon which the treaty was negotiated. The hon. member for Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot) asked : But has the French Government protested ? How can the French Government protest ? It has never been made aware of the departure of the policy now agreed to by the Canadian Government.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. That was not the question put by the hon. gentleman.

Mr. LAURIER. What was it ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The question was whether the French Commissioners objected.

Mr. LAURIER. That was not the question, if you will remember.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It was.

Mr. LAURIER. The question was whether the French Government had remonstrated or protested.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No.

Mr. LAURIER. The French Government have made no remonstrance, because they do not know of the departure from their policy by this Government.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. There has been no departure.

Mr. FOSTER. Of what departure is the hon. gentleman speaking?

Mr. LAURIER. Here is a statement made by Lord Dufferin and Sir Charles Tupper:

We take this opportunity of confirming what we have already made known to your Excellency during the progress of the conferences, viz., that the Canadian Parliament, desirous of favouring the development of commercial relations between the two countries, has voted a subvention of £100,000 for the purpose of establishing a line of steamers to run between a Canadian port on one side and a French terminus on the other.

Was that an untruth, or was it a fact?

Mr. FOSTER. It was a fact.

Mr. LAURIER. Was it not a fact that the Canadian Parliament at the instance of the Canadian Government in 1889 voted a subsidy for a line of steamers to ply between Great Britain and Canada, and at the same time call at a French port? Did not the Finance Minister only a few days ago make a statement when the question was asked him—

Mr. FOSTER. What was the question?

Mr. LAURIER. It was:

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT asked. 1. Will the terminal point of the proposed fast Atlantic service be in England or in France? 2. If the terminal point be in England will the line call at any French port?

Mr. FOSTER. The terminal point will be in England. 2. It is intended that there shall be a service to a French port.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. By the same line?

Mr. FOSTER. The same line or a cross line.

Mr. FOSTER. Where do you find any departure in policy?

Mr. LAURIER. It was not to be a cross line, but the same line. The hon. gentleman knows very well that if a subsidy is granted for a line from Canada to Great Britain and there is a cross line, there must be transshipment, and the goods are then subject to surtaxe d'entrepot. The very object failed of attainment. I do not know that the French Government have protested, but I am very much afraid that the French Government will protest. I do not desire to make any further comments than such as cannot be avoided, but it seems to me that the honour of Canada is pledged in this matter, and before we take a final step and the Government asks for a ratification of the treaty they should state exactly what is their policy, whether they intend to ask a subsidy to carry out the promise given—I will not say a promise—but the understanding on which the treaty was negotiated.

Mr. TARTE. (Translation.) Mr. Speaker, the explanations which have just been given us are not calculated to give us credit in Europe as a people having any regard for good faith. It is not the first time that in negotiations of this kind, we have been wanting in good faith. But now, we have before us such a clear case that—I regret having to state it—bad faith is unhappily too plain. In 1889, we passed an Act under which five hundred thousand dollars were granted for the establishment of a line of steamers between Canada and France. The third clause of this Act reads as follows:—

The Governor in Council may enter into a contract for a term not exceeding ten years with any individual or company, for the performance of a fast weekly steamship service between Canada and the United Kingdom, making connection with a French port, on such terms and conditions as to the carriage of mails and otherwise as the Governor in Council deems expedient, for a subsidy not exceeding the sum of five hundred thousand dollars a year.

I think there could be nothing clearer than such a clause. A French port was to be taken as the terminal port. Besides, both our negotiators in France wrote to the French Government, as already stated, that the Canadian Parliament, as soon as 1889, had voted a subsidy of half a million dollars for the establishment of fast steamers between a Canadian port and a French terminus. Now, they come and tell us that the Government do not feel bound to fill that condition. Here is bad faith in its simplest expression. The French Government were imposed upon on the 6th February, 1893, and now they are a good deal more. The hon. the First Minister has just stated, in the face of Europe which hears him, that while there exists a statute sanctioned by the Queen in which it is stated that a subsidy of five hundred thousand dollars is granted for the establishment of a line of fast steamers between Canada and France, the hon. the First Minister, I say, stands up here and states that if nothing should be voted for the establishment of such a line, the Government in whose behalf he speaks and who are bound by his word, will break no contracted obligation. As I stated, we have already deceived foreign nations, but it is a more dangerous game to try and dupe the courts of Europe than the American people. I have no doubt but that, when the explanation of the hon. the First Minister will reach Europe, the French Government will see that Canada, through those who officially represent her, is trying to quibble and avoid her engagements. On the 6th February, 1893, we voted a subsidy of \$500,000, and in the course of the treaty negotiations, both our negotiators used this vote by the representatives of France and the Minister of Foreign Affairs as an evidence of our desire to have more extended commercial relations with France and of our good faith in the negotiations then pending. Yet, the hon. the

Minister of Finance told us the other day in terms sufficiently clear : We are going to ask you to wipe out the very condition, without which the French Government would never have made any treaty with us. After all, Mr. Speaker, what do we give to France by this diplomatic instrument ? Should we faithfully observe all the conditions of the treaty, France would give us much more than we would grant her. The hon. the First Minister went to France since this treaty was signed. I think he must have taken information. I understand that the treaty and the line of steamers which were to start from Canada and end at France were referred to. I think that, when the correspondence will be brought up, we will find that during this last trip, the hon. the First Minister, who has just stated that he took no engagement towards the French Government, then bound himself, to a very large extent, to contribute to the establishment of a line of steamers between Canada and France. I am not making of this question a party question. A treaty question must never be a party question, but the Government are making of this a party question. Most people know that the Government fear the ill-will of some of its friends as for whom the sole name of France is a cause for irritation. I regret that it should be so.

Mr. AMYOT (Translation). Name ! name !

Mr. TARTE (Translation). There would be too many to name. Moreover, why should I give names which were held before me by the hon. member for Bellechasse to the indignation of the province of Quebec ?

Mr. GEOFFRION (Translation). And which he now flatters.

Mr. TARTE (Translation). I repeat, Mr. Speaker, that this is not a party question, for this side of the House at all events. Speaking in my own name, although I am sure to express the views of many of my friends, I say that it is the duty of this House to see that the Government should faithfully keep the word they have given. I have somewhat, I might even say that I have much, travelled in France. During these travels I concerned myself with the question of trade relations between Canada and France, and I have no hesitation in saying that if the line of steamers in question should not be established as understood, the treaty will be absolutely useless. We have heard many things in connection with the ratification of this treaty, amongst others that the Government would have it adopted here, but would take their measures to have it killed in the Senate. We will not be parties to an act of duplicity. If the Government are not willing to keep faith with their engagements, for my part I am not prepared to say that I will vote for the ratification of this treaty.

Mr. OUMET (Translation). Hear, hear.

Mr. TARTE.

Mr. TARTE (Translation). I hope that in this case the Government will keep the engagements they have taken towards France.

Mr. OUMET (Translation). And you are willing to vote against the treaty.

Mr. TARTE (Translation). Let the hon. Minister of Public Works understand me well ; I say it is the duty of the Government—and he, the hon. Minister who occupies a very important position in this Government, ought to see closely to it—I say it is the duty of the Government to act in good faith. The hon. Minister of Public Works took, I know, a prominent part in the movement which took place in favour of the subsidy inserted in the statute of 1889. I have some knowledge of that, for I was then with the hon. Minister in better terms than now. He displayed much activity and devotedness in all the proceedings which had for their object the voting of this subsidy. I now ask him, in the face of the province of Quebec and of the whole country, if he is now going to consent to the wiping of that clause out of the statute ? If he is, he knows he will do something which he will not be able to account for, and I beg to be allowed to say that he knows he will do an act of weakness. Well, I say I am not prepared—and I am not afraid to state it here—I am not prepared to vote for the ratification of this treaty if it is sought to make it an instrument of bad faith. For, if we should now vote for a treaty which has no meaning, or rather, which would have no other meaning than that of deceiving a friendly country, how could one ever go and negotiate in France ? Suppose it is not ratified in France, suppose France says to us : You have deceived us, when truly we would have deceived her, is not the hon. Minister willing to agree with me that we never could make any treaty with that country ? Well, under those circumstances, since the hon. Minister interrupted me, I call his attention, not from the standpoint of a political party, but as one of the representatives of the province of Quebec, of which he, after all, has the special charge with his French colleagues, to the necessity which is incumbent upon him to urge that this important and essential condition should not be taken out of the statute.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I just wish to say one word, not in regard to the discussion upon the merits of the treaty, or upon the peculiar influence of the surtax d'entrepot in its effect upon the trade between ourselves and France ; but simply to make a statement which, I think, is necessary after what has been said by the hon. gentleman who leads the Opposition ; a somewhat surprising statement, in that he attempted, and did, in fact, make a charge of bad faith on the part of the Government with reference to what he termed a change of policy about the trans-Atlantic service. I do not think that charge should be made without

there was very good ground for it, and I do not think there is any ground upon which to base such a charge. Leaving out the merits of the treaty entirely, leaving out the effects of that peculiar provision of the surtaxe d'entrepot which we are not discussing to-night at all, and leaving aside all this voluble excitement about breaking faith and the like of that which we have heard: let us see whether it is true that there has been a change of policy with reference to this matter. The references to the service between Canada and France were references that took place between the negotiators of the treaty upon either side. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Laurier) will see, if he reads over the correspondence, that the plain effort of Sir Charles Tupper as one of the negotiators was to get from France the benefit of their minimum list as a whole, and in order to do that he brought forward what was a fact, the policy which was the avowed policy of the Canadian Government; that a subsidy had been voted by Parliament for the establishment of a fast line of communication between Canada, Great Britain and France. And, using that as an argument, and mentioning the large sum of money which Parliament had voted to carry out that avowed policy, he pointed out that Canada, having done so much, the benefit of the minimum list should be given to Canadian trade. That was the argument used for that purpose, and it was a fair argument to make. It passed between negotiator and negotiator, and it is altogether apart from what was in the articles of the treaty which was agreed upon between the negotiators, and which was agreed to by the Government as well. It would be idle to say that you must hold the Government responsible for all the pourparlers, and statements made in pourparlers by the commissioners upon either side. The Government of either country have done all that they have agreed to as put in the articles of the treaty. Now, what was the policy of this Government, and how did Sir Charles Tupper come to mention the fact? The policy was laid down in 1889, and, in order to refresh the memory of the House, it is well to read what was contained in the Act of Parliament passed in that year, and upon which the policy of the Government in reference to the matter was founded. The 3rd section of the Act of 1889 reads this way:

The Governor in Council may enter into a contract for a term not exceeding ten years with any individual or company for the performance of a fast weekly steamship service between Canada and the United Kingdom, making connection with a French port, on such terms and conditions as to the carriage of mails and otherwise as the Governor in Council deems expedient, for a subsidy not exceeding the sum of five hundred thousand dollars a year.

That laid down a policy; that was what this Government was pledged to do; that was what this Parliament passed; a fast line

between Canada and the United Kingdom, making connection with a French port. Sir Charles Tupper used that in the negotiations; stated the fact and stated the policy and used it as a lever by means of which to influence the French negotiators to give to Canada the benefit of her minimum list. Now, has there been any change in that policy? Directly consequent upon that came the call for tenders for a service upon the terms of the statute, as indeed they must have been on the terms of the statute. It was always an open question as to whether that service as between Canada and France should be by the same line of steamers, from an English terminal port to a French port, or whether it should be a communication by a cross line of steamers. It was infinitely preferable that it should be by the same line of steamers, and the effort and policy of the Government was to bring that about, and the provisional contract which was made upon one occasion for the service, and which afterwards fell through, provided that the service should be done by the same steamers, the idea being that the steamer should leave Canada and go to an English port, then cross from the English port to the French port, then come back to London and freight up with what was necessary to fill the vessel, after having taken on any cargo in France that might offer, and then to call at Southampton on the outward voyage for mails and passengers, and so come to Canada. That was in pursuance of the policy laid down in the enactment which I have just read. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Laurier) says: There has been a change of policy, and he bases that argument on something stated by myself in answer to a question. The hon. gentleman asked me a question with reference to that. He asked whether or not the Government proposed to ask for additional legislation this year with reference to the fast service, and, in answer to that I stated the Government did so propose. I suppose the hon. gentleman put this question on the strength of what had been stated in the newspapers and what had been talked about widely in Canada, that we were going to propose to ask Parliament for a vote of \$750,000 for a fast line of steamers. He asked me that question, and if I recollect rightly, my answer was—at least this was the sense of it—that we did propose to ask for additional legislation with regard to the matter. That showed that the Government had not changed its policy. Then there was another question put to me by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) in relation to the matter we are now discussing; and the question and answer were as follows:—

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT asked, 1. Will the terminal point of the proposed fast Atlantic service be in England or in France? 2. If the terminal point be in England will the line call at any French port?

Mr. FOSTER. 1. The terminal point will be in England. 2. It is intended that there shall be a service to a French port.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. By the same line?

Mr. FOSTER. The same line or a cross line.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Can you not tell which?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

We have not abandoned the policy in the view of the hon. gentleman who asked the question, because in the very question itself, he implies that we are going on with the policy. There was no change in the policy as announced in that answer, because it was always proposed that the vessel should go from here to a port in the United Kingdom, and neither has the policy changed, as it was always intended—in fact, the statute upon which the whole was based made a provision—that there should be a connection with a French port. My answer that the communication should be by the same line or a cross line is exactly the policy that has been announced from the first. As to whether it shall be by the same line or by a cross line depends entirely as it did from the very first, on the conditions which it may be possible to obtain. The Government first proposed that a subsidy of \$500,000 should be given. The Government is going to propose that an enlarged subsidy shall be given. It is going to propose it on the same principle upon which it proposed the first vote, that is, for a fast line with the United Kingdom, and connection with a French port. It is advisable on all sides, if it can be done, that that communication shall be by the same line of steamers. Anyway, there must be a connected service with a French port if the policy of the Government is to be carried out as proposed. Now, that is the simple story of the whole matter. What ground is there in that recital for saying that we have changed our policy in reference to the fast line? Not any in the least, I submit. What ground is there, then, for framing an indictment against the Government that we are breaking faith with the French Government? No ground in this recital that I have made, and no ground in the negotiations which appear in the blue-book from which we have been reading. To-night I wish to put that version of the matter straightly and fairly before Parliament, and I contend that under it there is no ground for saying that we are bound to the French Government, under the articles of the treaty, to do thus and so. What was stated was stated as a fact of policy to which the Government were pledged, and which we proposed to carry out. No change has been made in that policy. The Government do propose to carry it out: they propose to carry it out in the same way in which they have proposed to carry it out from the first.

Mr. FOSTER.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It is perfectly clear, from the hon. gentleman's own statement, that the Government are not prepared to implement the statement, made by Lord Dufferin and Sir Charles Tupper, as a positive matter of fact, that there was going to be a direct service between Canada and France. That is their statement made in half a dozen places; that is the statement which has been read by the Minister; and Sir Charles Tupper went further, and stated distinctly, over and over again, that, in his judgment, unless that line was established, the treaty would be of very little value, if any.

Mr. FOSTER. If the hon. gentleman will allow me, what Sir Charles Tupper and Lord Dufferin did state was this:

That the Canadian parliament, desirous of favouring the development of commercial relations between the two countries, has voted a subvention of £100,000 for the purpose of establishing a line of steamers to run between a Canadian port on one side, and a French terminus port on the other.

A statement of fact.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Precisely what I said—a statement by Lord Dufferin, and confirmed by Sir Charles Tupper, to the effect that there was going to be a line of direct communication between Canada and France. It is perfectly clear that that is not going to be the case. It is perfectly clear that, if the Government are going to have any kind of communication with France it will be by a cross line. We know that they cannot make a French port a terminal point. I am not going to recall the discussion which my hon. friend initiated until the papers, if there are any, come down; but I do say, having regard to the statement made by our High Commissioner, and endorsed by the English Minister at Paris, that it was the duty of the Government, when they found that there was no likelihood of such a line being established, or that there was doubt on the point, to have communicated with the French Government; and, if they have not done so, it is their duty, without an hour's delay, to acquaint the French Government that, owing to difficulties that have occurred, and the great doubt that exists as to the possibility of establishing direct communication between Canada and a French port, they wish the French Government to understand distinctly that while the statements were correct as to what their intentions were at the time the subsidy was voted by the Parliament of Canada, they find now that they cannot carry out those intentions; and before they bring down this treaty to Parliament, they ought to be able to acquaint us with the fact, first, that they have communicated with the French Government, and that the French Government, if they choose to continue the negotiations, regard that as no impediment. It is true, when Sir Charles Tupper and Lord Dufferin

made the statement, although it was not embodied in the treaty, they represented it as an accomplished fact. It is equally true that the French Government believed it an accomplished fact, and that Sir Charles Tupper believed that the treaty would be good for nothing unless it was done.

Mr. OUIMET. After the very clear explanations that have been given by the hon. Finance Minister, it is useless for me to try to show, what has been done already, that this Government have not been guilty of breach of faith with the French Government in regard to the alleged undertaking to establish a direct line between a Canadian port and a French port. The vote for that purpose, as everything else in this House, was contingent on the possibility of finding the people to carry out the idea of a fast line to touch at an English port, and then go to a French port. As to the apparent necessity or usefulness of having direct communication with a French port, if this French treaty is going to be ratified, there will be no difficulty in realizing that; why, unless our goods are taken to a French port direct, we cannot have the benefit of the exemption from the surtaxe d'entrepot, and it will practically shut out the French market to our exporters. As the first scheme could not be carried out, the Government have resolved to ask Parliament, as has been announced, to ratify a proposed contract for a fast service between a Canadian port and an English port. After the treaty is ratified, if it is ratified, it will be for the Government to arrange matters so that the Canadian people will have the full benefit of this treaty; and I am sure the Government will not be deficient in their duty on that score.

Mr. LAURIER. In what manner will that be done?

Mr. OUIMET. It will be announced in due time. It has been shown clearly to the hon. leader of the Opposition and to the House that the representations made by Sir Charles Tupper was founded on facts. This never was done in order to induce the French Government to agree to a treaty with us; but it was stated as evidence of a desire on the part of this country to enter into closer commercial relations with France. I must say that I was sorry to hear the hon. leader of the Opposition indicate to this House and the country, after all he has said himself and all he has allowed his friends to say in the province of Quebec and elsewhere to people who are anxious to see that treaty ratified, that he has found a side path by which he thinks he will be able to oppose this treaty, and yet appear before his fellow-countrymen as having favoured closer commercial relations with France. The hon. gentleman did not say very much, but he has an echo behind him, who not only repeats what the leader of the Opposition says, but on the hust-

ings and everywhere else, says what his leader thinks, but will not dare say himself, as the chief of the Grit party in this Dominion. The hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte) has said that this alleged breach of faith with France is the reason for which he for one—adding that he thought he was speaking also on behalf of those around him from the province of Quebec—would vote against the treaty. We understand that very well, and the good people of Quebec will not be deceived by such tactics. They are only a reproduction of what has occurred in the case of other burning questions. The hon. gentleman says openly what his leader will not say.

Mr. TARTE. What did I say? Just as well to know it now.

Mr. OUIMET. I will tell you, Sir, if I am in order. In the school question, the leader of the Opposition never said what would be his course, except that he would do justice. He never would say what was the justice he would do. But his echo behind him, on every hustings, proclaimed that the justice which would be done to the Catholic minority of the North-west would be to disallow the legislation passed by his bosom friend, the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin). The hon. gentleman has been exciting prejudices in the province of Quebec on these questions. Availing himself of the title his leader gave him one day, in a fit of generosity and liberality, of being his first lieutenant in the province of Quebec, he tells the people of Quebec what he would do, and what the leader of the Opposition would do on that question—that they would wipe out the Manitoba Public Schools Act, and also the Ordinance of the North-west Legislature. His leader would not dare say that, because he respects too much his reputation as a constitutional authority. To-night the hon. gentleman says what the leader of the Opposition would not dare to say, that he would vote against the French treaty because our Government have broken faith. He has said what he had no reason to say is true—

Mr. SPEAKER. Order.

Mr. OUIMET. What is devoid of foundation, that this Government would pass the treaty in this House but have it killed in the Senate. I suppose the hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte) had in his mind the recollection of a certain procedure which he denounced so fiercely when he was with us. No doubt he recollects the famous bill concerning the Nanaimo and Esquimaux railway.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Killed by your own people in the Senate.

Mr. OUIMET. What I want to say is this, that the hon. member for L'Islet was the man who, in his paper, denounced most bitterly and fiercely that the procedure which

he had no doubt then was inspired by the Government of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). It is needless for me to say that this Government intends to carry out truly and loyally its undertaking, as concluded by our representatives in France, and we intend to ask our friends to loyally support us. The hon. member for L'Islet has said on several occasions that if the Government came down with a Bill ratifying the French treaty there would not be found a Frenchman to vote against it. But to-day, thinking that some of our friends object to that treaty, he takes care to announce that now he has found a good reason for not voting for its ratification, and he expects that when we take a vote the Government may be defeated, through defection on our own side, supported by hon. gentlemen opposite. These are the facts to which I wish to draw the attention of the people of Quebec. But even if I did not draw their attention to it, I think that everybody in that province would see through the policy of the hon. gentleman. I am sorry that the hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte) and his leader should have made a party question of this matter, and have taken the opportunity of resorting to tactics, in order to defeat the Government, that will not redound to their credit.

Mr. TARTE. In reply to the hon. gentleman—

Mr. SPEAKER. Order.

Mr. FLINT. I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. TARTE. If the hon. Minister had not introduced into this debate a matter which is entirely foreign to it, I would not avail myself of the motion, Sir, which is now put into your hands. My hon. friend has stated that I was the echo of the hon. leader of the Opposition. Let it be understood that I am here the echo of nobody except my electors. I think I am old enough, when I speak here to say just what I think and to speak for myself. The hon. Minister has thought fit to say that on the hustings in the province of Quebec I have said things that are of such a nature that they are not a credit to me. Well, Sir, I think if I were to refer to certain speeches made by the hon. Minister I could find in them what many would not expect to hear from a man having a responsible position as that he occupies. But let us lay aside all these personal questions. The hon. gentleman has referred especially to the school question. Well, I have said outside of this chamber what I am prepared to say in this chamber. I have not only spoken, but I have written. And, as I have said already in this House, I have the bad habit of signing my articles. Therefore, what I have written may be quoted in this Parliament. I challenged my hon. friend on another occasion to quote one of my articles in which I have written things I would not say here.

Mr. OUIMET.

Mr. OUIMET. There would be too many of them.

Mr. TARTE. In other times I quite remember that my hon. friend was very fond of my articles. I remember well they were also enjoyed by a great many of hon. gentlemen on the other side. But, of course, times are changed.

Mr. DALY. Since Hannah died.

Mr. TARTE. I did not catch what my hon. friend said.

Mr. DALY. I only remarked that things have changed since Hannah died.

Mr. TARTE. If the hon. gentleman would say it in French, I think it would be better. The hon. Minister of Public Works says that I made speeches on the school question that were calculated to arouse religious and race prejudices. Well, Sir, his friends in the province of Quebec have said things with regard to this very question that none of us here would dare to say. I might quote again to-night the speech I have quoted already, made by the hon. Attorney General of the province of Quebec, in which he says that the time has come to make a coup d'Etat, because on that school question the Rt. Hon. Prime Minister and his colleagues had not thought fit to disallow the law. I never said anything of that kind. All the French ministerial organs in the province of Quebec have stated the same thing, with the sole exception of 'La Minerve.' Now, Sir, I will say more than that. On an occasion that my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition will recollect perfectly well, I met a Minister of the Crown in the Vaudreuil election. That hon. gentleman, the Minister of Agriculture, pledged himself to a very strange course of action indeed. He pledged himself that justice should be done, and done quickly, to my French fellow countrymen, or he would be ready to forfeit his right arm. We have not threatened the country with any such calamity as that. The hon. Minister of Public Works has pledged himself to follow the advice of the bishops of the province of Quebec. He did so in a speech that has been published broadcast, and which he cannot deny. I say that a public man ought to have the courage of his convictions, and I declare here on the floor of this Parliament that I think that in the North-west school question it was the duty of the Government to disallow the Act. I may be wrong, but I think I have the right to my opinion. If that opinion is wrong, let it be shown and proved. Let it not be shown and proved by sneers—which will not annoy me very much—but let it be shown and proved in a clear and unmistakable manner. The hon. Minister to-night has taken a stand that is not going to be to his credit, because I am quite sure that the stand he has taken publicly is not the stand he has taken elsewhere. The hon. Minis-

ter himself has asked that these laws should be disallowed. I am not in the Ministerial secrets; but the Ministers have spoken. If the hon. Postmaster General was free to speak, I am sure he would bear out every word I am now saying. The hon. Minister of Agriculture and the hon. Minister of Public Works have asked that the law be disallowed. The Rt. Hon. Prime Minister knows that, and he will not deny it, I think.

Mr. OULMET. What the hon. gentleman now states against me involves the very grave charge that I repeated or divulged what passed in Council. I resent that charge, and I tell him that it is utterly without foundation. The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills), who says nothing now, but smiles and laughs at what I am saying, ought to respect a colleague of his as a Minister of the Privy Council, and ought to believe that colleague, when he says that he has been loyal enough not to divulge what he has sworn to keep secret.

Mr. TARTE. I accept the hon. gentleman's statement. I am bound to do it; I am glad to do it. But how is it, I want to know, that this recommendation at the end of the report of the Council goes so far as to say in other words that this North-west Territories law should be repealed? Is it not clear to any one's mind that a promise was made? Does not the hon. gentleman remember that there was a sub-committee of the Privy Council appointed to report on this question? He does remember that. Did that sub-committee ever make a report? It did not. The personal organs of the hon. Minister of Public Works and the personal organ of the hon. Minister of Agriculture stated publicly and openly—and they were not contradicted—that the Minister of Agriculture and the Minister of Public Works had insisted, and were still insisting, that the North-west Territories' law should be repealed. Well, Sir, I never was stronger, but I was clearer than that. I spoke in time. I said that if the Government of this country had been willing or strong enough to make the law of the land respected they would have acted otherwise than they had done. The Rt. Hon. Prime Minister laughs very heartily. I think he will find in the end that, on this question, the people will not laugh with him. If I am not mistaken in public feeling, there is a widespread opinion that on this school question he has not been fair to us; that he has not been fair to Archbishop Taché; that he has not been fair to those with whom he has acted politically. Well, Sir, I am sorry that this has taken place; but at least I have not been the cause of it. I think the Minister of Public Works has gone beyond the limits of this debate in which we are engaged, and it may be just as well when such an instance arises, that it be cleared up immediately. But let it be well understood, and once for all, that I

am not answerable to the charge of saying outside this Chamber things that I would not dare to say here. Of course I am not as white a man as some hon. gentlemen opposite, I may be a very "black man," but I am not a coward.

Mr. AMYOT. I am rather surprised to see that the discussion on the papers relating to the French Treaty, has drifted into matters having no relation to that treaty. The hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte) has thought fit to accuse the Government of bad faith. He has warned France against the bad faith of the Government; he has told France that we were receiving much more than we were giving, that the members of this House were being shamefully kept in ignorance of what is prepared for us in the Senate, that the Government is preparing a defeat of the treaty in the Senate. He has represented the Government of this country as a lot of men who are engaged in a conspiracy to deceive France and to deceive their own friends. Where is the proof of that? My hon. friend from L'Islet is in the habit of hurling accusations.

Mr. TARTE. And proving them, too.

Mr. AMYOT. We will see that in a moment. Although some of the bishops have reproached him with deception, he still goes on, and he says he signs his articles. We will see what those articles have brought upon his head. The bishop of all others most interested in the school question is Monseigneur Taché. Surely he is the bishop most intimately acquainted with, and most deeply concerned in, the school question. What has been the conduct of the hon. gentleman towards him, that old man who has spent his whole life in working for the half-breeds, for the good of their souls and of their bodies? In his old age he has been accused, suspicions have been directed against him by that tender and good-hearted fellow, the member for L'Islet. For months and months that hon. gentleman has published articles signed by himself, containing all sorts of accusations against that venerable prelate. And what was the answer of Bishop Taché? On the 13th June last, in an open letter signed by himself—between the two names you will have to choose—he writes the following to the address of the hon. member for L'Islet. I translate it:

I hope you will not be too much surprised at the liberty I take in addressing you the present letter through the press. I am only answering your challenge oft repeated in different forms and in many circumstances. I had thought until recently that it was better to keep silent, but I have changed my mind. I now proceed to answer your interrogations, and to declare to you that after having deceived yourself you have deceived others concerning negotiations which you affirm took place between the Government at Ottawa and the Archbishop of St. Boniface respecting the Catholic school of Manitoba.

You deceived yourself and you deceived others.

I now declare to you and to those who have heard you, that your assertions are completely false. Encouraged by the silence which I thought proper to keep in presence of your accusations, you have repeated them before the Liberal Convention held last week at Ottawa. If I correctly understand your charges, you said—

And he enumerates four accusations made by the hon. gentleman.

I regret to have to contradict you. Now, why have you repeated assertions so false and so ill-founded?

This is the language of one of the bishops of this country, one of those bishops whom the hon. gentleman pretends to follow when he is speaking before French people, but whom he reproaches a Minister of the Crown for following when he addresses this House. He is speaking to Protestants here; he would not dare to speak before a meeting of Catholics as he does to-night. To-night he thinks he has put the Minister of Public Works in a tight place when he says to him: You have declared that you would follow the bishops. Well, the hon. the Minister of Public Works, if he follows the bishops, will follow a set of men much better than those who surround the hon. gentleman. The hon. gentleman is surrounded by whom? By the member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin), who is the father of that law which has brought so much trouble on the Dominion. And how did he become the father of that law? By false representation, by false promises, by solemnly promising the people that if he were returned no such law would be enacted, and after having attained to power by means of those false representations, he abused the confidence of the people and passed that law. And who to-day is the best friend of the member for Winnipeg? Who in the quarrels outside of this House flies to his rescue? The hon. gentleman wants to make us believe that he is in favour of the French Treaty. Sir, we were advocating that treaty long before he ever thought of it. This is the first Government that has ever presented such a treaty for the ratification of this House. The hon. gentleman knows that in the Conservative ranks there are many wine manufacturers, as there are in both parties. If light wines from France are introduced in this country at a cheap rate, these men fear they will injure their own trade. The Government have to face not only opposition from that quarter, but they have to face the hostility of the prohibitionists, of whom there are some in both parties. The Government have had to face the opposition of their friends among the wine makers and their friends among the prohibitionists. Our High Commissioner having negotiated a treaty with France, the Government comes and asks the House to ratify it, in

Mr. AMYOT.

spite of the objections of the prohibitionists and of the wine makers. But how is he received by those who pretend to be the friends of France and of the French treaty? With insinuations, with a solemn declaration of bad faith. I ask the hon. gentleman to give us proof of bad faith. We do not like bad faith any better than he does. Is this accusation like those that he directed against Archbishop Taché? Every time he opens his mouth to make an accusation, the accused party tells him that he is wrong, but he spends his life repeating it. I will answer the hon. gentleman to-night in the name of the majority of the people of the province of Quebec and say that we are in favour of a treaty with France; we have some gratitude for the Government which does its best to initiate a treaty and develop our commercial relations with France, and the majority of the people believe the Government are honest and sincere. I tell the people of France that the hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte) has no evidence of bad faith on the part of the Government, and if the hon. member wanted his words to have credit, he would have the evidence to substantiate them ready. I challenge him to produce the evidence of bad faith.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. AMYOT. In a circus there are always some people whose business it is to make other people laugh or who laugh themselves, and that may be repeated in a deliberate assembly. But let the hon. gentleman produce his evidence that there has been bad faith. It is asserted that France has been deceived because direct communication was promised. I deny that statement. A communication was promised and a French terminus was promised—not promised, but mentioned—a policy was defined. It was said that we were ready to vote a sum of money in the hope of building up a large trade with France. We never said that we would engage ourselves to have direct communication with France, and no such statement is contained in the treaty, which is as clear as daylight. There has been nothing changed. But what difference does it make in regard to French trade whether there is a line of steamships from Canada direct or not. The fact of a ship leaving Montreal, Quebec, Halifax, or St. John and steaming rapidly over to France and return does not load the vessel or unload her. If there is enough trade to be done, vessels will be found to do it, and the condition of rapid or subsidized steamships has nothing to do with the treaty. If there is sufficient lumber to be sold in France, there will be members found even in this House who will be glad to do the trade. But this does not change the treaty. But the hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte) says that if it is evident that the Senate will reject the Bill, he will vote against the treaty. That is pretty

much like the man who declares that on Friday night next we will parade, and if Friday is going to be bad weather, we will make it to-morrow. If the hon. gentleman is satisfied that the Senate will reject the treaty later on, he will vote against it now. I think hon. members should avoid the practice of casting suspicion on the motives of each other; they should respect each other, and should not without cause or justification, especially in dealing with a question which concerns other countries, throw accusations across the floor. The only reason I rose was to protest against the language used by the hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte), and to state that his statements did not represent the sentiments of his colleagues here, that the French Canadians were serious in this matter, and desired a treaty, and were only sorry they could not obtain a more extensive treaty. Sir Alexander Galt visited France, but failed to obtain a treaty. Sir Charles Tupper, with the help of Lord Dufferin, has secured a treaty: we will accept it, and endeavour to increase our commerce with France, and when we have increased it we hope a new treaty will be framed so that France will become one of our most advantageous markets. It is not, however, simply with France that we desire a treaty. I am in favour of entering into treaties with all the nations, including Germany, Spain and Cuba, and the United States, when they get ready for it, and it was because they were not ready for it we went elsewhere. In regard to the other question referred to by the hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte) I will not say anything more at the present moment. I might quote other instances where that hon. gentleman had introduced letters which had brought severe replies, and had cast upon him reproach. If I quoted one of the letters of Archbishop Taché it would be only to prove that the hon. member for L'Islet has not a monopoly of the bishops.

Mr. OUIMET. This is the second time on which the member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte) has charged me with having stated at St. Jérôme, and I remember very well the occasion, that I would blindly follow the advice of the bishops on the school question. If I did that, I do not consider I would be following foolish advice, as the hon. member has said. However, that was not the statement I made. What I said was merely this: Our opponents pretend to voice the wishes of the bishops, and they ask the people to oppose our Government on these questions, explaining that a Catholic could not in this matter vote against the bishops' advice without voting against the church. I contended that it was not for those hon. gentlemen to say what the doctrine of the church was; if any one had to do it, it rested with the bishops themselves to state what the doctrine of the church on that question was, and when the bishops kept silent it was not for hon. gentlemen opposite to voice their senti-

ments and opinions. That is what I said, and I do not think I said anything of what I ought to be ashamed.

Mr. LAURIER. I do not rise with any intention of discussing the school question, which has been imported into the debate for reasons I cannot perceive. If hon. gentlemen are anxious to discuss that question there will be many occasions during this session when it can be done by itself. The hon. gentleman stated in so many words, in order to prove that bad faith had not prevailed, that the Government intended to keep faith as regards the pledge given in the course of the negotiations, and that a contract had been entered into with this Government by a gentleman, who was understood to be Mr. Hibbard, for a subsidized line of steamers between Canada and England. Now, I would not have asked now for the communication of this document, because I suppose it would come down in due time; but since it has been brought in debate I suppose that the Government will not have any hesitation to lay it before the House at the earliest possible moment.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Question.

Mr. SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of Mr. Flint that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. FLINT. I withdraw the motion.

Some hon. MEMBERS. No.

Mr. SPEAKER. The motion cannot be withdrawn without the consent of the House. Is it the wish of the House that the hon. gentleman shall have leave to withdraw the motion?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No.

Motion (Mr. Flint) to adjourn, agreed to; and the House adjourned at 11.15 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, 17th April, 1894.

PRAYERS.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I understood there was a report from the Committee on Public Accounts of very considerable importance which was to have been presented this afternoon, or which ought to have been presented. The gentleman who is in charge of it ought to be here.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I suppose the hon. gentleman means the motion to adopt.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The report was not presented; it was laid over.

Mr. FOSTER. I think the report was presented several days ago.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It ought to have been moved to-day.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I do not think there is anything in the report that requires a motion of the House. It is an announcement on the part of the committee that they propose to make an application to the House under certain conditions in future. But as I understand it there is nothing in the report itself that requires any action on the part of the House.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. A distinct understanding was arrived at that that report should be moved to-day, and I do not think it is treating the House with due respect that the chairman should be absent.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I did not know there was any understanding. It occurred to me from the reading of the report at the Table that it was presented under a misapprehension, and that there should have been no report, inasmuch as the resolution reported to the House was a mere statement that at a future day, if necessary, the committee would apply to the House.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That was not the understanding arrived at in the committee or with the chairman of the committee. On the contrary, the chairman of the committee by a formal understanding made with gentlemen on this side of the House, expressly waived the obtaining of concurrence in the report in order that there might be a discussion on it here.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I will ask the chairman of the committee on it. I have not seen him since.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I think the form of the report was not the form the committee intended. The committee intended to report to the House asking power in certain cases to take the evidence of witnesses under oath, limiting the power to a greater extent than it had been the practice to limit it before. That was the view expressed by a majority of the committee, and it seemed to some members of the committee that, without initiation in the House, and without some declaration on the part of the House to depart from the rules as laid down before, that the committee ought not to have taken any action. If the report has been brought down in the form which the Minister says—I have not looked at it—of course, it would require a motion to take any action in the House upon what is stated in the report.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I would like the hon. member to look at the report, because as I read it, it does not in its present shape

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT.

justify any action on the part of the House and it may not be what the hon. gentleman desires.

Mr. LAURIER. With regard to this report, I think the hon. gentleman will agree, that it had better be taken up for discussion to-morrow, if to-morrow will suit him.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Any day will suit me, as far as I am concerned, but I cannot see anything to adopt in the report, and I would suggest that the hon. gentleman should look at the report and see whether any action of the House adopting it or otherwise, would make the slightest difference in the matter of principle. What I understand is, that there was a decision on the part of the committee to do nothing in the direction proposed at that particular time, but that they should apply to the House when certain circumstances transpire. The report does not present any case on which the House can decide as between the two dividing parties in the committee, and, as well as I understand it, what is wished by the minority of the committee is, that the principle involved in the discussion upon that occasion, should come up for ratification or otherwise by the House; but the report does not present it in any way. If I remember the report correctly, it will settle nothing whatever to adopt it by the House. It is simply an announcement that the committee intended at some future day to apply for certain power.

Mr. LAURIER. But the report could be amended, or adopted, or rejected.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Of course it could, but there is no object in asking its adoption.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) There has been a strong contest in the Committee of Public Accounts on this matter, and the committee divided in opinion. A large portion of that committee voted to affirm the precedents which had been followed here from year to year for some time past as to the swearing of witnesses before the committee; another section of the committee desired to limit the powers of the committee in that respect, and presented a report with that limitation in it. I do not suppose that the House is prepared to have its ruling, which is in the archives, overridden by a committee. We submit, that the committee have, to a large extent, overruled the precedent and action of the House, and we desire to challenge the opinion of the House on that point. It was clearly understood that the chairman of the committee should present a report, not only of the resolution, but of the proceedings which led up to the passing of that resolution, and, when it was proposed that the action of that committee should be affirmed, it was understood that we should have the privilege of submitting a substantive resolution embodying our views, which heretofore have been the views of the whole House. The First Minister will see that it is nothing but fair that that

should be brought up. If it is thought desirable to leave it until to-morrow, somebody on this side of the House will move to affirm the desirability of having the witnesses examined before the Public Accounts Committee, sworn on oath or affirmation. It is for the purpose of challenging the opinion of the House that we desire to have this opportunity. It is intolerable that the decision of the House should be overruled by the action of the committee, and that the House should not, by resolution or otherwise, assert its rights.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Of course, there are a dozen ways in which the ruling of the House can be had on the subject, and I merely invite attention to the report to see whether it contains the case for the House which the hon. gentleman expects. If the hon. gentleman finds that the report is such as to bring up the question which he refers to, we can take it either to-morrow or any other day agreed upon, and, if he finds it is not adequate to the purpose of bringing up the principle, let the committee amend it and make another one. There is no objection to discuss it on any day named.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman will see that in the committee, in order that the matter should be properly brought before the House, it was resolved, not only that the report should be presented in the form in which it was, but that the proceedings of the committee which led up to that report, should be presented to the House also, so that the House would be in possession of the main motion moved by my hon. friend from North York (Mr. Mulock), and the amendment moved by the hon. Minister of Marine, which was subsequently carried. Then it would remain for the House to decide what course to pursue—the general one that has been pursued hitherto, or the limited one now proposed.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. There was no resolution of the committee that the report should be presented on this particular day.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Oh, yes, there was a resolution moved by myself and carried by the committee.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I was referring to the report already presented. When the report comes down, we will agree upon a day.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) To-morrow?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Let us see the report first. We will have it printed in the Votes and Proceedings.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

House again resolved itself into Committee of Ways and Means.

(In the Committee.)

Champagne and all other sparkling wines, &c., &c.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The Government requested the other day that certain questions of mine, respecting the probable loss of duty under the French treaty, should stand over. This would be a convenient time for giving the information, if they have it. The question I asked was, what was the estimated loss of revenue under the French treaty upon wine?

Mr. FOSTER. There can be no estimate given other than from the importations of past years. In 1891 the importations of wines, not sparkling and not over 26 per cent proof spirits, were in value \$93,942; the duty collected was \$52,407. The 30 per cent reduction would make a loss of \$28,183. Then, there are imported for home consumption, champagne and other sparkling wines, to the value of \$153,761. The duty collected amounts to \$72,929. A reduction of 30 per cent ad valorem will leave \$46,129. Those are the two classes of wines referred to in the treaty.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. In this statement, does the Finance Minister include wines simply imported from France?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What about the question as to whether wines of a similar character, imported from other countries, would not likewise be affected?

Mr. FOSTER. In the case of other countries, which have no favoured-nation treaties with Great Britain and us, if the wines imported from those countries fulfil those conditions as to strength and proof and quality, they would come in under the reduction of 30 per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What loss would there be in that case?

Mr. FOSTER. I have not here the calculation as to that. The Customs Department is making it up.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That would have to be added to the estimated loss, as the matter stands?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; I will have that to-morrow.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I do not want, at this stage, at any rate, to raise the other question to which I directed attention the other evening, but it is one of very considerable importance. That is, whether the favoured-nation clause has any bearing at all in the case of a reciprocal treaty. My recollection is that, after very full discussion here, the opinion was pretty freely expressed—and by the First Minister—that a reciprocity treaty did not bring the favoured-nation clause into operation, and there seems to me ground for that opinion.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The American rule has long been well settled that the most-favoured-nation clause is outside of a reci-

procuity treaty altogether, and that where a treaty grants special terms, the most-favoured-nation clause cannot be applied for the purpose of getting in the products of another country upon the same terms as secured by the reciprocity treaty. There are some papers in which the English Foreign Secretary has expressed a different opinion, but when the treaty of 1854 was negotiated, the English Government at that time acquiesced in the American view, and I do not know that since then they have dissented from it.

Mr. FOSTER. The discussion on this point will be more opportune on the ratification of the treaty.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I merely mention the matter because we want a distinct opinion on it, and I do not want the question, which is of great practical importance, passed over on the ground that it has not been brought up, particularly as my recollection is strong that the First Minister expressed an opinion in conformity with that of the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills).

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I remember well the occasion the hon. gentleman refers to. The question was raised as to the effect of the treaty between Spain and the United States. The doctrine held by the United States Government is that the benefits derived under a reciprocity treaty are not extended to other countries having the most-favoured-nation clause, and that doctrine was established by a decision of their Supreme Court. On the other hand, the contrary doctrine has been held by the continental countries, and insisted upon, I think, by Great Britain, namely, that the most favoured nations do get the benefit of a reciprocity treaty.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I understood the Minister of Justice himself agreed on the American view.

Mr. EDGAR. I think we will have to abide by the British interpretation.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I presume so. We must always bear in mind, in dealing with the subject, what country we are making a treaty with of that character, because they will insist on their interpretation.

Mr. LAURIER. We are bound by the British interpretation, but suffer from the American interpretation. I understand that our merchants down below are suffering from that very ruling in American international law. In consequence of the treaty between Spain and Norway and Sweden advantages are extended to Spanish subjects in Cuba which are denied to British subjects. However, I will call the attention of the Government to another matter in this connection. Last year, on a question from the hon. member for West Ontario (Mr. Edgar), the Government declared that if the treaty with France were ratified, it was not their intention to discriminate against other coun-

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

tries. The Government have decided to ratify the treaty, yet they maintain the existing tariff. In the treaty with France specific duties are maintained, but the ad valorem duties are removed, while both are retained in the tariff. Therefore, in the tariff there is to be a discrimination against other nations.

Mr. FOSTER. That would be the effect if it were only given to the most favoured nations.

Mr. LAURIER. Then you are going to discriminate in favour of France as against other nations by the ratification of the treaty.

An hon. MEMBER. It is discrimination against England.

Mr. FOSTER. England makes so many of these wines.

Mr. LAURIER. We should understand where we are. Since the treaty is to be ratified, it is to hold in favour of France exclusively. I do not make these remarks in any critical spirit, but want to know exactly where we are. I understand the treaty gives to France advantages denied to other nations, England included.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. All the matters relating to and affected by the treaty will be dealt with by the Bill for its ratification, whether as to wines coming from France or from most favoured nations or any other countries. But we propose to adopt the tariff as if the treaty were not in existence, because the Bill to ratify the treaty will have to go into force at a future date. It can only come into force after proclamation, and after it has been ratified by the other country.

Item agreed to.

Opium (crude), one dollar per pound, the weight to include the weight of the ball or covering.

Mr. FOSTER. I want to make one change there—to strike out all after the word "pound."

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What is that for?

Mr. FOSTER. It makes the duty on crude opium \$1 per pound on the opium itself.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That reduces the duty considerably?

Mr. FOSTER. It reduces it a little; I think it will reduce the duty about 15 per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What is the object of that? What reason is there for altering?

Mr. FOSTER. The duty upon crude opium seems to be too high, taken in connection with the decreased duty in the United States. The proposed Bill in the United States reduces opium almost one-half.

Mr. LAURIER. Surely you do not consider the proposed Bill in the United States.

Mr. FOSTER. We have to in some cases.

Mr. LAURIER. The hon. gentleman did not know anything about it, and would not consider it with regard to agricultural implements. Now, when it comes to opium, he knows all about it. The hon. gentleman has had new light since the other day.

Mr. FOSTER. I have received a copy of the Bill since then.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). What is the loss of revenue?

Mr. FOSTER. About 15 per cent.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). What will be the amount of the loss?

Mr. FOSTER. I think there will be no actual loss of revenue.

Mr. CHARLTON. I hope my hon. friend is not taking a step which will increase the use of opium.

Mr. FOSTER. If it were putting a temptation in the way of my hon. friend, I would put the duty away up.

Mr. CHARLTON. I doubt the propriety of reducing a duty of that kind. I do not know but that my hon. friend is in as much danger as I am.

Item agreed to.

Opium prepared for smoking, five dollars per pound.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Why ought this to be imported at all? It ought to be prohibited. It is a most improper thing for the hon. gentleman to propose to encourage the smoking of opium. There has been a regular fight in every portion of the Christian world against a proposition of this sort, and it does seem to me a monstrous thing for the Government to encourage the use of opium, whether by the heathen Chinese or the Christian citizen. I think the hon. gentleman ought to propose the prohibition of this article. This item ought to be in the criminal law instead of being in the tariff.

Mr. CHARLTON. You ought not to sanction vice, or injustice, or anything wrong by law. You have no business to sanction opium smoking by law—my hon. friend is all wrong there.

Mr. FOSTER. I may say that last year the immense amount of half a pound was all that came in under this duty.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Does the hon. gentleman propose to allow this to stand?

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman probably did not catch what I said. I said that under this duty only half a pound was imported last year. So, it is practically as well as though the item were prohibited in the criminal law.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman does not retain it for the purpose of raising a revenue. It must be, then, a part of the other branch of the tariff and intended for the development of the industries of the country.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No; it is to keep as far as possible from the free trade system.

Mr. McMULLEN. This is an exceedingly important matter. It seems to me quite clear that this item ought not to appear on the tariff list. The Finance Minister states that only half a pound was imported last year. Still the item as it stands leaves it open to those who wish to import it to do so. Some men may be so committed to the habit that they will have this drug, though they pauperize their families and themselves, to say nothing of having to pay \$5 a pound duty. If it is the intention to prevent the importation I think it would be better to erase this item, and to declare that opium for smoking must not be imported under any circumstances.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Put it on the prohibited list along with obscene books.

Mr. McMULLEN. We ought not to leave this temptation in the way of the unfortunate victims of the opium habit. I move that opium for smoking be prohibited, that it be transferred to schedule "C."

Mr. CHARLTON. I beg to second that motion. And in doing so, I wish to say that if the duty of \$5 per pound is intended to be a prohibitory duty, as undoubtedly it would be—any of the drug brought would be smuggled—still, the attitude of the Government would be much more respectable, and the Government would stand better in the estimation of the country if this article were placed upon the prohibited list. We do not want opium imported for smoking purposes, or the Government committed to the policy of permitting its admission to the country on any terms whatever.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. It would be better to move that it be struck off this list, and then move that it be added to the prohibited list when we get to that part. Mr. McMullen moves, seconded by Mr. Charlton, that the item "Opium prepared for smoking, \$5 per pound," be struck off the list.

Mr. FOSTER. What I am to understand is that the hon. gentleman wishes to have free opium?

Mr. LAURIER. That is not the motion, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FOSTER. That is the effect of the motion.

Mr. LAURIER. The motion was put at the suggestion of the Chairman and the Clerk to strike this off the list, the intention being to add it to schedule "C."

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman does not know that we shall ever reach schedule "C," but he takes good care that this is put on the free list.

Mr. LAURIER. The hon. gentleman's wrath is altogether out of place. The Chairman has not put the motion as it was presented—to strike this item out of this list, and add it to schedule "C." Therefore, I beg to call your attention, Mr. Chairman, to the fact that you have not put the motion as it is.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). I point out to the hon. gentleman that if he wishes to be consistent he must include crude opium also, because that can be brought in and chewed, if the bringing in of the other for smoking is prohibited. There is no difference in the result.

Mr. EDGAR. Will the hon. gentleman support it if it is moved?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). No, I will not; for the result will be that they will smuggle the drug in from the United States.

Mr. EDGAR. We will deal with opium for smoking now, and take up opium for chewing later on. I think, Mr. Chairman, we ought to have the motion put as it was handed in by the hon. member for Wellington (Mr. McMullen), because we have a clause in the resolutions we have passed referring to schedule "C," and it will be found on page 3 of the Corrected Copy, subsection 3, of section 13. In subsection 3, of section 2, it is provided:

That the importation into Canada of any goods enumerated, described or referred to in schedule 3 hereto appended, is prohibited, and that any such goods if imported shall thereby become forfeited to the Crown and shall be destroyed, and that any person importing any such prohibited goods, or causing or permitting the same to be imported, shall in each case incur a penalty of \$200.

Now, I understand that is the provision under which my hon. friend desires to have this article come.

Mr. CHARLTON. After the unworthy motive attributed by the Minister of Finance to the Opposition in regard to this matter, I think we may insist that the motion be put as it was handed into the Chair, that is, that the article shall be taken from the schedule in which it stands now, and be put in schedule "C," on the prohibited list, and then the insinuation made by the Minister of Finance cannot be made. As a matter of order and convenience, we should adopt the suggestion made by the Chair, and by the Clerk of the House, that the article should be dealt with in the schedule where it stands now, and be stricken from that schedule, and then when we reach schedule "C," in the ordinary course of parliamentary practice, we would then put the article into that schedule. But if my hon. friend seeks

Mr. LAURIER.

to make capital, as he evidently desires to do, let us have the motion put as it is handed in, and say that this article shall be stricken from the place where it now stands and be placed upon the prohibitive list.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. The wording of the motion, as put, is not according to rule.

Mr. EDGAR. What rule? Can we not make the wording so as to bring it under schedule "C," as found on page 3 of the resolutions we passed the other night? As the Minister of Finance has pointed out, if it is simply struck out and not put in schedule "C," it is made free.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. We have got a motion now that can be read, moved by Mr. McMullen:

That opium prepared for smoking be struck from the dutiable list, and transferred to the prohibited list.

Mr. FOSTER. Now that we have got a motion that will stand fire, we can proceed to discuss the question. Hon. gentlemen opposite object to the duty of \$5 on opium, because they fear that under that duty, opium would be imported into this country, and used by the Canadian people, and they ask that it be prohibited. Shortly afterwards, a proposal was made to strike it from this list entirely, but if it were struck from the dutiable list entirely, it would become practically free.

Mr. CHARLTON. Such a proposal was not made.

Mr. FOSTER. If the motion was to strike it from the dutiable list, it would strike it from this list and make it 20 per cent, which is almost as good as free, certainly there would be no barrier against its importation. The fact is that \$5 per pound is a prohibitive duty, as, according to the returns of last year, only half a pound was imported under that duty. Consequently, it is only a play upon words. You can put a duty upon a thing so great as to make it prohibitive, or you can transfer it to the prohibited list. Five dollars per pound is a prohibitive duty, and none can be imported under it, as shown by last year's record. If hon. gentlemen would rather have it prohibited entirely, or by name, instead of putting a duty upon it, it makes no difference, and I have no objection, for my part, which plan is adopted.

Mr. McMULLEN. When we pass a clause in an Act admitting opium under a duty of \$5 per pound, we sanction the use of it by any person who desires to introduce it under that duty. It means that we are prepared to say that any man who likes to import it and pay the duty, has full liberty to do so, and with the sanction of this country.

Mr. AMYOT. Why not? Where is the authority to prevent me smoking opium if I like?

Mr. McMULLEN. We make it legitimate for any man to bring it into the country as long as he is willing to pay the duty, and the country sanctions by law the smoking of opium by any one who is willing to pay that duty. That is a principle I want to prevent being carried out under the revised tariff; and I say that we have a right to place it where it ought to be, and that is, on the prohibited list at once.

Mr. EDGAR. I suppose the hon. member for Bellechase (Mr. Amyot) must think that his personal liberty is threatened by the prohibition which appears in schedule "C," a little further on, which would prevent him from importing oleomargarine, or butterine, or other similar substitutes for butter, under a severe penalty.

Mr. AMYOT. Is the hon. gentleman not able to distinguish between smoking opium and eating false butter?

Amendment negatived on division, and item agreed to.

Live hogs, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. The committee will remember that the other night I gave notice of certain amendments to the clauses which had been previously brought down. Instead of making that 25 per cent ad valorem, as I gave notice of doing, I want to change that to 1½ cents per pound. In the next item I want to strike out "beef, salted, in barrels," and insert in place thereof, "meats, n.e.s." I will give all the changes so that the committee can see them.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Perhaps the Finance Minister will now explain the reasons that led him to make the change from the original proposal.

Mr. FOSTER. The original proposition was to charge on live hogs 25 per cent ad valorem, and on salted meats 25 per cent. It will be remembered we had two schedules for salted meats. Barrelled pork, with not more than a certain number of pieces in the barrel, the intention being to include the heavy pork, was charged 1½ cents per pound, and on other salted meats 2 cents per pound. The 1½ cents per pound, instead of 25 per cent, would give at the prices which prevailed last year a shade higher duty, and the 2 cents per pound on other salted meats would give a duty a shade lower. But these meats vary in value. Barrelled pork sometimes runs down as low as \$8 per barrel, and sometimes as high as \$18. When it is high, 25 per cent ad valorem would give too high a duty, and when meats advanced to \$18, 25 per cent would be a very high duty, and when the price ran down low it would take away from the protection

which our farmers hope to enjoy. It is believed that 2 cents per pound all round, besides getting rid of the difficulty of distinguishing whether barrelled pork contained 16 pieces or not, will afford a more even and effective protection than the 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. MARTIN. The hon. gentleman has pointed out that the duty of 25 per cent ad valorem is too high when pork is at the price of \$16 per barrel. The duty, however, would be just \$4, which would be equal to 2 cents per pound.

Mr. FOSTER. I meant \$18 per barrel.

Mr. MARTIN. Pork is very seldom \$18 per barrel; but even then the duty would only be a trifle higher than what is now proposed.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I understand the hon. gentleman's proposal is that when pork sells at \$8 the duty should be 50 per cent, which is a very excessive duty on an article of food.

Mr. FOSTER. The intention is that when salt meats are abnormally low, after having gone through all the manipulations of the Chicago market, the farmer shall still have a fair protection.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The farmer shall have a protection practically worth nothing, and at the same time be fleeced to any extent on a thousand other articles.

Mr. EDGAR. What is the average price per pound for live hogs?

Mr. FOSTER. The average value of live hogs imported last year, according to the Trade and Navigation Returns, was 9¾ cents per pound, but it was an abnormal price, because the duty on live hogs was 2 cents, and some very exceptional kinds of hogs were brought in.

Mr. McMULLEN. Does the Minister of Finance intend to convey to the House that hogs were of the value of 9¾ cents per pound live weight?

Mr. FOSTER. I intend to convey to the House that the hogs brought in last year were of the value of 9¾ cents per pound. That may astonish the hon. gentleman, but the cold fact is in the Trade and Navigation Returns.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The value shows that they were only breeding hogs.

Mr. TISDALE. Does the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) object to the increase in the tariff?

Mr. McMULLEN. I am not talking on that question at all. I am asking the Finance Minister if he really intends to convey to the House the idea that the value of live hogs is 9¾ cents per pound. Wherever he

obtained his information, he is entirely incorrect.

Mr. FOSTER. I am not; I am entirely right.

Mr. McMULLEN. An average of 9¼ cents is beyond any price obtained.

Mr. GILLMOR. I object to the duty on hogs, either alive or dead. I think it is a most unjust and unfair tax against the poor people who consume pork in this country that they should be taxed 2 cents a pound on that article. If you go down to the corner of Elgin street, where I have been today and yesterday and see thirty or forty men there looking for work and the supplies of the winter gone, you will recognize that this duty is unjust. It is outrageous that these poor people should be taxed 2 or 3 cents a pound on the bit of pork they have to eat, whether it is to help the farmers or any other class of the people.

Mr. MACLEAN (York). As a protectionist, I desire to congratulate the Government on their return to specific duties, and especially do I congratulate them that they have taken this course in connection with the farmers' products, viz.: pork, meat, and lard. As a protectionist, I hold that specific duties are an essential part of a protective policy; in the first place, because they secure a proper collection of the duty; in the second place, because they afford a protection to the honest importer, against those who may try to evade the law by undervaluation; and in the third place, because they supply the best form of protection to our home manufactures and products. On that line, I repeat again, that I desire to congratulate the Government for returning to these specific duties, and I congratulate them all the more because they are returning to them in the interest of the farmers, and also, I trust, in the interest of the manufacturers. As a proof of my assertion that specific duties are in the interests of all the industries of the country, I wish to read a telegram from Toronto published in the Montreal 'Gazette' of this morning, which goes to show that the moment specific duties are withdrawn, Canada is, and will be made a slaughter market for United States products. This despatch says:

In view of the more general application of ad valorem duties under the present tariff, and the tendency at present in the United States to offer goods for consumption in Canada at prices much below their fair ordinary market value, the Collector of Customs here has been instructed to cause all invoices of United States vendors to be carefully scrutinized to the end that the collection of duty upon proper values be ensured. In any case where goods are invoiced as being job lots or in which the value is doubtful, the collector has been instructed to forward the invoice to the Customs Department, where the same will be examined and the necessary instructions will be forwarded to the collector.

Mr. McMULLEN.

Mr. CHARLTON. What has that got to do with hogs?

Mr. MACLEAN (York). That has to do with the general question of specific duties, and the farmers' product of hogs will be all the better for it. It is a very important question, and I am glad to see at the outset, that the Government propose to restore, at least, some of the specific duties and to retain their former policy in that regard, so as to benefit the farmers of Canada. I have also here an extract from a paper published in Winnipeg, called the 'Nor-wester,' which has undertaken to criticise what I said the other day in defence of specific duties. That paper says: "The farmers will not take kindly to the Government when they hear these views upholding specific duties." I contend that if the farmer is to have specific duties in connection with his products, that he cannot, and should not, object if the manufacturer has specific duties in connection with what he produces. I trust that when the Government come to these industries in which the specific duties have been removed, especially the woollen and the knitting industry, the wall paper industry, the small agricultural implement industry, and others of that kind; that they will endeavour in every case possible to return to specific duties. Another well-known newspaper, the Montreal 'Star,' has undertaken to criticise me because I uphold specific duties. They say:

That the main reasons for defending specific duties are, first, that it raises the tax as the taxpayer becomes poorer; second, that it discriminates in favour of the rich; third, that it fights against the effort of invention and genius to cheapen the food, clothing and necessities of the people, for, just in proportion as they succeed, it raises the percentage of taxation; fourth, that the effect of specific duty can be understood only by those who have a thorough knowledge of the business affected, and hence that it lends itself to deception and masked extortion.

I say that the facts are quite the contrary; that the farmers and every ordinary minded man can understand specific duties. As a matter of fact you can argue out specific duties on the platform, and every one can understand the question, but when you begin to talk about ad valorem duties the people become befogged and they do not see through it. The argument of this newspaper which has undertaken to dispute my contention in regard to specific duties is altogether beside the fact, and for its information, I would refer it to what is done in free trade England. It is a fact that in England every duty is a specific duty. There is not an ad valorem duty on the list in England. The tea which the poor man uses, costing 6 cents a pound, pays the same duty as that paid by the tea which cost 5 shillings a pound. In some cases the poor man's tea is dutiable at 75 per cent. Free traders in Canada are all the time crying out that the specific duties are unjust to the poor man. It

is true in a way, but there are other items which enables the revenue to deal fairly with him, and I say, that the great bulk of the duties paid in this country and under this protective tariff, are paid on articles in the shape of luxuries, and that the poor man is justly treated in connection with our protective policy; especially do I wish to say: That he is fairly treated under the system of specific duty. I hope and trust that as the Government go along in the discussion of this tariff they will come back in every case possible to specific duties, because specific duties are in the line of protection, and this is a protectionist Government I hope, and a protectionist Legislature as well.

Mr. FRASER. I wish to have some information with regard to what the Minister proposes with reference to meats. Did I understand him to say that "meats, n.e.s., 25 per cent," would be struck out altogether. Then, we have remaining "meats, n.e.s., 2 cents a pound, and meats, fresh, 3 cents a pound."

Mr. FOSTER. On the fifth line, when we come to the words, "meats, n.e.s., including," I will ask to strike out these words and put a capital "C" to the word "canned," which follows the word "included."

Mr. FRASER. I would ask the Minister what would be the difference in duty between meats, n.e.s., at 25 per cent ad valorem and the same meats at 2 cents per pound?

Mr. FOSTER. That would depend on the price. If barrelled pork is \$10 a barrel, 25 per cent on that would of course be a quarter of \$10, but if it is 2 cents a pound, it would be \$4.

Mr. FRASER. Has the Minister of Finance made any calculation covering a year or more to see how these two duties would work?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; in reference to hog products salt, if you take the imports of last year under the two systems, on 1½ cents for part of it, and 3 cents for the other and put the whole at 2 cents, it gives just about the same revenue as last year's rates.

Mr. FRASER. I am glad the hon. member for York (Mr. Maclean) has put himself right with the newspapers who seem to be doubting the wisdom of his speech on this question. With that, however, I have nothing to do. I would rather congratulate the Government upon any changes they have made in the direction of ad valorem duties, and I trust that the Government will not go back from that which is in the best interests of the people. I want to call the attention of the Government to the duty on meats, and to say that as a prime necessity of life this duty is too high altogether. In all the lower provinces our fishermen have to purchase these meats, and this is a very high duty. I hold, in regard to the

necessaries of life, the things men eat and the things men wear, that to put so high a duty upon them is neither in the interest of the revenue nor of the consumer. Are the men who produce meats as numerous as the men who use them? By no means. Salt pork and salt beef are supplies of the greatest possible importance to all the lumbermen and fishermen of the Dominion. I know that there is not a man in this House interested in the lumbering and fishing industries who does not agree with me that this duty is too high, and that it is an imposition upon men who do not get the largest possible returns from their labour. There are plenty of men wanting to work in the woods, who have to take such prices for their labour as they can get; and upon an article which is a prime necessity for them the Government imposes a duty of 3 cents a pound. The fishermen have to take their chances of bad harvests and good harvests in the sea, just as the farmers do on the land; and I am sure there is not a man here from the Maritime Provinces who, if he spoke the truth as he feels it in his heart, would not speak as I do. I suppose, however, that nothing can be done. It is an equitable system; it is in the interest of people whose votes are wanted; and it will be shown that in a certain way they get compensation. But you can never make a country great by taxing those things which men must eat and drink and wear.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Here are nine items with reference to meats, and the Minister of Finance has undertaken to explain some of them. But some it is very difficult to understand, without something being disclosed which we have not at the present time. For instance, meats, n.e.s., are put at 3 cents a pound; that would include beef; but mutton and lamb are put at 35 per cent ad valorem. Then canned poultry is put at 25 per cent, but poultry and game are put at 20 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. Those are alive or not in cans.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Then what is the necessity of the distinction between beef and mutton? Why should there be a specific duty in one case and an ad valorem duty in the other?

Mr. FAIRBAIRN. They must be a very happy family on the Opposition benches. Some of them have been weeping and wailing for the farmer, and the moment something is done to assist him the others in the party do not want to see him assisted. I would like to ask the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies), to answer the hon. member for Guysboro' (Mr. Fraser). For my own part, as a farmer, I think I ought to raise my voice. The hog of this country has become a very important factor to the farmer; it is a valuable adjunct to the dairying cow; these are two of his great staple articles; and anything that will interfere with the great industry of raising these ani-

mals will be very detrimental to the farmer. The time has gone by when it was considered impossible to raise hogs in this country to supply the demand of the country. Now that the question is settled, I hope for all time to come, that the farmers of this country are capable of raising all the pork required, and are exporters rather than importers. This industry should be given fair protection. If it were not for what I know of the lower provinces, I would ask for greater protection; but I wish to be liberal, and, therefore, I say that the protection now on pork is quite enough, it is fair, and I hope there will be no change.

Item agreed to.

Mutton and lamb, fresh, 35 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Now, I suppose the hon. Minister can tell us why he preserves a specific duty in one case and an ad valorem duty in the other, and why the rate is so high?

Mr. FOSTER. The effect of the duty of 35 per cent will be to lower the rate on fresh mutton a little—very little; but it will be seen that sheep came in before at 30 per cent, and they came in under this, with animals living, at 20 per cent, so that the protection on each of them is somewhat reduced, and fresh mutton and lamb are made 35 per cent. more in accordance with live animals at 20 per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Has the hon. gentleman been studying the American tariff? Can he tell us what their duty is on these articles imported?

Mr. FOSTER. Animals living have been put in the United States tariff at 20 per cent, and we have put ours at the same rate. Mutton and lamb and all fresh meats have been going through a variety of processes. They went up 25 per cent from the Wilson Bill; they were changed by the Finance Committee of the Senate; and I notice that after the Senate had sent in its first report, they again sent in an amendment making it at the present rate, if I remember rightly, of 20 per cent. All you can say about it is that it has gone through three or four changes by way of proposal without any change being actually made. But if it goes through at the Finance Committee's proposal, it will be 25 per cent.

Mr. MARTIN. The Minister of Finance has not yet explained why mutton and lamb are made ad valorem 35 per cent, and other fresh meats, including beef, remain at the specific duty of 3 cents per pound. Why should a specific duty be put on all kinds of fresh meat except these two particular kinds?

Mr. FOSTER. Both the sheep and lamb and the meat as well in this case are ad valorem.

Mr. MARTIN. Then why are all other fresh meats, including beef, put at a specific

Mr. FAIRBAIRN.

duty of 3 cents per pound? What is the reason for the distinction?

Mr. MARA. I should imagine the reason is to encourage the trade with Australia. Australian mutton can be imported into British Columbia very much lower than from the United States. British Columbia is the largest purchaser in the Dominion of sheep, and by the new line of steamers, established recently, mutton can be brought over from Australia and sold at a very much lower rate than if imported from the United States.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. How does that affect the question raised by the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills)?

Mr. MARTIN. The question is why mutton and lamb are charged 35 per cent ad valorem duty, and all other fresh meats a specific duty of 3 cents per pound. The hon. gentleman says that possibly it is intended to make mutton and lamb cheaper, in order to encourage the Australian trade. I would point out to him that any attempt of that kind to encourage Australian trade in British Columbia is done at the expense of the farmer in Manitoba, who is a competitor with the Australians in the British Columbia market for mutton and lamb. I wish to find out whether that is the reason which induced the Government to make the change. But apparently neither the Minister of Finance nor the Controller of Customs, nor the two combined, are able to answer the question.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. Shall this item be adopted?

Some hon. MEMBERS. No.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I put my question and have not yet got an answer.

Mr. FOSTER. I have answered the hon. gentleman quite satisfactorily. I find the hon. gentleman hard to please.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). If I heard the answer, I might consider whether it was adequate or not. But I have not heard any. In the first place, the hon. gentleman has put fresh meats, beef and pork, on the list at 3 cents per pound specific duty. Then he has put mutton and lamb at 35 per cent duty ad valorem. I do not know whether that is a higher or a lower rate, and I do not see any reason why the one should be a specific duty and the other an ad valorem duty. The hon. gentleman has not told us.

Mr. FOSTER. I thought I gave the hon. gentleman full information, and I think he must have been busily talking and did not hear. I dare say he will find, as we go through these items, where specific and ad valorem duties follow each other, that it may be sometimes quite difficult to see any general principle upon which the one is placed at a specific rate and the other at an

ad valorem rate. But certainly it is not against his argument to charge the ad valorem duty. Sheep or lamb is placed at an ad valorem duty, and so is the flesh of the sheep or the lamb. In the case of mutton, worth 7 cents a pound, that gives a protection of about $2\frac{1}{4}$ cents per pound; and if worth 6 cents per pound, the protection is about 2 cents. The competition in fresh pork and beef is very much more keen in Canada with the United States than in mutton and lamb. If the hon. gentleman will look up the returns, he will find that the imports of sheep and lamb from the United States, in all the provinces, with the exception of one, is very small indeed. The chief importation is in the Pacific Province, where they have to bring in a large proportion of the lamb and sheep food that they use. The hon. gentleman knows that, for some time back, we have been cultivating trade with Australia. He knows that subsidized vessels are now running between the two countries, and a duty of 35 per cent gives a little better range for that trade between Australia and British Columbia. It is one of the friendly inducements which we held out to that trade, even in advance of the conference which is to take place in June, and from which we expect good results. At the same time, 35 per cent is a good protection for sheep-raisers in this country. Taking all these things into consideration, I do not think the House will be disposed to find fault with us for not having, on the one hand, given adequate protection, and on the other held out a friendly hand to our Australian brothers

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Mutton in Australia is worth about $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound.

Mr. FOSTER. But it has a long way to come.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Does the hon. gentleman really pretend to say that we are going to encourage a big trade in Australian mutton by the imposition of the duty he proposes?

Mr. FOSTER. A little friendly competition in a certain kind of mutton.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It will be a little friendly competition. I see we imported \$9 worth of mutton all told in the year of grace 1893. That is a valuable trade. It is likely to result as profitably as the hon. gentleman's other attempts to open trade with the ends of the world, and his other attempts to destroy really valuable trade which might be helped by assimilating the tariffs. He has been assimilating the tariff to that of the United States in a good many particulars. Here is an opportunity for him to show some good-will that will really mean something and will result in some good, by assimilating the tariff with that of the United States.

Mr. CHARLTON. I think this is not a question of great practical importance. We exported \$1,088,000 worth of sheep last year, and, under these circumstances, we are not likely to import a great deal of mutton. I notice that the Finance Committee's version of the Wilson Bill puts sheep and cattle at 20 per cent, and fresh beef, mutton, &c., at 25 per cent. One is supposed to be the equivalent of the other. If that is a fair basis of calculation, my hon. friend the Minister of Finance seems to have arrived at some strange results.

Mr. FOSTER. I think that is a very low basis, if you try to equalize them.

Mr. CHARLTON. I imagine it would be. However, as I said, it is a question of no great practical importance, as we are large exporters of sheep, and have all the mutton we want. I do not think my hon. friend from British Columbia (Mr. Mara) will find a large importation of that from Australia. I do not think my friends from the North-west will find themselves very much interfered with by the importations.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I have been unable hitherto to understand how it was that we had specific duties in some cases, and ad valorem duties in other cases. But now we have obtained an explanation from the Finance Minister. It seems the hon. gentleman and his colleagues adopted the method of tossing up. If it turned "heads," it was a specific duty, and if "tails," an ad valorem duty. The hon. gentleman had no reason in the world, and simply decided it by the question of "heads" or "tails."

Some hon. MEMBERS. Carried.

Mr. MARTIN. It will be carried all the sooner, no doubt, if the hon. gentlemen will allow me to complete my remarks. The hon. Minister was very reluctant indeed to explain this matter. He got up and said he had explained this item, when he had made no explanation whatever.

Mr. FOSTER. I think I made some explanation.

Mr. MARTIN. No; the hon. gentleman failed to make the explanation he has just made. The hon. member for Yale (Mr. Mara) first made that explanation, and afterwards the hon. Finance Minister gave it to us. I think we now understand what it is, and I am quite unable to agree with my hon. friends on this side when they say that it will not have a considerable effect upon the British Columbia importations. It is intended to have an effect, and, whatever that effect may be regarding British Columbia, I would like to call the attention of the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin), and the hon. member for Alberta (Mr. Davis), to the very direct effect it will have upon the ranchers and farmers in their districts. Mr. Chairman, the country in the North-west Territories is more particularly

adapted to the raising of sheep and lambs and cattle, and the sheep and lambs that are grown there find their market almost exclusively in British Columbia. Now, the change in this duty, it appears to me, is a very radical one. I understand that it is to be levied upon the price of the sheep and lambs in Australia, which is about 2 cents a pound. Thus, the duty, instead of being 3 cents per pound, will be 6-10 cents per pound, or about one-fifth of what it is at present—a very radical change in the duty, I am sure, and practically an encouragement to the Australians as against the farmers and ranchers of the North-west. I may say, Mr. Chairman, that shortly before the House assembled I held some meetings in the North-west, and at one of these meetings hon. gentlemen opposite were represented by Senator Perley. At that meeting, this matter was very fully discussed, and one of the very great inducements held out by the hon. Senator to the farmers to give their support to the Government was the protection that the Government gave them as against the Australian farmers in the matter of lambs and sheep. Now, I beg to call the attention of the people of that part of the country, and of the hon. Senator, to the fact that hon. gentlemen opposite have abandoned that policy completely, have reduced the duty of 3 cents a pound upon sheep and lambs going into British Columbia to 6-10 cents per pound, or less. I cannot at all agree with the statements of hon. members on this side that this will not bring sheep and mutton into British Columbia from Australia. I am quite sure that the hon. member for Yale fully expects that it will bring sheep and mutton into British Columbia from Australia. This is another instance, Mr. Chairman, of the extreme difficulty of working a protective tariff in a country like Canada, which extends like a line from ocean to ocean. I do not blame the hon. member for Yale, and other British Columbia members, who seem to be acting in the interests of their constituents, for inducing the Government to make this very radical change. But I do blame the hon. member for West Assiniboia and the hon. member for Alberta, and other members representing the North-west Territories for having nothing to say on this very important question affecting their constituents. I am quite certain, Mr. Chairman, that when the matter comes to be discussed in those localities, as it will be after this House rises, the farmers there will regard it as a matter of very considerable importance to them, and they will believe that whatever British Columbia may gain will be their loss.

Mr. MARA. There is no radical change, Mr. Chairman. British Columbia has been in the past, a good customer of Manitoba and the North-west for sheep; and no doubt she will continue to be as large a purchaser as ever. But, besides her purchases in Manitoba and the North-west, British Col-

umbia has been obliged at certain seasons to buy in the United States, when Manitoba and the North-west could not ship sheep that were fit for mutton. Out of \$27,000 paid last year, British Columbia paid over \$21,000; and nearly all that went into the United States. Surely the hon. member for Winnipeg will not—

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What did you pay \$21,000 for—not on mutton, surely?

Mr. MARA. No; on sheep. The total amount paid for the year was \$27,421, and of this British Columbia paid \$21,498, in addition to purchasing some thousands of head from Manitoba and the North-west. But surely the hon. member for Winnipeg will not say that if it is in our interest to divert a portion of that trade from the United States to Australia, we should not do it; and this, I would presume, is what the hon. Minister of Finance and the Government intend trying to do. We will still continue to be purchasers from Manitoba and the North-west, but we have to purchase elsewhere when Manitoba and the North-west cannot supply us.

Mr. MARTIN. I do not care how much hon. gentlemen opposite divert trade from the United States to Australia, but I do care if, by means of their tariff, they divert trade now done by Manitoba and the North-west to Australia. I think the people of Canada are more interested in the farmers who are struggling to make a home in the North-west than they are in cultivating trade with Australia.

Mr. SPROULE. I was about to say that the hon. gentleman must have surprised the House, and his remarks will surprise the country, because, if he was correctly reported at the very meeting of which he spoke, when Senator Perley advocated the duty, the hon. gentleman took opposite ground and declared that this protection was of no benefit to the farmer, and that it was a mistake to say that it was a benefit. Now, he is blaming the Government because they happened to change that to a form of duty that may perhaps be a little lower. If I understand the hon. gentleman in his argument all along the line, it was that the Government were to blame because they had not lowered the tariff enough; to-day he wants it raised. He ought to take one ground or the other—either that protection is a benefit to the farmers and ought to be kept up, and he ought not to abuse the Government for keeping it up, or else he should say that protection is no benefit at all.

Mr. MARTIN. I did not say that the tariff on mutton and lamb was not a benefit to the North-west farmer; I said the benefit was a trifling one compared with the grievous hardships brought upon him by the general tariff.

Mr. MARTIN.

Mr. SPROULE. I say the hon. gentleman is reported in that speech as saying that protection was no benefit to the farmers whatever. Now he admits it is a benefit.

Item agreed to.

Lard and cottolene, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. I want to change that to read, "Lard, lard compound and similar substances, and cottolene, 2 cents per pound," instead of 25 per cent ad valorem. The effect of this change is to give a little higher protection to lard, and it is to put lard compound, which is a cheaper substance than lard, under a higher duty, lard compound not being what you may call a pure lard, and yet come into competition with lard. It is not what you may call a natural substance. Cottolene is made with stearine, cotton seed oil, and lard. Cottolene bears pretty nearly the same price as lard. It is proposed to put the whole of them at 2 cents per pound.

Mr. TAYLOR. I see by the Trade and Navigation Returns that we imported last year for home consumption 745 pounds of lard, while we exported 709,624 pounds. Now, I think if this item read simply "lard" it would be quite sufficient. I have a notice on the paper to prohibit the importation of adulterated lard. If lard compound and cottolene are mentioned, we do not know what they may include. If we are to have these goods for table use, my opinion is that they should be manufactured in the country and under the supervision of the Inland Revenue Department. I do not think it right that they should be imported. We should prohibit the importation of adulterated lard as well as that of adulterated butter or oleomargarine. I think the Government would be acting in the interest of the farmers if they just left the item alone, mentioning lard only, and making no provision for adulterated lard. I fancy that lard compounds and cottolene do include adulterated lard, and they should be prohibited altogether.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman has that opinion, I know, but would it not be better to let this go as it is now? He can bring up his proposition later, and the House can discuss it; but in the meantime we must have some duty upon these articles or else they would come in at a less duty, and this is a duty which will have the effect of restraining importation from abroad.

Mr. MASSON. While not agreeing altogether with the member for Leeds (Mr. Taylor) that lard compounds should be prohibited, I think we should have a higher duty upon that article than upon ordinary lard. Lard compound and cottolene are cheaper in production, and they are brought into competition with the lard of the country; they are also brought into competition with lard compounds manufactured in Canada under certain supervision. I would sug-

gest that the duty on lard compound, instead of being the same as upon lard, should be higher; it should be made to bear a specific duty.

Mr. FOSTER. If my hon. friend will take the prices into account, he will see that a specific duty of 2 cents on lard and on lard compound, while it gives protection of a certain amount to lard, will put a duty of 10 or 12 per cent higher on the other, because it bears a much cheaper price.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It is desirable that we should understand on what grounds the hon. member for Grey (Mr. Masson) is basing his objection. Is he basing it simply on the ground of its being a cheaper article, or is he basing it on the ground that it is an adulterated article, that it is so adulterated as to be injurious to health? These two questions should be dealt with on different principles. The fact that it is a cheaper article is no ground whatever for discriminating against it, but the contrary. The cheaper the article the better for the consumer. But, on the other hand, if the hon. gentleman were prepared to prove to the House that this article was adulterated in such a way as to be injurious, then there might be a fair case for applying some of the provisions we have made against dangerous adulterations in articles that may be used for food, or possibly prohibiting this article altogether.

Mr. MASSON. In respect to adulterations that are injurious to health, I would certainly agree with the hon. member for Leeds that they should be prohibited. But I was addressing my remarks more particularly to the class of compounds that are cheaper than lard, and advocating an increased duty or a specific duty on them as a matter of protection to the lard producers of this country.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I would like to ask the hon. gentleman how it is that when he made his Budget speech he proposed that a specific duty should be adopted in this case instead of an ad valorem duty; and then he deliberately made up his mind that a specific duty should be abandoned and an ad valorem duty substituted. Now the hon. gentleman proposes to abandon the ad valorem duty and to return to a specific duty. What gave the hon. gentleman the light that produced the first change, and what gave him the new light which leads him now to propose to go back again to the other form of duty?

Mr. FOSTER. It is pretty hard for me to explain to the hon. gentleman all the interior workings of the mind on these different articles. The reason for the specific duty was this, and I think it is very good: In the first place, with reference to lard compounds, the price is low, and the article is one which ought not to be on the same

footing as pure lard, and therefore ought to have more restriction put upon it than pure lard has. Cottolene is a substance made up of stearine, cotton seed oil and a slight admixture of lard, which is used as a substitute for pure lard. Being of a lower price, the specific duty makes the incidence of the duty a little heavier. Two cents a pound is not too much for lard; it was formerly 3 cents, as my hon. friend will remember. There is difficulty in placing articles like compound lard and cottolene on ad valorem duties, and a specific duty on that class of articles is a good one in the way of protection, and it is necessary in the way of preserving the revenue.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. All those are matters which must have been before the mind of the Finance Minister just as much six months ago as they are to-day. The Finance Minister, after having a whole year to incubate his tariff, came down and made a formal proposition. I have no doubt the hon. gentleman has some good reasons for proposing the change.

Mr. FOSTER. I have given the reasons.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The hon. gentleman has given his reasons for his original opinion this session, but he has not stated the reason why he abandoned the opinion at which he had arrived. The probable hypothesis is that the hon. gentleman has been bullied into this change by some supporter or other, or some deputation or other, and he abandoned his own deliberate judgment, calmly formed without pressure, in favour of some bully or other who has made it inconvenient for him to adhere to his own deliberate judgment.

Mr. FOSTER. That is very hard.

Mr. COCKBURN. It is very hard to assert that this change is to be ascribed to the Minister of Finance having been bullied by a deputation. At Chicago I took considerable trouble to obtain the facts in regard to compound lard, and in my opinion the tariff is a very fair one.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Did the hon. gentleman make these investigations since the Budget speech?

Mr. COCKBURN. No; but while in Chicago I took the trouble to inquire into the matter, and I think the tariff is a very fair one, and as has been remarked by the Minister of Finance, the taxation on compound lard and cottolene is higher than on lard itself.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman forgets how he cheered the propositions submitted originally by the Finance Minister. The Finance Minister announced several changes in favour of ad valorem duties, and the hon. gentleman joined in the paean of praise which was sung by hon. gentlemen opposite in regard to those changes. Now, the hon. Minister is going

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back to specific duties, and the hon. member for Centre Toronto (Mr. Cockburn) says that this is just the right policy. So that while it was right to make changes in favour of ad valorem and abandon specific duties, the hon. gentleman now says it is right to abandon ad valorem and go back to specific taxation.

Mr. COCKBURN. I never for a moment took the ground that all duties must be either specific or ad valorem. I say that considering the circumstances of the country it would be impossible to change the tariff entirely to ad valorem duties, but at the same time I stated most distinctly that in regard to certain clauses it was impossible to levy ad valorem duties, and the only duties that could be levied on such classes were specific, and I think that the hon. gentleman will find the lard compound a very fair substitute for the lard itself, and at the same time considerably cheaper.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman is his own physician, but he might very well know that there are certain personal idiosyncrasies which would make the hon. gentleman's case very different from that of other parties. The hon. gentleman has told us that this change back to specific duties was a very proper change to make, but he has not told the committee how it was a very proper act to do now, and at the same time proper to propose an ad valorem duty three or four weeks ago.

Mr. MARTIN. The hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean) is the only hon. gentleman on the opposite side of the House who can congratulate himself on the stand he has taken on the tariff with respect to this particular matter under discussion. He is the only member who had independence enough to criticise the comments of the Finance Minister in making these changes. He came out boldly and said: I condemn the Government for abandoning the principle of protection by abandoning the principle of specific duties. The hon. gentleman in making that statement represented very powerful interests in this country, which feel very strongly that the abandonment of the specific duty principle is to a large extent the abandonment of the protective principle. I desire to draw the attention of the House to the fact that while only one hon. member, the hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean) was bold enough to stand up and condemn the Government for their abandonment of the principle advocated by them in favour of the principle advocated so long from this side of the House, the interests represented by that hon. gentleman were sufficiently strong and independent to bring the Government to time on the question, and so we have the Finance Minister going back to that policy which met with such approval at the hands of the member for East York (Mr. Maclean).

Item, as amended, agreed to.

Tallow, stearic acid and stearine of all kinds, n.e.s., 20 per cent.

Mr. McMULLEN. Why does the Finance Minister impose a duty of 20 per cent on stearine? It is not manufactured in this country, and at the same time is necessary for the manufacture of leather. Hides are free, and there is a large amount of leather manufactured here, and so stearine is absolutely necessary.

Mr. FOSTER. Under my present light I would rather that stearine should have a higher duty imposed on it than that proposed, and I may submit a proposition to the committee later. Stearine is manufactured here—the hon. gentleman is under the impression that it is not. A branch establishment of a New York firm has been established in Montreal, and has been making this article for the last year; the firm is now making it quite largely; and it is of an excellent article as well. Oleo-stearine, for use in filling leather, is included among the items on the free list.

Mr. GILLMOR. From what is stearine made?

Mr. FOSTER. From animal fat, which is softened by steam. When the oil is pressed out of it two substances are left, one, the refuse, which goes to the making of manure, and the other a hard, consistent fat, stearine. Stearine is used largely in making leather, also in manufacturing cottolene and lard compound.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Then the hon. gentleman is disposed to injure one manufacturer for the benefit of the other?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Because this will be the raw material of some manufacture now in existence, and the hon. gentleman proposes to add to the tax for the benefit of some nondescript Yankee who has come in to start a new factory in Montreal.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman is too hard on his old-time friends and acquaintances. Besides, it would not have that effect. The amount of stearine used as lard compound or cottolene is by percentage a very small proportion of the whole. They have their protection. However, I will look into the matter, but I do not think they will be injured very much. It has proved a great advantage to put to a useful end fat, which otherwise would probably go to waste in this country, and the industry is performing a very good office in that respect.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). I am anxious that the Minister of Finance should give us the probable effect on the revenue of these different changes. As we are at the end of what may be termed one class of articles, I would ask him to give us the effect on the revenue, by the way of gain or loss, with regard to these items.

Mr. FOSTER. I have not that paper with me now, but I will bring it down.

Mr. BOWMAN. Is stearic acid and stearine used by tanners, to come in free of duty as heretofore?

Mr. FOSTER. Stearine is to be the same as during the past few years.

Item agreed to.

Beeswax, 10 per cent ad valorem.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I have no objection that the Minister should reduce the duty on beeswax, but why does he do it?

Mr. FOSTER. I did it at the request of the bee men themselves. Their chief product is honey, and they use beeswax for making comb formation, and they asked that this should be done.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Why do you not put it on the free list, and not make two bites of a cherry?

Mr. FOSTER. It is well to have whatever little revenue there is in it. It was not kept separate before, and I cannot tell what the revenue was.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I apprehend that it is utterly insignificant, and, if you are going to make a compliment to the bee men, who are a very deserving class, and who are becoming a rather important element in some counties, you might as well go the whole hog and let them have their beeswax free.

Mr. FOSTER. I should not object to that, if they wished it; but it is dangerous sometimes to give a man more than he asks. They only asked to have it reduced by one-half, and they might resent it if we gave them more.

Item agreed to.

Soap, n.e.s., pearline and other soap powders, pumice, silver and mineral soaps, sapolio and like articles, 35 per cent ad valorem.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What is the effect of this?

Mr. FOSTER. That works out, so far as the duties are concerned, about in this way. We had before four items for soaps. The common brown-yellow soap, not perfumed, was 1½ cents per pound. We have made that 1 cent per pound. The next item was the perfumed or toilet soap, 10 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem. That was a pretty high duty, and it has been thought better to make that an even ad valorem duty and add to it the class of soap powders and all these compounds, which result is a reduction of the duties upon these soaps and soap powders from about 41 per cent to 35 per cent.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). What is the sum total of the revenue?

Mr. FOSTER. About \$64,000 last year, and on the same importation it will probably be about \$54,000.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. As I understand it, this is one of the articles which is likely to be affected more or less by the French Treaty.

Mr. FOSTER. Only castile soap.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What is the amount of loss on that?

Mr. FOSTER. The duty last year on the importation of castile soap from France was \$5,132, and that would be, under the treaty, reduced by half. The loss would be \$2,566. I think there is very little castile soap comes from any other country than France.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman has three rates of taxation on soap—two specific duties and one ad valorem. Why not class them all under an ad valorem and have a proportionate rate?

Mr. FOSTER. The specific duty was kept on castile soap for other reasons, it may be, but there was one sufficient reason: that we had a duty when the treaty negotiations were going on, and the condition of the treaty was that that should be reduced one-half. Therefore, we keep the duty exactly as it was, so that, when the reduction was made, it would be half the duty. The common, or laundry soaps have a specific duty because they are all low grade, and the brands or varieties of them are not well defined, and, when there was an ad valorem duty on these common soaps before, it was almost impossible to arrive at their value. A brand would be made particularly for this country, and you could find no market value for it in another country. Being low grade soaps of very low prices comparatively, the specific duty is kept on them as being the most easily worked and less provocative of fraud on the revenue. The other soaps at 35 per cent are well defined. They are of a higher value, and the possibilities of undervaluation will not at all be anything like what they would be on the common soaps.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). What would be the average value of these higher-priced soaps?

Mr. FOSTER. They run from 6 cents up to 30 or 35 cents; 32½ cents was the average value of the perfumed soaps. It will be remembered that the duty was high, and only the very best class of these came in.

Mr. MARTIN. It may be very well for the Minister to give that reason, but the real reason, or a very strong reason, for continuing the specific duty on common soap, is, that so far as Manitoba and the North-west are concerned, the specific duty on common soap is a very heavy burthen. The result is, that the soap manufacturers in eastern Canada have a monopoly of the market in Manitoba and the North-west, except so far as we have some local soap factories there. We ought naturally to import our soap from the United

Mr. FOSTER.

States, where soap is made cheaply and is very much nearer to us. And the heavy freight rate would not bear so much against the country, if we could import from the United States. The hon. gentleman's explanation will not at all go down with our people. It may sound very nicely here, but the real reason is, that the Government want to keep the market of the North-west for the soap manufacturers of eastern Canada.

Mr. FOSTER. I am much obliged to the hon. gentleman for interpreting my reasons. I gave a reason that was the reason. He gave a supposition; that is all right.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The hon. gentleman gave proof, because he knows, having been an attentive observer of the working of the tariff as regards Manitoba. It is known that one of the greatest difficulties in the way of settling Manitoba has been the injurious operation of our enormously high tariff on the necessaries of life for the people there. This article of soap is a necessary of life for decent people, as all the settlers in the North-west no doubt are, and the tax upon it is a peculiarly improper one to inflict upon the unfortunate housewives of that region. There is not the slightest doubt that my hon. friend is right, that this tariff, all through, though not perhaps designedly, has been in its working one of the main causes, and it will continue to be one of the main causes, of the disastrous failure of our efforts to settle the North-west. Over a hundred millions of public money, or if you include the interest, one hundred and fifty millions, have been spent there, with the miserable result that I believe we have not added ten thousand families to the population of Manitoba in the past ten years; and one of the main reasons is just such taxes as this. You cannot improve the position of the people of Manitoba or add a cent to the prices they obtain for their wheat or other products; but you can grind them down by taxation.

Mr. WALLACE. If the hon. gentleman were as careful an observer of the prices of soaps as he is of the North-west, he would have ascertained that while the duty on the finer soaps is 35 per cent ad valorem, this duty of 1 cent per pound on the commoner kinds amounts to exactly 17½ per cent, or just one-half of the rate on the higher and better classes. On the importation of last year the average price was 5½ cents per pound, on which 1 cent per pound is equal to about 17½ per cent.

Mr. McMULLEN. The hon. gentleman is either under a wrong impression, or he is attempting to mislead the House. He knows perfectly well that the soap used in Manitoba and the North-west is manufactured in Ontario, and he knows, or he ought to know, that the average price is nothing like 5½

cents a pound, but more like 3 or 3½ cents a pound at any factory.

Mr. FOSTER. That is all rosin.

Mr. McMULLEN. I know better. The hon. Minister is not posted either.

Mr. WALLACE. The English soaps that came in under that class averaged 5½ cents per pound, and the lowest price I have heard of was 5 cents.

Mr. MARTIN. It is not the price in England, but the price in the United States, that I am speaking of. If the statement of the hon. Controller of Customs is correct, I would like to ask him if he would change this duty from 1 cent a pound to 17½ per cent?

Mr. MARA. I would like to ask the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) what necessity there is for Manitoba importing soap, when there are hundreds of thousands of head of cattle running over the prairies of Manitoba and the North-west. The hon. member may not be aware of the fact, but Manitoba, instead of importing soap, exports soap, and ships soap to British Columbia.

Mr. MARTIN. The hon. gentleman may think he knows more about Manitoba than I do.

Mr. DALY. He could not know less.

Mr. MARTIN. That is the hon. gentleman's view, I know, but it is not apparently the view of the people in Manitoba itself.

Mr. DALY. It is the view of the people of the largest constituency there.

Mr. MARTIN. Will the hon. gentleman stake his reputation on the statement that Manitoba does not import any soap?

Mr. DALY. I will not; but Manitoba does export soap.

Mr. MARTIN. I did not say that it did not export soap; but it imports a large quantity of soap from eastern Canada.

Mr. AMYOT. It pays no duty on that.

Mr. MARTIN. The reason we pay no duty is that the duty is so high that we cannot get any from the United States. We do not pay duty to the Government, but we pay it to the manufacturer. In any grocery store in Manitoba you will find Manitoba soap, no doubt, but you will also find the common laundry soap manufactured in the eastern provinces. While I hope we shall manufacture more soap in Manitoba, in the meantime this is a heavy tax upon the people there; and, if the hon. gentleman's figures are correct, he would not injure the manufacturers by making the duty 17½ per cent. What is the use of the hon. Controller of Customs quoting the price of soap imported from England? We do not import laundry soap from England; but we could import it from Minneapolis, St. Paul

and Chicago at a price, I venture to say, of about 2 cents a pound. This duty is equivalent to 50 per cent, so far as Manitoba is concerned.

Item agreed to.

Castile soap, mottled or white, and white soap, n.e.s., 2 cents per pound.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Will not the wording of this item lead to complications? Does this apply to castile soaps alone, or does it refer to other soaps as well?

Mr. FOSTER. No, to castile soap.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). The item does not read so.

Mr. FOSTER. I think we might drop out the words, "and white."

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). What is the estimated change in the revenue in the way of gain or loss on soaps?

Mr. FOSTER. Sixty-four thousand dollars under the old, as against \$53,000 under the new tariff, on the same importation.

Item agreed to.

Glue and mucilage, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What amount of loss of revenue do you anticipate, if any, under this item?

Mr. FOSTER. That is a reduction of duty of some \$8,000 or \$10,000 on the whole.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. In making that estimate, is any allowance made for the increased import which may follow the reduction of duty?

Mr. FOSTER. No; could not make any estimates.

Condensed milk, condensed coffee, condensed coffee with milk, (not sweetened, 35 per cent; sweetened, 1½ cents per pound and 35 per cent), milk foods, and all similar preparations (30 per cent), including preserved ginger (35 per cent), 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. I gave notice of a change in condensed milk. The rest of the item remains, but condensed milk I wish to make at 3 cents per pound.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Why is the hon. gentleman going back on his better and earlier thoughts?

Mr. FOSTER. The duty on condensed milk before was 1¼ cents per pound and 35 per cent. In the revision it was cut to 30 per cent, which was a very large reduction. In looking over the matter, whilst 30 per cent was a sufficient protection to condensed milk of a standard quality, it was not sufficient against condensed milk coming in from the United States of low qualities, with reference to which the consumer could have no guarantee at all, and the exporting houses being distant from this country and having no particular reputation to lose, care not what became of their next exports so long as they got rid of what they were then trying

to get out of the country. This may not be adulterated, but simply milk lacking in the qualities of sustenance. And whilst the standard milk sells at \$5 to \$7 per case, this is offered for sale as low as \$4 and \$3.40 per case. So that while 30 per cent is sufficient protection for the higher, and consequently good grades of condensed milk—and no one in this country wants anything else—3 cents per pound specific duty is a bar against the lower grades, and amounts to no more than 30 per cent on the good standard grade. It is a protection to the consumer of milk in this country and does not raise the duty on good milk.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) There is only one factory in the Dominion.

Mr. FOSTER. There are three. My hon. friend is not well up in the industries of the country.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I am well up in that particular one. The hon. gentleman will find that the main one is at Truro. I do not follow the hon. gentleman's argument, because I see by the Trade and Navigation Returns that the total quantity imported was only \$3,071 last year, showing that the protection was sufficient to prevent large importation.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, if we keep the same protection.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) You propose to increase it.

Mr. FOSTER. The protection was 1¼ cents per pound and 35 per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Only in the case of sweetened.

Mr. FOSTER. There is no difference in value between the two.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. There are two totally distinct duties: condensed milk, not sweetened, 35 per cent; sweetened, 1¼ cents per pound and 35 per cent. There may be no difference in the duty now proposed and that on the old sweetened condensed milk, but there is an enormous difference in the case of the non-sweetened. Three cents per pound on non-sweetened is a very heavy duty.

Mr. FOSTER. Not any heavier than on the sweetened. Before we made the reduction on the sugar duties, these differences were made between the sweetened and non-sweetened articles because of the increased value given to them by the high prices of sugar. After the scaling down of the sugar duties, there was no change made in the condensed milk sweetened, and consequently it was charged the duty that obtained before when there were high duties on sugar. If you will inquire, you will find there is practically no difference in the cost between the condensed milk sweetened and the condensed milk not sweetened, so that 3 cents per

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pound is no higher protection on the one than on the other.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I do not quite see that, but will waive that for the moment. The hon. gentleman said that the good qualities of condensed milk range from \$5 to \$7 per case. What is the weight of a case?

Mr. FOSTER. Forty-eight pounds, that makes the duty \$1.44 exactly.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. In this case there is the objection to specific duties that if it becomes possible, as it may, to produce condensed milk at a lower rate, the specific duty may become equal next year to an ad valorem duty of 50 or 60 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. It is not within the range of possibility that there will be so much difference as that. Milk is a staple article and so is sugar, and the cost of making the condensed milk will remain about the same. At the same time this will prevent fraud. If a person who goes to a store to buy condensed milk, buys it just according to cheapness, he may get a very inferior article. But the specific duty operates against the inferior article, while on a good, fair quality it gives no greater protection than 30 per cent, and on an excellent grade not quite that.

Item agreed to.

Apples (40 cents), forty cents per barrel, including the duty on the barrel.

Mr. MARTIN. I have to protest against this duty on apples. It bears extremely hard upon Manitoba and the North-west. I may say that apples cost there from \$3 to \$5 a barrel. We are quite unable to grow any apples in that country and never expect to grow them. It seems to me very unfair discrimination against us to have such a duty upon fruit which we have to import. Of course it is, to a certain extent, a protection to the Ontario farmer, but I fancy that, even in the matter of apples alone, the Ontario farmer will find it to his interest to let that country get people into it for then the people will be able to buy more apples, even if they cannot pay a high price for them. In fact, Manitoba and the North-west, if put in such a position as to be able to get in some people, might become a very large and profitable market for the apples of Ontario. But in the meantime, a specific duty of 40 cents a barrel upon that fruit is nothing but a great extortion from the people of that country.

Item agreed to.

Potatoes, 15 cents per bushel.

Mr. CHARLTON. How much revenue is expected to result from a tariff on potatoes?

Mr. FOSTER. I can give that information later on; let the item go in the meantime. This is intended for the benefit of Prince Edward Island.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Thank you for nothing.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. Carried.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Wait a moment; we are not going to take all these statements on trust.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. I understood the hon. gentleman was to have the information later on.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. We want the answer now.

Mr. CHARLTON. I want the farmer to have all the advantages he can get out of this tariff; but I do not want him to be deceived by supposing that he is getting something that he is not getting.

Mr. FOSTER. Last year the Customs receipts on potatoes were \$7,900.

Mr. CHARLTON. Into what portion of the country were these potatoes imported?

Mr. MARA. Chiefly into British Columbia—early potatoes from the United States.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I suppose the hon. member is satisfied to pay that.

Mr. MARA. It encourages home production, and those who can afford to buy early potatoes, can well afford to pay the duty.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) It is a great shame to tax seed potatoes anyway.

Item agreed to.

Provided, That green or ripe apples, beans, buckwheat, pease, potatoes, rye, rye-flour, hay and vegetables, n.e.s., or any of them shall be free of duty when imported into Canada from the country of production, if such country whence any of the above products are imported imposes no duty on like products imported thence from Canada.

Mr. CHARLTON. I would like to ask the Government whether they have taken any steps to bring before the American Government during the discussion of the Tariff Bill in Congress, their readiness to make reciprocal arrangements of this kind; or have they left the American people to find it out as best they might after our Tariff Bill was submitted to Parliament? This is a kind of an offer of reciprocity; but I think the country would be interested in knowing whether the Government has had any agent in Washington, or has made any efforts whatever to induce the American Government or people, in view of their being willing to make reciprocal arrangements, to lower their tariff rates, and whether they have taken any steps to approach the American Legislature in that matter?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I may say, Mr. Chairman, that communications were indirectly made with the United States Government to the effect that Canada would be glad to know of any desire or willingness on the part of the United States Government to take measures toward the extension of trade between the two countries, and that Canada would be willing to reciprocate, with due regard to the interests and indus-

tries of Canada, and with due regard to the revenue which would be necessary to Canada. At a subsequent stage, an officer of this Government went to Washington for the purpose of seeing whether it was the desire of the United States Government, or of the committee then having charge of the subject in the House of Representatives, to enter into communication with the Government of Canada on the subject of tariff concessions on either side of the line; also, for the purpose of ascertaining whether information was desired with regard to the trade of Canada, or whether they desired the agent to be a medium of communication for the purpose of receiving information to be given on the part of the American Government, or the committee having the matter in charge. And the impression derived from his visit there was that it was not considered desirable that communications should take place between the two Governments with regard to the consideration of any tariff in the United States, or with regard to their tariff arrangements; that if communications were to take place with regard to reciprocity, they should take place between the two Governments, that of Great Britain, and that of the United States through the medium of the ambassadors of the two countries; and that, as regards the tariff arrangement, tariff discussions then in progress, the tariff was being made for the United States, and for the United States only.

Mr. CHARLTON. The right hon. leader of the Government tells us that steps were taken "indirectly." They must have been quite indirect I think. He says also that afterwards the Government had sent an agent to Washington, or had communicated with the Washington Government, and had received the impression that the American Congress were not ready to consider negotiations with reference to reciprocity. Now, I think, Mr. Chairman, that the country had a right to expect something more. There was a change of Government at Washington, a party came into power there avowedly determined largely to reduce the tariff burdens resting upon the people, a Government whose policy, as outlined by their platform, was to approach free trade, and a Government avowedly favourable to more extended trade relations with surrounding countries. The people of this country had a right to expect, not that the Government would make indirect advances—and they must have been very indirect—not that the Government would send some unauthorized agent to go in a private capacity and sound the state of public opinion, and then return with the report that, in his opinion, it was not a proper time to open negotiations, but direct action. This Government ought to have taken steps at the very outset, when the Democratic party came into power, a party from whom they had a right to expect that we could secure favourable trade relations. The duty rested upon them to initiate the

proceedings for attempting to negotiate a treaty. And the initiatory steps of those negotiations ought not to have been indirect; they ought not to have been of a character that would leave the Government to surmise that it was improbable that the United States Government would listen to its proposal, but they should have been overtures made in the broad light of day, overtures made by accredited agents of the Government of Canada, acting in the name and by the authority of the British Minister at Washington. And the Government should have ascertained definitely whether proposals for reciprocal trade would be entertained by the American Government, and whether they would be able to secure any of these concessions. It is my belief that a golden opportunity slipped through their hands. It is my belief that this Government could have secured favourable trade relations with the United States, if they had been desirous of so doing, and had openly and candidly and honestly made the overture and had attempted in good faith to secure these advantages. Sir, no man conversant with the question believes that the Government acted in good faith in attempting to secure such overtures, and these proposals contained in this tariff are a mere blind to lead the people of Canada to believe that the Government are favourable to obtaining that which they do not want to obtain, which they have never attempted to obtain, but which they might have obtained, if they had made an honest effort to do so.

It being Six o'clock, the committee rose and the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

House again in Committee of Ways and Means.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. McMULLEN. Before proceeding with the item under consideration, I want to draw attention to a statement made to the committee before recess. The Controller of Customs stated to the House that the price of soap, the ordinary kind of soap used by the agriculturists, was $5\frac{1}{4}$ cents per pound. The Finance Minister corroborated that statement. I took the opportunity, since the committee rose, of interviewing a merchant, who produced to me an invoice, and I say now that the wholesale price of soap by the dozen boxes is, for the lowest grade, $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound, and for the best laundry soap, 4 cents a pound. That shows how well the Controller of Customs and the Finance Minister are posted with regard to the price of these items.

Mr. CHARLTON. When the committee rose, we were discussing what we may term the reciprocity clauses in this Bill, and the right hon. the leader of the Government has made to the House a statement with regard

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to the lack of overtures, I think I may fairly term it, on the part of the Government of Canada for the purpose of obtaining reciprocal trade relations with the United States. The Government, no doubt, will claim that the propositions made in this tariff Bill are of the character of an overture for reciprocal trade relations, and will, no doubt, claim that all that can be expected of them as a Government are contained in these propositions. Now, I wish to point out to the committee that these do not even go so far as the old proposals of the Government to obtain reciprocal trade on the lines of the treaty of 1854. These propositions are not even propositions in reciprocity in natural products. Let us examine them for a few moments and see what is the character of the proposals contained in this Bill. We have it stated, that the duties will be upon apples so much, and so much upon beans, buckwheat, pease, potatoes, rye, rye flour, hay, vegetables, barley and corn, with a proviso that any of these articles shall be free of duty when imported into Canada from the country of production, if such country whence any of the above products are imported imposes no duty on like products imported into such country from Canada. Now, this is the extent of the Government proposition for reciprocity in natural products—reciprocity in apples, in beans, in buckwheat, in pease, in potatoes, in rye, in rye flour, in hay, in vegetables, in barley and in corn. Now, I wish to draw the attention of the committee to the fact that in this entire list there is but one article that is an inducement to the Americans to grant reciprocity, there is but one article on the list that we import from that country in any considerable quantities, and all the other articles mentioned on this list are articles that we sell to the United States, sell to them in large quantities, and for some of these articles we find almost our exclusive market in the United States. Now, this is an offer of reciprocity that the hon. gentleman well knows never will be accepted, it is not a reciprocal offer at all. It is a proposition to the United States that, if they will give us ten points, we will give them one; that is what it amounts to.

Mr. SPROULE. How many points did they offer us in their tariff?

Mr. CHARLTON. Well, we have never taken pains to find out. The charge against the Government to-night is, that they have never made a proposal, that they have never made an attempt, that they have never made an overture, and they now come down with a proposition in their tariff Bill which is a mere mockery, and offer to give to the United States one point, if the United States will give to us ten points. Everything in connection with this matter points to the fact that the Government have sufficient regard for the interest of their clients, the manufacturers, to deter them from any honest attempt to obtain reciprocity. They never

have made such an attempt, they never will make such an attempt, and wherever they have professed to make such an attempt, they have been deceiving the people, and have been acting, not in a 'bona fide' manner, but in a manner which we may fairly characterize as political chicanery. Now, let us look over this list. The first article is apples. Now, how many apples are we likely to import from the United States? Last year our exports of green apples amounted to \$2,731,000, and we exported of that amount to the United States, \$447,000. The balance of trade is in favour of Canada in the matter of apples. We are not importing apples from the United States; we are exporting apples, we are a large exporting country of apples; so the reciprocity offer in apples to the United States amounts to nothing. Next, with regard to beans. Last year we exported \$355,000 worth of beans, and of that quantity we exported to the United States \$351,000, almost our entire export; and, although I have not looked up the Trade and Navigation Returns, I venture to say that our import of beans from the United States was 'nil.' So that is an offer which is entirely upon our side. Next, with regard to buckwheat. We import no buckwheat from the United States; we are an exporting country, so far as buckwheat is concerned. With regard to pease, we exported last year, \$2,441,000, and of that amount we exported to the United States, \$422,000. We do not import pease; we produce pease in excess of our consumption, and consequently an offer of reciprocity in respect of pease is an offer that has no advantage in it for any country to which we make that offer. Next, with regard to the offer of reciprocity in potatoes. Last year we exported of potatoes \$421,000 worth; of this amount we sent to the United States \$259,000. I am told by an hon. member from British Columbia, that our imports of potatoes was \$7,000 worth, early potatoes, imported, probably, from the Sandwich Islands into British Columbia before potatoes were ready for use in that province.

Mr. FOSTER. What he told you was that the duty was \$7,900.

Mr. CHARLTON. Very well; let it be the duty. How many bushels will it amount to?

Mr. FOSTER. To more than 70,000.

Mr. CHARLTON. Even if it did, it was an importation of potatoes from a tropical country, the same as an importation to New York from Bermuda before the potatoes in the country that produces them in abundance are ready. The next is with respect to the offer of reciprocity of rye. We do not import rye, we export rye. Next we have an offer of reciprocity in hay, forsooth. How much hay do we import? We exported last year hay to the value of \$1,452,000. Of that we sent to the United States in value \$854,000, and yet we offered

the Americans reciprocity in hay. This is the kind of offer we are making them in reciprocity. And next we offer them reciprocity in vegetables. How many vegetables did we import? Last year we exported to the United States vegetables to the value of \$105,000, out of \$116,000 worth of total exports. What advantage is it to the United States to have reciprocity in vegetables with Canada? We now come to the question of barley. Last year we exported barley to the value of \$944,000. Of that amount we sent to the United States \$638,000 worth. Before the McKinley tariff went into operation our barley exports to the United States reached the value of nearly \$5,000,000, almost 10,000,000 bushels having been sent. In all these articles the offer of reciprocity is a sham and a delusion; we are sellers, not buyers; we are exporters, not importers, and the only thing we offer to the United States as a quid pro quo, the only advantage whatever in this list is Indian corn. If they will admit apples, beans, buckwheat, pease, potatoes, rye, rye flour, hay, vegetables and barley, all those products of our farm free of duty, then we will admit Indian corn into Canada free. What kind of reciprocity is that, I should like to ask the Finance Minister? Does he suppose that he can deceive the people of Canada with this kind of humbug? He has deceived them before, but not with such a palpable humbug as this. The people were deceived in 1891 by a false statement, a statement made by the Government to the effect that they were negotiating a reciprocity treaty, by a statement that they had obtained reciprocity, and they wanted a Parliament fresh from the people, to pass upon it, and not a moribund House, and they went to the country on that statement, and they secured the credence of the country. The people were led to believe that their statements were true; they took the Government at their word, and placed them back in power. But this is not that kind of offer, this is a transparent sham, it is one that bears on its face its own refutation as a bona fide attempt to get reciprocity, it is an offer of reciprocity that, if the Americans will give us free importations of nearly all the products of our soil, we will give them the advantage on a single article. I think it is about time we had done with this kind of work. I think the farmers of this country have been deceived, and cruelly deceived by this Government with respect to this matter long enough. Our farmer understands that free access to the American markets would be a great boon. He knows that if the articles enumerated in this tariff Bill were admitted into the American market free of duty it would be of enormous advantage. But I think he will have intelligence enough to understand also that the mode in which the Government propose to secure that advantage for him is a mode that must fail of success; it is a mode that if the Government have ordinary

intelligence they know full well must fail of success. They have no reason to suppose that such an offer would ever be entertained, and if they have no reason to suppose so, or if they well know it will not be entertained, what is the use of putting it in this Bill, what is their object, what purpose do they propose to gain? Evidently their object is deception; it is to deceive the farmer, to make him believe again that they are moving on the same lines, and attempting to obtain reciprocity, that they are using their best efforts with the perfidious Americans, our bad neighbours, with whom we should have nothing to do. They will say: We have made an offer, and have attempted to obtain reciprocity from those people, but we could do nothing with them, and it is no use talking about trade enlargement, it is out of the question, and cannot be done. I do not think it is worth while pursuing this matter any longer. Here is the offer, and I again pronounce it a humbug and a sham, and I repeat that if the Government do not make this offer purposely to deceive, they betray the grossest ignorance in placing this offer in the present Bill.

Mr. SPROULE. If there is one thing more than another for which the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) is noted, it is for the strength and extravagance of his language. The next characteristic for which he is noted is his invariable rule of advocating and defending the interests of the United States. I do not wonder that it was accidentally announced to this House, and spoken of elsewhere, as the member for the United States instead of for Canada, because he makes a special plea in every instance on behalf of that country. So much is this the case that one almost wonders that the hon. gentleman should condescend to live in Canada, or to remain in a country in which he finds both the Government and the people so entirely wrong. The hon. gentleman has seen fit to give the Government a lecture, because their offer was not sufficiently broad and extensive. What has that great and liberal country, which he invariably upholds, made as an offer to this country, and how much more extensive is that offer than the present one? They attempted to revise their tariff, and they made an offer to us of a somewhat different character, but in regard to which we heard no complaints from the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). How much better is that offer than that embodied in this tariff to-day? The Americans offered to exchange buckwheat, corn, corn meal, rye, rye flour, wheat and wheat flour, an offer very much on the same lines, and on some of which lines an exchange would be of no value to this country. If they were so illiberal as to present that very limited list, one by which Canada would not have probably benefited in the event of an exchange being made,

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why should the hon. gentleman have been so severe on this Government because they have gone a little further and done a little better? I think the hon. gentleman would be much more in harmony with the views of his constituents and the people at large if he would endeavour to stand up more for his own country and a little less for the United States. The hon. gentleman every time the reciprocity treaty question has been under consideration had given a new version with respect to the want of sincerity on the part of members of the Government and their efforts to negotiate a treaty with the United States. The hon. gentleman tonight described the efforts as a transparent sham, as a humbug. What did the hon. gentleman and his friends do towards obtaining the same end when they were in power for a period of five years? How many times did he and his friends go to Washington, and on their knees beg for reciprocity? During those five years I believe they only once made an effort in that direction, and they were obliged to return, having failed because those with whom they negotiated refused to negotiate on the terms they desired. Yet we do not hear the hon. gentleman upbraiding the Government of that day because they did not go to Washington every year, cap in hand, begging for the advantage of trading in the American market. But because to-day he can raise objections and because he believes there is a feeling in the country that it will be in the interest of the farmers to obtain a fair reciprocity treaty with the United States he seeks to create the impression that this Government is not honest in its efforts to gain reciprocity, and attacks them on those lines. It is time in the interest of the country and in the interest of the hon. gentleman himself that he should commence his work de novo, declare himself a Canadian representative and not a representative of the United States, work for the interest of Canada and defend Canadian rights and interests, and not always attempt to make it appear that the actions of the Canadian Parliament and the Canadian people are wrong, and those of the United States invariably right.

Mr. CHARLTON. As the hon. gentleman has made personal allusion to me, perhaps I may claim the attention of the House for a few moments more. The members of the Government seem to imagine that they have presented an argument to this House when they reply to the arguments I make by saying that I am a Yankee. Now, as to the advice of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Sproule), that I had better pose here in the attitude of a Canadian, I may say to him that I do pose in that attitude, but I am not capable of posing in his attitude, and do not wish to be considered a hide-bound Tory. I do not wish to, and I do not intend to occupy a position in which I will oppose the consummation of any treaty arrange-

ment with a neighbouring and a friendly nation. But so far as my nationality is concerned, perhaps nearly fifty years' residence in Canada ought to naturalize me. In every argument I present to the House with regard to this matter, I am arguing the case from the standpoint of Canadian interests, and I am pointing out the desirability of obtaining for our farmers access to their great natural market, and the extension of trade relations that will bestow on them untold blessings. Yet, I am met by such gentlemen as the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) with his purely childish talk about this man who presents these arguments having been born in the United States some 64 years ago. That is no argument. In the first place, I am not ashamed of my birth; in the second place, I am not responsible for it, for I was not consulted, and if I present arguments here that are in the interests of Canada, that is sufficient, I think, to make me acceptable to the people of this country. Now, then, my hon. friend (Mr. Sproule) asks me: How many times my friends went to Washington to negotiate a treaty when they were in power. They went once. Did they negotiate a treaty? Did they accomplish anything? They went down there in good faith, and they negotiated a treaty. They got the consent of the American Executive Department to that treaty. They negotiated a treaty that put, I will venture to say, one hundred manufactured articles upon the free list. They negotiated that treaty with the consent and with the aid of the British Government. Perhaps I had better read to my hon. friend—who endorses this offer of ten points for one, without an article of manufacture upon the list—a list of manufactures that was contained in that Brown draft treaty:

Schedule (A) consisting of the following natural products:

Animals of all kinds.
Ashes, pot, pearl, and soda.
Bark.
Bark extract, for tanning purposes.
Bath-bricks.
Breadstuffs of all kinds.
Bricks for building and fire-bricks.
Brood: corn.
Burr or grindstones, hewn, wrought or unwrought.
Butter.
Cheese.
Coal and coke.
Cotton-wool.
Cotton-waste.
Dye stuffs.
Earths, clay, ochres and sand, ground or unground.
Eggs.
Fish of all kinds.
Fish, products of, and of all other creatures living in the waters, except fish preserved in oil.
Firewood.
Flax, unmanufactured.
Flour and meals of all kinds.
Fruits, green or dried.
Furs, undressed.

Grain of all kinds.
Gypsum, ground, unground or calcined.
Hay.
Hemp, unmanufactured.
Hides.
Horns.
Lard.
Lime.
Malt.
Manures.
Marble, stone, slate or granite, wrought or unwrought.
Meats, fresh, smoked or salted.
Ores of all kinds of metals.
Pelts.
Pease, whole or split.
Petroleum oil, crude, refined or benzole.
Pitch.
Plants.
Poultry and birds of all kinds.
Rags of all kinds.
Rice.
Salt.
Seeds.
Shrubs.
Skins.
Straw.
Tails.
Tallow.
Tar.
Timber and lumber of all kinds, round, hewed and sawed, unmanufactured, in whole or in part.
Tobacco, unmanufactured.
Tow, manufactured.
Trees.
Turpentine.
Vegetables.
Wool.

Schedule (B) consisting of the following agricultural implements:

Axes.
Bag holders.
Beehives.
Bone-crushers, or parts thereof.
Cultivators, or parts thereof.
Chaff-cutters, or parts thereof.
Corn-huskers, or parts thereof.
Cheese vats.
Cheese factory heaters.
Cheese pressers, or parts thereof.
Churns, or parts thereof.
Cattle-feed boilers and steamers, or parts thereof.
Ditchers, or parts thereof.
Field-rollers, or parts thereof.
Fanning mills, or parts thereof.
Feed-choppers, or parts thereof.
Forks for hay and manure, hand or horse.
Grain-drills, or parts thereof.
Grain-broadcast sowers, or parts thereof.
Grain crushers, or parts thereof.
Harrows.
Hoes, hand or horse.
Horse rakes.
Horse-power machines, or parts thereof.
Hay tedders, or parts thereof.
Liquid manure carts, or parts thereof.
Manure sowers, or parts thereof.
Mowers, or parts thereof.
Oil and oil-cake crushers, or parts thereof.

Ploughs, or parts thereof.
 Root and seed planters, or parts thereof.
 Root cutters, pulpers, and washers or parts thereof.
 Rakes, reapers, or parts thereof.
 Reaper and mower, combined, or parts thereof.
 Spades.
 Shovels.
 Scythes.
 Snaths.
 Threshing machines, or parts thereof.

Schedule (C) consisting of the following manufactures :

Axles, all kinds.
 Boots and shoes of leather.
 Boot and shoe-making machines.
 Buffalo robes, dressed and trimmed.
 Cotton grain bags.
 Cotton denims.
 Cotton jeans, unbleached.
 Cotton drillings, unbleached.
 Cotton tickings.
 Cotton plaids.
 Cottonades, unbleached.
 Cabinetware and furniture, or parts thereof.
 Carriages, carts, wagons and other wheeled vehicles, and sleighs or parts thereof.
 Fire-engines, or parts thereof.
 Felt covering for boilers.
 Gutta-percha belting and tubing.
 Iron, bar, hoop, pig, puddled, rod, sheet or scrap.
 Iron nails, spikes, bolts, tacks, bracks or sprigs.
 Iron castings.
 India-rubber belting and tubing.
 Locomotives for railways, or parts thereof.
 Lead, sheet or pig.
 Leather, sole or upper.
 Leather, harness and saddlery of.
 Mill or factory, or steamboat, fixed engines and machines, or parts thereof.
 Manufactures of marbles, stone, slate or granite.
 Manufactures of wood solely, or of wood nailed, bound, hinged or locked, with metal materials.
 Mangles, washing machines, wringing machines, and drying machines, or parts thereof.
 Printing paper, for newspapers.
 Paper-making machines, or parts thereof.
 Printing type, presses and folders, paper cutters, ruling machines, page numbering machines and stereotyping and electrotyping apparatus, or parts thereof.
 Refrigerators or parts thereof.
 Railroad cars, carriages and trucks, or parts thereof.
 Satinets of wool and cotton.
 Steam engines, or parts thereof.
 Steel, wrought or cast, and steel plates and rails.
 Tin tubes and piping.
 Tweeds of wool solely.
 Water-wheel machines and apparatus, or parts thereof.

Here then are 37 articles of manufactures in schedule "C," 40 articles of agricultural implements in schedule "B," and more than 40 articles of natural products in schedule "A." That was the treaty negotiated by the representatives of the Mackenzie Government.

Mr. WHITE (Cardwell). What became of it ?

Mr. CHARLTON.

Mr. CHARLTON. Just have patience, and you will hear. It was a treaty that received the assent of the American Department of State. It was a treaty which received the assent of the British Government. It was a treaty that was referred to the American Senate, and in the American Senate it failed to secure ratification. Now, that being the case, the Government of Canada had discharged its duty. The Government of Canada had proceeded as far as it could proceed, and it was useless during its term of office to reopen these negotiations. Has the present Government acted in the same spirit? Can the present Government make the same claim? Did they ever go to Washington and attempt to negotiate a treaty on the broad lines of the treaty of 1874? Did they ever attempt to negotiate a treaty that included a list of manufactures? On the contrary, Sir, they went to Washington, and when they secured the information from the Secretary of State, that he laid it down as a condition of proceeding with negotiations, that any treaty that was negotiated must include a list of manufactured articles; they refused to consider the proposition. They refused to negotiate upon any other basis than barely upon the basis of natural products alone. They know, and I know, and every intelligent man in Canada knows, that if they had gone on upon the basis laid down by the Hon. J. G. Blaine, they could have secured a treaty, though perhaps not as general in its application as the draft treaty of 1874. They declined to entertain a proposition to include a single article of manufactures. They went down to Washington for the purpose of not getting a treaty; and one of their henchmen stands up here to-night and draws a parallel between their conduct and the conduct of the Mackenzie Government. The difference is that one Government acted in good faith and secured a treaty, and the other did not act in good faith and did not want a treaty.

Mr. SPROULE. What is the gist of the hon. gentleman's whole argument? It is that because of the limited offer made by this Government, they could not get a treaty, while if they had made an extensive offer, they could have got a treaty. Then he goes on to read a list of articles ten times as extensive, which were included in the offer made by his friends; and yet he is put in the humiliating position of confessing that they also failed to get a treaty. Their offer covered not only the products of the soil, but also manufactured goods, in which the hon. gentleman claims that it would be an advantage to the United States to have a market in Canada; but they failed ignominiously. And yet the hon. gentleman blames the present Government because they do not make such an offer as was refused before. The hon. gentleman not only abuses this Government once in five years, but five times in one year, because they do not re-

new that offer. That is his position. He objects to be called a special pleader for the United States; but can any man in this House, or outside of it, who has taken the trouble to read his speeches, come to any other conclusion than that he is a special pleader for the United States from the day he enters this Parliament until the day he leaves it?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I will tell the hon. gentleman what conclusion anybody who has intelligently studied my hon. friend's speeches would come to—that he had an infinitely better understanding of the wants of this country than any hon. gentleman opposite, from the Finance Minister down to the hon. member for East Grey; that he understood, and had the manliness to state, that it is imperative, if this country is to prosper as it ought to prosper, that we should have access to the markets of the United States. I do not pretend to say that the people of this country are not able to maintain themselves in reasonable comfort without access to those markets, provided they had an honest and economical Government; but I do say that no considerable prosperity ever will be obtained under existing circumstances for the people of Canada until they have access to the markets of the United States. That fact is written by the finger of God on every mile of the frontier between that country and Canada. Where can the Maritime Provinces trade profitably except with the United States? Where can Manitoba or British Columbia trade with any advantage unless with the United States? And, although Ontario, with its great resources, may be able, for a part of its goods, to obtain trade with other countries, Ontario cannot and never will be able to develop its resources to one-twentieth part of the extent to which it ought to be able to develop them, until such time as those mischievous and most foolish barriers which the insane policy of hon. gentlemen opposite and the insane policy of the United States have erected between them, are swept away. As to the more important question which does not affect the private position of my hon. friend—although he has laid a very substantial claim to the gratitude of the people of Ontario and the people of Canada by his steady advocacy of the removal of those restrictions; as to the more important question whether this miserable offer which I see in these resolutions ought to appear in any Canadian tariff, I think there is no question at all. Over and over again, a far greater man than any of those who sit now on the Treasury benches—I refer to the late Sir John Macdonald, with whom I differed very thoroughly, but as to whom I will say this, that you might have carved the whole existing cabinet out of Sir John Macdonald and had substance enough to furnish another of equal calibre—Sir John Macdonald, a man of ability and common sense,

stated in his place in my hearing, and it is on record, that there was no possibility of our obtaining reciprocity with the United States unless we were in a position to offer them admission to our markets for at least a large part of their manufactures. That is a plain and self-evident fact. Everybody knows it. Nobody who has ever studied the question for one moment can pretend to say that there is anything in this offer of ripe apples, beans, buckwheat, pease, potatoes, rye, rye-flour, hay and vegetables—that there is anything in that miserable offer which is in the slightest degree likely to draw a response from the people of the United States. If the hon. gentlemen had honestly wanted, as I believe they never did honestly want, to obtain reciprocity with the United States, they would have done precisely what my hon. friend has pointed out they should have done; they would have gone to the United States with a broad and liberal offer of reciprocity; they would have proposed something which might possibly have been considered by the United States. But, Sir, we know quite well that when Mr. Bayard and Mr. Cleveland were conducting the affairs of the United States, they expressed in the plainest language—their words have been quoted time and again on the floor of this House—their willingness and readiness to enter into a large and liberal measure of reciprocity. We know that the chief member of the succeeding Administration, Mr. Blaine, professed similar readiness to treat for a broad and liberal measure of reciprocity. We know quite well, not merely that hon. gentlemen opposite deliberately deceived the people of Canada prior to the election of 1891 by professing, what they knew was not the case, what they knew had not a particle of foundation in fact, that the Government of the United States were prepared to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity with them; but that, when they had the opportunity, all these hon. gentlemen could do was to go down to Washington, where the Finance Minister of Canada, forsooth, asked Mr. Blaine to be good enough to tell him, the Finance Minister of Canada, how, if he adopted a treaty of reciprocity, he could raise revenue enough. Why, Sir, out of his own mouth he stands condemned of not having the slightest intention or disposition to negotiate such a treaty. There never was a truer description given of their conduct than that given by my hon. friend just now when he said that these hon. gentlemen went to Washington not to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity, but to make it impossible, as far as in them lay, that such a treaty should be negotiated.

Mr. GILLMOR. We have heard a great deal of this reciprocity question, but I think we ought to address ourselves to the people. The people of this country want the Government to do just what they are doing. What my hon. friend says about the advantage of

the Maritime Provinces trading with the United States is correct; but notwithstanding that. New Brunswick sends fourteen men to sustain the Government in their restrictive trade policy; and the Government of the United States are in just the same position. If both these Governments were wiped out of existence, I think the people of these two countries would act on common-sense principles. They would then trade with each other to the full extent of their interests. If both Governments were wiped out of existence, it would be better both for this country and for the United States. I do not think that the United States have shown any particular desire to trade with us. I think they are very foolish. I supposed that the Cleveland Administration were going to do something to pull down the barriers between these two kindred people, so that they would be free to do what they want to do as regards trading with each other. What do you suppose the people would do if it were not for the policy of these two Governments? Would not any man who had buckwheat or beans or potatoes or anything else to sell go there to sell them if he could get more for them than he could get at home? And would not they on the other side come here to sell to us? Who would go there to sell anything that the people did not want? Nobody. But by this policy we prevent people doing what they want to do. Now, with regard to this matter of reciprocity, there are some things about reciprocity that I very much like. But it suits those gentlemen over there because it has a protective principle. I would like free trade, and if I could have my way, I would throw down the barriers on this side, and then we would get what we want—that is one-half of it. But because they will not do what we want, we will do what we condemn them for doing. Because they will not reciprocate, we will do just what they are doing. You might as well say that because the Turks will not adopt Christianity we will adopt Mahomedanism. My hon. friend from East Grey (Mr. Sproule) sings another tune to-day from what he used to sing. He sat alongside of me and we were very good friends; and after the National Policy was introduced, every time there was a cent rise on a bushel of oats, up he jumped and sounded the praise of the National Policy. That was fourteen years ago. But I do not hear him say a word about it to-day. He is very quiet now. I would like to see Canada throw down the walls and set the people over there an example of common sense by allowing their goods to come in. We are not going to buy a dollar's worth from them without their buying a dollar's worth from us to pay for it. If you want to extend your foreign trade, you have to buy, and for all you buy you must pay in something that you produce. You do not pay for it in money. If you buy corn,

Mr. GILLMOR.

you pay for it in something you have to sell—cattle, hogs, butter, eggs, or something else; and you will always increase your trade, which is what we want. I want free traders to be free traders. I want them to legislate for their own country. I want them to legislate so that the people here will get the things they want cheaply. Plenty will come in; and the more you get in, the more will go out to pay for it. I think the two countries—both the United States and Canada—are acting like children. They are behind the age, and I hope the time is not far distant when the people will see it. The people want to be enlightened. If they understood the question as they should, and were determined to have a chance to do what is right, they would sweep out of existence the Government that interferes with and obstructs trade.

Mr. CASEY. The hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) lays down rather a remarkable principle in dealing with the member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). He says that that member is a special pleader for the United States, and that this charge has been so often repeated inside the House and outside of it, that it does not need any proof. The hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) has called him the special pleader for the United States year after year, other hon. members on that side have done the same thing, the Government organs in the press have followed suit, and, says the hon. gentleman, because we have libelled and shovelled abuse on him so long, there is no need to prove our libel or justify the abuse we have hurled at him. This is a principle not often avowed, but, I am sorry to say, too often followed in Parliament by hon. gentlemen on that side. Now, on what grounds is the charge made on this occasion? The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) has not been praising the United States at the expense of Canada. He has not been saying that the people over there have more political sense than the people on this side. He has merely pointed out that this Government have made no honest effort to obtain what they said they meant to obtain at the time of the last election, namely, a treaty for reciprocity with the United States. He has not only asserted but proven that the late Mackenzie Government did make a rational and successful attempt to negotiate a treaty with the State Department at Washington for a reasonable scheme of reciprocity, including natural and some manufactured products. He has shown also that this Government appealed to the people for authority to make a reciprocity treaty with the United States, and set out with the intention to fail in obtaining such a treaty—set out to go through the farce of a few minutes' interview with the American authorities, and come back confessing that they had only been able to propose such a treaty as they knew beforehand would not be accepted. If it

be special pleading on behalf of the United States to point out the humbug that characterized the conduct of this Government in their pretense to negotiate a treaty, then the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) is a special pleader for the United States. But otherwise we should rather say that he is a special pleader for the interests of Canada, as far as they are concerned in a treaty with the United States. He has not praised the United States, but has shown how hollow are the pretensions of our own Ministers. The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) dealt more particularly with this view of the reciprocity offer, so-called, which is included in this new tariff. He has shown, how hollow it is as an offer of reciprocity. There is another view of that offer should be brought to the attention of the farmer of this country. It is admittedly part of the policy of gentlemen on the other side, that reciprocity in any respect is bad for this country. They have systematically opposed it in manufactured goods. They have spoken on every platform against reciprocity even in natural products; but now, when they must make some pretense of continuing the offer of reciprocity, which existed under the old tariff, on whose interests do they fall? Time and again they have shown to the farmers that competition with the United States in natural products will injure them, yet here is their offer to sacrifice the farmer, and all his wife's relations if necessary, in a reciprocal arrangement with the United States, but to sacrifice no manufacturing interest whatever. This buckwheat reciprocity policy of theirs includes a number of things which would come into competition with Canadian products, although in regard to most, as the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) pointed out, the offer is purely chimerical. Take the question of Indian corn, the great majority of the farmers of Canada prefer to import it and would prefer to have it free. They claim that it is the raw material of their cattle, just as much as sugar is the raw material of the sugar refiners, and as silk is the raw material of various manufactured goods. The demand for free Indian corn for the purpose of feeding cattle has been constantly before this Government, but they have refused to grant it. They refuse to give the farmer his raw material free, but they say that if the people of the United States will allow our Indian corn to go in there free of duty—and we know perfectly well that no Indian corn would go from Canada to the United States—if the United States, in other words, will allow us to do what there is no chance of our doing, then we will allow Indian corn to come in free from the United States to Canada. Now, Sir, there are certain counties of Ontario where the duty upon Indian corn is regarded as favourable to the farmer. But a great majority of counties find it otherwise. The Government have refused to

decide between these two interests; but they say: If the United States will accept our Indian corn free, none of which we have to sell them, we agree to take the risk of hurting certain counties by putting corn upon the free list. The same is true with regard to barley. I hope that an opportunity will arise before long to point out that throughout the list of articles used in manufacture, those that are produced by the farmer and the miner are admitted free, whereas partial manufactures or complete manufactures which are the raw materials for other lines of production are uniformly protected. I hope to go into that question more fully when we reach that part of the tariff. Meantime, I wish merely to point out that the general position of the Government seems to be if anybody is to be sacrificed, by all means let it be the farmer.

Mr. McMULLEN. I desire to say a few words upon this question before the discussion is closed. This is an exceedingly important question. The people of this country, especially the farming classes, have expressed themselves most clearly and distinctly, as stated by the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), in favour of reciprocity with the United States. In 1891 they expected that the Government would keep faith with them, and would try to secure an outlet for their agricultural products by extending our trade relations with the United States. But, as the hon. gentleman has pointed out, the Government, after securing the confidence of the people, went back on their promises and failed to take the necessary steps to secure for our producers advantages in the American market. I can see in the proposals made in the tariff we are now considering, indications that another attempt will be made to humbug the people with the pretense that the Government are trying to make arrangements along the line of reciprocity. The hon. Minister of Finance knows that when he went to Washington he was met with the question whether he had authority to enter upon negotiations for a treaty of reciprocity, embracing a well-defined list of manufactured goods. He was obliged to reply that he had no such authority. The result was that the opportunity for making a treaty was lost, and the people of this country are left in the same position with regard to this matter as before the election of 1891. If the hon. gentleman fancies that the steps he is taking by this tariff will cause the people to believe that the Government will make another effort to get reciprocity, he will find that he is greatly mistaken; he will find that the people have a vivid recollection of the way in which they were humbugged in the past. Hon. gentlemen have done it once, but they cannot repeat it. They will find that such organizations as the Patrons of Industry and others that have been formed wholly in the interest of a farming community will

make their influence felt when this question comes before the people. We can never allow an opportunity to pass without pointing out clearly and distinctly in this House the deception that has been practiced in the past, and warning the electors of the country not to be deceived again. No doubt, when the election comes round hon. gentlemen opposite will do anything at all for the purpose of retaining their places on the Treasury benches; they will make any quantity of promises, and they will try to repeat their plan of 1891, intending, if they are successful, to maintain the old policy and the old principle. I quite endorse the statement made by the hon. gentleman from Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), that the prosperity of this country largely depends upon extended trade relations with the United States, particularly the prosperity of our farming community. We can well recollect the advantages resulting from the old reciprocity treaty. Those who experienced the advantages of that reciprocity long for a new treaty, and they will not be satisfied until an honest effort is made to secure it, and so far no honest effort to that end has been made by hon. gentlemen opposite. Instead of making such an effort, these hon. gentlemen have done everything they could to prevent the negotiation of a treaty. My hon. friend beside me (Mr. Gillmor) said he did not see that the United States were disposed to make any concessions to Canada. I challenge that statement. In the tariff Bill, as first proposed, agricultural implements were made free of duty from those countries that admitted them free of duty. How have hon. gentlemen opposite met that proposal? They have met it with a duty of 20 per cent on agricultural implements coming into Canada. Is that the way to secure reciprocity? Before the Wilson Bill becomes law, it is probable that a duty of 20 per cent will be proposed on agricultural implements. I understand that that proposition has already been made. So the hon. gentlemen's course from beginning to end has never had in the past and has not now a single vestige of an honest desire to secure a reciprocity treaty with the United States. They are laying their plans to mislead and humbug and fool the farmers of this country over again by the pretended offers of reciprocity they make in this tariff. Well, Mr. Chairman, hon. gentlemen may humbug all the people once or part of the people all the time, but they cannot hope to humbug a majority of the electors all the time. Do the people of the United States want to receive our commodities and send us the same in return? Do they want to send us eggs for eggs, horses for horses, barley for barley? We know they do not. They have not got these things to sell, and they intimated to gentlemen opposite plainly and distinctly that if Canada was prepared to receive such articles of manufacture as they were ready to send they would be prepared to accept Canada's raw material.

Mr. McMULLEN.

But hon. gentlemen opposite are not prepared for that. They say: we will take your corn if you will take our barley. The Minister of Finance when in Washington was obliged to reply that the Government could not or would not accept the proposition made on behalf of the United States. What, then, is the use of re-enacting these offers? The people of this country will understand it; the farmers will understand it, and they will see the hollowness of the hopes of reciprocity held out to them by gentlemen opposite.

Mr. MARTIN. I desire to say a word or two upon this matter, for this is a subject of very special importance to our portion of the country. It has been suggested by the hon. member for Charlotte (Mr. Gillmor) that the Americans are not prepared to enter into a reciprocity treaty with Canada. However that may be, I can say, Mr. Chairman, that the North-western States, including North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Montana, and states of that kind, are very much interested in this question, and are prepared to bring powerful influence at Washington to bear in the direction of a reciprocity treaty that shall be fair to both countries. I say that advisedly, because, within the past two or three years, two very large international conventions have been held to consider this subject. The first was in 1891 at the city of Grand Forks, N.D., this convention being attended by delegates from the States I have mentioned and from Manitoba. The second convention was held in the year 1892 in the city of St. Paul, which was attended by delegates from those states, and also largely attended by delegates from the province of Manitoba. I may say that the question in Manitoba is not being considered as it is in this House, apparently, as a party question; it is being considered there in a non-partisan spirit altogether. In support of that proposition, I would say that the delegates who went to St. Paul representing the city of Winnipeg, were appointed at a meeting of the citizens generally. At that meeting the mayor presided, and the mayor of the city is as ardent a Conservative as there is in this House. In opening the meeting he took the ground that this question of reciprocal trade between those states and the Canadian North-west should not be a question of partisan politics, and for that reason he had great pleasure in presiding at the meeting. Speeches were made by prominent men on both sides of politics, and the tone of the speeches was in the same direction, that it was a matter of very great importance to Manitoba and the Territories to obtain reciprocity arrangements, and that it was desirable to cultivate a feeling on both sides of the line to that end. We recognize that failures in the past to obtain a reciprocity arrangement have been caused largely from the want of a proper understanding and the want of a friendly feeling between the two countries in

regard to that matter. I may say that among the delegates who attended that convention from the town of Portage la Prairie, were the Grand President and the Grand Secretary of the Patrons of Industry for Manitoba and the North-west. Mr. Graham, who is the Grand Secretary of that body, has been a very strong life-long Conservative. On his return from that convention, he published a letter in the local paper, giving a sort of report of his visit, and I may say that, although he was a farmer and not accustomed to work of that kind, he presented in that letter one of the strongest and ablest arguments in favour of reciprocity that I have had the pleasure of reading. These facts show how those neighbouring portions of the United States and Canada feel with regard to this matter. It is not a question of choice with them. It is a question of natural condition. Certainly, for Manitoba and the North-west it would be one of the greatest boons, if they could get the American market free for such articles as barley, potatoes, horses, and a number of other articles, including vegetables of all kinds. The north-western states feel that in many articles they could trade with us profitably to themselves, and it would be a great advantage to them if they were able, in seasons when failures take place in their crops, to draw upon us for their supplies in those articles. They would be very glad indeed to obtain our hard wheat, and I may say that, in spite of the fact that the price of wheat is settled in Liverpool, it would be a distinct advantage to Manitoba and the Territories to have the large milling markets of Minneapolis for their hard wheat. We know that the price of the better grades of hard wheat is not altogether settled by the export value, but that very frequently a higher price can be obtained locally on account of the demand for a special quality of wheat.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. MARTIN. I suppose hon. gentlemen cheer that sentiment because they think it supports the policy of a duty upon flour. No doubt, there is some argument in that fact. I may say, however, with regard to that—and perhaps the House will excuse me for anticipating a discussion on that question—that, while I admit that the duty on flour is a considerable advantage to Manitoba and the Territories, so far as it encourages mills there, and in that way has a tendency to increase the price of the higher grades, of hard wheat—and I may say that my predecessor as a Liberal representative from that province, supported the increased duty on flour in this House—still, I would like to point this out as a warning to the millers of Manitoba and the North-west, that they are taking to-day, and have been taking since that duty was increased, a very unfair advantage of the increase of the duty on flour, because in Manitoba they are getting more for their flour than they are selling the same flour for in Montreal. What they promised,

and what they suggested in asking for that duty, was that they would not advance the price of their flour; all they wished was the market of Canada for themselves, and they suggested that by means of the duty upon flour they would be able to secure the eastern market for flour without really advancing the price. But I say that they have taken an unfair advantage of that increased price; they have put up the price of flour in Manitoba to the highest possible notch consistent with that duty, and the price of flour has been increased by the amount of the duty. We would be able to get our flour very much cheaper indeed, if we could import it from Minneapolis, but we cannot do it on account of the duty.

Mr. SPROULE. Surely, the farmer must benefit by that.

Mr. MARTIN. In what way does he benefit?

Mr. SPROULE. He gets a better price for his wheat.

Mr. MARTIN. I admit that he gets a better price for his wheat from the fact of the mills being there, but he gets no advantage, he gets no better price for his wheat, because the price of flour has been increased to himself and other people in the neighbourhood. As has been pointed out already, the farmer in Manitoba has to buy his flour; the mills refuse to do gristing there, and he has to buy his flour the same as people in the towns. I think it will be admitted by hon. gentlemen opposite that, when the increased duty upon flour was discussed and an advance was made from 50 to 75 cents a barrel, the promise was made on behalf of the millers, that they would not take advantage of the duty to increase the price of flour, that all they wanted was the market of Canada. I say they have violated their pledges in that respect, and they are taking from the people of Manitoba just that amount of additional money for their flour. I contend that they are acting unfairly, and, if they continue to do so, I am not sure but that on the whole it would be to the advantage of Manitoba to have the duty taken off. I am inclined to think that the extra amount paid by the people of Manitoba for their flour, including the farmers, as well as the people in towns, counterbalances any increase in price there may be from time to time in the price of wheat caused by these local mills. I have pointed out the capacity of that country to produce barley, and the inadvisability of producing barley to a considerable extent now for lack of a market. I have mentioned the great capacity of that country to produce potatoes, which are practically worthless to-day, but can be grown at a profit at the prices that can be obtained in Chicago, where the price of potatoes is good at almost all times, because in recent years the potato crop in the Western States has been almost a failure. The people of Chicago have imported

their potatoes largely from the island of Cuba, and we are able to sell them the finest varieties at from 30 to 35 cents per bushel and obtain considerable profit. On our soil we are able to produce annually 400 bushels to the acre. But all these opportunities are lost because we are not able to obtain the American market. That, however, does not depend altogether on our own efforts and disposition, but we consider in Manitoba and in the states to which I have referred that it is the utmost importance that friendly feelings shall be engendered so as to bring about reciprocity on both sides of the line. Another matter which was very fully discussed and on which resolutions were passed—I have not got the resolutions at hand or I would read them to the committee—was the necessity of the North-west generally, on both sides of the line, uniting to eventually secure what might be called a ship canal from the North-west to the Atlantic ocean. That is a subject on which our interests are united, and it met with very great favour at these conventions. I may say there would have been a third convention at Duluth last year had it not been for the great financial panic which occurred about the time when it was intended to hold the convention, and it was thought to be an unfavourable time to call together the people to discuss questions of that kind. There is another point to which I desire to refer, and that is the reciprocity offer of the United States in connection with agricultural implements. Hon. gentlemen opposite, if they care anything whatever for the support of Manitoba and the Territories, must consider this question more seriously than they have done hitherto. The United States made a distinct offer to Canada in connection with articles that are of prime importance to settlers in that portion of the Dominion. They proposed that if Canada would take the duty off agricultural implements they would do likewise. Although this matter has been brought very forcibly by hon. members on this side of the House to the attention of the Finance Minister, no discussion has taken place with respect to it on the floor of this House. I should like to hear expressions of opinion from the hon. member from East Assinibola (Mr. McDonald), the hon. member from West Assinibola (Mr. Davin), and the hon. member for Alberta (Mr. Davis), and the hon. member for Saskatchewan (Mr. Macdowell). As regards the members from Manitoba, we do not expect any sympathy from them in this movement, but we would like very much to know what the hon. members from the Territories think of the Government's action in refusing to consider that proposition, which would mean so much to the farmers both in Manitoba and the North-west.

Mr. DAVIN. As the hon. gentleman has appealed to me, perhaps I may delay the committee for a moment or so while remarking on what has fallen from him and also from the hon. member from South Oxford

(Sir Richard Cartwright), and perhaps also adverting to some remarks that fell from the hon. member from North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). My hon. friend who has just taken his seat, as well as the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), and the hon. member from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), are here to-night acting that extraordinary part which the 'Globe' acts, and which their orators on platform after platform play, and it is this: They stand up and they blame the Conservative party for not obtaining a reciprocity treaty with the United States. Of course, if all that is not utter blague, if it is not wasted froth, there is behind it a proposition, that some body of men in this country could get a reciprocity treaty with the United States which would be acceptable to Canada.

Mr. CHARLTON. Hear, hear.

Mr. DAVIN. "Hear, hear," says the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). So it could be done. If that proposition is not behind it, one of two consequences must follow, either it is a manifestation of imbecility, or it is a manifestation, I use the word in the Pickwickian sense, of political knavery.

Mr. CHARLTON. Does the hon. gentleman speak of his own friends?

Mr. DAVIN. No, I had my eye on my hon. friend. My hon. friend read to the House a list of the articles that Hon. George Brown was prepared to put on the reciprocity list; in fact, listening to that list, one is ready to ask what was there left to give?

An hon. MEMBER. Hear, hear.

Mr. DAVIN. Some hon. member says "Hear, hear." But we do not need to answer the argument that is behind that "hear, hear," if there is any argument behind it, because the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) has answered it. The hon. member for Winnipeg can do a great many things, but short as has been his occupancy of a seat in this House, I congratulate him on the fact that he has not only added to the aesthetic aspect of the House, but he has shown how a member of Parliament can blow hot and cold, and he has done this better than any member that ever sat within these walls. Within the short space of a few minutes he talked as an out-and-out free trader and as an out-and-out protectionist; one moment he was standing on the solid, broad footing of a thorough-paced Grit, and the next moment he was speaking from the standpoint—and the hon. member for Provencher (Mr. La-Riviere) knows a good deal depends on the standpoint—of the ordinary Reformer; he was standing on his head and giving us from a politico-economic point of view a thorough acrobatic exhibition. I heard the hon. gentleman in this House a few minutes ago declare that he wanted—and I read some-

Mr. MARTIN,

where that he made the same statement. I am not sure, but I heard him make that statement outside of this House. I certainly heard him make it inside—that he wanted to eliminate from our tariff the accursed thing, protection.

Mr. MARTIN. Hear, hear.

Mr. DAVIN. The hon. gentleman says "hear, hear." The leader of the Opposition did me the honour to suggest that I had retired and hidden myself in the vacuum of my memory, but some time was given me to do that; yet in the short space—and it will be seen that in giving the hon. member for Winnipeg credit for his acrobatic genius, I am not at fault—of five or ten minutes, the hon. gentleman can bury himself in the vacuum of his moral consciousness. The hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) took us into his confidence, and really when the hon. gentlemen on that side of the House become candid we get some glimpses of their character and some insight into their sincerity. The hon. member from South Oxford told the House that Sir John Macdonald was so great a man that the whole Government of Canada at this hour could be carved out of him, and he still remain a man of some consequence. That is the hon. gentleman's opinion of Sir John Macdonald dead. I knew Sir John Macdonald well, and I had his opinion when alive of the hon. gentleman, and all I can say is that it was not quite so complimentary as is the hon. gentleman's opinion of the late great leader of the Conservative party. But if the right hon. gentleman who once led the Conservative party was so great a man, why was it that the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) left his following and failed to agree with him? And if the opinion of the right hon. gentleman now he is dead is of such value to the hon. member for South Oxford, how was it that he never could bring himself to agree with propositions either on the trade policy or on general policy for governing this country that were enunciated by that right hon. gentleman? The hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin), has distinctly again and again stated here to-night, a proposition dear to his opponents, a proposition that I thought had been controverted always by gentlemen on the Reform side of the House. He states that the local market—a point that the Minister of Finance and hon. gentlemen of his party set great store by—is of value, and that the local market raises the price of wheat.

Mr. MARTIN. I did not state that.

Mr. DAVIN. I will give the hon. gentleman his own words and let him correct me if I am wrong. He said: that giving the millers protection increases the local demand for our hard wheat, and the result was that it some times raised the price; and he said further: that one of the advantages of break-

ing down the customs barriers between Canada and the Western States would be that that local market would be still further extended because we would have the woollen manufactories.

Mr. MARTIN. I did not say woollen manufactories, I said flour mills.

Mr. DAVIN. Very well, flour mills. It will suit the proposition just as well; it is a question of the enlargement of what he calls the local market.

Mr. MARTIN. The hon. gentleman did not understand me. As I understand the argument with regard to the local market, from a protectionist standpoint, it is: that they will create manufactures which will consume these products and increase the price for the farmer. I never intended for one moment to suggest that protection in Manitoba had that effect, or could possibly have that effect. The hon. gentleman has misunderstood what I said. What I said was: that the more mills there were in Manitoba the more likely there was that occasionally the price of our highest grades of hard would be improved, and I said that that would be still further the case in favour of the Manitoba farmer, if the tariff on wheat on both sides of the line were removed, and we had access to the large flour mills of Minneapolis and Duluth, so that we could send our hard wheat there where it was particularly wanted on account of the shortness of their crop.

Mr. DAVIN. I appeal to the House and to the candid gentlemen around me if that is not what I stated. The hon. gentleman laid down the proposition: that if you had flour mills you would enhance sometimes the local market for wheat, and thereby you would sometimes raise the price of wheat. Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Mr. DAVIN. The hon. gentleman nods his head in assent. I said once that when a certain gentleman shook his head, there was nothing in it; but when my hon. friend shakes his head there is a little in it, and I have at last stated the case. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Martin) in his mode of controversy in this House reminds me very much of the hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte). He reminds me very much of the way the hon. member for L'Islet conducts his controversy in this House. There is not a great deal probably in common between them with the exception of their methods, although I suppose that they are all fours in this: that each is a little tart.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Mr. DAVIN. I see that my hon. friend behind me (Mr. Fraser) is very indignant that I should have made a point. Well, I will admit that it is a very indifferent pun, and I am sorry that I trespassed on his monopoly of doubtful wit. Now, my hon. friend from

Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) wants me to say something about agricultural implements, and he says that he has not yet heard any of the gentlemen from the North-west discuss that question—

Mr. MARTIN. I did not say that. What I said was that I had not heard an expression of their opinion as to the policy of the Government in refusing the reciprocity offer of the United States in connection with agricultural implements.

Mr. DAVIN. And in answer I may say that the United States have not yet placed themselves in such a position in regard to that, or any other matter, that this Government can with any safety go further than it has gone. I say further, as I stated when I spoke on this subject before: that I should have been glad to see agricultural implements on the free list. I say also, that in regard to agricultural implements and some other items in the tariff: that whatever the United States did I should be glad to see our own Government take the bull by the horns and go further than they have done in regard to a few things that our people in the west are concerned in. I repeat what I said on this subject before: that looking at the fact that the Minister of Finance had to deal with the iron industries, that, as a statesman, he could not at once wipe away protection to these iron industries. I do not see how he could at the present time have taken away all the protection from the agricultural implement makers. I said on that occasion: that placing on the one side all the things that had been done for the Territories, things that were shown to have been done for the Territories, for the farmers household and for all that would affect the farmer; I say that under that tariff the North-west farmer and the Manitoba farmer, the constituents of my hon. friend as well as my own; do get more under that tariff at this minute than they would get under the tariff had it been made in accordance with the suggestions that I ventured to press on the Government last year and the previous year. I am not surprised at the condition the debate on this subject has come to already in committee. When we were discussing the question of going into committee I ventured to state that the opposition to this tariff had been knocked endways—I think I used language somewhat more elegant, but certainly not more expressive—and I anticipated that when we went into committee and had to deal with it after it my hon. friends of the Opposition would find themselves in the difficulty they find themselves in now, because it is pretty clear that instead of discussing this matter for a month, we shall get through committee much quicker than we thought we should, for the reason the more you come to look at this tariff the more does it bear criticism.

Mr. GILLMOR. Oh, nonsense.

Mr. DAVIN.

Mr. DAVIN. My hon. friend says Oh! Nothing in the world would satisfy my hon. friend except absolute free trade, because he wants free trade and he wants direct taxation.

Mr. GILLMOR. Could you find a more contemptible mode of taxation than this?

Mr. DAVIN. I will not limit the capacity of my hon. friend, and he may yet be called to power. Although I should like, for instance, to see something taken off the duty on coal oil and agricultural implements, I say that the more we look at this tariff the better we find it. I may say, also, that I am very glad that some additional protection was put to-day on pork. Although I do not hope to see, just now, more duty taken off agricultural implements, I have hopes as regards coal oil and one or two other items, and I look to see still more done in the near future, and speaking generally, looking at the tariff as a whole, and after considering it for weeks, I can give the same verdict on this tariff that I gave of it when I spoke on going into committee.

Mr. GILLMOR. But they are changing it all the time.

Mr. DAVIN. They are changing it in the direction that I like. My hon. friend, with whom I have often had the pleasure of a private chat, and who is a metaphysician in his way, and a man of great precision of language, who can think correctly and fruitfully, knows that no human work is so perfect that it may not receive some finishing touch. If you go to Italy and see marble chiselled into a living statue, there it stands before your eyes apparently perfect; but the artist comes along in a few days with his sandpaper and chamois and makes it still more perfect. So, I have no doubt, my hon. friend, who is also something of an artist, aided by the Finance Minister on the other side, will be able to make this tariff still better than it is.

Mr. McDONALD (Assinibola). If my hon. friend from Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) had not called upon me to make a declaration. I do not know that I would have taken up the time of the House to-night. I agree with the hon. member for West Assinibola (Mr. Davin) that there are some things in this tariff which are not perfect; but I for one am going to take it on the instalment plan. The farmers of the North-west, of whom I am one, have received considerable benefit from the changes in this tariff. Like the hon. member for West Assinibola, I am not exactly satisfied with the duties on agricultural implements and on coal oil. I did say, before I came down to Ottawa, that if the Americans would put agricultural implements on the free list, we should do the same, as I believe Canadians are able to compete with any people in the world; but when I come here and look into these ques-

tions, it changes the programme considerably.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. McDONALD (Assiniboia). My hon. friends on the opposite side cheer, and I am glad to get a cheer from them. What I understand by that is, that if the patents on our machines infringe on the patents on the machines in the United States, we could not send them there free; and every one of the principal implements that we use on the prairies has the same identical patented devices as are used in the United States machines. There is not a binder made in this country but the patent originated in the United States. The hon. member for Winnipeg told me a little news to-night. He said that the people of the North-west were in favour of reciprocity with the neighbouring states of Dakota and Minnesota. He also said that under free trade, Minneapolis would buy our superior hard wheat. Well, I am a wheat farmer of the North-west, and I think that would be a good deal like taking coals to Newcastle. The United States, in 1892, raised over 600,000,000 bushels of wheat. Let the United States wheat be excluded from the English market by a duty of 10 cents or 15 cents a bushel, and it will increase the price of our wheat 10 cents or 15 cents a bushel. The hon. gentleman said that the United States would furnish a market for our horses. Up to the present day, horses are going into the North-west from the province of Ontario.

Mr. MARTIN. That has practically ceased.

Mr. SPROULE. Only last Saturday a carload left down here at the station.

Mr. McDONALD (Assiniboia). It is true, as the hon. member for Winnipeg says, that it has practically ceased. Nevertheless, the bringing of horses from Montana to our country has not practically ceased.

Mr. CAMPBELL. The hon. member for West Assiniboia started by accusing this side of the House of blaming the Government for not obtaining reciprocity; and he said that we insinuated that if this side were in power, we would be able to get a reciprocity treaty with the United States. Well, Sir, I have no doubt we could if the Liberal party—

Mr. DAVIN. I would like to correct the hon. member. He says that I insinuated that if that party were in power they could get a reciprocity treaty. I insinuated nothing of the kind. What I stated was that unless behind their proposition there was some body of men who could compel the United States Government to give us reciprocity, all their talk was nonsense. I did not insinuate any such extraordinary power as regards the Opposition.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, any person who reads the report made by the hon. Finance

Minister after he came back from Washington a year or so ago, can come to no other conclusion than that a treaty could have been obtained at that time if the Government wanted it. They went down to Washington nominally for the purpose of arranging a reciprocity treaty with the United States, but their object was not to negotiate any treaty, although the facts showed that if they had had the least desire to obtain such a treaty they could have done so.

Mr. DAVIN. How was it that George Brown did not get it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. George Brown failed fifteen or twenty years ago. Circumstances have changed since then; the party in power in the United States had as one of their principal planks the doing away with protection altogether. Because we failed fifteen or twenty years ago, that is no reason why we should fail now. At any rate, the great importance of this matter to the people of Canada warrants us in using every effort to obtain it. The hon. member for West Assiniboia also spoke of the hon. member for Winnipeg as one who could blow hot and cold better than any one else in the House. Well, Sir, if we look back over the political history of the hon. member for West Assiniboia, we shall find that he has been blowing hot and cold ever since he came to this House. You cannot tell by his speeches how he will vote; he generally speaks one way and votes another. Last session the Order Paper was filled by him with resolutions for free coal oil, free binder twine, and free agricultural implements; but those questions he never brought to the issue. He always supports the Government no matter what they do. If they do not take the duty off coal oil, he will still vote for them; if they do not take the duty off agricultural implements, he will still praise them; if they leave the duty on coal oil and binder twine, he will still support them, although he talks the other way. The hon. member spoke of the reference the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) made to the late Sir John Macdonald. I understood the hon. member for South Oxford to admit the great abilities of the late Sir John Macdonald, as we all do; he did so by way of contrast with the ability of the present Government, very much to their discredit. But the hon. gentleman wants to know why the hon. member for South Oxford left Sir John Macdonald, and did not support him? Because he did not agree with his policy. A person may admit the great ability of an opponent without agreeing with his policy. The hon. member also said of the hon. member when he shook his head, that he could not say of him as he had said of some other hon. members, that when he shook his head there was nothing in it, because he admitted there was a little in it. It is reported that a very prominent gentleman, a late member of this House, said,

when asked his opinion of the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin), that he would be an able man if he had a little more brains. I think that was a very truthful remark. If the hon. gentleman had ballast, he would be a well-balanced man. He has given us an opinion of the Government, in one of his sober moments in the House, which reads very differently from his opinion to-day. He then referred to them as a Government of antiques, and wanted somebody to peddle brains to them. That opinion and the one he expresses now, are in accord with his entire policy. He blows hot and cold, speaking one way one day, and contradicting himself the next. The proposition of the Government to place a certain number of articles on the free list, provided the Americans allow the same articles free from Canada. I have no hesitation in saying, is a perfect humbug. It is not intended to have any practical result. On the face of it, one might be led to suppose that, when we made such an offer, it was a fair offer to the United States. But, when you look to the exports of this country, you will see at once that there is nothing in the offer at all to induce the American Government to accept it. As the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) has said, it gives the Americans one point, and asks them to give us ten. Take all these articles, apples, beans, buckwheat, peas, potatoes, rye flour, hay, vegetables and barley, that we propose to admit from the United States free of duty, if they will admit those articles into their country free, we find that the Americans, if they had free access to our market, would in all probability not send us one of these articles, because there is no market for them here. We export largely those different articles to the United States, and it is simply absurd to propose to admit from the United States those same articles, when we know there is no market for them here. The benefits would be all on our side. There is no question that if we can obtain reciprocity with the people of the United States, we would confer the greatest possible benefits on our people. I do not believe there is any law we could place on the statute-book that could confer anything like the benefits to the people of Canada which the opening up of the American market to our farmers, artisans, fishermen and lumbermen would. Therefore, I think that the Government have been very derelict in their duty in not attempting to bring about more favourable relations with that country. Their golden time was eighteen months ago, when the Democrats were returned to power and Congress was in session. They should then have sent a commissioner to Washington to endeavour to negotiate a treaty. In not doing so, they have made the greatest mistake they could possibly make. I believe the people of the United States would be willing to meet us in a fair and just measure of reciprocity. They will not renew the old treaty that existed between 1854 and 1866, but, if

Mr. CAMPBELL.

we had included a certain list of manufactured articles, we have the assurance of the late Secretary of the United States, the Hon. Mr. Blaine, that they would have entertained the proposition favourably. I believe the Government have seriously neglected the interests of Canada in not having taken every possible step to negotiate a treaty. There could be no greater piece of folly committed on both sides than the policy of each country. If you go along our border—if you go along the beautiful Niagara or St. Lawrence River, you will find that capitalists have invested millions of dollars in building magnificent iron and steel bridges to cross these streams and bring the two countries together. They did so in order to remove the natural barriers placed in the way of commerce between the two countries, and yet the Governments of this country and the United States have erected artificial barriers to prevent our making use of these bridges, which it cost millions of dollars to build. It seems to me that, if we wanted barriers, the better way would be to blow up these bridges and sink the vessels that carry cargoes across the river at different places along the border. Then we would have all the barriers we require without erecting artificial ones. But there is no man in either country who would be such an idiot as to propose such a course. We do not trade with the people of the United States because we prefer that country to others, but simply because it pays us to buy there, just as it pays them to buy from us. That is why this large trade takes place between us. We sold to the United States almost as much last year as to the rest of the world, England included. Then, we bought from the United States far more than from any other country, including Great Britain. That shows that the people of Canada find it to their advantage to trade with the United States, and I believe that, if the barriers were removed, the development of trade between Canada and the United States would go on increasing at an enormous rate, to the great advantage of both countries. I charge the Government with having neglected the interests of this country, in losing the golden opportunity they had. They have not done a single thing to bring about this advantageous trade, and the offer they are now making is simply a delusion. They know well that the Americans will not accept it, and it would be foolish for them to accept it, and it is a sham and a delusion to allow it to remain on the statute-books of this country.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). The hon. member for Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) is very fond of charging the Opposition with inconsistency. If there is an inconsistent man in this House, it is the very gentleman who makes that charge against us. As you are all aware, every year he comes here with a policy of his own, and, in fact, if we read the speeches made by him during the last six or seven years, I defy any one to say what his policy and principles really are. To say for

one moment that a reciprocity treaty with the United States would not be a benefit to Manitoba, is to express an opinion to which I do not think any reasonable man would give utterance, if he spoke independent of the party with which he is connected. The hon. gentleman from East Assiniboia (Mr. McDonald) stated that the wheat of Manitoba would not be sent to Dakota, even if free trade existed between the two countries. But the hon. gentleman knows, just as well as I can tell him, that Manitoba No. 1 hard wheat is superior to any wheat they can grow in Minnesota, and that the large mills centred in Minneapolis and other points are anxious to get the very best wheat in order to make the best flour, so that they may be able to meet their competitors in any part of the world. Again, a large proportion of wheat is sent from Manitoba into Dakota for seed purposes. Allow me to read from a Conservative paper, 'The Canadian Journal of Commerce,' what is stated in an editorial paragraph with regard to the export of wheat from the elevators at Brandon:

The farmers' elevators at Brandon shipped several thousand bushels of seed wheat to Dakota last year and are busy shipping more now. The only drawback is the duty on seed wheat entering the United States.

Now, there is a fact which contradicts the contention of those hon. gentlemen who say that a reciprocity treaty between Canada and the United States would not benefit Manitoba. It is almost a universal sentiment among the farmers of that country that it would be a great boon to the country if they had free access to the markets of the United States to sell what they produce and to purchase many articles for the use of their farms which can be purchased more cheaply in the United States. I am astonished, Mr. Chairman, at seeing three or four members from Manitoba sitting here and failing to endeavour to answer the arguments made use of in favour of Manitoba from this side. But two hon. gentlemen from Manitoba who did attempt to answer the hon. member from Winnipeg (Mr. Martin), absolutely failed to meet one of the arguments brought forward in favour of that country. They had not one word to say in favour of the farmers or in favour of those purchasing the various articles the duties upon which were considered this afternoon, but they sat there as if they had no tongues, but looked to the members of the Government to see whether they should speak or not. When we lose our independence to such an extent, when we come to this House and sit as dumb dogs, without a word in vindication of the people who sent us to represent them, we cannot but think we have become political party hacks to such an extent that our usefulness is gone. There are four or five mem-

bers from British Columbia here, and if they look over the Trade and Navigation Returns, they will find that their province almost lives and moves and has its being by what they receive from and what they sell to the United States. A large portion of their meats are imported from the United States, and they pay a very high duty upon these imports. A large proportion of their potatoes are imported from the United States, and upon these they pay thousands of dollars in duties. Many other articles that go into consumption in British Columbia are imported from the United States. On the other hand, in the case of one of the principal industries, the coal industry, they have to sell almost every ton in the United States. And yet here are the two tariffs, one on one side and one on the other, forming together a tremendous obstacle in the way of commerce between these two countries. And yet these representatives of British Columbia will come here and sit silently through the discussion of these heavy duties imposed upon the trade of their province. Coming to the province of Ontario, I hold that there is not a single reasonable man, who, looking at the trade and commerce between the two countries and speaking his independent opinion, but must say that reciprocity with the United States would be a great boon for the farmers of this country. And when I hear it argued that the United States is not our market, I can only come to the conclusion that the man who uses that argument has not examined the records put before him by the Government. Take up the Trade and Navigation Returns, and you find that in spite of duties running from 40 to 50 and 60 per cent, and even higher, so far as many of our products are concerned, we trade almost entirely with that country. When you see that these are the facts, how is it possible that hon. gentlemen can continue to tell us that, because the United States produce a surplus of the articles that we produce, there can be no market there for us. We all know the effect of the McKinley Bill upon the barley growing of Ontario. If that McKinley Bill and its high duties were done away with the farmers could engage in that trade again. When the McKinley Bill came in, eight hundred thousand acres were under barley in Ontario. To-day not one-half of that area is carried under barley. Being excluded from the United States markets, the farmers had to go out of this business, which was the most profitable department of the farm. This is one result of the Government not seeking to have an understanding with regard to trade matters upon equitable and dignified grounds. Hon. gentlemen very well know that in 1891 the late Sir John A. Macdonald issued a proclamation in which he stated that he was about to negotiate a treaty along the lines of the treaty which was in force from 1854 to 1866, and that he actually dissolved Parliament on the

ground that he wished to have a mandate from the people to negotiate that treaty. I was told upon the platform by a Minister of the Crown that a Ministerial party of three were on their way to negotiate a treaty and that in a few weeks a treaty would be arranged which would be greatly to the advantage of the farmers of this country. Among other things, agricultural implements would be placed upon the free list. I do not see in his place the hon. gentleman who made that statement. I refer to the Minister of Militia. He made that declaration upon the public platform at a meeting which I attended. And yet hon. gentlemen say that we have not a large market in the country south of us. It does not follow that because a country produces more than she requires therefore her people will not purchase articles from outside, that they cannot find goods outside their own country which, for various reasons, will suit them better than those they produce. For instance, do hon. gentlemen opposite suppose that we could not sell our cheese in the United States, if the United States markets were open to us? We are able to offer them the best cheese on the continent, or in the world. If our cheese is sent to the great markets in the United States—New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, and many other large cities—you can sell it beside the American cheese and at a higher price. Why? Because those who go into the market do not inquire from what country this or that article comes. They will take the best that is offered and pay the highest market price for it. Therefore, I blame the Government for not putting forth a conscientious effort, which I believe they never did, to negotiate a treaty, including raw materials and agricultural products, with a large range of manufactured articles, which would be beneficial to the countries on either side. They may do that without sacrificing any of their dignity, without sacrificing the interest of Canada, but to the advantage of the people of this country. And the people will hold the Government and their supporters responsible, and when the hon. gentlemen go to the country, as they must within the next two years, the people will assert their position and place the Government where they ought to be, because they have neglected the interests of the people, particularly the interests of the agricultural classes and have catered to the interests of those with more money to spend to keep them in power. When I see the people of the United States, as it were, holding out their hands ready to receive and pay for our products and the Government keeping up the barrier between us, I cannot but come to the conclusion that there must be something which we ought more fully to understand which induces them to avoid making a treaty that would be beneficial to both countries. An hon. gentleman the other night said that

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron).

the treaty of 1854 was an unmixed evil. The Government of that day did not regard it as such. The Government of that day regarded that treaty as largely beneficial to this country, as having brought to this country a trade which wiped out the discontent and restlessness which previously existed. In 1866 when the United States gave notice of their intentions to abrogate that treaty, the Government of Sir John A. Macdonald passed a Minute of Council deploring that this country was to be deprived of the benefits of that treaty, and imploring the British Government to interfere to see if they could not get the United States to continue that treaty which had brought such prosperity to this country. Yet, Sir, we have men among us to-day who will persist in saying that that treaty was not beneficial to this country. Now, I believe you can never get a treaty with the United States upon the mere basis of natural products: but if you add to those products several of our manufactured articles, I am satisfied, from the expression of the newspaper press in the United States, from the expression of members of the Senate and House of Representatives, from resolutions passed by the National Board of Trade, that the United States are in a humour to meet us half way, and if our Government will only do all they can, they will be able to bring around freer trade relations between Canada and the United States.

Item agreed to.

Indian corn, 7½ cents a bushel.

Mr. McMILLAN. I think it is the duty of the Government to give the farmers the relief they are entitled to and for which they have been asking. The farmers of western Ontario have sent deputations to interview the Government asking them to place corn upon the free list. When the question was put by the Government, What if the United States will not allow our barley to go in there free? the answer was, Give us free corn, whether the United States will take our barley or not. I believe the time has now arrived when the farmers of Canada, especially in the province of Ontario, should cease to be exporters of coarse grains in any shape, and when they should import corn in order to make farming the success it ought to be. During the last year there were 5,100,000 bushels of corn imported from the United States into Canada. Of that quantity, 2,100,000 bushels were entered for consumption; the distillers took 890,000 bushels, leaving 1,300,000 or 1,400,000 bushels of corn to be consumed by the farmers and stock men in Canada. I think of that amount, 1,240,000 bushels is consumed in Ontario. Now, I hold that it would be a great benefit to the farmers to have free corn. There are other crops that we can raise very profitably. For instance, Ontario is well fitted by the nature of her soil to raise large crops of peas; and we could sell these peas and purchase corn instead, provided there was no duty on corn, and corn would make

as good a food and as cheap as pease. If the Wilson Bill passes the Senate with the item of barley in the same position as it was sent to the Senate, leaving barley about 25 per cent, which would mean something like 12½ cents a bushel for duty on barley going into the United States, we would only pay 2½ cents in excess of what it was before the McKinley Bill was passed. It would then pay the farmers of Ontario—and I speak of Ontario particularly because I am better acquainted with that province—it would pay them to go into the raising of barley, the most paying crop they ever raised, and sell that barley and purchase corn. Let me say there is no other grain I know of that will give the farmers the same relief as free corn, and even if the Wilson Bill should not pass, let us have free corn. We want to cheapen the cost of production by every means in the province of Ontario, in the dairy, in feeding stock for beef, in raising pork—in all these respects we could make money if we only had cheaper food. Let me say that the Patrons of Industry, some of them from the corn-growing districts of western Ontario, have interviewed the Government asking that corn should be placed upon the free list. There may be some locality in Canada at certain times that would not get as good a price for their corn if the duty was taken off, but let me say that the best farmers in the corn-growing counties are consuming the corn that they raise themselves, and purchasing foreign corn. We want to change our system of farming entirely. Taking all these things into consideration, I move :

That corn be struck from this schedule and placed upon the free list.

Believing that such a measure would give a great amount of benefit to the farmers of the Dominion of Canada.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I feel myself at a loss to account for the proposition which the hon. gentleman embodied in the tariff, except it is for the purpose of trying to persuade a certain portion of the population who are in favour of a reasonable measure of reciprocity with the United States, that the Government engaged in negotiations for that purpose. The hon. gentleman knows well that for many years the Government of the United States and the press of the United States have declared that a reciprocity treaty confined to natural products, would not be acceptable to the people of that country. A few years ago the hon. gentleman and certain of his colleagues advised the Governor General to dissolve Parliament before the usual period had elapsed, on the ground that the Government of the United States was prepared to enter into negotiations, and they wished a mandate from the people to enable them to negotiate. There was then a standing offer on the statutes of Canada, at least as comprehensive as the offer the hon. gentleman has now embraced, and the hon. gentleman did not regard the standing offer at that time as any indication of what the

opinion of the country was, but they wished to obtain a direct expression, so they declared, from the people of this country. Now, the hon. gentleman has, by his own action and that of his colleagues, declared that this was a matter of no consequence. It was no indication of what the opinion or sentiment of Canada was, that it was no justification whatever for the Government to undertake negotiations on the subject of reciprocity. Why then embrace it here at all? For what purpose is it inserted in these resolutions? Why is it to be embraced in a measure including these resolutions? Sir, I think it is not difficult to understand the aim of the Government; it is to endeavour to persuade the agricultural population of this country that the hon. gentlemen who sit upon the Treasury benches, and their supporters, are not opposed to negotiations for a reciprocity treaty. Sir, the action of the hon. gentleman since this session opened, like the action of those associated with him during the ten past sessions, is sufficient to show that the hon. gentleman is committed to a policy which stands in the way of any attempt at negotiating a reasonable reciprocity treaty. Sir, the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) made an attack on the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). Why, he said, the hon. member for North Norfolk rather represented the people of the United States than a constituency in Canada. What reason did the hon. gentleman assign for that statement? Simply this, that the hon. gentleman pointed out that this offer, which is to become a standing offer and which the Minister of Finance proposes to incorporate in a statute, is one which proceeds on the principle that it is more blessed to receive than to give, and that the receipts demanded are at least ten-fold as great as the Government propose to bestow. That may be a correct statement, or it may be that the hon. gentleman has overestimated the case as against the offer here made. Upon that point I express no opinion. There is no doubt they have demanded very much more, whether it is ten or fifteen times more than what they are prepared to accept I am not prepared at this moment to say. But the hon. gentleman did not undertake to show that this was a rational offer, a proposition that reasonable men would propose and reasonable men might be expected to accept. He never said one word in justification of the offer, but he declared the people of the United States were a hostile people, not disposed to negotiate a reciprocity treaty, and that there was no hope for negotiating a reciprocity treaty with them; and yet the hon. gentleman thinks these propositions should stand in the resolution. If the hon. gentleman is right in his contention, that there is no hope or prospect of negotiating a treaty of reciprocity with the United States or of obtaining reciprocal free trade in any of these matters with them, why include these propositions in the resolutions? For what

purpose are they put there? For, according to the hon. gentleman's contention they can be put there, but for one purpose, and that is to mislead the agricultural population of this country, and to persuade them or induce them to believe that the hon. gentlemen who sit on the Treasury benches and those who support them are prepared to sustain a reasonable measure of reciprocity. The conduct of the Government does not point in that direction. There was a time when the Government demanded and when the Conservative party asked for a treaty of retaliation. For what purpose? To secure ultimately reciprocal free trade with our neighbours; but that was long ago abandoned. For years hon. gentlemen have supported a policy of protection as a thing good in itself, and they have believed that the less they had to do with any other country as regards carrying on trade with that country, the better off were the people of Canada. That has been the line of argument adopted and pursued over and over again, and every one who holds any other view whether in Parliament or out of Parliament outside of these propositions must be regarded in the highest degree rational. Yet, hon. gentlemen opposite, knowing that the United States are not prepared to negotiate a treaty confined to natural products, and holding that any other treaty with the United States, if negotiated on any other basis, would be inimical to the interest of the people, nevertheless undertake to sustain these resolutions and to attack the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), because he insists that the propositions made, if made at all, should be such as a community anxious to establish liberal reciprocal trade relations would be likely to accept. The hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule), said more, and he was followed in that line by many hon. gentlemen who have spoken on the subject, and asserted that we, when in office, had failed to secure reciprocity: that we had negotiated a treaty which was comprehensive in its character, embracing many manufactured articles as well as natural products, that the Senate of the United States had rejected our proposition, and that that fact of itself was conclusive evidence that the American people and the United States Congress were wholly opposed to reciprocal trade relations with Canada. If hon. gentlemen thought that offer or those negotiations of twenty years ago, nearly a whole generation ago, were evidence of the opinion of the American people at this moment, why did the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) sustain and justify the dissolution of Parliament and the appeal to the people of this country under the pretense that a treaty of reciprocity was about to be negotiated, and why does he undertake to justify the including of these propositions in the resolutions relating to the tariff? They should go overboard if the hon. gentleman is right, they should not be embraced

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

in the tariff; it is a preposterous offer which everybody knows will not be accepted, it is one made to a people who have steered their faces against any proposition coming from the Parliament or the Government of Canada. That being so, it is impossible that hon. gentlemen can reconcile the including of these propositions in the tariff with sincerity on the part of those who proposed them. Let me say that I dissent from the statement of the hon. gentlemen, that the American people have never been in favour of the consideration of a reasonable measure of reciprocity. I have no more doubt than I have of my existence, that if the Government or its representatives, when they went to Washington a year or two ago for the purpose of negotiating a treaty had made fair propositions, perhaps not more comprehensive than those made by Hon. George Brown in 1874, those hon. gentlemen would have succeeded in negotiating a reciprocity treaty, and it was not the sentiment of any portion of the people of the United States which stood in the way, but the hostile sentiment of those on whom the Administration depended mainly for their support and continuance in office in this country. That is the position then, that is the position to-day, and everybody in this country will thoroughly understand the meaning of these propositions in the mouths of those who are hostile to any negotiations succeeding with the United States. But the hon. gentleman has referred to a failure on the part of Congress to ratify a treaty made twenty years ago. The treaty was negotiated, the Secretary of State approved it, the President also approved it, and a majority of the Senate alone stood in the way. How came that about? Was it because the people of the United States were altogether opposed to trading under all circumstances with the people of Canada? Not at all. It was because a great civil war had occurred in that country. The people of the South were arrayed against us as a portion of the British Empire, because the Government of the United Kingdom had not come to their support and supported them against the legitimate Government of the country. The people of the North were opposed to us on account of the hostile sentiment exhibited by the Conservative party of this country, who thought—not having any special feeling, perhaps, against the United States—but who thought, that it was important that Republicanism, Democratic Government, should fail, and they pointed to the civil war in the United States as an evidence that no people trusting wholly to themselves were capable of self government. Upon that point they exhibited a strong sympathy in favour of the South, and a strong feeling of hostility against the northern section of the Republic. It was under these circumstances, before that feeling had died away with the great masses of the American people, that this negotiation was had, and it

failed, not for reasons of political economy, not because the American people did not think that it might be advantageous to trade with us, but because they thought that in refusing to trade with us they were inflicting upon Canada a greater evil than they were inflicting upon themselves. Those were the reasons of failure on that occasion. But, Sir, at the instance of my colleagues I went to Washington not long before the elections of 1878. I met the President, and I met his advisers, and I had an opportunity of fully discussing this question with him and them, and I have no hesitation in saying that if we had carried the elections of 1878, before the year 1880 came to an end there would have been in active operation between the people of Canada and the people of the United States, a treaty substantially the same in its provisions as that negotiated by Mr. Brown. The failure under the circumstances was due to the undertaking of a wholly different fiscal policy, which—whether the Government saw the direction in which it was leading them or not I will not pretend to say—inevitably led them into the position of upholding the manufacturing classes of this country in the exclusive possession of the Canadian market. So they felt in order that these parties might be fully in sympathy with them, and that they might be consistent in maintaining that position, that it was necessary to delude a large section of the farming population into the belief that the maintenance of that policy was in their interests as well. Therefore you find that hon. gentlemen on the Treasury benches (whatever declarations they may have made to the electors) have during the past ten years stood resolutely opposed, by every act that they have performed, to the principle of reciprocal free trade with the neighbouring Republic. No one will be deluded by these two paragraphs in the resolutions. Every one will understand these that this Government is offering to the United States what they (United States) have over and over again refused to accept. When the hon. gentleman himself went to Washington and formally proposed this principle to them, they deliberately refused to receive it as a basis of negotiation. I say to the hon. gentlemen who supported the Government when they proposed specific duties, who cheered them when they proposed to repeal those duties and to supersede them by ad valorem duties, and who have encouraged them in the abandonment of ad valorem and the imposition of specific duties again, I say to these supporters of the Government that those paragraphs in those resolutions will deceive nobody. Every farmer in this country will understand what they are put there for. Every man who is obliged to abandon the production of these cereals and these products for which his farm is best suited, and whose income is diminished in some instances by one-half in consequence of this, will understand that

the injury which he is sustaining is an injury inflicted on him by the Administration in the interests of another class of the community. I say this, and I am ready to repeat everywhere, because I am as convinced that it is true as I am convinced that hon. gentlemen on the Treasury benches are unfaithful to the best interests of the country in what they propose: that any Government anxious to secure a fair treaty of reciprocity with the United States, and who conscientiously endeavour to carry out that object will not fail. They are just as certain to accomplish it as the Government is certain to inflict serious injuries upon the people of this country by the maintenance of that protective system that has been modified now to some extent, but the evils of which have not been diminished by the resolutions which we have now under consideration.

Mr. SPROULE. I do not propose to say anything in reply to the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills), because his argument has been answered over and over again, beyond this simple observation: That if the hon. gentleman and his party were able to carry out the policy that they propounded to this House and to the country, of either free trade or a revenue tariff, doing away with every vestige of protection in it, what would they have left upon which to negotiate a treaty? If they gave away everything, as they proposed to do, and were willing to do—and as some of them say they are willing to do yet—how could they ever hope to negotiate a treaty with the United States? I rise to refer to the motion made by the hon. member for South Huron (Mr. McMillan): that the duty be taken off corn. I have no doubt that if the farmers of Canada were all similarly circumstanced to the hon. member for Huron (Mr. McMillan) it would be in their interests that the duty was taken off corn, because that hon. gentleman, as most members of this House are aware, is engaged in a business for which the great requisite is cheap feed. He is not, as we understand the word in our part of the country at all events, an ordinary farmer. He is a feeder, and not a farmer, in so far as he does not profess to raise even the grains that he feeds his own cattle on, and when he puts 100 head of cattle in the stable every fall he endeavours to get the cheapest possible feed for them, until the time comes when he can turn them out as finished beeves. It is important for him that he should get free of duty corn or any other grain that will answer his purpose. He is a feeder, and would be benefited by free corn, but there are perhaps not one out of fifty farmers who are so situated, and who would benefit to the same extent by it as he does. Therefore, in this respect what would do good to that one farmer would do an injury to the forty-nine others. So long as the great majority of our farmers are raising these coarse grains, and depend upon their sales

for a profit upon their operations, so long will it be to their benefit to keep out free corn. It is a fact that no one can successfully deny that in the past, when there was free corn, it came in contact with the use of coarse grains in the country and reduced their value so that to that extent it was injurious to the ordinary farmer. What I say in regard to the farmers of my constituency applies, I believe, to many of the farmers in Huron and Bruce, as well as in Grey, and the people of Grey, so far as I know their views—and I think I know them pretty well—believe to-day that it would be an injustice to them, and that it would do them a great injury if we allowed free corn to be brought into Canada. I for one am therefore opposed to the motion of the hon. member for Huron (Mr. McMillan.)

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I personally rejoice very much at the discussions which have taken place from day to day upon this tariff, because they serve to accentuate the cardinal differences which exist between the two political parties upon the trade question in this country. We have in the first place the policy presented by the Finance Minister, a policy based, as he says, upon the principle of protection to native industries, a tariff framed, as he says, not for the purpose of a revenue, but chiefly for the purpose of promoting special interests in the country. We have on the other hand the proposition which has emanated from this side of the House, that a tariff should be based upon the principle of collecting money for revenue only, with every principle of protection eliminated therefrom. There can be no doubt as to the distinction between the two policies. In addition to that, on the question of the trade relations between this country and the United States, we have the policies of the two parties brought into clear distinction—the desire of the Opposition to have the freest and broadest trade relations as contradistinguished with the desire of the Government always to limit those trade relations. Nothing could show that distinction more clearly than the arguments which we have heard to-day. We have heard one hon. gentleman say to-night that he would like to see the duties reduced on some articles which were consumed by the people whom he represented, while on all other articles, consumed by people in other parts of the Dominion, he was perfectly willing that high duties should be paid. You have thus one class played off against another class, with the result that the great consuming masses of the people are fleeced for the benefit of the manufacturers. Then, the free traders are driven to say: 'If you must have a protective tariff, while that exists the particular industry that prevails in that part of the country from which we come must have its share. They are taunted with inconsistency because they say: If you en-

Mr. SPROULE.

gage in fleecing the consumers all round, you must do some justice to the people of my section. In that way the policy of the Government sets class against class, and defrauds the masses in the interest of the few. But we have the great question before us to-night, whether the Government are advancing or receding in their desire to promote trade relations with the United States. It is clear to those who have attacked their record that they are receding, and receding fast. When the protective tariff was introduced, it was introduced with the explicit statement that one of its objects, if not the main object, was to promote reciprocity with the United States. I think that was part of the resolution formulating their policy; and, after they came into power, they boasted that they had put on the statute-book what was called a statutory offer, announcing the desire on their part to bring about a fair reciprocity of trade with that country. What was that standing offer. I desire to read it to-night for the purpose of showing that hon. gentlemen opposite have receded very largely from the position which they then assumed. At that time they were willing to make a pretty broad reciprocity treaty in natural products: they did not confine their offer to one or two articles, as they do at present, but specified a pretty large number. That offer was as follows:—

Any or all of the following things, that is to say, animals of all kinds, green fruit, hay, straw, bran, seeds of all kinds, vegetables (including potatoes and other roots), plants, trees and shrubs, coal and coke, salt, hops, wheat, pease and beans, barley, rye, oats, Indian corn, buckwheat and all other grain, flour of wheat and flour of rye, Indian meal and oatmeal, and flour or meal of any other grain, butter, cheese, fish (salted or smoked), lard, tallow, meats (fresh, salted or smoked), and lumber may be imported into Canada free of duty, or at a less rate of duty than is provided by this Act, upon proclamation of the Governor in Council, which may be issued whenever it appears to his satisfaction that similar articles from Canada may be imported into the United States free of duty, or at a rate of duty not exceeding that payable on the same under such proclamation when imported into Canada.

There, Sir, we had, as compared with the puny offer they make now in this tariff, a large offer—confined, it is true, to natural products, but still a large offer. Those articles were to be admitted not only free of duty, but at a reduced rate of duty if the duty upon them was reduced by the other country. That offer, contained in the tariff introduced in 1879, was repeated in 1888 with a great flourish of trumpets; and at that time there was not to be found, so far as my recollection bears me out, a gentleman on the other side of the House who did not cheer to the echo the policy of the Government in placing this offer on the statute-book. They went to the country proclaiming that they were

sincere and earnest in their desire to obtain reciprocity with the United States; and in proof of their desire they produced this, what they call their standing offer. How do they stand to-day? Are they repeating that standing offer to-day? Why, Sir, the very tariff which we have before us contains provisions enormously limiting the offer which they then made. Outside of lumber, they simply provide that green or ripe apples, beans, buckwheat, pease, potatoes, rye, rye-flour, hay, and vegetables, n.e.s., with barley and corn, shall constitute the statutory offer which they make to the United States. Now, Sir, I ask hon. gentlemen to explain why they have excised from the offer so many important articles which were contained in the previous statutory offer. It is for this reason, Sir. They have been logically driven from the position which they attempted to take every year, that they were in favour of a reciprocity treaty. They are now showing themselves in their true colours. They are not in favour of it. How do we know that? Their late leader, Sir John Macdonald, in 1884, said that any man who had watched the expression of opinion given on the other side of the line—in the press and by leading statesmen and members of the Government—must know that no offer of reciprocity could be carried into effect unless it embraced manufactured goods. That was stated by Sir John Macdonald and accepted as a truism by hon. gentlemen opposite. Therefore, they stand in this position, that they themselves were aware when they went to Washington, in 1891, that they could not hope under any conceivable circumstances to negotiate a treaty with that country, unless they included a list of some manufactured goods. What did they do when they went there? We had the statement made by the Minister last year or the year before, of his recollection of what had taken place, with a certified report corroborating his statement. We are not concerned with the differences of statement or the differences of recollection that may be shown between our Minister and the United States Minister; but we are concerned to know what was really and substantially the opinion that the United States Minister held on that question, and we are not left without positive and absolute proof on that point. We have the message which Mr. Blaine transmitted to the Senate, stating in explicit terms what he and the Government of which he was a leading member were prepared to do; and that is entered on the official records of the United States Government. He recapitulates a controversy that took place between him and the commissioners of Canada on the subject of reciprocity; and what was the first rock on which they struck? Why, Sir, it was on this very point which their leader had told them years before was an absolutely essential thing in the negotiation of any reciprocity

treaty, namely, the admission of some portion of the manufactured goods of both countries into that treaty. What does Mr. Blaine say? I read the whole of his report last year, and will not trouble the House with the whole of it now. But the matter is so crucial and important, that I think it well to put once more upon the record a portion of it. He said:

The Commissioners were informed that the Government of the United States would not be prepared to renew the treaty of 1854, nor to agree upon any commercial reciprocity which should be confined to natural products alone; and that in view of the great development of industrial interests in the United States and of the changed conditions of the commercial relations of the two countries since the treaty of 1854 was negotiated, it was regarded of essential importance that a list of manufactured goods should be included in the schedules of articles for free or favoured exchange in any reciprocity arrangement which might be made.

There it is as clear as the noonday sun, that the Congress of the United States was then prepared to enter upon negotiations for a treaty which would embrace a list of manufactured goods. And I would like to ask on what grounds any person in favour of reciprocity at all, could successfully contend that manufactured goods must be absolutely excluded from such a treaty? He did not ask that all the goods should be included, but only that the principle of including some classes of goods should be agreed upon, and then he would invite them to discuss article by article. What did our commissioners do? Did they evince the slightest desire to enter upon any such treaty, knowing that such condition was the cardinal point upon which the negotiation of a treaty must necessarily turn? No; they turned their backs upon that offer, and they told him, to use his own language:

In the conference of the 11th, the Canadian commissioners stated that they had given careful consideration to the suggestion that manufactured goods should be included in the schedule of articles for exchange in a reciprocity convention, and to the desire expressed by the Government of the United States that such American goods, on their introduction into Canada, should be afforded preferential treatment over similar goods from other countries; and they announced, with an expression of regret, that they did not consider it possible to meet the expectations of the Government of the United States in these respects.

Then follows the several reasons which the commissioners gave for coming to that conclusion. They absolutely refused to consider the question at all, and Mr. Blaine winds up his report as follows:—

The announcement of these conclusions of the Canadian Commissioners was accepted as a bar to further negotiations on the subject.

There is the sum and substance of the whole

matter. If the Canadian people are not prepared to include any manufactured goods of any kind in the treaty, then they proclaim a bar to the negotiation of any treaty whatever. Hon. gentlemen opposite have taken that course, and stand before the country to-day, with their minimized standing offer, proclaiming clearly a policy which they know, by official declarations, is an absolute bar to the negotiation of any treaty. I do not know how hon. gentlemen from the Maritime Provinces defend this new statutory offer which these hon. gentlemen make. Why are these articles, which formerly we were willing to exchange either free or at a reduced tariff, eliminated from the standing offer to-day? The offer is a pitiable, contemptible one, which we know will not be accepted, and is intended to throw dust in the eyes of that large mass of people who know that in a reciprocity treaty—a fair and honourable trade treaty—with the United States lies the assurance of prosperity. I cannot condemn too strongly the action which the Government has taken; and, while I rejoice at the fact that the differences between the two parties are becoming daily more accentuated, I regret most deeply, that those who have charge of our affairs have seen fit to turn their backs on a policy which I have always believed will result in bringing prosperity to our people.

Mr. FOSTER. I have listened patiently for several hours to this renewed discussion upon the subject of reciprocity. And I would not rise now were it not that I think it is only fair to the gentlemen who have discussed the question on the other side, that some notice of their remarks should be taken by the Government. And I think it is only fair that, after the ingeniously-worded statements, the special pleading and—I am not going to say misrepresentation—but party representation of the question, some notice should be taken of the remarks made by hon. gentlemen opposite in the interest of the Government as well. Let them have their own fling; let them reiterate arguments to satisfy themselves; let them make statements and assertions, if they please, without contradiction—and they will put themselves and their own party in a favourable light before the country, if it can possibly be done. But I think there is something else to be considered. We have to consider whether these statements are true, whether the representations they make are correct, and whether the conclusions they come to are justified by the documents in hand and the course of history in this matter. Several things have been discussed to-night, and I wish to take up a few of them. First, as to whether the United States has or has not for the last period of years, say twenty years, shown any very favourable disposition to enlarge trade relations with Canada. It has been stated that they have, and it has been stated that they have not. But there is an historical aspect to the question, which any person may

study, and on which he may come to his own conclusions. But hon. gentlemen opposite—some of them who have made the statement, and made it very emphatically—find just behind them internal contradictions. One of them sits behind the leader of the Opposition. He is a gentleman who is a free trader, a consistent member of the party opposite, but, who, living alongside the border, has kept his eye on these developments between the United States and ourselves. And yet, out of an experience as long and an observation as keen as that of any gentleman on that side, he states to-night, as his deliberate opinion, that the United States have not, in the course of their history, shown any great desire for enlarged trade relations with Canada. I believe that hon. gentleman is right. It makes not a whit of difference whether we belong to one party or another, we ought to read history aright and properly. From 1854, when the United States entered into a treaty with Canada of reciprocity on certain lines, from that very moment a spirit of opposition began to be developed to the treaty—to what they called the disadvantages of the treaty as concerning themselves, and its uncompensated advantages as regards Canada. Time and time again efforts were made towards its abolition, and, when 1866 came, the very first period that it could be abolished, it was abolished, and, as everybody knows—it seems too bad to have to repeat it again—it was abolished, not because Canada did not wish to have it continued, but because the people and the legislature of the United States determined it should no longer continue to exist. Can there be any doubt about that? Take the history of the negotiations from that time. In 1866, in 1868, in 1869, in 1871 and 1872, in 1874—to come no further up—did not Canada make repeated endeavours on her own account, and by the aid of and through the mother country, to have that treaty renewed, and have these advantages continued as between the two countries—advantages which Canada claimed were mutual. Is there any doubt as to that? Is there any doubt that, upon each one of these occasions, Canada was met, not with an equal spirit to her own, but with the idea of the United States that the treaty of 1854 was now ended, that they did not wish to have it renewed, and did not care for reciprocal trade between the two countries on those lines. Much has been said about the Hon. George Brown's negotiations. He went there; he did go through the form of negotiations; he wrote out a large list that was agreed to. But, when we come to the ultimate conclusion of the matter, the people of the United States would have nothing to do with it at all. It is one thing for two or three gentlemen to arrange about an exchange of commodities, but the decision lies with the ultimate power, which is the Senate of the United States, and, when these negotiations came to the Senate, that body did not give

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

them even the courtesy of consideration. Then, Sir, take the history of the case from that time up to the end of the Mackenzie Administration. Mr. Mackenzie himself, a man of good common sense, who led his party with a firm and strong hand, repressed repeatedly the tendency on the part of some followers to attempt to force the Government to beg from the United States what they had refused in 1874, and told his followers repeatedly in answer to questions that the Government had made all the advances they thought it prudent or proper to make, and that, on the next occasion, the first advances should come from the United States.

Mr. CHARLTON. Who said this ?

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Mackenzie, your former leader. Take the history of the case from that time up. Hon. gentlemen opposite take for granted, what they desire to believe, whether they honestly believe it or not, and they make the assertion over and over again, that they understand the motive of hon. gentlemen on this side, understand the inward desires of the Government. No matter whether the indications point in a totally opposite direction, they know all about it, and declare that the motive and wish and desire of the Government is to prevent any enlarged trade relations with the United States.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Most assuredly.

Mr. FOSTER. How do they know ?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Because of your acts.

Mr. FOSTER. The tendency of our acts is entirely in the other direction, and every unprejudiced observer and reader will recognize it, and will see that only the pro-versity of hon. gentlemen opposite appears in the assertions to the contrary—that is all. They declare that we have no desire for extended trade relations, that we never had, that every effort of ours has been rather to frustrate extended trade between the two countries. That is all declamation, but it does not win any credit and does not effect the truth of the matter, or the reading of history, one iota. I tell these hon. gentlemen who make these assertions on grounds that are not tenable, that they are entirely mistaken. The Government—and I think I know what has taken place—has been anxiously desirous of enlarged trade relations between this country and the United States; but they have been anxiously desirous, in attaining these, that no interest of Canada should be sacrificed without a corresponding advantage. Hon. gentlemen opposite have the lack of courtesy to declare that commissioners had started from this side on the part of the Government in 1891, and had gone to Washington with the full determination that no treaty should result from their

labour, and that they took the best means that they possibly could, to make sure that the negotiations should be fruitless. There is no ground for the statement. The opposite is entirely true. I know that the opposite is true. Now, listen to the special pleading of the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat (Mr. Davies, P.E.I.) We noticed on this side, whether his friends did or did not, how deftly and, I must say, how, with a lack of true candour, he avoided the principal point in dispute which arose in the last negotiation. He stated to this House, and to the country, as plainly as he could, that when we went to our negotiations, and when an offer was made of a treaty on the old lines of natural products. Mr. Blain informed us that that could not be entertained by the United States Government or the United States negotiators, and that Mr. Blain said, in effect: If you will consent to take in some manufactured articles, then we will talk to you about arranging a treaty. And the hon. gentleman deliberately stated, and every word he spoke went to fasten the conviction upon the House and the country, so far as his influence could do it, that we and the United States negotiators parted on the question whether we would put in any manufactured articles or not. I tell the hon. gentleman that he is incorrect, and he ought to know he is incorrect. The hon. gentleman can read English, and he ought to have a mind sufficiently trained to take in the plain meaning of English words. There is another point the hon. gentleman was not anxious to have brought before the House and the country, because it accentuates the difference between them and us. It is true the first proposition was made for a renewal of the treaty on the basis of the old reciprocity treaty, the free exchange of natural products of the two countries, modified to meet the changed condition that had meantime arisen. That is the first step. It is true the United States negotiators declined to proceed upon that basis, and said that in order to the negotiation of a treaty between the two countries, manufactured goods must be included. I will not debate the point for the instant whether it should be a complete or a partial line of manufactures. It is sufficient that the condition was made that manufactured goods should be included. What was then the dispute that arose? It was not whether this Government would enter upon negotiations upon that basis, but the foundation of the whole question had to be considered as to whether the United States desired that the manufactured goods that were included in the list should have preferential treatment over importations from other countries. And, Sir, although the hon. gentleman did not mean that it should come out, he had to read the latter part of Mr. Blain's assertion as well as the first, in which Mr. Blain affirms exactly what I stated, that we split upon the question of preferential treat-

ment for their manufactured goods in this country. Now, the hon. gentleman slipped over that very adroitly. Does he think he can pull the wool over the eyes of the hon. gentlemen in this House, and over the eyes of the people of this country? Why should he not be candid with the House, and give the whole of the facts? It is plain that this was where the negotiators parted—when the United States declared to us that, if manufactured goods were admitted on the list, they must be admitted as against their chief competitor, Great Britain, in the markets of Canada, a British colony. That is where we differed; there is no doubt about that. If hon. gentlemen opposite would have done otherwise—and they have not a single ground to stand upon unless they would—let them so declare, and go to the country upon that question. This Government would not yield that point. We were willing to negotiate upon the basis of leading lines of manufactured articles being included in the treaty, but, before we canvassed the list of manufactured goods, as sensible men would do, we wanted to know the conditions upon which they would enter into these negotiations. The condition was that it should be upon a basis preferential to the United States, and discriminatory against Great Britain, a point which we did not care to cede; and, consequently, there was a bar to further negotiations. That is the truth of the matter. It has been stated in this House, over and over again, and yet, every year, the same dreary, monotonous reiteration of these things take place before the House, with a view to getting it before the country. Hon. gentlemen opposite are very much disturbed. I have not seen them in such a state of perturbation for some time. The reason for it is plain. Now that we are upon the agricultural schedule, their agitation takes an acute form and shows its symptoms very decidedly. What is the matter? They fear that the Government will have some credit for making legislation which will be favourable to the farming interests of this country, and they want to try and raise a hue and cry that we are insincere. The country has judged us before. The country has seen our actions for fifteen or sixteen years. The country has had our policy and has lived and thriven by it, and we can appeal with confidence to the country, against these gentlemen, in a year hence, as in other years, we have appealed and not in vain. They talk about this offer being an absurd offer. You would think the United States had offered us the half of their kingdom, and that we had refused to accept it. My hon. friend grew virtuously indignant over this "hollow sham," "this mockery" contained in such an offer as that. He read out the items and tried to make it appear that there could be no trade beneficial to the United States in those things. We have receded in our reciprocity arrangements, he

Mr. FOSTER.

says, receded in our reciprocity tendency towards the United States. How consistent the hon. gentlemen are about it! Talking free trade, and every principle and every vestige of protection to be taken out of the tariff as soon as they get power to make it, and talking in the same breath about including a list of manufactured articles in which to give a preference to the United States! With free trade how can they give a preference to any body? If they give free trade they give to every country all that country can require, and they have nothing to offer in return. They come here to-night and at this very hour they inveigh against us because we have not put in our Bill the reciprocity clause of 1868, which included natural products, and yet there is not a day passes that one hon. gentleman after another does not get up and declare that he is a fool, and a madman, if he is not a knave, who thinks that you can possibly have reciprocity with the United States on the line of agricultural or natural products. They find fault with us because we do not go back to 1868 and put in the clause which they themselves for the last ten years, at least, have not ceased to declare is simply impossible as a method of negotiation and a basis of trade between the two countries. We have changed, they say, and in this reciprocity offer of ours to-night we have offered nothing to the United States, whilst the United States have been regal, royal and princely in the offer they have made to us. Why could not a friend of Canada stand up in this House, with Canadian interests behind him and about him, and put the matter fairly? Why could not a friend of Canada upon that side of the House be candid for once and make a whole statement of the facts? What would it be? It would be that from 1868 until to-day the United States had shown no very strong desire to enter into trade relations with us on a fair and a reasonable basis. More, that candid friend would show that as year after year has passed, this feeling has strengthened towards us, and that to-day, while the Democratic party is in power in two branches of the Legislature, whilst they are putting their policy upon the statute-book as fast as their methods will allow them, when we come to read their last word to us, we find in it no offer of reciprocity that is even as broad or as generous as the one which we make them. Why could not a friend of Canada have pointed that out? But instead of that, hours of declamation must be brought to play against the Government and the Conservative party of the country, as to the humbug, the hollow mockery conveyed in this clause which we propose as a reciprocity offer to the United States after their generous offer of reciprocity to us. Look at their offer of reciprocity to us, and from the first to the last word what do you find? The party in power to-day, as far as its voice has gone, waiting only for the crowning act of legislation, has de-

clared that every reciprocity treaty that has been formed by the United States within the last six years shall be swept clean off from the statute-book and be null and void so far as they are concerned. For twenty-five years it has been a tenet of the Democratic party that whatever is done in the way of trade arrangements between the United States and other countries should not be done by the Senate as a close body, should not be the will and dictum of one part of the legislative machinery of the United States, but that it should be a matter of fiscal legislation, a laying on of taxes or duties, and that it is the function of the House of Representatives and not of the Senate. According to this, their historic policy, whatever country is given reciprocal relations in trade those relations must be established by legislation in the House of Representatives and not by treaty to be confirmed only by one branch of the Legislature. That is the whole tendency of their legislation, and the last word they have given us upon that point is in the line of the historic policy of the Democratic party, a policy which has much to recommend it, and with which to-night I am not finding fault. But having declared themselves against reciprocity treaties, having swept off reciprocity from their statute-book, then they say what they will do in legislation with reference to Canada. And here is their offer, as I find it in their Bill now before the Senate :

Buckwheat, corn or maize, corn meal, oats (oat meal), rye, rye flour, wheat and wheat flour, 20 per cent ad valorem, but each of the above products shall be admitted free of duty from any country which imposes no import duty on the like products when exported from the United States.

That is their offer of reciprocity. I put that alongside our offer of reciprocity in the legislation we propose, and I leave it to any candid man which is the fairer of the two ; I leave it to the farmers of this country, to the farmers of Ontario, who in these two points are chiefly interested, and nine out of every ten of them will say that ours is a fair offer. If they will let our barley go into their country free of duty, we will let their corn come into this country free of duty. Last year we imported two million bushels of corn, of the value of about one million dollars, from the United States of America. If we give them a free market for that corn from this country is it not fair that we should ask them to give us a free market for our barley ? That is the proposition we make. We include some of the articles that they mention and others which they do not mention, but which give a fairer compensatory trade so far as they are concerned. We put that proposition upon the statute-book, and it is as fair and as reasonable an offer as one people can make to another. As I have said, the policy of the Democratic party which is to-day the party in power, is against a reciprocity treaty, and in favour of making

their trade arrangements by legislation ; therefore, we must look at the different items as they will ultimately come out in their tariff legislation in order to know what advantages they have given to trade with Canada. With the people of the United States we have lived in peace and amity, we always expect to live in peace and amity with them, and we wish to have with them a trade founded on a fair and equal basis, as broad as it can be, but with reference to that trade we do not go to the extreme position that we in Canada are never sure of future prosperity and success unless we get that indispensable condition of a free entrance into their market. When they look over the items in our tariff as it shall have passed this House, they will find that line after line, article after article, grade after grade, we have given them a better chance to get into our market than they have given us to get into their market ; consequently legislative reciprocity so far as trade is concerned, shines out from the propositions that the Government put before the House to-day, in a far greater degree than it does out of the legislation which they have proposed, and which is in progress through their Congress. Now, Mr. Chairman, I am sorry to have taken up so much time, but I wanted to put a statement of the facts against these reiterated assertions, and I must say incorrect representations, made by hon. gentlemen opposite. One thing I wish to say again, and that is that it is not a good kind of party warfare, it is not altogether an honourable party warfare, for gentlemen, in the face of historic facts, in the face of what cannot be disputed, continually to go on and declare that the motives of the Government are other than their actions show, are other than their professions go to show, as well. They do that : they attempt to show that we went to Washington, and that we never could have gone to Washington other than with the direct idea and secret purpose of frustrating negotiations in which we had no part. The hon. gentlemen are welcome to that form of attack, if they think it would promote the advantage of their party ; but to my mind it is not the best one for themselves, and I am quite certain it will not prove to be the best before a fair and reasoning electorate as that of Canada.

Mr. LAURIER. The hon. gentleman has prefaced his observations with respect to the policy of the Government on reciprocity, or rather their want of policy, with the statement that for the last twenty years there has been no inclination on the part of the United States to enter into reciprocal relations with Canada. Let hon. gentlemen mark his words. I repeat that the basis of all the hon. gentleman's observations was that for the last twenty years there had never at any time been a disposition on the part of the Government of the United States to enter into negotiations with Canada for a reciprocity treaty. Why, has the hon. gentleman

forgotten his own remarks and action? There was never such a slap given by a Minister of the Crown to a Governor General as that given by the hon. gentleman. He has forgotten that Parliament was dissolved in 1891 on the statement made by the Government to the Canadian people, that they had an offer of reciprocity. Here is the Minute of Council on which Parliament was dissolved in 1891. Here are the words placed in the mouth of His Excellency :

The Committee of the Privy Council having learned that the Secretary of State of the United States had expressed to Her Majesty's Minister at Washington his readiness to negotiate a reciprocity on a wide basis.

Was there, or was there not, a lack of disposition on the part of the American Government to enter into reciprocal trade negotiations with Canada? What is the proof, I want to know, in regard to the events at that time? What is the proof at the present time? Is the hon. gentleman truthful, when he says that there never was a disposition on the part of the United States Government to make a reciprocity treaty; or has he, as had often been done previously, deceiving the House and the people, when the Government made the announcement that they had received an invitation to negotiate a reciprocity treaty? The fact is, as hon. gentlemen well know, that such an invitation to enter into a reciprocity treaty came from the American Government to Canada; but it was well known at that time that Secretary of State Blaine had stated, not to the Canadian Government, but broadly throughout the country, that the Government were prepared to enter into negotiations for a reciprocity treaty, but a treaty on a wider basis than the treaty of 1854. It was as well known as anything can be, for it has been declared publicly, not once, but ten times, that both the Democrats and the Republicans were prepared to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity, not on the basis of the treaty of 1854, but on a basis which would include manufactures as well as agricultural products. The reason, however, why this offer never was accepted was because hon. gentlemen opposite have been receding year after year from the position they occupied in 1878, when they appealed to the country, and when they stated they desired to obtain protection with a view ultimately to obtain a reciprocity treaty. That was the appeal made to the Canadian people in 1878, that was the policy on which the Government went to the constituencies at that time; but hon. gentlemen opposite have during subsequent years, in fact from 1878 until the present time, receded from the position, and when they are brought face to face with the possibility of obtaining a reciprocity treaty, they take refuge in some excuse for not carrying out what was at one time their own policy. How can hon. gentlemen opposite, I want to know, lead the House to believe that they are in favour of a

Mr. LAURIER.

reciprocity treaty? Listen to the debates that have taken place, not this year, but every session during the last five or six years. There has always been a plea by hon. gentlemen opposite for no reciprocity; it has been pretended that Canada was better off without a reciprocity treaty, not only as regards manufactured goods, but even as regards agricultural products. Did we not hear, two or three years ago, a member of the Government, Mr. Colby, then President of the Council, declare, and his words were never contradicted on the floor of Parliament, that Canada was better off without reciprocity, even as regards agricultural products? Did we not hear in this very debate a supporter of the Government, the hon. member for Kent, N.B., (Mr. McInerney) declare that the reciprocity treaty of 1854 had been a calamity, an unmixed evil to Canada? If it had been an unmixed evil to this Dominion, no wonder that hon. gentlemen opposite do not want reciprocity, which, according to some of those hon. gentlemen, was an unmixed evil; and no wonder, when hon. gentlemen opposite visit Washington, they say "good day" and "good bye" at the same time—they enter the city and leave it almost immediately afterwards. No wonder, under such circumstances, they make a pretense of desiring reciprocity, but never put forth any efficient efforts to secure it. It was in the power of the Finance Minister to have obtained a reciprocity treaty when he made his visit of three minutes to Washington. But the hon. gentleman was afraid of the possibility of discriminating against Great Britain. He did not wish to discriminate, although yesterday he practically told the House that the treaty with France would involve discrimination against Great Britain. But at that time the hon. gentleman was determined that there should be no discrimination against Great Britain, and, therefore, he would not contemplate the possibility of concluding a reciprocity treaty in manufactured articles. Will the hon. gentleman tell me that a reciprocity treaty, even as regards manufactured goods, involves discrimination against Great Britain? I could mention article after article of manufactured goods on which, in the event of reciprocity with the United States, there would be no discrimination against Great Britain. Does the hon. Finance Minister pretend that, if a reciprocity treaty with the United States included pianos and musical instruments, that would involve discrimination against Great Britain? So in regard to ploughs and agricultural implements of every kind there would not be the slightest danger of any discrimination against Great Britain. Why does not the hon. gentleman enter into a consideration of a list of those articles? Simply because he does not want reciprocity. Hon. gentlemen opposite might then have had reciprocity without discrimination against Great Britain. If we want to judge of the sincerity of the Finance Minister, we can do so by remem-

bering that he has told the House that he was in favour of reciprocity, but he did not desire to obtain it in that form. The hon. gentleman has proposed a few articles as to which he makes a standard offer to the United States, and they are in the line of the American tariff. Strange to say, a few days ago the hon. Minister was asked to place a certain article on the list embodying the standing offer, but he would not do so. The hon. gentleman then said: How do we know about the American tariff, we do not know how it is to-day, we do not know how it will be in a few days. Although he did not know anything as to the American tariff then, yet he tells us now that he proceeds on the line of the American tariff when he places these articles on the standing offer. If he takes the American tariff which he knows to-day and which he did not know fifteen days ago, why does he know it only in part? He knows the American tariff in so far as it applies to agricultural products but when it comes to articles of manufactured products he does not know it at all. He has no objection to meet the Americans upon their standing offer with regard to agricultural products, but when it comes to the article of salt he ignores it altogether, or when it comes to the article of farming implements, which I understand is also in the American standing offer, he ignores it completely, and he will have none of it. Could anything show more conclusively the insincerity of hon. gentlemen opposite? I tell them, and I repeat it, that their efforts at reciprocity have never been genuine and sincere, that they are only a sham to obtain the votes of the people, to mislead them, to make them believe that they are in favour of reciprocity when they are not, and cannot. Why? The reason is obvious. Their masters, the monopolists, will not allow them. The hon. gentleman says that he would not discriminate against Great Britain. Does he forget that in fact he has been discriminating against Great Britain for the last fifteen years? Does he forget that the tariff which his friends and followers have been defending for the last fifteen days has been and is a constant and daily discrimination against Great Britain? The Minister of Finance a moment ago appealed to an intelligent electorate. Sir, I accept that appeal. I do appeal also to an intelligent electorate, and I am sure that whenever the occasion is given (though hon. gentlemen opposite boast of their past victories) the intelligent electorate will see through and beyond all these pretenses of the Government, and discover what the reality is.

Amendment (Mr. McMillan, Huron) negatived on division, and item agreed to.

— Dutiable breadstuffs, grain and flour and meal of all kinds, when damaged by water in transitu, twenty per cent ad valorem upon the appraised value, such appraised value to be ascertained as

provided by Sections 58, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75 and 76 of the Customs Act.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). In reference to this article, it will be well if it could be defined more clearly, so that the ruling in the Customs Department might be uniform in all cases. I would like the Minister to state what is meant by "grain, damaged by water, in transitu?"

Mr. WALLACE. "In transitu" means coming from some foreign country to Canada. It has been decided by the Department of Justice that in transitu is not going from one American port to another.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). It is well to have items of this kind so defined that you will have something like a uniform ruling in reference to these matters. I think the Controller knows that there have been different rulings given at different ports.

Mr. WALLACE. I do not think so.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Supposing grain left Chicago consigned to a person in Buffalo was damaged by water in transitu, and was sold, say at Detroit, to a Canadian as damaged grain, what would be the ruling of the department in a case of that kind as to the duty for bringing it into Canada?

Mr. WALLACE. The ruling of the department, I believe, is that in such a case the article is not in transitu. Under the circumstances mentioned by the hon. gentleman it would not come under the provisions of this clause.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Why should that be the ruling? That is a point we ought to make clear.

Mr. WALLACE. Because the words "in transitu" there must be adhered to, and it is decided that they mean what I have stated.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). The intention evidently is that the grain having become less valuable shall be appraised ad valorem. I cannot see why an article so damaged, and thereby losing its marketable value to some extent, should be charged to its full amount. The principle is recognized that because the grain has lost part of its value that it shall not be charged the same duty as if it retained its full value. Why should the words "in transitu" be there at all?

Mr. WALLACE. That is a question for Parliament to decide, and Parliament has already decided that the words should be there, and the department must carry out the law.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). I know that you are just re-enacting the old clause, but I am bringing it before the attention of the Committee now so that it shall be clearly understood.

Mr. WALLACE. I understood that the hon. gentleman was objecting because there were different rulings on the matter.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). I say that it is liable to that. If it be the intention of Parliament that there is to be an ad valorem duty upon goods that have lost part of their market value, and are therefore entitled to be entered at a lower rate, and if the words "in transitu" prevent that being done, then you are placing an impediment in the way of your carrying out your desire. In the case of this grain which has lost part of its market value, but which is yet an article that is able to find a place in the market, is it the desire of the Government to allow that to be entered at a lower rate of duty on that account?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I understand the principle of the special provision to be this, that we do not desire damaged breadstuffs to be imported into Canada and sold here, and, if they are imported and sold under the ordinary conditions, they shall pay the high rate of duty; but a special provision is made for those breadstuffs which are damaged in the course of transit to Canada. That is the object of the distinction.

Item agreed to.

Oats, 10 cents per bushel.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Does the hon. gentleman get much revenue from that?

Mr. FOSTER. It depends upon the season. A short crop in Ontario causes an importation.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Is that a good time to tax oats?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. McMULLEN. I would like to know upon what principle the Finance Minister imposes a duty of 10 cents a bushel on oats. It takes 12 bushels to make a barrel of oatmeal.

Mr. FOSTER. No; only ten.

Mr. McMULLEN. If ten, that amounts to \$1 on a barrel of oats coming into Canada, while he charges only 50 cents on a barrel of oatmeal.

Mr. FOSTER. We arranged to go no further than the item of oats to-night, and if the Committee will now rise and report progress, we will take up the question of oatmeal afterwards.

Item agreed to.

Committee rose and reported progress.

ADJOURNMENT—PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND MAIL SERVICE.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant).

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I desire to ask the hon. Postmaster General whether he can tell us what arrangements have been made for the carriage of mails to and from Prince Edward Island. The hon. gentleman knows the unfortunate accident by which the steamer has been detained in the ice for eight or ten days, and during that time the people of the Island have been without a mail at all. I understood from some of the officials that some people were endeavouring to make arrangements to put a tug on. I would like to know if that has been done, because the serious character of the detention is something I can hardly describe.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Instructions have been sent to put on a tug, and, from the information I have received from the department to-day, I believe those instructions have been carried out.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 11.45 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, 18th April, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

VOTING BY EMPLOYEES.

Mr. RIDER moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 87) to facilitate the voting by employees at elections of members for the House of Commons. He said: The object of the Bill is to facilitate voting by employees and labouring men at elections of members for the House of Commons, by permitting them to leave their employment for at least two working hours, for the purpose of voting on the days on which such elections occur.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

CAPT. EDWARD DUNN.

Mr. LANDERKIN asked, Was Captain Edward Dunn, of the Dominion fishery steamer "Cruiser," suspended or dismissed from the service? If so, when and why? What was his salary and position? Is Captain Edward Dunn now in the service of the Government? If so, in what capacity? When re-appointed, and at what salary?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Capt. Dunn was suspended on the 18th October, 1892, for not properly carrying out certain instructions concerning the charter of a vessel for the fisheries protection service. He is now in the service of the Government, in the capacity of fishery officer in com-

mand of the Government steamer "Petrel." He was appointed on the 5th September, 1893, at \$90 a month when actively employed, and on half-pay when the vessel is out of commission. \$90 a month was his previous salary.

Mr. LANDERKIN. Was he dismissed?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. No, he was suspended.

Mr. LANDERKIN. He was suspended for a year?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. He was practically suspended for a year. That is, he was not under pay during that time.

MR. DIMOCK.

Mr. FLINT asked, What amount has been paid Mr. Dimock for services rendered at the Chicago Exhibition? When did his services cease? Is he still employed by the Government in any capacity? If so, what are the terms of the engagement?

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Dimock has been paid for services rendered in connection with the World's Columbian Exposition, \$2,541.07. His services ceased on 17th February, 1894. He is not now employed by the Government in any capacity.

THE MEMBER FOR WINNIPEG.

A question respecting the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin), standing in the name of Mr. Amyot, being called,

Mr. FOSTER. Will the hon. gentleman allow his question to stand?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I object to this question being put. There are statements of disputable matter in it, which makes it out of order.

Mr. FOSTER. Will the hon. gentleman allow his question to stand, as the First Minister is out?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). No; it is out of order. The point of order has been raised.

Mr. MARTIN. I would ask the hon. gentleman to waive his point of order, and allow the hon. member to ask his question.

Mr. SPEAKER. My attention was not drawn to the question until just a moment or two ago, but it seems to me a very objectionable one at least. Whether it is outside the rules of order or not, I am not prepared at the moment to say, although I think it is for two reasons. First, the rule laid down states:

That a question should be simply and severely accurate in its allegation. If it is hypothetical, it is objectionable, and as a rule should not be answered.

But apart from all that, this question, as far as I can gather, has relation to matters which have arisen outside this Parliament

altogether. And looking at it from those two points of view, it seems to me very objectionable.

Mr. AMYOT. I would like to know the ruling of Mr. Speaker.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think the question is out of order for the two reasons I have stated.

MAIL CONTRACT, HURON COUNTY.

Mr. McMILLAN asked, Has the contract for carrying the mail from the railway station to the post office at Clinton, in the county of Huron, Ontario, been renewed lately? If so, were tenders invited?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. This contract was renewed last February, and tenders were not invited as it was renewed.

PROMOTION EXAMINATIONS, P.O. DEPARTMENT.

Mr. CASEY (for Mr. Edgar) asked, How many third class clerks were there in the Post Office Department who had passed their promotion examinations at the date of the special examination of Mr. John Graham, held on 16th December, 1893?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Fifty-six.

GOVERNMENT COMMISSIONERS ON THE TARIFF.

Mr. CASEY asked, Were the members of the Government who held meetings at various points throughout the country since last session, formally appointed commissioners for that purpose? Did they receive any instructions from the Government as to the conduct or objects of the inquiry they were prosecuting? If so, what were those instructions? Did they take or have taken notes of the evidence laid before them? Have they made any report to the Government as to the result of their inquiry, with or without notes of the evidence? If not, why not? Is it expected that they will make any such report with notes of evidence? If so, will it be promptly laid before the House for its assistance in discussing the proposed changes in the tariff? What sums were paid to or for each of the gentlemen engaged in this inquiry, for travelling and living expenses, or otherwise; and what has been the total cost of such inquiry to date?

Mr. FOSTER. The members of the Government who held meetings at various points throughout the country since last session, were not formally appointed commissioners for that purpose. They did not receive any instructions from the Government as to the conduct or objects of the inquiry they were prosecuting. They did take notes, mentally and otherwise, of the evidence laid before them. They have not made any report to the Government, and the reason why is be-

cause it was not expected that they would. It cannot, therefore, be promptly laid before the House for assistance in discussing the proposed changes in the tariff. The travelling expenses of the members of the Government, as is usual, were paid out of contingencies. I cannot just say now the amount.

Mr. CASEY. What about the total expenses?

Mr. FOSTER. I cannot give that at present.

Mr. CASEY. Will the hon. Minister let the part as to the cost stand and answer it later?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, I do not know.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). How far are those mental notes still legible?

Mr. FOSTER. They are legible in the tariff propositions which have come before the House if the hon. gentleman will read them.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Which, the first or second set?

Mr. FOSTER. Both.

PIERRE FURLOW, STAVE CULLER.

Mr. McMULLEN. I notice in the printed question that a clerical error is made. "Stone culler" is printed instead of "stave culler." I would ask, When was Pierre Furlow appointed stave culler at Quebec? What is his salary, and what is the amount of fees collected for his services as culler since he was appointed?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). Pierre Furlow has not been appointed stone culler at Quebec. No such person of that name has been appointed.

Mr. McMULLEN. Has he been appointed stave culler?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). If the hon. gentleman will allow his question to stand, I will look into it to-morrow.

Mr. LANDERKIN. These clerical errors are becoming epidemic.

CULLERS' OFFICE, QUEBEC.

Mr. McMULLEN asked, What is the number of cullers in the cullers' office in the city of Quebec? The amount of fees collected during the last fiscal year, and the salaries paid to the entire staff of cullers at Quebec?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). The present number: Eleven cullers, \$7,700; supervisor and office staff (nine), \$6,580.38; total, \$14,280.38. The salaries paid to the entire staff at Quebec during last fiscal year, amounted to \$10,661.38.

Mr. FOSTER.

ANALYTICAL INDEX OF TARIFF.

Mr. WALLACE read the following letter:—

OTTAWA, 16th April, 1894.

Hon. N. C. WALLACE,
Controller of Customs.

SIR,—Referring to application of Mr. Somerville, M.P., for a copy of the accounts rendered by the Queen's Printer for the "Analytical Index" to the tariff and to your answer in the House of Commons on the 5th instant, as to the cost of such work;

I have to state that owing partly to the manner in which the answer to this question was prepared and partly through a mistake of my own the cost of the first order of 2,500 copies, \$1,414.77, was given instead of the cost of the total number printed, 3,550 copies at a cost of \$1,881.44.

The total number of books published is covered by three orders, as follows:—

| | |
|---------------------------|---------------|
| June 6th, 1893..... | 2,500 copies. |
| September 12th, 1893..... | 1,000 do |
| July 17th, 1893..... | 50 do |

It was only on the day the question was to be answered that I was directed to give the figures as to the cost, and being exceedingly busy, in my haste I mistook the one account for the first order as covering the entire quantity published.

Yours respectfully,

R. R. FARROW,
Clerk in charge of Expenditure.

EXPORT OF CATTLE.

Mr. MULLOCK. Before the Orders of the Day are called. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of the Controller of Customs to page 10 of the report for 1893 of the Minister of Agriculture, and to the figures therein given, showing the number of cattle exported for the calendar years 1890, 1891, 1892 and 1893. The hon. gentleman will remember that the other day he gave some figures on this subject in reply to a question. These figures do not quite agree with the figures in the report. I am not finding fault, but, perhaps, as there seems to be some inaccuracy—

Mr. WALLACE. I think I can explain. Our statements are for the fiscal year ending 30th of June, while I think that the Department of Agriculture make their statements for the calendar year.

Mr. MULLOCK. But the question I put to the hon. gentleman referred to the calendar year, and I suppose that the figures were given accordingly. And those figures do not correspond with the figures given in this report.

Mr. WALLACE. I will compare the figures and give the hon. gentleman an answer to-morrow.

TARIFF COMMISSION.

Mr. MARTIN. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I would like to ask the Government when we may expect the return

moved for some time ago giving the details of expense of Ministers going through the country to make inquiry concerning the tariff ?

Mr. FOSTER. I will inquire about the matter and let the hon. gentleman know.

BOUNDARIES OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.

Sir HECTOR LANGEVIN moved for :

Copies of all correspondence, instructions, Orders in Council and reports relative to the northern and north-eastern boundary of the province of Quebec, not already laid before this House.

He said : Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to renew my remarks of last session, which were fully met by the hon. Minister of Interior at that time. I only wish to have brought down any papers that have been received since on this subject, correspondence, Orders in Council, and so on. Perhaps, also, the hon. Minister of Interior would say a few words about the progress that the surveyors have made during the recess in the examinations they were instructed to make, and would state whether these have been completed or whether they are to be continued during the current year.

Mr. DALY. Mr. Speaker, in answer to the hon. gentleman, I may say that considerable progress has been made in the exploration of the territory referred to since the question was before the House last year. According to the reports received up to last session, the distance of 450 miles had been surveyed along the East Main River. Since that time, during this past season, Mr. Low and Mr. Eaton, the gentlemen on the survey, have surveyed 750 miles. They have discovered a number of branches of the East Main River, which are detailed in Mr. Low's preliminary report which has been received by the department. This report I hold in my hand and I will be glad to hand it to the hon. gentleman. I will not detain the House by giving an account of the facts covered by the preliminary report, except to say that, owing to the scarcity of provisions at Port Chimo, on Ungava Bay, where he arrived in August, he thought it best to take advantage of the Hudson's Bay steamer and he wintered at Hamilton Inlet. He says :

For those reasons I have resolved to go with the party on the ship to Rigolet, and from there to the post at Northwest River at the head of Hamilton Inlet, and during the winter send provisions up the Hamilton River, and ascend the river a hundred and fifty or two hundred miles before the ice breaks up next spring. By this means the summer months can be devoted to the exploration of the interior, making a survey of the Hamilton River to its head, and the return trip in the fall can be either by one of the rivers flowing into the Gulf of St. Lawrence or down the South River to Fort Chimo.

So we hope that when the explorer returns next fall he will have complete information with reference to the sources and the direction of the East Main River, and will give all the information possibly to be obtained by exploration of the territory covered by that river and its tributaries. There is no objection to the motion.

Sir HECTOR LANGEVIN. The information is quite satisfactory. May I ask the hon. gentleman whether this report will be printed ?

Mr. DALY. It is not printed, but I will hand the hon. gentleman a type-written copy which I have here.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The report ought to be printed and in the hands of members, accompanied with a map showing the direction of the East Main River. The hon. gentleman knows that that river is a very long way north, and the propriety of taking that river as the boundary between the province of Quebec and territory to the north would depend a good deal on the direction of the river. The House ought to be put in possession from time to time of whatever information may reach the department.

Mr. DALY. This is only a preliminary report sent in by Mr. Low, and we have received it by courtesy of the Hudson's Bay Company. I do not think it would be well to publish it, but rather to wait until a full report is in which can be printed, accompanied by a map. The explorer may find it necessary to make some changes as to the branches of the East Main River, because it has been shown that it divides into branches flowing south-west and north-west. I think it would be better not to publish until we have a full report, and it is expected that that full report will be in the hands of the department in time to be laid on the Table next session.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Has the Rupert River been surveyed as a possible boundary and its direction ascertained ?

Mr. DALY. That is one of the objects sought, and we will have a survey of the Rupert River.

Motion agreed to.

SEIZURE OF THE 'WILLIE MCGOWAN.'

Mr. McDOUGALL (Cape Breton) moved for :

Copies of all correspondence between the Dominion Government and Her Majesty's Government, on the subject of the seizure by the Russian cruiser 'Zabiaka,' of the Canadian schooner 'Willie McGowan,' in the North Pacific Ocean, in June, 1892.

He said : This vessel, the 'Willie McGowan,' owned by several people in North Sydney, Cape Breton, sailed from the port of North Sydney on the 18th November, 1891,

for British Columbia. After arriving at Victoria, she cleared from that port for the sealing grounds in the North Pacific on 14th May, 1892; and, after two months' fishing, she was seized at a distance of over forty miles from land by the Russian cruiser 'Zabiaka,' on the 18th July, 1892. A prize crew was put in charge and she was brought into a port called Peterispolleski on the Russian coast. She was taken with all the skins and property belonging to the owners of the vessel. The crew was transferred to the cruiser and deprived of part of their clothing, and put on scanty rations for a number of days. They protested against it, and were threatened with imprisonment in Siberia. After some time they were allowed to take passage on board a United States vessel for British Columbia, and thence they found their way home. The vessel, fitted out as she was by the owners, was estimated to be worth about \$15,000, and the loss to the owners by being deprived of that season's fishing is estimated at about \$10,000. The owners are yet without any redress or compensation. On behalf of the owners, I would like to impress on the Government the necessity of pressing for a settlement of this matter in the interest of the men who suffered this great loss, a loss which they can ill afford to bear. The Russian authorities having admitted the illegality of the seizure, on behalf of the owners of the vessel I beg to urge upon the Government that no further delay should take place in securing redress for the owners of this vessel.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. There is no objection to the papers being brought down, subject, of course, to the understanding that the question covers those papers which we are at liberty to bring down. Correspondence is now, and has been for some time, going on with Her Majesty's Government about this case; and, as the House knows, before we could bring that down we must communicate with Her Majesty's Government on the subject. But, subject to that provision, there is no objection to the motion passing. The hon. gentleman has alluded to the extreme hardships in connection with this seizure, and the papers, when brought down, will show that he, as well as the owners, have been most active in bringing to the attention of the Canadian Government the circumstances connected with that seizure.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Will the hon. gentleman state to the House what the facts are? because we do not know them.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. As we understand them, the seizure occurred in 1892, and was made by the Russian vessel 'Zabiaka,' and the Russian Government put forth as a justification that this vessel was poaching within the Russian territorial limits. There was no assertion in this case, so far as the papers disclose, of extraordinary jurisdiction either over the waters or over

the seals; and at Paris, we used the correspondence that had gone on from that date between the Government of Great Britain and the Russian Government, in order to show that the United States' contention in the main case was not supported by the Russian authorities. The owners of the 'Willie McGowan,' and the owners of several other vessels seized during the same season, deny absolutely, and with great circumstance, that they were within or near the waters over which Russia had any jurisdiction; on the contrary, they were, as even the Russian Government admit, seized a considerable distance away, and, in this case, some twenty-one miles from the coast, according to the Russian statement. The British Government made the usual prompt protest against this and other seizures. The Russian Government represent that the seizures having taken place at a great distance from the seat of Government, they proposed to carry on a very thorough inquiry by a commission into the facts connected with the different seizures.

Mr. LAURIER. I understand the Minister to say that it is admitted even by the Russian authorities that the seizure was made twenty-one miles from shore. On what ground did they pretend they had a right to make a seizure at that distance?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Hot pursuit was their contention. They claim that this vessel went to poach upon the Commander Islands, went to raid the Commander Islands, and took seals, either on the land or close to the shore. According to the Russian story, the vessel was sighted fifteen miles from land, and when the 'Zabiaka' went to board her she sailed away, and the 'Zabiaka' gave chase and overtook her at a distance of twenty-one miles from the coast. That is the Russian statement, and the report of the Russian commander of that coast. Their whole case was put upon the ground of hot pursuit. And they submitted the question to a commission. The British Government have awaited the result of that commission, and the last papers that have been communicated to the public in England, and which are produced in the Fisheries Report laid upon the Table of this House this session, is the report of that commission. In connection with the 'Willie McGowan' they find that while they still suspect she was a poacher, and that the seals found on board were seals taken close to the shore, they did not feel justified in declaring that the seizure of this schooner was altogether regular; in other words, they were unable to find evidence to support their suspicion that she was within the territorial limits. And so, in her case, and in the case of several other vessels that were seized that year, they came to that conclusion. On the other hand, in some cases, they say that the evidence is very strong, and they are prepared

Mr. McDUGALL (Cape Breton).

to stand upon it, that they were poaching within the three-mile limit. This case, so far as the published papers go, stand there. The claimants in nearly every one of the cases insist that the facts have not been fairly put before the Russian Government, that it was an ex-parte inquiry and was not satisfactory to them. The masters of those vessels are amongst the most respectable of our shipping class, are seamen of good standing and citizens of such a character that their statements are exceedingly strong; and the Canadian Government have steadily forwarded, as alone it could do, their remonstrances, their petitions and their requests, and have urged upon Her Majesty's Government that everything should be done that can be done to obtain for them at least a fair hearing, at least some arrangement by which the witnesses can be brought face to face, if there are no other means of ascertaining the real facts. I think I am at liberty to say, at all events under the circumstances, considering the long delay, considering that these people or some of them are in destitution from the damage done to them, and they are, so far as we know and believe, thoroughly innocent and have obeyed all laws in following a legitimate pursuit on the high seas, we have pressed for this commission, and Her Majesty's Government has brought before the Russian Government these facts and that position of the case, since which time we have had no definite information whatever as to the result. I, of course, need not mention to the House the unfortunate and almost necessary delays that occur in all these cases, these diplomatic discussions which take place between the Governments of the great nations of the world. There is a disposition everywhere to avoid an open breach, to avoid war, and this case, as I have mentioned, stands in this position: The Russian Government is not raising any difficult points of international law, but is relying on the reports of its officers and of the commission, and is simply insisting on the legality of the seizures, with the exception of one or two to which I have referred, the "Willie McGowan" being one. The unsatisfactory statement I have to make at this late date is, that, while they do not believe in that case there is anything more than suspicion hanging on the vessel, no means have yet been reached whereby assessment of the damage could take place. I venture to suspect that, in connection with this matter, the whole of the cases will be dealt with at once. I think if some means are reached by which the facts can be ascertained, some arrangement will be arrived at for ascertaining and arranging the amount of the damages in all the cases; but I take it for granted that, as soon as these diplomatic discussions have been brought to an end, there is nothing remaining in the case of the 'Willie McGowan' but the assessment and payment of the damages.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I desire to inquire from the Minister of Marine,

whether any steps have been taken by our Government, or any suggestion made by the British Government, looking to the appointment of a joint commission which might dispose of those cases? It is quite obvious that, if our sealers are not to be excluded altogether from Behring Sea, it is very likely that disputes of that kind will be cropping up either with the United States Government or the Russian Government, which owns, I think, one-half or thereabouts. So far as my recollection serves me, and I am speaking from memory, in somewhat similar cases the British Government has more than once made arrangements with a Government like the Russian Government for the appointment of one or more commissioners chosen by each country, who would deal summarily with those cases. One thing is very obvious, that in cases like that of the 'Willie McGowan' such delay as is sure to arise between our Government and the Imperial Government and the Russian Government, will result in a great many cases in an utter denial of justice. As the Minister knows well, in the case of the Behring Sea outrages, for I must call them so, committed eight years ago, for which no redress whatever has yet been given to the Canadian subjects aggrieved. I should not like to think, I do not think, that, in the case of the Russian Government, similar delay would occur; but I may say that my own experience of the enormous length of time consumed as between the Canadian Government and Her Majesty's Imperial advisers and the advisers of European powers, or even of the United States, leads me to believe that, if justice is to be rendered within a reasonable time, it must be done by referring the matters in dispute to a joint commission.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. That subject has not been lost sight of, and there has been considerable correspondence on the question of a joint commission for this inquiry particularly. As to the present season or as to future seasons, this subject is, perhaps, placed on a more satisfactory footing by the arrangements that have obtained in the various 'modus vivendi' we have had. For instance, it is arranged now, and it was arranged last season, that where a vessel was arrested by a Russian cruiser for coming within the thirty-mile limit of the Commander Islands, instead of taking the vessel to a Russian port, the vessel should be taken to a British port.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The hon. gentleman speaks of a thirty-mile limit in the case of the Commander Islands. When was that agreed to?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Last year there was a modus vivendi between Great Britain and Russia, under which it was agreed that no fishing whatever should take place within a radius of thirty miles of the Commander Islands, and the Russian Government agreed not to take more than 30,000 seals on those Islands, they having

taken in previous years 38,000 and even 40,000, we having, as we had, the report of our commissioners that the system on those Islands was much more satisfactorily and effectually carried out in connection with the system of killing the seals than that which obtained on the Pribyloff Islands. Under an exchange of notes, that arrangement was made, and it was further arranged that any vessel found within the thirty-mile zone, instead of being taken by the vessel making the seizure into a Russian port, should be taken to a British port, so that an immediate trial should take place into the facts before a British court, or her papers should be taken from her and she should be directed to the nearest British port. One or two seizures occurred under that convention, and I am very glad to say that the trial that followed—one trial took place at Yokohama—resulted in the vessel being acquitted of committing any offence. The reason I referred to that case was to show the House that for the future, both with Russia and with the United States, there is a more satisfactory method, and there will be a more satisfactory method of settling the facts, and that method in both cases will be before a British court, in the case of our vessels, no doubt, a vice-admiralty court in British Columbia. But in reference to the other question of a joint commission, the Canadian Government long ago sent fully the facts and reasons for the establishment of that, and in the meanwhile, both in this case of the 'Willie McGowan,' and others similarly situated, we have been endeavouring from every source to obtain all the evidence that can be used on that occasion. The House will see, that supposing that tribunal were constituted tomorrow, there is much that the owners will have to do; the collection of the men is a great difficulty in their way; they must collect the testimony that they had available at the time, and that is why we have been urgent to press upon Her Majesty's Government the necessity of haste, because every day's delay, every month's delay, places more difficulty in the way of the owners to bring their cases before any proper tribunal.

Motion agreed to.

RIVER YAMASKA DAM.

Mr. LAURIER moved for :

Statement of all sums paid by the Government for the construction of the River Yamaska dam under the first contract and subsequently thereto up to this date.

He said: The object which I have in making this motion is chiefly to ascertain from the Government what is their intention with regard to that dam. The present Minister of Public Works remembers that his predecessor in office commenced the construction of that dam about ten or twelve years

ago: the dam was completed at some date—a year, I think, after that, as much as perhaps \$200,000 having been spent upon it. A portion of the dam was washed away by a freshet in the spring. The object of the dam was to raise the level of the water so as to make the river navigable for a distance of some thirty miles. In consequence of a portion of the dam being washed out, the whole of that work has become perfectly useless and the water level is just the same as it was before its construction. This state of things has been in existence, certainly for two years, and perhaps for three years; and yet the Government have done nothing at all with regard to repairing the damage that has been done. The fact is that at the present time, the whole of the money expended there gives no more benefit than if it had been thrown into Lake St. Peter or into the Yamaska River itself.

Mr. OUMET. This work was commenced and completed by my predecessor long before I was in office. I am supplied by the department with the following information, which may be useful to the hon. gentleman and also to the House. The works required for the improvement of this river were first reported upon in 1835 by Mr. Alexander Stephenson, C.E., who preferred the idea of raising the water by means of a dam to that of deepening it by dredging. In 1856, Mr. Page, Chief Engineer, also reported on this work and recommended the construction of a lock and dam at Yamaska to raise the water and render it navigable a distance of twenty-five miles from Lake St. Peter. Again in 1880 the matter was brought to the attention of the department by petition, which represented that the volume of trade to be served by the improvement asked for represented an annual sum of from \$200,000 to \$400,000, and that if navigation was rendered more easy by dredging or otherwise this amount would be easily doubled. Acting upon these representations the department ordered the chief engineer to make an examination, and this officer recommended in January, 1881, the construction of a lock and dam at Ile à Cardin, with four feet of water on the lock sill at lowest known stage of water, the lock to be 133 feet long and 33 feet wide. The tenders were asked, and a contract was awarded to Messrs. Brecken, Gaherty & Davis, in October, 1881. I am informed by the department that the dam and lock are in a pretty fair state of repair, and that they fully answer the present requirements of the trade on the river. I am sorry to have to admit that the expectations as to the future development of that trade have not been fulfilled. The trade has not increased, and I think, on the contrary, it has diminished. It is the opinion of the department that the dam and lock, as they are there now, are amply sufficient to meet the requirements, and it is not at present the intention of the

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER.

department to spend any more money to improve it unless trade would require it. The papers will be placed before the House and all information that can be imparted to the hon. gentleman will be gladly given.

Mr. LAURIER. I am really surprised to hear the hon. gentleman state that he is informed by the officers of his department that the work is in a fair state of repair. Unless the dam has been repaired since the month of July last it is in the worst possible condition, because, as I said in presenting this motion, a portion of the dam has been washed away, and therefore there is not an inch more of water than there was before. It certainly cannot be in a good state of repair as long as this condition remains. I cannot conceive how it is possible that the officers of the department should have made such a report. If the hon. Minister would send a special officer there I am sure he must report that the work is in a bad state of repair, and that at the present time it is not only not an advantage, but it is a positive nuisance.

Mr. OUMET. I have no doubt that it could be very greatly improved, but as a useful work the state that it is in now is amply adequate to the requirements of the trade.

Mr. LAURIER. That is a sad comment upon the Department of Public Works.

Motion agreed to.

CLAIMS BY BRITISH COLUMBIA SEALERS.

Mr. LAURIER moved for :

Copies of all memorials and petitions of seal fishermen in British Columbia, for compensation by the Imperial Government or the Canadian Government for losses arising through them out of the award of the Behring Sea Court of Arbitration.

He said : It has been stated in the public newspapers of British Columbia that petitions were to be sent, either to this Government or to the Imperial Government to ask for compensation for damages resulting out of the award of the Paris Court of Arbitration ; because, as I understand it, it was stated that as soon as the award was put in force by the legislation of the United States and of Great Britain, that the trade of the British sealers in the Behring Sea would be completely destroyed and sacrificed. I move this motion in order to ascertain whether such petitions have been received by this Government or sent to the Imperial Government through the instrumentality of the Canadian Government.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, I also saw in the papers, very soon after the award was published in August last—I think it was a month or two after that—that certain sealers in British Columbia were very much exercised in reference to the stringency of these regulations, and

that they proposed to call a meeting on the subject ; but I do not think the meeting ever took place. Certainly, no memorials or petitions ever have been received by the Government of the character mentioned in the motion—indeed, none on that subject. In order to make sure, I made a special inquiry, when I saw the notice of the hon. gentleman's motion, and was confirmed in my impression by receiving this answer from my department :

No memorials or petitions from seal fishermen in British Columbia, for compensation by the Imperial Government or the Canadian Government for losses arising to them out of the award of the Behring Sea Court of Arbitration, have been received. With regard to the position of the sealers, while there is much speculation and a great deal of room for argument as to the future, they have had the courage to proceed this year with practically the same fleet as last year, when they sent out the largest in the history of the business. When these difficulties occurred in 1886, there were some eighteen vessels all told registered in Canada engaged in sealing, either on the coast of British Columbia or north in the waters of Behring Sea, and the catch was comparatively small. The profits, of course, were very good indeed. But there are now some sixty vessels engaged in that business, of which fifty-seven have cleared either for the Japan coast or for the more southern waters on the coast of this continent. I think that thirteen or fourteen of them have gone for seals on our own side, going south as far as California, as usual. But it would be really impossible for them, I think, to make out any satisfactory case for presentation either to the Canadian Government or to the British Government until they had really put to the test their experience in sealing. The business has greatly changed. They know far more about sealing now than they did in 1886. They have made a great deal more money since 1886 and since this trouble occurred than they ever dreamed of making before. Since these complaints have arisen, they have made enormous sums of money comparatively, and one great difficulty, I fancy, that must meet them now is their own very great competition with each other. The fact that where there were only eighteen vessels in 1886 there are now sixty engaged in that business, in itself says a good deal. But one curious feature of all these disputes is that for the last three or four years the Canadian sealers have practically had the sealing business to themselves. The business on the islands, so lucrative hitherto to the lessees of the United States and to the United States exchequer, has been at a standstill ; the operations of those lessees have practically amounted to nothing. They have been allowed to take 7,500 seals for the natives, chiefly for food, instead of the millions they took formerly, and instead of 60,000, they reduced the number under the terms of their last lease. All the profit in

the sealing business, so far as the United States and Canada are concerned, has been in the hands of Canadian sealers. Nevertheless, I would not for a moment minimize in any way what may be their loss; but I take it, and I merely throw out the suggestion, that one reason why no formal memorial or petition was forthcoming, was that had they begun early in the day to complain, they might have been answered by Her Majesty's Government that they might at least have made a fair trial of the regulations before they made any claim. Nothing has been done by the Canadian Government that will interfere with their claims whenever they are forthcoming. After what I have said, I take it that the hon. gentleman will withdraw his motion.

Motion withdrawn.

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO FISHERIES.

Mr. MCGREGOR moved for:

Copies of all Orders in Council and departmental orders now in force in the province of Ontario, concerning fisheries therein, and of all petitions received by the department with regard to the same.

He said: Mr. Speaker, in making this motion I may say that the county which I have the honour to represent is very materially affected by the fishing laws of this country. It is one hundred miles long, and only fourteen miles across, and is almost surrounded by water. It is in the neighbourhood of a very large body of water which abounds with fish; but the county being adjacent to the United States, our fishermen have great difficulty in getting their rights from the department at Ottawa. In that county we have an agreeable climate, second to none in Canada, and a soil equal to any in the country. We grow large quantities of grapes, peaches, tobacco, corn, and other grains. But we are not only hampered by the restrictions of the Department of Fisheries, but we feel the iron hand of the tariff very heavily. The county is only from three to five hundred yards from the United States boundary; and while our American neighbours are subject to no restriction in regard to their fishing laws, our fishermen are trammelled in every way. On Lake St. Clair, which is from thirty miles to forty miles in length, our fishermen on the Canadian side have only four pound-nets, while they have seen American fishermen use seventy pound-nets without restriction. That being the case, and the two countries being so close together at that point, we feel that the Government should allow our fishermen, especially in that portion of the Dominion, to have the same privilege as their American neighbours. In 1889, the last year for which the American census gives an account, we find that the Americans took from the waters of Lake St. Clair, the River Detroit, and Lake Erie

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\$1,899,988 worth of fish, while the Canadian fishermen, with the restrictions upon them, took only \$299,000 worth. This shows the position in which our fishermen stood at that time. Notwithstanding the restrictions, the fish caught in Ontario during the last few years have been increasing, as the following figures will show:—

| | |
|-----------|-----------------|
| 1880..... | 11,473,040 lbs. |
| 1885..... | 27,778,100 “ |
| 1889..... | 32,169,032 “ |
| 1892..... | 33,328,433 “ |

Now, the Americans' catch on the great lakes, in their waters, was as follows:—

| | |
|-----------|-----------------|
| 1880..... | 68,742,000 lbs. |
| 1885..... | 99,842,076 “ |
| 1889..... | 117,085,568 “ |

The report for the year 1889 is the last American report, but it is supposed that in 1892 130,000,000 pounds were taken, or about twice as many as in 1888. The Minister will say, no doubt, that Canadian fish breed in Canadian waters. We can prove beyond doubt that if the wind blows from the east the people on the other side take the fish, and if it blows from the west the people on the east side take the fish, so that the direction the fish take is governed by the wind at the time they cross. The following figures will show the amount of fish taken in those years by the Americans. The catch along the shores in the State of Michigan was:

| | |
|-----------|-----------------|
| 1885..... | 27,294,000 lbs. |
| 1892..... | 33,714,000 “ |

The State of Wisconsin, which borders on a portion of the great waters in which we are interested, took:

| | |
|-----------|----------------|
| 1887..... | 5,541,741 lbs. |
| 1892..... | 19,271,000 “ |

Nearly four times as much in 1892 as in 1887. The catch of fish in Lake Erie, both by Americans and Canadians, has been increased on both sides of that lake:

| | |
|-----------|----------------|
| 1880..... | 31,095,000 lbs |
| 1885..... | 59,220,000 “ |
| 1889..... | 73,189,085 “ |

The American catch in Lake Erie in 1889 was 31,781 tons out of 5,000 square miles of water. The area in Ontario, of the Canadian portion of the great lakes, is over 80,000 square miles. If that area were fished by as many nets and men as are engaged in the American waters, our catch would amount to two hundred and fifty million pounds. This, at 5 cents per pound, or \$100 per ton, would be worth \$12,500,000, whereas we took but 16,668 tons in 1892, which were valued by the hon. Minister at only \$2,000,000. We feel that that is a great loss to this country. If our fishermen disobey the law now on the statute-books their nets are seized and burned, their boats are broken up, and the men are imprisoned, if necessary. There is no place where the fishermen are so hardly used as in Ontario,

especially on the borders where we live. We appeal to this House for relief. Our people have purchased their boats and nets, and many of them have purchased the lands in front of which they fish. They have gone to great expense in the way of taking out stone, building up piers and capstans, putting the nets in good order, yet, under the restrictions imposed, they cannot fish anywhere on the Detroit River, they can use but four nets on Lake St. Clair, and five or six on Lake Erie—that is, in our portion of the lake. We feel that these men should be protected just the same as if they had a patent on the waters on which they fish. Our friends opposite say we are looking to Washington for a tariff. Well, we would like very much if they would look to Washington in respect of fishing laws, because we are peculiarly situated. We are bordering on the waters in which our fishermen are specially interested, the States of Michigan and Ohio, a portion of Pennsylvania and a portion of New York. Those States have their individual laws, as each State has the right to make its own fishery legislation, and it is impossible for our Government to negotiate satisfactory relations with those four States. We feel that while we are preserving the fish we are not preserving them for the Canadians, but for the Americans. We feel that we are peculiarly situated, and we ask the hon. Minister what Essex has done that she should be so treated. Why not give us some advantages? While the Americans have taken \$1,500,000 worth of fish out of the waters opposite to us, we have to content ourselves with taking only \$240,000 worth. While they have 1,500 men at work we have to content ourselves with 220. That being the case, we feel the hardship greatly, because the very time that the fish come up our rivers along the banks of our lakes is the time we are restricted. We called a meeting in the city of Windsor for the purpose of asking the people along the shores their opinion with reference to fishing matters, and at that meeting the following resolution was carried:—

Moved by Mr. Dufour, seconded by Jacques Pajot, that whereas fish found in international waters between Canada and the United States, are owned in common by the people of these countries; and whereas it is known that the fish migrate from one side of our lake to the other; and whereas the States of Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin, bordering international waters, charge no license fee, they do not restrict either as to number of men or nets, and have practically no close season; and whereas in Canada a heavy license fee is charged, the number of men and nets are restricted, the number of nets being recently reduced by 50 per cent, a weekly close season is provided from six o'clock on Saturday night till seven o'clock on Monday morning, also a general close season for the month of November, which practically means the prohibition of white-fish fishing along the shores of this county, except a short distance along the shores of the townships

of Colchester and Mersea; and whereas the practical result of this condition is that along the shores of that part of the States of Ohio and Michigan opposite the county of Essex, the Americans had 1,500 men engaged in fishing in the year 1889, and the value of the fish caught was \$1,900,000, while in this county only 245 men were employed, who caught fish to the value of \$227,000: therefore be it resolved, that this meeting most emphatically condemn the restrictions placed upon the fishermen of Canada, and are of opinion that until some mutually satisfactory arrangement for the protection of our fish can be arrived at with the United States, Canadians be allowed to fish under the same regulations as are the Americans.

That motion was carried unanimously. That being the case, it speaks strongly for the feeling in our district. Then, again, we feel the want of fish. I would say that there is no county in Canada growing as rapidly as the county of Essex. We have a population of nearly sixty thousand. There is no county that has shown as well on the census, and all we ask is fair-play. We ask that the Minister of Marine, who has not seen fit to even pay us a visit, should come and discuss the matter with us. We have been in the county a long time, and we know that these restrictions mean an annual loss of at least half a million dollars to our people. We have put the case as fairly and honestly before the Minister as possible, and invited him to make a personal inspection, but, so far, he has not acceded to our request. The Deputy Minister has been amongst us several times, but his mind was made up so positively that we cannot get him to act. Now, Sir, we say that the Minister and the department are a little more than harsh in their action with reference to our river and lake fisheries. We have an island in the Detroit River, called Fighting Island. This island was purchased by Major Paxton in the year 1854. He paid this Government somewhere in the region of \$6,000 for that island. It is a small island, and the land is of comparatively little use, but he bought it for fishing purposes. The deed reads that he takes in the land to the channel bank. From 1854 until within the last two years he occupied that island for fishing purposes, and for that almost alone. He cleared out the rocks from the river, and has gone to a good deal of expense in building piers and making other improvements. Last year, the Government came down and they appropriated his piers and his capstan and reels and everything belonging to him, and that without paying him a single dollar. Now, I appealed to the department in every way I could, and I am appealing to the House now to ask if there is not some mode in which to proceed. We claim that this is a great injustice to the man who really owns to the channel bank. Then, again, Mr. Speaker, people complain that the fishing season is too short. The restrictions in reference to close seasons prevent us from fishing dur-

ing the only season when the fish come into our waters. The Government, in fishing for themselves did not even set us a good example, for their agent fished during the close season. The power of the law had to be invoked, and the agent of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries was brought up and fined by the magistrate of the district. The fish could not be sold at that time on the Canadian side, because of the close season. So they took them across the water and sold them to our American friends. We were thus deprived even of the opportunity to buy the fish for our own use. Now, Sir, the close season commences in November. We ask the Government to take into consideration the changing of the close season so as to make it commence at the 25th of November and extend to the 15th of April. This country, Mr. Speaker, is expending somewhere in the neighbourhood of \$4,000 a year for the maintenance of a fish-hatching house in the town of Sandwich, a mile or two from where I live, and on the borders of the Detroit River. But our laws are such that our fishermen get no benefit from this fish hatchery, because they are prevented from fishing by the close season. We say that if the laws are to be maintained as they are at present, it would be better to do away with the fish hatchery and save the money. Our men, no doubt, will continue to go to the other side of the line; for I can assure you, Mr. Speaker, that we have lost a large number of our young men, and some of our middle-aged men as well, who were brought up to fishing. Sir, I have several reports here from men who have examined the waters, and these I should like to quote to the House. For instance, we have the report of Mr. Charles Wilmot, in the Report of the Department of Fisheries. I quote from page 93 :

As an illustration of the correctness of this view I would call your attention to the American shore of Lake Erie, where, even with a small-meshed pound-net (say 1½ and 2 inches, which I am strongly opposed to), fishing has been carried on for the past twenty years in a most extensive manner without any apparent signs of decrease in the better classes of fish.

Then on page 48 of the report for 1892 there is a quotation from Mr. C. W. Keyes, the manager of the Sandusky Salt Fish Company, who handles large quantities of fish at Sandusky, and who said at the Detroit conference on Dec. 20th, 1892 :

There were more whitefish taken this fall in Lake Erie than have been taken for a number of years.

I read these reports to show that, though our American neighbours are fishing alongside of us Ontario people, they are taking more fish from the lakes and rivers now than they did some years ago. I could go on and quote for an hour, evidence of the same kind on this subject, but I do not wish to

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weary the House. Mr. C. W. Keyes, an experienced fisherman of Sandusky, Ohio, whom I have already quoted, in his speech at the Detroit conference, said :

The month of November is the only time that it is possible to catch the fish, that is to fish for commerce, and you take the month of November out of the fishing season and you may as well hang up your nets entirely, that is at the western end of the lake.

I could go on and show that the Americans have increased their catch. In 1885, the catch in the State of Michigan was 27,294,975 pounds, and in 1892 it was 33,714,868. In Wisconsin there was even a greater proportionate increase. Mr. Speaker, we have a large number of petitions from the municipal councils along the borders of the lake, as well as petitions from individuals. Here is a petition from the County Council of Essex, which council is composed of men differing widely in their political opinions :

To the Honourable the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada in Parliament assembled.

The petition of the County Council of Essex, in the province of Ontario, humbly sheweth :—

That the county of Essex being almost entirely surrounded by water, offers to its inhabitants unusual facilities to engage in the fishing business.

Some years ago, a large number of the people of this county were engaged in fishing in the Detroit River, Lakes Erie and St. Clair, and a considerable sum of money was realized annually which was of great benefit to the county.

The laws at present in force relating to the fishing licenses and regulations are so restrictive and unreasonable as to almost prevent any one engaging in the business of fishing with any advantage or profit to themselves. The waters surrounding our said county being international waters, afford equal advantages to our American neighbours to engage in the fishing business and a large number are so engaged.

The Americans on our border have practically free fishing, having no license fee to pay, no license being required and no limitations as to description or number of nets fished by any person or company. In Ontario we have restrictions made to preserve the fish for our American neighbours, who can take them at all seasons.

We ask to be placed in the same position as our neighbours; to do this the license system and close seasons should be abolished. The following comparison of catch of fish during the year 1889 on those portions of the States of Ohio and Michigan bordering on our county with the catch of Essex County fishermen during the same year shows the advantage of free fishing and the great loss sustained by our people:

Essex County fishing—245 men employed, catch 4,711,321 lbs. On the American side directly opposite Essex County—1,415 men employed, catch 37,470,744 lbs.

The value of these fish at three cents per pound shows of nearly one million dollars thus lost to the people of this county. For these and many other reasons your petitioners would respectfully urge

that the fishery laws at present in force as applicable to Ontario should be amended so as to encourage the fishing industry and place our people on an equal footing with American competitors.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

ALFRED HAIRSINE

Warden.

Dated this 25th day of January, 1874.

THOS. McKEE,

Clerk.

This petition shows the feeling of the people in that portion of the country. I have a score of other petitions on the same subject, from one of which I would like to read a portion. It is from the inhabitants of the town of Sandwich, who are similarly interested :

The petition of the Council of the town of Sandwich, in the county of Essex, and province of Ontario, humbly sheweth as follows :—

That the town of Sandwich is situated on the banks of the Detroit River a short distance from Lake St. Clair, and is within the limits of the County of Essex, the boundaries of which are for many miles washed by the waters of the said river and of Lakes Erie and St. Clair. That some years since one of the most important and lucrative industries of this locality was that of fishing and a large number of men was employed therein whose earnings and expenditures were of general benefit. That more recently this business has largely decreased and a much less number of fishermen is employed in plying their vocation along the shores of the river and lakes aforesaid. That the strong and well-nigh universal belief in this town and in the county aforesaid is that the decline in said industry is attributable directly to the existing policy of restriction in the matter of licenses ; the weekly close seasons ; the close seasons for different kinds of fish, one running into the dates of other kinds of fish, making it impossible to fish without violating some of the regulations ; the enforcement of a close season in the month of November, the only month in the year in which whitefish can be caught in the Detroit River and Lake St. Clair ; and the curtailment of the number of gill-nets, seines and pound-nets fished. That on the American side of said river and lakes the American fishermen have free fishing, have no license fee to pay, and are subject to no restrictions as to description or number of nets fished by one person or company ; and the State Legislature of Michigan, in the month of April, 1893, refused to pass a bill making the month of November a close season or otherwise restricting fishing in international waters. In Ontario we have restrictions made to preserve the fish for our American neighbours, who can take them at all seasons. That our fishermen are thus placed in the position of seeing almost at their own doors the American fishermen doing a profitable business which they could and ought to participate in but for being hampered and trammelled as aforesaid. That, notwithstanding the lack of restriction on the American side of said river and lakes, the catch is constantly and enor-

mously increasing as the official returns amply demonstrate. That by reason of the said restrictions, as your petitioners are convinced, the catch on the Canadian side in the county of Essex is as steadily and greatly decreasing as appears from the Reports of the Canadian Fishery Department. These reports show that said catch in said county has decreased in value from 1889 to 1892 from the sum of \$229,032.39 to \$150,517.10 and in the Detroit River the value of the catch has diminished in value from the year 1886 to 1889 from \$198,992.50 to \$19,191.25 and from that amount in the latter year to \$2,725.25 in the year 1892. The catch of whitefish in Detroit River in 1880 was 103,500 fish, equal to 258,750 lbs., and in 1892 only 24,000 lbs. The diminished catch was caused by the enforcement of the close season of November, which was considered so unreasonable as regards the Detroit River that it was suspended for many years until November 1, 1889. Since then the Department permitted American fishermen to fish, in 1890 and 1891, on the Canadian side of Detroit River, in the close season of November, for whitefish and refused to Canadian fishermen the same privilege. That in the year 1889 the number of men employed in fishing on the Canadian side of the Detroit River was 127, and in 1892 this number had been reduced to 62. That but for said restrictions in all probability as many men would be employed on the Canadian side as on the American side, fishing as many nets and in waters where the fishing is admittedly as good or better. The fish migrate from one side of a lake or river at pleasure, controlled by storms of wind, seasons of the year, search of food and other reasons. The Superintendent of Fish Culture, on page 14 of his report in Report of Fishery Department for 1886, says : " A good deal of reasoning, however, may be given in support of the theory put forth, ' that the fishermen on the American side of Lake Erie reap the lion's share of the whitefish grown from the fry bred at the Sandwich Hatchery.' In the first place it has been demonstrated that of all the young whitefish which have been planted in the Detroit River and Lake Erie by the Fish Commissions of the United States and Ohio and Michigan and the Fisheries Department of Canada up to the season of 1882, by far the larger percentage has been turned out of the Sandwich Hatchery into Lake Erie." * * * We respectfully request that you will consider the fact that millions of dollars is annually lost to the fishermen of Ontario, caused by the license system and restrictions in force at the present time, and that in many localities American fishermen reap the harvest of fishes that Canadians are prevented from taking.

Your petitioners will ever pray.

ERNEST GIRARDOT,

JAMES A. STUART,

Mayor

Town Clerk.

Now, Mr. Speaker, these petitions go to show that the people in that portion of the province are being very unjustly treated. It is true that the Minister of Marine and Fisheries will say that this Act was passed during the time of Mr. Mackenzie, in 1875 or 1876. I believe that is the case ; but when the facts were properly explained to the

Mackenzie Government, and it was pointed out to the Hon. Albert Smith, who was then Minister of Marine and Fisheries, what great disadvantage the people would suffer in reference to this matter, it was decided that the law should not be put in force, and from 1878 to 1889 that law remained a dead letter on the statute-book of the country. But since the hon. gentleman has taken possession of the department we have not been able to induce him to remove that restriction. We hope and trust he will be able to see his way clear to allow our people the same advantage that is allowed our American neighbours across the water, because in many places the Americans have to cast nets, and the Canadian fishermen have to do similar work at about the same time. By arrangement the American fishermen throw their nets at one time, and the Canadian fishermen at another time; but when a certain season of the year arrives, the Americans continue to throw their nets and take fish, whereas our men fold their arms and are compelled to suspend operations. We consider this to be a great injustice to the people of the county of Essex.

Mr. LISTER. The hon. gentleman who has just closed his remarks has confined himself entirely to the grievances of the fishermen in the vicinity of the county in which he lives. I am bound to say, in justice to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, that the regulations which have been made by the department, or at least some of them, and which are complained of by the fishermen, apply not only to Lake Erie but also to Lake Ontario, River St. Clair, Lake St. Clair and a portion of Lake Huron. No doubt the fishermen of the province of Ontario feel that the management of the department presided over by the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries, no matter how honest his intentions have been, has been such that they have been harassed and vexed in the prosecution of their business by the different regulations which have been adopted. It is well, in the first place, to consider briefly what the real grievances are. My hon. friend who has just addressed the House has declared that the fishermen are dissatisfied because we have not free fishing such as they have in the States of the Union. I do not know in making that statement he voices entirely the wishes of the fishermen of Ontario. We know the great difficulties which are to be overcome, so far as the United States are concerned in this, that the different States along the chain of lakes and rivers control the right to fish in those lakes and rivers, and it has been found impossible in the past to get the various States to come to an understanding with the Dominion of Canada to regulate the close season and the manner of fishing, namely, with what nets the fish shall be caught, the size of the nets, and so on. I believe that many of the fishermen of Ontario at all events will be satisfied

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with the close season now provided for by the departmental regulations, provided they be allowed to prosecute their business as they have done in the past, namely, with seines instead of pound-nets. The business of fishing has been carried on ever since the western district has been settled. Men have grown old in the business. Men are engaged in it who depend entirely for their livelihood upon it, who know no other work, and if they are prevented from prosecuting that business now, it means that they will be compelled to seek employment in work with which they are not acquainted and in which in all probability they will not be able to make a living for themselves and their families. The Department of Fisheries has provided by its recent regulations that no licenses should be granted to fishermen to fish with a seine, and the ground on which that position is supported by the department is that seine fishing has the effect of destroying the spawn, fry and young fish. It has been contended by the fishermen, and I believe it has been proved, that the contention of the department is unfounded so far as they are concerned. They say positively that the fry are not killed by the hauling in of the nets, and moreover that the spawn is not deposited upon the ground which the fishermen use for fishing. Be that as it may, those are the statements of the fishermen. The regulations this year provide that in River St. Clair and in the Bay of Quinté, and on the branches of the Detroit River, no seine shall be used for fishing. The Government has adopted a new policy, and has favoured fishing by pound-nets and by other means, and they have declared that under no circumstances will they grant seine licenses to any Ontario fishermen. What is the effect of this regulation so far as regards fishermen fishing in our rivers is concerned? These rivers are rapid, the deep water comes close to the shores, and the navigation is close to the shores on account of the swift current, and so it is impossible for fishermen to put the pound-nets in the river, because it would interfere with navigation, and unless seines are used they are deprived of pursuing their calling and continuing that employment to which they had been accustomed. Upon River St. Clair there are twenty or thirty fishermen who have pursued their calling there for twenty or thirty years, and the department now say that no fishermen on that river shall receive licenses to fish with seines. The result of that is, that those fishermen are deprived of their living and of the means of supporting themselves and their families. The fishing plant, which is their sole wealth, their boats, seines and shanties and other appliances connected with seine fishing, these results of years of work are now swept away by this order or regulation of the department, and these men and their families are thrown on the world to seek some other employment to which they are not accustomed, and in which I

have no hesitation in saying they will be unable to earn a livelihood. The hon. Minister, no doubt, will say that these men must be sacrificed for the general benefit of Canada. The Minister's Deputy, Mr. Prince, no doubt a highly honourable man, a man well qualified to fill his position if he had experience, a gentleman from England who has been in this country for the last two years, forgets that the lakes of this country are great inland seas, while those in England are little lakes, and has been accustomed to deal in England with waters that are mere ponds compared with our vast inland seas.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. What about the Atlantic Ocean, because that was largely the seat of his operations?

Mr. LISTER. I have no hesitation, in view of the enormous reproductive powers of the fish, in saying: that it is utterly impossible to fish these streams out. My hon. friend will say that in the River St. Clair the fisheries are being depleted, that the catch is much less than it was years ago, and that the reason for that is overfishing in that river. I say, Sir, that I do not believe that the reduction in the catch of fish in the River St. Clair is on account of overfishing. They make a comparison with fifteen or twenty years ago when the traffic on these lakes and on that river was comparatively small, and when it was traversed by smaller vessels and few of them. But to-day, vessels passing up and down that river are so enormous in size and numbers, that I believe I am safe in saying that the traffic passing through that river exceeds the traffic through the Suez Canal.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. So as to understand the hon. gentleman's position better, I would like to ask him: Does he think that Lake St. Clair has not been overfished?

Mr. LISTER. I am not prepared to say whether Lake St. Clair has been overfished or not.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The reason I asked is: that in 1891, the hon. gentleman will remember that he inveighed against the use of pound-nets in Lake St. Clair, claiming that the fisheries were being injured by these.

Mr. LISTER. I have no doubt of that, and I can support the contention I then made by the report in the hon. gentleman's own department.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. That is, it has been overfished.

Mr. LISTER. It may have been on account of the pound-nets which were put into the lake, but I say that so far as the river fishery is concerned, which is a herring fishery, that it cannot be established at all that any re-

duction in the quantity of the fish catch in that river is owing to the seine fishermen, or is owing to fishing at all. As I was about to say: twenty years ago traffic up and down that river was comparatively small, but within the last few years it has become enormous in extent. The vessels which are now carrying the freight up and down are of immense size, and I contend that that is one of the reasons why perhaps the fisheries have not been successful in the last two years as they were during previous years. Now, Mr. Pollock, the overseer of the department, at page 24 of the departmental blue-book last year "reports fish plentiful, especially in the St. Clair River where the catch was not only better than usual, but of a superior quality." That was in the year 1893. This year he reports: "There was less traffic on the river owing to low freights, and fishing should have been prosecuted more advantageously. He thinks a larger number will apply for licenses next season. The value of the lake portion of his division he puts down at \$11,482, and for the St. Clair River, \$8,942." It will be seen from this that the overseer of the Department of Fisheries attributes the larger catch during the past year to the fact that there were less vessels and steamers plying up and down the river than there had been during previous years, and on that account the catch had been greater than formerly. He does not say that it was overfished, nor that the seines had destroyed the fishing ground, but he does say that the fish had been disturbed by large vessels going up and down the river close to the shore, forcing them out into the centre of the river, and across the river. That has been the cause, if there was any cause for the diminution in the quantity of fish caught. It is most irritating to our fishermen to have their nets on our side of the river reeled up, to have their men discharged, and to have their boats lying idle, when within 500 yards across on the other side of the river, the American fishermen are catching enormous quantities of fish. What can our people say and think of such a condition of things as that? It may be wise, and perhaps it is wise, to protect the fisheries and increase the quantities of fish by natural and artificial means if possible; but I say that until we can succeed in making arrangements with the United States, or with the different states fronting upon these lakes and rivers, that we have no business, either by artificial propagation or by any other means, to increase the quantity of fish for the benefit of the fishermen of the United States. If these lakes and rivers are to be depleted, then let us help to deplete them and let us have our fair share of what there may be in these rivers. I know that it is contended on the part of the department that the fish follow a well-defined course, that is to say: that the Canadian fish will never be found in American waters.

Mr. LANDERKIN. They take the oath of allegiance.

Mr. LISTER. It is contended that they remain on the Canadian side.

Mr. SPROULE. They are more loyal than some others.

Mr. LISTER. It is contended by the department that Canadian fish do not cross the water, except a fugitive fish now and then may find its way over.

Mr. LANDERKIN. A rebel.

Mr. LISTER. I take issue with the Minister of Marine and Fisheries on that point. I say that it is proved beyond any reasonable doubt at all that the fish find their way from one side to the other just as the wind happens to blow.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Will the hon. gentleman allow me. This is a very interesting subject and I am afraid his opinion on it is not much better than my own, and my own is poor indeed. But I have a great many authorities on my side, and I would ask the hon. gentleman before he concludes, to give some authorities for his contention.

Mr. LISTER. I know that neither of us know much about the question so far as catching the fish is concerned; but I say this: that the fishermen along the river have told me, and I believe it to be a fact beyond all doubt, that when the wind is from the west blowing to the Canadian shore, the fishermen on the American side catch but small quantities of fish and our fishermen are more successful in their fishing, showing as conclusively as anything can be shown, that the fish are influenced by the direction of the wind, and that as the wind blows they go from one side of the river to the other. It has been proved too, and the evidence is in the hands of the department: that fish caught and marked on the Canadian side and thrown back into the river have been taken in the seine on the American side. That has happened on more than one occasion, so that in a lake the size of Lake Ontario, or Lake Erie, and along the river, a fair inference is: that the fish find their way from one water to the other; that they do not confine themselves particularly to the Canadian side, nor do they confine themselves to the American waters. Now, Sir, this industry is a very important one. It is a growing industry, and I think that our fishermen should not be unduly hampered in the prosecution of their business. We find that in the province of Ontario alone, the value of the product for 1893, was \$1,694,930. We had seventy-six tugs engaged in the business, of the value of \$197,650; we had 1,012 boats of the value of \$92,146; we had nets of the value of \$374,246; or a total value of \$664,042. The number of men employed in these fisheries in that year was

Mr. LISTER.

2,629, or, if we estimate four to a family, a total population of 9,516 depending on the fishing industry of Ontario. The receipts from these fisheries are also an important item. The Government received for rents, licenses, fees and fines in 1893, \$30,623; they disbursed \$20,116; leaving a balance to profit of \$10,507. With the exception of British Columbia, the province of Ontario is the only province in the Dominion in which the receipts equal or exceed the expenditures. It is laid down by all fishing authorities, I believe, that the pound-net and gill-net are destructive modes of fishing. That was recognized by the department up to four years ago.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. It is now.

Mr. LISTER. I admit that the department granted pound-net licenses as far back as 1860; but we had reason to believe, from statements made by the Minister, that the policy of the department was to abolish that system of fishing entirely and to allow the system of seine fishing to go on. In reply to a question that I put to the Minister last year, or the year before, in regard to Lake St. Clair, he said, I think, that there were two or three nets there, but that no further nets would be allowed on Lake St. Clair, and I believe also on Lake Huron. There was no complaint in regard to seine fishing. The seine fishermen had petitioned against pound-net fishing being allowed, on the ground that that mode of fishing was destructive of the industry; and one can understand it. Along the shores for miles, at short distances apart, are to be found pound-nets, extending for three or four miles into the lake. They are there all the time, and it is impossible for any fish of a certain size to escape them. They work day and night, on Sunday and every other day; they never stop, while the seine fisherman puts his net in for half an hour only, and he is not permitted to fish between Saturday night and Monday morning. Therefore, it will be at once conceded that the pound-net system is a very much more destructive system. I venture to say that not much of the fry or spawn may be destroyed by the hauling in of the nets. In 1860 these pound-nets were first allowed, and they have been gradually increasing in number up to the present time, owing to the adoption of the rule by the Government that pound-nets and gill-nets must be the means employed of catching fish in addition to hoop-nets. Hoop-net fishing, however, cannot be carried on in the St. Clair River, because it is a swift stream, and that kind of fishing has to be carried on in perfectly still water. The policy of the Government is to abolish the seine-net fishing and to throw its protecting arms around the pound and gill-net fishermen, to the injury of other classes of fishermen. In certain sections of the country, as I said before, it is impossible for

pound or gill or hoop-nets to be used, and the only means of fishing is by the seine. So that to-day the fishermen of the River St. Clair, of the Bay of Quinté and of other sections of the country, who have followed that lawful avocation for twenty, thirty or forty years, find themselves refused licenses by the department, and the earnings of a lifetime swept away by an order issued by the department. Some of them may be able to stand, notwithstanding this regulation; but nine-tenths of the fishermen on the River St. Clair, the Detroit River and other waters have been utterly ruined by it. I am not intending to reflect upon the Minister's administration of his department. I am frank to say, so far as the hon. gentleman is concerned, that I believe he wants to do what he thinks is best. My object in speaking is not to censure him, but to persuade him, if possible, in the interest of these people, to rescind the regulation which the department has made, and to grant these men licenses to carry on their ordinary business. The seine fishermen have no other way of making a living, and the regulation of the department destroys that industry, and ruins those engaged in it. The consequences of the regulation are so grave in their character that the department, no matter what they do on the great lakes of the country, should not prevent the fishermen of the River St. Clair, who are only catching herring after all, from following their occupation. The apprehension of the hon. gentleman that the seine-nets may destroy some of the spawn or fry, is, in my judgment, not sustained by testimony. Mr. Prince who, I believe, visited the city of Detroit, did not think it worth his while to come up to Sarnia or along the river for the purpose of taking evidence from the fishermen there. Those fishermen have presented petitions to the department setting forth their grievances, in which they contradict the conclusions that Mr. Prince arrived at as to the destructive character of this mode of fishing. At all events, the hon. gentleman should grant licenses for this year, and during the year he should make further inquiry and hear what these men have to say. He is trying and convicting them without their being present or having an opportunity of saying a word in their defence. The theories of Mr. Prince—who no doubt knows about as much about practical fishing as the hon. gentleman or myself—should not be set up against the practical experience of men engaged in the business. I urge the hon. gentleman, in the interest of this unfortunate but deserving class of men, at all events for this year, to withdraw this regulation with respect to seine-net fishing on the River Detroit and Lake St. Clair, and to have a further investigation made, giving the fishermen an opportunity to be heard on the subject; and then, if it is thought that that style of fishing is so injurious as to imperil the fishing of the country, it will be

time enough for the Government to consider what should be done under the circumstances. I cannot speak too strongly for these men—poor, hard-working, industrious men. They are cast out with scarcely any warning. It may be said by my hon. friend, that last year they were notified that no further licenses would be granted. Some of them had that notice on their licenses and some had not. Many expected that this year they would receive licenses, as in the past, and be permitted to go on with their work. This is a hard case. It means ruin to the families of many of these people. And the whole result will be that a loyal, honest, hard-working portion of our population will be compelled to leave the flag under which they have lived for so many years, and transfer their allegiance to a foreign country, in order to prosecute the work in which they have been trained, rather than undertake something they know nothing about. I trust the hon. gentleman will not take the stand he has taken in the past, but give these men an opportunity of being heard, and consider the reasons they have to urge against the policy his department appears to have adopted.

Mr. CAMPBELL. After the very able manner in which the matter has been brought to the attention of the House, by the hon. member for North Essex (Mr. McGregor) and West Lambton (Mr. Lister), I do not propose to take up the time of the House at any length. In fact there is little else that can be said. In the county of Kent, which I have the honour to represent, a great number of fishermen are engaged in Lake St. Clair and the River Thames, whose whole means of livelihood is derived from that one source. They have been engaged in that business for years, and they feel these restrictions a very great hardship. In Lake St. Clair there is quite a large number of fishermen who have been for years engaged in seine fishing. This year the department has prohibited seine fishing altogether, although our fishermen can look across the lake a short distance from where they are, and see the Americans, all the time from January to December, engaged in fishing with as many seines, pound-nets, and gill-nets, and any other kind they like. This seems to me an exceedingly foolish policy for the Department of Marine and Fisheries to adopt. We are only preserving these fish, not for ourselves, but for the Americans. If the Americans will not institute any close season or agree upon regulations for preserving the fish, what is the use of our trying to preserve them? I have a letter here from a fisherman in that part of the country, more particularly interested in pound-nets, and he writes as follows:—

The American fishermen use as many pound-nets as they can attend to, and as many seines as they find profitable,——

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Where?

Mr. CAMPBELL. In Lake Superior.

—and as many fathoms of gill-nets as they choose. They observe no close season, and consequently are as prosperous as fishermen generally are. In Lakes Huron, St. Clair and Erie they enjoy the like privileges. Canadian fishermen in the same waters must pay high licenses for the like privileges, besides strictly observing close seasons, and the expenses of finding a market for their fish. Canadians are restricted to a very limited number of pound-nets. Last year Canadians were not allowed to use gill-nets, while Americans were at liberty to use as many fathoms of gill-nets as they found profitable. Last year one company were fishing twenty-four miles of gill-nets in their own waters, in the Detroit River fisheries, for whitefish is nearly all played out on account of the very large amount of sewage and garbage from the cities of Detroit and Windsor, also from the wonderfully increased traffic carried on by vessels of all sizes, especially very large ones.

That is the reason he gives, and I think it is a very plausible one, for the disappearance of the whitefish.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Will the hon. gentleman allow me to ask him, so as I may understand his position, whether he advocates unrestricted fishing on our side as the Americans enjoy, in the case he puts?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I do. If the Americans will not agree to any regulations for preserving the fish, I think it is a very foolish policy for us to restrict our fishermen. We are only preserving the fish for the Americans. Take the River St. Clair—

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. And Lake Superior and Lake Erie as well?

Mr. CAMPBELL. It might be different in large bodies of water like Lakes Erie and Huron, but I speak now of the Rivers St. Clair and Thames. The River Thames you can jump across.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I quite understand that. The object of my question was merely to test the value of the letter the hon. gentleman read. That letter covered Lake Superior and these very large waters. I quite understand we are discussing the regulations with respect to waters between United States and Canada, which are narrow.

Mr. CAMPBELL. In these large waters perhaps some regulations might be adopted irrespective of what the Americans did. But certainly in waters like the narrow streams, such as River St. Clair and Lake St. Clair, where the Americans fish in every way, it seems to me most stupid for our Government to obstruct our fishermen. We are only preserving the fish for the Americans, as regards Lake St. Clair, and I know that a great many men have been fishing there with seines for a number of years. But by the recent regulations, they are pro-

Mr. CAMPBELL.

hibited from doing so. But what appears curious is that, while seines are prohibited, the Government allow pound-nets and gill-nets and hoop-nets to be used, which are far more dangerous than seines. A seine can only be drawn every half hour, but a pound-net is at its work all the time—day and night, Sundays as well as Mondays, and is far more destructive of the fish. In view of the great importance of this question, the large number of men employed, the large amount of capital invested, the department, instead of preventing these men from obtaining a livelihood out of the business they have been brought up to and have followed for years, ought to encourage them, and give them more latitude to prosecute it in the most profitable way. If the Americans will not agree to any restrictions or close season, no such restrictions should be imposed on our fishermen. I think, therefore, that as has been well said by the gentleman who preceded me, the Government ought, this year at least, to abolish the regulations, so far as seine fishing is concerned, and allow the fishermen to fish with seines again this year.

Mr. MACDONELL (Algoma). Mr. Speaker,—

Mr. O'BRIEN. If the hon. gentleman will allow me—there are several matters in connection with this subject that cannot possibly be discussed to-day; and so that this Order may not go to the foot of the list, but may be retained in its place, I would move that the debate be adjourned.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. If carried over in consequence of it being Six o'clock, the Order will keep its place on the paper.

Mr. MACDONELL (Algoma). Mr. Speaker, I can heartily agree with one part of the remarks made by my hon. friend from North Essex (Mr. McGregor)—that in which he spoke of the invitation of the Minister to visit these western constituencies and see for himself how the fishing is carried on. I think it would be a benefit to him, and a very great benefit to the persons who are engaged in fishing. I have given this subject a good deal of consideration, and, having had a number of years' experience and representing a constituency in which we take \$500,000 worth of fish a year, I am sufficiently interested to be able to talk at least intelligently on the subject. The inference to be drawn from what the last speaker said is that he desires to do away with all regulations of the department affecting the fisheries on the inland lakes and rivers, including the international waters. To do away with these regulations would be to place fishermen in Ontario in exactly the same position as that now occupied by the fishermen on the American side of the lakes. In looking at the question from a practical standpoint, we should consider whether it is going to be for the benefit of the country generally and for

the benefit of the fishermen themselves that these regulations should be done away with, that is, that the close season should be done away with, and that the regulations affecting the meshes of the nets should be done away with, whether they are pound-nets, gill-nets, or seines. For my part, I hold that it would be a very great misfortune to do away with the close season. I think that the intelligent and industrious fishermen of the great lakes agree with me on that point. If the close season were done away with, fishing would be carried on to a certain extent. But the fish caught during that close season are not suitable for human food, and will not bring in the market the same returns that fish bring when caught during the proper season of the year. It does not require an expert to understand that. During the spawning season, as those know who have taken any interest in fishing, the fish are not fit for human food and should not be caught. This leaves out of the question altogether the very great injury that is being done to what ought not to be a temporary but a permanent industry, an industry that we found there and one that ought to be protected in the interests of the very fishermen on whose behalf such a pathetic plea has been made in this House. If the close season was done away with, it would certainly only be a question of time when the great lakes would be depleted of fish altogether. If these regulations are not maintained and rigidly enforced, I believe it is only a question of a few years when you will no longer be able to enjoy the toothsome trout from Lake Superior, or the sweet and wholesome whitefish, of which we now export many thousands of pounds every year. In looking over the reports of the department, we see the record of a wave that is sweeping over the country from the east to the west, by which the fisheries of the great lakes are being gradually depleted, to a very great extent. If you take the record of the fisheries of Lake Ontario, or of Lake Erie, or of Lake Huron and Georgian Bay, including that portion of Lake Huron that is in my own constituency—the North Channel—you will find that there has been a steady decrease in the catch of fish. And for one very good reason, as I believe—that the lakes have been to a very great extent overfished. When the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries made the regulation that only a certain number of pound-nets should be allowed to one individual, and he a bona fide fisherman, I quite agreed with him in that. I do not believe, Sir, that large corporations engaged in fishing should be allowed to monopolize the nets to the prejudice of the hard-working, industrious individual fisherman, but that they should be given under such regulation as would yield the most good to the greatest number engaged in the business. Now, our friends on the opposite side of the House who have spoken, say that if there was no close season, certain benefits would follow.

We may differ among ourselves as to what time the close season ought to be, as to the time when trout spawn, or when whitefish spawn; we may differ among ourselves as to the different times of spawning in the different lakes; but the principle involved is that these fish should be protected during their spawning season, whenever that season may be. I recollect being on a deputation with my hon. friend from North Essex to wait on the Minister. This was last year, and I think we had the same the year before. The first time the close season lasted forty-five days, I think from the 15th of October until the 1st of December. We believed that in these northern waters both whitefish and trout spawned later than the 15th of October and, possibly, a little later than the end of November. But we asked, in the interests of the fishermen, that that regulation should be changed so as to conform with the knowledge that had been gained, from the experience of the fishermen in the North Channel up to that time, and that the regulation be changed so as to make the close season last from the first to the last of November. The Minister, taking into consideration our representations, did make the desired change, and with this the fishermen were well pleased. We also asked for certain changes in connection with the mesh of nets. On this point the Minister met our views at least more than half-way. So the large deputation of fishermen who waited upon him, went away perfectly satisfied. But I never heard one of those practical fishermen on any one of the occasions upon which they have waited upon the Minister here ask that the close season should be done away with altogether. I repeat that the intelligent fishermen of the great lakes, the men who have invested their money in boats and nets, expect to carry on their occupation all their life, or at least as long as we are able to give them that protection that I think is necessary in the interest of the fisheries. It is true there are a number of fishermen who come from the constituency of the hon. member for Lambton (Mr. Lister), and also from other constituencies bordering on those lakes that have been pretty well fished out, they come up to my constituency and apply for licenses, those licenses are usually granted, and the officials have the greatest difficulty in the world to enforce the law against these men, whom the resident fishermen and the bona fide fishermen in my constituency term "fish pirates." My hon. friend says that licenses should be done away with altogether. The license fee, as a matter of fact, is merely a nominal sum; the license that a fisherman pays for a gill-net, under which he is allowed to fish 6,000 yards, is only \$15 on Lake Superior, and only \$5 on the Georgian Bay. The license amounts to nothing, but it is absolutely necessary to bring a man under the supervision of the officers, and to bring him under the regulations of the

department. Now, with regard to the question of nets, my hon. friend from Lambton (Mr. Lister) says that seines ought to be allowed. Other hon. gentlemen from Ontario no doubt agree with him. I can only say that I think it would be the greatest calamity that could happen to a valuable and an important industry in the district of Algoma to allow seine fishing to be carried on there. I have taken occasion to examine the report of the department for the last year to ascertain what is said on the subject by one of the officers of the department engaged in overseeing fishing in the north channel of Lake Huron and a portion of Lake Superior. Let me say that in that part of the district of Algoma we are in the unfortunate position of having a decrease in the value of our catch. This is the first year that it has occurred, but there is a decrease, and it can only be attributed to the overfishing that is taking place. I find this officer reports on page 293 of the Report of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries :

Seining is now one of the worst evils to contend with, and this season Indians and others were supplied with seines by unscrupulous dealers at Wikwemikong. Between 25 and 30 tons of whitefish were caught by means of seines in four days,—

Which means from \$50 to \$60 a ton in value.

—and over two-thirds of this amount were spoilt, as the men had to bring them fifteen miles and had no ice at this point in which to pack them. Seining for pickerel is also extensively carried on on the north shore of Georgian Bay during the close season. The fish are packed in ice and secreted until after the close time is over. Many Indians have fished without licenses, a few days at a time with small nets

Then he goes on to state at the end of his report that the yield of money to the fishermen in that one portion of his division was \$255,619, which is a decrease of 20 per cent from last year. Now, we always consider that the great lakes, particularly Huron and Superior, were really virgin fisheries, but this year for the first time we have staring us in the face the fact that there has been a decrease in the value of the catch in Lake Huron, not attributable, let me say, to the price of fish, but attributable entirely to the fact that that portion of Lake Huron has been overfished. Now, suppose that the regulations were abolished, suppose that the fisheries were thrown open the same as they are on the south shore of Lake Huron and Lake Superior, our fishermen could do just as the Americans are doing. I think it would be a great misfortune, because our men are better off to-day than the American fishermen; our men on Lake Superior, I venture to say, are better off to-day than any fishermen on the south shore of any of the lakes or rivers. But suppose that was the case, suppose the Minister said: All right; go ahead. What would be the re-

Mr. MACDONELL (Algoma).

sult? I will explain. I have in my mind an example that I saw myself, and I ask the attention of the House for a few minutes to make a practical answer to the question as to whether it is advisable to allow fishing to go on irrespective of the regulations. The Island of Isle Royale, in Lake Superior, an island 40 miles long, 15 years ago was probably the very best fishing ground in Lake Superior; fishermen caught large quantities of fish, and fish of a very large kind, more particularly what is called the black trout, that is worth probably a cent a pound more than any other fish taken out of the lake. I visited that island 10 years after the fisheries were in their prime, and what was the result? Where 150 men had formerly been engaged in fishing, there were two solitary fishermen, and they told me they could not make a living at it. Now, it is said that fish are interchangeable. It is said that there is a reciprocity between the fish of the two countries. There may be, but experience does not prove that; in fact, it is the reverse. When they could not catch enough fish to pay their expenses around the shores of Isle Royale, our Canadian fishermen, 20 miles away, were not only making a good living, but were getting rich at the business, which fact, to my mind, shows that the fish do not migrate across the lake. We know perfectly well, and all experience goes to show this fact, that fish will only travel where they get food. The fish is an intelligent creature; fish will not go into the deep waters of Lake Superior 600, 800, and 1,000 feet deep; they confine themselves to those portions of the lake where they get their food, that is, in the more shallow waters.

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (No. 74) to incorporate the Ottawa Electric Company.—(Sir James Grant.)

Bill (No. 75) respecting the Chaudière Electric Light and Power Company, Limited, and to change the name thereof to the Ottawa Electric Company.—(Sir James Grant.)

Bill (No. 79) respecting the St. Catharines and Niagara Central Railway Company.—(Mr. Carpenter.)

THE SCHOOLS OF THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES.

House resumed further consideration of the proposed motion of Mr. Tarte for :

1. Copies of all correspondence between His Grace Archbishop Taché, of St. Boniface, and any member of the Government since last session, and in particular of the memorial recently sent to the Governor General or to the Prime Minister, respecting the Manitoba schools, and of the ordin-

ances adopted by the Legislature of the North-west Territories in 1892, and now in force; 2. Copies of all memorials, petitions and letters addressed to the Governor General in Council, or to any Minister, asking for the disallowance of the said ordinances; 3. Of correspondence between the Lieutenant Governor of the North-west Territories or the Executive Council of the said Territories, and the Dominion Government; 4. Copies of the instructions to the Lieutenant Governor of the North-west Territories, and of communications sent to the Executive of the Territories in order to induce them to amend the ordinances of 1892.

Mr. DAVIN. Mr. Speaker, since I had the honour of addressing the House on this question, I have had an opportunity of reading carefully the speech of the hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte), and the number and importance of the questions raised in that speech might well be calculated to appal one, and they astonish one when compared with the smallness of this question as it appears in the North-west; and, therefore, this evening, instead of addressing myself to this question as it affects the North-west, I am about to address myself to this question as it affects the province of Quebec and the Dominion of Canada.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. DAVIN. Some hon. members say "Hear, hear." I am glad to hear that cheer, or that intimation, whatever it may mean, from hon. members. Sir, it seems to me that this Parliament could at the present moment be occupied in no more suitable manner than in coming to a right view of the questions that are gathered round the North-west school question, and in coming to that right view dispersing the clouds of prejudice and passion that interested or ignorant persons have sought to raise about it.

Mr. LANDERKIN. Hear, hear.

Mr. DAVIN. I am sure, after we have gone into this question, that we will be able to induce even the hon. member for South Grey (Mr. Landerkin) to take a serious view of a question in this House, and that will have a certain novelty for all of us. In reading the speech of the hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte) dealing with this question, I find that part of it is occupied with newspaper gossip about possible dissensions in the Cabinet of the Dominion of Canada; part of it is composed of extracts from speeches. I must say from one very violent speech, by, I am told, a Conservative, and not only a violent speech, but an ignorant speech, and extracts from newspapers also violent and equally ignorant. We are told, for instance, by the hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte) that we are in the presence of a grave political situation, a national question is before us, and the storm raised by that is so strong that it is shaking confederation to its very foundations.

Mr. TARTE. I did not say that myself; I quoted from a speech.

Mr. DAVIN. I do not know whether I have the corrected 'Hansard' before me, but the hon. gentleman quoted from a speech and adopted the language.

Mr. TARTE. No, I did not; I dissented from it.

Mr. DAVIN. The hon. gentleman quoted this language:

A terrible wind is now blowing even at the very doors of the province of Quebec, and the storm is so strong, it is shaking confederation to its very foundations. I am now speaking of separate schools in the North-west.

The gentleman from whose remarks the hon. gentleman quoted was Mr. Casgrain. The hon. gentleman himself said:

No one had the right to deprive the Catholics of the North-west of separate schools.

When I interrupted the hon. member in the course of his speech and asked what his grievances were and requested him to state them, he stated positively that separate schools had ceased to exist in the North-west Territories.

Mr. CHOQUETTE. In fact they have.

Mr. DAVIN. The hon. member from L'Islet (Mr. Tarte) made that statement. The hon. gentleman further said:

If the understanding arrived at when confederation was formed can be violated by one party, then that contract is only a paper that can be torn at will.

Of course, this is most serious language, going right to the foundations of our institutions, touching the very rock on which the confederation of Canada rests, and I consider that a very grave responsibility rests on the hon. gentleman, or on any hon. member of the House, or any persons occupying a position in this country from whence they can influence public opinion, if it should be found on examination that there is no basis whatever wide enough on which to rest broad, sweeping, constitutional statements of this sort. Then the hon. gentleman stated:

The Federal Government has the right, and I will say has the duty resting upon it to disallow all laws contrary to the general interests of the Dominion.

That, again, is going to the constitutional question.

Mr. TARTE. Would my hon. friend allow me? He has just made me say: That if the understanding arrived at with confederation could be violated by one party, then that contract is only paper which could be thrown away. I never said that myself. It was my friend Mr. Casgrain who said it.

Mr. DAVIN. Do I understand the hon. member to repudiate it?

Mr. TARTE. I dissented from it in my speech.

Mr. DAVIN. What object had the hon. gentleman quoting it here unless he adopted the opinion?

Mr. TARTE. To dissent from it.

Mr. DAVIN. I am very glad to hear that my hon. friend (Mr. Tarte) resents the very violent position taken by Mr. Casgrain, but what his object was in quoting Mr. Casgrain under the circumstances, I really cannot make out. Probably it may be this—and it is a very good purpose—that he wanted to show what a very serious question this was, and that a man in Mr. Casgrain's position took this view of it. When I dealt before with this question, I showed, and I am about to show now, that Mr. Casgrain spoke upon this subject with the utmost ignorance of the merits of the question. Let me quote now from the language of the hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte). He is discussing a possible division in the Cabinet, and, after quoting from 'La Minerve,' he tells us how messages were sent to Mr. Mackintosh, the Lieutenant Governor of the Territories, and how Mr. Haultain made a speech when he was passing through Winnipeg—no doubt he meant Calgary, for it was there Mr. Haultain made his speech—and then he goes on in his own language to say:

If they were not serious they were simply pursuing the same imprudent course that has characterized the policy of the Government on the school question from the beginning; that is to say, they were contributing to increase the dangerous agitation that we have to face to-day.

It is perfectly clear, therefore, that my hon. friend (Mr. Tarte) regards this agitation as a very serious and a very dangerous one, although he himself is one of the most potent causes in raising it; he himself is, in fact, a stormy petrel of it. He continues:

My hon. friend (Mr. Martin) was elected, not on the school question, but as a tariff reformer. He was elected by the votes of Liberals and Conservatives alike.

I tell the hon. gentleman that Mr. Martin was undoubtedly elected as a tariff reformer, but he was partly also elected as the embodiment of the resentment to separate schools in the province of Manitoba. The hon. member (Mr. Tarte) then entered into a very curious defence of the member for Queen's (Mr. Davies). He quotes an extract from 'Le Courrier du Canada,' headed "Laurier-Martin-Davies," and, having complained of that article, he goes on to say:

My hon. friend from Queen's (Mr. Davies) is perfectly able to take care of himself; still if he allows me I will briefly describe the law that the hon. member for Queen's passed in 1877. If I am rightly informed, the first school law in Prince Edward Island was passed in 1852, and it is natural to suppose that a school law which had existed for

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25 years in a progressive province needed to be amended after so long a period of time.

I will say, en passant, that, although such a length of time did not elapse between 1858, when the ordinance was passed in the North-west Territories—which I suppose, from his attitude, was perfectly satisfactory to my hon. friend—until 1892, yet in a country like the North-west Territories, a new country where we move rapidly, sufficient time had elapsed to justify some changes in our legislation. The member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte) continues:

The election of 1876 in Prince Edward Island was carried on the question of the necessity of improving the law. It was fought, not by one political party alone, but by a combination of public men belonging to both political parties. My hon. friend (Mr. Davies) succeeded at the polls and he then formed a coalition government of which he was the leader, but the majority of his colleagues were Conservatives. The law which was passed in 1877 did not change the principle of the old law; it only amended it by giving more power to the school trustees and making some other changes.

It is palpable from that language that my hon. friend (Mr. Tarte) approved of the reform, or the change that was enacted in the Prince Edward Island school law by the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies). I want it to be borne in mind by the House, and especially by the members from Quebec province, that by and by language like that of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Tarte) may be applied to the very similar changes that have been made in the school ordinance of the North-west Territories, namely, that the ordinance of 1892:

Only amended the law by giving more power to the school trustees and making some other changes.

I will show the hon. gentleman (Mr. Tarte) that the legislation which has taken place in the North-west Territories has only very slightly changed the law as it existed in 1858, which, I presume, was satisfactory to the hon. gentleman. Speaking further of the Prince Edward Island school law, the hon. member (Mr. Tarte) says:

At any rate the law was changed and there was a little friction, no doubt.

I ask the House to mark that language. I suppose that the historian, speaking a few years hence about this North-west school question will say: "There was some little friction;" and the storm that shakes confederation, the storm that is a menace to the peace of the Dominion of Canada, the storm that the hon. gentleman supposes exercises such a powerful influence on a great province; that storm will be described, as in the words of my hon. friend, "There was some little friction, no doubt." The hon. gentleman (Mr. Tarte) continues:

Archbishop McIntyre thought that the improvements he had made to his school property were

to be imperilled and he applied, as I understand, for a disallowance of the law.

The very thing that an archbishop has done in regard to the North-west school ordinance of 1892.

His request was not granted and a short time afterwards His Grace and my hon. friend (Mr. Davies) came to a perfect agreement and since that time His Grace has declared himself entirely satisfied.

My hon. friend was defeated in 1879, and his position was taken by Mr. Sullivan—now, I think, Chief Justice Sullivan—who was a strong Conservative and a Roman Catholic. He remained in power for the long period of twelve years, and no amendment was made to the law.

I may say here that if, by some change in the North-west Territories, some other gentlemen were to take the place of the present executive, I can assure hon. gentlemen, from what I know of the sentiment of the North-west Territories, that there would be no change made in the law; and the historian, writing twenty or twenty-five years hence, might speak of the transactions of to-day, which are supposed to be fraught with such momentous consequences, in some such language as my hon. friend uses. My hon. friend utters a sentiment which I entirely echo. He says: "We claim no more than justice." Mr. Speaker, I am with him in favour of everything he can claim that can be labelled "justice." I do not care whether he claims for a Protestant, a Catholic, or a Hindoo; I do not care whether it is for a worshipper of Buddha or a Christian; if justice is what he claims, and if he can show me that any injustice has been done to any set of men in the North-west Territories, or for that matter in any part of Canada—for this House has jurisdiction over every part of Canada—he will find me with him. Now, this question is not, I beg to say, a question of the advantage of a religious education as compared with a secular education. That question is apt to be imported into the discussion, but there is no such question here. If there were such a question here I do not know but he would find me—probably I have been born out of due time, and am a belated man—standing side by side with those who believe that the best education is that which is shot through and through with religious teaching. If I may be allowed to say in passing, I am no enthusiast whatever for the so-called popular school system as it exists in Canada or in England, or the secular system as it exists in France; and I will give you one reason. If you go to a horticulturist, the first test you apply to ascertain whether he is a first-class horticulturist or not, is not the number of flowers of a given kind that he can produce, but the excellence he attains in given branches of his art; and, Sir, it is a singular fact that in England, in Ireland, in the States, in Canada, in France, up to the present moment the public school system has been barren of great men. If

you were to put me to an examination, I do not know that I could fix on a really great man who is a product of this popular school system. I suppose there have been some, but I am not aware of them. The great men have come—whether it is the religious element that have produced the greatness or not I am not going to pause to discuss—from a system where there was kept before the child's mind, the adolescent's mind and the young man's mind, the greatest facts connected with this universe—those facts that bear so powerfully on the moral nature and the reverence of the man, that tend to give him a true intellectual perspective, that enable him to see at once how great he may be and how small, as compared with other essences in the universe, he is—that give him the idea of order, and enable him, whether he be educated in a democracy, a kingdom or an empire, but especially in a democracy, to escape from the dwarfing influences of that '*plani sequora campi*'—that barren waste where every molehill exalts itself as a mountain, and every thistle waves itself as a forest tree. I say this as indicating my opinion of what an education should be. But that question does not arise here. We must sweep aside altogether the question as between a religious and a secular education. The sole question we have to discuss here is this, whether in the North-west Territories separate schools have been swept away by an ordinance passed in 1892. That is the sole question. We have not to discuss the merits of separate schools or the merits of public schools; we have not to discuss the merits of Protestant schools or the merits of Catholic schools. The sole question we have to discuss here to-night is whether by that ordinance, and whether by regulations passed in connection with it, and complementary to that ordinance, those separate schools have been swept away. The charge made by my hon. friend—the charge made, I may say, by men occupying the highest ecclesiastical positions in the country—is that the ordinance of 1892 and the regulations subsidiary to it have deprived the Catholics of rights that they had before. Now, Sir, it is very difficult for me to speak in regard to the contentions of those eminent persons in such a way as might be desirable. There is no Catholic in the Dominion of Canada who has more respect, more reverence, more admiration for the great qualities of such men as Archbishop Taché, Père Lacombe, Father Leduc, and their colleagues, than I have. I know these great ecclesiastics, and I know what lives of self-sacrifice they have led. The other day a newspaper, the '*Free Press*,' of this city, published what it professed was an interview between Père Lacombe and its reporter, in which the reporter, instead of placing before Father Lacombe what I had said—that I had merely joined issue with my hon. friend from L'Islet, he saying that there was no separate schools, and I saying that the separate

schools are there and have not been disturbed—the reporter asked him, “Do you think there is any truth in what Mr. Davin, the member for West Assiniboia, said?” And Father Lacombe is reported—of course, I do not believe that Father Lacombe ever said it—I know him well; he is a friend of mine; but he is reported as saying, “It is a lie.” That, of course, is a very strong statement; but you may be able to measure the depth of my reverence and admiration for the great and noble qualities of Père Lacombe when I say that even if he had said it, I would put it down to the anger of the moment, and it would not lessen my respect for that self-devoted and self-sacrificing missionary. But I cannot believe it. It is a subject on which one might make caustic remarks; but I know Père Lacombe, I know that he has laboured in the North-west Territories for forty years with the most apostolic devotion and the greatest possible self-sacrifice, and a passing ebullition of irritation like that would have no influence on the admiration and respect that I have for him. But when we come to discuss in this House the allegations made by Père Lacombe or Father Leduc, or by greater ecclesiastics than these, we stand on grounds as sacred as any church floor. This House is the temple of the nation itself; this House is the place where the affairs of this great nation, of which any church within the Dominion is only a part, are discussed, where we must discuss events that belong to its interests, to its present and to its future. Therefore, in regard to the opinions of these great personalities, I must be allowed, I must permit myself, the very same freedom that I permit myself, in discussing the opinions that fall from the Prime Minister, or that fall from the leader of the Opposition. Now, some time after that ordinance of 1892 was passed, a petition was sent down to the Dominion Government, asking that it be disallowed, and, if the Government did not see its way to disallow the ordinance, that it should give direction to Mr. Haultain, to the Executive and to the Assembly, to rescind what was objected to, in fact, directing them, as it were, to disallow their own ordinance. Now, Mr. Speaker, I must say that, looking at that, I do not see what Minister could constitutionally advise His Excellency to disallow it. I do not see what power His Excellency has, or any other Minister advising His Excellency, to send word to the executive of the North-west Territories that they should undo what they have done. We have not full provincial powers, but we have very nearly full provincial powers. My hon. friends in the Opposition, and especially my hon. friend from Bothwell (Mr. Mills), have always been ready, although they have sometimes objected to the amount of money which they said was spent in the North-west Territories, and although I have sometimes had to differ with them on some question in which the North-west was deep-

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ly interested, I will say this for them, that they have always clamoured for full provincial powers to the North-west Territories. Now, as I said here some time ago, we have practically full provincial powers in the North-west Territories, with the exception of two or three details. How, then, could the Government of Canada, or His Excellency, do what was asked for by the petition? Now, suppose they did—and I am going to ask my hon. friend from Quebec to pay attention to the argument I make. Suppose it was done, suppose, when that prayer came down here, that the Prime Minister advised His Excellency to disallow the ordinance of 1892, and that it was disallowed, what would have happened? Do you suppose it would have helped separate schools, that it would have helped the cause dear to the heart of Archbishop Taché? Do you suppose it would have done anything whatever in the direction of the end that seems very dear to the hearts of hon. gentlemen from Quebec? Why, Sir, the result would have been that you would have had an agitation dead against all separate schools in the territory; the result would have been that, after putting the territories into a state of commotion for one or two years, instead of the separate schools there to-day, you would have none at all. For you have separate schools in operation there to-day, just as at any other time; you have your Catholic separate schools there to-day, just as at any other time, with a difference that I will point out by and by, not in the schools, but in the supervision of the schools.

An hon. MEMBER. In the books.

Mr. DAVIN. There is no difference in the books, as I will prove shortly. There is no difference in regard to the schools, there is no difference in regard to the management of the schools, none whatever. But, instead of having that state of things, which is practically what you have in Ontario, which is practically what you profess to desire to have if the ordinance of 1892 had been disallowed, in two or three years' time it would be impossible for you to have separate schools in the North-west Territories at all. Now, I will read to my hon. friend part of a letter that I did not intend to read just at this stage, but that probably may just as well be read now. I asked a gentleman to call on one of the schools, the principal school, the one at Calgary. I think it is called No. 1 of the Catholic schools, and I asked him to ascertain if there was any grievance. I said to him, as I say here publicly, if there is a grievance, I will take it up in Parliament for Catholics just as surely as I would take it up for Protestants.

Mr. LAURIER. Who is at the head of that school?

Mr. DAVIN. Superioress Greene. I am not going to give the name of the writer of

the letter, and I will tell you why. I had intended to read the letter in extenso and to give the name, but—I will take you into my confidence—a gentleman from the North-west asked me for a purely private reason, half an hour ago, not to give the name. But I will show the letter to my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition. After saying that he had called at the school at Calgary, the writer proceeds :

The Readers are not objected to by the Roman Catholic teachers in the schools I have visited. The Sisters in the Calgary Convent pronounced them very good Readers : and Sister Greene, the mother superioress, said the history was an excellent book. She spoke quite strongly in its favour.

Then he goes on say, with regard to the Ontario Readers :

I asked the Sisters in Calgary, one by one—

Now, I want to say—and I hope there is not an hon. gentleman in this House who will not give me credit for it—that I have suffered politically for my liberality on such questions, because, after all, I belong to the west, and I am an Ontario man, and nobody could be as liberal as I have been without exciting suspicion however unfounded, and losing support which naturally belongs to me as a Protestant holding definite opinions on dogma. I wanted to know exactly whether there was a single grievance, and this was one of the means I took to find it out. The writer says :

I asked the Sisters in Calgary one by one what changes in the work had been made since the spring of 1893.

This letter is dated 3rd April, the present month. Now, this is what the sisters said :

Each said no change had been made except the substitution of the Third, Fourth and High School Readers for those previously in use, and these books, they said, were very good Readers. I asked each whether any change in the work had been caused through the action of the Legislature of the session of 1892 or 1893 ; and each said that there was no change except that of the Readers in the higher class.

Now, I call my hon. friend's particular attention to this phrase, because it focuses the situation as completely as the reply of His Grace Archbishop Taché to the Order in Council of the Dominion Government.

They said it was not what had happened, but what may happen that they feared.

That is what they said. They do not trust the powers that be. Well, if they do not trust the powers that be, and if they are afraid of the future, what is the remedy? Do you suppose that you can apply a remedy from outside—from this House? Do you suppose that you can get a fulcrum in Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Quebec, Nova Scotia, Ontario or British Columbia, to move a weight

for us in the North-west Territories? Why, I tell you this, that whether such a request were made by Protestant or Catholic prelate, or by a Prime Minister, whether Conservative or Reformer, we in the North-west Territories—Catholic and Protestant—would resent it as one man. We would not stand it for a moment.

Mr. TARTE. Hear, hear.

Mr. DAVIN. The hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte) says "Hear, hear," and I am very glad to find him ready to take a larger constitutional position.

Mr. TARTE. What date is that?

Mr. DAVIN. The 3rd of April, and I will show it in confidence to the leader of the Opposition, if it be necessary. I may tell you, Sir, that I had it all prepared to pass into the hands of the reporter; and it is only because within an hour or so, I happened to have a conversation with a North-west friend, who said to me, for a purely private reason, that he would rather I did not mention the name of the writer, that I have changed my intention. But nothing can be easier than to test it, because all you have to do yourselves is to ask the Lady Superior-ess in the Calgary Convent and the various sisters, and there is not the least doubt that they will give the same opinion. And I may say that if I were not fortified by that letter at all, I dare not, if there were any grievance, stand up here in this House and make the statement I made the other night, and which I make now, that there is no practical grievance of which the Catholics in the North-west Territories have to complain. What motive could I have? I have numbers of Catholics in my constituency. And I will say now, as I have said here before, that no greater enemy of the privileges of the Catholics in the North-west can exist than the man who seeks to irritate the sentiment of the North-west by shaking before it a coercion of some sort from outside, and which sentiment will be all the more irritated because you are shaking before it a brutum fulmen, a perfect idle threat, which you could not possibly carry out. I may say this further, what I have said in private to other persons—that the Catholics of the North-west Territories are safer in the hands of the Legislative Assembly of the North-west Territories than they are in the hands of this House, and I will tell you why. The North-west Legislative Assembly represents the people of the North-west. Some of them are Catholics, and all have some Catholic constituents. There are a few French-Canadians ; there are some half-breeds—first-rate people, good people ; there are a number of English. But I will say this, that there is no part of Canada—although I know there is a sentiment different with regard to it in the minds of some—at this day, where there is so liberal a sentiment between Protestants and Catholics, between the various

sects of Christians, as there is in the North-west Territories. You never hear in the North-west Territories those controversies that you hear disturbing other places; and if the Catholics will leave their case in the hands of the North-west Assembly, I think they will be treated well and fairly. But if they will not be treated well and fairly there, nowhere else will they be so treated. You cannot, by trying to raise a storm in Quebec, help them. You will only do them injury. Suppose there is a perfect misconception as to what has been done by the ordinance and the supposed regulations—if there be a perfect misconception as to what has been done, can you conceive greater folly or iniquity than to seek in a great province to stir up religious passions, and all over the Dominion increase the number and intensify the virulence of the seeds of religious and racial hatred that have already done harm enough to this Dominion. I am going to ask the House to bear with me while I call attention to a petition. The petition that I have before me is the petition of St. Albert; but of the nineteen or twenty or more petitions sent in to the Government—some from Calgary, some from Lethbridge, from the various Catholic schools—they are all practically the same, they are all in substance and in words the same, and are evidently the emanation of a single mind. In this petition—I am not going to read the whole of it—it is stated in section seven:

Another of the said regulations of the council of public instruction—

I call the attention of my hon. friend, who spoke a moment ago, to this language.

—proposes a uniform course of instruction and a uniform selection of the text books alike for all schools, whether public, Protestant, or Catholic. As to such a regulation, it is impossible that it can meet with the approval of both Protestants and Catholics. The books now prescribed, are, in many instances, of a character highly objectionable to Catholics.

Why, I have begged gentlemen interested in this question to point me out—not a text book—but a single page or extract in any of these books as objectionable. And in this petition, although they make that general statement, there is not a single iota of proof given as to these books being objectionable. The only response I ever got, in answer to repeated requests, that we should get some idea of the peccant parts of the book complained of, was this—that there was a poem in one of the books, and it dealt with an elopement, and there was a dance, and a young man came to the door, and he whipped off the bride. And, said the complainant: Do you not think that that is favouring elopements? On inquiry, it proved to be the poem of the Young Lochinvar—

Who had come out of the west

And thro' all the wide border his steed was the best.

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We all know what happened. He came to the door where the wedding was about to take place, and in he went, and the bridegroom stood dangling his bonnet and plume. But the father of the bride took hold of his sword, and asked the young Lochinvar whether he came in good will or hostility. And the young Lochinvar said he came to tread a measure and drink just one stoup of wine to the health of the bride. And after he had drunk to her health, and before the mother could interfere, he took hold of the young lady's hand and they trod together a measure. And as they came to the door, the charger was there—

So light to the croupe the fair lady he swung,
So light to the saddle before her he sprung,—

“She is wont, we are gone over bank, bush and scaur,

They'll have fleet steeds that follow,” said young Lochinvar.

We all read that from our childhood and I have never eloped yet. We all read that, Sir. It is written by Sir Walter Scott, one of the purest and noblest writers, and I have never heard that a purely imaginative ballad like that could possibly have a bad influence. But, Sir, if that is the worst that can be pointed out in these readers, I need hardly say, even without giving you the proof I am about to give you, that we might dismiss the statement that there are passages in these books that are highly objectionable.

These text books are for the most part Protestant and are offensive to Catholics by asserting many things which Catholics have always contended contradicted the facts, by entirely ignoring, or greatly minimizing, misrepresenting or misinterpreting the part of the Catholic Church and her ministers in history and in all departments of literature and science and by propagating religious and philosophical theories which Catholics reprobate or disapprove.

Now, Sir, I think it will be admitted that after a paragraph like that, a book should be put in evidence. After a paragraph like that, at least a page should be referred to. I appeal to any candid French-Canadian about me. Let us dismiss party in an affair of this kind. I say that some book or some page or extract ought to have been put in evidence. But there is none. But, Sir, you may say more. All this is an indictment against regulations passed under the ordinance of 1892. Why, Sir, there is not a book used under the regulations, not a reader, not a history that either was not used before or has not had the approval of high authority in the Catholic Church.

No provision is made in the said ordinance for Catholic separate normal schools and the text books prescribed for use in the normal schools are open to the same objections as are herein before made to the text books prescribed for use in the ordinary schools for children.

Now, it is there implied that, prior to this, there was some right or other to a separate

normal school. Why, Sir, the ordinance of 1888, which is the ordinance referred to and approved of in the petition, made no provision at all for a separate normal school, and not only that, but in 1888, at a meeting of the old board, Mr. A. E. Forget, one of the leading Catholics of that board, moved a resolution, which I will read to you by and by, in which he advocated the establishment of what—a Catholic normal school and a Protestant normal school? Not at all, but merely the establishment of a normal school for the territories, without specifying whether Catholic or Protestant. Evidently at that time the idea had not entered their heads.

The effect of the said ordinance, especially by means of the said regulation passed in pursuance thereof, is to deprive the Catholic separate schools of that character which differentiates them from public or Protestant schools, and to have them Catholic separate schools in name only, and such, it is submitted, is its obvious effect

What is a Catholic separate school? A Catholic separate school, I suppose, would be a school where only Catholics attended—

Mr. AMYOT. Oh, no.

Mr. DAVIN. I suppose a Protestant might attend a Catholic school, as a Catholic might attend a Protestant school. But a separate school would be one attended in the main by Catholics. We need not quarrel about niceties of that sort. A Catholic separate school would be one taught by a Catholic teacher, with books approved by Catholic authorities or by authorities that Catholics sanction. Well, Sir, if that be the distinguishing characteristics of a Catholic separate school, all I can tell my hon. friends is, they may lay their fears at rest, for every Catholic school in the North-west has these characteristics to-day.

For the reasons aforesaid your petitioners protest and declare concerning the said ordinance No. 22 of 1892 of the North-west Territories and the regulations of the Council of Public Instruction may in pursuance thereof:—

(a.) That the said ordinance and the said regulations prejudicially affect the rights and privileges of your petitioners and all others of Her Majesty's Catholic subjects in the Territories in relation to education.

I need hardly say that, if the facts are as I state, it would be very difficult to see how the rights and privileges of the Catholics are affected. The Catholics of the North-west Territories are as free as air. They have the same liberties that belong to their Protestant fellow citizens. They have separate schools; with regard to history, literature and reading they have special books; the pupils are taught by Catholic teachers. How, then, can their rights have been invaded? There is no use mincing the matter at all—a certain amount of rhetoric has been imported into these solemn documents which

should not have a sentence or a word that would not bear the closest scrutiny.

(b.) That if the said ordinance be not disallowed or repealed or amended so as to give to the representatives of the Catholic minority the management and control of Catholic schools so far as regards their general government and discipline.

Now, that is the first—the “general government and discipline.” A change has been made to this extent—that, instead of religion being taught the whole day, if it was so desired, by a teacher in the Catholic school, a Catholic teacher teaches religion at a certain time in each day. Well, if that can be shown to be a change that destroys the rights and privileges of a portion of the community, I shall be greatly surprised.

the selecting and prescribing of text books for use therein.

I will show you by and by, and I repeat once again, there can be no complaint whatever upon the score of text books.

the inspection of schools and the granting and cancelling of teachers' certificates.

Now, as regards inspection of schools, as I pointed out the other night, a change was made. And, Mr. Speaker, a change was imperative. As the territories progress, we could not have the system that had been introduced at an early period. We could not have a system of two sets of inspectors going around the country, one set of Catholic inspectors and one set of Protestant inspectors. To begin with, we could not afford it. And, in any case, where was the sense of it? Three Protestant and one Catholic inspectors were appointed. As a fact, the change in the inspectorship had taken place before the ordinance of 1892 was passed; and, as you will see from the reply of the eminent prelate to the Order in Council, the right reverend prelate is constrained to give up the position taken in this petition. And he places himself very much in the position that, when I was a student, in the Temple and studying pleading, we used to call confession and avoidance. He practically acknowledges that the view thrust on him from the North-west Territories cannot be maintained, and he abandons really the position taken up in the petition. As to the granting and cancellation of teachers' certificates, there is no change, as I shall show the House. The Catholic section of the old board had no power over that. The provision said:

That if the said ordinance be not disallowed or repealed or amended so as to give to the representatives of the Catholic minority the management and control of Catholic schools so far as regards their general government and discipline, the selecting and prescribing of text books for use therein, the inspections of schools and the granting and cancelling of teachers' certificates, the said ordinance will cause a great disturbance of peace and harmony among Her Majesty's Protestant

and Catholic subjects in the territories and in other parts of the Dominion.

I do not know whether it will cause any disturbance in other parts of the Dominion, but I can assure you, Mr. Speaker, it will not cause much disturbance among Her Majesty's subjects, Catholic and Protestant, in the North-west. There is nothing to quarrel about, there is no feud going on there, and, as I stated before, if they came into this House and heard the excited speeches we hear on this question, and are likely to hear, no person would be so amazed as the Catholics of the North-west Territories.

Mr. LAURIER. Will the hon. gentleman state by whom the petition is signed?

Mr. DAVIN. Certainly. The petition I read is signed by Vital J. Grandin, Bishop of St. Albert; J. J. M. Lestanc, O.M.I., Administrateur; R. Lacombe, Vicar-General; H. Leduc, O.M.I., Vicar-General. The head of the Executive of the North-west Territories had to reply to this, and I must ask the indulgence of the House, for it is impossible in dealing with such a question to treat it in an off-hand manner, while I glance at the reply. Mr. Haultain very properly divides the heads into the question of training and licensing of teachers, the inspection, and the text books. As to the training and licensing of teachers, what he says is this:

By subsection 6 of section 10 and section 12 of chapter 59 of the Revised Ordinances, dated 1888, the general examination of and licensing of teachers was vested in the whole Board of Education and not in the sections of the board.

That is a point I did not take up in the petition. In the petition a point is made that the present body has assumed not merely the power of the whole educational board, but of its sections, and as Mr. Haultain very properly pointed out, the power so far as licensing teachers and similar powers are concerned were vested not in the separate sections of that board, but in the whole board. The Board of Education, I may explain, was composed of five Protestants and three Roman Catholics. Section 7 of the standing orders of 1891-92 allowed each section of the Board of Education to prescribe text books on history and science—that is on controversial subjects. "The practical necessity" says Mr. Haultain:

The practical necessity for this safeguarding clause may be estimated by a reference to the action of the Board of Education and its section on the suggestion of the Rev. Father Leduc, then a member of the board.

We are furnished here with the letter of Father Leduc. On 3rd July, 1891, he wrote from Calgary, and among other things he said the following:—

There should be only one good text book on each subject for the teaching of candidates, and it should be adopted by the sections of the board, and the

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same text book should be used only by the board for examination.

In consequence of that, action was taken by the board at that very time. Hon. members should bear in mind that before the ordinance of 1892, the suggestion of Father Leduc was embodied in a regulation. I will read a paragraph, which contains the evidence that this had been acted on. It is as follows:—

On 3rd September, 1891, by the joint, and I may add unanimous action of the Roman Catholic and Protestant, sections of the Board of Education, prompted by the Rev. Father Leduc, a uniform course of study and a practically uniform series of text books were prescribed for all candidates for teachers' certificates.

He goes on to say:

With regard to the training of teachers, I might say that our regulations do not compel any teachers who possess equivalent qualifications to attend our normal sessions.

Mr. DEVLIN. From whom is the hon. gentleman quoting?

Mr. DAVIN. I am quoting Mr. Haultain's reply. I have necessarily from the view I have taken as to the way I should deal with this case, to be prolix. Mr. Haultain says:

Teachers are required to possess scholarship and professional skill. If any member of a religious order presents evidence of these she can obtain her certificate without attending our normal schools, but if she does not present such evidence, under our regulations she is not entitled in her religious character to anything more than any other lady who wishes to teach in a Government school and obtain a Government grant.

He adds: "This religious training cannot of itself be taken as a qualification for teaching in public schools." Further:

Our duty is to see that none but properly qualified teachers are engaged in our schools and that none but properly conducted schools receive public money, and those duties cannot be delegated to the representative of any religious body or bodies. As a matter of fact, many members of religious orders are specially and splendidly trained as teachers and our regulation will admit them without any attendance at our normal classes.

I may say here that one of the Conservative members of this House has asked me the question, whether any practical difficulty has arisen, and whether any of the sisters and ladies with vows have been rejected? No such practical difficulty, so far as I know, has arisen, and I made full inquiry. All the ladies teaching in the territories at the present moment have equivalent qualifications or have the necessary qualifications. In regard to that which is the only point, in my opinion, on which any stress can really be laid, and hon. gentlemen will remember what I said the other night about it, I may say that before I came here this session I expressed my opinion that if there were any means whatever of getting over such a diffi-

culty, it should be surmounted, as for instance by an inspector going around to examine those ladies; but I found on inquiry that no practical difficulty has up to the present emerged and all those schools are being taught by ladies perfectly qualified. It seems that there is no difficulty in getting ladies either from France or from England who have equivalent qualification, and who can therefore come here and teach. Then he goes on to say:

At a meeting of the Board of Education held on the 25th of January, 1888,—

Mr. DEVLIN. May I ask the hon. gentleman if he did not pass a clause there?

Mr. DAVIN. I passed a clause which is in regard to further action, but I do not think it is of any importance. However, I will read it.

In further reference to the subject of uniform training of teachers, I might cite the action of the whole Board of Education under the system which in the words of the petition operated with entire harmony and to the general satisfaction of all connected with the active work of education in the territories.

That is a mere introduction. It goes on:

At the meeting of the Board of Education held on the 25th January, 1888, it was resolved:—

That in the opinion of this board it is necessary to make provisions for the instruction and training of teachers for our public schools in the science and art of teaching.

That the board feels that the appointment of a normal school principal whose duty it would be to hold normal school sessions in different parts of the country, would have the best possible results in increasing the efficiency of teachers and stimulating education;

Therefore, resolved

That His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor be requested to urge upon the Dominion Government the advisability of granting the sum of \$5,000 for the next financial year for normal school purposes.

At that meeting among other members present and approving were Reverend Father Leduc and Mr. A. E. Forget.

Again, on the 3rd of September, 1891, on the motion of Mr. A. E. Forget, the Board of Education passed this resolution:

That all persons, inspectorates of Eastern and Western Assiniboia who obtained non-professional certificates at the recent examination of teachers and not holding certificates of normal training and who desire to obtain professional certificates be required to attend a normal session either at Moosomin or Regina; such normal session to commence on the reopening of the union schools after the Christmas holidays and to terminate, for third class teachers, six weeks, and for first and second class teachers, three months, from the date of commencement.

On this occasion were present and approving the Reverend Father Leduc, the Honourable Mr. Justice Rouleau and Mr. A. E. Forget, all the members of the Roman Catholic section of the board.

After passing such a resolution as that, I think it will be agreed that to take the stand in regard to this question that Mr. Forget, amongst others, does, is one of the most extraordinary things in the history of religious or educational political struggles. Now, as to inspectors. Section 5, of Ordinance 28 of 1891-92, provides for the appointment of inspectors by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, and section 2, of the ordinance of 1892, simply re-enacts this. So that the inspecting that is objected to in the ordinance of 1892 was never objected to in the ordinance passed in the previous session. As to the text books, I read to you from the petition what was said against these text books. This is what Mr. Haultain says:

The petition states that text books not prescribed are in many instances of a character highly objectionable to Roman Catholics, that they are for the most part Protestant and are offensive to Catholics, &c. A general charge of this nature can only be met by an equal general denial or by putting the book in as evidence. No objectionable text books have been prescribed for Roman Catholic schools. Out of the large number of books prescribed for schools, teachers' examinations and normal classes, the petitioner has been unable to specify one which would support his most general and unfounded assertion. Until the passage of the ordinance of 1892, text books for Roman Catholic schools were prescribed by the Roman Catholic section of the Board of Education.

The only change of text books for these schools since 1888 was made at the last general meeting of the council of public instruction held in June, 1893. At that meeting, and with the approval of the Rev. Father Caron, a Roman Catholic member of the council, a uniform series of text books for all schools was prescribed with one exception.

At the Rev. Father Caron's request, Roman Catholic schools were allowed to use as optional text books the Roman Catholic readers in the primary classes.

The only school text books in our programme which could possibly excite controversy are the readers and histories.

In history the text book under the new regulations is Buckley & Robertson's history of England and Canada. This book was already prescribed by the Board of Education, having been considered unobjectionable by the Roman Catholic section and was in use before the late regulations and the ordinance of 1892 came into force.

The readers above the primary one are the Ontario series which were already actually used in a number of Roman Catholic schools in the territories and are allowed in the separate schools of Ontario where text books offensive to Roman Catholics are not usually prescribed.

I have thus shown that under the ordinance of 1892 and the regulations made under its authority, no right has been interfered with, no substantial departure has been made from the regulations which were established by the Roman Catholic section of the late Board of Education or by the late board with their approval.

The effect of the ordinance has not been to deprive Roman Catholic schools of that character

which differentiates them from public or Protestant schools.

I am told on pretty good authority that a few years ago the ladies teaching in the Catholic school at Lethbridge requested to be allowed to use these readers before they were thought of being prescribed. Now, Sir, that was the reply sent to the Government of the Dominion, when, I suppose, the Governor General or the Secretary or State requested to have some opinion from the Executive of the North-west Territories as to what answer should be made to the petition. I have here the ordinance of 1888 and also the ordinance of 1892. By ordinance 59 of 1888, section 4, the Lieutenant-Governor is given power to appoint a Board of Education for the North-west Territories, composed of eight members, to hold office for two years and until their successors are appointed; five of whom shall be Protestants. Section 10 declares: "That it shall be the duty of the board to prescribe the duties of the secretary of the board," and section 5: "To provide for a uniform system of inspection of all schools, and to make from time to time such regulations as may be deemed necessary with respect to the duties of inspectors." You see, that as early as 1888, all this power is given to the board collectively, and here let me say, for fear I should forget: I regret that the Executive of the North-west Territories, or the Assembly, did not provide when they made their council of public instruction, that it should consist of four members of the Executive, and of two Protestants and two Catholics, who should have votes just like the four members of the Executive.

Mr. BRODEUR. That is a grievance.

Mr. DAVIN. If that be a grievance, I am with you in it.

Mr. BRODEUR. It is one of them.

Mr. DAVIN. But let me point out this: A man must be very much in want of a grievance and very ready to stir up popular passion if on a matter like that he is ready to fight and ready to excite and agitate; because, suppose that what I desire and what I think would have been a statesmanlike thing had been done, what would have been the result? The result could not fail to have been the same. But I grant you this, that it would have come with all the more authority; and besides, looking at it from a purely political standpoint, the head of the executive of the hour would feel, in going before the public in respect of any regulations the Council of Public Instruction made, that he had not the decree merely of four members of the Executive, but that he had the decree of the members of the Council of Public Instruction—the four members of the Executive and the two Protestants and the two Catholics. I grant you that; but I say that I hope that part will be remedied in the interest even

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of the Protestant portion of the community. In the interest of a portion of the Protestant community that might be described as ecclesiastical, or with ecclesiastical leanings, it ought to be remedied, just as in the interest of the Catholic portion of the community. But the practical result could not have failed to be precisely the same, with this difference, that there could not have been a loop or link of doubt to hang a carping criticism upon. Now, clause 10 provides that the power and duty of the board shall be:

To arrange for the proper examination, grading and licensing of teachers and the granting of certificates, which shall be of six classes, viz., first class, (two grades), second class (two grades), third class and provisional;

And for such schools as are not designated Protestants or Roman Catholics;

To take charge of all such schools organized under this or any previous ordinance and to make, from time to time, such regulations as may be deemed fit for their general government and discipline, and the carrying out of the provisions of this ordinance;

To appoint inspectors, who shall hold office during the pleasure of the board.

To select, adopt and prescribe a uniform series of text books to be used in such schools;

To cancel the certificate of a teacher upon sufficient cause.

Mr. DEVLIN. Did I understand my hon. friend to say a few moments ago, in explaining the composition of the board, that the two Catholic members had no right to vote?

Mr. DAVIN. The two Catholic and the two Protestant members outside of the Executive.

Mr. DEVLIN. The Executive only has the right to vote?

Mr. DAVIN. The Executive only.

Mr. DEVLIN. Are there any Catholics on the Executive?

Mr. DAVIN. There are no Catholics, but the hon. gentleman knows my opinion about that. If you are going to argue the matter down to a fine point, it is of course a mere accident that there are no Catholics on the Executive. The accident arises from the fact that there are certainly not more than two Catholics in the Assembly. But suppose the Catholics were to increase—and the German Catholics are increasing in a very great ratio; suppose they were to increase in such a ratio as to have a majority in the Assembly, and suppose a nervous Protestant looking into the future, might see a time when there would be four Catholics on the Executive, with two Protestants and two Catholics outside to advise and not vote. That is a fair argument, if you are going to argue the thing down to a fine point. Section 11 provides:

The Board of Education shall resolve itself into two sections, the one consisting of the Protestant,

and the other of the Roman Catholic members thereof, and it shall be the duty of each section ;

To have under its control and management the schools of its section, and to make, from time to time, such regulations, as may be deemed fit, for their general government and discipline, and the carrying out of the provisions of this ordinance ;

To select and prescribe an uniform series of text books ;

To appoint inspectors, who shall hold office during the pleasure of the section appointing them ;

To cancel the certificate of a teacher upon sufficient cause.

Under that system, as I shall show you by and by, you had precisely the same text books as you have under the ordinance of 1892, with the qualification that we have already seen ; that is to say, some books that are perfectly unobjectionable and that have the sanction of the very highest Catholic authorities. Section 13 says :

Each section of the board shall have the selection of text books for the examination of teachers in history and science.

But I have already dealt with that. Now, when we come to the ordinance of 1892, you find that that ordinance and the ordinance of 1888 in regard to these matters differ very little. They differ materially only in this, that the religious teaching which under the old system might have been given in a Roman Catholic school at any time during the day, is now to be given at a certain specified time.

Mr. DEVLIN. By order of the board.

Mr. DAVIN. By order of the board. My hon. friend thinks he has a point there. Put aside the ordinance of 1892 ; go back to the board that existed before. You had the Council of Public Instruction ; you had precisely the same schools as you have to-day ; you had precisely the same teachers, precisely the same text books. The only difference is this, that you had two sets of inspectors inspecting schools, which surely was superfluous, which surely was unnecessary, and that the religious instruction is given in these separate schools at a specified hour in the day. There is no interference with the character of the teaching, no interference with the text books on those questions about which persons might be supposed to be sensitive.

Mr. BRODEUR. What about the teaching of French ?

Mr. DAVIN. That question is raised by Father Leduc, and I will come to it by and by, and I think I shall be able to show that there is no grievance there. I have already dealt with the grievance complained of about the normal school, and have shown that there is practically no grievance. There is certainly no actual grievance at the present time in regard to certified teachers. According to the regulations of 1894 we find a person holding a professional certificate of

first or second class issued in Ontario or Manitoba since 1866, may receive a certificate of equal standing upon presenting a statement from the Department of Education in his own province, and so on. Persons holding certificates from other provinces of the Dominion or the British islands, and so on. And then, Sir, comes this section 5 regarding persons eligible for examination : "Persons holding certificates of educational value from institutions other than those mentioned may receive such certificates as the Council of Public Instruction may deem them entitled to." Now, as the Order in Council, to which we have the reply before us, states this very clause seems to have been provided specially to meet the case of those sisters, who would not wish to attend the normal school. The third complaint in the petition, as to the uniformity of the text books, I have practically answered. I have in my hand the articles with respect to teachers' examinations and entrance examinations to union schools, dated Regina, 3rd September, 1891 :

Subjects of examination for third class candidates, with prescribed text books. Reading—To be able to read any passage selected from the reader with proper pronunciation, expression, emphasis, inflection and force.

But I had better go at once to those points where there will be controversy :

History—To have a good general knowledge of the History of England and Canada. Text book—For all candidates—Buckley and Robertson's High School History of England and Canada. English history—Chapter 19 to 26 inclusive ; Chapters I. to VIII. inclusive. History of Literature and Poetical Selections—To be familiar with the selections prescribed for study and to have a knowledge of the life and work of the authors. Text books—For Protestant candidates—High School Reader. For Roman Catholics candidates—Metropolitan 5th Reader.

That is the regulation in 1891. Then we come to subjects of examination for second class candidates, and we find the same text books :

For all candidates—to be acquainted with the outlines of the History of English Literature, from the time of Queen Anne to the present, and to be familiar with the works prescribed for study. Text books—for all candidates—Stopford Brook's History of English Literature. Poetical selections to be prescribed.

And then we come to subjects of examination for first class candidates :

History—To be thoroughly acquainted with the History of England and Canada.

Text Book—For all candidates—Buckley and Robertson's High School History of England and Canada.

History and Literature and Poetical Selections—To have a thorough acquaintance with English Literature and its History, and to be able to give a critical analysis of a play from Shakespeare, or a

work of some other author prescribed for examination.

Text Book—For all candidates—Stopford Brook's History of English Literature.

Poetical selections to be prescribed.

That is in 1891. So that when you come down to see what the text books were, there is really nothing in the regulations of 1892 to be complained of. Now, Sir, I wish to call the attention of the House to the regulations of the Board of Education for the North-west Territories, adopted on the 15th March, 1888. My hon. friend will remember that I referred to this some time ago. Here are the programme of studies and the list of the books :

Reading, the elementary course, Metropolitan Readers. History, English course, Sacred History. History of Canada, Compendium by Christian Brothers under the French rule. History of England by Lingard to the Conquest.

Now, these Readers, the Metropolitan Readers, have been changed to the Ontario Readers. And how does that happen? It has happened at the suggestion of the example set in Quebec, under no less an authority than Cardinal Tachereau himself. It has happened, I believe, at the suggestion of the example also in Ontario. There is not a single objection made to it by any one, nor was there a single objection heard concerning these regulations, or this ordinance, or anything going on in the North-west until some time last year when the apple of discord was suddenly thrown on the educational table of the territories, and it has set hon. gentlemen by the ears. What I want to point out is this: If you were to disallow that ordinance of 1892, it would throw you back into the arms of the legislation and regulations of 1891. That is admitted. You would have precisely the same regulations. You would have Catholics on the Board. But you would have the same state of things. There would not be the least difference as to the state of the schools. These schools, that are said not to exist, would be precisely the same as to-day, but instead of a Council of Public Instruction you would have a Board of Education, composed of five Protestants and three Catholics. But you would have precisely the same text books and the same regulations as you have to-day. And you must remember this, that the men who would vote the money would be the men who compose the North-west Assembly, and the Executive would probably be the same as the Executive in the North-west to-day. And the first thing that would happen, if that ordinance were disallowed, would be that they would pass another ordinance, not calling things exactly by the same name, but probably going further. Recede they certainly would not. Therefore I think there is no use whatever in asking for the disallowance, and I wish to say this, that too much credit cannot be given to Mr. Haul-

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tain, in my opinion, for his moderation. There cannot be the least doubt of that.

Mr. LANGELIER. If he had not been moderate, what would he have been?

Mr. DAVIN. He would have played the part of your friend Martin, in the North-west Territories, and could have made himself very popular by doing so. That is what he could have done, and that is what you may drive him to do.

Mr. TARTE. It is as well to know it now.

Mr. DAVIN. It is as well, when you go into this matter that you should know the temper of the North-west Territories.

Mr. TARTE. Hear, hear.

Mr. DAVIN. I will now ask the attention of the House for a short time to the reply of Mgr. Taché to the Order in Council. In this reply there is a letter from my friend, Mr. Forget—

Mr. LAURIER. Will the hon. gentleman pardon me. He stated that he would refer to the question of teaching French in the schools.

Mr. DAVIN. Yes; I intended to take it up in connection with this. With regard to the teaching of French, Mr. Speaker, there is this difference—that French is not proscribed, as my hon. friend (Mr. Tarte) seems to think, but what is proscribed is that in every school in the North-west Territories English shall be taught.

Mr. LAURIER. All right.

Mr. DAVIN. My hon. friend the leader of the Opposition says that is right, and, he could not say otherwise, for he is a man of broad views. I have read his courageous speeches made in the heart of the province of Quebec, in which he has pointed out the importance to his own race and the importance to all Canada of our French Canadian friends learning English.

Mr. LAURIER. I understand that the teaching of English is proscribed. Is the teaching of French optional or is it proscribed?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. In those districts where it is the mother tongue of the children, the bilingual readers of Ontario are used.

Mr. DAVIN. In those districts in which French is the mother tongue of the children, French is taught. English also is taught—they have the bilingual readers which are used in Ontario and for which, as you know, some newspapers have attacked Sir Oliver Mowat. There could not be a wiser course than to insist that, in every school—and if I were Premier of Quebec and dealing with educational matters I would insist upon this for every school in the province—English shall be taught. And, for that matter, if it could possibly be done, I would be very

glad, for commercial reasons as well as for educational reasons, that in every school in the Dominion French should be taught also. If I may be allowed to pause for a moment in the discussion, I would like to say that I read with great pleasure the paper brought before the Women's Conference by Madame Dandurand. The writer closed with an appeal to the mothers of Canada, and the same appeal I think might fairly be made to the politicians and the would-be statesmen of Canada. Madame Dandurand appeals to the English mothers to try to understand the opinions and feelings of the French Canadian mothers and to the French Canadians to try to understand the English. She says: We are here two great races; I would like to teach my children, as I would like all the mothers of French Catholics to teach their children English and the history of Britain and all that it has done for the good of humanity. And she appeals to the English mothers to teach their children French. By this means, she says, the two great races in this Dominion will come to understand each other much better than they do. To a man who understands what great things France has done for the world, what great things French literature has done, not merely in the way of giving pleasure, but in the way of advancing science, who understands what that great country has done by the splendour of its genius, it is a painful thing to meet, as one often does, an English-speaking person who cannot speak three sentences of his own tongue grammatically, lifting eyebrows and shoulders at the mention of French. There are those who talk glibly about education and about one language and so on, and who think they know how to construct the matrix from which a great nation will emerge. I would to God they really did know what pleasure, what delight, what instruction there is in a French library. Then they would not be so ready to dogmatize as to the influence of one language; they would realize the truth of what Mr. Joly said in one of his speeches—that the man who knows two languages and has command of two literatures lives two lives. And what this lady says to the women of Canada, I would say to the politicians—let the English understand the French and the French understand the English and then we shall be on a better rail and likely to reach a better station.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Every man would be twins then.

Mr. DAVIN. I suppose that is a bi-lingual joke. However, the hon. gentleman has entered into an arena now into which I cannot follow him. Now, Mr. Speaker, on the 30th September, 1893, a circular was sent forth, for which Mr. Haultain was responsible. I do not want to read it now, for I read it the other night, and I do not want it to go twice on 'Hansard.' In that circular a concession is made to the sensitiveness of the

Catholics of the North-west Territories, for which undoubtedly he will be assailed when he comes to seek re-election. Nevertheless, he has done it and I consider, knowing, as I do, the sentiments of the North-west Territories, that, instead of leaning in the direction of bigotry, Mr. Haultain and his friends have sought to do the right thing and the liberal thing. At the same time I qualify that by what I said to my hon. friend the other day, that if I had been allowed to do this, I would not have excluded those four members of the Council of Public Instruction, but would have given the two Protestants and the two Catholics votes, and yet would have had the same rules and the same action that has taken place. Now, Sir, I have in my hand—and I will proceed as rapidly as possible in my references to it—a most able document emanating from a source my reverence for which no language of mine can express—Archbishop Taché. Why, Sir, the North-west as it is to-day is a monument to his labour. He has been a pioneer of the Church of which he is an illustrious prince. And, Sir, in his reply, he practically gives up the position taken by the petitioners. What he says is practically what the nuns said when asked what they had to complain of—that there is danger for the future. Well, Sir, the danger as to the future would be there, if the ordinance of 1892 had never been passed. If there is any danger as to the future it must lie in this fact, that you have in the North-west a great majority of Protestants, and those people are supposed to have a sentiment against separate schools. If that be the case, it may be a danger to separate schools; but you are not going to get rid of it by disallowing an ordinance. That fact will remain. But if that be not so, where can the danger come from? If the sentiment be in favour of leaving things as they are and not interfering with separate schools as they are, where can the danger come from? It can come from this, from irritating the sentiment in favour of North-west autonomy, from irritating the sentiment of the people in the North-west that they will govern themselves in regard to education and other matters, and if you do that, I grant you the materials are there to raise such an agitation as cannot be put down by an Order in Council in Ottawa or any vote or legislation of this House. The eminent prelate says:

The report of the honourable committee: "This allowance will not nullify the regulations complained of." On the contrary disallowance would restore the right of modifying all such regulations and in fact abolish all regulations as well as dispositions uncongenial to the ordinance of 1888. For instance, it would abolish the office of superintendent and the power vested in its incumbent, "to make and establish rules and regulations for the conduct of schools and to institute and prescribe the duties of teachers and their classification."

Why, Sir, there is no such thing at the pre-

sent moment known to legislation in the North-west as a superintendent of education. That office was abolished by the ordinance of 1893. The superintendent does not exist. Therefore, that grievance of having him in existence by legislation is one that is mistakenly resented. On page 13 I read :

The ordinance of 1892, clauses 184 and 185, provide for similar arrangement with the two following different provisions : (a.) Provided that the certificates held by the teachers of the high schools branch are approved by the superintendent of education. (b.) Provided that where union schools are established, the high school department of such school shall be non-sectarian.

Both those provisions are repealed by the ordinance of 1893. So that grievance does not exist. The ordinance of 1893 repeals several clauses of the ordinance of 1892, among others the clauses respecting certain powers being given to the superintendent, so that any action which the ordinance of 1892 provides shall be done by the superintendent, can only be done by the Council of Public Instruction. In this document it appears that the eminent prelate practically agrees with the position I have ventured to take up. He says :

The want of information is the reason why the report say, "the Committee of the Privy Council have not ascertained that any act done or regulation made by the Council of Public Instruction under the ordinance of 1888 is contrary to the right or interest of the minority in the territories." More information easily obtained would have modified some of the conclusions as expressed in the report. It is gratifying nevertheless to ascertain that even in spite of the want of complete information the committee recognizes the main reason which determined the petitioners to request His Excellency the Governor General in Council to apply a remedy both against the actual difficulties and the future dangers obviously contained in the law of 1892. The report says : "It would be seen that the real complaint of the petitioners is that the right and interest of themselves and of those who shared their opinions and interests are not likely to be appreciated and safe-guarded by the Council of Public Instruction in which they are not represented by any person fully acquainted with and showing those interests and having the right to vote.

So the eminent writer of this pamphlet practically points out as the main complaint a danger in the future, just as those ladies said to my friend when he asked what have you to complain of, they replied they had nothing to complain of at present, but they were afraid for the future. I am afraid it is not a very practical complaint, and it is not very practical to occupy the time of a practical assembly discussing a fear that has regard to the future, especially in a free community where that future depends on the action of the people, on the action of the people's representatives, on the trend of public opinion where public opinion is omnipotent. In this pamphlet we have a very extraordinary document quoted. It is

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a letter from an eminent judge, Mr. Justice Rouleau, in which he actually declares that the ordinance of 1892 is 'ultra vires.' The learned judge says :

For the above reasons it seems to me that the Federal Government should disallow this ordinance on the shortest possible delay and thus prevent grave injustice towards the Catholic minority.

There is again the statement, which I have proved to be utterly unfounded, that the North-west has no separate school system. We have a separate school system, the same as we have always had with the small qualifications I have stated. Again I find :

The section 83 of the said ordinance No. 22, of 1892, provides that the English language be compulsory and taught in every school.

I think myself it is not necessary I should repeat that that is an enlightened provision and in the interests of the community where the chief commercial language must be English. Further :

The section 32 of the said ordinance (1892), is in contradiction to section 14 of the North-west Territories Act in that it limits the rights of the minority more than it is limited by the said section 14. But, of course, the principal objections of the Catholics to the school ordinance is the absolute control, the choice of text books, the schools inspection, etc., by the Protestant majority. The separate schools exist now but in name, they do not exist in fact.

That can only be taken as rhetorical language. We have the regulations here from 1888 on, and you will find that the books in regard to all, outside of two subjects that might excite controversy, are the same from one year to the other, and that there can be no rational complaint in regard to the books in these controverted sections. Now, suppose some one in Calgary district were to refuse to pay his school tax, and should go before this judge, with this judgment already in his hands, I do not know how Mr. Justice Rouleau, after such a letter as that, could well refuse to non-suit the school trustees. I should like to say, that as in the motion and in the documents that deal with this question, the case of the North-west is mixed up with that of Manitoba, that I am speaking here to-night entirely on the North-west question. We too often confound them. There is no similarity between the present position of the Catholics in the North-west, and the Catholics in Manitoba. There is no analogy whatever ; there is no Act like the Act known as the Martin Act, passed in the North-west Territories. When the Manitoba school question comes up, if it does come up, I will be quite ready to express my opinion upon it, and that opinion is not very different from that expressed by the late member for Winnipeg (Mr. Macdonald) when he criticized the legislation of the Manitoba Assembly. The whole of the letter of Père Leduc that is quoted as appendix "A" ignores

entirely the legislation of 1893, and it goes on as if there had been no repeal of anything that took place. I must say that it is open to the charge of being somewhat rhetorical. He says :

Under the old regime we could use this right as we thought fit and useful to the Catholics. We could agree or disagree with the Protestant section for the choice of books as thought proper. To-day we have to submit to the unjust law of the strongest

That language is very extraordinary unless it can be shown that some book was forced upon the Catholic schools that the Catholic schools did not want. No such thing can be shown. There has been no such thing ever heard of, and it is a very extraordinary thing to use this language unless it can be substantiated by an example or instance. The reverend father evidently feels that his not having such an objectionable book to bring forward, puts him in a difficult position, for he says :

I need not stop to examine the merits or demerits of such a book or author, for the simple reason that they may be changed at will by the Council of Public Instruction and replaced by authors most hostile to our conviction.

Surely this is very extraordinary again. It is something in the future. He is afraid of something that has never happened. He says : I need not point out a page in a book that is reprehensible and to be complained of, because we are in such a position that the most objectionable book can be thrust upon us. That is purely a general statement. I must say that this letter of Father Leduc concludes in a very extraordinary manner. He says :

We are sacrificed to the breath of the deplorable fanaticism which flows over our territories. Our rights are trampled upon. Our Catholic schools existing by law exist only in name.

Mr. Speaker, I reiterate what I have said. There is not a part of Canada at the present minute where the breath of fanaticism is so mild as it is in the North-west Territories ; and it is only such agitation as this that can disturb us by those religious passions that unfortunately have disturbed other provinces, and are fraught with so much evil. I quoted a resolution that was passed at a meeting when Father Caron was present. I may say that at that time, we all thought in the territories that a sort of friendly arrangement had been come to between the parties under the school law of 1892. We were all under that impression and there was nothing to give us the idea that there was not the utmost harmony, but it is just to Father Caron to say that he writes a letter, dated February, 1894—not, be it remembered, at the time, or soon after the meeting at which he was supposed to have agreed to the books—and in this letter, while he does not in a categorical manner repudiate the attitude attributed to him, he

still probably repudiates it in a manner sufficiently strong. He refers to the discussion that took place, and he says :

In the course of that discussion altogether informal according to the expression of my English colleague Mr. Goggin, having expressed the idea that it would be desirable to render uniform the use of books in the schools, I said in a general way that in fact on account of our system of inspection it would be very advantageous if all the school children could use the same books.

That seems to bear out the statement that he did consent to that arrangement.

Later on in the course of my remarks Mr. Goggin, it seemed to me, wished to insinuate that Catholic books could be left aside and replaced by the Ontario Readers, and then I said that the younger the children who attend the schools, the more we do urge that the books put into their hands should be perfectly Catholic.

You will remember that these regulations that I read the last time I had the honour of addressing the House, concede the point that is suggested by the Rev. Father Caron. I am in a position to say here that the members of the Executive have said to all concerned : If you will show us some grievance, point to us some part of the book or some book that you object to—just as I myself asked—we will try to meet your views ; but there has been no book pointed out, not a page, not an extract has ever been so pointed out. Father Caron continues :

And on account of the special composition of the Council of Public Instruction, and knowledge that by the ordinance of 1892, that Council has absolute power to impose on us books of its own choice I thought proper to add, that if we were obliged to put aside the Catholic reading books, we would more willingly abandon the books used for the scholars of the Fourth degree, than to abandon the books used for younger scholars.

I have already referred to the letter of Mr. Forget. It is an able letter, as it could not fail to be coming from him. He runs over the history of education, but there is not one syllable in that letter to rebut and get rid of the position we have taken here to-night. You have the most eminent authorities that you could have to deal with this North-west question. You could not have men more authoritative than the Archbishop, than Mr. Forget, or than Father Leduc. These men are the most authoritative men you could have on the side they espouse and there is not a scintilla of evidence that any rights of the Catholics whatever have been interfered with. There is the change in regard to inspection, and, although I am a pretty liberal man, if I had been in the Council I would certainly have voted to get rid of the dual inspection. For, what kind of argument can you use in favour of a dual inspection ? Are we up there to be as though we were two people suffering from a pest—one from the scarlatina and the other from the black pest ? Are

we to go on in that style, having two sets of inspectors, and two sections of the school board to regulate those inspectors? Must we not then select different school books for each section? Must we not go on and have two sections of the Council of Instruction? And must we not go on and extend the same dual system to the Dominion itself? Where are we to stop with this sort of thing? And where are you logically landed if, in a matter like this of state education, you are going to drive a plough through the community and say to one portion of the people in regard to the other: You keep apart from these. Logically this is the position you will be landed in, and you cannot escape from it—that from one point of view, one set of teachers, one set of machinery, one set of scholars must all be wrong on one or two or three great subjects; you would pour out a stream of men, with false ideas on history, false ideas on science, false ideas on philosophy, literature, sociology; educated without being enlightened. You would be producing, if you look at the matter from the Catholic standpoint, bigots with the germs of religious hatred in their breasts, or, looked at from the other standpoint, laymen with the spirit of ecclesiastics. That is a logical result of your position, and it is utterly indefensible, and no persons could occupy the responsible position occupied by men in the Legislature of the North-west Territories or the Executive Council of that Legislature without being forced to take the question in hand and say: Anyway, we will limit it as far as possible without doing injury to the rights and susceptibilities of a large portion of our people, and that is what has been done. You have now in the North-west Territories Catholics and Protestants living in harmony amongst themselves, trading together, respecting each other, meeting each other socially in the same drawing-rooms, interchanging ideas, discussing politics, with no religious rancour whatever dividing them. My hon. friends, who know the North-west well, cheer that sentiment, because it is true. That is the state of things in the North-west at the present moment, and I have not heard from the Protestants of those territories a word uttered nor a single finger raised against the liberal arrangements made to preserve to our Roman Catholic fellow citizens there all the rights and privileges which they had under the old ordinance of 1888, and the regulations which were established from that time till 1892, before the passing of the so-called objectionable ordinance. Nor have I heard from my Catholic supporters—and I have Catholic supporters in Regina, in Medicine Hat, all over my district—a single word of complaint that their rights had been infringed—that they had been in some way disfranchised, disestablished and disendowed as to their scholastic rights. Not a syllable of that kind have I heard. In-

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deed, until a certain time last year, not a syllable was heard from an ecclesiastic or layman or any one else about the deplorable ordinance now objected to, which turns out on examination to be not at all at fault, because the regulations and the books complained of were accepted and lived peaceably under before that ordinance was passed. I say, Sir, that a very grave responsibility attaches to any man who seeks to disturb that state of things as it exists in the North-west. It might be possible to disturb it. We are not without men there, any more than you are anywhere in the Dominion, who would be ready to foment strife. There are some men whose element is rancour, whose element is to see men of the same country fighting each other with internecine hatred. We have such men; but up to the present they have not had water enough in which to swim their ship, and if their ranks are not swelled, and we are not disturbed, the people of the North-west will go on to develop and to fill a larger place as a portion of this Dominion, uncursed by those drawbacks which cast a shadow over some of our fairest provinces. So much for the North-west, Sir. But what shall be said after I, as a North-west man, with the responsibility which attaches to my position as a member of Parliament, have spoken as I have done to-night? We have an election near at hand. I have a large number of Catholics in my constituency. Do you suppose that I would come here and make these statements if I did not want to make them in the interest of truth? What other interest could I have in making them? I could have sat here and listened quietly to what my hon. friend from L'Islet (Mr. Tarte) and others might have said. The only object I can possibly have is to force the truth on the people of Canada and on this House, because if this speech can have any effect in regard to my political position, it must be to injure me, that is, if there be the kind of power that is represented by certain remarks which I see here and there, and which I need not look at more closely. My only object must be that this House, so far as my poor testimony and my poor means of discussing a question go, shall be possessed of the truth. And you must remember that I do not use this language ill-advisedly. My language to-night is not merely that of a member of Parliament discussing a great question brought before us; it is also the language of a witness coming from the North-west Territories, and every word that I have spoken here to-night will be supported by my hon. friend from Eastern Assiniboia (Mr. McDonald), my hon. friend from Saskatchewan (Mr. Macdowall), and my hon. friend from Alberta (Mr. Davis). We are here not only to discuss this question, but we are here as witnesses. Now, if it be a serious matter from the point of view of the North-west Territories, how much more

serious is it if there be no such grievance in that vast region as it has been sought to make out, that men should try to make a grievance so grave as to excite the passions of a large portion of Her Majesty's subjects in one of the greatest provinces in the Dominion of Canada? Why, I know of no position, no fame, no power that could acquit a man, in the face of his age or of posterity, who would, knowing the facts, so misrepresent them in order to influence ignorant minds, that we should see men, their violent passions aroused, expressing themselves violently, going crazy almost—about nothing whatever. I say that would be a deplorable spectacle. I say that, if the facts be as I have stated—and they are—I know of no language that could properly characterize the gravity of the course taken by any man—I do not care what his position be—whether journalist or politician, or both, who should thus misrepresent them. My hon. friend, for instance, the other night spoke with his usual eloquence and with at least his usual élan—I was going to say with his usual excitability—but that would not express my meaning and I will say with his usual verve. And it is impossible not to see—because I have quoted his language at the beginning of my speech—that my hon. friend was thoroughly convinced that a state of things existed, wholly different from what does exist. And he was naturally excited.

Mr. TARTE. I was not excited.

Mr. DAVIN. Then the hon. gentleman acted it well. There must be hundreds like that in the province of Quebec.

Mr. AMYOT. Not many.

Mr. DAVIN. There must be hundreds anyway like him. If the people of Quebec get excited about a grievance like this, that so completely disappears on analysis, why, it would remind one of what Villemessant said of the Marseillais. The people of Marseilles, said he, could get extravagantly excited upon their own saliva. I have read the history of Quebec. I know that Quebec has produced some of our most moderate statesmen—men capable of looking at a question all round. Some of the pillars of our Dominion, the ornaments of our history, and the beacons of the past, have come from Quebec. And I will never believe, unless I see it, that, in an age like this, any man or set of men, or any journalist or set of journalists, can so flare before the eyes of a great people, like the Gaulic people of Quebec, an unreal mockery of misrepresentation as to the condition of Catholics in the North-west, and so excite them and so cause them to hold meetings, and have orators, like the orator quoted by my hon. friend, making speeches to them, displaying the most glaring ignorance, not only grave, but culpable ignorance. If these gentlemen would only inform themselves of what has actually taken place, there would be no danger. My hon.

friend (Mr. Monet) laughs. I am told he is a great man on the platform. I can see him get up before a lot of patriotic French-Canadians, and tell them, in his energetic way, what a dreadful state of things exists in the North-west. And he will fling his hands to heaven, and point to the north pole, or the sun, as the case may be and call heaven and earth to witness that such a state of oppression never existed as exists up in the North-west—and it was all done by an atrocious and desperate Tory Government. Well, I do not object to men fighting hard when they fight party against party. A great Frenchman, Mr. Taine, said, describing what he saw from the gallery of the English House of Commons, that men fought there as they fight in battle, that their rhetorical blows were like these men dealt each other in battle, or on the sea in old days, when yard was locked in yard and gun-lip kissing gun. I do not object to all that, but there is a limit beyond which party strife should not go. And that limit is passed when men will excite racial or religious passions on groundless grievances or alleged grievances, stirring up hatreds that may imperil the welfare and progress of a province, or even of the whole Dominion—and doing it for the paltry purpose of trying to snatch a party victory.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. DAVIN. My hon. friends cry "Hear, hear." behind me. And it has something partly of a cheer and partly of a sigh about it. When I talked of party victory, something of a little bellicosity rose in their hearts; but when they felt how desperate it was, their cheer died away into a sigh. It reminds one of the conflicting state of mind in which William of Deloraine was:

He sighed a sigh, and prayed a prayer,
The prayer was to his Patron Saint;
The sigh was to his lady fair.

I do not say that my hon. friend sighed to his lady fair. I acquit him of that, but the sigh probably rose from the desperate suggestion I happened to make, that such speeches should snatch a party victory. But I repeat, I do hope that no man will attempt, either in print or on the platform, to discuss this question in Quebec or anywhere else, without having gone into the facts, as suggested by the feeble attempt I have made here to explain the educational condition of the North-west to them to-night. And if they do make themselves masters of the facts, I care not how vigorously they fight, if they remember this, that in all our party struggles we should bear in mind that while we may be strong party men, we should be lovers of truth and patriots before everything else.

Mr. BRODEUR moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to ; and the House adjourned at 10.50 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, 19th April, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

Mr. BAKER moved that the First and Second Reports of the Select Standing Committee on Public Accounts be now taken into consideration.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. MULOCK moved :

That, in accordance with the resolutions adopted unanimously by the House in the sessions of 1891 and 1892, it is desirable that any witnesses called before the Select Standing Committee on Public Accounts be examined under oath or affirmation touching any matters coming before them.

He said : Mr. Speaker, in making this motion. I may remind hon. members that it comes before the House now in consequence of the reports and actions of the Public Accounts Committee. In the session of 1891 the House itself passed a resolution in the words of that which is now in your hands. But the Public Accounts Committee, or some members of it rather, believing that it would be more courteous to the committee that the recommendation should come from the committee to the House, on this occasion I preferred to waive my own view as to the rights of the House by first of all ascertaining whether the committee agreed in the course which I am now taking. Accordingly, Mr. Speaker, as you will observe, from reading the first report, I moved in the Public Accounts Committee to the effect of the motion now in your hands, that it is desirable that witnesses before that committee should be examined under oath. Unfortunately, for the sake of that motion, the majority of the members of the Public Accounts Committee did not agree with the proposition, as appears by the report on the Table. Accordingly, it becomes necessary now to ascertain whether a majority of the House favour that view. I may say, Sir, that the motion before the committee was met by many objections. One objection was that the Parliament of Canada had no jurisdiction to confer such a power upon a select standing committee. I do not know that that objection was taken with a great deal of confidence in its soundness on the part of the Minister of Railways, who first raised it, and

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other members of the Government. The next objection, I believe, was that raised by the hon. member for South Norfolk (Mr. Tisdale). His objection was that the Ontario Parliament did not recognize such a practice, and, although the hon. member for South Norfolk had never been able to discover anything else that was good in the record of the Ontario Government, he was able to recognize this one virtue—that they refused to allow examination on oath regarding the expenditure of public money.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. May I ask to what occasion the hon. gentleman refers ?

Mr. MULOCK. The first meeting of the Public Accounts Committee when the subject was discussed.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I think, Mr. Speaker, this is not in order, and that it would be an inconvenient mode of discussing this question. I do not think it is in order to refer to the discussions in the Public Accounts Committee. There may be different views as to what was said, and that may embarrass the discussion.

Mr. MULOCK. I think that, when the report of any committee is under discussion, anything that came before the committee respecting the subject of that report, is in order.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The point I raise, Mr. Speaker, is that it is out of order to refer to what was said during the discussion in the Committee on Public Accounts.

Mr. MULOCK. I suppose the hon. gentleman would wish that what he said and the points he took upon that occasion, which have thus far prevented this resolution being adopted, should not be known to the public.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. On the contrary, I will repeat them to-day.

Mr. MULOCK. If the hon. gentleman repeats them to-day, there can be no disadvantage in my anticipating them. At any rate, I do not wish to delay the proceedings of the House or the consideration of this question by bringing in any controversial matters, because the question is sufficiently broad and substantial to entitle it to the support of the House without bringing in any other question. But I was saying that objections have been raised to the passing of this measure. One is that the Parliament of Canada has no jurisdiction. Another is that the Ontario Government would not allow this course to be taken, and, because of its wickedness in that respect, it received, for once, the support of the hon. member for South Norfolk. That was the only point in its record that he could find to entitle it to any consideration from him. Another objection taken by a gentleman who prefers to be governed by a law

four or five hundred years old—the Minister of Public Works—was that, though there was jurisdiction to examine witnesses under oath, Parliament must know the names of the witnesses and must consider in every case whether these witnesses shall or shall not be thus examined. Another objection, taken by the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, is that this motion shall not be passed at all, but if there is any case sought to be made, it must, first of all, pass through the crucial test of the Public Accounts Committee, which must make the recommendation to this House to sanction further inquiry, and then this House shall proceed to consider the question. The last of the objections was that taken by the Minister of Finance, that the Public Accounts Committee is nothing but a committee of audit. That is the tenor of the argument of the hon. Minister of Finance. These are the various objections, so far as they have been given to the public; but, singular to say, though the objections were cut away one by one, the hon. gentlemen who had severally brought them forward, were still able to agree with the majority, for unknown reasons, in preventing inquiry. The first question is that of jurisdiction. Upon that point to-day there is no possible doubt. It is true that, by the British North America Act there was no jurisdiction such as is sought to be exercised to-day. That was remedied by an Imperial Act passed in the session of 1875. I may say that the question came up out of the consideration of an Act passed by this Parliament in 1873, which Act I now quote, chapter 1, Statutes of 1873, and the first section of which reads as follows:—

Whenever any witness or witnesses is or are to be examined by any committee of the Senate or House of Commons and the Senate or House of Commons shall have resolved that it is desirable that such witness or witnesses shall be examined upon oath, such witness or witnesses shall be examined on oath or affirmation, when affirmation is allowed by law—

And the Act prescribes penalties. Now, that Act was passed in order to meet the case of a contemplated inquiry into the Pacific Scandal. It was disallowed by the Imperial authorities on the ground that it exceeded the then jurisdiction of the Parliament of Canada. But subsequently the Imperial Parliament, in the session of 1875, passed an enabling Act, repealing our old section 18 of the British North America Act, and passed another Act giving full authority to the Parliament of Canada to delegate such powers, as are here sought for, to any of the committees of the House. The Parliament of Canada, in the exercise of the power so conferred on it, proceeded to legislate in that direction, and you will find the law on the subject in the Revised Statutes of Canada, chapter 11, section 21. This section is verbatim a copy of the words used in the Statutes of 1873, which were adopted in anticipation of a threatened inquiry. We must assume that the gentlemen who took

part in the framing of that Act intended it to apply to the examination of witnesses whose names were not known at the time. They must certainly have contemplated making it effective; and therefore, even upon that ground alone, I think it is fair to assume that the objection taken that the witnesses must be known is wholly untenable and contrary to the spirit of this section. I need not remind hon. gentlemen who voted against this motion in the committee, that if any of them voted against it upon the understanding that the Ontario Legislature did not authorize such an inquiry under oath, my reading to them of the law of the land, as passed in the Ontario Legislature, showing that they were labouring under a mistake, may possibly cause them to change their views. The Legislature of Ontario, in 1872, Revised Statutes, chapter 5, passed the following Act:—

Any standing or select committee of the Legislative Assembly may require that facts, matters, and things, relating to the subject of inquiry—be verified or otherwise ascertained by the oral examination of witnesses, and may examine such witnesses upon oath, and for that purpose the Chairman or any member of such committee may administer the oath to any such witness.

That became the law in the province of Ontario in 1872. And I am told by the Treasurer of Ontario that, without exception, it has been their invariable practice to allow the members of the Select Standing Committee on Public Accounts in Ontario to examine witnesses on oath whenever and as often as they please. For twenty years that has been the law, and I would ask the hon. member for South Norfolk (Mr. Tisdale), who has been defending the Government because he thought there was no such law in Ontario, where he has been all this time. And I am told that such is the law also in the province of Quebec, but of that I only speak from hearsay. But we are told that the language of this statute does not contemplate the giving of general power by the House to a committee to examine witnesses, but that the committee must send to the House the names of witnesses, or that some case must be made out, before the House will at all stir in the matter. Now, it is very singular that that discovery should only be made now. What has been the view taken of the law since it has existed? We have had in this House, from time to time, the most eminent lawyers that Canada has ever known. Some of them still enjoy the professional confidence of the community, others are filling high judicial offices in the land, and from year to year both the Senate and this House have constantly evoked the power of the Act now in force. Sir, never on one occasion do I find, from the examination of the records in the Senate and in this House, that either one of these Houses asked for the names of witnesses before giving a committee authority to examine generally. On the contrary, I find that the practice of both Houses, ac-

quiesced in by common consent, has established, as the interpretation of this Act, that the House can delegate to a committee the power to examine into all matters and to call for such witnesses as they may please, and examine them under oath or affirmation, where affirmation is allowed in lieu of oath. And I challenge any member of this House to show a single case in which names of witnesses have been submitted to the House or the Senate, in order to cause them to exercise the power conferred upon them by this Act. Just let me for a moment give to the House a few of the occasions on which the Senate and this House decided that they have the power to authorize committees to examine witnesses on oath. In 1877, the Senate passed a resolution appointing a committee to inquire into certain matters touching the length of the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway from Keewatin westward in a more southerly line, and so on. And we find that the resolution authorizes the committee—I give the exact words :

To send for persons and papers and reports, and to examine witnesses under oath.

Not one single reference to the name of a witness, but a full power of attorney to the committee to examine witnesses generally under oath. In the following session, the Senate, on the motion of Senator Girard, seconded by Mr. Reid, passed a resolution appointing a committee to inquire into certain matters regarding the approaches to the property at Fort William, and—

authorized the committee to send for persons, paper and records and examine witnesses under oath, and report thereon with all convenient speed.

Again, in the same session, on motion of Hon. Mr. Macpherson, seconded by Hon. Mr. Campbell, a resolution was passed appointing a select committee to inquire into certain matters connected with Fort Frances lock, and I quote the language of the resolution :

Authorizes the committee to examine witnesses under oath and to employ a shorthand writer.

In the following year, 1879, on motion of Hon. Mr. Macpherson, seconded by Hon. Mr. Allen, resolutions were adopted—all of which, I believe, were carried—authorizing a committee to enquire into certain matters respecting the surveys on the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the committee were authorized

To take evidence under oath and to report to this House from time to time.

Again, in the session of 1880, the Senate passed a resolution, and this House confirmed it, appointing a committee to make the necessary inquiries into all the circumstances connected with the opening of tenders for parliamentary printing, the withdrawal of tenders and other matters connected with printing, and declares as follows :

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And it is desirable that any witnesses who may appear before them in relation to the above inquiry shall be examined under oath.

Again, I remind the House that the Senate in the session of 1890, on the inquiry into the matter of the Baie des Chaleurs Railway, referred that subject to the Select Committee on Railways, Canals and Telegraph Lines, and in the following words authorized the committee to take evidence.

To send for such persons, papers and records as may from time to time be required by said committee for the purpose of reporting evidence under oath as to any matters arising out of the examination before said committee on the Bill from the House of Commons respecting the Baie des Chaleurs Railway.

The Senate no longer than three years ago authorized their committee to examine any person they chose to summon. I do not suppose the Senate had the faintest idea who the witnesses would be, yet the Senate thought they were properly interpreting the law, both when they passed that resolution and when they proceeded to carry it out. I now come to the decisions of this House. In 1877 this House directed an inquiry to be made into matters affecting the Northern Railway, and the resolution appointing the committee authorized it to examine witnesses on oath, as follows :

It is desirable that any witness to be examined by said committee, be examined under oath.

Again, in 1877, the House referred a matter respecting Hon. Mr. Anglin to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, with power to take evidence, as follows :

It is desirable that any witness to be examined by the Select Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections on the matters which have been referred to this committee shall be examined upon oath.

Again, the House of Commons, in 1877, referred a matter respecting Mr. Norris to the Select Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections, empowering the committee to take evidence, as follows :

It is desirable that any witness should be examined by the Select Standing Committee of Privileges and Elections, to whom it has been referred to inquire and report on the allegations made against Mr. James Norris, shall be examined under oath.

Again, the House of Commons, in the same session appointed a committee to inquire into certain matters respecting Mr. Currier, and empowered the committee to examine witnesses under oath, as follows :

It is desirable that any witness to be examined by the Select Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections, to whom has been referred this inquiry into matters concerning Mr. Currier, shall be examined under oath.

Again, in 1878, this House appointed a committee to inquire into certain matters touching the North-west, and passed a resolution in the following words :

It is desirable that any witness examined before the Select Standing Committee on Public Accounts in connection with the expenditure of public money by the purveyors of the Government in the North-west, shall be examined under oath.

Again, this House, in 1880, passed the joint resolution to which I have referred respecting printing, and in that resolution declared that in their opinion,

It is desirable that any witness or witnesses who may appear before the committee in relation to the above inquiry shall be examined under oath.

Again, in 1886, a charge was made against a prominent member of this House at that time, a legal gentleman of high standing—I refer to Mr. Hector Cameron—and that charge was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, and the House on that occasion empowered the committee

To send for persons, papers and records, and examine witnesses upon oath or affirmation.

Again, in 1888, it will be remembered that combinations in regard to trusts had grown to enormous and injurious proportions, and accordingly in that session this House passed a resolution appointing a select standing committee to inquire into such combinations, and it empowered the committee to take evidence under oath,

With power to send for persons, papers and records, and with power to examine persons called before them on oath.

Again, in the session of 1889, this House appointed a committee to inquire into certain alleged frauds on farmers, and it authorized that committee to take evidence under oath, "with power to send for persons, papers and records, and examine under oath or affirmation, where affirmation is allowed by law, witnesses who may appear before the said committee." Again, in the session of 1890, grave charges were made against a former member of this House, Mr. Rykert. Those charges were referred to the Select Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections for investigation, and the committee were empowered to examine witnesses under oath or affirmation, where affirmation is allowed by law.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Can you give the date of that?

Mr. MULOCK. The resolution giving power to the Committee on Public Accounts, you will find on page 253 of the Journals of the House of Commons, and the date on which it was passed is the 25th of June, 1801. The words that I read a moment ago as supposed to apply to the Rykert case, are the words applicable to this resolution. The words that the House adopted on the occasion I am last quoting, namely, the reference to the Public Accounts Committee, are as follows:—

That it is desirable that any witness called before the Select Standing Committee on Public Accounts be examined under oath or affirmation, touching any matters coming before them.

Again, Mr. Speaker, in the session of 1891, the country and the House were convulsed with charges made in regard to certain misappropriations of public money, and other high crimes, I may call them, against the liberties of the people. I refer to the charges which culminated in the McGreevy-Connolly inquiry. These charges were referred to the Select Committee on Privileges and Elections, with power to examine witnesses under oath, and the words used, which certainly seemed sufficiently effective on that occasion, were:

The committee was clothed with power to send for persons, papers and records and to examine witnesses upon oath or affirmation.

I need not remind the House how that power was exercised. Day after day, new witnesses were brought in, whose names were never dreamt of at the time the resolution was passed. Throughout these whole series of cases to which I have referred, in no one instance has this House expressed any opinion as to who should or who should not be examined. The House left it entirely at the discretion of the committee to use that power as it, in its judgment, saw best, in harmony, of course, with the law. But, Sir, the Minister of Finance has now taken this extraordinary position: He contends that the committee is practically nothing but an auditing committee. I presume that the duties of this committee are analogous to those of the Standing Committee on Public Accounts in the Imperial House of Commons, and if they are, on reference to the last edition of May's "Parliamentary Practice," page 563, you will find that the Public Accounts Committee in England possesses more power than auditing power. This is what May says:

The functions of this committee are to ascertain that the parliamentary grants for each financial year, including supplementary grants, have been applied to the objects for which Parliament ascribed them.

Now, here is where May and the Minister of Finance will agree:

And to recheck the official audit created by the Exchequer Audit Department Act.

And May then proceeds:

The committee also scrutinizes the causes which led to any excess over parliamentary grants and the application of savings, and the grant made to the naval and military departments.

Now, Mr. Speaker, this matter came up for the consideration of this House of Commons in 1891 in a more formal way than I have perhaps yet referred to. On the 19th of August, 1891, the Minister of Finance moved the House into Supply, and the member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) made a motion in amendment, and perhaps the resolution that he offered to the House, and the opinions which he expressed on it may appeal to the judgment of some

hon. gentlemen on the other side. The resolution which was moved on that occasion by the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) was in the following words :—

It is the undoubted right of the Committee on Public Accounts to investigate all circumstances connected with the payment of any of the several sums of public moneys, referred to that committee,—

Now, that is one proposition.

—and that in the course of such investigation no evidence should be refused on the ground that it may disclose improper conduct or relations on the part of a Minister of the Crown or of any other party in connection with such payment.

That is another proposition. Sir Richard Cartwright spoke as follows (page 4089, 'Hansard' of 1891) :—

Now, Sir, what I desire at present is to obtain from the House some definition or declaration of the extent of the powers and duties which that committee possesses. It is not my intention, Sir, to occupy any great portion of the time of the House, but rather to confine myself to stating briefly what I understand, for my part, after a considerable experience in the ways and working of that committee, to be its functions and its duties, and also to state briefly the reasons why I think that understanding should prevail. The House after consideration can then decide whether the motion which I propose to submit, clearly defines the functions of the committee. Now, Sir, according to my understanding of the case, in the first place, the Committee on Public Accounts is strictly and in terms a committee of investigation—an inquisitorial committee, if you choose to call it. That committee is bound from the nature of the case to ascertain whether the various sums of public money which this House places at the disposal of the Government of the day are properly and honestly expended.

I call attention especially to those words because that doctrine was acquiesced in by the First Minister.

Sir, as a corollary and sequence to that, it is, in my judgment, no barrier or answer to any proceedings taken in that committee to say that the facts which may be brought out on examination in reference to any particular item so referred to a committee, touch or do not touch the conduct of any Minister of the Crown or any member of the House. In point of fact, according to my understanding of the duties of the committee, it is their special duty, as everybody knows it is the general duty of this House, to investigate the conduct of Ministers of the Crown, and to see in particular how public moneys are expended. But it is by delegation of the House, in a special sense, the duty of the members of the Public Accounts Committee to see that the public money is properly and honestly expended; and if, in the course of that investigation, questions should arise touching the conduct of any Minister of the Crown, so far from that being a barrier to investigation, it appears to me that it is rather a special reason why that committee should proceed with the

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investigation and make it, if possible, more thorough and searching. I do not at all desire to contend that the Committee on Public Accounts is bound to sit in judgment on conduct of members or on the conduct of Ministers. That is not the contention. What I do assert is that they are bound to find the facts, without fear or favour, and without reference to the circumstances, whether they may or may not in any way affect a Minister of the Crown or anybody else. Having found these facts, be they good or bad, it is their duty, in my opinion, to report them to this House. Who, having those facts before them, may then take such action as to the House seems proper. * * *

It appears to me that this has become, in a special sense, the correct interpretation of the duties and powers of that committee, since, upon the same principle, we have given the powers to the Auditor General to which I have referred, who has taken off the shoulders of the committee the care of examining into the minute details of those comparatively formal inquiries, which, in other days, used to occupy a considerable portion of the time of the Committee on Public Accounts.

The hon. gentleman having so addressed the House, the resolution was submitted and the hon. First Minister, then Minister of Justice, proceeded to discuss it. I will not quote the whole of his speech; if I omit anything that is thought material, let some other hon. member quote it. On page 4091 Sir John Thompson is reported to have spoken as follows in reference to the motion made by Sir Richard Cartwright :—

Fortunately, the resolution of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) is not open to the objection that we require notice of it, because it affirms a principle which I cannot suppose it would be optional in any member of this House to deny. Now, the principle which the hon. member lays down can be best illustrated—and I beg to assure him that, in speaking thus upon it, I am advocating its passage, lest a doubt may have arisen in his mind as to the propriety of the course he asks the House to affirm—by the practice adopted by the House generally in regard to the Public Accounts Committee is that, when the report of the Auditor General is laid on the Table of the House, it is referred to that committee for the purposes of investigation. Undoubtedly, in regard to that reference or in regard to any other reference that may be made to it, that committee is a committee of investigation.

A committee of investigation, without power to investigate. They shall have the undoubted right in the abstract, but the Government will take good care that that undoubted right shall be incapable of being exercised. The hon. First Minister went on to say :

From time to time, as occasion may require, or as circumstances may be shown to the House, other items, even though they refer to past expenditure, to years that have passed away, may be referred to the committee for the same purpose. No one can deny, and certainly on this side of the House we do not pretend to deny this afternoon, that, in the investigation of any reference made to

the committee by this House, it is entirely proper for the committee to hear evidence which may be adduced, no matter what consequences may ensue to any member of this House.

Then, the hon. gentleman remarked that it matters not who is affected, and so on, and puts in a saving clause before the end that the inquiries must not be fishing inquiries; that seems to be the only limitation. Well, Mr. Speaker, what became of this resolution, which the First Minister agreed to, saying that it was the undoubted right of the Committee on Public Accounts to investigate all circumstances connected with the payment of any sums of public money referred to that committee? The House unanimously adopted that resolution. Public opinion at that time made it impossible for the Government to resist such a proposition, even if they had wished to do so, which I presume they did not at that time; and what was the result of that action? When the Committee on Public Accounts met in the session of 1892, was it necessary for the minority on that committee to do what the majority are trying to compel us to do to-day—to submit to the gagging that is sought to be put upon the committee?

Mr. SPEAKER. Order.

Mr. MULOCK. Is that not in order, Mr. Speaker? Then I will use some parliamentary term; I will say that in 1892 we were not obliged to demand power to make effective our duties as members of the committee. At that time, owing to an active public opinion, it was necessary only to remind the committee that they were an investigating committee, and the committee on that occasion unanimously passed a resolution recommending to this House that Parliament should give them power to examine witnesses under oath. On the 1st of April, 1892—I read the 'Journals of the House of Commons,' page 187:

Mr. Wallace, from the Select Standing Committee on Public Accounts, presented to the House the first report of the said committee, which was read as follows:—

Your committee recommend that whenever any witness or witnesses coming before them is or are to be examined, it is desirable that such witness or witnesses shall be examined upon oath.

On motion of Mr. Wallace, seconded by Mr. Roome, this report was adopted in the following words:—

That this House do concur in the first report of the Standing Committee on Public Accounts.

There, Sir, was the fruit of the order of the House. The House in 1891 declared that the committee was not a mere auditing committee, as the hon. Minister of Finance pretends to-day, but a committee to make a substantial investigation; a committee not merely to pick up receipts and vouchers and look at the face of them, and see that the money was spent, but charged with the higher duty and the greater responsibility of ascertaining

whether the moneys voted by the people's representatives had been honestly and wisely expended; and I would like to know how any such committee can discharge its duties if it is prevented from getting evidence other than that supplied by the documents themselves. Suppose that a man having a large estate went away, leaving his steward in charge, and placing with him a large sum of money, with directions to spend so much on buildings, so much on roads, and so much on canals. Suppose he came back and said to the steward, "Render me an account"; and the steward handed to him his receipts, saying, "I spent all that, and there are the accounts and receipts." Suppose the owner of the estate said to him, "You have constructed a canal from my premises to your own property, I want to know more than the amount of the expenditure; I want to know wherein I am benefited by that expenditure." If it were a public building would he not say: "I want to see whether the money was expended judiciously, not merely whether you spent so much money; I want to see that you had proper contracts and skilled workmen, that the men you employed lived up to the specifications, and that good, honest materials were put into the building; all these things are necessary before I can say, "Well done, good and faithful steward." Are we not bound in the same way to investigate the wisdom and propriety of the expenditure of public money made by the people's representatives? When we have told it to the country that vast sums of money have been wasted here and there, is not the country entitled to know something more than that the money is lost? It is all very well to say that the receipts are there showing that the moneys have been expended; but if the expenditure has been made unwisely, the country is entitled to know it, in order that it may withdraw the confidence it reposes in its stewards. And if the money has not been unwisely expended, who is going to be hurt? Would it not be rather to the credit of those intrusted with the expenditure to have it made clear that the money has been wisely expended? Take any transaction. Take the thing known in the public mind as the Curran bridge. Does the hon. gentleman say that it is not due to the country that there should be an examination under oath into the expenditure on that enterprise? And yet we are told that the Public Accounts Committee has done all that is required when they see the receipts showing that the money is irretrievably lost. Take item after item of the public accounts, and the mere voucher that the money has gone is no adequate information as to how the money was spent. The Committee on Public Accounts stand between the people and the Government, and it is the duty of the Government to strengthen the hands of the committee in order that their investigation should be thorough. You cannot find any precedent in Great Britain for the conduct

of the majority of the committee. In 1871, the Imperial Parliament clothed its standing committees with certain powers. They are not hemmed in, as we are, by an Act which says that on each and every occasion the House must be asked to give this power. But the Imperial Act clothed every committee with full power to examine witnesses. If you refer to the Imperial Act of 1871, chapter 83, entitled "An Act to enable the House of Commons, and any committee thereof, to administer the oath to witnesses," you find :

The House of Commons may administer the oath to witnesses at the bar of the said House. Any committee of the House of Commons may administer the oath to witnesses examined before such committee.

A committee of the Imperial House does not require the special authority of the House, or the consent of the majority of the committee to administer the oath. The thing has not to be threshed out from day to day and to encounter all the ingenious methods of delay within the reach of the Government. But the moment a matter is before a committee in England—although, as a matter of courtesy, they may, perhaps, ask whether they shall or shall not make inquiries under oath—any member of that committee can, as a matter of legal right, demand that the witness be sworn. I have told you, Sir, the practice in Ontario. We are told what the law is in the province of Quebec. Why, then, should this House impose a practice here that is thwarting a fair investigation of public affairs, and is, at all events, an instrument to prevent a thorough investigation? Why, if the Government have no substantial objection, should they not be the first to say : Let there be light, and let all these matters appear under the noon-day sun? Take the experience of a couple of sessions ago—if the oath had not then been applied as a search light upon doings that did not appear in the vouchers and receipts, where would we have been? Take the records of the Public Accounts Committee of 1892, and what do you find? Day after day the chairman of that committee had to appear before this House, and present the report of the Public Accounts Committee. And what was that report? It was the disclosures, under oath, of certain persons, compelled to make known of how they had been guilty of breaches of trust, and maladministration. From day to day, the House and the country were shocked by disclosures of that kind, such as never before disgraced our country, and I hope never will again. But if the Government desire to stand well before the country, if they desire to have their fair fame preserved, they will be the first on this occasion to support this resolution and make the Public Accounts Committee that instrument which Parliament, in 1891, said it ought to be—an instrument qualified to con-

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trol and perfectly investigate all expenditures of public money. I need not take up the time of the House further. I am perfectly satisfied there is not a citizen of Canada who does not, in his heart, believe that every possible means of investigating these facts should be placed within the reach of the people's representatives. And we are now face to face with this issue, and upon this vote the country will decide whether the Public Accounts Committee is to be stifled, or whether it is to take full power and be effective. And if the Government use their power and influence in this House to induce their supporters to vote down a proposition like this, they will have practically destroyed the usefulness of the Public Accounts Committee. The Minister of Finance says that before an investigation can take place, we must establish a prima facie case, we must satisfy him, we must satisfy his majority. I take these words out of a newspaper, this morning, which are said to be those used by the Minister of Finance :

He stated before the Public Accounts Committee in order to induce them not to allow the examination upon oath—

I am reading from the Toronto 'Globe.'

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh! oh!

Mr. MULOCK. I suppose it may be true, if it appears there. The hon. member for East Toronto (Mr. Coatsworth) seems to question the accuracy of anything that appears in the Toronto 'Globe.' The Toronto 'Globe,' perhaps, may have given him some attention on that account. The Minister of Railways (Mr. Haggart), if I understood him correctly, says this is an ingenious way to present the case. I think myself that hon. gentleman ought to be found aiding in the presentation of this case.

Mr. HAGGART. Did you refer to me as having made an ingenious statement?

Mr. MULOCK. No, I did not. The report in the 'Globe' goes on to say :

We ought not to ask the House for power to put witnesses on oath unless some members of the committee—

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman cannot discuss here anything that has occurred in committee, and which is not on record before the House. The rule laid down is as follows :—

In the case of evidence taken by a committee, as soon as the evidence is before the House it may be debated at length. But members will not be permitted to discuss the conduct or language of members of the committee, except so far as it appears on the record.

Mr. MULOCK. I accept your ruling, Sir, on that point. But, of course, the Minister will repeat the language here which he used in committee. I desire to say, in conclusion, that I trust the House will be able to make

the Public Accounts Committee effective to discharge the duties for which it was created. We are annually charged with investigating the expenditure of a vast sum of money, now exceeding \$36,000,000. That certainly is an amount, the expenditure of which demands an investigation at our hands. And if everything is in order, I can conceive of no more pleasurable duty which the Government could have than to charge this committee to most thoroughly probe everything to the bottom, armed at all points with every instrument necessary for the effective discharge of its duties. But, on the other hand, the Government have a different view, and say the committee shall be ineffective, and without authority, then the country will understand that they have practically dissolved the Public Accounts Committee.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat has made a long argument and has advanced many propositions. I am willing to concede that the larger portion of his speech is not only sound and its arguments unanswerable, but, as I understand it, neither here nor elsewhere have those propositions been quarrelled with or made the subject of discussion. To my mind the hon. gentleman's notion is one thing and his speech is an entirely different thing, and the larger portion of his speech has very little applicability to the resolution he moved. The hon. gentleman, in the earlier part of his speech, referred to what was supposed to have taken place before the Committee on Public Accounts. I did not think at the time that the hon. gentleman was in order. Not that I cared, as he seemed to think, and even suggested, that whether or not my views on that occasion were mentioned or ventilated in this Chamber, but, because, with all due deference, I supposed, and now suppose, that that sort of discussion might be long, and, in any event, would be unsatisfactory. It matters not what was said on the occasion when this subject came before the Committee on Public Accounts, but it matters a great deal, and is pertinent to this resolution and to this discussion what the report of that committee is. This much appears on the Journals of the House—that the subject came up before the Committee on Public Accounts on the motion of the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock), who asked the committee to agree :

That it is desirable that such witnesses as are to be examined by the Public Accounts Committee shall be examined on oath.

I moved an amendment to that resolution, and that is my reason for interposing at this early stage of the discussion. For I do not claim to have any parliamentary experience on a subject of this kind worth placing before the House, nor do I desire to attempt to instruct the House as to what ought to be

or is the parliamentary method of procedure in these cases. I merely feel that it is proper and right that, having taken the responsibility of moving an amendment to the hon. gentleman's resolution, I should follow the hon. gentleman now and give such reasons as seem to me cogent for still maintaining the position I took on that occasion. My resolution was :

That whenever it shall appear desirable and necessary in the conduct of an inquiry of this committee that witnesses should be examined under oath, authority shall be asked in the House of Commons to have the testimony so taken.

Now, the point between us, the point on which the discussion must now turn is simply this: Shall we, on each and every occasion when we inquire into the public accounts, proceed with the formality of taking testimony under oath, with the employment, as will become necessary, of shorthand writers, to reduce that testimony to proper form? Or shall we pursue the (as it seems to me) business method of seeking the sanction of an oath only in cases where it is made to appear that a proper and thorough investigation of the matter before the committee can be made only in that way? All these indignant assertions, all this excitement of the hon. gentleman is beside the mark, I submit. There is no attempt to conceal anything, to shirk any inquiry or to throw obstacles in the way of investigation. There is an attempt, on the other hand, by the resolution which I presented, and which met with the approval of the majority of the committee, to proceed in due order, with regularity, and not to rush headlong into these formal inquiries where such a course would appear quite unnecessary. The hon. gentleman has not dealt with that feature of the case. He has not discussed what facts might or might not be required to show that a formal investigation is necessary. On the other hand, he called attention to-day to the fact that, when the country was convulsed and in a state of excitement, when serious charges were being made against members of the Government and members of this House, this Government quickly threw open the doors for every attempt that was being made in any way to investigate every question to the fullest extent. Out of the eighteen years that have passed since 1876, in which the public accounts have been examined by the Public Accounts Committee, only two have been mentioned, or can be mentioned, when it was considered advisable to resort to the procedure which the hon. gentleman suggests now should be made the procedure on each and every occasion for every session and for all time. It is not the idea, and it was not when we differed before in the Public Accounts Committee, that we should proceed in a loose manner or compel hon. gentlemen opposite to investigate any item of the public accounts without due solemnity and without

proper safeguard. But we considered that it was in the interest of the public business, that it would be regular and businesslike and according to the almost invariable practice of that very committee, that we should not ask witnesses, Deputy Ministers and others, who might be in attendance upon that committee to be sworn upon each and every occasion when their services were required. On many occasions it would be an absurdity on the face of it. When some explanation is wanted with reference to the vouchers before the committee, which explanation involves no question of dispute, the witness should be at liberty to state the facts. There has been no case mentioned of this committee, or a majority of the committee, on a reasonable case being shown, or the slightest prima facie case being made out, having refused to ask this House for the necessary authority to take evidence upon oath. The hon. gentleman referred to the statute that first gave authority to authorize committees to take evidence under oath. That legislation itself, I think, is a very necessary element in this discussion, and should be very carefully considered. It carries on the face of it the idea that this procedure is not to be the rule, that there are occasions—and occasions which, I think, will be the exception to the practice—when, as mentioned almost in the language of the resolution of the Public Accounts—"whenever desirable" is the language of the statute—we shall ask for authority to take evidence under oath. The statute says, "Whenever any witness or witnesses is or are to be examined by any committee of the Senate or House of Commons, the Senate or House of Commons shall have resolved that it is desirable that such witness or witnesses shall be examined upon oath." Surely there is no hon. gentleman who will say that the committee should not proceed with the same caution and the same consideration with which the House of Commons itself is supposed to proceed, and that is not that on mere application shall authority be given by this House for testimony to be taken upon oath, but when it is shown to this House that it is "desirable" that such course should be followed, then the necessary authority shall be given. That is the position taken by hon. members who voted for the amendment to which I have referred. That is the position which I think is a thoroughly sound one to-day, and it would only be during a period of extraordinary excitement that the course adopted in 1892 might be adopted again. I myself think it would be far better on every occasion to follow as nearly as possible the course that the language of the statute seems to mark out. There were hon. members on that committee, I believe there are hon. gentlemen opposite, who have themselves doubts as to what is technically the correct course for this House to take when it is attempting to clothe the Committee on Public Accounts or any committee with authority under this

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Act. for every member of the legal profession is aware that any faults or irregularities under that Act will make the oath absolutely worthless and of no effect.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). No effect on the witness?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. No effect on the witness in this sense, in placing him in fear of punishment in case he violates the oath—and that is, I suppose, what hon. gentlemen wish. They do not wish to put an empty form of oath to a witness which will be without effect, but they wish to put the oath, as hon. gentlemen have stated time and again, in order to caution him and make him more careful in his statements before the committee. The whole reason for administering the oath is supposed to be to arouse fear on the part of the witness as to the consequences of violating his oath; else this whole discussion is idle and of no importance whatever. I do not think there is any reasonable difference of opinion, that whatever course is ultimately adopted here in connection with the authority of that committee shall be strictly correct and regular, according to law. Well, then, I say this statute clearly provides that on particular occasions that authority shall be given to the committee, and the only difference to-day seems to be that some hon. gentleman asked that the House shall clothe that committee with general authority to take evidence under oath, no matter whether the case is a trivial one, a case that does not require formal testimony, and that on every occasion when the committee is called witnesses shall be examined on oath and the proceedings taken in a formal manner. This will prevent expedition in the transaction of business before the committee, it will impede the progress that hon. members desire to make on those occasions at the meetings, it is not the practice of that committee when it sits as an auditing body. The hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) said that while we have been given power, inquisitorial power as he called it, in dealing with the business that comes before that committee, our direct function is the auditing of accounts, and it is entirely irregular and contrary to the practice of large corporations and huge concerns all over the world that on the occasion of auditing accounts there should be this form of procedure followed and formal testimony taken under oath.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Hear, hear.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Surely the hon. gentleman does not mean to say that the practice is to go through the items of the accounts by taking testimony on each, under oath. The hon. gentleman no doubt called attention to that statement, not to challenge its accuracy, but to doubt its application to the present case.

Mr. MULOCK. I suppose the hon. gentleman is aware that great corporations are obliged to make returns under oath.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Surely the hon. gentleman is aware that the statement he has made has nothing whatever to do with the statement I have made, and that my statement is correct according to business experience, and that the accounts of large corporations are not audited by taking testimony on oath on any one of the items. It is when something wrong is suspected, which appears to require investigation, or an inquisition, as the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) would say, that resort is had to such measures, that such measures then become necessary, and only then. Therefore, I say it does not seem to me to be a subject for reasonable discussion that a large portion of the business coming before the Public Accounts Committee for investigation can be said for a moment to require formal testimony under oath; that in case after case of accounts, in the vast majority of them, no matter what circumstances may appear on the face, the majority of the committee would not desire that the testimony or examination should proceed in that manner. Why, then, because a possible case may occur, because some hon. gentleman thinks it may be necessary to resort to this procedure, should we arrive at once at the conclusion that it will be more convenient and will be absolutely necessary in the public interest that we should adopt a proceeding which is novel, and a practice which I do not believe, and the hon. gentleman did not satisfy me to the contrary, obtains in England. In the same edition of "May," from which the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) quoted, I observed this remark: That even in the case of select committees (and these were the cases to which the hon. gentleman referred to-day and not to the case of the standing committees), it is not usual to examine witnesses upon oath, except in inquiries of judicial or other special character. That is the English practice, and it is the practice even in cases of select committees of the House of Commons. I argue from that, if when it is supposed to be a special inquiry it is not the practice, why in the case of a standing committee like our Public Accounts Committee, with a vast amount of business before it, not calling for any special investigation, should we ask so extraordinary a course to be taken? But the hon. gentleman referred to a statute, and he did not refer to any other authority on the practice in England. The statute carries him a very short distance. It simply gives, in language different from our own statute, the authority to a committee to administer an oath. It does not go the length the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) wished it to go, and that is to make it obligatory on committees to take evidence under oath, or obligatory on this committee to take testimony on oath on every occasion. I have shown that it is not the custom in England; that while this statute gives committees of the English House of Commons authority

to take evidence on oath, I make bold to say, although I cannot support the statement at the moment by authority, it will be found that this practice does not obtain in the House of Commons, and that the proceedings are conducted in the ordinary way only.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Both ways.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman may be able to show it; I doubt it, because as a matter of fact, evidence is not taken under oath in the Public Accounts Committee in England, and as I have shown even in cases heard before select committees, evidence is taken under oath but seldom. The hon. gentleman, while making many propositions with which I will not quarrel, refers to precedents. He quoted a long list of precedents from the Senate and a long list from this House, but they are all against him. It was a remarkable thing that in a period of eighteen years since we have had the authority to do this, there were only two occasions when the House of Commons deemed it necessary to give this general authority to the Public Accounts Committee; and he mentioned special circumstances calling for that course. What are the special circumstances existing now? Does he pretend that up to this stage of our proceedings a single word has been uttered, or a single hint given, that there is any wrong-doing concerning any particular account referred to the committee? Is he able to show one single line in the report of the Committee on Public Accounts that suggests that there is anything wrong, or that there is any reason to suspect wrong in connection with the accounts? I have not the slightest doubt that the majority of this House, just as the majority of the committee were ready to do and as they are ready now to do; will, when the slightest symptom of a case of that kind appears, be as eager as hon. gentlemen opposite to ask for authority to put on oath the witnesses, to ask for authority to employ shorthand writers, and to make the inquiry just as thorough and as searching, as the hon. gentleman admits the majority were ready to do in 1891-92. I say that they are equally ready to-day. I say that when some case of that kind arises, or when it is shown by a report of the committee that a suggestion has been made that an hon. member believes that there is something wrong in the accounts, they will be ready to make a full and thorough inquiry. Then is the time to ask from the House greater powers than the committee at present possess; our powers at present being the general and ordinary powers for the inquiry which we have been invited to make. I say that the precedents quoted by the hon. gentleman are all against him. The precedents refer to special cases, to select committees appointed after debate, to charges made and charges answered either in the Senate or in this House; questions that involved exami-

nations of a most formal character; questions that involved the credibility of witnesses, and questions of facts. But, according to the papers before us to-day, according to the report of the committee now before this House, there is not even a hint that it would be in the public interest to proceed in this formal way with the investigation. No investigation has been begun, no evidence has been sought, no documents have been produced, no one has suggested in what way or in what manner that committee is impeded now through not being able to administer the oath to such witnesses as may come before it. With reference to the Ontario practice and the practice in Quebec, I think the hon. gentleman (Mr. Mulock) will admit that his references are hardly in a satisfactory state. The reference to Quebec he admitted to be on hearsay, and his reference to the practice in Ontario was not very full or very explicit.

Mr. MULOCK. I desire to say that I stated—if I did not I will state it now—that the Treasurer of the province of Ontario informed me that, for twenty years, their invariable practice has been to examine witnesses on oath before the Public Accounts Committee.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I do not challenge that statement, but it would have been better if the hon. gentleman could refer us to some documents of the Ontario Assembly, so that we might see exactly what the practice has been, and see also whether these hon. gentlemen understood each other on the point they were discussing. I am reminded that the hon. gentleman for North York (Mr. Mulock) must be wrong in his version of the conversation, because he states that the practice has obtained in Ontario for twenty years. Now, neither the Legislature of Ontario nor any Parliament in Canada, had the authority to appoint a committee to take evidence under oath previous to 1876.

Mr. LAURIER. The Ontario Act was passed in 1872.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. What does that matter when they had not authority to pass it? At all events in this case we are dealing with a statute of our own, and no lawyer in this House on one side or the other will pretend for a moment that we can go outside of that statute with safety. I would, therefore, urge caution, and I say that in proceeding in the way in which the majority of the committee suggested, we will be taking the safe course and acting in the public interest. There is no evidence now, and I am sure that it will never be possible to give any such evidence: that the majority either in the committee or in this House desires to burk or impede a full and thorough inquiry into any public account. No case has been made out that shows any desire to prevent investigation. We are at one as to what we may refer to that committee,

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER;

and we are at one as to the large scope of the inquiry of that committee. We do not differ about that. We on this side encourage the most extensive inquiry.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Hear, hear.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. We have always done so.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Hear, hear.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Yes, and we are ready to continue that practice, and we are ready to clothe the committees with all necessary authority to administer the oath as in the language of that resolution that was adopted then: "whenever it shall appear desirable or necessary."

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Hear, hear.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman says "hear, hear." Does he not think it is right that we should clothe the committees with all that authority and power when it appears desirable or necessary?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. No, it should be a right of the committee.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman voted against the resolution moved and carried in this House: "that whenever it appeared desirable or necessary we should ask Parliament for this authority." We wish to deal only with reasonable men, and we believe that is a reasonable proposition. It commended itself to the majority of the committee, and I believe it will commend itself to the majority of this House. I submit that the resolution now moved by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Mulock), is a very loose way of obtaining the authority of this House if it is meant to do so; and if it is merely meant to pave the way for another resolution, the hon. gentleman has not disclosed that intention. It is an exceedingly loose way, I submit, of proceeding, if it is meant to do so under statutory authority. But I wish to move an amendment, which, I think, fairly covers the ground taken in the committee and the ground which I have gone over this afternoon. I have purposely avoided referring to the hon. gentleman's position, because I have contended all through that we do not seriously differ upon the general proposition which he has laid down. It is merely a question of procedure, as to which is the best in the public interest. I have given some reasons for deeming that it is not necessary in the public interest to proceed on the lines of the hon. gentleman's resolution, and I beg to move in amendment:

That all the words after "That" in the said motion be erased, and the following inserted in lieu thereof:—

While not considering it expedient to oblige the committees of the House to examine under oath or

affirmation all persons who may be examined before the committees, the House is willing to grant to any committee the authority to examine witnesses under oath or affirmation whenever it may appear that by so doing the committee may be aided in the examination of the matters coming before the committee.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Mr. Speaker, the hon. gentleman, if I grasp the real meaning of his resolution, has somewhat receded from the position he took in the Public Accounts Committee. I congratulate him upon his conversion, partial as it is, and I am in hopes that, before this matter is thoroughly threshed out, the hon. member will see the grave injustice of the position in which he places the minority in this House. In the Public Accounts Committee, the most important committee of the House, in which the hon. gentleman's party friends have, I am told, a majority of forty—

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Not as large as the majority in this House.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I understand that the numbers of the committee are 64 to 23. At any rate, in that committee, in which the Government have a controlling majority on all occasions, no member of the minority can hope to examine any part of the Public Accounts, and have the examination conducted under oath, with all the safeguards and efficiency that the oath gives, unless by favour of the majority. But, Sir, we do not come to this House asking for favours from the majority; we are not asking to be allowed to discharge our duties as public men under favour of what our opponents may give or withhold. We claim to stand here on a parity with them, to have the right and the duty of discharging the obligations which rest upon us as members of Parliament, without asking a member of the Government or the majority of the House when or how, or under what circumstances we may do it. The question before the House divides itself into two: in the first place, have we power under the Statute to give the authority that my hon. friend from North York (Mr. Mulock) asks should be given to the committee; and, in the second place, is it politic that we should grant it, if we have the power? Let us see what took place before the committee itself, in order that we may understand the exact points of difference which we are discussing. In the committee Mr. Mulock moved:

That it is desirable that such witnesses as are to be examined by the Public Accounts Committee shall be examined on oath.

Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper moved in amendment thereto:

That whenever it shall appear desirable or necessary in the conduct of any inquiry by this committee that witnesses should be examined under oath, authority be asked from the House of Commons to have the testimony so taken.

The hon. gentleman knew that in the years

1891 and 1892 the general plenary power which my hon. friend asked for, had been conceded and granted by the House without any opposition whatever. In those years, I am bold to affirm, the hon. gentlemen did not dare, and would not have dared to take the position before the country that they are taking to-day. Public opinion outside of the House compelled them to yield to the demand which was then made, that the witnesses to be examined should be examined on oath. Revelations had been made of a state of fraud existing in our public service, before which Canadian public opinion was shocked, and a determination was evinced that an inquiry into these revelations should be prosecuted in such a way that the truth would be got at; and the way in which the House determined that it should be got at, was by an inquiry under oath. The Government then granted that inquiry; they did not dare to refuse it. The inquiry, the hon. gentleman must know, was productive of good and only good; and when he talks of formalities and novel practices and the necessity of exercising caution and prudence, I ask him, why did he not advance those arguments in 1891 and 1892, and thwart the investigations which took place in the Committee on Public Accounts and the other committees of this House? The hon. gentleman knows that he dared not do it; and, therefore, I say that, so far as precedent and practice are to have any weight in controlling the opinion of this House, the overwhelming weight is in favour of our following the practice and the precedents which were so productive of good during those fateful years. But, Sir, it was not only that particular point that was in dispute. The hon. Minister of Marine has hardly put before the House the exact position of this case. After the Government resolution had been carried and the resolution of my hon. friend from North York (Mr. Mulock) had been ruled out, and the right of the committee to examine on oath was denied, and they were told that they must ask for the privilege in special cases only, my hon. friend from Lambton (Mr. Lister) brought forward a particular case, and move a resolution, as follows:—

That this committee ask the House to authorize the committee to examine D. O'Connor and the Deputy Minister of Justice under oath on accounts of D. O'Connor.

Here were accounts involving many thousands of dollars—\$140,000 altogether.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. D. O'Connor's accounts?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Out of that amount Mr. O'Connor's own account was \$19,800; and my learned friend from Lambton, who certainly occupies a distinguished position at the bar, thought the matter sufficiently serious to demand openly that the gentleman to whom that large amount of money had been

paid during the last year for legal services, should, together with the Deputy Minister of Justice, be examined before the committee. Why, Sir, is there a man in this country who could maintain, on any possible ground, that the demand should be refused? Why is it refused? Why should Mr. O'Connor, who received \$19,000 of public money last year, refuse to answer on oath a question put to him in that committee respecting that expenditure? Does not the hon. gentleman see that he is forcing suspicion to exist where it did not exist before? Does he not see that, in the nature of things, suspicion must be excited, throughout the length and breadth of this Dominion, when the people see that, when, in the Public Accounts Committee, the application is made that the man to whom this money was paid, be called and examined under oath, a brute majority rise in their places and refuse to let this man be examined on oath? And, says the Minister of Marine, this majority is going to exercise this power and the minority is to be silenced on all occasions, unless we come forward and disclose exactly what we hope to prove. Is there any more monstrous proposition? What hope could there have been in 1890-91 of eliciting the information we did elicit, if we gave in the names of the clerks beforehand, who could prove the frauds, and if we described the frauds we intended to prove? The very men we wanted would have been absent when called for. The very books required to prove our charges would have disappeared; the very evidence wanted would have vanished into thin air. The hon. gentleman talks about subjecting witnesses before that committee to some kind of humiliation. What humiliation? If I go into a court of justice, even before a police magistrate, in the smallest case, does it make any difference to him whether I am a member of Parliament or a barrister or a labouring man? Not at all; they all walk into the witness stand, and take the same oath—the same moral obligation. No matter what position a man may occupy in society—no matter whether he be a peer of the realm, or a knight, a K.C.M.G., or whether he enjoys any other honour or distinction from Her Majesty, he does not feel that he is in any way discredited when the book is put into his hand and he takes the oath. This is ridiculous. Those civil servants and others who are to be called before the Public Accounts Committee, the public men to whom public money is paid—not one of them, who has the right and proper feeling, whose conduct is right and proper, will feel humiliated by taking the oath and being called to tell all he knows. Let us look at the legal power first. My hon. friend said that it has not been proved to him that such power exists in the law in Quebec.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman misunderstood me. I referred to the practice in Quebec. I said that

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) spoke merely by hearsay.

Mr. MULOCK. I spoke of the statute law, and I said that I understood there was a statutory provision in the province of Quebec.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The Quebec statute reads as follows:—

Every committee of the Legislative Council or Legislative Assembly, sitting in the exercise of its functions, may examine witnesses under oath on matters relating to business then before it. And for that purpose, the chairman, or any member of the committee, may administer the oath to the witness in the following form.

There is the fullest and amplest power given. Look at Ontario, a similar statute, almost in similar words, exists there. Look at Great Britain—there they went on, as the hon. gentleman said, for many years, trying to ascertain the truth in committees without examining witnesses. But after an enormous number of years' experience, they came to the conclusion that witnesses ought to be examined under oath, and they passed a law, twenty years ago, granting to all committees, in the most general terms, the power to examine under oath. Every committee appointed by the House may examine witnesses on oath. What does that show? It shows that public opinion induced their leading public men to adopt that practice which we urge this House to adopt. Long experience convinced the public men of England that, to find out the truth, you must have the sanction of an oath when witnesses are on the stand. Let us here follow the practice prevailing in England, Ontario and Quebec, and which has prevailed in the Dominion since 1891, but which, for some occult reason or another, there seems to be a desperate determination now on the part of the Government to resist. What is the reason? The Minister of Marine (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper) spoke an hour in this House and for half an hour in the Committee on Public Accounts; the Minister of Finance backed him up in the committee; the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Ouimet) came forward to support him, and the Minister of Railways (Mr. Haggart)—four Ministers, by their voices and votes, opposed the administration of the oath, the other four gave a silent vote, making eight in all, denouncing this demand of the Opposition that the practice which has prevailed for years past, under which alone the truth can be ascertained, shall be ignored and voted down. What is the law? The law gives us ample power:

Whenever any witness or witnesses is or are to be examined by any committee—

“Whenever”—the broadest word you could use—on every and any occasion. No broader word could be used.

Whenever any witness or witnesses is or are to be examined by any committee of the Senate or

House of Commons, and the Senate or House of Commons shall have resolved that it is desirable that such witness or witnesses shall be examined under oath, they shall be examined under oath or affirmation.

The whole meaning of that statute is plain. A committee has no power to examine under oath until it is given that power by a resolution adopted by the House. The House is now asked to adopt that resolution and give that power, and I would like to hear some reasons, other than those already advanced, to show why not. You cannot say we have no right to assume any wrong-doing in the public service, because the disclosures of 1891-92 have for ever settled that question. The hon. gentleman knows that branches of the public service reeked with fraud and corruption; that the name of Canada was brought into disgrace at home and abroad. And, though I have no doubt whatever that this has been, to an enormous extent, rectified, I have no reason to doubt that there are large expenditures paid out by the Government under circumstances which demand the strictest investigation. And I know, from my experience as a lawyer, that it is a sham and a farce to attempt such an investigation unless you examine the witnesses under oath. I remember that, a year or two ago, in the committee, a civil servant, in answer to a question I put him, made me the laughing-stock of the committee by telling me that I had been misinformed, that there was not a word of truth in the statement contained in my question, that it was only a Grit slander. And the whole committee laughed. But the following year, when my hon. friend from Lambton (Mr. Lister) had him under oath, and put the same question to him again, he admitted that in his answer the previous year he had lied. He said: I lied to the hon. member because I was not under oath. And you want us to continue the system when you have such examples before you of the evil practice of examining without oath. I am surprised at the hon. gentleman. Why, we have in the expenditures last year on the Curran bridge, an expenditure which, prima facie, is fraudulent, because the department itself, driven by the force of public opinion, appointed a committee of inquiry to go and examine into it. Supposing that \$400,000 of public money was spent in the manner which it is charged publicly this has been spent. If the Committee on Public Accounts meet and send for witnesses to Montreal and examine them, without administering an oath, is it to be believed that the men who fraudulently appropriate public money to their own use will tell the truth about the case? Why, Sir, you are bringing the whole proceedings into contempt. The Public Accounts Committee will be laughed at. No man who values his reputation will undertake to prosecute an inquiry under such circumstances. Perhaps that is the reason for all this. I dare say they may obtain their ends. I

think the hon. gentlemen know that the leaders on this side will not waste a month going through the form of an examination, when the power to make that form a reality is denied them. We demand that which exists in England. We ask you to follow the English practice. Are you ashamed or afraid to do it?

Mr. DALY. No, certainly not.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) We ask you to do what the English statute says may be done by any committee. We ask you almost in the very language of the English statute to pass a resolution, which you alone can do, giving the power to the Public Accounts Committee which the English statute gives to parliamentary committees.

Mr. HAGGART. Will the hon. gentleman cite one instance of a standing committee in the British House of Commons examining a witness under oath?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman asks me to cite an instance. I have no doubt whatever that there are many instances. How can I cite an instance? I am citing to the hon. gentleman that which ought to be to him conclusive—that, after hundreds of years of practice to the contrary, the Parliament of England enacted that witnesses brought before the standing committees might be examined on oath. I do not say that necessarily they shall be, but that they may be. I think I have expressed it clearly.

Mr. HAGGART. I do not think that there is any such statute as that.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) If the hon. gentleman will kindly send to me the book which he borrowed from the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock), I will consult it again. I thought it read quite plainly this morning when I was looking into this matter. It is entitled, "An Act for enabling the House of Commons and the committees thereof to administer oaths." The sections read:

The House of Commons may administer oaths to the witnesses examined at the bar of the said House.

Any committee of the House of Commons may administer an oath to the witnesses examined before such committee.

Mr. HAGGART. The hon. gentleman surely does not think that bears out his contention.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman may be a very astute lawyer, and it may be possible that I fail to appreciate some fine distinction which is apparent to him. That language seems to me as broad, as plain, and as simple as it can be, and I do not think there can be any doubt in the mind of a layman, much less of a lawyer, as to what it means. If it does not confer upon a committee of the House of Commons power to examine any witness it likes upon

oath, I fail to understand the meaning of English words. I have shown the hon. gentleman what the practice is in England, I have shown him what the practice is in Ontario and in Quebec, and I appeal to the experience of the past in this Dominion to prove whether, if we have the power, it is not politic to exercise it. The question is a plain one. This is the position taken by the Government: Before we will permit you to examine a witness before the Public Accounts Committee, you must present a prima facie case of fraud or wrong-doing. Is that fair? That prima facie case of wrong-doing must be one which satisfies the majority of the committee—a party majority. Therefore, at all times, the minority on the Public Accounts Committee are not to have the right to examine a witness under oath, but they must ask that power as a favour at the hands of their party opponents. Is it conceivable that any honest man would place a minority, whose fight in this House must necessarily be an uphill one in any case, in such a position? The duties of the Opposition should be facilitated instead of being obstructed by the Government. Is it credible that any honest man inside the House or out of it would force his opponents into such an ignominious position? We now demand as a right that which you wish to retain in your own power to grant as a favour. If you refuse, it will generate a thousand suspicions where none existed before, and you will frustrate that examination into the expenditure of public moneys which it should be the duty of the Government to facilitate instead of obstructing.

Mr. WELDON. The hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) has spoken with great warmth on a matter of very considerable interest and one which, I think, can be discussed with better effect without such warmth and with more patient and deliberate study of the law. The question before the House on the motion of the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) is that we alter the present practice with regard to putting oaths to witnesses before the committees of the House. The present practice is set forth by the statute that, where it is desirable to examine a witness on oath before a committee of the House, leave shall be first had from this House to examine such witness in that manner. Let me read again that part of the Act of 1876 passed by this Parliament, which deals with this matter. The paragraph was read by the hon. member who has just taken his seat:

Whenever any witness or witnesses is or are to be examined by any committee of the Senate or House of Commons, and the Senate or House of Commons has resolved that it is desirable that such witness or witnesses shall be examined upon oath, such witness or witnesses shall be examined upon oath or affirmation, if affirmation is allowed by law; and such oath or affirmation shall be administered

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

by the chairman or any member of any such committee.

Let me point out here, Mr. Speaker, that there is a striking contrast between the provisions of the law of Canada enacted in 1876 and the cognate provisions of the English law enacted in 1871. I will read again, to sharpen that contrast, what has already been read to the House by the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) and the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies):

The House of Commons may administer oaths to the witnesses examined at the bar of the said House.

Any committee of the House of Commons may administer an oath to the witnesses examined before each committee.

Five years had intervened between the passage of the English Act and the passage of the Canadian Act. My hon. friend from Queen's (Mr. Davies) was not a member of this Parliament when this Act was passed, but his present leader was. So, also, was his colleague, the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills). These hon. gentlemen perhaps, can give us some light upon this discussion by saying why it was that when this question came before Parliament, this Parliament, under the leadership of Mr. Mackenzie, chose deliberately to pursue a different policy, and not to give the committees the upright and downright power of their own motion to administer the oath to witnesses, but rather chose to keep that power in the hands of this House.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) If the hon. gentleman will examine the record, he will find that this Bill was not introduced as a Government Bill, but that it was introduced by Mr. Wilmot in the Senate, and that Mr. Wilmot explained that the Bill was a verbatim copy of a Bill which had been introduced by John Hilyard Cameron many years before, and that he thought it better to follow the exact wording of the old Bill which had previously been introduced, the legality of which had been tested.

Mr. WELDON. The hon. gentleman's explanation is not satisfactory.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I can only give the explanation of Mr. Wilmot.

Mr. WELDON. Hon. members of this House must accept a degree of responsibility when it is proposed either to minimize the power of the committee or to enlarge the powers of this House and keep the control of matters within the power of the House itself. The English practice is that the committee may at its pleasure administer the oath. As the Minister of Railways has stated, it is perfectly clear that the English practice runs contrary to the frequent examination of witnesses on oath. I will read again, in support of this question, the quotation from May, at page 467:

It is not usual to take evidence on oath except in inquiries of a judicial or special character.

I take it that the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) relies more on the fairness of the committee, whatever its constitution may be, than on the fairness of this House; that is to say, he expects to get fair-play rather from the committee, divided in politics, as it may be, than from this House, divided in politics, as it may be. Now, English experience goes to show that committees have been more lax in the exercise of this power to administer oaths than the House itself. In some cases the House has gone on and instructed the committee to exercise the power which they might have exercised, but had not exercised, so that the House is more insistent in regard to the examination of witnesses on oath than the committee itself. The question was spoken to, in the main, with fairness by the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock), but it has been spoken to with singular unfairness by the hon. member for Queen's. P.E.I. (Mr. Davies). He spoke as if the vital question before the House was this: that he saw the large item of \$19,000 which excited his suspicion and the suspicion of some of his fellow members on the committee, that he asked for leave to examine witnesses on oath, and got no succour and support from the committee.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I said another member did so.

Mr. WELDON. One of the hon. member's colleagues. Then why did not his colleague come to this House and say: We have our suspicions, we cannot get a fair inquiry, and we ask for the mandate of this House to order an examination on oath.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) That is what we are doing.

Mr. WELDON. No. If the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) came down from the Public Accounts Committee to this House with the statement that he could not get fair-play there, that he desired to obtain a fair investigation, and asked power to examine on oath witnesses called before that committee, whether I vote with the Government or against the Government, with hon. members on this side of the House or with hon. members on the other side of the House, if the hon. gentleman or any other hon. member came to this House and made the statement that he could not get a fair inquiry, he would have my vote and the votes of a great many others sitting on this side of the House, in favour of his proposition. His is an imaginary grievance; it is not a question of wrong, but it is one of arousing and exciting public opinion.

Some hon. MEMBERS. No.

Mr. WELDON. I say it deliberately. The true question is this: whether the policy of our Canadian Act is right, whether the policy of the English Act is better, or whether it is still more desirable to adopt

the new and extreme policy suggested by the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock), a policy which goes far away and beyond the English policy. The question is whether the House should keep control of this matter. According to the English practice, the committee has control. The hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) favours a departure from the English Act, he favours the administration of the oath in every case of examining witnesses. If we go into the merits of this question there are grave objections to such a proceeding. It will, in my opinion, be very regrettable to adopt such a practice, and go not only beyond our own practice but also far beyond the practice of the English Parliament, as it has been shown to be.

Mr. MULOCK. Why not follow the present practice?

Mr. WELDON. What practice?

Mr. MULOCK. The practice adopted by the House in 1891 and 1892.

Mr. WELDON. In regard to that practice, for my part, speaking as a lawyer and with reserve on a matter which has been argued so little, and on one which should be argued much more carefully in this House before we come to a finding, I have had grave doubts whether under the statute we can legally act as we did in 1891 and 1892. Hon. gentlemen opposite may smile. Those were years of panic. According to my reading of the Canadian Act, we went beyond our powers when we gave an all-session permit to the Public Accounts Committee to examine on oath all witnesses that came before it. It seems to be the correct reading of the Act that Parliament has kept in its hands the power under which committees must come down to this House, name the witnesses they wish to examine on oath, and obtain permission for such examination to take place before such examination is valid. I do not think that I am bound by the precedents of 1891 and 1892. I entertain strong doubts as to whether we were within our rights when we passed those resolutions in those years of panic and excitement.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Oh.

Mr. WELDON. We are cooler and less in panic than then.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. WELDON. Hon. gentlemen may cheer as much as they like.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The panic has changed sides.

Mr. WELDON. If a committee of this House in every case are bound to examine witnesses under oath, the witnesses are not likely to fare too well as matters go at present. You may make a comparison if you please between a committee of this House and a court of justice. In a Superior

Court a witness will receive a degree of protection from the judge, but he will not receive that degree of protection from a committee. The moment the chairman of the committee gave a ruling to protect a witness, that moment would be heard the blazing rhetoric of the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) denouncing the ruling as partizan and unfair, and declaring that an effort was made to burke the inquiry.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman has made a charge against me. I tell him the charge is utterly without foundation, and he knows it. The hon. gentleman has said that I accused the Chairman of Public Accounts of giving partizan rulings. The hon. gentleman knows that is an unfair charge to make.

Mr. WELDON. The hon. gentleman did not hear what I said. I said that if the motion of the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) prevailed, and if hereafter every witness coming before a committee must be examined on oath, and if a witness, who in giving similar evidence in a court of justice would receive the protection of the judge, was protected by the ruling of the chairman of the committee, no one in this House would rise with more indignant voice, to declare that partizanship had been shown, that an unfair ruling had been given and that an attempt had been made to burke the inquiry than would the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies).

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman is changing his words.

Mr. WELDON. By no means. For my own part, if this whole question came before the House, the opinion of my own mind would be to favour the middle course, not that suggested by the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock), nor that which I think is ours at the present time, nor the practice of three years ago, when the House adopted measures that were wider than the law allowed. I repeat that, in my opinion, we should adopt the middle course, and, as in England, permit the committees to exercise the power, but not under compulsion. Under these circumstances I cannot vote for the motion proposed by the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock).

Mr. LISTER. I am sure it must be very gratifying to the House to have the admission of the hon. gentleman who has just spoken that hon. gentlemen on the opposite side were in a panic in 1891.

Mr. WELDON. It were not we who were in a panic, but the country.

Mr. LISTER. The words used by the hon. gentleman were: We were in a panic in 1891. I venture to suggest that the reason why hon. gentlemen opposite refuse the power to investigate witnesses under oath is that that hon. gentleman and his friends may not again get into a panic. Let

Mr. WELDON.

us look at this question, apart from the hair-splitting technicalities of the hon. Minister of Marine and the hon. gentleman who has just addressed the House. Let us put the question on a broader ground, upon a more comprehensive footing than these hon. gentlemen put it, and let us ask ourselves: whether the refusal to grant to this committee the power it asks is an honest refusal in the interests of getting at the truth, or whether it is done for the purpose and object of frustrating the investigation which this committee is called upon to make. The House has referred to the Public Accounts Committee, not one item, but all the public accounts of the Dominion of Canada. It has not simply referred the account of the Curran bridge, or the account of Mr. O'Connor, or any other particular account, but it has referred every account of the entire Dominion. What we ask this House to do is to authorize that committee to administer oaths to the witnesses who may be called in respect to these accounts, and the question for us, is: will the truth be better elucidated by the fact of an oath being administered, than it will by calling witnesses before that committee and examining them not under oath? It is useless for members of the Government and their supporters to say that witnesses should not be examined under oath. The facts as proved in 1891, showed that the departments of the Government had become thoroughly corrupt, and is there any man in this House to-day who will deny that the result of those investigations of 1891 was to purify the public service of Canada? Can there be any question that these investigations were beneficial in the public interests. Now, after having adopted that principle in 1891, after again confirming the practice in 1892, that power should be conferred upon that committee to make these investigations under oath, is that course less essential than it was in 1891 and 1892? I state here deliberately: that unless the House gives that committee power to administer oaths, the committee might as well dissolve, because otherwise the investigations would be the merest farce. Perhaps that is what the Minister of Marine and the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) would wish, but whether they do or not, I have no hesitation in affirming that the practical result of their contention is that the Public Accounts Committee would be of no value to the House or to the country.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. That is not a fair reading of the amendment.

Mr. LISTER. No; but I cannot forget the position that the hon. Minister took in the committee.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Try and forget that.

Mr. LISTER. I cannot forget the position he took on all occasions in the committee—

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Do not forget the amendment.

Mr. LISTER. I cannot forget that when the minority of the committee tried to investigate a wrong-doing, he and the majority threw every difficulty in their way. The Minister of Marine says: you must first make a charge before that committee, you may go on and examine the witnesses, not under oath, and if the evidence and testimony of the witness is not satisfactory or has a suspicious appearance, then you may apply to the House for power to examine them under oath. The hon. gentleman must know that a proceeding of that kind would involve so much time that the session of this House, were it months longer than it usually is, would not suffice to get through the examinations and investigations that may possibly take place before that committee. I hold that under a proper construction of that statute this House has power to authorize that committee to examine witnesses under oath. The contention of the Government is, that we must come to this House from time to time, that if a special case comes up (as they put it) it will be necessary to make an application to this House to receive authority to administer an oath to the witness. That means that this House, day after day, must be asked to confer power upon the committee to administer oaths to the witnesses. I contend that is not the law under the reading of the statute. I contend that the case under the consideration of the committee is an investigation into the public accounts of this country, and that this House has power by one resolution to authorize that committee to examine all the witnesses who may appear before them. It has been laid down as a fundamental principle by English writers upon constitutional law: that it is essential in the discovery of truth that a witness should be under oath. From the smallest court in this country, the magistrate's court, the small debt court, up to the highest tribunal, every witness who is called upon to give testimony is required to give it under oath. Is it to be believed that in the House of Commons, before a great committee of the House of Commons, that right is to be denied? In these little courts the witnesses are sworn, although the amount involved may be trifling, while before this committee, called upon to investigate accounts involving thousands, and tens of thousands, and hundreds of thousands of dollars, it is said by the majority that this committee shall not have power to administer an oath which the smallest court in the Dominion of Canada or the Empire has power to administer. There is no doubt that in England, up to the year 1871, it was believed, for some reason, that the House of Commons had no power to authorize its committees to administer oaths, and by referring to May's "Parliamentary Practice," page 489, it will be seen to what expedients the House resorted for the purpose of getting

over that difficulty. In some instances they called justices of the peace who were members of the House to administer oaths; and they sent witnesses out to be examined before the judges. They sought to aid their inquiries by having witnesses sworn at the bar of the House of Lords and by examining witnesses under oath before joint committees of both Houses, in neither of which expedients were they supported by the Lords. It will be seen that up to 1871 the English House of Commons resorted to these expedients for the purpose of getting over the difficulty as to the examination of witnesses under oath. All this proves that witnesses were examined under oath before these committees in the years between the twelfth century and 1871. It proves that the English House of Commons, although it did not apparently possess the power to administer the oath, believed that for the elucidation of the truth it was necessary that witnesses should be sworn, and for that purpose they resorted to the expedients I have referred to. By the Confederation Act of 1867, section 18, all the powers, privileges and immunities held, enjoyed and exercised by the Parliament of Great Britain at that time were granted to the Parliament of Canada. In 1871 an Act known as the Parliamentary Oaths Act, which has been referred to by hon. gentlemen who have preceded me, was passed by the Imperial Parliament. Therefore, there can be no doubt that in 1867 the Parliament of Great Britain did not possess the power to authorize the administration of an oath, and it did not pretend to confer that power upon the Dominion Parliament. Therefore, at the time the investigations respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway were going on the Parliament of Canada was restricted to the powers which the Imperial Parliament had prior to 1867. This Parliament had not power to administer oaths to witnesses appearing before its committees, because that power did not exist in the English House until 1871. But in 1871 the Parliamentary Oaths Act was passed, which gave to the committees of the English House of Commons the power to administer oaths. That Act did not confer the same power upon Canada; but in 1871, I think, the Act was passed by the Imperial Parliament empowering this Parliament to grant the power which the English Parliament obtained in 1871. Now, the first section of the Act passed by this Parliament in 1876 reads thus:

Whenever any witness or witnesses is or are to be examined by any committee of the Senate or House of Commons, and the Senate and House of Commons shall have resolved that it is desirable that such witness or witnesses shall be examined on oath, such witness or witnesses shall be examined on oath or affirmation where affirmation is allowed by law; such oath or affirmation shall be administered by the chairman or any member of any such committee as aforesaid.

Now, Sir, by what possible rule of construc-

tion can it be held that this Parliament has not power to confer upon the Public Accounts Committee authority to examine all witnesses who may appear before it? Surely, if it has power to authorize the examination of one witness, it has power to authorize the examination of every witness who may be called before it. Then, we find in the last edition of Bourinot, page 526, that according to the writer the intention was that one resolution should cover all the cases coming before the Committee on Public Accounts, because the resolution reads thus :

That it is desirable that any witness to be examined by the committee should be examined on oath or affirmation where affirmation is allowed by law.

That is the form of the resolution as given by Bourinot, and, according to the judgment of that constitutional writer, it would appear that it was contemplated that the one resolution should cover all the witnesses who should appear before the Public Accounts Committee. It can only be argued upon the narrowest possible grounds that there is any doubt as to the right of this House to confer power upon that committee to examine witnesses under oath. The reading of the section itself irresistibly leads to the conclusion that the intention of Parliament at the time of the passing of that Act was that the committee should have that power, and now we hear that power questioned for the first time, after that construction had been applied by this Parliament. Whether the Conservative party in the House were panic-stricken or not in 1891 or in 1892, whether the statement of the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) is true or not, that party recognized, without question, without discussion, without argument, without objection, that that was the proper construction to put upon that section of the Act. In 1891 the motion submitted to this House was carried without opposition, and in 1892 the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee himself reported in favour of conferring the power upon that committee to administer oaths. In the face of that, it is indeed ridiculous for hon. gentlemen opposite now to get up and say: We did not object then, we did not raise the legal question then, because, forsooth, we were panic-stricken at the developments which were taking place day after day in the Public Accounts Committee. It is all very well for the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries to get up here and say that the Government is anxious and willing to aid in the investigation of the accounts before the Public Accounts Committee. He can afford to say that here; he can afford to make it appear, so far as he can, that his object is not to burke inquiry, but that he is willing that the inquiry should take place, provided some case is submitted to the committee about which there is suspicion. Why, Mr. Speaker, how can the hon. gentleman suppose for a moment that those who are in-

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vestigating the accounts know anything about them until the witnesses are examined? Their function is to investigate—to call such people as may in all probability have a knowledge of the subject before the committee, and, until those people are called, it is impossible for that committee or any member of it to have any knowledge of the facts connected with the transactions which appear in the public accounts. It is only by calling witnesses and putting them under oath and examining them that it is at all possible to ascertain whether the accounts set forth in the public accounts are accurate or not. And to say to gentlemen on this side, that before this committee will recommend the House to investigate, with power to examine under oath, you must make a charge against some particular individual, is at once to say that the members of that committee will not be able to carry out the functions and powers and duties it was intended they should discharge, when that committee was formed. Let the country understand that it will be utterly impossible for that committee to discharge its duties properly unless the power is given it to administer and examine witnesses under oath. The instance given by my hon. friend from Queen's (Mr. Davies) is only one out of many where the truth would not have been elicited had the witnesses under examination not been under the obligation of an oath to tell the truth. There can be no doubt about it, that an investigation, without the sanction of an oath, becomes a perfect farce; and I have no hesitation in saying that I would not consider that committee of any value in the public interest unless the motion now before the House, or some other, is passed giving it power to administer the oath. To argue that the largest committee in this House shall not have the power which the smallest court in Canada has, is to argue an absurdity. To argue that the highest court in the realm shall not have the power to administer the oath, because, according to the narrowest construction of the statute, some hon. gentlemen say that power is not conferred, is to my mind absurd. How wonderfully tender and solicitous these gentlemen are, lest, should we have to prosecute some witnesses for perjury, a conviction would not stand. How careful they are that not the slightest reflection should be cast on any gentleman who comes before that committee. My hon. friend is afraid it would be a reflection on Mr. O'Connor to swear him; that it would be a reflection on the Deputy Minister of Justice to swear him; and that it would be a reflection upon the officials in the different departments to swear them. Why, what he proposes to do would be a reflection on every man who has taken the oath, because he says there is a certain class in this country who are not to be sworn and every other person called before that committee is to be sworn. Can there be any fairer ground than to say that every

man who goes before that committee must give his testimony under oath? Then we place every man on a footing of perfect equality. Let there be no privileged class. Whether a man be a K.C.M.G., or anything else, let all be equal before the committee. Because one gentleman may have a title of some kind, and another hold a certain position in the public service, they are entitled to no more consideration, so far as giving evidence is concerned, than the meanest inhabitant of the Dominion. Yet the first man who advances this proposition is the Minister of Marine (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper), who says, forsooth, that it would not be respectful to place certain officials of the public departments at Ottawa under oath, while it would be perfectly respectful to place other citizens of the Dominion under oath.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman has a remarkable imagination.

Mr. LISTER. What does the hon. gentleman say? He says: Call these witnesses, first examine them without putting them on oath, and then, if the committee thinks they are not telling the truth, let the committee ask the House to give it power to examine them under oath.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I did not say anything of the kind.

Mr. LISTER. The hon. gentleman said, moreover, that before the House can be called upon to give the power to that committee, a prima facie case must be established to show that there has been some wrong-doing.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I never said anything of the kind.

Mr. LISTER. That is the effect of it. You must show a case on suspicion; you must show suspicious circumstances. But how can we show it unless we are allowed to make proof?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I never made such a proposition.

Some hon. MEMBERS. You did.

Mr. LISTER. The hon. gentleman has taken a much milder course to-day than he took on the former occasion. His resolution is not as vigorous as it was the other day. His language is not so strong. Mr. Speaker says I must not refer to what took place in the committee, but there has been a considerable watering down since that time—a considerable weakening since the last meeting of the Public Accounts Committee. The hon. gentleman says that this committee will authorize the administration of the oath, if it sees any wrong-doing. Why, Sir, the majority in that committee is seventeen, and that majority is as blind as a bat, and only can see what the hon. Minister wishes them to see. When the hon. Minister stands

up and says, Vote it down, down it goes. It is incredible that gentlemen governing this country should be found to call upon their supporters to vote down a motion which will have the effect of preventing a free investigation of the public accounts. How can they answer to the people? Will the farmers of this country catch on to your technicalities? Will they not say to you: The proper way to get at this matter is to put the witnesses under oath? One of them will say: If I have a case involving \$2.50, I have to be sworn. But here is a case involving \$19,000; here is the Curran bridge involving an expenditure of \$300,000 or \$400,000 paid for work, which, I am credibly informed, could have been done for \$80,000.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. You have not reached the bridge.

Mr. LISTER. We are getting to the bridge and other public works besides.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. You are getting into a hole, I think.

Mr. LISTER. Not at all. The Minister of Public Works caused an investigation to be made into the expenditure on the Curran bridge, and the hon. gentleman must confess that the developments made in that investigation were discreditable in the extreme. There is no doubt it can be established that for work which ought to have cost \$80,000, this Government has paid over \$300,000, and there is considerable yet to be paid before the accounts are all settled. There are still large claims unsettled. There are other public works—there are certain matters connected with the canals of the country which demand investigation—connected with contracts let to certain contractors. There are certain matters to be investigated respecting the substitution of one set of contractors for another, and the manipulation of contracts and extras—people who tendered believing they had a certain amount of work to do, and other people who tendered knowing that amount was not to be done. And contracts transferred from one to the other. But we are told by the Minister that we must first make out a case for suspicion, and then perhaps he will courteously consent to allow us to examine witnesses under oath. We do not ask it of you as a matter of grace; we do not ask it of you as a matter of favour; but, as the hon. member for Queen's said, we ask it as a matter of right. We demand it for the proper discharge of our public duty, the duty confided to us by the people. In the discharge of our trust we are bound to demand from you every facility for the fullest investigation of the public accounts of this country. If you refuse, then I do not hesitate to say that we are relieved of the trust which we received from the people. Let the odium, the dishonour, whatever it may be, fall upon those shoulders upon which it ought to fall—the shoulders of this Government, and of the

men who follow and support them in this House.

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

Mr. HAGGART. Mr. Speaker, I would not have ventured to take part in a debate upon a purely legal question, but for the fact that I offered some interruptions to the speech of the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies), and questioned the soundness of some of his explanations of the statutes. I remember this question coming up in this House in 1876. I remember the debates of that time, and I remember perfectly well looking into the subject at that early day, and forming an opinion upon it. When the British North America Act of 1867 was passed by the Imperial Parliament, the power did not then exist in the British House of Commons to examine witnesses under oath. Afterwards, it was deemed advisable, that, in certain cases, witnesses before committees of this House should be examined under oath, and consequently this power, which had meantime been acquired by the British House of Commons, had to be conferred upon them. In 1871 an Act was passed by the Imperial Parliament, giving power to the House of Commons to administer the oath to witnesses who were summoned before it. In order to understand the statute that was passed in 1871, you must look into the proceedings of the committee appointed by the House for the purpose of inquiring as to the advisability of assuming this power of swearing witnesses that appeared before the House of Commons or its committees. Those who have read the history of the case, know that this was a power which existed long ago in the High Court of Parliament in England. But, as the House of Commons and the House of Lords gradually separated into two distinct bodies, the House of Commons assuming one power, and the House of Lords another, this power of administering oaths to witnesses fell into disuse in the House of Commons, and survived only in the House of Lords, whose committees continued to examine witnesses under oath when so authorized by resolution of the House. But in no case did they examine the witnesses before the committees under oath unless by distinct resolution of the House of Lords. I wish to emphasize that point particularly—that the examination of witnesses under oath by committees of the House of Commons had fallen into disuse. The examination growing out of the East and West India Bill, the examination into the state of the army and navy were carried on without this power being claimed by the House. The celebrated trial of Warren Hastings was conducted in the same way, and if ever there was a trial when one would have supposed that the House would have needed power to

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administer the oath, that was one. The oath was not administered by the Speaker of the House of Commons, or by any one by authority of the House of Commons or any committee of the House. The method followed generally, when it was desired to get evidence under oath, was to send the witness out to be sworn before some judge or magistrate. In 1871 an Act was passed "To enable the House of Commons, or any committee thereof, to administer oaths to witnesses." That Act reads:

Whereas it is expedient that the House of Commons and any committee thereof should have respectively the power to administer oaths to witnesses, therefore be it enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty—

And so on:

That the House of Commons may administer an oath to the witnesses examined at the bar of the said House.

Any committee of the House of Commons may administer an oath to the witnesses examined before such committee. The point on which I differed from the hon. member from Queen's was this: I contended that this did not confer the authority upon any committee of the House of Commons to examine witnesses upon oath without a distinct resolution of the House. I was pook-pooked and laughed at, and the hon. gentleman spoke in a most contemptuous style of my opinion upon this point of law and referred to the legal gentlemen around him. He said: If this does not confer upon the committees of the House the power to administer an oath, what language could confer it? I remembered perfectly well that in all the examinations before the committees of the House of Commons, including the Public Accounts Committee, the interpretation of the law for which I contended had been recognized and therefore I defied the hon. gentleman to mention one single case of a witness being examined on oath before those committees. In order to make sure whether my opinion of the enactment was correct or not, I looked into the records of the select committee upon which this Act was founded, and read the evidence given by such distinguished authorities upon parliamentary law as Sir Erskine May, and two other gentlemen who had been Speakers of the House. It was upon the report of the committee, which included the evidence of such men as these, that the Bill was founded by Mr. Gladstone. I found that the report of the committee bore out my interpretation of the law, and that committees of the House of Commons are authorized to examine witnesses upon oath only when the power is given them by the House of Commons to do so. Any one who looks at our statute of 1876 will find that it expressly states that this power shall be exercised by committees of the House of Commons when it is expressly resolved in the House

of Commons that they may do so. Let me quote some of the opinions of distinguished gentlemen examined before that committee. I have here a report of the select committee appointed to inquire and report whether any further provision should be made for the examination of witnesses on oath before the House of Commons, and by whom the Witnesses House of Commons Bill was considered, and upon which they reported. I will not read the whole report, because that together with the evidence would occupy a length of time which is not perhaps at my disposal this evening, but I will read particular passages which I think refer to the Act passed in 1871. The report gives a history of the powers of the House of Commons, and states that the power of the House of Commons in regard to examining witnesses under oath had fallen into disuse, and it gives the powers of the committees to examine parties who may appear before them. It shows also the powers which were given to the several committees, and which were always taken by statute, the particular power given to examine witnesses on oath. It cites the jurisdiction of the House in controverted elections, and goes on to say :

There still remains, however, a variety of questions of the greatest moment on which the House of Commons may be called on to pronounce judgment, the consequences of which may involve property, character, privilege and personal liberty. A corporation which is said to have misused its franchises and possessions may claim to be heard by witnesses in its defence at the bar. An address to the Crown for the removal of a judge for misconduct could hardly be adopted without due inquiry, in the most solemn manner, into his guilt or innocence. Should a member of the House be accused of unworthy or dishonourable acts, the truth of the allegations must be judicially investigated, either by a select committee or a committee of the whole House. In all these, as well as in a variety of other instances, it seems natural that evidence should be taken in the most solemn manner.

Your Committee have had the advantage of learning from Mr. Speaker the opinion entertained by him of the want that now exists of the power to examine witnesses on oath, and of the expediency of seeking to obtain it by statute. In his judgment "power of examining witnesses on oath is one which the House ought to possess," and procedure by Bill would be the proper course to take for obtaining it. It does not appear to him "that any mischief could arise from the possession of that power by the House of Commons." Your Committee have so had the opportunity of examining Viscount Eversley, who declared it was to him a matter of wonder that they have never made an attempt before to pass a Bill with the object of enabling them to examine witnesses on oath.

I will now quote from Mr. May, who gave evidence before the committee, and I will subsequently quote the observations of the committee upon the Bill. Mr. May said :

I think it is quite incontestable that there are neither authority nor precedents to support any

claim on the part of the House of Commons, by its own inherent rights, to administer on this at the present time ; such a power can only be given by statute.

The House of Lords had already the power to administer an oath. The committees have also power to administer an oath, and examine witnesses on oath. Notwithstanding the committees had the power to administer the oath and examine witnesses on oath, I defy hon. gentlemen opposite to cite a single case in which it has been exercised by the committees without a distinct order from the House of Lords, and I say that the Bill passed in 1891 follows the precedents of the House of Lords, and gave no more power than the House of Lords possess in the examination of witnesses under oath.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The House of Lords has always had the power.

Mr. HAGGART. Yes, it has always had the power. The House assumed the power and kept the power belonging to the old High Court of Parliament, but the power fell into disuse and never was exercised by the House of Lords. But the point I wish to make is this, that the power which was acknowledged as one vested in the old High Court of Parliament and in the House of Lords has never been exercised except by a distinct order of the House. Mr. May further said :

I assume that if it was thought fit that a statute conferring this power should be passed, the general power would be given, leaving a discretion to the House of Commons with regard to the cases to which it should be applied ; and I should say the course now adopted by the House of Lords would form a very convenient guide to this House. No committee of inquiry into matters of opinion would be empowered to administer oaths unless the House thought it a case of so judicial a character as to demand it. But I perhaps might state to the committee the cases which appear to me to be of a nature to require an oath to be administered by the House itself. The first is on complaints of breaches of privilege. An allegation is made that a certain offence has been committed against the House. It may be, as in the case of Azin Ja, a case of forgery of petitions. I will assume that there is some doubt in the matter : if the House determines that a breach of privilege has been committed on evidence and if they follow up that determination by a committal of the delinquent, I think that is a case in which if any additional authority is to be acquired an oath should be administered. Another case which I think is of much more importance is that of impeachment.

With regard to the House itself, I should leave that to the discretion of the House, on each particular occasion ; but with regard to select committees, I should advise the passing of a resolution, similar to that which the House of Lords passed in 1857, which would restrain committees from examining on oath except when expressly authorized by the House to do so.

It would be very difficult to insert every occasion on which they were to examine witnesses on

oath; it would be quite sufficient to give them that power in each particular case when required.

I am quoting from the report and evidence of the committee on which the Act of 1871 was framed. This was the committee that prepared the Act in accordance with the evidence adduced before them, and I will read their conclusions:

Sir John Esmonde said: "Sir Thomas May stated that he would give a general power, by Act of Parliament, to administer oaths, either by the House itself, or by committees; as regards the House, he would leave the exercise of it to the discretion of the House, and as regards the select committees, he would advise the passing of a resolution which would regulate the administration of oaths that would be a resolution by the House. I presume after the House possessed that power, the House would by resolution, when it was necessary, direct the use of it. I imagine what you refer to must point to that.

The Right Hon. Viscount Eversley: "Then with regard to committees, is it your opinion that the House should have the power of delegating the authority to administer oaths to committees when it saw fit? A. Under certain restrictions. I think all the House of Commons should do would be to pass a bill to enable the House or its committees to examine upon oath; but I would restrict the power of the committees to examine upon oath by a standing order. The House of Lords has done something in that direction. Formerly the committees of the House of Lords examined upon oath in all cases; now they do not examine upon oath in cases where the witness is asked for an opinion, but they examine upon oath where it is necessary to bring out a fact. Private Bill Committees can examine upon oath in both Houses, but in the House of Lords a public committee has no authority to do so without a special order of the House."

Must there be a special order in each case?—Yes.

Is there any standing order of the House of Lords which defines the class of cases in which committees shall examine upon oath?—No; that is left to the discretion of the House to decide.

Mr. Bouverie:—Do I rightly understand that it is not the practice now in general committees to examine witnesses upon oath in the House of Lords?—Yes, it is not done unless the committee is specially authorized by the House; whenever there is a committee appointed upon any grave matter upon which the House thinks it right that the evidence should be taken upon oath, then at the time the committees are appointed the House gives them the power of examining witnesses upon oath, but that is an exceptional case.

That is upon motion; there is a motion made, I suppose, that the power be given, and the question was put to the House?—Yes.

The hon. gentleman speaks very flippantly in regard to this matter. He says: Oh, if the committee have not this power the persons summoned will not be guilty of perjury, the examinations before the committee will be a screaming farce, and then he appeals to the electorate outside of the House to judge on this matter. Is that a proper spirit in which to approach a matter of this

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kind? Is it justifiable to use such language as that when, as we see, every constitutional authority in England lays down the doctrine that even if the House has power to delegate to the committee the right to swear witnesses, that power should never be exercised until there is a reason assigned and a disclosure made to the House.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) When the British House of Commons passed the Bill after that report was presented, did they put any limitation in that Bill that the committee could only examine on oath under certain circumstances, or did they delegate a general power to the committees?

Mr. HAGGART. The hon. gentleman was not in the House when I argued that point, but I will give it again for his edification. The Bill gave no such powers to the committee that he stated, for it only enabled the Speaker, or some one else who had authority from the House, to administer the oath; the House still retaining the power to give them special authority to examine on oath in particular cases. I am speaking with a good deal of diffidence on this question in the presence of a gentleman of the legal attainments of the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies), but notwithstanding what he may think, there is not the slightest doubt in my mind as to the interpretation of the Act passed by the Imperial Legislature in reference to this question. I contend that the statute gives no general power to the committee, and May says further: That although a magistrate might have power to administer an oath, he might not have power to examine a witness on a particular case. My argument, and the argument of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davies) will be read by the legal fraternity, and perhaps they will be able to express an opinion on the question, but I am as clear as can be: that in England no power is given to a committee to examine on oath until the causes are disclosed and the order comes from the House itself. The statement was made in this House by hon. gentlemen opposite that all the witnesses before the Public Accounts Committee in England were examined on oath. I took the trouble to read the proceedings of the Public Accounts Committee of the English House of Commons from 1871 to 1893, and there is not a single case of a witness being examined on oath. Further, there is not a single case of a witness being so examined by a standing committee, except the Committee on Private Bills, to which the special power to examine on oath and to administer the oath was given by statute. In the case of select committees on special questions, the power is given direct from the House. Now, hon. gentlemen opposite, by their amendment, ask the House to give a general power to this committee to examine witnesses upon oath upon every occasion. Does the hon. gentleman put such an interpretation on the powers given by our en-

abling statute? That statute follows the plan which was adopted in England; that is, it requires a resolution of the House giving the reasons for granting the authority before the committee is appointed. The statute provides:

Whenever any witness or witnesses is or are to be examined by any committee of the Senate or House of Commons, and the Senate or House of Commons shall have resolved that it is desirable that such witness or witnesses shall be examined on oath, such witness or witnesses shall be examined on oath or affirmation where affirmation is allowed by law.

Will any legal gentleman in this House say that this statute can give this Parliament any powers greater than the English statute gave the Parliament of Great Britain? If it gives us greater powers than the statute of 1871 gave to the House of Commons of England, it is void and of no effect. I will ask the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) or any other legal gentleman in this House, does he think that that statute empowers this House to confer the general power upon a committee to examine witnesses upon oath after that committee is appointed? The principal argument, and perhaps the strongest one, that hon. gentlemen give in support of their position, is the proceedings of this House in 1891 and 1892. I say that those proceedings were in direct contradiction of the powers that this House possesses. This House had no such power in 1891 or 1892; but because we assumed the power is it to be said that we must always continue to assume it as if we were possessed of it? I will quote an authority to show the danger of our assuming powers which we do not possess. The following are the observations made by the committee in 1869:—

I trust, therefore, that the House of Commons, having desisted now for so great a length of time from taking any, even the most solemn, examinations on oath, it will never be proposed to recur to that measure again, as it is highly essential in this, as well as in every other part of their conduct, that the House of Commons should not appear desirous of exceeding the limits of their acknowledged authority, and of going beyond those bounds which are set to their authority by the law and constitution of the country.

That is the proper principle to follow, and I think there is no doubt that this House has not the power which the hon. gentleman, by his amendment, proposes to give to the committee. If the hon. member for Lambton (Mr. Lister) says that he has a lot of charges to make against the management of the Railway Department of the Government in connection with the Curran bridge, the very statement he made here to-day that the expenditure on that work should not have exceeded \$90,000 whereas, \$300,000 or \$400,000 was expended, would be sufficient reason for giving any committee power to examine witnesses on oath, and no House of

Commons would refuse to grant such power, or, if he has anything else to charge in reference to the contracts which he talks so flippantly about, and as to which, when he comes to inquire into them, he will find nothing, or if he has any other statement of a serious character to make, the House will grant authority to the committee to examine witnesses on oath. Mr. Speaker, perhaps I have spoken on a question which I ought, not being a lawyer, to have left to the legal gentlemen in this House; but, having taken a different view of the law from that taken by the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies), I thought it was necessary to lay my view before the House.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Mr. Speaker, I have listened attentively to the speech which the hon. Minister of Railways has just addressed to the House, and I must say that my views of the proper construction of the statute of the English Parliament, as well as of the statute of our own Parliament, differs very widely from the view he has expressed. I think, Sir, that the hon. gentleman has entirely misapprehended the Imperial Act of 1871, and has undertaken to give it a construction not warranted by anything found in it. The hon. gentleman has departed very widely from a well recognized rule of the courts, namely, that where it is possible to do so we must seek for the true meaning of a statute within the statute itself; its true construction is to be found within its four corners. If there were anything ambiguous, or any doubt in the meaning of the statute, or if any portion of the language did not convey the same idea to two parties, there might be some ground for going outside of it and referring to the discussions preceding its enactment, to aid in its proper construction. But, Sir, I listened to the report which the hon. gentleman read, and what surprised me very much was the many expressions in that report which went to show that the framers of it intended that there should be no restriction placed upon the authority of the House of Commons to swear witnesses, though the House of Commons, in the exercise of its discretion, might not find it in the public interest to exercise the full measure of the authority conferred upon it in that respect. The hon. gentleman has referred to a number of the recommendations that have been made, and to many cases of inquiry, mere cases of opinion, as to which it was important that the House should be put in possession of the opinions of parties and of any information they possessed, but in which it was not necessary that witnesses should be sworn. The hon. gentleman defied any one to point out a single instance in which any one of the standing committees in the House of Commons had sworn witnesses. Well, Sir, I have not examined all the cases, but there is not one of those committees which has not the power under the provisions of this statute to so

examine witnesses. There is no restriction whatever upon the authority of any one of those committees. It is a question of judgment, a question of expediency, as to how far that power shall be exercised in a particular case. The hon. gentleman also said that we could not confer upon this Legislature any greater measure of authority than the English House of Commons had conferred upon it by this Imperial statute. The hon. gentleman said that the power of the committees in England is limited, that it is only in the case of special committees, under the authority of this statute, that the power to examine witnesses upon oath can exist. Now, if that construction be correct, since we cannot have any larger power or measure of authority than they possess in England, it would be quite impossible to confer on any standing committee here the power to examine any witness upon oath. And when the hon. gentleman says that in a case such as the hon. member for West Lambton (Mr. Lister) has mentioned, he would be ready to bestow the power to examine a witness upon oath, he proposes to bestow a power which he says this House cannot confer. The only way that my hon. friend from West Lambton (Mr. Lister) could have an investigation, would be by making a charge in this House against the party, and asking for a special committee, so as to bring it within the rule the hon. gentleman has mentioned. Now, the hon. gentleman has practically put himself and his colleagues out of court. That is the result of what he has stated. Then, the hon. gentleman said another thing. It is true, he says, that the statute gives to committees the power to swear witnesses, but the statute does not give the power to examine a single witness that is sworn.

Mr. HAGGART. I never said such a thing. I said, to administer the oath and examine a witness.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). He said, unless the House of Commons in England expressly confers the power upon a committee, the committee does not possess the power.

Mr. HAGGART. You entirely misunderstood me on the whole question. I said that unless the power was given by the House to investigate a particular question and instructions given to the committee to examine on oath, the committee have not the power to administer the oath and examine witnesses.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). If the House gives it the power.

Mr. HAGGART. First of all, the House gives the directions that it shall be done, and then the committee have the power of administering the oath and examining the witnesses. That is my contention.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The words of the statute are, first, that the House of Com-

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mons may administer the oath to a witness examined at the Bar of the House. The next is, "Any committee of the House of Commons may administer the oath to the witnesses examined before the said committee." Any committee can do so. Not some committee, not special committees, not standing committees—but any committee. I think the expression is broad enough to include those committees which the hon. gentleman says do not possess that power, and upon whom that power is not conferred.

Mr. HAGGART. We differ in that. I do not think so.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I think the words, "any committee" are broad enough to include any committee. There are no words of limitation in the statute. Then, this statute is a remedial measure; it is intended to remove obstacles. And being a remedial measure, it must be broadly construed—construed not to defeat any object aimed at in the statute, but to accomplish everything there intended to be accomplished. If the House of Commons should, at any moment, conclude that evidence should not be taken in any other way than upon oath, the House of Commons has the power to instruct the committee to take the evidence on oath. But the committee does not derive its power from the House. Although by the law of Parliament the House has certain restraining powers on these committees, on account of their being portions of the House—and I need not detain the House by discussing these powers—the committee does not, as under the statute, derive its authority from the House. It derives its authority from the statute. There is that distinction between the Imperial statute and the statute in operation in this country. Then, let me call your attention, Sir, to another fact which has, perhaps, to some extent, misled the hon. gentleman. And that is, while it is discretionary with the committee—uninterfered with by the House of Commons—to take the evidence upon oath or otherwise, as it may think proper, yet the House of Commons has the power of directing the committee that its evidence shall be taken upon oath. And, when it gives that direction, then the discretionary power conferred by the statute upon the committee is, for the time being, in abeyance. Let me mention a case. The House of Commons, for the purpose of making a certain investigation, appointed a committee, and upon that bare appointment, nothing further being done, it would be open to the committee to swear witnesses or examine them without being sworn. But, if along with the power of appointing the committee, the House ordered that the evidence be taken by the said committee upon oath—then the committee has no discretion, but must obey the order of the House. I am referring to a case now that happened a few years after the adoption of this statute, so that the House will see

that the rule in England is this, that the committee has the power to swear witnesses examined before it, just as the House has the power under the statute to swear witnesses examined at its Bar. But, in addition to that, the House may instruct the committee to take evidence upon oath; and, when such instruction is given, then the discretionary power of the committee is at an end, and it must act in obedience to the order of the House. So far, I beg to call the attention of the House to a point in which I think it is perfectly clear that the hon. gentleman was in error. Then the hon. gentleman has referred to the report in which Mr. May stated that the House ought to have a restraining power over the committee. Well, the House does exercise that restraining power in the way I have mentioned. Then the hon. gentleman said that there are certain special committees in which the witnesses are examined upon oath, but that, with regard to the standing committees of the House, they are not so examined. Well, whether you examine a witness before a committee upon oath or without being sworn, is wholly dependent upon the propriety or the expediency of your proceeding. The House of Commons in England has been governed by the experience acquired in its conduct of public business, and there they swear witnesses who appear before these committees, in cases where their experience shows that it is desirable the witness should be sworn. The hon. gentleman has referred to a great number of expedients to which the English House of Commons had recourse before it asked, by Act of Parliament, this power. The magistrates of the county of Middlesex, who were members of the House of Commons, sometimes, in their magisterial capacity, swore the witnesses of the House. But the magistrates outside did not. The judges who were occasionally appealed to for the purpose of examining the witnesses, administered the oath. The witnesses of the House of Commons were sometimes sworn at the Bar of the House of Lords; but in all these cases the House of Lords held that the proceeding was irregular, and that the oath had not any legal or binding effect upon parties sworn in this irregular manner. And so the practice of attempting to examine witnesses on oath had been abandoned a long time before this Bill was adopted. Why the Bill was adopted is shown by the report which the hon. gentleman read. And it was shown also how far they were to be examined upon oath. But, in reading the report, the hon. gentleman confounded the expediency of examining parties upon oath in certain cases with the power which the House possessed under the law, or were to possess under the law, of examining upon oath in all cases, if they were so disposed. The restriction imposed upon the House in this particular is a restriction imposed, not by the law, but by the discretion of the

House. That is precisely the rule we should adopt here. When we look at our experience here, we find that it is just as necessary in certain of our standing committees to examine the witnesses upon oath as it is in England to examine upon oath before the special committees to which the hon. gentleman has referred. Take the case of 1891, of which the hon. gentleman has spoken. The hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) said that the precedents then established were not precedents at all, that they were precedents that were established in a panic, when the House, in fact, was acting under moral coercion and were frightened into the adoption of an irregular and improper practice. But he contended that now that the excitement had passed and we were in full possession of our judgment, we should treat what was done in those two or three years as having no value whatever as precedents, and look for our precedents to the practice which prevailed at an earlier period. Why, Sir, what is the object of examining witnesses upon oath at all? Is it not because you suppose you are going to obtain from the witnesses a statement more nearly accurate than you would obtain if an oath were not administered? Is it not because experience has shown that you are likely to obtain the truth by one method which you would not be so likely to obtain if you adopted a different method? What happened in this very case during the period of panic to which the hon. member for Albert has referred? Can it be shown that what was then done had no value? Can it be shown that we adopted a foolish course in swearing witnesses? Take what was brought to light in connection with the Printing Bureau. This investigation was held before the Committee on Public Accounts. If, in that investigation, the witnesses had not been sworn, nothing would have been disclosed, and the Ministers would have remained as ignorant in regard to matters which ought to have been made known, as would members of the House. If the result sought was to arrive at truths which could not otherwise have been ascertained, does not that fact itself show the propriety of our proceeding, does it not show that what was done under these circumstances was right and proper? And how can it be otherwise than right and proper to adopt that course hereafter? But the hon. gentleman refers to committees in England. We do not look to the committees in England to learn whom we should examine and whom we should not examine. We look at the reasons which actuated them in certain cases, to see whether those reasons apply here, it does not matter whether before a permanent or a special committee; that is a matter of no consequence. You have a different constitution of society here from what you have in England; a different standard of right and wrong among certain classes of public officials. Therefore, what you can do with per-

fect safety in England you cannot do with perfect safety here. You are obliged to recognize facts as they are and to mould your conduct accordingly. Doing that, it appears to me perfectly clear that the course we should take here is a very different one from that which the hon. gentleman has suggested. The hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) spoke of the construction of the statute that is in force here. The hon. gentleman spoke as if you were obliged to have a special case before the committee and special witnesses to be called before you would have any right to apply to this House for authority to examine them under oath. Why, Sir, there is nothing of the sort in the Canadian statute. What you have in the Canadian statute is the right of this House—

Whenever any witness or witnesses is or are to be examined by any other committee of the Senate or House of Commons, and the Senate or House of Commons has resolved that it is desirable that such witness or witnesses shall be examined upon oath, such witness or witnesses shall be examined upon oath or affirmation if affirmation is allowed by law; and such oath or affirmation shall be administered by the chairman or any member of any such Committee, as aforesaid.

This House is the judge. An investigation is going on, let us suppose, before the Public Accounts Committee. It is deemed desirable that witnesses should be examined upon oath, and, upon that being declared, in the words of the statute, you are entitled, if you are so disposed, to see that every witness examined before that committee is examined upon oath and renders himself liable to the law respecting perjury, if he deliberately and intentionally tells what is not the truth. This statute, as I said before, is an enabling statute, and, being such, must be liberally construed, construed so as to accomplish the end the Legislature had in view and not defeat it. Look at the inconvenience that would arise from the adoption of one view and the advantages that would follow the adoption of the other. I will read a brief extract from Mr. Wilberforce on the statutes, which shows what rule of interpretation ought to be adopted for this statute of the examination of witnesses:

In expounding remedial laws, says Lord Kenyon, C.J., it is a settled rule of construction to extend the remedy as far as the words will admit. Everything is to be done in advancement of the remedy that can be done consistently with any construction of the statute. The language of the Act is not to be strained, but, where the words are open to doubt they are to receive a construction which will advance the objects of the Act.

If these words had been open to doubt, there can be no doubt whatever of this—that the construction which says that the House may order a witness to be examined upon oath, is the construction which would best enable the House to accomplish the object it had in view. The hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries said: You may be mistaken in the

view which you take; it may be you are acting outside the statute, that you have not really the powers you claim, and that these parties who are being sworn will not tell the truth, because you cannot punish them. Even supposing there were doubts—and I do not think there is any reason for doubt—about the construction of the statute, does the hon. gentleman mean to say that every witness to be examined is a profound lawyer and knows the proper construction of the statute and will not hesitate to state what is not the truth, simply because he knows beforehand the construction that a court of justice would put upon it in case he was being prosecuted for perjury? Sir, the English course is a perfectly intelligible one. The course suggested by my hon. friend from North York (Mr. Mulock), in the motion he has made, is a perfectly intelligible course. But the course which the hon. gentlemen who support the amendment propose that we shall take, is one which I am perfectly sure will lead to nothing, if this House should adopt it. What does the hon. gentleman propose to do, if the House were to adopt the amendment to the motion of the hon. member for North York? Does it confer upon the committee any power to examine witnesses upon oath? Does it withhold any power from the committee? It does nothing; it leaves everything precisely as it was before. Sir, the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon), declared that the House was in a state of panic when it granted powers to the committee to examine witnesses on oath. If the House were in a state of panic, I think the panic was confined to hon. gentlemen opposite. The hon. gentleman, if there was a panic, must admit that some reason or cause existed for that panic. What was it that induced the Government, and the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon), to pass without question that which they now think highly improper? The hon. gentleman's declaration simply amounts to this: we were very great sinners, we admit we were such, and when we thought public opinion called us to repentance, we acted as we thought best under the circumstances. The hon. gentleman's statement reminded me of a story told by Mark Twain of some men who were lost in the snowstorm, and who never hoped again to reach the verge of civilization. During the worst of the storm they lost their way. Then one man threw away his little whisky flask, and another his tobacco, and a third threw away a pack of cards. After the storm, they discovered they were within a few yards of an hotel. They went in, and after they had got warm the man who threw away the whisky flask went outside to hunt for it, and when he reached the spot he found there one friend looking for his cards, and another looking for his tobacco. The storm is over, said the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon); we are not in danger any longer; our reasons

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for repentance are gone, and that being so, we are prepared to look at these rules, regulations and restrictions which we think would impede an investigation into the public accounts. I think the Government will find that the adoption of that rule will not only have the effect of unnecessarily prolonging the session, it will prolong the investigation before the committee, it will render the committees in some respects inefficient, and it may prevent disclosures that will be as much in the interest of the Government as the Opposition ; but, of this I am sure, there will be only one opinion formed in the public mind, that for some reason or other Ministers wish to put impediments in the way of investigation, and obstacles to an efficient inquiry into the administration of public affairs. The Government will find that they have been scarcely less hurt by the obstacles which they have created than they would have been by any exposure that might have taken place.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Mr. Speaker, I am afraid that the contribution which I shall make to this debate to-night will not add very much to the interest of the discussion, which has not only been exceedingly interesting and instructive, but which has been accompanied by more heat and passion than are satisfactory in a debate on a matter which is purely one of parliamentary practice. I attach a great deal of importance to this question in one way, and no importance to it in another. I think that as regards the settlement of a question of parliamentary practice, the question is one of great importance. It touches our relations with the outside world, and it occurs to me that in all matters in which we have to exercise our jurisdiction as regards those outside of the House, or our jurisdiction in any way affecting those outside of the House, we ought to be exceedingly cautious, and nothing can be more important than the way in which we regulate our procedure ; but that, as regards the application of any rule we shall lay down to-night, there is practically little difference between the contention on this side of the House and the practice which the other side would wish to see adopted. Let me say, Sir, if I may venture to do so—as one not claiming many years experience in this House, that the passion and heat which have been introduced into the debate are not conducive to a wise settlement of the dispute. I think that the judgment of the House is apt to be led astray by the charge on the one side that the object of the Government in resisting any particular application is guided by a desire to shirk from investigation, and that on the other side that the Opposition desire to make capital out of reluctance on the part of the Government to acquiesce in a rule which may not be considered on this side of the House to be wise, in view of parliamentary precedent and the convenience of Parliament

in the future. I think I may ask the House to discuss it for the remaining moments of this debate without reference to either set of charges, and that we should consider, before we come to a vote, what after all is the sound and safe rule which we should adopt as regards our practice for the future. In endeavouring to the best of my ability to discuss it from that point of view, I purpose at the outset to state that what some of my learned friends on the opposite side of the House have put forward as being our views on this question are not our views at all. In the first place let me premise that it occurs to me that many matters which have been discussed are not necessary to be solved either by the solution offered by hon. gentlemen opposite or by the solution contended for on this side of the House ; that we can come to a safe rule of procedure without the adoption either of the interpretation for example of the English statute or perhaps of our own. I confess that as regards these questions they are somewhat obscure and somewhat difficult. I do not at all dispute, on the contrary I am inclined to agree fully with the interpretations which have been contended for by the hon. Minister of Railways, the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) and others who have spoken on this side as regards those statutes. But I submit to our friends opposite that we should endeavour in all matters that concern our relations with those outside of Parliament to keep safely within the limits of our authority, to endeavour to keep within rather than on the verge of the authority which English practice and English precedent seem to establish, and that all we should be jealous of, and I pledge myself to be as jealous of that as are hon. gentlemen opposite, is, that we shall assert for ourselves and for the committees of this House all powers that are necessary for a full and ample examination of all the matters which are committed to our care and to our jurisdiction. I for one in this Parliament will be content with no less, and I will accompany hon. gentlemen opposite to the very verge of the authority which seems to be vested in us by any statute, by any precedent or by any practice found in other countries, if that be necessary to the free and full exercise of our powers of investigation, and our powers of legislation here ; but provided we have those safeguards to our liberty of investigation and to our perfect thoroughness of investigation, I shall endeavour to ask the House to keep closely within the limits of the authority in so far as we are dealing with outside persons. Now, in pursuance of the remark which I offered a few moments ago as to what has not been our contention on this question, I desire to answer for a few moments the remarks of the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock), the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies), perhaps the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills), and certainly the hon.

member for Lambton (Mr. Lister), because I apprehend that they have been mistaken to a very considerable extent as to what has been contended for by members of the Government, and by members of the Committee on Public Accounts, who sit upon this side of the House. I would not venture to make the contentions which some of them were endeavouring by anticipation to answer. I understand, for instance, that one hon. gentleman conceived that the contention of the Minister of Finance at some time or other—I do not know whether in committee or elsewhere—was that the Committee on Public Accounts was a mere committee of audit, for the purpose of seeing whether the expenditures which were charged had been made and whether the vouchers accorded with the items of the public accounts and of the Auditor General's Report. I do not conceive, and I do not at all claim for any friends upon this side of the House, any such construction of the powers of that committee. I agree with the interpretation of the powers of the committee which was laid down in 1891. The hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) proposed a motion then under some misapprehension, I thought, of the existing state of facts in the committee, or thinking that obstruction had been offered in the Committee on Public Accounts to a full examination of the public expenditures in so far as they might affect the conduct of a Minister of the Crown. The hon. member was under the apprehension that immunity for ministers had been contended for in the committee, and he moved a resolution in the House that it was the power and the duty of the Committee on Public Accounts to make a thorough criticism and examination of the public expenditures, notwithstanding that the conduct of a Minister of the Crown might appear to be impugned. The hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) read a passage from my speech upon that occasion, and I may say that I not only agree that the powers of the committee are not at all restricted by the fact that the conduct or integrity of a Minister of the Crown may be affected by the inquiry; but I also hold that the functions of the Public Accounts Committee are very much indeed in the line and to the extent to which they have been exercised in this Parliament. When we examine the English practice upon that question, we find that it is not only the power, but the duty, of the Committee on Public Accounts to enter into, not merely questions of audit, but questions of the good faith of the public expenditure, reasons which may be set up for the cause of the expenditure authorized by Parliament being exceeded, and so forth, within the various lines which the committees of this House have followed for some years past. In speaking to that resolution in 1891, I only made one reservation, which I will mention now, because perhaps, it may be pertinent to this discussion, and because it was passed over by my

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hon. friend from North York (Mr. Mulock) as irrelevant to the present question. I stated then: that while the committee were charged with the full power and the full authority to make a thorough examination of the public expenditure, yet they ought not to enter into a mere inquisitorial investigation for the purpose of conducting, what might be called for convenience, a fishing inquiry. I beg, therefore, to say that it is not the contention on the part of this side of the House that the powers of the Committee on Public Accounts and their investigations of public expenditure ought to be limited to mere audit. Another point in respect to which there was an erroneous contention on the other side of the House, and a great waste of rhetoric and force of speech, was the contention that we must in all cases have the names of the witnesses submitted whom the committee seek the authority of the House to examine. I grant all that has been said, I recognize the weight of the argument in favour of that position, but that position has not been taken up in times past in this House, and it is not one of the matters insisted on as regards the settlement of this question of practice. My hon. friends here, who have suggested that our power can only be exercised provided the names of the witnesses have been given, may be perfectly right; the question is one which I have not studied deeply enough to be confident about: but I admit, as my hon. friend from North York (Mr. Mulock) established that, that it has not been the practice of the House in times past, and, therefore, for my part, I would not be disposed to insist upon it on the present occasion, or for the future guidance of the committee. Nor would I be disposed to contend at all—and I do not think it was the contention of any one on this side of the House—that it is necessary that the committee should ask for the power before this House shall grant it. I can conceive easily a case which might be made out with regard to these very accounts of Mr. O'Connor, or with regard to any other accounts, in which the House would promptly demand, in consequence of what might have been stated in the hearing of the House, that they should be made the subject of investigation by the Committee on Public Accounts or any other committee, and therefore instantly confer upon the committee power to examine witnesses under oath. Nor would I go so far as to contend, as seemed to be supposed upon the other side of the House, that there must be a distinct charge laid in every case. Far less would I contend—in fact I am not at all willing to admit—that a *prima facie* case must be made out before a committee should ask, or this House should confer, the power to examine witnesses under oath. The hon. member for Lambton (Mr. Lister) spent the whole force of a very interesting speech showing how inconvenient such a practice would be;

for the purpose of showing how unreasonable it would be to insist that a member desiring an investigation under oath as to certain items of public expenditure, being driven to prove a prima facie case before the power should be conferred by the House to examine witnesses under oath. The hon. member (Mr. Lister) said, with logic that can hardly be resisted, that it might be impossible for him to make out his prima facie case if he were not granted in advance the power to examine witnesses under oath. That has never been the contention on this side of the House, so far as I know, and so far as I have to speak now it is not the intention at the present moment. The contention on this side of the House is: that the power should be conferred by the House, or should be asked by the committee with regard to particular matters, and upon the statement at least of a member of the committee, or on the part of a member of the House, that for certain reasons, which he may state in the committee or in his place in the House, he deems it necessary to have an examination under oath. I understand that the ground which some members suppose we take is: That they shall make a charge of wrong doing and establish a prima facie case of fraud or wrong-doing in order to justify an examination of the accounts. I do not so consider it at all. Let me take an example, and perhaps we can best reason the case by taking an example. If, for instance, in relation to the accounts of Mr. O'Connor, the hon. member for Lambton (Mr. Lister), or any other member of the committee, had said: I have reason to believe that there are overcharges in this account; or, I have reason to believe that there has not been proper supervision by the Department of Justice in the taxation of the account; or, if he had said that he had reason to believe that proper credits had not been given; or, if he had made any other such allegation with regard to an account, the committee would have asked for power to examine witnesses under oath with regard to that challenge on the part of the hon. member. If any statement like that is made in the Committee on Public Accounts or any other, if the correctness of the account is impugned by any member of the committee, I not only think that the power should be asked from this House, but I go further and say, that if the request should be refused by the committee, I as one member of the House will vote for conferring that power on the committee without the committee making the request. That is precisely the position which I contend for this evening. I see my hon. friends smile at that.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). You agree with us, that is all.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I am very glad to find that, after three or four hours' discussion, our friends opposite have come so

nearly right, after all. If they had only exercised the same judgment at three o'clock this afternoon, we should have been through the debate and into business long before this. I know that my hon. friends mean, by the genial way in which they greet my observations, that I am conflicting somewhat with opinions which have been expressed elsewhere. Now, I have not had the opportunity, as they have had, of knowing what expressions have been made elsewhere, and even if I had, the rules of the House would forbid me to state what took place elsewhere. But my hon. friends must permit me to say—and the rules of the House, I am sure, permit me to say what I am told occurred elsewhere—that I am told that what occurred elsewhere is exactly in conformity with what I have said this evening. I am told—though my information is at second hand and liable to dispute—that the same opinions were expressed in the committee. But I do not dwell on that. There is no man of that committee sitting on this side of the House who has contended or will contend that it is necessary to make a prima facie case before we have the power to make an investigation which would establish a prima facie case. Let me address myself now to the question why, then, I have any objection to the passage of the resolution in its present form, and why I am disposed to support the amendment. In the first place, the resolution which is offered to the House obliges the Committee on Public Accounts to make the examination under oath. Now, I submit that that is not the English practice, and it has not been the practice of this House with regard to the Committee on Public Accounts, or any other committee of this House. Granted that it may at times be important that the largest powers should be given to a committee of the House to examine witnesses under oath, and laying aside the precedents of 1891 and 1892—which I will discuss in a moment—I ask hon. gentlemen if they can find in parliamentary history anywhere in the world the case of committees being obliged to take the examination of witnesses under oath. They cannot find one.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Yes.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. If the hon. gentleman will be good enough to mention the case that is in his mind, I think I shall be able to show him that he and I do not disagree on that point.

Mr. LISTER. Ontario and Quebec.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No, no. My hon. friends are mistaken. They have cited statutes which confer the most general and wide powers on the committees of the legislatures of Ontario and Quebec; but is there a word in those statutes making it obligatory to examine witnesses under oath?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Does not our statute make it so?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Our statute make it so? No.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) When you grant the power, must they do so?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The hon. gentleman will see that it distinctly reserves the power to this House to grant any authority at all to examine witnesses under oath. But I am asking for a case in the world where there is a command that all witnesses shall be examined under oath.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). That is not our contention.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. My hon. friends will bear with me, and I think I shall show that if that is not their intention, it is their resolution; and, when we have come so near to an agreement as to what took place in the committee, and what ought to be the practice of this House with regard to this question, I am reminding my hon. friends that we are much nearer than they expected or than at three o'clock they supposed we were. But while I should probably be willing and ready to vote with them in their intention, one difficulty between us remains in the language of the resolution. Now, what was the argument of hon. gentlemen with regard to this question?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The words of the statute.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. There was no stronger argument, and none better pressed, or more calculated at least to leave a doubt upon one's mind, than what was said by my hon. friends opposite with regard to the wide language of the English statute. My hon. friends said, here, in dealing with this question, at the very time that power was taken first, there was a universal power conferred on the committees of the House in England just as on the House itself, to examine everybody under oath. They gather that from language which some hon. friends here thought was not susceptible to that interpretation, namely, the language which conferred on the committee power to administer an oath. But I will waive all that. I will accept for the moment, and for the sake of argument, their interpretation that that was an absolute conferring of power upon all committees of the British Parliament to examine witnesses under oath, as well as to administer the oath—because the difference is not pertinent here; and yet, if my hon. friends will look at the British practice, they will find that, possessed of the power, as the committees there may be according to their view of the British statute, that power is most sparingly exercised. I have under my hand, and I will pass it to any hon. gentleman opposite who desires to look at it, one of the latest reports of the Committee on Public Accounts of the House of Commons in England—the report for 1892—by which

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they will find that that committee examined some eighteen witnesses, with regard to what the committee seemed to consider improper expenditures, excessive expenditures, unauthorized expenditures; it made just as searching an investigation as our Parliament is accustomed to; and how many of these witnesses, do you suppose, were examined under oath? There is the report. There is the testimony of the eighteen witnesses. How many do you suppose were examined under oath? Not one. A select committee was appointed to examine into some other question about hospitals, and I find that nearly all the witnesses were examined under oath. Another committee, whose report is contained in the same book, examined some eight or ten witnesses with regard to a very important public inquiry, and it was a select committee too. Not one of the witnesses was examined under oath, and yet our hon. friends are so mistaken in their views of what British practice is that they ask us to adopt a resolution making it obligatory on the Committee on Public Accounts to examine all witnesses under oath, because they say that is the British practice. Thus we find that not only is it not made obligatory in the British statute but it is not followed in the British practice under the statute, which these gentlemen have argued for hours confers power to examine witnesses under oath in every case. These gentlemen have said that the statutes of Ontario and Quebec are in the same line. I repeat again that they do not make it obligatory upon the Committee on Public Accounts, or any other, to make that investigation under oath. But there is another objection which I entertain to the adoption of the resolution proposed. It is perfectly obvious that the rule which we lay down, as regards one of our committees, ought to be adopted with regard to them all. If this is a fair and proper resolution to adopt, making it obligatory to examine every witness under oath, then the Committee on Privileges and Elections ought to be under the same obligation, and so ought the Committee on Railways and Canals—

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Hear, hear.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON, which continually has persons appearing before it who produce plans and make assertions with regard to the fertility of some part of the country, its productiveness, the advantages of the contemplated railway, the disadvantage of the rival railway, the disadvantages under which the company stands, the unfairness to a company which has had hitherto an exceptional charter. All these proceedings, which we have from time to time in the Committee on Railways and Canals, accompanied by argument and assertion and counter-assertion, are to be wiped out by this hard and fast rule.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). No.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. This hard and fast rule, which does not exist in any Parliament in the world, which never existed in any Parliament in the world. All that is to be wiped out, and the solemn taking of testimony under oath to be established in its place. Now, my hon. friends opposite said a great deal with regard to the value of an investigation under oath. I do not wish to say one word to detract from that value. I grant that in 1891, when the power was most freely given, the investigations which took place under oath were conductive of public good. I do not admit, as the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) supposed the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) to state, that that power was conferred in consequence of any state of panic on the part of this House. The hon. member misapprehended the remark of my hon. friend from Albert (Mr. Weldon), which was that the public mind was in a state of panic as to scandals. But let me call attention to a fact which is quite immaterial, I grant, to the argument, but which may be instructive in examining into the question of what is meant by speaking of the state of the public mind at that time. Let me call attention to the fact that some investigations had been commenced by the Committee of Public Accounts, and a state of affairs revealed as to the condition of some of the departments, which made it perfectly obvious to the House that it was advisable to grant the committee the fullest powers in conducting the investigations. But I do not want to put the precedent alone on the ground that the committee had commenced an investigation, which we saw was leading to results that were necessary to be brought to the attention of the House and the public. Much less do I put it on the ground of the feeling of alarm in the House and in the public mind. If I were to refine on questions of that kind I would fritter away the time of the House by contending that because this or that state of feeling does not exist in this House or the country, therefore we should change our Parliamentary practice with regard to investigations of that kind. I admit that in 1891 this House adopted a resolution similar to that proposed by the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) this evening. We come now to the precedent of 1892, and we find that the House did not adopt the practice then. In 1891 the House, as I say, adopted a resolution, which amounted to an instruction to the committee that the evidence of all witnesses should be taken under oath. In 1892, if my memory serves me—and I think it is pretty accurate on this point—we simply conferred general power on the committee to examine the witnesses under oath where the committee might think it necessary.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Does the hon. gentleman think he is correct in saying we put that qualification in?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. If the hon. gentleman will correct me, I am quite willing to be corrected, as I am only speaking from memory. At any rate, I am sure that I am correct in this, that what we did in 1892 was to confer the power, as contrasted with the language of 1891, which created an obligation. My contention with regard to the action of 1891 is this: that that resolution was speedily adopted without the attention of the House being called to the question of procedure at all. The House, seeing that that inquiry was likely to result in public benefit, did not hesitate at all as to the terms upon which the power should be granted to the committee. But we come now to 1894, and the question is whether we shall follow the precedent of 1891—and I grant that it is a precedent—whether we shall practically solidify that into the practice of this Parliament, or whether we shall fall back upon what, after all, seems to be the sounder and wiser practice pursued by this Parliament at all times before this—pursued, I think, in the Provincial Parliaments before this one came into being—and which seems to be adopted in other countries, namely, the practice of granting power to a committee to examine witnesses under oath, without being too nice in the granting of that power, provided it be evident that the committee is not going on a fishing excursion, but is engaged in some practical inquiry, in relation to which some members of the committee, for reasons he states, feels that investigation under oath is necessary. Not by any means that he need make any charge of fraud or wrong or the assertion or proof of prima facie fraud, but that he will assert that on account of the extent of the claim under investigation, or on account of its extent as compared with the vote out of which it is taken, or as compared with other accounts of the same kind, or for any other reason which the ingenuity of the hon. member for Lambton (Mr. Lister), I am sure, is at any time sufficient to supply, an inquiry under oath should be had. But some reason should be given—I care not to be too nice—why the account of Mr. O'Connor shall be subject to the examination of witnesses under oath, and then the House shall, at the request of the committee or without it—if the committee decline to make the request—give that committee power to examine witnesses under oath in relation to that matter. Let me take another illustration, the case of the Curran bridge, which was referred to this afternoon. The hon. member for Lambton (Mr. Lister) referred to it as a case, in respect of which it would be folly for him to make a public charge, to name the witnesses, to be required to state what he could prove with regard to it. Sir, in the interpretation which is put upon the power of this Parliament and upon the British practice and upon all the precedents we have to guide us in relation to that matter, it would be amply sufficient for

the hon. member or for any hon. member to say that the expenditure had far exceeded the estimates of cost of the work, far exceeded the proper cost of the undertaking, and that other claims were outstanding. For my part, whether in the committee, or in the House, I would not hesitate upon such a statement of fact—without calling upon him to state what he could prove—to give power to examine all witnesses upon oath. I state that as illustrating the extent to which I at least would be disposed to go. Hon. gentlemen opposite take a peculiar position, and speak of it with great emphasis, that they are exercising rights, and not asking favours of the majority. Mr. Speaker, I do not consider for a moment that they should be in the position of asking any favours in order to carry on an investigation of this kind. They need ask no favours. When they state anything which calls for inquiry, and for the examination of witnesses, it is the right of the committee to call upon the House for power to examine witnesses under oath. When anything is ascertained which makes it appear that witnesses are required to attend and be examined, though it is not the English practice to administer an oath except in very rare cases, I grant, at least, that it is our duty to confer that power upon the committee at once. But there is a great difference between conferring upon the committee the power of sending for papers and for persons and of swearing witnesses, and the command which is given by this resolution that they shall examine all such persons under oath. In order to illustrate the difference between this command and the conferring of power to examine under oath, let me refer again to the report of the Committee on Public Accounts in England of 1892. The evidence of eighteen witnesses is presented, but the committee did not think it necessary, in order to arrive at the truth and the facts as to what was being done in regard to public expenditure, to swear any one of these witnesses, because they got the information they desired without it. But our hon. friends opposite think that human nature is so much more debased in Canada than it is in Great Britain, or elsewhere, that they cannot trust a witness to come before them to produce a document without putting him under oath to tell the truth. Many witnesses are brought before the committee only for the production of vouchers; or, it may be that the charge of the matter upon which he is called to testify is in some other department; still, it will be necessary to swear him. But when they have witnesses to call in relation to any matter in which it is necessary to examine formally under oath, let them ask for power in the first instance, and they shall receive it, if my vote or my influence can give it to them. Now, Sir, with regard to their being put in the position of asking favours from the majority, let me call the attention of the House to the fact

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that this is not the position of affairs at all; but rather they are seeking to impose their will upon the majority of the committee.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). In which you acquiesce.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. In which I do not acquiesce at all under present circumstances. They report a case in which the hon. member for Lambton (Mr. Lister) has simply said, with regard to the accounts of Mr. D. O'Connor: "I move that so and so be examined under oath by this committee." He does not state what the nature of the examination is to be, what reason he has for desiring the investigation into those accounts; but hon. gentlemen seek to impose upon the majority of the committee the rule that, whatever these witnesses may say or whatever they may not be able to say, they shall say nothing unless first sworn.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman has been misinformed.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. If so, I have been misinformed by the report of the committee which is under consideration, which we have been debating all this afternoon, and which gives this as the state of facts with regard to the refusal to examine these witnesses under oath. I say that, nothing being cited, or charged, or alleged, as to the reason for scrutinizing these accounts of Mr. O'Connor—as respects which I am perfectly willing the fullest inquiry should take place—let us pursue the British practice. Let us have the witnesses called; see whether the majority of the committee are of the opinion that the oath should be administered; and, if it is the desire of the minority, on account of any statement they may make, or anybody else may make to have the investigation under oath, let them ask the power to swear, not as a favour, but as asserting a right under the practice which has prevailed heretofore in this Parliament and the Parliament of Great Britain, and then I am sure the House will not be reluctant to grant them that power. But, as I said before, to adopt this resolution is to go beyond what the hon. gentleman asked from the committee. The hon. member for Lambton asked in the committee that two gentlemen whom he named—Mr. O'Connor and another—should be summoned on a certain day and examined under oath. The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) thinks I am mistaken. The report says:

Mr. Lister moved, that this committee ask the House to authorize the committee to examine D. O'Connor and the Deputy Minister of Justice under oath on accounts of D. O'Connor.

The House will see that my hon. friend from Lambton proposed, without giving a reason, without a word of explanation, that he and his friends who voted in the minority should be in a position to impose the will of the minority upon the committee, and to

put the majority in the position of asking favours from the minority. And that is precisely what I object to here. Now, though I may be going back to a subject I addressed myself to before, I do not think it has been shown, nor is it contended here, that there is any necessity with regard to many of these matters of expenditure for examining witnesses under oath. As proving the utility of examining under oath we were referred to the case in 1891, when one of the witnesses declared that he had not told the truth on a previous investigation because the conduct of the inquiry was not under oath. But my hon. friend opposite will not suppose for a single moment that the House would have hesitated to confer powers to examine under oath, witnesses who appeared in relation to that matter, even before the witness in question had stated that his evidence on a former occasion had been untrue. The hon. gentleman will not suppose that the power to examine under oath would not have been granted by the House on the mere suspicion of wrong-doing, which was subsequently proved in regard to that case. Now, Sir, I have stated to the House as clearly as I am able, the reason why I dissent from the resolution which has been moved by the hon. member for North York: it asks us to lay down a practice which is new in this House, except as regards the precedent of 1891. We are to consider now whether that precedent of 1891—differing as we must all on both sides admit it did from the practice which prevailed before and which exists in English practice—shall be the law of Parliament for all time to come; because after this exhaustive debate no one can contend that the subject was not well considered and discussed;—whether we shall make that the invariable rule of Parliament for the future, or fall in with the practice, which is followed in England, as any one of the volumes of the reports of the committees of the House of Commons show, of allowing any committee which pleases to examine witnesses without oath, but giving them the power to examine under oath whenever there appears to the committee or to the House to be occasion for an examination under oath;—whether that shall be our practice, the practice we have pursued hitherto, or whether we shall start out merely under the precedent of 1891, which was established without discussion, without consideration, without the attention of Parliament being called to it, and whether, in opposition to all parliamentary practice elsewhere, we shall adopt that practice. And if we adopt that rule we are logically bound to apply the same practice to every other committee. The discussion will not end here. The moment a question dividing party arises relating to any other committee of the House, in the Railway and Canals Committee, when we have before it a Bill on which the House is divided, in the Committee of Privileges and Elections, we will have this question as

fresh and vigorous as it is to-night, and a resolution will be proposed that every witness appearing before that committee shall be examined on oath; and we will not only be departing from the practice which has hitherto prevailed in Great Britain, but, as I have said, we shall be departing from the parliamentary procedure of every country in the world where parliamentary institutions exist. On the other hand, those who support this amendment lay down the rule and the principle that this House will readily grant the powers which are sought by hon. gentlemen opposite when, for the full and efficient discharge of the duties of the committee, it may appear that the exercise of those powers would aid the committee in the duties which had been assigned to them by this House. For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, and with this explanation of what I consider the limitations of our rule ought to be, or the imposition of any restrictions on the examination of witnesses under oath, I venture to think after all that the safe and sound rule will be that laid down in the amendment, that it will not, if I am right in stating the limits within which it would operate, suppress any right or power of the committee for public benefit, it will prevent confusion and introduce order, and it will keep us within the safe limits of the power which the practice and the law of Parliament have conferred upon us.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I congratulate the Minister of Justice on having taken an infinitely more rational and sensible view of the matter than any of the hon. gentlemen who preceded him. That might have been expected from the circumstances that in his time the hon. gentleman has been a judge of the land, and must know as well as we do how thoroughly right my hon. friends have been from first to last on every point of their contention. I am not going to argue this matter on a question of legal technicalities, but I have been a member of the Public Accounts Committee for thirty years, and so I have had at least as much experience on that committee, as any member of this House on either side, and I will therefore point out to the House and to the Minister of Justice, certain reasons, based on considerations of public policy, which lead me to believe that the demand that has been preferred from this side of the House forms the only safe and wise guide for the deliberations of the Committee of Public Accounts. The First Minister declared at the commencement of his speech that there was practically no difference, or at all events, a very slight difference indeed, between what he desired to do, between what he understood to be the functions of the Committee of Public Accounts, and what we on this side desire to do and what we understand to be the proper functions of that committee. I can assure the hon. gentleman that there

is, as he truly said, but a slight difference between his view and our view, but there was a world wide difference between the hon. gentleman himself and several members of his Cabinet as to the construction thereof. In this case the wisdom did not lie with the majority. The hon. gentleman, however, referred to the question of precedent. He declared there was but one precedent for the position taken by my hon. friends, and that was the precedent established in 1891. I will read the motion of Mr. Wallace, Chairman of the Public Accounts, in 1892 :

The committee recommend that whenever any witness or witnesses coming before them is or are to be examined, it is desirable that such witness or witnesses shall be examined on oath.

Will the hon. gentleman compare that motion with the motion moved by the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock), and will the First Minister tell me what is the substantial difference between them? My hon. friend has moved as follows :

It is desirable that such witnesses as are to be examined by the Public Accounts Committee shall be examined on oath.

Will the hon. gentleman, whose mind is a subtle one, point out the distinction between the motion moved by Mr. Wallace and the present motion submitted by the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I grant the words are the same, and therefore there are two precedents instead of one. The only distinction appears to be that the resolution in 1892 was passed after charges were made. But I was mistaken in supposing that the language of the resolution of 1892 was as strong as it is.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. To a very great extent I agree with the First Minister, and I have no doubt that the conclusions which he laid down, and which I will now repeat, are substantially the conclusions for which we have contended and for which we are contending. The hon. gentleman stated, and I repeat his own words, and he will correct me if I misunderstood him, that he for his part did not intend to declare that any distinct charge should be preferred; that he for his part did not intend to declare that a *prima facie* case should be made out; that it was sufficient in his judgment that if any member of the committee in his place declared that he thought for certain reasons the witnesses he proposed to call with respect to certain inquiries should be examined on oath, that the First Minister not only would recommend the granting of the right or privilege of examination under oath, but he would be the first, if the committee refused the request, to insist on the matter being brought before the House. That is what I understood the hon. gentleman to state.

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Sir JOHN THOMPSON. For any reasonable reason or cause.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. With respect to the term reasonable reasons, the First Minister proceeded to explain his meaning.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. In the most liberal sense of the word.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I will go much further. I conceive that on the strongest possible grounds of public policy an hon. member, being a member of that committee—I do not even go the length the First Minister does of including any member of this House, because a member of the House, not being a member of the committee has his own remedy—rising in his place and declaring that he has what he believes to be good and sufficient reasons for desiring that the witnesses in connection with this particular inquiry should be examined under oath, should be permitted to examine witnesses on oath. I think that is a fair and proper construction to place on the duties and functions of the committee. The hon. gentleman proceeded to explain, and he gave a most liberal construction, and no doubt he was correct in saying that a man much less ingenious than the hon. member for Lambton (Mr. Lister) would be able to offer bushels of good and sufficient reasons for having the witnesses connected with any particular inquiry examined under oath. But the hon. gentleman took the objection, and it was the only objection taken by him that this resolution on the part of the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) obliges the committee in all cases to examine witnesses on oath. That is a legal question that I am not going to argue now. Do I understand the hon. First Minister also to say: that it is his interpretation of the statute that we have it in our power to confer a discretionary power of examination under oath.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I do.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Under our statute.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I do.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That is a legal point on which I refer him to his legal conferees and my legal conferees, and I merely want to understand what he does contend for. As I am advised, I believe that our statute would render it imperative, if the House conferred the power at all that the committee should exercise it in all cases. However, that is a purely legal point. But, Sir, there are other circumstances and circumstances of weight, which ought, I think, to influence this House to follow the precedents of 1891 and 1892, and to follow them more particularly and especially with respect to the Committee on Public Accounts; I am not concerned with the question as to whether it is or is not advisable to extend that system to all our committees. As I un-

derstand it, most of the witnesses in the cases to which the First Minister has alluded, are called on to give expressions of opinion, which the committee are abundantly able to discount, but in the case of the Committee on Public Accounts we always examine these gentlemen, not as to questions of opinion, but as to matters of fact; that I think is a very material distinction and a very good reason why we should insist on these persons being examined under oath. Sir, there are other reasons. This committee is a committee of investigation, and of investigation into what? It is a committee of investigation into the fashion in which the affairs of the departments of Government, presided over by the gentlemen occupying the Treasury benches, have expended large sums of money. Who are the parties whom this committee is likely to examine with respect to these questions? They are mainly and first of all the officers of the department. Now, every hon. gentleman must see, every man who has held office must know of his own experience, that it is rather a hard thing to call upon officers of a department to give evidence against the administration of that department, with their chief sitting opposite to them in the committee. It is asking too much of human nature—without in the least degree imputing any impropriety to ordinary average members of the Civil Service—it is asking too much of human nature to ask an official with his chiefs confronting him, to state all that he knows and to state it exactly in the way he would state it under oath; unless he knows that what he is about to say will be put on record and will be under the sanctity of an oath. We have had abundant experience time and again as to the imperative necessity, when you are examining officers with their chiefs confronting them, of requiring these gentlemen to make statements safeguarded by an oath and further safeguarded by being put on record. In every examination having reference to the conduct of a particular department, there is no surety whatever of getting at the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, unless you have every word taken down and every word under oath. The common sense of that view of the case will commend itself not merely to the First Minister, who, I do not doubt, appreciates it, but to every member of this House on either side, who knows any thing of public affairs, and it will most assuredly commend itself to the country at large with the experience of the revelations of 1891 and 1892, to guide them. It is perfectly true that this practice is to some extent a new practice. It is perfectly true that there is nothing in England in the slightest degree analogous to our Committee on Public Accounts. These two statements are perfectly correct, and if the hon. Minister had been able to produce from the English Committee of Public Accounts one case in which a member of that committee had asked that

witnesses be sworn and the other members of the committee had refused to have them sworn, then, Sir, there would have been something to say for the precedents he gave. But there was not the slightest indication as far as I could learn from his statement, that the question had been raised or that any dispute had occurred, and I know enough of the practice of the English House of Commons to feel assured that if any member of the English Public Accounts Committee—had he been single and alone, on the floor of that committee—demanded that these eighteen witnesses be examined, it would have been done as a matter of course, and without any human being dreaming of opposing such demand. As I have said, all this is comparatively new. When first I had the honour of a seat in the Committee of Public Accounts our work to a very large extent was of a character which has been taken off our shoulders by the appointment of the Auditor General. Up to 1873 we had no Auditor General; that office was created, I think, in the very last year of my friend, Mr. Mackenzie's Administration. So long as there was no Auditor General, so long in practice, we were to some extent a committee of audit. But with the creation of the Auditor General that function to an enormous extent was removed from the shoulders of the committee, and its real business and function merged purely into that of a committee of investigation and inquiry. I want to show the hon. the First Minister the practical difficulties which would attend the following up of such a course as the committee have recently adopted. He knows perfectly well that this committee is one which it is not convenient to call together very often. We have now been five weeks in session, and we have not yet examined a single witness, although it is perfectly well known to members on both sides of the House that there are very important subjects of inquiry awaiting us with respect to which many witnesses must be examined. As a rule the committee is hardly called together more than once a week; it is with very great difficulty indeed that we have succeeded ever in getting it called together twice a week. I may possibly be permitted to suggest that no great desire appeared to be shown by that committee, when I myself pointed out the great inconvenience likely to arise from demanding on each separate occasion power to examine witnesses under oath; no great alacrity, I say, seems to have been shown in calling the committee together more than once a week. Hon. gentlemen opposite do not know, and we do not know how many weeks it may be our fate to spend here, but even if we stayed here until the dog days, at the average rate of proceeding we would not be able to have more than seventeen or eighteen meetings, and it is very doubtful if we would succeed in getting this number. Under these circumstances if, whenever an hon. gentleman wants to prosecute an inquiry he is obliged to go

through the formalities of obtaining the leave of the committee—or of being refused by the committee, as was the case of my hon. friend—is then obliged to go to the House in order to obtain leave to have these witnesses examined. the inconvenience would be very great indeed; very great to us, very great to the witnesses, and very great to the Government themselves. I can assure the First Minister that it will tend to prolong this session beyond all due bounds, a thing that I do not want—a thing I am perfectly certain the Government do not want, either—if it can possibly be avoided. Unless this committee were prepared to sit 'de die in diem' on every day which the House sat, there would be very great difficulty indeed in carrying on the examination of witnesses with any degree of reasonable speed under the conditions that now exist. I am free to say, speaking with some knowledge of the subject, that I, for my part, have long felt that this committee was far too large. I believe that its work would be much better done if there were a much smaller number of gentlemen attached to it, and if it sat a great deal oftener than it does, and particularly when we have witnesses brought before us to examine. if the examination of these witnesses was continued, as it ought to be continued, from day to day. It is the most intolerable waste of time to bring witnesses here, let us say on Tuesday, and adjourn their examination to the next Friday, or more likely the next Tuesday. It is quite impossible to conduct any ordinary investigation to any reasonable termination under such circumstances as these. However, that is by the way. I am not at the present moment doing more than throwing out a suggestion in that direction. But what I do say—wholly and entirely apart from the legal question—is that, as a question of policy of the very broadest kind, it is in the highest degree in the interest of the country, and, I believe, in the interest of the Government themselves, that no objection should be raised to the examination of witnesses under oath in this committee. The country has not forgot, it is utterly impossible that the country can forget, what occurred in 1891 and 1892. It is utterly impossible that it can forget the proofs which were laid before this House that a very large number of the officials of the Government, including among them some men very near, indeed, to the Ministers of their respective departments, had been guilty of the grossest irregularities—had been guilty of peculation and downright fraud. And it is perfectly well known to every man who sat on that committee, as it is to every man who ever took the trouble to look at the evidence, that there would not have been the ghost of a chance of getting at the information which was then laid before the country, unless those men had been subjected to a cross-examination under oath. That is a matter that goes without saying. Under these cir-

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cumstances, and bearing in mind that this is strictly a committee of investigation, it does appear to me that if we are going to make this committee a committee of any value, or use to the country, it is the merest idle formality to insist upon our going from pillar to post—first applying to the committee and then applying to the House, and wasting precious days in the attempt to get a power which, I think, our precedents and the natural common sense of the Government should give to this committee from the day it opens its sessions. Why, Sir, as has been said again and again, is any petty case involving \$5, tried in any court in this country, in which the witnesses are not examined under oath? And are we to be told that a Select Committee of this House, which the law allows the House to empower to examine under oath, should not surround its proceedings with the same dignity and formality which are attached even to an examination made by a police magistrate? The thing is monstrous; and, although I am very glad to find that the First Minister has receded from the most untenable positions taken by his coadjutors—which his legal knowledge showed him at once was indefensible—although I congratulate him on having administered to them a well-deserved reprimand, still, I submit that there are strong grounds in the public interest why no objection should be taken to the power we ask for, that every witness put before this committee should be examined on oath if any member of that committee so desires. That is all we ask, and, as the hon. First Minister interprets the matter, there is certainly very little difference indeed between him and us.

House divided on amendment (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper):

YEAS:

Messieurs:

Amyot,
Bain (Soulanges),
Baker,
Barnard,
Belley,
Bennett,
Bergeron,
Bergin,
Boyd,
Boyle,
Cameron,
Cargill,
Carignan,
Carling (Sir John),
Carpenter,
Caron (Sir Adolphe),
Carscallen,
Cheesley,
Cleveland,
Coatsworth,
Cochrane,
Corby,
Costigan,
Craig,
Curran,
Daly,
Davin,
Davis,
Denison,
Desaulniers,

Leclair,
Lépine,
Lippé,
Macdonald (King's),
Macdonell (Algoma),
Macdowall,
Maclean (York),
McDonald (Assiniboia),
McDonald (Victoria),
McDougald (Picton),
McDougall (Cape Breton),
McKay,
McLean (King's),
McLennan,
McNeill,
Madill,
Mara,
Marshall,
Marson,
Metcalfe,
Mills (Annapolis),
Montague,
Northrup,
Ouimet,
Patterson (Colchester),
Patterson (Huron),
Pelletier,
Pridham,
Prior,
Putnam,

| | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Dickey, | Reid, |
| Dugas, | Robillard, |
| Dupont, | Roome, |
| Dyer, | Rosmond, |
| Earle, | Ross (Dundas), |
| Fairbairn, | Ross (Lisgar), |
| Ferguson (Renfrew), | Ryckman, |
| Fréchette, | Simard, |
| Gillies, | Smith (Ontario), |
| Girouard (Jacques-Cartier), | Sproule, |
| Girouard (Two Mountains), | Stevenson, |
| Grandbois, | Taylor, |
| Grant (Sir James), | Temple, |
| Guillet, | Thompson (Sir John), |
| Haggart, | Tisdale, |
| Haslam, | Tupper (Sir C. Hibbert), |
| Henderson, | Turcotte, |
| Hutchins, | Tyrwhitt, |
| Ingram, | Wallace, |
| Ives, | Weldon, |
| Kaulbach, | White (Cardwell), |
| Kenny, | White (Shelburne), |
| Lachapelle, | Wilmot, |
| Langevin (Sir Hector), | Wilson, |
| LaRivière, | Wood (Brockville).—110. |

NAVS :

Messieurs:

| | |
|---------------------------|-------------------|
| Allan, | Grieve, |
| Bain (Wentworth), | Guay, |
| Bécharde, | Harwood, |
| Beith, | Iunes, |
| Bernier, | Landerkin, |
| Borden, | Langelier, |
| Boston, | Laurier, |
| Bourassa, | Legris, |
| Bowman, | Lister, |
| Brodeur, | Lowell, |
| Brown, | McGregor, |
| Bruneau, | McMillan, |
| Campbell, | McMullen, |
| Carroll, | Martin, |
| Cartwright (Sir Richard), | Mignault, |
| Casey, | Mills (Bothwell), |
| Charlton, | Monet, |
| Choquette, | Paterson (Brant), |
| Christie, | Perry, |
| Davies, | Préfontaine, |
| Dawson, | Proulx, |
| Delisle, | Rider, |
| Devlin, | Rinfret, |
| Edgar, | Rowand, |
| Fauvel, | Sanborn, |
| Featherston, | Scriver, |
| Flint, | Semple, |
| Forbes, | Somerville, |
| Fraser, | Sutherland, |
| Geoffrion, | Tarte, |
| Gibson, | Vaillancourt, |
| Godbout, | Yeo.—64. |

Ministerial.

PAIRS :

Opposition.

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| Messrs. Cockburn, | Messrs. Mulock, |
| Hearn, | Frémont, |
| Wood, | Welsh, |
| Bryson, | Edwards, |
| Foster, | Gillmor, |
| Joncas, | Leduc, |
| McAllister, | Colter, |
| Stairs, | Livingston, |
| Smith, | Beausoleil, |
| Moncreiff, | Lavergne, |
| Hughes, | McDonald, |
| Hasen, | O'Brien. |

Mr. SUTHERLAND. The hon. member for Russell (Mr. Edwards), the hon. member for Quebec County (Mr. Frémont) and the hon. member for Charlotte (Mr. Gillmor) have not voted.

Mr. EDWARDS. I am paired with the hon. member for Pontiac (Mr. Bryson). If I had been free to vote, I would have voted against the amendment.

Mr. FREMONT. I am paired with the hon. member for Quebec West (Mr. Hearn). I would have voted against the amendment.

Mr. GILLMOR. I am paired with the hon. Minister of Finance, otherwise I would have voted against the amendment.

Mr. TAYLOR. The hon. member for Restigouche (Mr. McAllister) has not voted.

Mr. McALLISTER. I am paired with the hon. member for Carleton, N.B. (Mr. Colter). Had I voted it would have been for the amendment.

Amendment agreed to; and main motion as amended, agreed to.

FRENCH TREATY.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT asked, Under the proposed French Treaty what is the estimated loss of revenue—(a.) Upon wine? (b.) Upon dried fruit? (c.) Upon soaps? (d.) What is the total estimated loss on all articles admitted under it?

Mr. WALLACE. The total amount of duties collected upon the articles imported from France mentioned in the treaty during the past year was \$172,457.48. Under the proposed French Treaty, the loss to the revenue on these importations is estimated at \$86,732.62.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Is that on wine?

Mr. WALLACE. On the whole importations:

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|
| Wines, not sparkling..... | \$35,942 40 |
| Sparkling wines..... | 41,313 30 |
| Almonds..... | 1,823 27 |
| Nuts, other than almonds..... | 4,966 91 |
| Plums and prunes..... | 118 16 |
| Soap, common..... | 2 25 |
| Soap, castile..... | 2,566 06 |

Total.....\$86,732 62

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I asked what is the estimated loss on all articles?

Mr. WALLACE. This is on the articles included in the treaty. They are the articles named in the French Treaty which are imported from France. We could not make an estimate of the loss to the revenue on the articles, under the similar classification, now imported from other countries.

BROAD COVE AND ORANGEDALE RAILWAY.

Mr. FORBES (for Mr. Fraser) asked, 1. What is the total length of the proposed Broad Cove and Orangedale Railway? 2. What amount has the Government promised to give the said road per mile? 3. Do the Government propose to add to the amount promised?

Mr. HAGGART. The length of the road from Broad Cove to the Orangedale station, on the Intercolonial Railway, is 35 miles. The amount of subsidy granted by Parliament is \$3,200 per mile for 25 miles. There

being no application before the Government, the matter of additional subsidy has not been considered.

PIERRE FERLAND.

Mr. McMULLEN asked, When was Pierre Furlow appointed stove culler at Quebec? What is his salary, and what is the amount of fees collected for his services as culler since he was appointed?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). Pierre Ferland—not Pierre Furlow—was on 31st May, 1890, on the death of Joseph Frederick, a stove culler, reappointed from the retired list as successor to Mr. Frederick. His salary is \$700 per annum. The fees collected by Pierre Ferland, from 1st July, 1890, to 31st March, 1894, amounted to \$122.13.

E. DUGGAN.

Mr. McMULLEN asked, Why was E. Duggan, of the Cullers' Office, Quebec, superannuated at the age of forty years? Has any new appointment to the Cullers' Office at Quebec or Montreal been made since his superannuation?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). Mr. E. Duggan, of the Cullers' Office, Quebec, was retired dating from 1st July, 1889, along with seventeen others whose services were no longer required, with a view to better economy in the administration of the Acts respecting the culling and measuring of timber as authorized by section 32 of chapter 103 of the Revised Statutes as amended by the Act 52 Vic., chapter 18. No new appointments have been made since Mr. Duggan's superannuation, but two of the retired cullers were reappointed to replace deceased cullers.

EDOUARD PAUL HUS.

Mr. BRUNEAU asked, How many years has Edouard Paul Hus, of Ste. Anne de Sorel, been employed by the Government as lighthouse-keeper? Have complaints been laid against him, and if so, when and on what grounds? Is it the intention of the Government to inquire into the said complaints?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. That officer was appointed in 1871. No complaints have been laid against him, but a departmental inquiry is going on as to whether he has been farming out his light.

CLEANING OF RICE.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT (for Mr. O'Brien) asked, How many mills in the Dominion of Canada, as shown by the last census, are engaged in the cleaning of rice, and how many persons are employed in them?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Two mills, and seventy-five persons.

Mr. HAGGART.

MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION.

Mr. GUAY (for Mr. Tarte) asked, Is it the intention of the Government to advise that communication be made to the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and to his responsible advisers urgently requesting that the complaints set forth by the Roman Catholics of that province before the Dominion Government in their petitions since 1890, be carefully inquired into, and that the whole subject be reviewed by the Government and the Legislative Assembly of that province in order that redress be given by such laws or amendments as may be found necessary to meet the just grievances and complaints of the said Roman Catholics?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It is the intention of the Government to make representations to the Government of Manitoba in the direction stated in the question with regard to some of the petitions which have been presented since 1890.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 11.45 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, 20th April, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND MAILS.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Mr. Speaker, before passing to the Orders of the Day, I beg to call the attention of the Government, with a view to obtaining some information on the subject, to the lamentable failure of the arrangements this spring for the transmission of the mails to and from Prince Edward Island. I would like to have some official statement from the Prime Minister or the Postmaster General or some authority as to whether there is anybody in Prince Edward Island authorized, in case the mails are detained—as they were recently for a period of ten days—to take the matter in hand and employ steam tugs or take other necessary means in order to get the mails over. A short time ago the steamer 'Stanley' was caught in the ice and was detained there for a period of ten days. Common sense would dictate that, in such cases, the postmaster at Charlottetown should at once employ boats to carry the mails across by Cape Traverse. But, as a matter of fact, nothing was done. Passengers were assembled at Pictou and a

large number at the Cape, but no means of communication were provided, and the postmaster of Charlottetown seemed to be under the impression that he had no authority to do anything. Some person, the general agent of the Marine Department, or the postmaster at Charlottetown or some other person, should have authority in such cases to take the matter into his own hands and incur the trivial expense necessary to carry these mails backwards and forwards. I cannot tell the hon. gentleman the terrible inconvenience and loss which occurs to the commercial community from a delay such as this. Nothing was done until, at last, eight or ten commercial travellers got together and hired a tug and thus opened communication, though the postmaster at Charlottetown telegraphed to Ottawa for authority, evidently believing that he had no authority to act. This is a state of things that should not exist. The postmaster, or somebody else, should have authority to act without telegraphing here. I want to know officially from the Government if the responsibility rests with the postmaster at Charlottetown or with whom it does rest? Is there any officer who has ample authority in such cases to hire the necessary conveyances to carry the mails across by some other way? If we find that any such officer has authority, public opinion will see to it that he acts upon that authority.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. I already told the hon. gentleman that when the department were informed that the ferry could not continue carrying the mails as it had been doing, instructions were given to employ a tug, and I am under the impression—I will not be sure—the postmaster of the Island took upon himself the responsibility, and very properly so, of sending a tug. When the matter was referred to me to sanction the action taken by the postmaster, I, of course, immediately agreed to what had been done. In a case of that kind, I take it that the postmaster would have full authority to take steps to meet the emergency, and prevent such inconvenience to the public, referring the matter afterwards to the department for approval.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I would like to add a word to what the Postmaster General has said, because, to some extent, my department is concerned. I would like to point out that, during the winter, the duty of carrying the mails devolves upon the Department of Marine. The hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies, P.E.I.), who has brought the subject up, will easily understand that the occasion to which he refers was one which could hardly have been foreseen or arranged for in advance. So far as my experience goes, there never was anything like it. We have the steamer 'Stanley,' and we have also the ice-boat service, the open-boat service; and, when the ice steamer is delayed or there is such weather that she cannot be expected to

carry the mails across, the service has been opened by the capes, and the open boats have kept up the connection. Hitherto there has been no necessity for employing a tug or making any other special arrangements, because the system I speak of has worked, sometimes with inconvenience, but, on the whole, tolerably well. This year, when it became impossible for the boats to keep up the connection owing to the ice between the capes having disappeared altogether, the 'Stanley' was caught fast near one port of destination, Pictou. She was so near that she could almost be seen from land. My department, and the agent of the department, assumed that every moment we should learn that the steamer had reached port. The case, as I say, was an exceptional and extraordinary one. The inconvenience, I know, must have been very great, but when the question came up respecting a tug service, I had no authority to establish a service of that kind. The difficulty between the departments may have caused some inconvenience, but the case was an exceptional one. But when the matter was brought to the attention of the Postmaster General he promptly put on a tug and endeavoured to carry the mail expeditiously.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I am not laying any general complaint against the departments for the carriage of the mail, but hereafter I shall hold the postmaster in Charlottetown responsible, after the hon. gentleman's statement that he has the full authority of the Minister, in case of emergency, to take the necessary steps to have the mails carried over. I understand now from the Minister, and that will be communicated to the Island press, that hereafter we will know whom we can hold responsible, and the postmaster on the Island will be looked to.

REPORT.

Report of the Experimental Farms for the year 1893.—(Mr. Foster.)

SHAREHOLDERS IN THE CHARTERED BANKS.

Mr. FOSTER. I desire to lay on the Table a list of the shareholders in the chartered banks.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Does the return ordered to be made on the part of the various banks contain the amount of unclaimed deposits for a certain number of years?

Mr. FOSTER. There was a return made last year, but not this year.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

Mr. FOSTER moved that the House again resolve itself into Committee of Ways and Means.

Motion agreed to, and House resolved itself into Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Oatmeal, 50 cents per barrel.

Mr. FOSTER. I wish to make a change, of which I gave notice, and instead of, as it reads now, 50 cents per barrel, to make it 20 per cent, which will equalize the proportion, according to the millers' proposition, the same as wheat and flour are equalized. According to our present quotations it would mean about 68 cents on the oats.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Even still it is a very curious arrangement. The finished product in that case will be brought into this country at a considerably cheaper rate than the raw material. Ten bushels of oats will be subject to a tax of \$1, but the barrel of oatmeal which is made out of those ten bushels of oats on the other side of the line will be admitted at 68 cents. I am not concerned particularly with the principle of protection, but it does appear to me a most extraordinary inversion of every doctrine the hon. gentleman and his friends have ever laid down that the raw material should be taxed much more highly than the finished manufactured product. I would like to understand from the hon. gentleman why 10 bushels of oats which, according to his statement, constitute the raw material, are to be taxed \$1, and the barrel of oatmeal produced from those is only to be taxed 68 cents—unless it be his special desire that the oatmeal should be manufactured on the United States side instead of being manufactured here.

Mr. FOSTER. There is no danger about that. I have had a conference with the representative of the millers, and he is quite satisfied with the 20 per cent upon oatmeal. If the hon. gentleman wants to increase it, I have no objection.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I am not going to move to increase anything. In the first place, I do not consider I have power to move to increase anything, constitutionally speaking. To add to the burthens of the people is a privilege reserved to the Ministers of the Crown, and most freely exercised.

Mr. FOSTER. It seems they are not exercising it sufficiently in this case.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. My pleasure and my hope is to reduce the burthens of the people, not to add to them. But I must say I think a little more explanation should be given for this departure from principle on the part of the hon. gentleman. We do not expect much from him in the way of principle, but still, if there is a principle that he and his friends are supposed to adhere to, it is the principle of letting raw material in free and taxing the finished product a little higher.

Mr. FOSTER. I must thank my hon. friend for keeping me up to the full measure of protection on these articles.

Mr. FOSTER.

Mr. McMULLEN. I look upon this as a very important matter. It is well known that oatmeal enters largely into the daily food of the poorer classes of this country. It is also well known that a man can take his oats to the mill and get them exchanged for oatmeal. Now, when you take oats to the oatmeal mill and get them exchanged you get the ordinary market price of oats, but you have to pay for the oatmeal the price that it can be laid down in this country, including a duty of 20 per cent. Now, I am of opinion that it would be better rather to reduce the duty on oats, and leave oatmeal as it was. If the hon. gentleman is bound to equalize it, I think the equalization should take place the other way, that is, by reducing the duty upon oats, and in place of 10 cents per bushel bring it down to a reasonable sum, and leave the duty on oatmeal at the price it was before. When you increase the duty you are simply increasing the price of the poor man's bread, upon which his family has to live, to the extent of the increased duty, because those who manufacture the oatmeal will add that to the price when they sell it.

Mr. McMILLAN. I think the duty on oatmeal ought not to be increased, and the duty on oats should be reduced. Mills at certain seasons of the year have got to bring oats in from the other side, they are brought in in bond, and I am convinced that we will suffer no injury from the duty being reduced upon oats, but we shall suffer injury from the duty being raised on oatmeal. One of the complaints in the province of Ontario is that the Government have reduced the duty on raw material, that we have a tax upon an article when it is taken to the mill, while we had no protection in reality upon our oats. I hope the Minister will see his way to reduce the duty upon oats, and at the same time not to raise the duty upon oatmeal.

Item agreed to.

Rice, uncleaned, unhulled or paddy, five-tenths of one cent a pound.

Mr. FOSTER. I wish to make a change in that, and reduce the duty from five-tenths of a cent to three-tenths of a cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. This simply means that the hon. Finance Minister proposes to continue a very odious monopoly, a monopoly for which there is no excuse whatever. For the sake of two mills employing 75 hands, he proposes to throw away many thousand dollars of revenue, and he proposes likewise to impose a very severe tax on the people, because the hon. gentleman has given notice likewise of his intention, while reducing the duty on paddy, to increase the duty on the manufactured article. For the sake of employing 75 people, or for the sake of providing for two more of his supporters who may be interested in these two paddy rice cleaning mills, the hon. gentleman proposes to inflict a tax of over \$100,000, I have

not got the exact details at the instant. He proposes also to add considerably to the cost of an article which is much more an article of necessity than of luxury, because rice is very largely consumed by all classes. I should be glad to learn what possible defence that hon. gentleman can make for abandoning the comparative correct principle which he had laid down, of obtaining a reasonable revenue from this article, if it is to be taxed at all, and giving no more than a moderate protection to those two little mills.

Mr. FOSTER. The proposal in the tariff was to make rice, uncleaned, five-tenths of a cent per pound, and rice, cleaned, 1 cent per pound.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). One-half cent protection?

Mr. FOSTER. One-half cent protection, as the hon. gentleman states it. I now propose, having given notice of the second proposition, to place rice, uncleaned, at three-tenths of a cent per pound, and to place cleaned rice at 1 cent and a quarter, the same as before. The result of that is that while the duty upon the cleaned rice is exactly the same as before, and as it has been for a number of years, the duty on uncleaned rice is increased from $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to three-tenths of a cent.

Mr. CASEY. What percentage does three-tenths of a cent per pound represent?

Mr. FOSTER. Thirty per cent, according to present quotations.

Mr. CASEY. It would amount to 23% per cent for last year.

Mr. FOSTER. According to present quotations it would be equal to 30 per cent. However, it is proposed to place it at three-tenths of a cent instead of $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. On 20,000,000 lbs., the normal yearly consumption, we would get out of it, at $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, \$35,000; three-tenths of a cent will give us, irrespective of the lowering of the duty on rice, a revenue on last year's importations of \$67,000 or \$69,000. So what I explained as my object before has been accomplished, namely, to get a larger revenue from the uncleaned rice while making the cleaned rice no higher than before.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). It is about equal to 14% per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. I thought at first it would be possible to reduce the duty on cleaned rice somewhat while at the same time the duty for revenue purposes be raised upon the uncleaned rice, but after a very thorough investigation I found that that cannot be done, and preserve the industry of rice milling in the country. Hon. gentlemen opposite may think the rice milling industry should be sacrificed. We must take into account that rice milling has been going in Canada for a number of years that capital is invested in it, that rice has to be cleaned some-

where, and if is not cleaned in this country it will be cleaned in some other country and the consumer will pay the cost of the cleaning. When the hon. gentleman says that if we put three-tenths of a cent per pound on uncleaned rice and 1 cent and a quarter on cleaned rice it is giving a very large protection, we must first find out what is involved in the matter of the expenses in cleaning rice in this country, because if there was a clear profit of 1 cent or even $\frac{1}{2}$ cent it would be, in my opinion, more than they should obtain. However, an investigation of the subject will show the committee such is not the case.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Then the work must now be done at a very large loss.

Mr. FOSTER. Uncleaned rice is brought to this country from eastern markets, and of course the freight has to be paid. The freight runs at about 35 shillings per ton. Then there is the duty to be paid. If you take 1 cent and a quarter as being the amount of protection on cleaned rice, you must also take into account that there is three-tenths of a cent to be paid on the raw material, which of course must be deducted. Then in the manufacture of rice, out of 100 pounds of uncleaned there are only sixty-four pounds of cleaned rice obtained for saleable purposes. There is an out-and-out waste, and there is also a partial waste represented by rice meal and broken rice, all of which items have to be taken into account. So it must not be thought that out of 100 pounds of uncleaned, on which the manufacturer must pay three-tenths of a cent per pound, an equivalent number of pounds of cleaned rice is obtained, and there is a considerable quantity which must be sold cheaply. Then there are all the expenses of cleaning, the capital invested and outlay made. At the end this does not leave a large protection for the rice milling industry.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman's statement shows thirty-six pounds of chaff.

Mr. FOSTER. No. I said there were sixty-four pounds of cleaned rice. There is about 4 per cent of absolute waste, and the remainder is partial waste, made up of rice meal and broken rice on which value can be obtained, but not at all equivalent to that of cleaned rice. I warn the House in dealing with this, that they must not look upon it as being 100 pounds of cleaned rice from 100 pounds of uncleaned.

Mr. CASEY. What percentage of absolute waste is there?

Mr. FOSTER. Four or five per cent.

Mr. CASEY. The rest is of some value?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, the rice meal and the broken rice are marketable either here or in other countries. Last year was an ex-

ceptional year, the importation was 24,000,000 pounds, but the average tonnage of uncleaned rice imported is about 10,000 long tons. If you take into consideration that they have to purchase at a certain season of the year, to keep their stock of raw material on hand ready for milling, and also to store their manufactured product for distribution; when you take in connection with these facts, the insurance, the cost of milling, the invested capital, and these other items, you will see that there is not a large share of profit left.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Where is the imported cleaned rice usually milled?

Mr. FOSTER. It is now being cleaned in the country of production in larger quantities than before, but it is also cleaned in England and the United States and almost every country.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I request the serious attention of the House to the facts which are now disclosed to us. In reply to a question put by me last evening on behalf of the hon. member from Muskoka (Mr. O'Brien), the hon. Minister stated that seventy-five men is the total number employed in this rice cleaning industry in Canada; and giving the Minister of Finance every possible allowance that he has claimed, the result is: that the people of Canada are now, and have for a long time back, been paying at the rate of from \$2,000 to \$2,500 a year for each of these seventy-five men. From \$150,000 to \$175,000 is the loss to the people of Canada, on the statement of the Minister of Finance himself, for the privilege of having two rice cleaning mills, one in Victoria and one in Montreal. I have called attention again and again in this House to the utter absurdity, to the signal folly, of any such provisions in our customs tariff, and I would ask no better illustration of the superlative stupidity—no other term will sufficiently describe it—of paying year in and year out for a long number of years, as the hon. Minister of Finance himself has stated, an annuity of from \$150,000 to \$200,000 for the purpose of maintaining seventy-five persons. Why, Sir, it would be a great deal better to board these people and their families permanently; make them annuitants at once and not charge the consuming portion of the people of this country with \$175,000 or \$200,000. Last year we imported 24,318,000 pounds of this uncleaned rice. The hon. gentleman does not pretend to say that there were thirty-six pounds per cent waste in that; there were four or five pounds total waste at the outside, and there were twenty-five or thirty pounds which had a certain value; probably paid its way. If I allow a total loss of 10 per cent on the conversion of the rice, which was the figure given to me by parties on whom I have reason to rely, I make ample allowance for all the absolute

Mr. FOSTER.

loss in converting the uncleaned rice into cleaned rice. Now, what is the result? We received last year \$53,000 on the importation of 24,318,000 pounds, which was equivalent to about 22,000,000, making 10 per cent reduction. On that 22,000,000 the consuming population of Canada had to pay a sum equivalent to what they would have to pay on cleaned rice imported and paying the ordinary duty. The cost to them would therefore have been about \$275,000 in round numbers, less \$53,000 duty which we obtained. The hon. gentleman now tells us that he is going to obtain \$69,000 revenue. Therefore the loss to the people of Canada under his present proposition is the difference between the tax that is charged to the people on the imported rice cleaned, and the tax that is paid, namely: the difference between \$275,000 and \$69,000. So that these precious mills employing seventy-five hands cost the people of Canada, under his present proposition, at least \$200,000 a year, if the importation is as heavy in future as it was last year. If the importation was a little in excess the cost would be a little less than in ordinary years. But, give the Finance Minister the benefit of everything he claims, give him the benefit of all these deductions, and I say that the very lowest figure he could make out would be somewhere, according to the amount imported, from \$150,000 or \$175,000 up to \$200,000. No better illustration could be given of the fact which I have continually insisted on: that for every dollar that goes into the Treasury under a protective tariff you may rest assured that at the very lowest calculation two, three or four dollars—sometimes a great deal more—are taken out of the pockets of the consuming population. Here is a case in point: Seventy-five men employed at an annual cost to this country for many years of \$200,000 a year.

Mr. McMULLEN. It is quite clear from the statement of the Finance Minister that those interested in the cleaning of rice have loaded him up on the side of protection. They have told him tales that he has been willing to accept as facts, and he is disposed to act upon them. I would like to know from the Finance Minister what he has in the way of personal knowledge as to the actual loss on the cleaning of rice. He does not know a single thing about it. He takes the word of these men who want the duty increased, and he swallows all they say and acts upon their representations.

Mr. FOSTER. What do you take?

Mr. McMULLEN. An efficient and intelligent Finance Minister, in order to deal with these questions under a protective tariff, would need to know about the manufacture of rice, and the manufacture of iron and cotton, or anything else affected by the tariff. The hon. gentleman is at

the mercy of all those people when they come to him. They load him up with their stories, which are right in the direction of what he wants himself, and he comes down to the House and recites the information he got from them. They tell him that there is a large percentage of loss in cleaning rice. They tell him how much it costs to bring the rice to this country; they tell him the expense connected with the erection of factories and the employment of men, and they wind up by representing these seventy-five men as eating up the potatoes and the wheat and all the agricultural products in the section of the country in which they work. After he gets loaded up, he comes down to the House and recites to us all the arguments he has got in favour of protection, telling us about cleaning and what it cost, and the freight and what it cost, while at the same time he knows no more as to whether he is stating actual facts or not, than he does of the kind of inhabitants that live in the moon, if any; and he expects the House to be guided by what the Finance Minister says. Now, I contend that this duty on rice is a burden on the poorer classes. The hon. Minister might have some shadow of excuse in trying to secure the production in this country of commodities of which we have the raw material, such as iron; but the idea of imposing a duty on rice, which is largely used by the poorer classes, but which we do not produce in the country, for the purpose of securing employment for some seventy-five men, is another evidence of the absurdity and the gross fraud that is practiced on the people of this country by the protective tariff.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) says that he has information that the total loss of revenue on the 24,300,000 pounds of rice imported is 10 per cent. I have an authority here which differs entirely from the statement of the hon. gentleman. It is a pamphlet entitled "Rice: its History, Culture, Manufacture and Food Value, with Illustrations showing the value of Rice as a Substitute for Potatoes; How to Use Rice Flour," and so on, by H. B. Proctor.

Mr. McMULLEN. Who is he?

Mr. WALLACE. He is a well-known authority. He says:

The following pages, which lately appeared in "The Miller," having attracted some attention amongst those interested in the rice trade, I have been requested to revise them for publication in the form of a pamphlet.

Mr. McMULLEN. Where does he live?

Mr. WALLACE. I have not the honour of his acquaintance; but I will put his authority against that of the hon. member for South Oxford, at any rate, because he knows what he is talking about. He gives the fol-

lowing summary and proportions for Ngatsein rice:—Fine rice, 64 per cent; smalls, 18 per cent; meal, 15 per cent, and husk, 3 per cent. Now, the market price of uncleaned rice to-day is about 1 cent per pound, whereas the average price upon the importations of the last fiscal year was \$1.22 per hundred pounds.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. In this tariff there are three descriptions of uncleaned rice—uncleaned, unhulled and paddy. I have been informed that these describe the different varieties of the same general article. Which does the hon. gentleman's quotation refer to?

Mr. WALLACE. It refers to the uncleaned and unhulled. I am informed that very little of the paddy is brought into this country; it is that which has the outside husk. The uncleaned and unhulled are imported to be cleaned in this country. On the 24,300,000 pounds imported, the revenue, at the old rate of 17½ per cent, would be about \$43,000 on the values of to-day. It is true that \$53,000 was collected last year on that amount, but the price has fallen from \$1.22 to \$1 per 100 pounds. Under the proposal now made, the revenue on the same importation would be \$72,900 or an increase of exactly \$30,000.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I might remind the hon. gentleman that there is such a thing as a rise in value, as well as a fall.

Mr. WALLACE. Rice is imported at one time in the year, and that time, I am told, is the present time, so that the rice would be entered at the present price. That increased revenue of \$30,000 will be obtained without additional taxation to the people or increased price to the consumer. There would be this further result, that, as the rice comes down in price in other countries, as the price of the raw material is reduced, the price of the cleaned rice is, of course, reduced in proportion. The fact that a large quantity of cleaned rice has come into this country is a proof that the rice-cleaners in this country have not a control and a monopoly of the market. There is a further advantage to the Canadian people in having the rice cleaned in this country. It is cleaned better, it is more uniform; it has not to undergo, after it has been cleaned those long ocean voyages in rough packages, which make it an undesirable article for people to use.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). It is full of insects concealed in chaff, which cleaned rice has not.

Mr. WALLACE. The cleaned rice is cleaned at the mills here. All impurities and imperfections are removed, and the Canadian buyer is supplied with a pure, clean, wholesome article right from the mill, which cannot be said of the article cleaned at Burmah.

Mr. CASEY. Is there much rice from Burmah ?

Mr. WALLACE. Principally from Burmah. In the article which comes direct from the mill in Canada, the Canadian consumer gets a better, purer, and cleaner article than that brought over in vessels from those tropical countries.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The House will observe that the hon. gentleman has not in the slightest degree disproved the statement made to me, that a total loss of 10 per cent would be a fair deduction. The parties who gave me the information are as well aware as the hon. gentleman, that there are 18 per cent seconds and 14 per cent of what I believe is technically called "smalls." Their statement to me was that the value of those two percentages would be very fairly accounted for by a deduction of 10 per cent.

Mr. HASLAM. As it stands now, the duty on rice, I think, is lowered, if anything, too much, for the simple reason that a great portion of that duty is collected from a class of people from whom we have no possible means of deriving a revenue in any other way. I refer to the Chinese. They are in the country, and we cannot, under our constitution, keep them out. If you take the duty off rice, of which they are the largest consumers, you deprive the country of the only revenue we can raise from them. Under the old tariff, they paid something like \$1.68 each per annum, while a white man pays about 15 cents each per annum on rice.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). They must be nearly all in Quebec, for there is where most of the rice is bought.

Mr. HASLAM. You will find that the rice travels from Quebec all over the country, as they happen to have railways in that province. The Chinese are, by all odds, the largest consumers of rice in proportion to their numbers. Owing to their habits of living there is hardly any possibility of collecting, in any other way, a revenue from them. They live chiefly on rice, and enter into competition with white men in various forms of labour; and if you regulate the duties in such a way that there is no duty, or comparatively a small duty, collected on rice, I do not think you will be giving the labour of white men a fair chance. If you take the duty off rice, you exempt the Chinese altogether from any imposts, which would not be fair to the white people, who live on other classes of food and contribute a heavy revenue to the state. If I had my way, I would like to increase the duty.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). The changes which the hon. Finance Minister now proposes calls, of necessity, for a full consideration of the question before the committee. The hon. Minister will see at once that the

Mr. WALLACE.

proposition in the original tariff resolutions was a very unwise one, or that the proposition he is now submitting is one that does not commend itself to the House. In the first place, he is taking two-tenths of a cent per pound off the raw material, if I may speak of it in that sense, and is adding 25 cents to the duty on the finished product, so that the difference he is making is 45 cents per hundred pounds between his present proposition and the one he originally submitted. I need only mention the fact to the committee, to show at once that it gives an advanced protection of 45 cents per hundred pounds on the millions of pounds of rice used; the proposition which the hon. gentleman is now submitting varies very materially indeed from what he originally proposed. There was a considerable reduction in the original proposition. There is very little difference between 17½ per cent and three-tenths cent per pound now more duty imposed upon the uncleaned rice, which we will speak of as the raw material. Whatever that difference may come to, his revenue will be benefited that much. On last year's importations it would only make a difference of some \$9,000. The Finance Minister's course is consistent, from his point of view as to how a tariff should be made, in this matter in his last proposition. I suppose he has been convinced by those engaged in the cleaning of rice that it is absolutely necessary for their industry that they should have the amount of protection proposed under the amended proposition now submitted. He is consistent with the declaration of policy in his Budget speech, that his prime object in the framing of a tariff was, not to secure revenue, but to give sufficient protection to enable industries to exist in the country. It brings us face to face with the question, whether an industry which requires that amount of protection is in the best interests of the country—whether the country is willing to pay that much for it. We find there are twenty-four million pounds of uncleaned rice imported. Allowing for the reduction of waste at 10 per cent, and taking the amount at round numbers, suppose we allow four million pounds as waste.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. gentleman should take the ascertained figures, 64 per cent of good rice.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Thirty-two per cent is uncleaned rice.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). The hon. Minister will not ask me to say that all that rice is of no value.

Mr. WALLACE. Put that at its true value. That would be a fair way—sixty-four pounds of clean rice, and the other 32 per cent is inferior at inferior prices.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). The point I want to get at is this—to see just what effect it has on the revenue. I am supposing that if the

24,000,000 pounds had been brought in as cleaned rice, and we had no mills to clean rice here, we would have the same consumption as now.

Mr. WALLACE. At 64 per cent there was 15,360 pounds cleaned.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). The hon. Commissioner must not lose sight of this fact, that this that he speaks of does go into consumption. I think I know of my own knowledge that this that he speaks of and wishes to include in the 34 and 36 per cent goes into the starch factories or into the rice flour mills and is ground into flour and sold in the market.

Mr. WALLACE. Not as rice.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Not as rice, but as rice flour.

Mr. WALLACE. A large portion of it is exported.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Some of it may be exported; but it certainly is manufactured into rice flour in this country. As to whether it all is, I cannot speak with confidence, and I suppose the Commissioner can hardly do so, unless he can point to an export of rice flour.

Mr. COCHRANE. Does a little of it go into candies?

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Candies are made out of pure sugar.

Mr. WALLACE. I can give the hon. gentleman—

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Perhaps the hon. gentleman will allow me to state the case as it appears to me and then he can explain, for we certainly have no desire on either side but to arrive at the facts. I thought that when I was allowing four millions as waste upon twenty-four millions, I was making an ample allowance. From the twenty-four millions, we had a revenue of \$53,000. If that had come in as twenty millions of pounds of cleaned rice at $1\frac{1}{4}$ cents per pound duty, you would have had a revenue of \$250,000.

Mr. WALLACE. Will the hon. gentleman allow me—

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Perhaps it would be better to let me go through with my argument and then the Minister can answer me. These being the figures, the question arises whether it is worth our while to pay \$200,000 more every year in order to have rice cleaned in our country. Shall we lose that amount of revenue when there is no corresponding advantage to the people in the reduction of price? Is what we gain worth such a heavy loss? It seems to me that that is the question that must suggest itself to the minds of those who consider this subject. I quite agree that it is true, as so often declared, that, in considering the

question of protection, the amount of duty on the finished product is not the only item to be considered. Very often manufacturers in this country are spoken of as though they were hard to satisfy, and the duty of 35 or 40 per cent levied upon their finished products is pointed to as proof that these men are grasping and avaricious and it is declared that if they cannot live with that protection on, it would be better to have their works closed up, and so on. This is only part of the truth. The fact is evidently lost sight of that many manufacturers, instead of seeking unjust favours at the hands of the Government, are only asking for justice; for this protective system makes the raw material of one manufacturer which is the finished product of another dearer to the man who wishes to use it in manufacturing. The protection given is not the amount of duty on the finished product, but the difference between the duty on the raw material and the duty on the finished product. I can well understand that when you reduce agricultural implements, as you have done to 20 per cent, it is not correct to say that the Canadian manufacturer has 20 per cent protection or advantage—for protection simply means advantage. The raw material which he has to use in the manufacture of agricultural implements is also taxed and he cannot purchase it at as low a price as can his competitor in the United States. Now, with reference to this article of rice, of course it would not do to say that the manufacturers have a protection of $1\frac{1}{4}$ cents, for on their raw material they have had a duty of $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, or, as now proposed, three-tenths cents per pound. It is quite legitimate for the Minister to point out that the manufacturer does not get the protection which appears on the face of the figures. Besides the fact that a considerable portion of this is wasted, there is the fact that the rice manufacturer or rice cleaner with the protection of $1\frac{1}{4}$ cents per pound on his finished product must pay three-tenths cent per pound upon the raw material he uses. Notwithstanding this there is the fact that you lose every year about \$200,000 of revenue as compared with what you might secure by putting the duty of $1\frac{1}{4}$ cents per pound on the uncleaned instead of on the cleaned rice. This must be set off against the advantage you gain through cleaning the rice in this country. This is one of the items that will bring clearly before the minds of members of the committee what a waste there is, if I might use the expression, in the wealth and resources of the country, in pursuing this system, if it be pursued to the end which the Finance Minister has declared it is the fixed policy of this Government to pursue it—to retain an industry in this country by giving it just such an amount of protection as it may require to enable it to go on, whether that protection be great or small. Now, let us consider the history of the rice industry for the last few years. We find that in 1881, and from 1881 to 1887—I speak

subject to correction—the duty upon rice was only 1 cent per pound instead of $1\frac{1}{4}$ cents per pound, and a quarter of a cent added to 1 cent, I may remind you. Mr. Speaker, is an increase of 25 per cent—a very considerable addition to a rate of duty. But, during these years, with the duty of 1 cent per pound, those who cleaned rice found that it was a paying business as I judge from the returns. In 1882 the importation of uncleaned rice was something like eight millions of pounds. Next year the importation was four and three-quarter millions of pounds; the next year ten millions, and, in 1885, twenty millions. In that same year—1885—only nine millions of pounds of cleaned rice came in, as against twenty millions of uncleaned. Next year, eleven and a half millions of pounds of uncleaned rice came in, and the year following fourteen millions of pounds, as against—in the latter year—eight millions of pounds of cleaned rice. In 1888, $\frac{1}{4}$ cent per pound was added to the duty, and the importation of cleaned rice fell to about two and three-quarter millions of pounds, while the importation of uncleaned rice went up to sixteen and three-quarter millions. In 1889 the import was three and a half millions of pounds of cleaned rice—of course I am giving these figures in the rough—and eighteen millions of pounds of uncleaned. In 1890 the import was two and three-quarter millions of pounds of cleaned and twenty-three millions of pounds of uncleaned. So that, when the duty was put up to $1\frac{1}{4}$ cents per pound on the cleaned rice, it was found to be almost prohibitive. But we find, if my figures are correct, that, under the duty of 1 cent per pound on the cleaned rice the difference between that duty on the finished product and the duty of $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the raw material, left such a margin as to enable the business to go on and extend continually. Now, when we have a revision of the tariff, it is evident the Finance Minister sees that there has been excessive protection. He may have looked over these figures, and, if so, he has no doubt gleaned from them, as I have gleaned from them, that even viewing the tariff from his standpoint and carrying out his policy, there was not the necessity for such high protection as has been allowed from 1888 down to the present time. But now he has changed his mind; why, I do not know, for I suppose in his interviews with these men he had ascertained the facts with reference to it. I simply point out the fact that the loss to the revenue amounts to that figure, and it would be well for the Government to explain why, although from 1881 to 1887 we had a 1 cent duty, they have now found it necessary to make a distinction, and to make the alteration proposed in these two items. While I am willing to accept the figures of the Controller, he may be right, we must remember that while it works that way this year, values are changing, and it would not do to take

Mr. PATERSON (Brant).

that as a positive rule, because the values may go up and down in different years.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Rice is an article of food for the poorer classes of the population as well as those better off, and the hon. gentleman's proposed tariff subjects it to a tax of 125 per cent at least, possibly more, and that in the interest of a manufacturing establishment, which, he says, has not a profit equal to the amount of the taxation; so that the hon. gentleman proposes to maintain two establishments in the country that are actually manufacturing at a loss.

Mr. FOSTER. Would you explain how it is 125 per cent?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Looking at the importations into England, and seeing what the price of rice is, I find that the amount of taxation which the hon. gentleman proposes is $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound.

Mr. FOSTER. One and a quarter cents.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Well, that would be about 100 per cent on the value of the rice. The importations into England in February were 648,000 cwts., costing £244,000 and the hon. gentleman will see that that is just about the rate of his taxation.

Mr. WALLACE. Was not that the uncleaned?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). No; I take it that it was not, because I believe that the greater portion of the rice is cleaned in the country in which it is produced. I am told that very often the rice that is brought in in the chaff, when it is landed in the country to which it is carried, is filled with vermin. I have seen myself whole handfuls of it that was practically eaten out by some insect or other, somewhat resembling the weevil in wheat. I do not say that it is not properly brought here, but it does seem to me that it is much more liable to be an imperfect article than it is if it is cleaned and hulled in the country of production. But that is a question relating to sanitary considerations rather than those that concern us at this moment. When the Minister goes on to say that these people make little or nothing upon the rice which is being imported under this enormous percentage of protection, he goes a long way, if he is accurate in his representation, in saying that the business is an unprofitable one, and one which ought not, in that respect, to be encouraged. The statement of the Minister in that respect is not borne out, it seems to me, by the statement of the hon. member for South Brant (Mr. Paterson) who has shown from the Trade and Navigation Returns that the very large quantity of rice consumed in this country before the duties were put up to the present high figure, was rice hulled in this country; and, that being so, this very high rate of duty, it seems to me, is altogether unnecessary. An hon. gentleman who address-

ed the House said that this article was an article consumed mainly by the Chinese, and that as they were not large contributors to the revenue, this was an opportunity of collecting some portion of revenue from that population. But, according to the Trade and Navigation Returns, the hon. gentleman was mistaken, for, however much the Chinese may be disposed to consume rice, the numbers are so small that the rice consumed by them forms but a very small percentage of the rice that is consumed in the Dominion of Canada.

Mr. FOSTER. How much do you suppose the Chinamen are eating a month?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Let me tell the hon. gentleman that the Chinamen in Canada are very largely consuming flour. I was informed, and I believe correctly, that the steamships in the Pacific, running in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway, carry 10,000 barrels a month to China and Japan, which is mainly consumed by the Chinese who were formerly consumers of rice; that Chinamen who have been in America and have acquired the habit of eating flour here, are continuing that habit after going back to China; that the Chinese rice fields are, in many instances, being converted into cotton fields, because the value of the cotton product is more than the value of rice; that flour is in a large degree taking the place of rice; and that if it were not for the impediments put in the way of Chinese immigration into the continent of America, which is not likely to be very formidable, this consumption would grow much more rapidly than it has done. So I could not answer the question of the hon. gentleman. I have no supposition upon the subject. But I look at the importations of rice into British Columbia, and I find they amounted to something less than 6,000,000 pounds last year, and that the importations into Quebec, which are importations for both Ontario and Quebec, amounted to nearly 19,000,000 pounds. I do not think that any portion of that found its way into British Columbia; my impression is that British Columbia, being so much nearer China, the rice consumed there was hulled in British Columbia, and was imported there, and was not transported three or four thousand miles by rail from the eastern portion of Canada. Six million pounds consumed on the Pacific coast, is a large quantity for the population, showing that more rice is being consumed there per man than is being consumed on this side of the Rocky Mountains. Nevertheless, a large portion of the rice consumed in Canada is not consumed by Chinamen, but by the white population, and the tax the hon. gentleman imposes upon it is a tax upon a necessary of life to the poorer classes of population.

Mr. MARA. The hon. member for Bothell (Mr. Mills) is right in his contention that very little of the rice that is cleaned in

Quebec goes west of the Rocky Mountains, but he must also bear in mind that the Chinese relatively are increasing rapidly east of the Rocky Mountains, and that for one Chinaman found in Ontario and Quebec ten years ago, I am satisfied he will find one hundred now, and these Chinamen live almost exclusively on rice. He is wrong in stating that the Chinese now largely use flour instead of rice. The quantity of flour shipped from Vancouver to China and Japan would be as a bucket of water to the ocean, in proportion to the millions of Chinese who live upon rice exclusively. Let the hon. gentleman go into a Chinese miner's cabin in British Columbia, or let him go into a Chinese merchant's house in Victoria, and he will find that the staple article of food is rice, that they use very little bread and very little flour. My hon. friend from Vancouver is quite right in stating that this constitutes an indirect tax on the Chinese. Taking the Trade and Navigation Returns for the last year, I find that whilst the entire duty on both cleaned and uncleaned rice amounted to \$97,900, British Columbia paid \$43,600, or about 46 per cent of the whole. It may be said, as it was said the other day, that if British Columbia is satisfied to pay that tax, all right. We are satisfied, because it is the only way in which we can tax the Chinese. When British Columbia had the framing of its own tariff, we taxed the Chinese in this way by levying a duty of 1½ cents per pound on rice.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman will see that the tax is a tax out of which the Government receives \$1 and the rice-cleaner \$4.

Mr. MARA. I am quite willing to admit that there is, apparently, a great difference between the duty on the paddy, or uncleaned rice, than on the cleaned rice; but we must bear in mind that, while there was a duty of 17½ per cent last year, the rice-cleaner has to pay a tax of three-tenths of 1 cent per pound. So, whilst the duty on cleaned rice remains the same, the cleaner of rice has to pay twice as much as he was called upon to pay last year.

Mr. CASEY. The position of the Finance Minister was well described by the hon. member for Wellington (Mr. McMullen) when he said the hon. gentleman had to take the evidence of the people in the trade, when making changes in the tariff. I might also be allowed to suggest that parties asking changes for their own benefit should be examined like witnesses before the Public Accounts Committee, on oath, because the representations they make are vital to the interests of the country, for on those representations are based changes in the tariff which may involve large sums. The Minister has told the committee clearly that he is not looking after revenue in revising the tariff, but after

protection. In this case he is certainly maintaining protection with a vengeance. No doubt, there is a slight moderation as regards protection, but the fact remains that the consumers will be taxed, taking last year's figures on cleaned rice, 60 per cent, not only on what is imported, but on what is purchased from the Canadian rice-millers. The quantity of cleaned rice bought from the Canadian miller can only be arrived at by assuming a certain percentage of the uncleaned, which the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) has shown good reasons to place at about 90 per cent of the value, although there is not 10 per cent of rice lost. Last year uncleaned rice paid 17½ per cent and cleaned rice 60 per cent. There was a protection to the miller simply for hulling and cleaning the rice, of 43 per cent. By the change now introduced on this second revision of the tariff, the tax on cleaned rice remains as before at 60 per cent, while the tax on uncleaned rice is placed at 23½ per cent, leaving a protection of 37 per cent to the rice-miller. I challenge the Finance Minister to state to the country that in his opinion a protective duty of 37 per cent should be imposed on one of the necessities of life. If he should make that assertion, I would be obliged to charge him with utter inconsistency, for that is the highest rate of protection given to ordinary industries under the new revision. I am excepting coal oil and some other special favourites. What does this duty amount to in solid cash? Suppose we assume the average rate of 35 per cent as being a reasonable rate of impost on imported articles, what would be the result, if, instead of rice being taxed as proposed, a uniform tax of 35 per cent were imposed on cleaned rice and paddy were allowed to come in free? Reducing the paddy by 10 per cent in value and adding it to the value of cleaned rice consumed last year, and calculating the duty on it at 35 per cent, we find the revenue would have then been \$222,296, as against an actual revenue on those two items of \$117,295. The revenue would thereby have gained \$105,000 by the difference. On the other hand, the consumer would have saved 25 per cent, being the difference between 60 and 35 per cent. There would have been an addition to the revenue of \$105,000, a saving to the consumer of 25 per cent on cleaned rice of \$87,704, or a total saving of about \$280,000, \$105,000 of revenue to the Government, and \$175,000 odd to the consumer. Thus no less than \$280,000 tax is virtually paid by the country in order to maintain two mills. The hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) has pointed out how much cheaper it would be to pension off these millers. No better example of a petty tax to maintain one or two small concerns, a tax petty in its results, but odious in its character, can be found than this particular one. The cost to the country is

Mr. CASEY.

many times as much as any possible advantage derived from the expenditure for wages or capital invested, and it would be much better for the country and the consumer if the industry were closed, rather than maintained at the present rate of protection. The hon. member for Vancouver (Mr. Haslam) has introduced a vein of humour into the discussion by pointing out that, if we relieved ourselves of the 60 per cent duty on all rice we used, we would at the same time relieve the Chinaman, who is so unpopular in British Columbia that the white population there would rather maintain the tax on themselves than the Chinaman should receive any advantage. That may be very well for British Columbia, but that feeling does not exist in other provinces. The people of the Dominion at large are not prepared to pay 60 per cent duty to prevent a few Chinamen in British Columbia obtaining their rice a little cheaper. I accepted the hon. gentleman's statement as meant for a joke, but it is no joke that the consumers of rice throughout the Dominion should be so heavily taxed to obtain what I must call a very petty industry.

Mr. HASLAM. I would like to call the hon. gentleman's attention to the fact that, as near as I can estimate the duty on rice, it comes to 15 cents per head per annum on the white man, and \$1.68 on the Chinaman.

Mr. McMULLEN. Estimating that the consumption of rice in this country is 24,000,000 pounds a year—last year it was 27,000,000—at 1¼ cents per pound, there would be \$300,000 protection paid. Estimating that 10 per cent is lost in cleaning, that would amount to \$48,000, and, deducting that from the \$300,000, you have \$252,000 left. Then, on 24,000,000 pounds, three-tenths of a cent per pound, the duty would be \$72,000, and that would leave \$180,000. Estimating that, in order to give the rice-cleaner in Canada the absolute control of the market, say that he will sell for one-eighth of a cent per pound less than the cleaned rice could be imported for, that will deduct \$30,000, and leave an amount of \$150,000 per year, which is paid by the people in Canada to the manufacturers and the seventy-five men employed in cleaning rice.

Mr. DAVIN. Are these seventy-five men married?

Mr. McMULLEN. Yes, but their children are not cleaning rice, and if they were all like you they would not have any children. For the seventy-five men employed, that gives a net sum of \$2,000 a year each, allowing that the rice is sold at one-eighth of a cent below what it could be imported for. Virtually, it costs the people of this country \$2,000 a man to keep those seventy-five men cleaning rice.

Mr. PATERSON (Grant). I find that there were some three million odd pounds of the

rice meal exported, and on this there was no loss to the cleaner of rice, because he imported at a net cost of \$1.26 per hundred pounds, and for the rice meal he got \$1.36 net, giving him a margin of 10 cents per hundred pounds.

Mr. WALLACE. But the rice-cleaner paid a duty of 17½ per cent on that \$1.22, which made it cost to him \$1.42, and, instead of there being a little margin for him, he was out of pocket on what he exported.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). That is a fair argument, you are right.

Mr. CASEY. Was there no rebate on the exportation?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. FRASER. What would be the percentage on cleaned rice at 1¼ cents per pound?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Sixty per cent on the nominal value, apparently.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. The new amendment reads:

Rice, uncleaned, unhulled or paddy, three-tenths of a cent per pound and not to be less than 30 per cent ad valorem.

Item agreed to.

Rice, cleaned, 1¼ cents per pound.

Mr. FRASER. Rice is a product that enters largely into the consumption of the poorer classes of the Dominion, lumbermen, fishermen, and others. It is not only wholesome food, but it is, to some extent, cheaper than other articles of consumption. To put a duty of 60 per cent on such an article as that is beyond all reason. When the hon. member (Mr. Haslam) says that the white man pays 15 cents and the Chinaman \$1.68 of this tax, he seems to have forgotten that there are fully as many white men in Canada as Chinamen. You do not compare heads when you speak about taxation, so far as the white man and the Chinaman is concerned. This Government seems to tax the very things that they ought not tax. They tax oatmeal, the food of the gods, and rice, the food of the Chinamen. It seems to me that two such articles as these, entering so largely into the food of the people should not be taxed. I see no reason for it, whatever. Do the hon. gentlemen think that the interests of all the people of Canada who use rice are to be sacrificed to the interests of seventy-five people who clean rice? Are you going to make five millions of people, less the seventy-five persons and their dependents, pay 60 per cent for the privilege of supporting these seventy-five people and their dependents? Is that not reversing the order of things? Where is the principle underlying it? It is boldly asserted that this 60 per cent protection is not for the purpose of raising a revenue, but in the interests of the few men who are cleaning rice.

Mr. CASEY. Sixty-six per cent.

Mr. FRASER. I will throw off 10 per cent of the 60 per cent, even, and make it 50 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. Throw off 20 per cent more, and you will be nearer to it.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. No; it is 60 per cent on the cost to the consumer.

Mr. FRASER. I will make it 50 per cent, and then the Government make the five millions of people in Canada pay one-half more than the actual value of the rice, in the interests of seventy-five men in this Dominion. Is that not an outrageous state of things? If you are going to have a tariff so utterly opposed even to the principle—if such a thing as principle can exist in protection—why do you tax necessary articles of food 50 per cent, and tax other articles, not so necessary, 20 or 30 per cent? We cannot repeat too often that so far as food and clothing of our people are concerned, any Government that does not make them as cheap and as free as possible, is acting contrary to the interests of the people. I do believe that if the Minister of Finance and his friends would view this matter in the light of the whole country, they would see that such a tax as this is not only inconsistent and against the interests of the country, but also against the interests of the Government itself.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). There will be a gain of revenue here; how much is it?

Mr. FOSTER. \$30,000.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Careful calculation?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; I have provided that the duty shall not be less than 30 per cent, so that the miller gets no advantage in the way of added protection. My hon. friend is not right in saying that this is not a matter of revenue, for we shall get \$30,000 more revenue than we did under the old rate. It must be recollected that this is an established industry in the country, and we have to deal with it accordingly; but we get from this article about double the amount of duty without increasing the cost. Although it is not a matter that ought absolutely to guide us, we find that there is a large duty on rice in the United States as well. The McKinley Bill imposed 2 cents a pound on the cleaned rice, and three-quarters of a cent on the paddy. The Wilson Bill, as reported, imposes 1½ cents a pound on the cleaned rice and three-quarters of a cent on the paddy; and the retail price on the other side of the line is very much greater than it is in Canada. The duty on the cleaned rice is a high duty, but not so high as my hon. friend says.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Sixty per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, about 60 per cent; but 30 per cent is paid by the manufacturer on the raw material.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Not 30 per cent out of the 60, but 30 per cent on the value of the uncleaned rice, which is not so much.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman has not quite fairly represented the matter of waste. Taking into account the value of the meal and broken rice it is as though the manufacturers were to get seventy-two pounds of cleaned rice out of a hundred pounds of uncleaned. That just about represents the waste, namely, 28 per cent. Of course, rice is a food product. My hon. friend says I do not know anything about milling rice. I do not. Neither do I know anything about making confectionery. I cannot be expected to know except from the information I have got, and I have got the best information I could. There is no doubt that rice is an article of food, but it is not an article so commonly used as to make this duty a great burden. On the total population of this country, the consumption of rice would be about four pounds per head; but one-third of the quantity consumed is taken by the Chinese of this country, which would leave about two and a half pounds per head to the white population. Suppose the duty were even a cent a pound, it would not be a killing matter. It is a good thing to declaim about theoretically, but practically no man will be weighed down by the burden. If it were an article used largely in every family, the matter would be more serious. My hon. friend opposite himself taxed rice.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. We did not lose revenue.

Mr. FOSTER. The mills have been placed here, and have been carrying on their operations ever since. The rice must be cleaned somewhere. My hon. friend opposite claims that it would be better that it should be cleaned in Burmah. I do not think the people there are quite as cleanly in their management of it as are our people. My hon. friend says he has actually seen vermin in a handful of paddy which he has had in his hands. He may now rest secure that he will not be subject to that, as no one can bring in paddy and hull and clean it here. The rice brought in is an article which, from its appearance, you would think was fit for the table; but it has the cuticle upon it, and it is that which is brushed off. So that there is something in the argument of my hon. friend that a better and cleaner quality of rice is obtained by our people milling it in Canada. The duty affords a high protection, considered in one respect, but there is a great deal to be taken off owing to waste; and, when you come to sum up the whole matter, it is an infinitesimal burden on the people.

Mr. FOSTER.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It is a burden of \$150,000 or thereabouts to maintain seventy-five men, or \$2,000 per head. I would like to know what the shareholders of the mills are to be assessed for election purposes. This assigns them an annuity from \$150,000 to \$200,000 a year. But I want to call the attention of the House to another thing. Here is the proof, if proof were wanted, of the necessity and propriety of Ministers who undertake the revision of the tariff, having their operations conducted in the open sunlight, with the press in attendance. It was very desirable that these applicants for outdoor relief, these precious poor millers, should have stated their case before the Minister; but it was at least equally desirable that other persons in the country who know something of this matter should have had the opportunity, before we came to discuss these things this afternoon, of informing their representatives and the public at large what statements are to be depended upon. The Minister and the Controller tell us that the dead loss is so much; the information I have got is that it equals the sum I have stated. Either statement may be correct; but mark the extreme difficulties that the Ministers have placed in our way, in regard to the only thing that justified their proceedings last year—the obtaining of information from these applicants for protection as to the value of their industries, and from the country as to the amount of protection they claim. A considerable portion of this discussion has been taken up by the question whether the dead loss amounts to 10 per cent or to 28 per cent. I am very strongly of opinion that while it may be true in the case of the paddy imported that there would be considerable loss, in the case of the so-called uncleaned rice the actual amount of loss is very little indeed. I do not say that the hon. gentleman is not stating what he believes, but I do not believe that he has been correctly informed. It was of great importance to the proper discussion of the tariff question in the House that these matters should not have been discussed in a hole-and-corner fashion, but publicly, with the press and others interested present, so that we might have got at the actual facts. But it is pretty certain that the only men whom the hon. gentleman consulted were the men interested in having this tax imposed. The consuming public had no representative before him.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, they had.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Nor did the Controller of Customs nor the Controller of Inland Revenue in all their pilgrimages through the country figure on any occasion as the advocates of the consumer. In every case they were the advocates of the gentlemen who desired to tax the public for their private benefit.

Mr. CASEY. Do I understand the hon. Minister to say that paddy was imported with the cuticle on?

Mr. FOSTER. The paddy must have two cuticles on.

Mr. CASEY. The Government do their best to skin him when they do get him here.

Mr. CHARLTON. I am impressed with the belief that the information the Government have received, and which has governed them in fixing the relative duties upon paddy or uncleaned rice and cleaned rice, is not reliable, and that they have been deceived. In the United States, where there is a large rice production industry to protect, I find the relative duties upon cleaned and uncleaned rice are very different from what they are in these resolutions. By the Wilson Bill, as reported by the Finance Committee of the Senate, the duty on cleaned rice is $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound, the duty on rice with the hull on is 1 cent per pound, and the duty on paddy is three-quarters of a cent per pound. The difference in the duties upon paddy or unhulled rice and cleaned rice, in the Wilson Bill, is very great—a difference of nearly 50 per cent between uncleaned and clean rice, and the duty on paddy is only three-quarters of a cent per pound. The duty in our tariff of three-tenths of a cent per pound on unhulled rice as against 1 cent per pound on the same rice in the United States, where the duty upon the finished article is one-quarter of a cent more per pound than here, shows that the disproportion is very much greater here than there. If the hon. gentleman were to place the duty at eight-tenths of a cent on uncleaned rice instead of three-tenths of a cent, the proportion would be about the same as in the United States. I repeat that, in my opinion, the Government have been deceived by the representations of those interested in these rice mills. There can be no doubt that these relative proportions of duty upon cleaned rice, rice with the hull on, and paddy rice, in the United States, have been carefully considered, and other interests have been heard besides those immediately concerned in milling the rice. If there has not been a gross mistake made by the framers of the Wilson Bill, if they have not been entirely misinformed as to the relative duties proper to impose, then our Finance Minister has been misinformed and has made a gross error. In my opinion, this duty on unhulled rice, to bear the same proportion as in the Wilson Bill should be eight-tenths of a cent. We may assume that the Americans were in possession of stores of information more extensive and reliable than those at the disposal of our officials, when the relative proportions of these duties were decided upon.

Mr. WALLACE. They were protecting the uncleaned rice that they produce themselves.

Mr. CHARLTON. No, they import large quantities of rice, and they would naturally, when placing a duty upon rice, have the relative proportions of the duty properly adjusted for the protection of their own rice interests. If they put $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents on cleaned rice, they would put a corresponding duty on unhulled rice and paddy. They had a vast rice interest to protect, and secured data which was reliable, and upon the basis of that data they have fixed their rates.

Mr. FOSTER. Do they think they would get any uncleaned rice in at $1\frac{1}{4}$ cents?

Mr. CHARLTON. They import cleaned rice and raise rice.

Mr. FOSTER. The duty on uncleaned rice is prohibitory.

Mr. CHARLTON. It would not be in their assumption. They have placed $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents on cleaned rice, 1 cent on uncleaned, and three-quarters of a cent on paddy. They have adjusted these proportions, in the belief that the protection afforded by the adjustment of these duties was about fair and equal on all these different grades of rice. The hon. gentleman has made a disparity in the duties between cleaned and uncleaned which is far too great. He has acted upon the representation of those immediately interested in the matter as rice millers and given a protection far in excess of their requirements.

Item agreed to.

Rice and sago flour (2 cents per pound) and sago (20 per cent), 25 per cent ad valorem.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Two cents per pound was the old duty. What do you compute the value of that to be now?

Mr. FOSTER. The ad valorem equivalent of that was a little over 60 per cent.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). I cannot see any import of sago at all. There must have been sago imported into the country.

Mr. WALLACE. It came in under the 20 per cent unenumerated.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Why raise it?

Mr. FOSTER. They are all cognate articles.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman knows he is not seeking to protect sago, as there is none produced in the country. This, I suppose, is for revenue.

Mr. FOSTER. If there is any increase, there will be an increase of revenue. Twenty-five per cent is not a very high

duty. Instead of making another item, we put the whole articles together.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). The hon. gentleman loses revenue on rice and sago flour.

Mr. FOSTER. I am complained of on both sides. One hon. gentleman complains of the increase and the other of a decrease.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I say you simply diminish its consumption, and you will not get any more revenue out of a 20 per cent than a 25 per cent rule.

Item agreed to.

Wheat, 15 cents per bushel.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). It would be now proper for the Minister to state what led him to the conclusion to place certain articles in the offer of reciprocity to the United States and leave wheat and flour out of that list.

Mr. FOSTER. I thought we had pretty well exhausted that question of reciprocity. The answer is that we simply do not think it is in the best interests of Canada to allow wheat and wheat flour to come in free and be subject to the competition of the American wheat.

Mr. CHARLTON. This is another illustration, Mr. Chairman, of the fact that the Government do not wish to consider a fair offer of reciprocity with the United States at all. The hon. gentleman very readily and very frankly assigned as the reason why he did not think it would be in the interest of the country to include flour and wheat in the offer of reciprocity, that the United States might be able to sell some to us. The offer as it stands is an offer for reciprocity in Indian corn, when the hon. gentleman has a pretty good idea that it would be better to remove the duty from that in any case. But it does not include wheat or wheat flour, because the Americans might be able to sell us some. It merely proves that the Government have no desire or design to make any offer or reciprocity that comes within the range of what the Americans would be at all likely to accept.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman is inclined to be one-sided. The United States offer to us no doubt he thinks generous, being one of free wheat and free flour. The hon. gentleman might put the question as to how much wheat and wheat flour we would be likely to sell them.

Mr. CAMPBELL. We would sell them a good deal.

Mr. MARTIN. In Manitoba very frequently we might sell large quantities of wheat to the United States. It has happened for the past two years that the price of wheat has been almost steadily from 3 cents to 7 cents per bushel higher in Neche and St. Vincent than at Gretna and Emerson, the corresponding places on the Manitoba side of the line, and I am satisfied that it would

Mr. FOSTER.

very frequently occur that we would sell very large quantities of our hard wheat to the Minneapolis and Duluth millers to grind with wheat that they get further to the south. This is a matter we have to complain about all the time in Manitoba. The duty of 15 cents a bushel upon wheat is no help to us whatever, because the eastern millers are allowed to bring in any quantity of north-western hard wheat for use in their mills to mix with the soft wheat of eastern Canada so long as they export a corresponding quantity of flour. Thus the duty upon wheat, so far as Manitoba and the Territories are concerned, is simply a farce and a fraud. On the other hand, if we could have reciprocity, if the hon. gentleman would accept the offer from the United States which has been referred to, it would be a great advantage indeed to Manitoba and the Territories. We suffer from time to time from combinations among the wheat buyers, and this is often a matter of very great injury to the farmer. The wheat buyers, especially the large millers, combine to depress the price of wheat. If we had free entrance of wheat into the United States market we could overcome these combinations on the part of the local buyers, because it would be practically impossible to make a combine with the American buyers, who would be continually on hand, as circumstances might make it necessary or advisable for them to import quantities of our hard wheat.

Mr. McMILLAN (Huron). I sincerely hope that the Government will include wheat and wheat flour in the offer made to the Americans. As a farmer, I am convinced that we in Ontario derive no benefit from the duty on wheat, but that if the duty were removed a very large quantity of our wheat would go to the United States as it used to go in times past. It would be an advantage to us to have the duty on flour removed. We must raise our own wheat and sell it at the market price, and then buy our flour at the market price, which means that the protection to the millers must be paid for in the main by the farmers in Ontario. The farmers would be benefited by this change, the millers would be benefited, I believe, and all classes would reap advantage if we could get our wheat and flour into the United States free. The millers, I believe, would not object, as they have to import wheat from the United States and grind it in bond. I am convinced that the workingmen would get their bread cheaper if these articles were on the free list.

Mr. TAYLOR. I am not a farmer, like the hon. gentleman from Huron (Mr. McMillan); but I represent an agricultural district, and I know something of the wants of the farmer. I believe I voice the sentiments of the great body of farmers in Ontario when I say that they do want the duty on wheat simply to protect the home market. We all know that the American

wheat ripens earlier than ours, and that it is on the market two or three weeks before the Canadian wheat. If there is a time in the year when wheat in Ontario is at a high price it is between the old and the new crops, and if we put wheat on the free list the Americans will force the wheat in and fill up the market so that every bushel of our wheat would have to be exported. My hon. friend, who is a practical farmer, and, as he says, a cattle feeder, argues now for free wheat. Yesterday he spoke in favour of putting corn and pease on the free list. But I know I voice the sentiments of the farmers of both political parties when I say that they want corn and pease, and wheat and every other cereal kept out of the country, unless we can get a corresponding advantage by having free access to the United States markets for our surplus of barley and hay.

Mr. CAMPBELL. So far as the millers of Ontario are concerned, I have not the least hesitation in saying that it would be a great advantage to them if they had the markets of the United States in which to sell their flour. And I believe the great majority of them would hold up both hands for reciprocity in this respect.

Mr. COCHRANE. Why do you want the duty on flour?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, I don't want the duty on flour.

Mr. COCHRANE. Because you are a Grit.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I have spoken against the duty on flour on more than one occasion. But I am speaking now about the question before the Chair, and that is, whether these two articles, wheat and wheat flour, should be included in the offer of reciprocity. Now, the Americans having made that proposition to us, it seems to me that we ought to accept it, and, speaking as a manufacturer of flour, I think I know what would benefit the trade better than the hon. gentleman from Northumberland (Mr. Cochrane), and I have no hesitation in saying that it would be a great advantage to them if reciprocity were established. So far as it being a disadvantage to the farmers is concerned, that is all moonshine.

Mr. FOSTER. Are the millers generally of your opinion?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think they are—those that I am intimate with certainly are.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The Ontario millers are.

Mr. FOSTER. Not one in ten of them.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think the Finance Minister is mistaken. I know that the large millers of Ontario would hail with satisfaction such an arrangement. As it is now, the great want of the milling industry

of Ontario is a market. If we had access to Boston, Portland and the New England states generally, where they do not raise but little wheat and manufacture but little flour, we should have an unlimited market for our flour. We have in Ontario the red and white winter wheat, which, when mixed produce a flour peculiarly adapted for pastry, a flour that the Americans do not raise to such an extent. We could make as good flour as that made in the United States, and we could get it into these markets cheaper than the millers of the western states could. This arrangement would open up a wonderful market right at our own doors. So far as reducing the price of wheat is concerned, any person who looks at the market prices in Ontario and compares them with those in the western states will find that the prices there are fully as high as they are here. As the hon. member for Leeds stated, about harvest time, from local causes, perhaps, the price of wheat may be kept up, but the hon. gentleman forgets that at that time of the year not one farmer in ten has any wheat to sell. For my part I would be glad if the Government could see their way clear to place wheat and wheat flour in the schedule of free articles.

Mr. COCHRANE. The hon. member for Kent (Mr. Campbell) has just stated that at certain times wheat was so scarce in Ontario that not one farmer in ten had any wheat to sell. I want to say to that hon. gentleman that in my section of the country for the last two years, farmers have been feeding large quantities of wheat to hogs, because they had no market for it. He admits that at one time they received an advantage by having a duty on wheat; now, as a miller, that is just the time he has got to pay a little more to the farmers, and he wants the duty taken off so that he can supply himself from the United States with wheat, and that the Canadian farmer may not reap the advantage of the duty on wheat. As a farmer myself, I am opposed to the reduction in the duty on wheat. The hon. gentleman says that as a miller he does not want it, but it is as a politician that he does not want it, because he thinks he can make political capital out of it. Now, some years ago I went to the Government with a deputation of millers representing the whole milling industry of Ontario, and they argued strongly in favour of protection, because they said that, although we had a superior brand of flour, from the fact of the millers of the United States having a large market, they were able to make a strong brand of flour and put it into this country at a price our millers could not compete with. The Government acceded to the request, and raised the duty on flour 25 cents a barrel. Now, the hon. gentleman as a politician makes the statement that the millers do not want it.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. member for Kent (Mr. Campbell) is a recent convert to his present opinion. I remember well when the duty on flour was 50 cents a barrel, and when there was an agitation to have that duty increased to a dollar a barrel, and the hon. member for Kent came to me and urged me to use all my influence to have the duty raised to a dollar a barrel.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I deny that statement in toto. I never spoke to you or any member of the Government about it.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. gentleman may deny it as much as he pleases, and as often as he pleases—

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I rise to a point of order, and I think you will admit, Mr. Chairman, it is worthy of your consideration. The Controller made a statement affecting the hon. member for Kent, and the hon. member for Kent has informed the House that that statement was without foundation in fact. My point is that it is the duty of the Controller to withdraw his statement.

Mr. WALLACE. I made a statement, and the hon. gentleman contradicts me. He has no right to contradict me.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. We must first have that point of order decided.

Mr. WALLACE. I made a statement, and if the hon. member for Kent does not agree with that statement, he can get up in this House after I sit down, and repeat his statement as many times as he chooses.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). That is not on the point of order.

Mr. WALLACE. I am talking on the question I got up to speak about. I contend that I am entitled to make a statement in this House, knowing it to be true, and I again repeat that statement. Now, if the point of order is decided I will go on with my remarks.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It is merely a question as to something that transpired outside the House, it is not a question to any statement made in the House.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I understood the Controller of Customs to say that I came to him and requested him to use his influence to get the duty on flour increased from 50 cents to \$1 a barrel; is that the statement?

Mr. WALLACE. That is practically the statement.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Then I give it a most emphatic denial, and I dare him to find any substantiation for it at all. I never spoke to him or any member of the Government, asking for an increase in the duty on flour; on the contrary, I have always voted against the flour duty on every occasion when I have been in the House.

Mr. COCHRANE.

Mr. INGRAM. The hon. gentleman denies that he did not come to Ottawa for the purpose of asking that the duty on flour be increased. I would ask him if the firm of Campbell, Stevens & Co., of Chatham, took any part in having the duty increased on flour?

Mr. CAMPBELL. None whatever, either by letter or by any other way.

Mr. INGRAM. The hon. gentleman says that he was never in favour of increasing the duty on flour.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Look at my votes in the House.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. The hon. member for South Oxford has raised the point of order. I do not know really who is to be called to order, whether the hon. gentleman who makes the assertion or the hon. gentleman who denies the assertion. The statement in question was not made in the House, but made outside the House, and, therefore, we have nothing to do with it. We cannot decide which man is telling the truth.

Mr. LAURIER. I beg respectfully to take exception to your ruling. When a statement is made by one member and denied by another, the denial should be accepted.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The Chair has ruled on the question.

Mr. LAURIER. I take exception to the ruling of the Chairman.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. We have a right, on a question of order being raised, if we differ from your ruling, to have that matter settled by the Speaker, and I demand that that matter be settled by the Speaker. We have had it decided against us on this side often enough, I may inform you.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Allow me to suggest that we should proceed and that the question which has been raised should be decided afterwards.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. To be the first thing after dinner by way of sauce.

Mr. WALLACE. I will now offer a few further remarks to the committee. The hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) made the statement that there was wrong done to Canadian farmers by allowing wheat to be brought in from the United States, ground in bond, and an equivalent exported, so as to cancel the bond. If the hon. gentleman had read the customs regulations he would have found no such action was permitted, that no such equivalent is permitted to be exported, that sworn evidence must be adduced that the product of the imported wheat is exported and none other, in order to cancel the bond. The hon. member for Kent (Mr. Campbell) has stated that it would be a great advantage to the Canadian miller to have the United States markets for his flour. It would, however, be a great advantage to

the American miller to have a Canadian market for his flour. What are the facts? Suppose a cargo of grain came from Duluth or Port Arthur. The freight rates during the past and even the present season are 2 cents cheaper per bushel to Buffalo than to Owen Sound, to the hon. gentleman's mill at Toronto Junction, as compared with a mill at Buffalo. That would be equivalent to 24 cents on each barrel of flour as an advantage which a Buffalo miller would have as compared with a miller in Toronto. Moreover, Buffalo is an important distributing point for the United States, and we have conclusive evidence that the freight rates from Buffalo to New York are less than Toronto; and, therefore, the Buffalo miller would not only have an advantage of 24 cents on each barrel of flour he manufactured, but he would have cheaper rates from Buffalo to American consuming points or American exporting points at the seaboard. These reductions would entirely drive out the Canadian miller, because I will venture to say there is not a Canadian miller making 24 cents profit per barrel on his flour, or perhaps half that amount. If, therefore, there were free trade between the two countries, the result would be simply this, that all Canadian mills now furnishing employment to our people would be driven across the line, or at all events they would be supplemented by the mills established at Buffalo, Minneapolis and other points. The Canadian miller would be turned out of his market, and the Canadian farmer who supplies the Canadian miller would also be deprived of his market or be compelled to carry on operations at a reduced profit. I do not believe you could find three millers in Canada who would be able to carry on business in Canada if we had free trade in wheat and flour. I am not aware out of eight hundred or a thousand millers in Canada that one miller would be ready to say that he wished to adopt the proposal made by the United States and have reciprocity in wheat and wheat flour. I do not know that the member for Kent (Mr. Campbell) gave his views to the Government on this question, but if he did, I am quite safe in saying that he cannot mention the name of a miller to-day who has gone to the Government and expressed the opinion that it would be beneficial for Canadian millers or for Canadian farmers that there should be free trade in wheat and wheat flour between Canada and the United States.

Mr. CHARLTON. We have had many theories advanced by the Controller of Customs. We have had, however, a statement made by a Canadian miller, not a theoretical statement, but a practical statement—

Mr. WALLACE. I have been a miller myself.

Mr. CHARLTON—that from his knowledge of the business it would be advantageous to the milling and farming interests if

we had free trade in wheat and flour. With respect to this matter I want to furnish another item of practical information, not theory, to the hon. gentleman. One of the largest milling establishments in Ontario is situated in my riding; it consists of an oatmeal mill, a mill for manufacturing split pease and a very large flouring mill. I was informed by the manager of that mill not more than three months ago that if they had free access to the markets of New England for their flour, at that very time and upon that very day they could pay 5 cents a bushel more for wheat than they were able to pay then. That is practical information, that is the statement of a man thoroughly conversant with the trade, a man who said they could build up a business in the New England markets for all the products of their mill, oatmeal, split pease and wheat flour, and if they had access to those markets, they would be able to pay the farmer, not 55 cents, the price at that time, but 60 cents per bushel for his wheat. If that is the case, so far as this argument has gone the burden of proof is in favour of the removal of the duties. Hon. gentlemen may theorize all day, but facts of this kind have a direct and practical bearing on the question. The United States offer with respect to reciprocity is somewhat different from the offer contained in our proposed tariff Bill. Buckwheat, corn, cornmeal, oats, oatmeal, rye and rye flour, wheat and wheat flour are to be admitted at 20 per cent ad valorem, but each of the above products is to be admitted free of duty from any country which imposes no import duties on like products when exported from the United States. There is an offer of reciprocity, and an offer of reciprocity that I believe would be advantageous to Canada, if it were accepted; and, from all the information that has been presented to the committee during this discussion, I think we can only come to the conclusion that this offer should be accepted.

Mr. DAVIN. The statement of the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin), that it would be an advantage to Manitoba and the North-west, if there should be reciprocity in wheat, is a statement that I am not sure he could substantiate. I think that is very doubtful. My hon. friend from Eastern Assiniboia (Mr. McDonald), who is himself a farmer, has very strong views on this subject. A year or more ago I brought forward a little Bill in this House to do away with the system of allowing the millers to import wheat and grind it here and then export the product. I know that the customs regulations are as the hon. the Controller of Customs says; but is it of any advantage to Canada at present, or is it of any necessity for the millers of Ontario, that we should have that arrangement? If it be, it would be of advantage to us in Manitoba and the North-west that we should have that home market. My hon. friend from Northumberland (Mr. Cochrane) will, I am sure, agree

with me in that. That arrangement was come to before Manitoba and the North-west were opened up, and the reason why it was come to originally was, because we could not produce in Canada the hard wheat that was produced in the United States, and it was necessary for the Ontario and Quebec miller that he should import the hard wheat. But now, when in our own North-west we can produce the very best "Red Fife No. 1 hard" in the world, taking prizes ahead of any wheat produced elsewhere, there is no reason whatever why the miller in Ontario or the miller in Quebec should be allowed this privilege, which is dead against the principle of the National Policy. The principle of the National Policy is to protect our native industries, to protect our farmers in regard to their products, in regard to their wheat. Here you have the North-west farmer—who certainly is the principal manufacturer up there—you have him, as he thinks anyway, handicapped by this arrangement. If there is any argument in the local market at all, our western farmer is handicapped by reason of this customs regulation. I would press it on the Finance Minister and I would press it on the Minister of Customs, whether they cannot get rid of this regulation and let our North-west and Manitoba farmers supply the hard wheat which is used by the millers of eastern Canada. Let me point out this: Suppose the flour were made from imported wheat alone, there would be no reason absolutely why we should allow the miller to import that wheat: nor is there any reason for doing so if the flour that is made from that wheat imported from the United States, is mixed with flour made from the softer wheat grown in Ontario, so as to improve the quality of the flour and enable it to obtain that quality necessary for the English market.

It being Six o'clock, the Committee rose, and the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

IN COMMITTEE—THIRD READINGS.

Bill (No. 30) respecting the Atlantic and North-west Railway Company.—(Mr. Baker.)

Bill (No. 34) respecting the Bell Telephone Company of Canada.—(Mr. White, Cardwell.)

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (No. 76) to amend the Act to incorporate the Canada Provident Association.—(Sir James Grant.)

Bill (No. 80) to revive and amend the Act to incorporate the Rocky Mountain Railway and Coal Company.—(Mr. Davis.)

Bill (No. 84) to incorporate the Alliance of the Reformed Baptist Church of Canada, and the several churches connected therewith.—(Mr. Colter.)

Mr. DAVIN.

Bill (No. 85) to incorporate the Boynton Bicycle Electric Railway Company.—(Mr. Gillies.)

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

House again in Committee of Ways and Means.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. DAVIN. When you rose at Six o'clock, Mr. Chairman, I was calling the attention of the committee to the fact that last year I moved that this House resolve itself into committee to consider the following resolution:—

That it is expedient to amend the Customs Act, 49 Victoria, chapter 32, so as to prevent the importation of wheat, maize or other grain in bond, as now provided by the 93rd section of the said Act.

I called attention on that occasion to the fact that when this clause was inserted in the Customs Act, the North-west had not been opened up and become what it is to-day, the great wheat granary, not merely for Canada, but for the world. The argument used at that time in Parliament and out of Parliament by members in the Government, by members supporting the Government, and by the 'Mail' newspaper, which was then the leading organ of the Government, in favour of this course, was this: that the arrangement could only be temporary, because the North-west would be rapidly opened up and would be able to supply sufficient hard wheat for the millers of Ontario and Quebec. Now, the North-west has been opened up, and we are able from Manitoba and the North-west to supply all the hard wheat that the millers of Ontario and Quebec can desire. Last year, at the suggestion of my hon. friend the Minister of the Interior, I withdrew the motion, he saying that the Government would consider the matter during the recess. I would now press strongly on the attention of the Finance Minister and the Controller of Customs whether they cannot in this matter meet the views of the farmers of Manitoba and the North-west. Either one of two things is true; either a great deal of wheat comes in, and therefore it would be of great advantage to the farmers of the North-west, or very little wheat comes in, which I believe to be the case, and is ground in the manner arranged for a short time ago, when it was found that the millers were evading the original arrangement. If it is a small amount, then there is a strong reason for doing away with what is an irritation to many of our people. Last year, I remember, my hon. friend from East Grey (Mr. Sproule), in dealing with the subject, used the argument that it was convenient to the western millers along the line that they should be able to bring in wheat in order

to grind it in bond. I am inclined to think that the convenience of my hon. friend spoke of is not of such importance as the doing away with the inconsistency in our customs legislation and removing an irritant from the North-west.

Mr. McMULLEN. In connection with the duty upon wheat and flour, I wish to draw the attention of the House to a paragraph in the speech of the Finance Minister, a few evenings ago, on the question of reciprocity. The hon. gentleman, on that occasion, endeavoured to persuade the House and the country that this Government were only too anxious, on every opportunity, to show their disposition to treat fairly and equitably with the United States. The hon. gentleman then said :

No matter whether the indications point in a certain way or not, they know all about it, and declare that the motive and wish and desire of the Government is to prevent any enlarged trade relations with the United States.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Most assuredly.

Mr. FOSTER. How do they know ?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Because of your acts.

Mr. FOSTER. The tendency of our acts is entirely in the other direction, and every unprejudiced observer and reader will recognize it, and will see that only the perversity of hon. gentlemen opposite appears in the assertions to the contrary—that is all. They declare that we have no desire for extended trade relations, that we never had, that every effort of ours has been rather to frustrate extended trade between the two countries. That is all declamation, but it does not win any credit and does not affect the truth of the matter, or the reading of history, one iota. I tell these hon. gentlemen, who make these assertions, that they are entirely mistaken. The Government—and I think I know what has taken place—have been anxiously desirous for enlarged trade relations between this country and the United States, but they have been anxiously desirous, in doing it, that no interest of Canada should be sacrificed without a corresponding advantage.

That is the first part of his speech. I will now read another part :

When they look over the items in our tariff, as it shall have passed this House, they will find that, line after line, article after article, grade after grade, we have given them a better chance to get into our market than they have given us to get into their market. Consequently legislative reciprocity, so far as trade is concerned, shines out from the propositions that the Government put before the House to-day, in a far greater degree than it does out of the legislation which they have proposed and which is in progress through their Congress.

That plainly shows that the Minister of Finance attempted to lead the House and the country to believe that any offer in the direction of reciprocity made by the United States would be fairly and fully met by the

Government of Canada. He says that, item after item, we have endeavoured to meet them in the matter of reciprocity. Why, Sir, here are two items which have been placed in the free list by the United States, and which do not appear in ours. The hon. gentleman himself admits that wheat and flour are two items now in the Wilson Bill, before the Congress of the United States, and we have the declaration of Congress that if we are prepared to allow American wheat and flour to come free into our country, the Americans, in return, will receive our wheat and flour without duty. The hon. Minister of Finance, after making the extended and somewhat heated utterances which he made the other night on this question, now comes down and proposes to put 15 cents per bushel on wheat and 75 cents per barrel on flour, and that in the face of the American offer to admit those two commodities from Canada free of duty, if we will only reciprocate in like manner. It seems to be necessary to treat the Finance Minister in the same way as the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) is said to have treated an hon. gentleman who once had a seat in this House. He said : I never took any stock in what the hon. member said, but waited to see what he did. We will have to treat the Finance Minister in the same way. While, the other night, he tried to create the impression that the Government were willing and anxious to meet the Americans fairly and fully, to-night he moves in the very opposite direction by placing this duty of 15 cents per bushel on wheat and 75 cents per barrel on flour.

Mr. SPROULE. The hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin), if I understood him correctly, contended that it would be to the advantage of the farmer in Manitoba and the North-west Territories, if the duty were taken off wheat and we had the freedom of the American market. I think that the hon. gentleman can hardly have considered the fact that to-day the farmers of Manitoba and the North-west largely supply the millers of Ontario with wheat. And were it not for the fact that there is a duty on American wheat, the Ontario millers, instead of importing from Manitoba and the North-west, would purchase a large portion of their wheat from the western states, and bring it in over the Soo line. As one interested in milling, I know, as a fact, that were it not for the duty, many of us would bring in wheat from the western states, or a considerable portion of it, instead of from Manitoba and the North-west. And every bushel of wheat brought from the western states would take the place of a bushel now grown by the farmers of Manitoba and the North-west. I cannot understand how the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin), knowing the condition of things in the west and in Ontario, can stand up in this House and say that it would be

for the benefit of the western farmers if this duty were taken off wheat. Every year we find an increasing demand in Ontario for the wheat grown in the west, especially No. 1 hard, which we require to mix with the soft wheat of Ontario in order to make a class of flour largely sold here. But if we had the privilege of bringing in American wheat, we would take a considerable quantity of it instead of purchasing the Manitoba and North-west article.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Is that a patriotic thing to do ?

Mr. SPROULE. It is that kind of patriotism that touches our pockets, and the National Policy is a policy intended to apply to every part of the country, and we in Ontario are willing, as far as possible, to work into the hands of the people in that western section by taking what they raise, they in return taking our products. The hon. member for Kent (Mr. Campbell) made the statement that when an effort was put forth some years ago to induce the Minister of Finance to raise the duty on flour from 50 to 75 cents per barrel, he was not in favour of it. If that be the case—and I pause for a reply in case I should have misapprehended his statement—I would draw the hon. gentleman's attention to the fact that his firm was a member of the Millers' Association of Ontario at that time, and that when that question was brought up before the association in Toronto, and there discussed, the association passed a unanimous resolution—

Mr. CAMPBELL. The hon. gentleman is mistaken again, as he always is. I never was and am not now a member of the Millers' Association.

Mr. SPROULE. All I can say is that, if I am not mistaken, the firm of Campbell Bros. is down as members of that association. But perhaps I may be mistaken, or it may be some other men of the same name. When the Millers' Association passed that resolution unanimously, asking the Government to raise the duty from 50 cents to \$1 per barrel, so as to have it proportionate to the amount of duty on wheat, there was no opposition. A delegation was appointed to come down to Ottawa, and I accompanied that delegation, and endeavoured to induce the Government to raise the duty from 50 cents to \$1. They met us half way and raised it to 75 cents. In my own part of the country, many millers desired this increase. I had letters from members of the association, one of which belonged to the Plewes family—and all the members of that family that I know are Reformers—urging me to press upon the Government the importance of increasing this duty, on the ground that it was a great injustice to the millers to leave it as it was, the American millers having decided advantages over those

Mr. SPROULE.

in Canada. One substantial advantage possessed by the American miller at that time, which was urged as a reason for increasing the duty from 50 cents per barrel to \$1 per barrel, was in the freight rate. It cost 35 cents a barrel to send flour from Toronto to Montreal, whereas the millers of Minneapolis, nearly 600 miles west of Toronto, could send flour from their mills to Montreal at the same rate. If the flour were taken further east, to Boston, the advantage afforded to the western miller in respect of freight rates was still greater. Without the increased duty the Canadian miller was greatly handicapped in competing in the market of the Maritime Provinces. I was not aware that any miller in Ontario did not want this increase in the duty, and this is the first time I have ever heard an Ontario miller express himself as opposed to it. If Campbell Bros. were opposed to it, I certainly never heard of it before.

Mr. TISDALE. The speech of my hon. friend from Grey (Mr. Sproule) reminds me of another argument which was presented by the Millers' Association on this subject. I wish to place their arguments on record here, for I confess that the facts they presented convinced me that the duty was not high enough. They pointed out, with a great deal of truth, I believe, that the greatest trouble with respect to the importation of American flour, was that the Americans sent in an inferior grade. Those who know anything about wheat, know that in the United States, where there is so much more wheat grown than in our country, there is a large quantity of it that is not of a grade that will make first-class flour, and the members of the Millers' Association complained that, with the low rate of duty, the American millers were able to send in here an inferior quality and place it in the market in competition with better flour. Now, I wish to say a few words with reference to the speech of the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen). The hon. gentleman, let me say, at times argues yet does not commit himself. I wish to learn definitely whether he is convinced by his own argument? Is the hon. gentleman prepared to stand up in his place in the House and say that, as things stand now, he is in favour of having the duty removed from wheat and flour? I sit down in order to give him an opportunity to reply.

Mr. McMULLEN. In my remarks I was pointing out the inconsistency of the hon. Minister of Finance. He intimated the other night that the Government were prepared to meet the United States—

Mr. TISDALE. Will the hon. gentleman answer my question ?

Mr. McMULLEN. If the hon. gentleman will keep his seat, I will try and answer him. The Finance Minister said the Government were ready to meet the United

States in every possible way in order to extend the trade relations of the two countries. I am in favour of extended trade relations with the United States. I am in favour of it whether we get it by treaty or by legislative enactment in the two countries. When they meet us fairly, I am in favour of meeting them in the same spirit. If the extension of our trade relations has to commence by freeing wheat and flour, I am willing to commence in that way, and I am willing to keep on until the farmers of this country will be released from the tariff shackles they now wear.

Mr. TISDALE. The hon. gentleman has created an impression of being, if possible, still more indefinite. Moreover, he is unfair in endeavouring to misconstrue what the Finance Minister said. If there is one thing I like more than another among practical men, it is to have an open and candid statement of opinion upon the points at issue, instead of finding them trying to hide their opinions beneath a mass of words. What the Finance Minister said is that we will meet the Americans in a fair way. Does the hon. gentleman argue that it is a fair way to allow the Americans to choose certain articles, the freeing of which will undoubtedly be in their favour, and against the interests of our farmers, and expect us to remove the duties from these articles when they give us nothing in return? That is what the hon. gentleman is saying. I dare him to stand up in his place and give a plain, practical answer to my question. I wish to talk practically about this matter. For my part, I am prepared to commit myself on any and every one of these items, so that the people of the country may know where I stand. If I am wrong, I am willing to accept the adverse verdict of the people; and if I am right, I do not wish to hide what I say. Let the hon. gentleman stand up in his place like a man, like a representative of the people, and state, as it is his duty to do, exactly what he means. Is he prepared at the present time, under the present tariff conditions, to declare to the farmers of the country that he wants the Government to take the duty off wheat and flour? I know very well that if I should meet him, or if any gentleman should meet him on the platform and should accuse him of being in favour of this, he would refer us to his speech, which is so involved, so loaded with words, so unfair that he can prove anything he likes by it; he is committed to nothing. I took up no time in this House in the general tariff discussion, and I want to appeal to these hon. gentlemen opposite as good, sound Canadians—and I believe a good many of them are such—to allow us to get this tariff through, so that the people of this country may know where their business interests stand. We on this side are prepared to take the responsibility of this tariff. We know that if we are wrong the people will condemn us. Load us with the responsi-

bility, if you call it such, and do not keep this House, day after day, and week after week, discussing these matters, with the country all this time in suspense. If the hon. gentlemen will not do this, then I say—and I say it with no desire to gain any political advantage—that they will compel many to form the opinion—which I have not formed yet, but which I must form if they continue their present policy—that they are trying to delay the tariff so as to produce, if possible, disaster and loss to the business men of the community. Let them throw the responsibility upon us; it will be so much the better for them if they are right. But I appeal to them to finish up this work so that the business interests of the country may revive. If the law is found to be a bad one, the country will punish us for it afterwards. I am a practical man; I do not pretend to be much of a politician. But as a Canadian, I beg of them—and I believe that there are gentlemen on that side who, unless some question of party management intervenes, will agree with me—to assist us in getting through this business speedily, leaving us to bear the responsibility, of which we are not afraid.

Mr. DENISON. I would like to endorse what the last speaker has said as to the desirability of getting these tariff resolutions through. With that view, I think the House ought to continue this discussion day by day and allow private members' business to stand over until we are through with the tariff discussion. I know that in places like Toronto and other large business centres the people are very anxious that the tariff should be settled one way or the other. At present they are in doubt; they do not know exactly what to do; and, therefore, all business plans are disarranged. I am satisfied it is not the wish of Opposition members to embarrass the business men of the country. Their wish would be, entirely free from politics, that the business of the country should go on successfully. But, if we have one or two days only taken up with the tariff, and the remainder of the week devoted to private members' business, the conclusion of these tariff resolutions must be delayed and the anxiety of business men prolonged. I would like to impress upon the committee, as a Toronto man, and as one knowing the feelings of the people of Toronto, the desirability of going on with this discussion day by day, if possible, and reaching a conclusion of this debate as soon as we can.

Mr. McMULLEN. I would like to say a few words in reply to the hon. member for South Norfolk (Mr. Tisdale). I am sure the hon. member is possessed of sufficient perception to enable him to understand what I said. He has tried to make the House and the country believe that I sought to evade a question put to me. I am not in the witness-box before my hon. friend, and I have the right to answer or not, as I choose;

and I have answered the hon. gentleman frankly. The hon. gentleman will not deny that the Government of which he is a supporter, sent some of its members to Washington professedly for the purpose of renewing the old reciprocity treaty. Among the items made free by that old treaty were wheat and wheat flour. I am in favour of renewing that treaty, if it could be done. Is the hon. gentleman in favour of renewing it? Will he answer that question? Did the Government send its representatives to Washington without consulting the hon. gentleman? They surely must have done so. He is not in favour of the renewal of that treaty evidently, because he is not in favour of the free exchange of flour and wheat.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). He says it would ruin the farmer.

Mr. McMULLEN. Yes; the hon. gentleman says it would ruin the farmers. And yet the Government of which the hon. gentleman is a supporter went to Washington in order to negotiate a treaty of that very kind. I would be very glad if a treaty of that kind could be secured. I am willing to take it piecemeal, if I cannot do better, and am willing to begin with wheat and flour; and, when these are got, I will try to get the rest as soon as possible.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). I desire to say a word in answer to the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Denison) and the hon. member for South Norfolk (Mr. Tisdale). I agree with them that the sooner you arrive at a definite basis the better; but I would like to point out to these hon. gentlemen, that this may be easily accomplished without attempting to stifle the expression of opinion from this side of the House. My suggestion is to the Finance Minister. He has a devoted following behind him, and I feel persuaded that, if he had insisted upon putting through these resolutions in the form in which they were first submitted, they would have become the law of the land amidst the enthusiastic applause of his supporters. The difficulty in the way has been that the hon. gentleman himself did not maintain his ground. If the Finance Minister has made up his mind what changes he wants and will announce to-night that he will make certain changes and no others, the whole difficulty will be got over at once. I throw out the suggestion to the Finance Minister that, if the present discussion imposes any disability upon the business interests of the country, it is within his power to remove that disability.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. member for West Toronto seems disposed to allow the Finance Minister to do about as he likes in this matter. I suppose the hon. member has some convictions as to what the tariff ought to be. If the hon. Minister of Finance will announce what the tariff is to be, then the information which the hon. gentle-

Mr. McMULLEN.

man says it is so very desirable should be given to the country, will be given. But the whole cause of the difficulty to which the hon. gentleman from West Toronto refers, is that the Finance Minister has not adhered to the conclusions at which he first arrived. The Finance Minister had an opportunity to consult the various interests of the country for several months. The results of his consultation are embodied in the tariff as at first presented. But since then the hon. gentleman has met with various deputations and has been induced to reconsider the proposals which he submitted to the House and to make important changes. I dare say the hon. gentleman from West Toronto will support these changes, when they are presented, as enthusiastically as he would have supported the original propositions, had they gone through as brought down. Now, I do not know whether the hon. gentleman has the most implicit confidence in the judgment of the Finance Minister—I am not questioning the Finance Minister's judgment—but I may call the hon. gentleman's attention to this fact, that hon. members on this side have opinions on this subject. They have expressed those opinions to the country, and their constituents coincide with the views they have expressed. So far as possible, they wish to have these views carried into effect. We know that the effort, so far as the House is concerned, may not be a very successful one, in fact, it may be a very unsuccessful one. But, while we may not expect to make much impression upon my hon. friend's mind, we have great hopes, so far as the country is concerned; in fact, we believe the great majority of the people in the country are with us on this question.

Mr. SPROULE. You thought that before.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I do not think my hon. friend from Grey (Mr. Sproule) ought to interrupt me. The hon. gentleman has informed the House that if it were not for the restraining effect of the law he would do that in his own interest which he thinks would be a great detriment to the country. He says the interests of his pocket are against this legislation, and, therefore, he asks us to restrain the avaricious propensities which he has so frankly expressed to the House and assist him to do what he feels is his real duty, and refrain from bringing wheat from the United States. Then, the hon. gentleman made another statement which is well worthy the attention of the House. We have contributed over \$100,000,000 from the public treasury in aiding the construction of highways for commerce, and the hon. gentleman now tells us that, so far as those highways are concerned they are not to be compared with similar highways in the United States.

Mr. SPROULE. I do not wish the hon. gentleman to misrepresent me. I made no

such statement. I was comparing the freight rates.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). It is of the freight rates I am speaking. The hon. gentleman says that in order to get grain to the mills in Owen Sound it costs 3 cents more than to send to Buffalo, and to Toronto Junction it costs 5 cents more. And thus he declares, the Canadian miller is handicapped to such an extent that it is not possible for him to enter into competition in a free market with the millers of the United States. I do not admit that view. I say to the hon. gentleman frankly that I believe it would be in the interests of the agricultural population if we had free trade in agricultural products, including wheat, that the farmers would be better off and the millers would be quite as well off. Does the hon. gentleman pretend to say that the millers of Ontario, if there was free interchange of those products between Canada and the United States, would not in a large degree get possession of the New England markets? An hon. member has spoken of inferior and cheap flour being introduced into those markets. Does the hon. gentleman pretend to say that the people of New England are willing to consume an inferior article? Has the hon. gentleman looked into the subject? If so, he has formed an altogether mistaken opinion, and I venture to say that if we were to establish reciprocal free trade in flour the people of Canada would at least derive as much advantage from such an exchange as the people of the United States. That arrangement would afford a great convenience to the people of both countries. But I wish to call the attention of the committee to this fact, that the Finance Minister and the hon. gentleman (Mr. Tisdale) have spoken about free trade in natural products and have enunciated the doctrine that was presented by Mr. Colby, who was defeated in the subsequent election by an overwhelming majority, which was that in the event of free interchange of agricultural products with the United States great injury would be done to this country, and yet the hon. gentleman opposite went to the country for the purpose of negotiating a treaty which was intended to accomplish those calamitous results and bring about those great evils which hon. gentlemen opposite now state would befall the people of this country. I do not subscribe to the views of hon. gentlemen opposite. I contend that those articles should go on the free list, that they are important articles to exchange. It has been asserted by hon. gentlemen opposite that the farms of Ontario are not producing wheat to the same extent as formerly. Why? Because mutual prohibitory legislation between the two countries has rendered wheat growing less profitable than it was. I declare that every statement of this kind will show the people of Canada how utterly illusory are the pretensions of hon. gentle-

men opposite, that they are in favour of either a liberal or illiberal treaty of reciprocity. Not an hour goes by, scarcely a discussion is heard without some article which formerly it was declared in the interests of the people should be placed on the free list, being declared to be unsuitable for the free list. The hon. member for South Norfolk (Mr. Tisdale) must have a very extraordinary constituency if they are prepared to endorse the views enunciated to-night. The hon. gentleman accused my hon. friend from Wellington with seeking to conceal his views, and declared he was speaking ambiguously. My hon. friend was perfectly explicit in his statements. He declared himself in favour of making wheat and flour articles of free interchange between the two countries, but the hon. gentleman has expressed a very different opinion, one which no rural constituency in Ontario will endorse.

Mr. DENISON. I am afraid I have been misunderstood by the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills). What I was trying to impress on the committee was the necessity of sitting from day to day until the tariff resolutions were passed, not so much that I desire in any way to stifle the speeches or exceptions taken by hon. gentlemen opposite. Possibly some of their arguments may be so convincing that they will induce the Minister of Finance to make some changes, and I should like possibly some changes myself. It is not, however, with any such desire that I made the suggestion, but simply with the object of having the tariff settled, for whether there is one change or a dozen, so long as the tariff is unsettled that fact must tend to unsettle business affairs.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). It should have been settled in the speech.

Mr. TISDALE. At the risk of wearying the committee, I wish to answer what I consider are the only arguments that have been presented by the hon. gentleman on the question before the committee. First, as to the question asked me by the hon. gentleman, I may say that it has nothing whatever to do with the item under discussion. I am prepared to accept on the general question a fair reciprocity treaty. That is all I propose to say on that point. If I may be permitted to give my views as to the manner in which the discussion should be conducted with a view to adopting the items in the tariff, I would say that the items as they are presented should be considered and passed upon. Far be it, however, for me to desire to stifle discussion. These general propositions, nevertheless, occupy much time, and such propositions, including the general question of reciprocity, can be fully discussed on resolutions that can be offered subsequently or at any time. I am not objecting to the course adopted by hon. gentlemen opposite, if they choose to insist on following it, for it is within their

rights; but I ask them as business men, for I am a man of affairs, more than a politician or a debater, to take the items up in that way and pass upon them. When these items have been passed, then would be a proper time to have a full discussion on general principles, and, of course, it should be remembered that we had a long discussion before we reached the tariff, which was proper. Let us be business men, and take up these items and discuss them, and of course hon. gentlemen on this side of the House have to assume the responsibility, as they are in the majority. The hon. member for Brant (Mr. Paterson) was not. I think, quite as fair as he usually is, when he accused the Finance Minister of being able to curtail the discussion by making certain statements. The hon. gentleman, who is an older parliamentarian than I am, is doubtless well aware that the Finance Minister from day to day takes up the items. Hon. gentlemen who know all the changes that are proposed, because the Finance Minister is obliged to give notice of them, and so long as notice is given hon. gentlemen opposite have full chance to prepare their statements on the propositions, and if the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) and the Finance Minister changed places, the former, being a business man and an old parliamentarian, would pursue the course followed by the present Minister, as it is the business-like and proper way of carrying on the discussion. I am prepared to assume my share of the responsibility in regard to this matter, and my constituents and the country may judge of my action. I respect the Finance Minister, hon. gentlemen opposite respect him, and the people of the country respect him all the more for having changed, if he found sufficient reason for doing so, any proposition which he submitted to the House, especially when these were consistent with the pledges he has given. The Finance Minister said there should be a thorough revision of the tariff after the Government had consulted all interests. The hon. gentleman has consulted the different interests of the country, but there remains still a very important interest to be consulted. Under our system, which is the finest in the world, the Government takes the responsibility for the tariff: The Finance Minister brings his programme down and it is not until it is brought down to the House that in many cases he can have a chance of consulting the House in connection with it. He would make a very poor Finance Minister indeed who, in framing a whole tariff, or what is almost as difficult, remodelling it, was so strong-minded that he thought he knew all about it, and would pay no attention to the representations of the House, or the manufacturers or the farmers of the country. Why do not hon. gentlemen opposite let us proceed with this tariff, so as to relieve the business interests of the country, and then, if they think we make mis-

Mr. TISDALE.

takes, let them point them out and speak on the general principle. We have not had in this country the financial difficulties which is the sad experience of other countries, but still it is a critical time for us; and at this period of the year the business men want to know the course of trade and to make their purchases, so that it is of the utmost importance that they should know what tariff law should pass this House. I do submit to hon. gentlemen opposite that as fellow-Canadians they should help us to get through with this work. It cannot prejudice their position if they assist us in expediting business, because there will be plenty of time and opportunity for them to make any onslaught they wish on the position of the Government. I hope that hon. members opposite will give me credit for not having wandered from the subject under discussion, but let me say to the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills): that we discussed the question of the sort of reciprocity hon. members opposite wanted to give the country in my riding before last election and I had the pleasure of increasing a majority which in that riding ranged from 20 to 40 ever since confederation, to something over 400, in consequence of the policy which the Liberal party were at that time advocating.

Mr. EDGAR. I do like the lectures which we have received from the last two supporters of the Government who have spoken. They propose to tell us how to discuss the tariff, and the way they suggest that we should discuss it is the way they are discussing it on the other side of the House, that is: by saying nothing at all about it. The hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) is perhaps the only member on that side of the House whom I have heard attempting to discuss the items of the tariff. Hon. gentlemen on the other side wish us to do as they are doing; they shut their eyes, open their mouths and swallow whatever the Finance Minister and the Controller of Customs drop in. The hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House were not consulted before this tariff was introduced. They did not know whether it was going to be a reduction or an increase of the protective duty, or whether the old tariff was to remain as it was; but whatever it might be, they were ready to cheer it when it came down. Whatever clerical errors were in it they were ready to cheer, and whatever changes are introduced from day to day by the Minister of Finance they are ready to cheer also. It would probably do us all good to hear a little independent criticism of the way in which we conduct our proceedings in this House, and I trust you will pardon me if I read from the Montreal 'Star' an extract which is somewhat apropos to this discussion.

Mr. FOSTER. Is this on the item of wheat?

Mr. EDGAR. Yes, this is on the item of wheat. It says:

When the Finance Minister discovers that the interests of the country demand that the duty on a certain article shall be changed from a specific duty to an ad valorem duty they sing:

So say we all of us,
So say we all of us,
So say we all.

And when the hon. gentleman discovers a clerical error, and rectifies it by restoring the specific duty in place of the newly adopted ad valorem duty again they sing in manly unison:

So say we all of us,
So say we all of us,
So say we all.

Have they no opinions about live hogs, or pork, or lard, or tallow, or beeswax of their own? They wouldn't have the presumption? They surrendered their right of private judgment on pork and beeswax when they accepted the doctrine of the "infallibility of the Government." They were not consulted in the framing of the tariff, and they do not want to be consulted about swallowing it. That a political party should be unanimous on general political principles is wonderful enough, but that they should nearly all without previous consultation have precisely the same ideas, and all make the same mistakes and all repeat them at the same time about the duties on lard compounds must strike the intelligent Chinaman as one of the most remarkable developments of western civilization.

Even if we are a little clumsy about the way in which we are discussing this tariff, yet we are trying to discuss it honestly and to do our duty by our constituents and for their benefit, so that I think these two hon. gentlemen (Mr. Tisdale and Mr. Denison) had better let us discharge our duty in this House as we think fit.

Mr. ALLAN. In my opinion there is no cereal, except barley, which it is more important we should have a market in the United States for than wheat. Having been an attentive observer of the prices of wheat in the Canadian and American markets, I know that there is often a great difference in favour of the American market, and sometimes the Detroit market gives fully 10 cents a bushel over the Essex market. Hon. gentlemen will remember that although they are large exporters of wheat in the United States, yet speculative values prevail for more than half the year, and frequently the prices are far above those of Liverpool. It is only last week that in the speculative market both in New York and Chicago prices advanced 6 or 7 cents above the shipping basis. This was at a time when any one in Canada, having wheat stored in their warehouses along our railroads, or at any shipping point, could deliver it in these markets and obtain the benefit of the high price then prevailing if we had free trade in that article of produce. Under the present condition of things

we are prevented from doing that. We have in the Dominion no regular market for wheat, except we sell to the millers, and in every case we have to make a special bargain. When the quotations are given on the daily exchanges in New York or Detroit or Buffalo, dealers in wheat could very often sell "May futures" at an advance of 10 cents a bushel over the cash prices, and by keeping it in their warehouses, there would be a certain profit even after calculating interest and the charges for storage. The large premiums for carrying charges being a good profit in itself. I fully believe that in almost any year—except when we have a short crop at home—the farmers would realize for their wheat 2 or 3 cents, and sometimes 5 cents a bushel more, if we had the market of the United States at our command. How this duty on wheat affects the millers I am not prepared to say, but having been in the grain trade for 25 years, I am fully persuaded that if we had free trade in wheat and had an opportunity of selling in the New York or Detroit or Chicago markets, at times when the speculative prices are above the shipping prices, as they are to-day, it would be a great advantage to our wheat-growers. I may point out that in Chicago to-day and for some time past the price of wheat is higher than the Liverpool market. I think it is a great mistake not to meet the offer of the United States in regard to wheat and flour. I cannot understand why the Government should refuse to have free exchange in these products unless it is to keep up the delusion that they are doing something for the farmer. Outside of corn and pork, agricultural protection amounts to very little, although, as long as the Americans retain duties on wheat, flour, oats, etc., I think on the whole it is just as well for us to have duties upon them also. But if we had free trade in wheat, I firmly believe that in three years out of five the farmers of Canada would get 3 or 4 cents a bushel more for their wheat, and dealers would have more certainty in buying grain. They would know what the wheat cost at home, and they would know the prices of futures in New York and other American exchanges. There is no such market in Toronto or Montreal; you cannot in those cities or in any part of Canada sell wheat in that way. You would not be obliged to find a miller to make a bargain with, but in the markets of the United States, the sellers of wheat would have a certain profit from day to day. I think the Government should accept the proposition. For one I am a supporter of free exchange in wheat and flour.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I think the hon. member for West Ontario (Mr. Edgar) hardly did justice to the argument of my two hon. friends, the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Denison) and the hon. member

for South Norfolk (Mr. Tisdale), who urged expedition in the matter of dealing with this tariff. Those hon. gentlemen distinctly stated that what they urged was not at all that the discussion should be abridged, or that we should be unenlightened by the remarks of our hon. friends opposite, but that the House should from day to day hear them out of respect for the arguments they contained. The hon. gentleman, reading to us from the article in the Montreal 'Star,' was unduly attracted by the poetic passages in that article, and confined his quotation to the poetry, a circumstance we are not surprised at, considering the high reputation that the hon. gentleman has himself already acquired in this country as an author of political verse. Were it not for that taste on the part of the hon. gentleman, he would have read the rest of the article, which closes thus :

The course of the Opposition members, if less monotonous, is equally simple. It is not expected of them that they shall agree with each other so long as they agree in disagreeing with George Eulas Foster. Some of them can pitch into him for making a duty too high and some for not making it higher. This adds a pleasant variety to the debate and relieves George Eulas Foster from any doubts he might otherwise have of the wisdom of trying to frame a tariff which would be acceptable to Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition.

Mr. CASEY. This wheat tax is emphatically one of the sham taxes. It is a sham that has endured during the whole lifetime of the so-called National Policy, and that has only on very rare occasions been of the least benefit to the farmer—those occasions when the supply in Canada was not equal to the demand, and when the benefits that accrued to the farmer had to come largely out of the pockets of the labouring classes, who find it difficult enough to buy their daily bread. Now, let us look at the effect of this tax for the past year. We find that wheat to the value of \$8,160 was imported into Canada, of which \$3,815 worth went to British Columbia; the duty on the whole quantity being \$1,359 and on British Columbia's share \$698. Of flour, \$127,000 worth was imported, the duty paid being \$25,880; of this \$71,500 worth went to British Columbia, on which the duty paid was \$14,767. Of bran and mill feed, \$29,600 worth was imported, paying a duty of \$5,920; of this, \$26,096 worth, nearly all, went to British Columbia, on which the duty paid was \$5,217. On the whole, we imported \$165,000 worth of wheat, flour and bran, on which the duty paid was \$33,000. Of this duty British Columbia paid \$20,682, or about two-thirds of the whole, although the proportion which the population of that province bears to the population of the rest of the Dominion is extremely small. I quote the figures with regard to British Columbia, merely to show that the effect of this tax is only to yield a revenue at places where the convenience of

obtaining these supplies from the United States is so much greater than that of obtaining them from any part of Canada, that the consumer is almost compelled to import; and it has no effect at all on the price obtained by the Canadian farmer. It does not belong to that class of taxes which the hon. Minister of Finance in his Budget speech professed that he was going to impose—taxes for the encouragement of home industries, without regard to the revenue. This is a tax which has produced a petty revenue, which has been local in its effects, and which has not increased the profits of the Canadian producers of similar articles. It is quite unnecessary to go into figures to prove to this House that the prices of Canadian wheat and flour are ruled in Liverpool. It is quite unnecessary to tell any intelligent Canadian that through a series of many years the prices of wheat and flour of similar qualities have been uniformly higher in Detroit, Buffalo, Oswego, and New York than in corresponding points in Canada—comparing, for instance, Detroit with London, Buffalo and Oswego with Hamilton and Toronto and Montreal with New York. Whether those higher prices be due to better freight rates or not, I do not know, but at any rate they exist. There has been, therefore, no reason to fear the flooding of Canada with American grain of a higher price than that produced in Canada, and no possible benefit could accrue to the Canadian farmer except in those infrequent years when, owing to some catastrophe of the weather or something else, our crop is not sufficient for our own needs. Looking at the sectional effect of this tax, the small revenue it yields, and its uselessness to the Canadian farmer, I cannot help repeating the assertion that it is a sham tax. It is a tax to make the farmer believe that he gets something in return for the high duties he pays upon many of the necessaries of life. We all admit that the farmer is very heavily taxed on his supplies, and this is one of the attempts to make him believe that he is recouped. Fortunately for the country these attempts to humbug the farmer have led him to organize. The grangers have had their attention turned to this matter. The Patrons of Industry, organized with the object of making the voting power of the farmers felt, have had their attention drawn to it. And that has taken place, which I ventured a good many years ago to predict, namely, that after a period of yielding, on the part of the farmer, to the organized dictation of the manufacturers, the time would come when the farmers would organize and show their strength, and show that they understood the principles involved in the tariff and the small benefits they got out of it. I do not think that it is desirable that there should be a war of classes—a war of producers against consumers; of those who produce raw material against those who produce manufactured goods. It is very un-

Sir JOHN THOMPSON.

fortunate that such a class of warfare should have been inaugurated, but it has been through the fault of the Government. The Government have taken a stand on the side of the manufactured products, and those who have them to sell against natural products and those who have them to sell. The reason I could easily give,—however unparliamentary it might be to state it,—in the simplest language. But it may not be unparliamentary to say that the Government have found it easier to obtain supplies for their campaigns from the small number of organized manufacturers than from the large number of unorganized farmers.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. Order.

Mr. CASEY. I am stating what is well-known. I am pointing out the facts that the manufacturers, as a rule, have subscribed largely to Government election funds and that the farmers have not done so. It would be impossible to canvass the millions of farmers throughout the country, but it is an easy matter to get a few of the leading manufacturers together and arrive at an understanding with them. While that understanding with the manufacturers is arrived at privately, in Star Chamber consultations between the Government and the manufacturers—

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. We get their votes.

Mr. CASEY. You get the votes of manufacturers, yes.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. And of the farmers.

Mr. CASEY. I beg to dispute that assertion. I think that if the total vote polled for the Government at the last election were stripped of all those concerned in manufactures, or who are residents of the cities, and not farmers, the hon. gentleman would find that even at the last election he did not get the votes of the farmers, by which he means of course the majority of their votes. It is useless to deny that there are a certain number of farmers, I am sorry to say, persons living by agricultural industry, in some way or other, who might be influenced by certain reasons which the previous conferences between the Government and the manufacturers might enable the Government to offer for their consideration. I will not specify further the nature of those reasons for fear of offending your sensibilities, Mr. Chairman. A war of classes has been inaugurated by the Government. Through the stand they have taken for the privileged classes, the farmers have been compelled to organize to some extent, but they can never organize as completely as the less numerous combiner classes—such as the cordage, the cotton, the woollen and the coal oil producers. It would be utterly impossible for any farmers' association to secure a protection of over a hundred per cent on their products, such as the coal oil manufacturers have

procured. It would be utterly impossible for any organization of farmers to combine and restrict their production and put up prices, because the price of their products is not fixed and never can be fixed by any tariff of ours. In the case of the manufacturers of cordage and woollen and cottons, the duties levied allow of the formation of combines. They facilitate the diminution of production and the raising of prices to the highest possible figure. The farmer cannot do that. He has been put off with sham taxes. I am quite satisfied, from what I have seen in the country, that the result of the education which has taken place among farmers has been to create a large majority among them in favour of reducing the tariff, if not in favour of absolute free trade. Of course I cannot say there is a majority in favour of absolute free trade, but there is against the present tariff policy of the Government. Whether that can be shown at the next election will depend largely on whether the farmers divide their forces in making their attack upon the Government, whether the farmers, who have all the same ends in view, insist on retaining two sets of candidates upon the same platform or not. It is quite impossible to say whether that feeling will be made fully manifest at the next election. But no doubt the farmers have begun to think and reason about these matters in a way they never did before. The coming election will be the only one of all the elections that have taken place since 1878 inclusive, if no new issue springs up, which will take place entirely or principally on the question of tariff reduction. If no new issue is mixed up with it, if the election does take place on that issue, I am satisfied that the result will be to show a complete change of feeling among the farmers.

Mr. WALLACE. Question.

Mr. CASEY. I cannot discuss the tax put on to humbug the farmers without discussing other matters in that connection. There is no desire on this side to unduly prolong the debate; we have nothing to gain by that. But what we insist on is to properly ventilate every possible view on every item of the tariff. That is what we are here for on both sides; but it happens that hon. gentlemen opposite have given up their duties in that respect and leave everything in the hands of the Government and of the interested parties who come here and ask for legislation on their behalf. There really should be, when a new tariff is introduced in this House, or a general revision of the tariff, a committee composed of gentlemen on both sides to consider its details after it has been laid on the Table by the Government. It does not necessarily follow that the Government should be bound by every opinion of that committee, but there would be this advantage, that the question of each particular item, of its judiciousness, of its propriety, of its honesty, would be debated

publicly in the committee where both sides would be heard. I do not propose that the Ministers should be relieved of any portion of their responsibility; they ought to take the responsibility for making the proposals. Then a small select committee, capable of sitting quietly around a table and hearing evidence in a public way, should consider the tariff item by item before it is laid before the committee of the whole House. It is admitted that in committee of the whole House it is impossible, in the first place, to get any evidence except what the Ministers choose to submit, and they only get it second-hand from the parties interested. It is admitted also that in such a large committee the discussion cannot be as close and as practical as in the case of a few men sitting around a table. I beg to throw out the suggestion, or the proposition—perhaps I may put it in a more concrete form hereafter—that there ought to be here, as there is in the United States, a committee to consider the tariff changes before they are pronounced upon by the House, and before they are even considered before a committee of the whole House.

Mr. ROSAMOND. I do not rise for the purpose of prolonging the discussion on this question, but as the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat has referred to the manufacturers as having in some occult way contributed large sums of money for the purpose of supporting the Government, I wish, as a manufacturer, and as having had a long connection with the Manufacturers' Association, to declare that there is not a solitary word of truth in his statement. Now, we have frequently heard from members on the Opposition side of the House hints and innuendos about Red Parlours and Star Chambers. I think it would surprise these hon. gentlemen if they knew the exact sums that have been contributed for any election purposes during the last 15 years. For my part, I have been connected with the Manufacturers' Association for 15 years past, and I have no knowledge of any sums of any importance having been contributed by the Manufacturers' Association in any form whatever.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Or any unimportant sums?

Mr. ROSAMOND. Or unimportant sums except for the purpose of providing literature for distribution at the general elections. I think it is about time that these charges thrown out by members of the Opposition in such a reckless and disgraceful manner, should cease.

Mr. CASEY. I must ask that the word "disgraceful" be taken back immediately.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman must not use the word "disgraceful."

Mr. CASEY.

Mr. ROSAMOND. Well, I suppose I may be allowed to think it. However, I did not rise for the purpose of discussing any question. Hon. gentlemen opposite seem to me to be engaged in a useless discussion and doing nothing else than wasting the time of the House and the time of the country.

Mr. CASEY. The hon. gentleman says that he never contributed to election funds, and that he does not know of any money having been contributed by the Manufacturers' Association in any important sums. I understood him to say that money had been contributed for the circulation of literature. He nods assent. Well, lots of things have been done in this country that the hon. gentleman does not know, and although he may speak with perfect confidence for himself as to what he has or has not contributed, I do not think he is in a position to say what individual manufacturers or firms may have or may not have done. If he got off without paying his share, he has been treated with extreme kindness by the Government. There is one fact of which we are all cognizant, it has not been denied by anybody, that on the eve of an election it has been the custom—I do not know whether it was done the last time or not—for the manufacturers to meet one of the Sir Johns, whichever happened to be in power, in the Red Parlour, or some other convenient place, and if my hon. friend from Lanark says that no monetary questions were discussed at those conferences, I think it is only fair that he should tell the House what in the world they did discuss.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It was a question of literature.

Mr. CASEY. They met to discuss the question of literature, whether that literature would bear the impress of anybody's portrait upon each separate sheet of paper I do not know; but there must have been some object in these conferences, and they have not been always for the purpose of settling the tariff alone. But there is one thing certain, that whatever the manufacturers may have done, I know it would pay them, in many of those combines, extremely well to put up a large amount of money every five years for the purpose of maintaining the tariff in something like its present state, or to recast it into such shape as might suit them. That is a matter of business, and if they have not had their weather eye open so fully as to contribute, and thereby secure such changes as they are able to secure, I do not think they are the good business men they pretend to be.

Mr. McNEILL. Before saying a few words on the item before the committee, I want to refer to an assertion that fell from my hon. friend who has just resumed his seat. He seemed to be very much offended at my hon. friend from Lanark (Mr. Rosa-

mond) speaking of his accusation as being disgraceful; but he does not think it at all improper to accuse the Government and to accuse members on this side of the House with being actuated by disgraceful motives. While he was upon his feet he has made use of expressions over and over again which imply nothing else. He said that this duty upon wheat is imposed simply for the purpose of hoodwinking, and misleading, and deceiving the farmers of Canada.

Mr. CASEY. Yes.

Mr. McNEILL. Then he admits that he has accused the Government of disgraceful conduct, though he is sensitive at having the term "disgraceful" applied to himself. Now, so far as this duty upon wheat is concerned, and as regards the statement that it has been imposed merely for the purpose of humbugging the farmers of Canada, I have just got this to say, that before this duty was imposed we were importing millions of dollars worth of wheat into Canada for home consumption; we were importing into this country from the United States, for home consumption, during the five years immediately preceding the introduction of the National Policy, if my memory serves me aright, some \$31,000,000 or \$33,000,000 worth of wheat.

Mr. CHARLTON. Did we eat it all?

Mr. McNEILL. What quantity my hon. friend consumed in those years I am not prepared to say. We were importing it for home consumption—the hon. gentleman can explain that term in any way he chooses. This was imported before the imposition of this duty which my hon. friend says was for the purpose of humbugging the farmers. Now, during the five years immediately preceding the introduction of the National Policy we are importing that amount of wheat, and during the five years immediately preceding the introduction of my hon. friend's resolution in favour of commercial union, or unrestricted reciprocity, if he prefers the term, we imported \$1,100,000 worth of wheat; that is to say, that the farmers of this country, by reason of the imposition of this duty, had the benefit of the home market for their wheat to the extent of the difference between these two sums I have named, and they at least saved the freights upon that amount of wheat during those years. If that was something which was not of value to the farmers, then I should like to know what is.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I would be surprised at the extreme ignorance manifested by my hon. friend, if it were not simply a repetition of the still more extreme ignorance manifested by the Finance Minister in the course of his Budget speech, in discussing this identical question. I beg to inform the hon. gentleman who spoke last, that, if he understood in the slightest degree

the entries made in the Trade and Navigation Returns, he never would have made the statement he has done. I take the case of 1878. The hon. gentleman, no doubt, following the example of the Minister of Finance, would assure us that many millions were imported and consumed by the people of this country. The mistake he has made is an extremely simple one, and I will explain it to him. It may be perfectly true, I dare say it is, that he will find that the words used are "entered for consumption," but, if he will take the trouble to turn to the table of exports, he will find that almost the entire of what was entered for consumption, was re-exported, and that the market he talks of simply meant this, that in those days we had a large and valuable trade in transitu, which we have since to a certain extent lost, that we had also an extremely valuable trade in the way of exchanging our coarse grains, which we have sold at a very high rate, for American coarse grains, which we bought at a low rate, to the great profit of our farmers and stock-raisers. The whole absurd idea that a home market of many millions was provided by the National Policy, is based entirely on utter ignorance of the terms used in the Trade and Navigation Returns for 1878.

Mr. McNEILL. I wish to say only this, that if good, solid, blustering assertion will make good the hon. gentleman's proposition, he has made it good. There was a large amount of wheat exported during those years, wheat which was grown in Canada, but what I said was that we had to pay freights upon that large amount of wheat, which we would not have had to pay, had it not been that this American wheat displaced our own.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The hon. gentleman is entirely in error.

Mr. McNEILL. Of course.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. If he had taken the trouble, before talking on this subject, as he ought to have done, to master the details which are laid down in the Trade and Navigation Returns, and which are as accessible to that hon. gentleman as they are to anybody, he would have known that the statement I have made is literally accurate. We imported in 1878 close upon \$10,000,000 worth of wheat and wheat supplies. Of that we re-exported by far the greater quantity, and the so-called home market which he talks of, is based entirely on this simple fact, that a great deal of this, under the old system that prevailed, was entered for consumption, though it was not consumed in this country at all, but was re-exported to England. The hon. gentleman, like the Minister of Finance, enters on this subject with the most superficial knowledge of the facts which he ought to be familiarly acquainted with. As my hon. friend from King's N.S. (Mr. Borden)—whom I do not

see present—truly said a few nights ago, this absurd delusion that a market of many million dollars was created by the National Policy more than our farmers possessed in 1878, has no foundation in fact other than this, that, under the old system, as I have said, the words used are “entered for consumption,” and that, whereas we imported in 1878, or were supposed to have imported, ninety-one millions or thereabouts—I speak from memory—that was entered for consumption, the actual fact was that of this ninety-one millions scarcely more than seventy-eight millions, or eighty millions at the outside, were actually consumed in this country; and that we re-exported, as I have stated, a great number of millions of stuff which was put down as entered for consumption. That is, no doubt, what the hon. member for North Bruce has been talking of. Now, I will explain to that hon. gentleman exactly what took place. If the hon. gentleman will condescend to look at the Trade and Navigation Returns, signed by Mackenzie Bowell in 1878, he will find that we are said to have imported in all \$93,081,000: of that there was entered for consumption \$91,199,000, and, without looking further, he might have supposed that entered into consumption. But, if he will condescend to look at the general statement of exports and the abstract of the total value of goods exported from the Dominion of Canada during that year, he will find, on page 666, that we exported of agricultural products, not being the produce of Canada, to the amount of \$9,272,000. Now, I think the hon. gentleman can understand, if he will apply his mind to it, that, although we might, in one form or another, have consumed ninety-one millions’ worth, still that, as we re-exported in that single article of agricultural products which were not the produce of Canada, to the amount of \$9,272,000 worth, it stands to reason that the whole of that ninety-one millions was not all consumed in Canada. As to the small remainder, for which the hon. gentleman claimed credit for having provided a market, it amounted to this, that in those days we sold at handsome rates large quantities of barley, ranging in price as high as \$1.25, to the people of the United States, and bought a large quantity of coarse grains in the shape of Indian corn and other articles of the same kind, to the great profit of our farmers. We have lost that trade totally. There is the gain the people of Canada have obtained.

Mr. McNEILL. Would the hon. gentleman be kind enough to inform me where he finds that item of wheat?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I will look it up and tell the hon. gentleman.

Mr. McMILLAN. If we compare the price of wheat in 1878 and 1882, we will find that wheat in New York in 1878 was \$1.15 per bushel, while at the same time in Montreal it was worth \$1.27. According to the

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT

Abstract and Record of 1882, we find that wheat in Montreal was worth \$1.33, while in the United States it was worth \$1.11, or 22 cents per bushel higher in Canada than in the United States. But, when you come to 1886, after this National Policy had been some years in existence, you will find that wheat had fallen in Montreal to 85 cents per bushel, while in the United States it was 87 cents per bushel: it had fallen, during that period of the National Policy, 48 cents in Canada, whereas it had only fallen 24 cents in the United States. It has been pointed out by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) that large quantities of wheat were brought over from the United States and were handled in Canada, and in view of that extent of the trade this could be done at a smaller percentage of profit than if the dealers had been confined to the Canadian trade. It was sheer nonsense to argue that our farmers had been benefited by the National Policy in regard to wheat prices. The price of wheat has been steadily falling in Canada during the whole period of the National Policy as compared with prices ruling in the States, and the hon. member for Essex (Mr. Allan) has shown that the price to-day was 3 or 4 cents higher in the United States than in Canada, whereas previous to the National Policy it was steadily higher in this Dominion than in the United States.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I am willing to give the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill) the figures from the Trade and Navigation Returns. In 1878 the exports of wheat, not the produce of Canada, were of the value of \$6,254,933.

Mr. McNEILL. And we imported what?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. We imported into Canada from the United States, for home consumption, wheat to the value of about \$6,500,000. Of that we exported, not the produce of Canada, the value of \$6,252,000, leaving apparently about a value of a quarter of a million.

Mr. SPROULE. The hon. gentleman should have given the exports which were the products of Canada, the quantity being 3,402,000 bushels, because in addition we exported what was brought in from the other side.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. We exported 4,930,000 bushels, of the value of \$5,376,000, but we exported 6,254,000 bushels of American wheat not the produce of Canada.

Mr. CASEY. Hon. members will notice, if they refer to the returns, that we imported over 4,150,000 bushels of wheat, although 9,057,000 bushels were entered for consumption. When there was no duty on wheat it was brought across the line, delivered at the elevator, entered as a matter of form and shipped out and became part of our ex-

ports. At present it cannot be entered at the customs without paying 15 cents duty ; it remains in bond and is shipped in bond. That accounts for the difference of the returns then and now.

Item agreed to.

Starch, including farina, corn starch or flour, and all preparations having the qualities of starch, one and one-half cents per pound ; the weights of the package to be in all cases included in the weight for duty.

Mr. McMULLEN. This is an item on which we should have fairly met the United States on the recommendations proposed by the Wilson Bill, which is to reduce the duty from the present rate of 2 cents to 1 cent per pound. We have in this country three starch factories. The entire consumption of starch in Canada is about 5,000,000 pounds. The duty at the present time is 2 cents per pound, and this protection on a consumption of 5,000,000 pounds represents \$100,000. That amount has been divided among three factories, except the value of starch imported. The imports last year amounted to the value of \$42,058.06, on which we received a duty of \$14,953.66, the quantity being 736,476 pounds. Deducting that from the entire consumption, the amount received by the three factories in Canada, by way of bounty, may be placed at \$85,000. Of these factories one is at Edwardsburg, another at Brantford, and the third at some other point in Ontario. Of the Edwardsburg factory, of which an hon. member of this House is managing director, I can speak with assurance. The factory has been in existence some years, and is quite capable of competing with the United States factories if we reduced the duty from 1½ cents to 1 cent. The total investment represented by the factory is about \$170,000. The following is a statement of the profits for the last seven years : 1886, \$34,285, or 23 per cent ; 1887, \$24,111, or 16 per cent ; 1888, \$24,603, or 17 per cent ; 1889, \$24,736, or 17 per cent ; 1890, \$39,975, or 26 per cent ; 1891, \$16,117, or 10 per cent. During the year 1892, owing to the cutting of prices by the three companies, there was a loss of \$4,722. In that year a combination was formed, which is in existence to-day, and for the year 1893 a profit was earned of \$33,422, or 16 per cent. Accordingly the total profit of the company in six years reached \$197,251, or in other words the company doubled their capital. I contend that it is nothing short than an outrage on the people to ask them to continue to pay the sums they are called upon to pay for starch, in order to build up an institution of this kind that is rolling up such enormous profits. They have as I said last year a rest account of \$117,778.19, made up as follows : Reconstruction reserve account, \$50,000 ; rest account, \$50,000 ; contingent account, \$17,778.19. In addition to that, they have paid 10 per cent on the invested capital every year during seven years, which amounts to

about 70 per cent of the entire outlay, so that they have got back all their money except about 30 per cent. No one will contend that factories making this enormous amount of money require a protection of a cent and a half a pound. That protection gives, on the amount of starch consumed in Canada, \$75,000 a year, to divide amongst these three factories. As I have said they are organized in a combine. There is not a pound of starch sold in Canada that is not sold by a price-list which is put in the hands of the wholesale merchant, and he is bound to sell it to the retailer at the prices set forth there. He unquestionably gets a discount on the list price, but he can sell it no higher or no lower than the price dictated to him by the manufacturers.

Mr. McLEAN (P.E.I.) If the hon. gentleman is referring to all the starch manufacturers in Canada, he is very much mistaken in saying that there are only three factories. We have eight or nine in Prince Edward Island.

Mr. McMULLEN. There are only three factories turning out corn starch in this country.

Mr. McLEAN (P.E.I.) I beg the hon. gentleman's pardon, I am not positive as to the exact number, but there are eight or nine starch factories in Prince Edward Island.

Mr. McMULLEN. These are potato starch factories. I am speaking of corn starch factories. I say that the corn starch factories at the present moment have a combine.

Mr. McLEAN (P.E.I.) Not at all ; they have no combine.

Mr. McMULLEN. I know better. I have it from the wholesale merchants that not one of them can buy starch unless he buys it with a distinct understanding that he will sell it at the list price.

Mr. McLEAN (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman may be referring to three starch factories, but if he includes the factories in Prince Edward Island, I may tell him that he does not know anything about it. They have no combination down there so far as I can learn.

Mr. McMULLEN. Are those not potato starch factories ?

Mr. McLEAN (P.E.I.) Yes.

Mr. McMULLEN. I am referring to the three corn starch factories, one at Edwardsburg, another at Brantford and another somewhere else.

Mr. McLEAN (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman should have made a distinction.

Mr. McMULLEN. There is without the slightest doubt a combine amongst these three factories. I hold in my hand the wholesale selling list for Ontario and Quebec which shows that boxes containing forty-eight

pounds of No. 1, white, must be sold at 5½ cents per pound, and barrels and kegs of 200 or 100 pounds must be sold at 5 cents a pound. These are the prices which they have fixed for the wholesale merchant at which he must sell, and I contend that that same starch can be bought in the United States for a little less than half of that price, but as we see from the small amount imported last year the duty has kept out almost all foreign starch. Of course, those who manufacture starch will say: We have to pay the duty on our corn and the duty on our coal. That may be true, but at the same time I contend that it is an outrage that the people of this country should have to contribute from \$75,000 to \$80,000 a year to give employment to about eighty men in these three factories. Out of over \$100,000 a year contributed by the people, something less than \$15,000 goes into the Dominion Treasury, and the remaining \$85,000 goes into the pockets of the three manufacturers. That is the feature of this pernicious protection policy that is so objectionable, because the people pay the money and the country gets no advantage of it. Not only has the Minister of Finance put a duty of 1½ cents a pound upon the starch itself, but he has also put a duty of 1½ cents a pound on the barrel which contains the starch, which, as a barrel weighs about twenty-five pounds, amounts to 37 cents. Even if hon. gentlemen opposite wish to persist in their policy they should reduce the duty from 1½ to 1 cent a pound. Any manufacturing industry which makes such a combine as I have pointed out, and which fixes a hard and fast price at which starch shall be sold to the consumer deserves no consideration at our hands. Starch can be purchased for half the money in the United States that it is sold for in Canada, and it is a gross fraud on our people to perpetuate a duty of this kind.

Mr. CHARLTON. What is the specific duty of 1½ cents a pound supposed to be equivalent to in an ad valorem duty, at the present price?

Mr. FOSTER. It would depend on the price and quality. Good quality starch at 5 cents a pound would be about 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. CHARLTON. It is the same as the amended duty on starch in the United States. Is there any estimate as to the effect of the present duty on the revenue?

Mr. FOSTER. There will be a slight reduction in the revenue unless more is imported.

Mr. McMULLEN. The same quality of starch that is sold by the Edwardsburg Starch Company for 5 cents a pound, you can buy in the United States in barrels at from 1¾ to 2¼ cents a pound. I challenge the managing director of that company, who

Mr. McMULLEN.

is here, to contradict my statement, and I will prove it.

Item agreed to.

Seeds, viz., garden, field and other seeds for agricultural or other purposes, not otherwise provided, when in bulk or in large parcels, 10 per cent ad valorem; when put up in small papers or parcels, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. McMILLAN. There is a very heavy duty that farmers are compelled to pay on clover, timothy and other seeds. Seeing that the farmers of Canada have to change their system of farming and go more into dairying, they have to purchase large quantities of seeds. They should be put on the free list.

Item agreed to.

Trees, viz., apple, cherry, peach, pear, plum and quince, of all kinds, 3 cents each.

Mr. CHARLTON. I rise to suggest to the hon. Minister of Finance whether it would not be a good idea to offer to the United States reciprocity in trees, grape vines and other shrubs. The farmers of this country are dependent to a considerable extent upon the nurseries of the United States for all kinds of nursery stock.

Mr. MILLS (Annapolis). You should raise your own trees.

Mr. CHARLTON. This a burden on the farmer, and I am sure that reciprocity in these articles, if accepted by the United States, would be very advantageous to the Canadian farmer.

Mr. FOSTER. The trouble is that even though we made an offer and the United States were to accept it as far as customs duties are concerned, the different states have license and other regulations which would make it impossible for our nurserymen to sell nursery stock in most of the states lying west and south of us.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. But there is something else to be considered in this matter. Any man who knows anything about fruit-growing knows that it is often of the very greatest benefit to change the tree, just as it is to change the seed. Fruit-growing is likely to become, in many portions of this country, a more and more important industry every year; and it appears to me, no matter what the Americans may do, that the advantage of facilitating the change of seed and trees and shrubs is so great that the interest of a small class of nurserymen ought not to be put in competition with the interest of the great mass of the farmers who may require the use of seeds or trees of new sorts. Looking at the great extent of the United States, and the great variety of fruit trees that they have introduced and acclimatized successfully, it is in the highest degree desirable that no sort of impediment should be thrown in the way of those of our farmers who desire to engage in fruit culture, in getting at the lowest rate the best kind of trees with which to experiment or to use as grafts. I may add—because I

have had occasion to purchase a little from American and Canadian nurseries—that there are of necessity an immense number of varieties which can be obtained readily from the United States which cannot be obtained with anything like equal facility in Canada. Not that our people are not as enterprising or that their stock is not good, so far as it goes; but they have not the same extent of market, and are not able as a rule to provide anything like the same choice for their customers. These things are essentially the raw material of the farmers who engage in fruit culture, and, waiving any question of theory, it does appear to me that it is a great mistake to put any obstacle in the way of their obtaining them.

Mr. CHARLTON. I can corroborate what my hon. friend has said. I live in the fruit belt of Canada, and have had some experience as a farmer in fruit growing. I know that it is necessary to buy a large part of our nursery stock from the American nurseries, chiefly at Rochester, simply for the reason that we get there a better class of nursery stock. All the fruit-growing people of Canada along Lake Erie and from Hamilton, east to Niagara River, would be benefited by free access to the American market to obtain nursery stock. This would be a great boon to that producing interest, although it might affect unfavourably, to a certain extent, the nursery interest in Canada.

Mr. BOYLE. The nursery men of the Dominion have told me frequently that if unrestricted reciprocity, or free trade could be had in nursery stock between the two countries, they would not fear competition, because they produce a class of stock suited to the northern States, Dakota and Minnesota. Some years ago they did a profitable trade in those states, but no sooner had they obtained a footing there than exactions and restrictions and obstructions were put upon them by the State Legislatures. Each Canadian agent had to give a bond to the extent of \$5,000 that everything he sold should be as represented; and if the thing sold, failed in any particular to meet the requirements of or conditions of sale, the bond was forfeited, suit was entered, and out of the bond a sum necessary to recoup the party who purchased the stock was taken. In the eastern states, similar restrictions prevail. It was even made necessary there that every travelling agent should be a resident and citizen of the country, and licenses were also exacted. No matter what arrangements might be made at Washington, these local restrictions would prevent trade and put reciprocity out of the question. As to the policy of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) that free admission to this country, irrespective of what the States might do, would benefit the farmers, that is a debatable question. I do not say that there might not be a great deal of good

in that; but this fact remains, that the shrewd Americans have not seen things in that light, but have taken every precaution to keep Canadians out of their market.

Mr. CHARLTON. A treaty of reciprocity might be couched in such terms as to provide against any restrictions of that kind, which rendered inoperative the intention of the arrangement.

Mr. FOSTER. You could not control the different Legislatures.

Mr. CHARLTON. I think you could take a course that would secure that result, or protect ourselves by not obliging ourselves to admit American stock free of duty unless these different states placed no obstructions in the way of carrying out the treaty.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). If the rule of reciprocity were adopted, public opinion would not allow of any barriers being raised against it. I am satisfied that the interest of the agricultural population, requiring fruit and ornamental trees, would not long submit to restrictions of that sort. Of course, where any such regulations have been made, they were primarily to protect some local nurserymen, and ostensibly for the purpose of preventing people being imposed upon by not getting what they purchased. But I believe that the great majority of nurserymen, on both sides of the line, have undertaken, of late years, to sell only what they represent. In many districts, fruit trees are subject to disease. In a considerable portion of the south-western portion of Ontario, the black knot has almost entirely destroyed the cherry trees, and if these trees are to be introduced there again, they must be obtained from some other section. The same rule holds good with regard to other trees. Because they are made to produce a superior variety of fruit by artificial culture, they become more subject to disease, and changes are necessary in the course of years, just precisely as in the case of seed grain. Every agriculturist knows that if he sows one variety of wheat for a few years it degenerates and will not produce, under similar circumstances, one-half of the crop it did when first sown, and he has to get rid of it and introduce some new variety. The same rule holds good with regard to live animals. We ought not to subordinate the interests of the farmers to those of the nurserymen. In my opinion, reciprocity in this matter, while it would lead to the advantage of the agriculturist, would really be no detriment to the nurserymen, for our people will go into the United States to get the trees they require, irrespective of the tariff. If I remember rightly, the Americans proposed, both with regard to fruit trees and seeds, in 1886, to put these upon the free list, and did so for a time, although the Minister of Finance at that time refused to reciprocate.

Mr. SPROULE. There are just two reasons why, in my opinion, this proposition

would not be in the interest of the farmer. In one respect, the changes of seeds might be an improvement, but any seeds coming from the American side are very unclean. If you travel through the farms in the United States and compare them with those in our western country, and see how the grain grown there is mixed with wild mustard and other deleterious weeds, you will understand why our farmers should avoid importing American seed. If they do, they invariably import things they should keep out entirely. With regard to their trees, the experience in my part of the country is this: All through that district some years ago, American fruit trees were sold, but when they came to bear fruit they were found to belong to other classes than represented. When sold as fall and winter fruit, they were found to be summer and fall. Then there is no recourse, because the nurserymen live on the other side of the line, and there is no use trying to recover from them.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. A similar kind of speech, from the American view, was made in the American House the other day.

Mr. CHARLTON. In purchasing timothy seed, or clover seed, our sources of supply would be the western States. The seeds of that character raised in the western States are remarkably pure and free from anything of a deleterious nature. You will not see the Canadian thistle in all the States of Iowa, Wisconsin, and Illinois. And the charge as made by the hon. gentleman with regard to the character of the seed and with regard to the character of the nursery stock is entirely unwarranted by the facts. The great nursery establishments about Rochester, in the state of New York, are backed by enormous capital, do a great trade throughout the western states, and have a good reputation for honourable dealing. One reason why American nursery stock has been preferred to Canadian, is because of its superior quality and because it is more likely to prove what it was recommended to be than is the other kind. The reason that is given is hardly a good one for excluding American nursery stock or American seeds. The farmer can safely be left to judge for himself in these matters. The man who is alive to his own interest will take the precaution he is always able to take in order to secure a good article. There is no doubt whatever in my mind that the granting of this application to have nursery stock on the free list would be a boon to the farmer. In our part of the country we buy new varieties of peaches, plums, grapes and apricots from American nurseries, because we will have them. They are superior kinds that have been developed in these nurseries, and the Government by providing for reciprocity in nursery stock would enable us to get these things free of duty.

Mr. SPROULE.

Mr. SPROULE. In this matter I spoke of my own knowledge. I have had experience in the purchase of American nursery stock, having planted some in my own garden. In our section of country the general experience has been that trees brought from the American side were not found true to name when they came to bear fruit.

Item agreed to.

Blackberries, gooseberries, raspberries, strawberries, cherries and currants, n.e.s., two cents per pound, the weight of the package to be included in the rate for duty.

Mr. CHARLTON. I would like to ask the hon. Minister of Finance if fruits of this class are not on the free list of the American tariff under the Wilson Bill?

Mr. FOSTER. I think they are.

Mr. CHARLTON. This is an enormous duty, particularly when the weight of the package is included.

Mr. FOSTER. It was 3 cents formerly.

Mr. CHARLTON. Then formerly it was so much worse. We import berries of this kind before our own are ready for use. Strawberries are now on the American market at a moderate price and other berries are sold early in the cities of the United States, being brought in by rail from southern points of supply, and being put on the market at prices which place them within the reach of everybody. Our own people ought to be free to supply themselves with this class of fruits before our own are ready. When our own fruits come into the market, no duty is required, for the fruits from the United States cannot compete with our own blackberries, gooseberries, raspberries and strawberries. I do not think that this is a duty that anybody requires as a protection.

Mr. FOSTER. These berries when bought early, are a sort of luxury which people can well afford to pay for.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). These fruits were put on the free list in the United States in 1884 or 1885; and it was proposed to put them on the free list here in 1886. It was pointed out at that time that from the Finance Minister's own province a very large trade was carried on with Providence, Boston and other New England cities, after the American season for these berries was over.

Item agreed to.

Apples, dried, desiccated or evaporated, dates, figs and other dried, desiccated or evaporated fruits, n.e.s., twenty-five per cent ad valorem.

Mr. CHARLTON. What specific duty is this 25 per cent on desiccated apples supposed to represent?

Mr. FOSTER. About 2½ cents per pound.

Mr. CHARLTON. Is not that more than is required? This country exports apples to the United States and all parts of the world, and we do not require a very heavy

duty to protect the evaporating establishments in Canada from competition.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think this is excessive.

Mr. CHARLTON. It means the establishment of combinations to keep up prices above what ought to be asked.

Item agreed to.

(Grapes, two cents per pound.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I would like to remind the hon. gentleman that this is equivalent to a duty of 100 per cent. It is within my own knowledge that large quantities of grapes are offered for sale at points in the United States at rates below 2 cents per pound, so that this is really a duty of over 100 per cent. I do not think that any such duty ought to be maintained.

Mr. FOSTER. It is a large duty when based upon the prices of our grapes at the height of the season. But grapes are imported at different seasons. Hothouse grapes are imported as a matter of luxury. These are purchased by the rich and this duty affords us a very tidy revenue.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What revenue do you get?

Mr. FOSTER. About \$20,000.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). That shows how very largely you are interfering with the people in consumption of grapes.

Mr. FOSTER. We must interfere with the consumption of something or else have no revenue, and I do not know of a better thing to raise revenue from.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. You could make this up by raising your duty on paddy.

Mr. CHARLTON. Is it supposed that the production of grapes in the season is sufficient for the home demand?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, and more.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. There are mighty few of the expensive grapes brought in if the Trade and Navigation Returns are of any value.

Item agreed to.

Oranges, lemons and limes, in boxes of capacity not exceeding two and one-half cubic feet, twenty-five cents per box; in one-half boxes, capacity not exceeding one and one-fourth cubic feet, thirteen cents per half box; in cases and all other packages, ten cents per cubic feet holding capacity, in bulk, \$1.50 for one thousand oranges, lemons or limes; in barrels not exceeding in capacity that of the one hundred and ninety-six pounds flour barrel, fifty-five cents per barrel.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The consumption of oranges, lemons and limes has grown enormously of late years and these fruits are now regarded almost as a necessity. You can scarcely regard them any longer as a luxury, and the hon. gentleman could with more propriety put a tax upon tea than he

could put so very high a tax upon a fruit the consumption of which is becoming almost universal.

Mr. FOSTER. They are largely used, of course, by the rich class of people.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Yes, and by labourers.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Considering the hon. gentleman's proclivities this ought to recommend itself to him. He may see nothing good in French wines, but he ought to see something good in lemonade. It seems to me very strange that he should object to put a moderate duty upon rice which would yield sufficient revenue to enable him to make all the lemonade in the country free against the holding of the plebiscitum. I recommended that to his consideration.

Mr. FOSTER. We can still afford a glass of lemonade.

Item agreed to.

Peaches, n.o.p., one cent per pound, the weight of the package to be included in the weight for duty.

Mr. CHARLTON. I think the duty on this item is excessive in the light of the provision made in the following item. Our canning factories in Canada are dependent to a considerable extent for their peach supplies upon the orchards of Delaware and other sections of the United States. I see the duty is reduced on canned peaches to 2 cents per pound. Now, the duty of 1 cent a pound upon peaches, including the weight of the packages, is a much higher duty on the raw material than the duty on the manufactured product, and if our canning factories are to be required to pay a cent a pound upon peaches, a perishable fruit, often coming in in bad order—a hundred pounds of peaches, with the weight of the packages, will not make fifty or even forty pound of canned goods—and if they are required to pay this duty, and the duty on the succeeding item is left at 2 cents a pound, they are required to pay more duty on their raw material than on the manufactured product.

Mr. FOSTER. Peaches grow here too.

Mr. CHARLTON. But not to a sufficient extent to supply our canning factories except in an occasional year. There are three or four canning factories in my county that buy peaches extensively in the United States. I have had letters from these canners putting this point of the case strongly. Now, this interest confers more benefit on the farming population than any other manufacturing interest, in my opinion, because all these factories make extensive use of green pease, beans, tomatoes and most all kinds of fruit, and vegetables; it is an interest well deserving the consideration of the Government, if they desire to protect interests at all, and this duty is too high unless the Government make a change in

the succeeding item. As these two items stand now, the duty on peaches is absurdly high in view of the protection upon canned peaches and other canned goods.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I would like to ask the hon. gentleman how it is that he has put bananas and pine apples on the free list, and that oranges and lemons are taxed. Bananas are widely used, and the hon. gentleman puts them on the free list; and he has put pine apples on the free list, although it is certainly an article of luxury to a much greater extent than oranges or lemons.

Mr. FOSTER. The importation of pine apples is very small and not widely distributed.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). And the importation of bananas is very large. As the one is put upon the free list because it is large and the other because it is very small, how is it that oranges and lemons are taxed?

Mr. FOSTER. That is easily explained. They say one banana is equal to a loaf of bread in sustenance power.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I should like to put you on that diet.

Item agreed to.

Coffee, green when not imported direct without transshipment from the country of growth and production, 10 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. I want to drop that item of coffee such as it is, and substitute for it, "Tea and green coffee, n.e.s., 10 cents."

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Do you strike out roasted coffee also?

Mr. FOSTER. No. The next one will be "Coffee, roasted or green, when not imported direct," dropping out the words "without transshipment from the country of growth and production," 2 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem. The third item remains as it is; the fourth remains as it is; the fifth is chicory. Then we come to tea. That comes out, because we have included it above. That is not explained, of course, until I give the free tea item and coffee, which I will read to the House.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. One cannot altogether understand what the effect of these alterations will be. Now, if the hon. gentleman likes, I would not object to his taking the majority of these items and leaving some one undisposed of on which the discussion can go on, when we have satisfied ourselves as to what the real effect and bearing of the change may be. There is a considerable amount of dispute and a considerable amount of doubt in the minds of the trade, and I am not prepared, without knowing more about it, to offer an opinion as to the effect of some of these changes.

Mr. CHARLTON.

Mr. FOSTER. Then let us leave tea and green coffee n.e.s., 10 per cent., leave that as not passed.

Mr. FOSTER. I propose additions to the following items: Chicory, kiln-dried, roasted or green, 4 cents per pound. The cultivation of chicory has been undertaken in certain parts of Quebec, and as arrangements have been made in that connection it is thought best not to disturb the duty.

Item agreed to.

Cocoa paste, chocolate, &c., 4 cents per pound.

Mr. FOSTER. I gave notice to change the duty on cocoa paste and chocolate. I wish cocoa and chocolate paste to come in at a lower rate of duty, 4 cents per pound, and that chocolate and other preparations, and cocoa be placed at 25 per cent. We have largely reduced the duty on candies, and cocoa paste, and chocolate paste, are used for the coating of candies, and so I do not think it well to increase the duty. I move that the duty on cocoa paste and chocolate paste be 4 cents per pound, and that chocolate, cocoa shells and nibs, chocolate and other preparations of cocoa be 25 per cent.

Item agreed to.

Mr. FOSTER. I move the following changes in nuts:

Nuts, shelled, 5 cents per pound; almond, shelled, Brazil nuts and pecans, 3 cents per pound; nuts of all kinds, not otherwise provided for, 2 cents per pound.

Item agreed to.

Mr. FOSTER. I move that desiccated coconut be 5 cents per pound, instead of 4 cents.

Item agreed to.

Mr. FOSTER. I move that ginger and spices of all kinds, unground, be 12½ per cent instead of 15 per cent.

Committee rose and reported progress.

ADJOURNMENT—EXPORT OF WHEAT.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Mr. McNEILL. Before the House adjourns, I will call the attention of my hon. friend (Sir Richard Cartwright) to the matter we were speaking of a short time ago. If my hon. friend will be kind enough to look at the Trade and Navigation Returns of 1877, he will find that we imported that year for home consumption, of wheat entered, 4,800,000 odd dollars' worth.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It does not follow we consumed it.

Mr. McNEILL. My hon. friend's contention is that that amount, or an amount approximate to that was exported.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I was not speaking of the year 1877 at all; I spoke of the year 1878.

Mr. McNEILL. Well, I am speaking of 1877. If my hon. friend will look at the exports, he will find that, in place of exporting, as he implied that we should have done for that year, \$4,800,000 worth, we only exported \$1,300,000 worth. Therefore, my hon. friend will see that, according to his own figures, according to the figures that he himself referred to, according to the returns when he himself was Finance Minister of Canada, in that one year the farmers of Canada lost the home market to the extent of about \$3,500,000 in the matter of wheat.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Hand me that book, please.

Mr. McNEILL. I will hand the book to my hon. friend.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. In the first place, I was not speaking of 1877, but of 1878, which was the year he referred to.

Mr. McNEILL. I was referring to several years, and 1877 was one of them, and my hon. friend said that in these years the exports balanced the imports for home consumption.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I did not say anything of the kind.

Mr. McNEILL. You said, practically balanced the imports.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I did not.

Mr. McNEILL. I do not want to quibble with my hon. friend. We want to get at the truth, and the country wants to know the truth, and the truth is that in that year the farmers lost their home market to the extent of three and a half million dollars.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It is not the case. The hon. gentleman is wholly misinformed. If he will take the trouble to look further, and if he had taken the trouble to make inquiries of those who did know, he would have known that not only in 1878, but in 1877, it was the constant practice of our millers to import largely from the United States, to manufacture that wheat into flour, and to export it to Great Britain. And the two or three millions that he speaks of there, was wheat manufactured largely on the Welland Canal and exported as flour to Great Britain.

Mr. McNEILL. That does not touch my argument in the slightest degree, because I referred to that matter when I made my statement.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I am not bound to make the hon. gentleman understand. I stated a fact, and the fact is this: That there was not a particle of correctness in his statement that the market of thirty-one millions, as he asserted, had been obtained by the farmers of Canada in consequence of the National Policy. Almost the entire amount, in the years that he referred

to, was 'in transitu,' entered, it is true, for consumption, but not consumed here at all. They were for wheat re-exported as wheat to Great Britain, or they were ground by our millers into flour and exported in that shape.

Mr. McNEILL. The statement I made is: That in reference to this year, there was \$3,500,000 difference, and the hon. gentleman's statement of fact to which he referred, as to the milling, is perfectly irrelevant.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. So far from being perfectly irrelevant, it is the exact state of the case, that we imported the wheat and exported it in the shape of flour, and it does not matter one straw to the argument whether it was exported as wheat or whether it was exported in the shape of flour made by our own mills and our own Canadian hands.

Mr. McNEILL. It just displaced so much of our farmers' wheat, and they had to pay the freights upon it.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 11.25 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, 23rd April, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 88) further to amend the Acts respecting the Harbour of Pictou, in Nova Scotia.—(Sir John Thompson.)

Bill (No. 89) respecting the Speaker of the Senate.—(Sir John Thompson.)

Bill (No. 90) to provide for the examination of witnesses on oath by the Senate and House of Commons.—(Mr. Mulock.)

ADULTERATION OF FOOD.

Mr. SPROULE moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 91) further to amend the Act, chapter 107, Revised Statutes of Canada, intituled: An Act respecting the Adulteration of Food, Drugs and Agricultural Fertilizers. He said: This Bill is intended to meet the cases of the adulteration of honey, or the manufacture of sugar honey which is now going on in several parts of the country, so as to include such manufacture in chapter 107 of the Act respecting the Adulteration of Food, Drugs and Agricultural Fertilizers; and to provide for the punishment of any one who manufactures honey out of sugar, glu-

cose or molasses, or who exposes it for sale. The Bill was asked for by the Bee Keeper's Association, who have been urgently pressing for some provision of this character for several years past. It has been drawn up and approved of by them, and is one which they think will answer the purpose.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). When the article is put upon the market as a compound article of food, although it may not be injurious to health, is it the intention of the Bill to prevent the sale of such article?

Mr. SPROULE. No, that is not the intention. There is a provision in the Bill that where the article is properly labelled, it may be put upon the market for sale.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

REPORT OF THE MINISTER OF MILITIA.

Mr. CASEY. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I would like to call the attention of the Minister of Militia to some points in connection with the bringing down of his report. It appears from the report itself, which was laid on the Table, I think, on the 20th, that the report of the departmental Architect was prepared on the 20th June; that the report of the Cartridge Factory was put in on the 18th October; that the report of the Deputy Minister was put in on 14th November; that the report of the Director of Stores was put in on the 15th November; that the General's report is dated 30th November, and the Minister's report to the Governor General is dated 15th December; and yet we have been over three months waiting for the report to be published. Of course, this delay has given rise to various rumours in regard to friction, etc., which no doubt the Minister—

Mr. SPEAKER. I hope the hon. gentleman will not introduce anything into his remarks which will provoke discussion, but merely inquire the reason why the report has been delayed.

Mr. CASEY. Certainly, if you will allow me to proceed. I merely wished to say that I have no doubt the Minister would be glad of an opportunity to speak on that matter, and explain the reasons for this long delay. There is nothing in the size of the report to indicate that there should be delay in the printing of it. Whatever other reasons for delay there may be, I should like to know them.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I think the hon. gentleman should put his question on the paper.

Mr. CASEY. I will discuss it to-morrow on motion to go into committee.

CATTLE SHIPMENTS.

Mr. MULOCK. The hon. Controller of Customs promised to give me some explana-

Mr. SPROULE.

tions in regard to the export of cattle. Perhaps the hon. gentleman can favour me with the figures now?

Mr. WALLACE. There is a discrepancy in the returns of the Department of Agriculture and Department of Customs for the four years to which reference has been made. Last year the number of cattle exported, as shown by the Department of Customs, was larger than that shown by the Department of Agriculture, but in other years the number was smaller. I have caused an investigation to be made, in conjunction with the Minister of Agriculture, at the port of Montreal, where almost the total exportations take place, with a view to ascertain the causes of the discrepancy, and we propose to obtain the number of cattle exported by every vessel as reported to the Department of Customs and to the officers under the control of the Department of Agriculture. I, therefore, hope within a few days to be able to give the hon. gentleman full information in regard to this matter.

IN COMMITTEE—THIRD READING.

Bill (No. 35) to amend the Act to incorporate the Steam Boiler and Plate Class Insurance Company of Canada.—(Mr. Davies, P.E.I.)

GOVERNMENT DOCK AT HILTON.

Mr. LISTER asked, What was the total cost of the Government dock at Hilton, St. Joseph's Island? Who has been in charge of the dock? What, if any, salary is paid to him for services in connection with the dock? What amount has been received for wharfage fees since its construction, showing amount received in each year?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. In the absence of the Minister of Public Works, I desire to state that the total cost of the dock at Hilton was \$10,460. No wharfinger has been appointed; no salary has been paid; no water fees have been collected.

TIGNISH BREAKWATER, P.E.I.

Mr. PERRY asked, Was the putting up of a weather signal at Tignish Breakwater, Prince Edward Island, let by tender? If so, was the lowest tender accepted? What is the name of the person to whom the contract was given? What is the amount of contract? If done by private contract, who was the contractor? What is the cost of the same? Who has charge of the said signal? What is the yearly cost of maintaining the same, including keeper's salary?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. If the hon. gentleman desires a more extended answer than I am able to give at this moment, I shall be very happy to furnish it. The information supplied to me is as follows: This weather signal was erected under the supervision of the director of the meteor-

logical service, Mr. Carpmael. The total cost was \$100. Mr. Carpmael is ill at the present time. As to whether it was erected by private agreement or by contract, I cannot state exactly. The matter was left to Mr. Carpmael to carry out, and the payment was to be made on his certificate. Mr. George Conroy is in charge, his salary being \$45 a year.

PORT OF TIGNISH.

Mr. PERRY asked, What is the amount of wharfage dues collected at the port of Tignish, P.E.I., for the year 1893?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The amount of wharfage dues collected was \$73.38, less commission of 25 per cent, \$18.35, leaving a net amount received by the department of \$55.03.

INDUSTRIES IN QUEEN'S AND SHEL-BURNE COUNTIES.

Mr. FORBES asked, What is the description of each of the industries established in the counties of Queen's and Shelburne? What are the names of the several manufacturers in the said counties respectively? What is the number of employees in each of said industries?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I must ask the hon. gentleman to obtain this information by moving for an order for a return. It will take some days to prepare it, and it would be rather too elaborate to answer the question.

JUDGES IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.

Mr. LEPINE asked, Was the Act of the Legislature of the province of Quebec, 54 Victoria, chapter 22, intituled: "Act respecting the Court of Queen's Bench, Crown Side," creating two additional judges for the said court, disallowed by the Government of Canada? If not, was it sanctioned, with the other Acts of that province, within the delay appointed? 2. Have representations been made to the Government with reference to completing the organization of the said court, in pursuance of the Act aforesaid? 3. Have the Government been informed that during the present year, and more particularly during the last term of the Court of Appeal, the number of judges sitting in the said Court of Queen's Bench was only four, and that the bar have made complaint as to the state of things? 4. Have the Government been requested to call the attention of the Government of the province of Quebec to this part of the administration of justice in the said province, or to any part thereof? Is there any report, or any recommendation, on the subject?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The Act was left to its operation, although the Government did not concur in the statement made in the preamble thereof, as to the insufficiency of

the Court of Queen's Bench, as now constituted, to perform its functions, and it was expressly stated that such action was not to be taken as an expression of opinion on the part of the Dominion Government that the appointment provided for by the Act should be made. The French Canadian senior members of the Montreal bar presented a petition in that sense, and also asked that the claims of their nationality be considered in any appointments to be made.

MR. JOSHUA LEGGE'S SERVICES.

Mr. LANDERKIN asked, Was Joshua Legge an inspector of the construction of the building or repairing of lighthouses near Gananoque? If so, when? What was his salary? How long employed? Is he still inspector? If not, when was he relieved?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Joshua Legge inspected the construction of landing piers and a boathouse at Jack Straw light station, near Gananoque in 1885, and received \$41.15 for his services in that capacity, being at the rate of about 5 per cent on the contract price. He was employed while the work was under construction, a period of about two months. He is no longer inspector, having been relieved when the contract was completed in the fall of 1885.

Mr. LANDERKIN asked, Was Joshua Legge employed at the Columbian Exhibition at Chicago? If so, when? In what capacity? and at what salary? How long was he so engaged?

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Joshua Legge was employed at the Columbian Exhibition at Chicago on October 17th last, to superintend the packing and arranging of the Manitoba exhibit for the then intended Antwerp Exhibition, at a salary of \$3 per diem. He was engaged from the date stated to December 7th following.

Mr. LANDERKIN asked, Was Joshua Legge engaged in any other service in connection with the sale or the survey of the Thousand Islands or in any other capacity in connection therewith? If so, when? How long? and what salary did he receive?

Mr. DALY. Joshua Legge was not directly employed by the Department of Indian Affairs. He was, however, employed by Mr. Walter Beattie, P.L.S., who was engaged by the department to inspect and value some of the Thousand Islands, and the vouchers submitted by Mr. Beattie in support of his account for expenses in connection with that work show that he employed Joshua Legge from the 17th January, 1893, to 22nd March, 1893, and that he paid him for 65 days at the rate of \$3 a day. The amount paid as per said voucher to Joshua Legge by Walter Beattie, viz., \$195, was allowed the latter by the department as part of his expenses.

SALE OF ST. LAWRENCE RIVER ISLANDS.

Mr. LANDERKIN asked, Have the Government sold any of the islands in the St. Lawrence River? If so, when? What are the names or numbers of such islands sold, to whom sold, and what was the price received? Were any of the islands leased? If so, to whom, for how long, and at what rental? Were such sales or leases, if any, made by public or private sale? Is it the intention of the Government to dispose of any more of the islands in that river? If so, when? Will they be sold by private or public sale?

Mr. DALY. I am afraid the hon. gentleman will have to ask for a return of the House so far as the first part of his question is concerned. It is indefinite; as he does not state for what period of time he wants the information. If what the hon. gentleman wants to get at is: whether any islands have been recently sold, I can say that no islands have been recently sold since I became Minister of the Interior. Prior to that time islands were sold. As to the next part of the question: "Is it the intention of the Government to dispose of any more of the islands in that river?" the answer is: It is the intention of the Government. In reply to the next part of the question: "If so, when? Will they be sold by private or public sale?" the answer is: During the coming spring and summer, and they will be sold by private sale at the upset price.

BAY OF QUINTE—FISHING BY UNITED STATES CITIZENS.

Mr. WILSON asked, Is it the intention of the Government to prohibit citizens of the United States from taking game fish in the waters of the Bay of Quinté and Hay Bay? If not, is it the intention of the Government to charge them a license?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The practice of the department has been to permit fishing by visitors in the Bay of Quinté and Hay Bay, whether from the United States or elsewhere, when they were fishing purely for sport by hook and line, and no license fee has been charged for a license issued in such cases. I may state further to the hon. gentleman, that a practice has been reported, through the department, which shows that this privilege has been to some extent abused. That is to say: that launches or steam vessels come over from the United States side with parties on board ostensibly to engage in fishing for sport, but in reality are what are known as "pot-hunters," and who take a large quantity of fish by hook and line and by trawl behind the vessel. These fish have been taken and put upon the United States market for sale, and it is the intention of the

Mr. DALY.

department to devise some means of checking the practice to which I have referred, without needlessly interfering with visits from sportsmen from the States, which are very popular among the citizens of Canada in the waters mentioned.

COST OF TARIFF INQUIRY.

Mr. CASEY asked, What has been the total cost to date of the inquiry conducted by members of the Government in regard to tariff changes by means of meetings held throughout the country?

Mr. FOSTER. The cost has not been made out.

Mr. CASEY. The hon. gentleman promised to have it to-day.

Mr. FOSTER. It has not yet been made out.

MEDALS FOR VOLUNTEERS.

Mr. FRASER asked, Does the recent order of the Imperial Government respecting the issue of good conduct medals and decorations to officers and men of the volunteer force who have served twenty years, apply to Canada? Is it the intention of the Government to avail themselves of the privilege to reward officers and men as has been done in England? If so, has application been made to the English Government for an issue to Canadian volunteers?

Mr. PATTERSON (Huron). The recent order of the Imperial Government respecting the issue of good conduct medals and decorations to officers and men of the volunteer force who have served twenty years does not apply to Canada. The decorations in question have been instituted for persons serving under the Volunteer Act of the United Kingdom. The provisions of that Act have nothing in common with those of the Canadian Militia Act, and therefore the regulations covering the issue of the volunteer medals do not apply to Canadian militiamen.

INSOLVENT ACT, 1875—OFFICIAL ASSIGNEES.

Mr. FAUVEL asked, What are the names of the official assignees who, acting under the Insolvent Act of 1875 and its amendments, have obtained legal discharges from all the insolvent estates placed in their hands during the period they held such office?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I will have to ask the hon. gentleman to ask for a return for that, because we have to communicate with the boards of trade and clerks of courts and other officers in all parts of the Dominion to get the information.

QUEBEC DRILL SHED—MODERN GUNS.

Mr. LAURIER asked, 1. Is it the intention of the Government to place in the drill shed at Quebec two of the modern and improved large sized guns? 2. Is the Government aware that the available space in the drill shed would be by the placing of these guns considerably curtailed?

Mr. PATTERSON (Huron). Arrangements are being made for the mounting of the modern and improved large sized guns in the city of Quebec, where they will be available for drill by the artillerymen there. The site has not been decided upon.

NORTH RIVER FISHERIES.

Mr. GIROUARD (Two Mountains) asked, Whether the Government are aware that the dams constructed on the North River, in the parishes of St. Andrews and Lachute, in the county of Argenteuil, are not provided with fish-ways? Have the Government appointed inspectors or fishery overseers to see to the construction and maintenance of fish-ways on the North River? Is it the intention of the Government to provide immediately for the construction of fish-ways where required on the said North River?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The Government is aware that the dams on the North River, in the county of Argenteuil, are unprovided with fish-ways. The question of providing these fish-ways or compelling the owners of the dams to provide them, is now under the consideration of the department.

READJUSTMENT OF COUNTIES IN QUEBEC.

Mr. GUAY (for Mr. Brodeur) asked, 1. Have the Government, or any members of the Government, received a deputation from the province of Quebec asking for a readjustment of the counties in that province? If so, who were the members of said deputation, and what answer did the Government make? 2. Is it the intention of the Government to introduce, this year, a measure for the readjustment of the counties in the province of Quebec?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Brodeur), were here, I would ask him to consider the propriety of pressing this question—I mean the first part of it. I have had some conversation with members of Parliament on the subject, but I would have respectfully to decline to state what transpired at any interview I have had with members of Parliament. However, as to the second part of the question, the Government has arrived at no such intention up to the present time. If there should be any such intention arrived at in the future, the House will have ample notice of it.

PERSONATION AT CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS.

Mr. FAUVEL (for Mr. Brodeur) asked, 1. Whether the Government are aware that at the examinations for the Civil Service at Montreal, in November last, certain candidates were personated? 2. Is it true that the Government have prosecuted those who personated, without prosecuting at the same time those who were personated? 3. Is the Government aware that, at the said examinations, one Bourassa was personated? 4. Is it true that the said Bourassa has not been prosecuted for that offence, and that he is, in fact, now in the employment of the Government? Do the Government intend to prosecute Bourassa, and if not, why not?

Mr. COSTIGAN. C. O. Wilson, student, who impersonated Bourassa, a porter in the Montreal post office, and his brother, B. Wilson, who personated Rondeau, a letter-carrier in the same office, have been prosecuted and sentenced to a fine of \$50 or two months' imprisonment. Bourassa, being an employee of the Post Office Department, that department has been notified of his offence. Bourassa's certificate has been cancelled, as appears in the last 'Canada Gazette.' It is the intention to proceed against all parties against whom sufficient evidence appears available to justify prosecution.

RIVER MILLE ISLES FISHERIES.

Mr. GIROUARD (Two Mountains) asked, Whether the Government are aware that the dam in River Mille Isles, at the Meunier Mills, in the parish of St. Francois de Sales and county of Laval, crosses the said river from side to side, that the said dam is not provided with a fish-way, and that it consequently prevents the fish from ascending River du Chêne and River du Nord? Have the Government received petitions from the riparian proprietors on Mille Isles River, complaining in the premises? Is it the intention of the Government to cause a fish-way to be constructed in the said dam?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The Government is aware that Meunier's dam, across the Mille Isles River, presents an obstruction to the ascent of fish. Petitions were received asking for the demolition of this dam or the construction of a fish-way. The locality was accordingly visited by an officer of the Department of Marine and Fisheries last summer, with the view of carrying out the wishes of the petitioners, but difficulties arising in connection with the ownership of the land, it was deemed advisable to delay action until this spring.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND MILITIA.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) asked, Has the province of Prince Edward Island been re-

established as a separate military district? If so, at what date was the order made, and by what name or number is the district to be known? Has any one yet been appointed as Deputy Adjutant General of such district? If so, who? If not, is it the intention of the Government to make such appointment at an early day?

Mr. PATTERSON (Huron). The province of Prince Edward Island has been re-established as a separate military district. The Order in Council was passed on the 5th of February, 1894. No one has yet been appointed as Deputy Adjutant General of the district. It is the intention of the Government to make the appointment at an early day.

PRINTING OF VOTERS' LISTS.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) asked. What has been the total expenditure in connection with printing the Dominion voters' lists since the inception of the Printing Bureau up to the present time, for type, galleys, or other material or plant purchased for the setting or printing of such lists; also the total expenditure during the same period for labour in connection with the printing of such lists, and also the total additional expenditure estimated, in connection with the forthcoming revision under both the heads of new material or plant as well as labour?

Mr. COSTIGAN. The Printing Bureau was established on 2nd June, 1886. The first revision, in 1886, the printing for which was done outside, cost \$180,960.43. The second revision, which was in 1889, included the reprinting of the old list, revision, purchase of plant and all expenses and cost, \$124,606.94. The third revision, which took place in 1891, including the purchase of additional plant and all expenses, cost \$65,680.59. The probable cost of the next revision will be in proportion to the names added and the changes made, based on the cost of the last revision.

SURVEYS OF CAPE CANSO.

Mr. FRASER asked, 1. When do the Government propose publishing Dr. Thorburn's surveys of Cape Canso? 2. Have the investigations of Messrs. Fletcher and Fari-bault been completed, and when will they be published, and how?

Mr. DALY. The map of Cape Canso has been published, the scale being 4 miles to one inch. It is being republished on a scale of one inch to one mile, in similar sized sheets, 16 sheets for one. These are not yet ready, but are being engraved. The investigations of Messrs. Fletcher and Fari-bault are being continued in Nova Scotia, and the results will be published as soon as possible.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

TRENT VALLEY CANAL.

Mr. HUGHES moved for:

Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into all matters concerning the Trent Valley Canal.

He said: Mr. Speaker, some years ago a commission was appointed to take evidence as to the feasibility of constructing the Trent Valley Canal. I understand that evidence has been gathered and that the commission has framed and written its report; but I find that the report has never been presented to the House, and the public have no record of what evidence has been adduced on the subject. I therefore beg to move for this report. It is not my intention at the present time to discuss the merits of the Trent Valley Canal; but I will take this opportunity of pressing on the Government, and especially on the Minister of Railways and Canals, the absolute necessity, whether the canal be constructed or not, of taking over all the waters tributary to the part of the canal already constructed. In the early days, as we are all aware, the territories adjoining the waters of the Trent Valley system were covered with forests. The forests held the water, and, as a consequence, the country along these lakes was not subjected to floods in the spring of the year, but the water passed out gradually, and there was a constant supply throughout the season. Now, all that is changed. The lumbermen have cleared the country of the forests, and the lumbermen's dams have all been taken away, except in a very few places, where there are still limits, so that now, as soon as the snow melts in the spring, or a rainfall comes in the summer, the water rushes from these lands and floods the country. We find almost annually evidence of this in the fact that the farmers along these lakes and rivers are continually presenting demands for damage by floods. And I am satisfied that all this can be obviated by the Government taking control of the waters. At present the Dominion controls all waters as far as the head of Lake Cameron up to Rosedale lock, and the Ontario Government control all the waters above. The consequence is that in the spring of the year it is the object of the Ontario Government officials to get rid of the surplus of water from their lakes by dumping it into the lakes below, and the lakes immediately below are always flooded in the spring. Then, as soon as the floods have passed away in the spring, it is the object of the Ontario Government to keep the waters back for any necessary purposes. Consequently, these lakes overflow in the spring, Cameron, Sturgeon, Pigeon, and others. And in the summer season, when water is required for navigation, and manufacturing establishments, we find these lakes are often so shallow that vessels can scarcely navigate them. Along the line of these

waters, there are a large number of thriving business centres and manufacturing establishments, all of which use the water. From Trenton, up by Campbellford, Hastings, Peterboro', Lakefield, then passing on through the county of Victoria by Bobcaygeon, Lindsay, Fenelon Falls, Coboconk, and other places, there are more or less large and important industries which are forced to shut down in the summer, owing to scarcity of water. All this can be obviated by the Dominion Government assuming control of the waters at present controlled by the Ontario Government. By the erection of permanent dams in the places where the old lumberers' dams were formerly, the Government could store the water back. They could regulate it in the winter time so that no harm by the water would be done to the fields in the spring. Ample water could be stored back there for the purposes of manufacturing and navigation, and there would be no danger of the adjoining lands being flooded by the spring freshets. I do not know that it is necessary to point out anything further, and will simply urge the importance of this work on the attention of the Government. I would also urge that the three locks at present controlled by the Ontario Government should be taken over by the Dominion Government and enlarged to suit vessels plying in those waters. We have a large fleet of steamers, some twenty-five or thirty, employing several hundred hands, plying there, besides tugs engaged in hauling rafts, &c. We find that the works already constructed on the Trent Valley Canal are largely rendered useless by the fact that the largest steamers cannot get to points separated from the main lakes by the locks mentioned. I would urge the advisability of the Government taking over the three locks I have named—Young Point, Lindsay and Rosedale—and enlarging them so as to meet the requirements of vessels engaged in navigating these waters. When this report is brought down, I trust that the evidence of the commissioners will be found to bear out the desirability of constructing that canal throughout. However, until I see the report, I shall not say anything as to its further construction, but will simply urge on the Government, irrespective of the final completion of the canal as a through route, the necessity of taking cognizance of these points to which I have referred.

Mr. HAGGART. The Government have no objection to bringing down the report, and I will see that it is brought down at an early date. The department have at present under consideration the recommendation to the Government of the acquiring of that portion of the Trent Valley at present controlled by the Ontario Government; and, in order that the scheme of navigation shall be complete, it will be a necessity for the Government to acquire it. There is a great deal in the remarks of the hon. gentle-

man, in which he states that the Government ought to obtain control of the waters which supply the Trent River canal, in order that the water from the spring and winter freshets might be retained and distributed equally through the entire year. I have ordered the officer, in whose control the Trent River navigation is, to report upon these different reservoirs, in which the water may be retained, as soon as possible. In every other canal, notably the Rideau Canal, which has a summit level, and where water is required for navigation and manufacturing purposes, the Government have acquired all the different reservoirs or places to retain the water and distribute it throughout the year. And, in order to make the Trent River navigation complete, long before the completion of the canal, it will be necessary for the Government to obtain possession of the reservoirs of which the hon. gentleman speaks. I will have a report on the subject soon from the officers of the department, and will see that the report the hon. gentleman speaks of will be brought down as soon as possible.

Mr. EDGAR. Can the hon. gentleman give any estimate of the cost of acquiring these?

Mr. HAGGART. The cost will be very small, a few thousand dollars. Mostly the locks, which are a long way off the Trent River, are used by lumbermen only at present for floating timber down the river itself. I think the cost will be very little indeed, compared with the advantage of having water for an important work like the Trent River canal.

Mr. MULOCK. This is not the first that the House and the country have had the subject of the Trent Canal brought to their attention. But I think this is the first occasion on which the representative of the district, supposed to be served by this work, has taken the opportunity of making so modest a reference to that enterprise. I remember, a great many years ago, when the Government, without any doubt whatever, intimated to the House and the country that the canal was destined to be a great highway of communication between the northern waters and Lake Ontario. It was not, then, to be a mere local work to serve local ends and local wants—though, of course, that was an incident to it—but this great Trent Valley Canal, projected to run through eight good ridings was, if the Government was returned to power, to be 'un fait accompli' almost as soon as the election was over, and then we were to have the ocean vessels sailing up to the Georgian Bay. I think every representative of North Victoria has taken that view on every occasion in this House. But now we have the hon. member for North Victoria (Mr. Hughes) apparently preparing a place for the Government to fall. He comes out now and modestly wonders if this great work is practicable. The idea of a representative of North Vic-

toria casting a doubt upon the practicability of this magnificent national scheme and showing such treason to his riding, such want of confidence in the predecessors of this Administration! What is there in this report? Has a little insight into it been given to the member for North Victoria that he is now trying to break the force of the Government's fall? He trusts that it will be a practicable scheme, but he will reserve further consideration until he sees the report. How long is it since this report was sent in? The previous Minister of Railways had no doubt in his mind of the practicability of it before the election of 1882, but since then the commissions have been issued, or, at least a standing commission has been appointed to consider the matter—and for how many years it has been standing nobody knows. Perhaps it is prepared at last to bring forth some fruits. This commission, it seems, has made its report long since, and what I would like to know is why the Government has not given that report to the country? Last session this matter was before the House and then we were promised the report.

Mr. HUGHES. No.

Mr. MULOCK. The hon. gentleman says "No." What, then, was the commission appointed for if not to make a report? The matter was discussed in Supply last session and we were told we were to have the report. A year has rolled by and we are now told the report is in the pigeon-holes somewhere; but it is not given to the country. This is not treating the House with candour or the country with confidence. The people of North Victoria will learn with great disappointment of the falling off on the part of their member who now wants to know if the Government will be graciously pleased to take over an additional lock or two at the cost of a few thousand dollars so as to enable the vessels that are now plying on the route to get a little further up, instead of doing as his predecessor did and asking the Government to endorse this great water-way which was going to make the head of ocean navigation in the Thunder Bay district via the Trent Valley Canal.

Mr. DAVIN. Mr. Speaker, the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) has entirely misrepresented the attitude of my friend from North Victoria (Mr. Hughes). My hon. friend from North Victoria did not throw any doubt upon the construction of the work. But my hon. friend from North York does not appreciate the transition from the rough and ready methods of the former member for North Victoria to the politeness and suavity of the present representative. The polite manner of my hon. friend from North Victoria is thrown away on my hon. friend from North York. As the seconder of his motion, I desire to say that I would have nothing to do with seconding it if I thought that my hon. friend in proposing the

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motion had not a bona fide desire that this great work should be carried out. I know something, Sir, of the country that is interested in this work.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). This water-stretch.

Mr. DAVIN. Water-stretch—yes. I am glad my hon. friend from Bothwell (Mr. Mills) remembers that. It shows that he is in the state of mind described by the poet when he speaks of the glowing visions of one's past life standing up and saying farewell. Water-stretch or no water stretch, there can be no more important work undertaken by the Minister of Railways than this which is urged upon him by my hon. friend from North Victoria. From what we know of the past administration of the Railway Department by its present responsible head, I think we may fairly entertain the most sanguine confidence that the hopes so modestly expressed by my hon. friend from North Victoria will be realized, and realized not the less soon and not the less completely because they were expressed in a thoroughly parliamentary manner. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to throw whatever little influence I possess in favour of any movement that will promote this work. For, I may tell you—if the House has the least interest in having a confession from me—that I at one time intended to run for one of the Victorias, and so I took an interest in this "water-stretch," because as Mr. Disraeli said, one must have an eye to the main chance. And it is not a matter of complaisance on my part my seconding this motion. I may say that I have made several presents of silver cups and mugs and silver knives and forks in these ridings with the same prospects, and the number of times I have stood godfather in one or other of them, I really do not know; but I daresay my hon. friend from North Victoria has some knowledge of it. I would urge the Minister to complete this work as soon as possible.

Mr. EDGAR. I think, Mr. Speaker, the question is, does the hon. gentleman stand god-father to this project?

Mr. DAVIN. As seconder of this resolution, I certainly do.

Motion agreed to.

CATTLE TRADE WITH ENGLAND.

Mr. McMULLEN moved for:

Copies of all letters, despatches and correspondence between the Government and the High Commissioner of Canada regarding the removal of the embargo on Canadian cattle entering English ports.

He said: In bringing this matter before the House, Mr. Speaker, I desire to preface the resolution with a few remarks. This, in my humble opinion, is an exceedingly grave question for the country under present condition. We all know very well, and the records of

the country prove quite clearly, that this trade in cattle with England has been a very important one to our people. We all regret that, owing to the embargo that has been imposed in England, together with other restrictions, this trade has been crippled and thus, instead of enlarging, it has been growing less. I see by the records that this trade touched the highest point in the year 1890. In that year the number of cattle shipped to Great Britain was 104,133, of a total value of \$8,114,145. In 1891 the total number was 99,967; valued at \$7,381,284. In 1892 the number was 93,206, and the total value, \$6,920,748. In 1893 the number was 89,572, and the total value, \$6,799,638. Now, by these figures it will be noticed that this very important trade has been falling off. It has not been falling off for the want of cattle, or from a lack of desire on the part of the farmers of this country to extend this trade, but it has been falling off for two causes. The first of these is the unfortunate action on the part of England in scheduling our cattle and thus enforcing their slaughter at the port of debarkation; in the second place, the trade has fallen off by the action of the steamship companies who have had the entire trade brought to their doors, and have handled it without competition. We know that owing to a desire on the part of the Dominion Government to secure for us the advantages that we occupied in the British market before the scheduling arrangement was proposed, they made a quarantine regulation against American cattle coming into Canada or passing through this country. We know that by that provision American stock were not permitted to come into our country unless they were segregated for at least ninety days; then, if they were found to be clean and free from disease, they were permitted to come in and intermix with our cattle; if not, they had to be returned. The Americans were deeply incensed over that embargo placed upon their cattle coming into Canada, and in retaliation they imposed a like quarantine regulation on cattle going from Canada into the United States. The result has been that American ports have been completely closed to us for the purpose of shipping cattle. Now, I do not for a moment challenge the desirability of the action taken by this Government in the direction of securing the removal of the embargo in England; but I do think that by passing the Order in Council scheduling cattle coming in from the United States in the very stringent and severe manner that was adopted, they have brought upon us the condition of things from which we are now suffering, by which the ports of the United States are completely closed against our shippers. We know that those who are the most interested in the cattle trade have recently complained very loudly of the extortions to which they are subjected by the steamboat owners. The price that has been extorted from them from time to time has

in many instances been far in excess of the price which should be charged for the transportation of cattle from Montreal to the other side. We find on examination that the prices charged from Quebec and Montreal are in excess of those charged from Boston, New York and Portland. Now, this is a condition of things that is seriously militating against this particular trade. I am pleased that my esteemed friend from North York (Mr. Mulock) has brought in a Bill that possibly may reach the grievance to which the farmers and shippers have been subjected by the combinations that may have existed between the steamship companies. There are other causes at work that also seriously militate against this trade. When shippers are confined to the port of Montreal alone, many men who are engaged in the trade and are anxious to make money out of it, resort to scalping the contracts, or the accommodation that is given by the steamboat companies, by taking up the room and reselling it. I have been told on good authority that in some cases men have realized as much as \$800 out of the re-sale of space of these steamers from Montreal to the other side. Now that is an evil that we should, if possible, reach by legislation. We do not allow people, for instance, to buy and sell railway tickets. In the interest of the railways companies, an Act has been passed forbidding a man to re-sell a railway ticket if below the ordinary rates. In many other ways we have moved in the direction of preventing monopolies of that kind. Now, I think we should move also in the direction of preventing the restriction and crippling of this trade by the extortions to which those who are engaged in it, are subjected. I do not know that all the fault lies at the doors of the steamship owners, but I do say that by narrowing the cattle trade of this country in such a way as confines it entirely and absolutely to one port like Montreal, the steamboat owners and the cattle dealers are enabled to combine for the purpose of practising extortions on the farming community, and that is an evil which should be handled vigorously by the Government of this country with the object of removing it as speedily as possible. I claim that the province of Ontario, if it is to succeed at all as an agricultural province, has got to confine its operations largely to the growth and feeding of stock, as well as to the production of butter and cheese. It is better adapted for these three things than it is to anything else. While we do grow some coarse grains, and can grow very well those that are more generally used in the feeding of stock, we are not now prepared, nor are we in a position, to compete with the prairies of the west in the production and sale of wheat. For many reasons our farms are small, our fields are limited, and they cannot compete in the raising of wheat with the extensive farms of the western states and of our own North-west. Consequently the farmers of the pro-

vince of Ontario have got to turn their attention to the production of butter and cheese, and cattle, rather than to any other lines; and those who are devoting themselves to those lines, are doing better than they have been able to do by growing grain. Now, cattle is one of the most important items of the farmer. We have unquestionably the best climate on the continent of America. We produce about the best grasses that can be produced for fattening cattle, and we have a magnificent supply of pure water. These three essentials to the development of the cattle trade, we have in our province, and all we need now are facilities for transshipment of cattle, and the removal, if possible, of the embargo that has been placed upon cattle in England. I have already pointed out some of the ways in which the Government might have facilitated the transshipment of stock. The Americans are deeply interested in this very same business, and in order to retain to themselves the advantages that they enjoy in the English market, notwithstanding the fact that their stock is subject to contagious diseases to a very much greater extent than Canadian stock, they have taken every step they possibly could to facilitate the transshipment of stock from their country to England, and to the continent. The Americans have in every port in England experienced veterinaries who are ready to inspect stock when it arrives, give every assistance to shippers in regard to debarkation of the stock, and also in taking active measures to investigate any disease that may have been supposed to have arisen on board the vessel, and with which the cattle may be troubled on their arrival. This policy has proved a very desirable one. I am sorry that our Government have not considered it to be their duty to take steps in the same direction. We have no veterinary in any port of Europe, not even in England. The United States Government have not only carried out that system as regards the British Isles, but have done so in Germany. The result has been a very large and increasing trade with Germany. They have been able to unload their cattle there and carry them as far inland as Switzerland, thus doing a very important and desirable trade. I am glad to notice that we shipped to Germany during last year 1,891 cattle, of the value of \$152,080. I contend that our Government should immediately move in the matter of the adoption of measures to facilitate the transportation of cattle, as has been done by the United States Government. Instead of the High Commissioner, whose appointment was largely made with the view to guarding the interests of the cattle trade and placing them under his personal attention—and no doubt he may have rendered some desirable services at certain times—the officer required in England is an experienced veterinary, who perhaps might work in connection with the High Commissioner's Department, and who

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would be ready at all times to furnish such assistance as the circumstances required. I know a case in which cattle were shipped to Liverpool, and on their arrival their healthy condition was challenged. One of the animals was slaughtered, and its lungs were sent to London for inspection and analysis. The shipper was kept with his cattle for twenty-four hours, not knowing whether they would be admitted or whether they would have to be thrown overboard in the ocean. Any one can imagine the excited condition of the shipper. Had the Canadian Government possessed its own experienced veterinary, he could have made an immediate inspection and the difficulty would have been overcome, and the shipper would not have been subjected to that delay and would also not have missed the market. Everything that is possible should be done to facilitate, encourage and increase the volume of our cattle shipments to England. I am sure the members of the Government in travelling through the western portion of Ontario, in order to learn what changes in the tariff would be popular, must have been struck with the very extensive and commodious bank barns fitted up entirely for the care and fattening of stock. Those are evidences of the trade which the farmers are desirous of cultivating—namely, the shipment of fat cattle in the spring. The cattle shipments from Ontario will not seriously conflict with similar shipments from the North-west. Those largely take place in October, November and December. A large number of cattle are placed in the barns and are fed during the winter on coarse grains and other foods for shipment during some period between the middle of April and the middle of July. Shipments are more desirable about 1st May than any other period. At the present time shippers are in a quandary as to what they will be able to do with their fat stock, a very large quantity of which is on hand. The best quotations for the Montreal market on the 17th of the month were 4 cents per pound live weight, while at Buffalo the rates ranged from 4.45 cents to 4.60. At the same time Buffalo is 450 miles from the ocean, whereas at Montreal our live stock can easily be shipped. It is difficult to understand the difference in value with regard to cattle at these two points. The price in Montreal should be higher than in Buffalo, but it is otherwise. I can attribute this difference to nothing but this fact, that the steamship companies impose rates in excess of the actual value of the transportation of cattle from Montreal, or at least the rates are in excess of those charged from New York, Boston or Portland. Whether the responsibility for these increased rates rests entirely with the steamship owners, or should in a measure be borne by the scalpers, who take advantage of their opportunity and procure space for cattle, I am not prepared to say. Both these evils certainly exist, and when we deal with one it would be desirable to include the

other. I have in my hand a circular recently issued by the cattle men, in which they attempt to outline the grievances to which they have been subjected. I notice in that circular that our total shipments to England from 1875 to the present time were of the aggregate value of about \$75,000,000. Accordingly, it is unquestionably a very important trade to this country, and it is one we should endeavour by every possible means, and by every possible legislative act to encourage. I notice, also, that the cattle trade reached its height in 1890, and I have already given to the House figures showing the trade between different periods up to 1893. With respect to the quarantine regulations between the United States and Canada, it is a matter of surprise to me that the Americans are able to ship their cattle through Canada by way of Boston and Montreal, over our railways, when we are not able to ship cattle over our railways and American roads to Boston and Portland. I am glad in the interests of the American railways that they are able to do this, because it would be unquestionably a serious blow to our two great trans-continental lines if they were prevented carrying cattle from one point to another. While it is desirable in the interests of our railways that they should be permitted to do that, it is very important that some arrangement should be come to as speedily as possible, so as to enable our people to ship their cattle either at Portland or Boston, as well as at Montreal. If such an arrangement were made I am quite sure that the extortions to which shippers are subjected to, both by the steamship companies as well as by those who "corner" the space at the port of Montreal, would be obviated, and that our exporters would not be hampered as they now are. I would like to know what effort has been made in the direction of securing this privilege, because it is a singular thing to me that the privilege should be enjoyed by the people of the western states of shipping their cattle through our country, while it is denied the shippers of Ontario to send our cattle to England through Portland and Boston. The existing arrangement is unquestionably a very serious loss to Canadians engaged in that trade. It is a well-known fact that the charges for the shipment of cattle vary very considerably, and it is a most extraordinary thing that even in many cases the steamboat companies have been unable to quote rates. It has also occurred that even when the cattle were put on board the shippers were not able to ascertain the cost of transport to the English market until the ship was out in the Atlantic Ocean. They did not know until then how much per head it would cost them to send their cattle across, and it will be easily seen what a great disadvantage shippers labour under when they are compelled in this way to conduct their business in the dark. Sometimes under this regulation they make money unexpectedly, but on the other hand, and I believe in

the greater number of cases, they are obliged to suffer a very serious loss. The rates have varied from \$7 a head to \$17.50, so that a man shipping a large number of cattle may be put to an unexpected and enormous increase of charges for their transportation when he is not informed as to what the rates are until after the ship has sailed. Were we in such a position as to permit our cattle shippers the alternative of consigning their cattle from a United States port, if they so choose, they would not be subjected to the inconvenience and the extortion which has been their experience in the past. As I have already said, I am not prepared to assert that the entire fault rests with the steamship owners. I was under that impression until I made inquiries, but I now find that the evil rests with men who make a habit of buying out all the space upon those steamers when they arrive. They contract to load a steamer with 600 or 1,000 head of cattle, and secure all the available accommodation. I fancy that they keep a considerable number of animals on hand, and if they cannot resell the space at high rates they ship themselves. In some cases I believe the ship has been compelled to leave port without filling up her space, and the steamship owners have been obliged to compromise and in some cases lose the entire sum for which they had contracted. I know that this has happened in some cases. This condition of things should not be permitted, and some effort should be made to prevent the space being monopolized and resold by men who make a practice of doing this for the purpose of grinding money out of the cattle shippers. This cornering of space, and the consequent charging of higher rates, strikes directly at the prices paid to the farmer for his cattle, because it hampers the exportation of the animals. The system is a very great injustice, and should be done away with. I have endeavoured to place before the House the objectionable features of the present arrangement, because I am anxious that every effort should be made to encourage this important trade. I believe that the Government are lax in their efforts. They should have guarded with a strong hand the privileges that we enjoyed some years ago. Had they taken the proper care of the privileges which we enjoyed in the English market before 1890, I believe that we might have enjoyed the continuance of those privileges up to the present time. Although I have no doubt that an effort had been made to get the scheduling of our cattle removed, that effort has not succeeded. In the first instance we should have had our own men on the other side, who would lend a helping hand, give an encouraging word, and render all needed services when our cattle were being taken off the steamers. We should have our own officers there to see after the disposal of the cattle, to show that our cattle were free from disease, and we should not have been left to the inspection and criticism of Eng-

lish veterinarians, who in many cases. I have no doubt, are only too anxious to find fault with our cattle, and to cripple our trade. I do hope that when the papers come down, which my resolution calls for, they will show clearly that a very determined effort has been made in the direction of removing that embargo. In the meantime I am glad to know that the Bill introduced by the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) will receive the earnest and prompt consideration of this House, and I trust that it will become law, so as to remedy the unfortunate condition of things that now exist. Every encouragement possible should be given to this particular trade, which is one of the most desirable that has been adopted by our farmers in the west. I hope that our farmers will be enabled to reap all the advantages that that Bill will give them by removing the extortions to which cattle shippers are now subjected. I believe that the Bill of the hon. member (Mr. Mulock) will have the effect of facilitating a trade which we all hope to see grow and increase, but which unfortunately has not been in a progressive condition from the year 1890 to the present time.

Mr. CASEY. I am very glad that the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) has brought this matter before the House. We have a right to know why it is that we have not been able to prove the freedom of our cattle from contagious diseases to the satisfaction of the British authorities. I think it is very generally known that our cattle are very free from contagious pneumonia. If it were not so, if even a few sporadic cases had occurred throughout the country, it is quite certain that we should have had, not only those few cases, but an actual epidemic of the disease; and it would have been proven beyond all doubt that the disease was of the contagious kind. It is well known to all interested in this matter that there is a kind of pneumonia, which, although injurious to the animal it affects, is not contagious, which may arise from unsanitary conditions in the stabling on land, or from similar conditions on shipboard in the passage from this country to Europe. But this disease, even if the animal is affected by it on leaving Canada, is not of such a nature as to communicate itself to British herds. Now, it seems to me, that, during the considerable time that this matter has been under discussion, it should have been possible for the Canadian Government, aided by the Department of Agriculture here, and by the High Commissioner in England, to prove to the satisfaction of the Board of Trade there, that the only kind of pneumonia that has ever existed here is of the non-contagious kind, and thereby to retain the great privilege we formerly enjoyed of having our cattle freely admitted to all parts of the United Kingdom. I need not point out the value

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of that privilege. All farmers, and all who are interested in farmers, must know that it is a great privilege, and one that adds materially to the value of our stock, for shipment. Now, Sir, we are not alone in urging upon the British Government the desirability of removing this embargo. We are supported in our contentions by the Scotch farmers, and by the Scotch experts who have examined the lungs of Canadian cattle said to have been diseased. The people of Scotland and the people of the north of England want to get our stockers to feed. Of course, by importing our stockers and feeding them there, they no doubt make a profit that might be made by Canadian farmers under certain circumstances. But it is always advisable to leave open to our farmers the possibility of selling stockers to the British trade when they do not find it convenient, for lack of capital or otherwise, to fatten them at home. If they could be fattened at home, there would no doubt be more money made in this country. On the other hand, there are some who have only a few to sell, who are not in a position to stall-feed them, and to whom it would be a great privilege to sell them to graziers in Great Britain. Even in the case of those which are fat when shipped, it is a great privilege to be able to send them from the port of landing in Great Britain to other places to be sold if the price is too low at the port of entry. The Department of Agriculture undoubtedly made some effort to discover whether the contagious disease exists in any part of Canada; but those efforts cannot have been as efficient as they should have been, or the proof brought out by the inquiries and examinations made would have been sufficient to satisfy the English authorities. I must assume that the proof required was not sufficient, or that our High Commissioner, on whom rests the duty of urging this matter on the British authorities, has not done his duty. It would be a matter of far greater importance to the farmers of Canada to secure a renewal of this privilege than to secure the French treaty which the High Commissioner has been negotiating. It would even be more important to them than any possible settlement of the dispute about the Behring Sea fisheries. Those fisheries are important, no doubt, to a small part of the people of the Dominion, and it was highly necessary and proper that the question should be settled in a fair manner. But their importance to Canada as a whole will not bear any comparison whatever with the importance of this trade in live cattle, which is, although not killed, very much reduced, by the scheduling which has taken place. I say that if the High Commissioner had made himself more effective in this matter, he would have been doing a far greater service to Canada than he has done in the matters alluded to. He may have done all he knew how to do;

he may have exerted his ability to the utmost, but the fact remains that he has not been effective in securing what we wanted done. The truth is that we have no contagious pleuro-pneumonia in Canada; and we have a High Commissioner in the old country who is supposed to have given his best intelligence and his best energy to impressing that fact on the British public, and he has not succeeded in doing so. Either he has not been capable of making the best use of the proof at his disposal, or he has not given sufficient time and energy to the matter. It will be for the House and the country to decide whether or not the failure to get the embargo removed is due to the want of ability, energy, and application on the part of the High Commissioner. Of course, I do not intend for a moment to say that all the blame for that failure should rest upon him. I cannot help thinking, from the results, or the lack of results, obtained that the Government here have not sufficiently backed him up—have not considered the matter of sufficient importance. If it were possible to imagine the passage of some Order in Council in Great Britain forbidding the importation of a certain line of Canadian manufactures into that country, closing its ports against cotton or woollen or iron goods, or even imposing a moderate duty upon those articles, would we not have an agitation, an excitement, and an activity on the part of the Government and the High Commissioner that would make things exceedingly lively for the British authorities? And would they have ceased from their efforts until they obtained the same admission for those goods that was formerly enjoyed? The question needs no answer. The privileged classes can enlist the whole intelligence and activity and energy of the Government on their behalf; but I will not believe, until we have proof to the contrary, that the farmer has obtained to equal advantage the intelligence and activity of the Government in this matter. I understood my hon. friend from North Wellington to urge that there should be Canadian experts at the port of landing. I think that is an exceedingly proper suggestion. As things are now, the Scotch experts differ from the English experts as to the condition of the cattle alleged to have been affected with pleuro-pneumonia. If there had been a Canadian expert, accustomed to seeing this disease in its occasional appearances among Canadian herds, he might have been able to see the difference between the two classes of disease. No doubt English experts have been unduly nervous and agitated about the possibility of introducing the contagion into that country, on account of the great losses suffered there in past years, and it is not to be wondered at that they should take advantage of anything even remotely similar to contagious pleuro-pneumonia. But if there were authoritative experts engaged on behalf of Canada—they

need not be Canadians, but should be men whose character as experts would be fully recognized in England—to assist the other experts in examining the cattle, the results might have been different. The Board of Trade should be really the tribunal before which these experts would appear as counsel for the different parties concerned—expert counsel for Canada, expert counsel for Scotland, and expert counsel for England. If that suggestion were carried out, I am sure the result would be satisfactory. Of course one cannot be positive as to what has been or what has not been done until we get the papers. We can only judge of the activity exercised by the results, until we see the actual correspondence. I have given my opinion, judging from the results, as to what energy has been shown by the Government. But when we have the correspondence, we shall be more able to estimate their action in detail. I hope there will be no delay whatever in bringing down the correspondence.

Mr. SPROULE. I would like to offer a few remarks in addition to what has already been said. Any one who has taken the trouble to read over the correspondence brought down last year or inquire into this difficulty, must, in all fairness, come to the conclusion that the Government have made every effort to have this embargo lifted. From the moment the announcement was made concerning the two cases of supposed diseased cattle that were brought over in the fall of 1892, and up to the present time, a series of efforts have been made to satisfy the demands of the Board of Agriculture in London and the British Minister of Agriculture. I can add very little to what has been said by the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) as to the importance of this matter. Its importance cannot be overestimated. The fact that the trade reached the large proportion it did in 1892, when we shipped about ninety thousand head of stockers to England, and the fact that these cattle were allowed to travel to any part of Great Britain without being slaughtered, whereas to-day every head shipped has to be slaughtered on arrival, shows the great importance of this matter to the Canadian people. In addition to that, a number of finished cattle were sent over, making an aggregate of 123,000 head in that year. It is true that for a few years there was a falling off, which falling off the hon. member for North Wellington accounts for in one way. But there is another way in which it can be accounted for, and that is that the supply was greater than the demand, and very naturally the consequent reduction in value made the trade less profitable and caused shippers to reduce their shipments. A good deal has been said here with regard to the action of the High Commissioner. But I must say, after looking over the correspondence, that, in my opinion,

no man could have more zealously defended the rights of Canada and more energetically endeavoured to have the embargo raised. Every letter and telegram that he sent, from day to day, showed the live interest he took in the matter. I must say, and I think the Canadian people as a whole will come to the same conclusion, that it was almost impossible to satisfy the demands made upon the other side. When it was announced that contagious pleuro-pneumonia had been found in Canadian cattle, this Government at once issued an order for an inquiry to be made in order to trace the source from which the suspected cattle came. One of the sources was Pilot Mound in Manitoba, but the examinations by the veterinary surgeons in that part of the country, and in every part of the country where the cattle came from, which went over in the vessels 'Hurona' and 'Monkseaton,' on which the supposed disease was alleged to have broken out, disclosed the fact that no contagious disease existed in any portion of Manitoba. That, however, did not satisfy the people on the other side. They wanted still further information, which was given them from time to time. Not only were examinations made in those localities whence the cattle were taken, but also in every part of the country—which examinations disclosed the fact that there had been no contagious pleuro-pneumonia among Canadian cattle and that it had never been known to exist—but in accordance with the further contention that our quarantine regulations were not sufficient to exclude importations from the United States, it was shown that the only laxity in the quarantine regulations was with regard to bringing in cattle into Manitoba and the North-west Territories from these western states where the disease was never known to exist. To satisfy the demands of the English people, however, an embargo was put on the importation of cattle from these western states, and our regulations were changed so as absolutely to prevent the possibility of the importation of diseased cattle from the other side. And as the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) said, owing, no doubt, to some irritation among the Americans on that score, the United States Government passed an Order in Council prohibiting the export of our cattle through their country and preventing the shipment of our cattle through American ports. We have since been confronted with another difficulty arising from this cause. Being shut out from the American ports, we are confined to the port of Montreal for our cattle shipments, and the steamboat owners of the lines leaving that port, being possessed of that selfish nature which appears to characterize people when able to control any line out of which they can make money, have combined together and regulated their freight rates so as to take all the profits that might be received by the Canadian exporter or the Canadian farmer

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through the rise of prices on the other side, because, as soon as the market goes up there, they raise the freight rates and, as Canadians are unable to ship from any other port, they must accept the conditions imposed, no matter how unreasonable they may be. The shippers are left in the unfortunate position of not being able to decide what price they can afford to pay for cattle in the country. I know that throughout western Ontario you cannot find a buyer prepared to give you a quotation for cattle. They do not know what they may be obliged to pay for freight or what margin they can work on, taking into account the condition of the market on the other side. They are asking that the Government introduce some legislation to control the steamship companies so that they may no longer be able to impose these onerous conditions upon the shippers of cattle. It appears to be a very difficult task to control those companies, as it will be regarded as a grave matter to interfere in the making of contracts between one party and another. But it seems to me that the trade is of so much importance to the country that the Government would be quite justified by the circumstances of the case in stepping in and passing a law to compel the steamship companies to announce their freight rates so that the cattle buyers may know how to govern themselves in the buying of cattle. It seems to me that the steamship owners have been acting in this matter in a very hoggish manner, to say the least of it. Last year, when the condition of the market made it possible for the people of Canada to send over certain lines of goods at a reasonable rate of profit, the steamship owners and the railway companies combined, or, at least, agreed, to raise rates, and thus took to themselves practically all the profit and left the parties engaged in the business of export agents without reasonable compensation for the trade they carried on. Only last summer, hay was in great demand in Britain, and the market price ruled high. The Canadian hay crop had been abundant and of superior quality, and parties went into the pressing of hay for export to the English market. I know that in my part of the country several presses were brought in and extensive operations were entered upon. The people engaged in this business based their calculations upon the ruling figures in the market at the time and upon the freight rates as they then existed. But, no sooner had they commenced operations than the steamship companies put up the freight rates, if I remember well, \$4 a ton, and the railway companies put up their rates \$2 a ton, thus between them taking away nearly all the profits in the trade. Instead of running up into hundreds of thousands of tons, the trade was limited to a very small proportion by this move on the part of the steamship and railway companies. It would seem

to be a very short-sighted policy on the part of these companies; for, if the carriage of hay at the prices quoted up to that time yielded fair returns, surely those rates would have been more profitable to them when there was a large quantity to be carried. We hold that such conduct on the part of these people would justify the Government in passing a law to prevent such interference with what might be a very important trade and one beneficial not only to the farmers, but to the country generally. Their actions in connection with the cattle trade are even worse. They will not tell the exporter what price he will be compelled to pay until after the cattle are on the vessel. Sometimes it is not until after the vessels are far down the St. Lawrence, or even on the ocean, that the first intimation is given as to what the freight rates are to be. Of course, it is clear that in offering prices for cattle, the buyers must take into consideration not only the price ruling in the market on the other side, but the freight through the accidents of the trade and the cost of carrying the cattle to Montreal, the port of shipment. They will go over this calculation very closely, and upon the margin they find they will strike the price that they pay to the farmers. But they are prevented from making that calculation by the action of the steamship owners, who decline to quote the freight rates until the cattle are in the vessel. It is easy to understand that, under these circumstances, when they buy at all, the cattle buyers must offer lower prices, because they must have a larger margin to work upon in order to save themselves from the danger of an increase in the cost of transportation. As the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) says, the trade being confined to the one port of Montreal, it is easy to control it, and the vessel owners are able to carry on their combine, or whatever you call it, and thus they can, and do, stand in the way of the trade, instead of helping the exporters to extend it and make it profitable to all concerned. I believe that every one who has given attention to the subject, will agree that, as I say, the Government will be justified in passing a law which, under other circumstances, might be regarded as arbitrary, to control the actions of these men in order to preserve to the country a trade so important as this. There are certain things that the Government might do to improve the situation. For instance, they might prevent vessel owners or steamship companies from becoming insurance companies. Sometimes the vessel owners compel a man who puts his cattle on their vessels to insure those cattle through their own agency at higher rates than could be secured in other insurance companies. This could be met by the means I suggest—by making a law, if necessary, to prevent steamship owners from acting as insurance agents. Again, the Government should compel the

steamship companies to announce their freight rates some time in advance, so that exporters may have something on which to base their calculations of the price they can afford to pay for cattle. The steamship companies should give a valid written or printed contract so that the exporter may know what he is doing and what he can pay to the farmers for cattle, I think the Government should go further, and prevent the sub-letting of space, for that system may have an injurious effect upon the trade. That was proved only two years ago, when some exporters bought up all the space and sold it at advance rates to others and actually prevented some from exporting who would otherwise have carried on this business. As to the embargo on our cattle in Great Britain, I firmly believe that the Government have done all that could be done to remove the embargo, and I was pleased to notice an item in one of the papers on Saturday which seemed to hold out hope that we may have that embargo raised before long. That item is as follows:—

TORONTO, April 21.—The 'Empire's' cable correspondent says: At last there is something definite in regard to the cattle embargo. The Right Honourable Herbert Gardner, president of the Board of Agriculture, promises to announce on Monday the decision of the Government in the matter. It is believed on good authority that a conditional removal of the restrictions for six months has been agreed upon.

Well, let us earnestly hope it has been; upon what terms we do not know, but we can only hope that favourable action may develop out of the condition of things existing at the present time. The hon. member for North Wellington said that the Government ought to appoint inspectors, veterinarians, to look after Canadian cattle landed in England. That suggestion was made last spring by the Committee on Agriculture, which looked into this subject very carefully. That committee advised that veterinarians should be appointed to look after our cattle on landing, as it was intimated if, when the cattle were slaughtered, a complete absence of pleuro-pneumonia was shown, the embargo would be removed. Advice was given to the Government to have veterinarians appointed there who would look after our interests. I think I am correct in saying that these were appointed, and the hon. member for North Wellington, I think, is not correct in saying that there was no person there to look after our interest. If I remember correctly, and I read some of the correspondence that went on between the High Commissioner and the Canadian authorities here, there were four or five veterinarians appointed there to look after the interest of the Canadian farmers. Three of them were English veterinarians, and two of them, I think, were Scotch. But after the slaughtering begun, and one or two

cases were brought to the notice of the Board of Agriculture, which appeared to show that pleuro-pneumonia existed, then a dispute began as to the diagnosis of the cases, and I think there was, perhaps, a little more laxity shown than was compatible with the interests at stake, in not keeping portions of the lungs under proper supervision from the time they were taken from the animals until the time they were subjected to a close microscopical inspection by the experts who were requested to do that work. I fancy there might have been a little more care exercised in that respect, so far as we can judge from the meagre information laid before us. But knowing that portions of the lungs were taken from the suspected animals, and that they were under seal and under care up to the time they were submitted to examination by the microscope, I believe the information disclosed was not by any means conclusive that contagious pleuro-pneumonia existed. The contention set up by those looking after Canadian interests was that these cases were rather of a sporadic character, or were rather cases of broncho pneumonia which might be developed in cattle taken, as many of the Canadian cattle were, from warm underground stables, or places where they were fed on distillery refuse, and then put upon vessels where they were exposed to the varying temperatures of an ocean voyage, and the knocking about on the vessel, and that this ordinary exposure itself was quite sufficient to start up pneumonia, although not of a contagious type. There seemed to be a difference of opinion between the experts who were looking after the interests of Canada and the experts who were representing the Board of Agriculture in England as to whether these cases were or were not contagious pleuro-pneumonia. But so far as any medical man can exercise a judgment on the information that was at our disposal, I think it is quite clear, as it was to the Canadian veterinarians, that these were not cases of contagious pleuro-pneumonia, but were rather cases of a sporadic character, of pneumonia, if pneumonia at all, and of a character that might arise at any time in cattle being transported from one part of the country to the other, on board vessels or in cars. Now, I believe the British Board of Agriculture were invited by our Government to send over their own veterinarians to Canada, who would be associated with veterinary surgeons of Canada, and they together should visit every part of the country and make a careful and thorough examination of the stock, in order to satisfy themselves whether pleuro-pneumonia had ever existed in this country. If I am correctly informed they refused to take advantage of that offer, which fact, to my mind, ought to be a conclusive evidence that on our part at least we had no apprehensions of any person being able to find the existence of pleuro-pneumonia in Canada, otherwise such a liberal offer as that would never have been made. I

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think it is to be regretted that the British authorities did not take advantage of that offer, when nothing else would satisfy them, and send over their own experts here so that we might satisfy them, if possible, that pleuro-pneumonia had never existed in the country. But at the present time I am glad to believe that there is an indication on the other side of a growing belief that pleuro-pneumonia does not exist here, because I notice that in an answer given to a deputation who interviewed the Minister of Agriculture in England and the Board of Agriculture in London, he intimated that it was pretty conclusively proven that pleuro-pneumonia did not exist in Canada, that they had under consideration the wisdom of raising this embargo, and that possibly they might decide to raise it. No doubt there was a strong influence at work on the other side to maintain this embargo, but I think that influence arose, not so much from a desire to protect English cattle from contracting a contagious disease, as from a desire, on behalf of the English farmer, to keep up the prices to a higher point than they could be kept if Canadian cattle were freely admitted. To my mind this is conclusive evidence that there is a disposition among some parties in England to introduce some form of protection there such as we have adopted in the interest of the Canadian people. It was not for the purpose of keeping out a contagious disease, because there was nothing in the correspondence that passed between the Minister of Agriculture in Canada and the British Board of Agriculture, or the High Commissioner in England, to prove that pleuro-pneumonia had ever existed here, or was likely to exist, because our quarantine regulations are such that we think it is impossible to import it into this country. Now, it is to be hoped that the negotiations that are being carried on will result in the raising of this embargo at an early date. It is very important to the Canadian farmer that it should be raised, and I am sure the Government are doing everything that can be done for the purpose of raising it. I am also sure that the High Commissioner was as zealous and as active and as energetic in his efforts to get that embargo raised as it was possible for any man to be in his position, since that unfortunate affair took place in the fall of 1892. I think that he is entitled to the thanks of the Canadian people for the efforts he has made, and for the untiring energy he has displayed in reference to that important question. Now, it will be remembered that last year a special committee was appointed to inquire into the subject and to ascertain what could be done, in addition to what had already been done, for the purpose of raising this embargo, and after that committee had gone carefully into the question, and after Professor McEachran and the Deputy Minister of Agriculture had submitted correspondence of what had taken place, what

the British people wanted, and the steps that had been taken by the Canadian Government to meet all their demands, as a result of this investigation a resolution was unanimously passed by the committee to the effect that in our opinion everything had been done that could be done for the purpose of raising that embargo, and we were unable to suggest anything further that could satisfy England that no pleuro-pneumonia existed in this country. I can only say that if the Government have displayed the same energy and zeal from that time to the present, as I have reason to believe they have, I am satisfied that it will be found, when this correspondence comes down, that every thing possible has been done for the purpose of getting that embargo raised. It is unfortunate that we have been unable to satisfy either the British Board of Agriculture or the Minister of Agriculture in London that pleuro-pneumonia does not exist, and is not likely to exist in Canada. At the same time I think no blame can be attached, either to the Minister of Agriculture or the Canadian Government, for I do not think anything has been left undone by them to have this embargo raised.

Mr. INNES. I am glad that the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) has brought this matter to the attention of the House, and I hope that the Bill introduced by the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) will bring about a much needed reform in the matter of rates charged by steamship owners for transporting cattle to Great Britain. If this Bill becomes law it will prove a positive advantage to the shippers who are interested in this business. I do not propose to discuss this matter, which has been so exhaustively dealt with by the hon. member for North Wellington and by the prospective Minister of Agriculture on the Government side; I only want to call the attention of the House to a paragraph that I will read from the annual report of the Board of Trade of the city of Guelph, which city I have the honour to represent, and which will give some idea of the importance and value of this trade to the country. The report says:

The cattle trade of which this city is the acknowledged centre, has assumed proportions of a highly gratifying character, and amply justifies the wisdom of the farmers of Wellington in devoting their time and experience to raising a superior breed of animals which are so well adapted to foreign markets. From railway sources, your council are pleased to report that the shipment of live stock from this point during the past year exceeding the very large amount of \$1,250,000.

Now, Sir, this large sum represents the value of cattle shipped from only one point, and although it is the most important shipping point in the province of Ontario, as well as of the Dominion, we can form some idea from these figures of the extent

and value of that trade throughout that province, and throughout the country. Looking at the matter in that light, it is of the utmost importance to have the best possible arrangement arrived at in regard to the exportation of our Canadian cattle to the old country. I hope the paragraph read by the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) a few moments ago will prove true, and that in the course of a day or two we shall have the announcement made that the Chairman of the Board of Agriculture in the old country has raised the embargo. But any one who has studied the question can well understand the immense influence and pressure brought to bear in the old country to prevent the raising of that embargo, and that it will and can only be after conclusive evidence has been brought to bear on that gentleman, not only by the Minister of Agriculture here, but also by at least a section of the agricultural interest at home, that the Chairman of the Board will be induced to raise the embargo. The House will recollect that shortly after the report appeared that some Canadian cattle were infected with pleuro-pneumonia, those agriculturists in Britain who were largely interested in the business made very great efforts to bring the matter before the Chairman of the Board of Agriculture, and they were ready to and did afford conclusive evidence, not only by the examination of veterinary experts and other authorities, but also by the united testimony of the farmers who had bought the cattle that no such disease existed, and all this evidence was brought together and published by a leading newspaper in Dundee, which possesses a large circulation. In spite of that, however, the embargo has been continued up to the present time. Referring to this paragraph that has been quoted, of course the amount of money largely represents the value of fat stock. We all understand that last year there were no stockers sent from Canada, and it is very rarely indeed that a large proportion of that kind is exported from my county, because our farmers generally feed them until they become cattle of high quality, and then ship them as fully fatted stock to the old country. But we find that taking the Dominion as a whole the value of the stocker trade is very large indeed, as can be shown by the returns made from the time the trade commenced, I think in 1887, up to the year the embargo was enforced. I recollect perfectly well that in that year a gentleman who was sent out to this country by a company at Aberdeen had very great difficulty in getting stockers or a vessel in which to take them. We are all aware how after the trade had commenced it rapidly increased. Representations have been made since the embargo was in force by farmers interested in those counties in Scotland through their members of Parliament, and various deputations have at different times waited upon the Chairman of the Board of Agriculture, with the object

of inducing him to raise the embargo. I had the advantage last year of travelling through several of the counties interested in this trade in the old country, and the farmers all united in stating that they much preferred Canadian cattle to any other. They said they were more docile, took to feeding as soon as they were landed, and as regards the quality of the meat, it was better than that of the cattle from Ireland or from the Continent. I brought this matter before the attention of the Select Standing Committee on Agriculture last year by a letter written by a gentleman in Aberdeenshire, who had made a study of the subject and was thoroughly acquainted with it, in which he impressed on the farmers of Canada the very great importance, and even necessity of maintaining the improvement in the breed of cattle so as to keep up the character and reputation of Scotch-fed cattle when sent to the London market. I trust that before many days have elapsed we shall have the announcement that the trade will be allowed to be carried on as it has been for years, and that the removal of the embargo will give fresh impetus to this very large and productive business, which is so essential to the prosperity of the farmers of Canada.

Mr. FEATHERSTON. I do not rise to find fault with the action of the Government, but as I have been interested in the cattle export trade for very many years I feel it to be my duty to express my views on this subject. The question of raising the embargo has been agitating the minds of the people. The reason why that embargo was imposed was due to the fact that disease existed amongst some of our cattle. The hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) has stated that it was doubtful whether the disease was pleuro-pneumonia or not. But we all know that doctors very often disagree, and I suggest to the Government that if the Minister of Agriculture were vigorously to take hold of the subject and deal with it, much good would result. I suggest this: that all Manitoba cattle, as well as cattle from other points, should be slaughtered here and shipped as dead meat to England and the Continent. We are all aware that the first cattle noticed to be diseased were cattle from Manitoba, and this is not remarkable when it is remembered that Manitoba cattle are from seven to ten days in the cars, besides having to endure an ocean voyage to some English port. I have frequently seen very many cattle from Manitoba that were not fit to ship—and besides, many of them were not allowed to be put on board. It is desirable to encourage some company to engage in the slaughtering of cattle brought from Manitoba, Ontario, and even Quebec, to be shipped as dead meat to Europe. The Americans ship live cattle and also dead meat. Everybody who is acquainted with the cattle trade is aware that shipments can be made at much lower rates as dead meat, and I am satisfied that the Government should encourage

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the slaughtering and shipment of dead meat as is done from Chicago. I now desire to present to the House a comparative statement of the cost of shipments of cattle dead and alive. The freight on 800 pounds of dead meat, which may be taken as an average weight of a carcase, is 14 shillings; commission, 2 shillings. Canadian railroad freight, 6 shillings; insurance, &c., 2 shillings; total, 24 shillings, or say \$6. On live cattle the ocean rate is 50 shillings per head; feeding, 10 shillings; insurance, 5 shillings; payment of men in charge, 3 shillings; Canadian railroad rate, 14 shillings; commission and expenses of slaughtering in England, 20 shillings; total, 102 shillings, or about \$25. Then, the commission and expense of feeding the cattle over in England amounts to 20 shillings. It may be thought that this is a pretty large sum, but, under the present restrictions our cattle have to be slaughtered within ten days after their arrival, and, as they generally remain in the lairs on an average of from six to seven days, the cost of their feed and expenses there amounts to 20 shillings, and is charged to the exporter. When the cattle are sold to a butcher in the lairs, he lets them remain there for about the time I have mentioned, because they get cooled off and are rested, and the beef is better than if they were slaughtered immediately after leaving the steamer. The expense of 20 shillings is incurred in that way, and it is a great drawback to the exporters, and a loss to the farmers, that such an amount has to be paid for the feed of cattle in England. This 20 shillings represents about \$5, and, therefore, the total cost amounts to 102 shillings, or \$25 per head. I used to ship a great many cattle, and I calculated that I was pretty safe when the cattle were landed in England at an average cost of \$27 per head. Last fall, however, I shipped some at an average cost of only \$24 per head; so that if you take the average cost at \$25 per head, there will be a difference of \$18 in favour of shipping the dead beef rather than the live animal. There is another question which enters into this matter. Some people say: "You lose the offal in this country; but that is worth more in England than it is here." That is true, and I estimate that loss on offal at \$5 per head, so that we have remaining a net gain of \$13 per head in favour of cattle shipped dead, as compared with those shipped alive. Some contend that the cattle will bring a better price if they are shipped to England alive. I admit that to be the case, if we could send the cattle into the interior of Great Britain, but when they have to be sent to the lairs in London, Liverpool, and Glasgow, and are obliged to be slaughtered there, and the dead meat has to be forwarded to the different markets, they do not sell for any more than the United States dead beef, which is slaughtered out here. A great many people believe that the beef is not as good as when the animals are shipped alive. That, however, is not the case, because I

know from experience that men in the dead meat trade in England would give more for the dead beef than for the live cattle, because beef that has been kept in cold storage for several days is better suited for consumption than the flesh of animals killed on arriving in England, and used immediately after being killed. I think it is the duty of the Government to make an attempt to encourage the cattle and dead meat industry in this country. They have granted, or are attempting to grant \$500,000 annually towards the carrying into effect of the French Treaty, which if done will bring French wines into competition with the grape industry of Canada, and yet our cattle trade has received no recognition in any way from the Government. It is true that inspectors have been appointed to oversee the cattle at the point of shipment, and to ensure that they go on board in a healthy condition. I am not opposed to that; I ask for it, and am in favour of it; but still, I believe that the Government should pay for these inspectors and not charge their salaries to the cattle exporters. I believe that the fee of so much per head which is charged on account of the salaries of the inspectors should be paid by the Government, and that all these obstructions on the cattle trade should be removed as far as possible. If the Government would encourage this trade, I am satisfied that it would be in the interests of the farmers of this country for them to do so. If the cattle were fattened here, our coarse grain and other agricultural products would be consumed at home. The hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) has said that we can export our hay. In my opinion it is a great mistake for any man who knows anything about farming to ship his hay from the farm, and especially so if he is only getting \$5 or \$6 a ton for it. If he can sell his hay occasionally at \$15 a ton, it would, I have no doubt, be profitable for him to sell a limited quantity; but it is the greatest mistake in the world for a man to allow hay to leave his farm at \$10 a ton, because he is depleting the farm of that amount of hay which should be consumed there and which should go to the improvement of his land. Any man who is in the habit of feeding stock regularly will find that his farm will produce twice as much per acre as the man who does not feed stock. That I know from my own experience, and the experience of my neighbours. Nothing will pay a man better than to feed all the hay and other produce he can on his farm, and by thus doing, he saves the expense and labour and the trouble of exporting his hay or grain and teaming it quite a distance, because if he feeds his cattle, he can drive them off on foot, and often realize out of one consignment, double the amount of money than he would by selling his hay and grain. The Minister of Agriculture, during his visit to the west last summer, advised the people to go into mixed farming. That is a good idea, and I would advise it myself, but the

Minister should know in what way to encourage that mixed farming. He should know whether cattle-feeding would be profitable to the people or not, and he should also know whether it is an advantage to the farmer to have his cattle slaughtered and exported as dressed meat, or whether it is better to export them alive. It would be a great advantage to the farmers of this country if the Government would make some attempt to encourage a slaughtering company to take charge of this business, and send over large quantities of dead meat, as the Americans do. If this were done, we need not fear whether an embargo was placed on our cattle or not. If the Government would encourage this trade for five years, I am satisfied that the industry would become established at the expiration of that period and would be able to protect itself. It would not be like those infant industries we have been encouraging for fourteen years, and which are not yet able to sustain themselves without being spoon-fed. I am satisfied that if the Government would take this question into their serious consideration and give some assistance towards the promotion of our dead meat trade, they would confer one of the greatest boons on the country that could possibly be thought of. I may state, in conclusion, that I am not now going to find fault with the Government. I wish to give advice, and I hope that the Government will take that advice. I trust that they will seriously consider what steps can be taken to encourage a company to go into this business by giving them a bonus or something of that sort for five years. If they do that, I am satisfied that at the end of five years the business will have become of such importance to the country that it will be one of our greatest industries, and will be beneficial as well to our farmers as to those engaged in it.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, as I am interested in this question, I wish to address a few remarks to the House. I heartily endorse the scheme that my hon. friend (Mr. Featherston) has proposed. I have thought upon this matter keenly for a long time, and I have come to the conclusion that we should have one or two slaughtering establishments in Canada in which a great many of our cattle could be slaughtered here and the beef exported to England. After visiting Chicago, and getting all the information I possibly could there, I am convinced that it is on account of their slaughtering so many cattle and curing the meat there, that the farmers are able to get better prices for cattle in the United States than they have been able to obtain in Canada. The beef trade is a very important trade in this country, and with very little encouragement it could be made far more important, so that if the Government wishes to give a bonus or a subsidy in any shape to assist the farmers, I am convinced that it could not go in a better direction than to encourage the establishment of one or two places where

our animals could be slaughtered here. I am very much pleased with the figures given by my hon. friend (Mr. Featherston) as to the relative cost of carrying live and dead animals to the old country market. I can corroborate his statement with respect to the live animals. Last year I paid over \$24 per head, and the year before it cost me \$27, so that I am perfectly convinced he was within the mark when he puts the cost of exporting live animals at \$25 per head. I have not studied out the question of the cost of sending dead meat to the English market, but I believe, from what I know, that the estimate given by my hon. friend from Peel (Mr. Featherston) is a very fair one. I hope the Government will take that into their serious consideration. Then, if our cattle are to be allowed to go into the British market, our Government ought to give a certificate of their freedom from tuberculosis. From a careful investigation of that question, and from my connection with those who have examined cattle with the view of ascertaining whether or not they are afflicted with this disease, I am able to state that, by testing them with the Koch lymph, it is possible to decide that question with certainty; and if the embargo is to be removed, I think the Government should apply that test to all cattle intended for shipment to the English market. All who have considered this question believe that to be an infallible test of tuberculosis; and if the Government do not adopt it, I am afraid that their neglect may be the means of having our cattle scheduled again at no very distant time. I can hardly agree with what the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) has said with respect to the steamship companies. While I am willing to give them all the blame that they deserve, I am not willing to give them any blame that does not properly belong to them. My experience is that when you insure with the steamship company that carries your stock, you get better rates than you would by insuring in an independent company. I have never applied to the companies without getting the necessary space. I have always shipped and insured with the same company, that is, Donaldson line, and I have always got all the accommodation I required. The only difficulty is that until the cattle are on the vessel, we can never learn what the freight rates are to be. I think that should not be the case; and if the Government are going to take any action at all to remedy that state of things, that action should be taken immediately, for we are within two weeks of the time when the present year's trade will begin. With regard to the inspection of cattle in the old country, I may say that last summer I crossed with a shipment, and when the cattle were landed at Glasgow there was not proper accommodation for slaughtering them, and the inspection was not what it ought to have been.

Mr. McMILLAN.

Forty or fifty animals were hung up, and, owing to the inspectors not being there, none of them could be taken down. I remained until the second morning after they were slaughtered, and they were still there. I think the Canadian Government ought to appoint inspectors at each port. Now, it is rather peculiar, after all we have been subjected to in the cattle trade, that it should be left to a private member of this House to bring in a Bill for its regulation. If the Minister of Agriculture had introduced a Bill for that purpose, he would have been able to get it passed much more speedily than a private member can. I think the Minister of Agriculture ought to use every effort to have American ports opened for the shipment of our cattle. There is no doubt that if that were done, it would be more effective in securing lower rates from the Montreal companies than all the legislation that this House could enact for that purpose. Before we were prevented from shipping our cattle from American ports, many Canadian cattle men were able to ship them from Boston at lower rates than they could obtain from Canadian lines. Therefore, I believe that the best means of bringing down the rates is to allow us to ship our cattle in bond through American ports, and I think a strong effort ought to be made to obtain that privilege. The Government have spoken of subsidizing a line of steamships to France to the amount of £100,000. That would be of no benefit whatever to the farmers of this country, because the treaty embraces no agricultural products which we could send to France. They also speak of granting a subsidy of \$750,000 for a fast line of steamers between Canada and Great Britain. That will not afford any relief whatever to the farmers and other producers of Canada. If we are to be relieved, the Government can relieve us in two ways. They can pass a Bill offering a certain subsidy for the establishment of slaughter-houses on the same principle on which they are established on the other side; and they could reduce the rates, or at least fix a maximum rate, and provide that the steamship companies shall inform anybody of the rates upon application. This would do away with the uncertainty under which cattle shippers labour before leaving home. I was a member of the committee which has been spoken of by the hon. member for East Grey. We spent three days inquiring into the matter, and we came to the conclusion that the Government had done all that they could do; but I hope the Government will adopt the recommendation I make to have the test applied for tuberculosis, for I am convinced, from what I know of the province of Ontario to-day, that if that is not done, and our cattle are admitted to the British market, it will be but a short time before they are scheduled again.

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

Mr. DALY. I may say, on behalf of the Government, that I have no objection to this motion; and when the papers are brought down, I think it will be found that the Government have used every possible endeavour to have the embargo removed by the British Government. As was shown in the discussion which took place in the Committee on Agriculture last session, and as has been admitted by hon. gentlemen who have taken part in the debate on this motion, the Government have used every effort to induce the British Government to view this matter in the light in which it is regarded by the Government and people of this country. One of the first objections raised by the Hon. Mr. Gardner, representing the British Government, was that the quarantine which existed in the old provinces did not exist in Manitoba, the North-west or British Columbia. When Mr. Gardner raised that difficulty, an Order in Council was passed, early last year, upon the joint recommendation of the Ministers of Agriculture (Mr. Angers) and of the Interior (Mr. Daly), and the President of the Council (Mr. Ives) having charge of the Mounted Police, establishing quarantine stations along the boundary between the United States and Canada in the North-west Territories, and establishing in addition to the quarantine which had existed for some years in Emerson, another station at Gretna. It is within the knowledge of the House that we have been getting a large number of settlers into our country from the western states, many of whom brought in their own cattle. In consequence of the representations made by the British Government with reference to this bringing of cattle into the North-west by settlers, without the cattle being subjected to the same quarantine as that established in the other provinces of the Dominion, it was ordered that in future no cattle, whether belonging to settlers or imported for other purposes, should be allowed into Canada at any point without being subjected to the ninety days' quarantine. Since the passing of that Order in Council, no cattle have been allowed into the North-west without undergoing this quarantine, whether imported by settlers as settlers' cattle, or for other purposes. I am satisfied, from the experience of people who have dealt in cattle in the western portion of Canada, that the diseases complained of have never been known to exist in the North-west Territories or Manitoba, nor have they been known to exist in the western states of the Union. The hon. member for Peel (Mr. Featherston) suggested that there should be a discrimination against the cattle of Manitoba and the North-west Territories, and that they should be slaughtered, and he based his suggestion upon the fact that one of the cattle alleged to have

been found suffering from pleuro-pneumonia, and which came over to England in the 'Monkseaton,' had been traced to Pilot Mound in southern Manitoba. The Department of Agriculture, through its veterinarians, ascertained from the exporter where and when and from whom he purchased the animal; the whole history of the animal was subjected to the closest scrutiny and investigation; and the report of the officers of the department was that the animal was not diseased and that there were no diseased animals in the neighbourhood.

Mr. FEATHERSTON. The hon. gentleman did not understand me. I did not advocate the slaughter of Manitoba cattle alone, but of Ontario as well, as an advantage over shipping live cattle, in consequence of the liability of the cattle to contract disease through the hardships of the voyage.

Mr. DALY. I certainly misunderstood the hon. gentleman. I may say that in addition to the investigations of the veterinarians employed by the Department of Agriculture here, we have had in Manitoba, for a number of years, district veterinarians appointed by the Local Government, the boundaries of whose jurisdiction is coterminous with those of the different counties in the province. Every few months, investigations are made by them, and they report to the local Department of Agriculture; and it is proved by the Department of Agriculture at Ottawa and the Department of Agriculture at Winnipeg that such a thing as pleuro-pneumonia has never existed, and does not exist, in Manitoba. As to the question whether cattle should be fattened here and then shipped to Great Britain, or whether we should continue to ship stockers, that is a disputed point among gentlemen who know more about it than I do. I have heard some of them say, in the course of this debate, that the farmers of Canada should fatten their cattle and export fatted cattle to be slaughtered on the other side. On the other hand, we find hon. gentlemen in this House, as well as people outside, giving their opinion that it would be better for us to ship stockers to be fattened by the farmers of Scotland and England. I have not the knowledge or the experience to give an authoritative opinion on that feature of the case. Ever since Parliament was prorogued last year the Government has been in communication, through the High Commissioner, with the British Government, and every effort has been made by this Government to induce the authorities in Britain to remove this embargo. Not long ago, in answer to a request of the British Government, a long and exhaustive memorandum upon this subject was prepared by the Minister of Agriculture, and I think that when a copy of that memorandum is brought down to this House, hon. members and the people of the country

at large will see that the Government have done everything in their power, have put forth every effort, in order to induce the Right Hon. Mr. Gardner and the British Government to look at this matter in the same light as they do. Apparently pressure has been brought to bear upon the Government in England by their Irish supporters which has prevented Mr. Gardner acting upon what appears to me to be his own individual feeling in this matter. We hope and trust that very soon the news will be flashed across that the embargo upon Canadian cattle has been removed. As to the question of freight rates, which has been discussed by hon. gentlemen who have had experience in this trade, that is a matter that, no doubt, will be considered before the Committee on Agriculture, and the views of these hon. gentlemen will be given before that committee. In conclusion, I may say that there is no objection to the passing of this motion.

Mr. O'BRIEN. Before any other hon. gentleman, rises I would like to call the attention of the Minister of Interior to the fact that he has said nothing with reference to the point raised by the hon. member for Huron (Mr. McMillan), who suggested that cattle leaving this country should be examined for tuberculosis. It seems to me that that is a matter of sufficient importance to engage the attention of the Government.

Mr. DALY. So far as tuberculosis is concerned, examinations have been made in Ontario and other provinces, and the department is of the opinion that they have safeguarded in every way the interests of the cattle dealers.

Mr. MULOCK. Will the hon. gentleman give particulars?

Mr. DALY. I cannot give particulars now.

Mr. MULOCK. The hon. gentleman has made a very broad statement. He says that the Government have caused the necessary tests to be made—if that is what we are to believe—throughout Ontario and the North-west—

Mr. DALY. I said the necessary investigations.

Mr. MULOCK. Sufficiently to meet the case? That is a very wild statement, I venture to say. That test cannot be generally effective unless it is applied to every animal in the country. My hon. friend from Huron (Mr. McMillan) proposes that the test should be applied to all animals before shipment to England, so that none would leave Canada that were not able to stand the test. I think it is unfortunate that a great department like that of Agriculture should have no mouthpiece on the floor of the people's House. That is the position we are in now;

Mr. DALY.

and I think the Minister of Interior will find that he has said far more than the facts will warrant in saying that this test has been sufficiently applied.

Mr. DALY. I said nothing about tests. I said an investigation was made by the Government.

Mr. MULOCK. I ask the hon. gentleman what he means by investigation.

Mr. DALY. I tell the hon. gentleman I cannot give him particulars just now.

Mr. MULOCK. What does the hon. gentleman mean by saying that investigation sufficient to meet the case has been made?

Mr. DALY. The department through its officers has made investigation where this tuberculosis is supposed to have existed. These officers have made their reports to the Department of Agriculture, upon which reports that department will take such action as the Government think necessary in the premises.

Mr. MULOCK. Of course the hon. gentleman has to some extent qualified his statement, and I am glad he has; because it was of a misleading character, and I am only too glad to allow him to put himself right. The impression sought to be left upon this House—I will not say sought to be left upon the House, but certainly I may say the impression left upon the House—was that the Government have made the necessary investigation and that they are able to tell us in fact that there was no tuberculosis. Now, the investigation cannot be made with the eye and cannot be made by the ordinary agents of the Government. The only way this test can be made is in a scientific way, and the people have not heard of its being made in that way. The report of the Government that the condition of affairs was satisfactory, scientific tests not having been made, was not of the slightest value.

Mr. DALY. I said it was made by the Government veterinarians.

Mr. MULOCK. Then I am to understand that the Government veterinarians have made the tests?

Mr. DALY. I said investigation.

Mr. MULOCK. Well, then, will the hon. gentleman say what form the investigation took?

Mr. DALY. I have already told the hon. gentleman that I have not the detailed information at hand.

Mr. MULOCK. Then the hon. gentleman does not know whether proper tests were

applied or not, and so I come back to the original position and say that he has made a statement which is absolutely misleading.

Mr. SPEAKER. Order. The hon. gentleman has no right to say that an hon. member has made misleading statements.

Mr. MULOCK. I bow to your decision, Mr. Speaker. With all respect to that decision I think I am right in saying that we are entitled to question the accuracy of a statement that is made. If it be a misleading statement which leaves the country to understand that tests have been made, when the hon. gentleman does not tell us what these tests were, that statement should not be made. There is only one test known to science at the present time, and the hon. gentleman cannot say that that test has been made; how then, can he say that veterinarians have made the necessary investigation? What does it mean? In order that there may be no mistake, I would ask, is the hon. gentleman prepared to tell the House whether the investigation by the method known as the Koch test has been made?

Mr. DALY. Yes. If the hon. gentleman will read the report of the Department of Agriculture he will find the facts stated there.

Mr. MULOCK. Very well; the hon. gentleman says that the necessary investigation by the method known as the Koch test has been made throughout Canada.

Mr. DALY. I did not say throughout Canada. I said the necessary investigation had been made by the department.

Mr. MULOCK. Where?

Mr. DALY. I will read in a few moments the report of the Department of Agriculture, if the hon. gentleman wishes. That is the only information I have and the only information I can give him.

Mr. MULOCK. I only wish to leave the debate in proper shape. It would be an unfortunate thing were the Government to assume that everything has been done that can be done, if such were not the case. It would be a very unfortunate thing if in a great question like this, by any oversight or error of judgment, any precaution should be neglected. If the hon. gentleman intended by what he said to indicate that the Government had arrived at a final conclusion after having exhausted all the means in their reach, then it is extraordinary that the public have never heard of it before. It is an amazing thing if the only scientific test possible has been applied throughout the length and breadth of this country and yet the public not know it. Therefore, I fear the hon. gentleman has spoken somewhat rashly and has overstated the case.

Mr. LANDERKIN. I hope the Government will leave no stone unturned to arrive at a solution of the difficulties that beset this trade. I understand that some of those most heavily interested in the cattle trade have withdrawn from the business in Canada owing to the difficulties attendant upon the shipment of cattle from Montreal. If it is possible by legislation to improve this condition of things, it is highly desirable indeed that the Government, if they have the power and the authority to do so, should do so at once. It is well that the investigations that are made should be thoroughly made, so that the public can be assured that there is no disease of this character in Canada, and such an assurance would go further, perhaps, to remove the embargo than anything else. It is highly desirable that a thorough, complete and searching investigation should be made in order to assure the people of Great Britain that no contagious disease exists among our cattle, and when that is fully understood by the Imperial authorities there is no doubt that the embargo will be removed, and our cattle will be allowed to go into Great Britain as formerly. No doubt this embargo entails serious losses on our cattle shippers, and makes the raising of cattle less profitable than it otherwise would be, and in order to relieve this state of things, the very closest and most thorough investigation of the whole subject should be had by the Government. There should be no delay, because the season will soon open, and delays will be fatal and ruinous to the profits of those who are engaged in the business. Therefore I wish to endorse what has been said so well in urging upon the Government to lose no time, if it is within their power and within their jurisdiction, to devise better facilities for shipping cattle at our ports, and also, if at all possible, to get the embargo in England removed. I remember at a previous session of Parliament it was stated that the High Commissioner had prevented the embargo being placed upon our cattle. It was stated that there was no disease then existing of that character, but there was great danger of an embargo being placed on our cattle, and it was only through the almost superhuman exertions, and the powerful ability and skill of the High Commissioner, that this misfortune was averted at that time. I remember that it was said later on that if a change took place in the fiscal policy of this country it would probably tend to bring about this very embargo upon our cattle with which we were threatened. I remember that was the stock and trade used by hon. gentlemen on the Government benches a few years ago. Well, we find that the embargo has actually taken place, and we are naturally prompted to ask the question how it is that if the High Commissioner was powerful enough a few years ago to prevent this embargo, his influence

has so far diminished that he is no longer able to prevent it. Has his power and his influence diminished in Britain? How is it that when he was comparatively unknown in Britain he was able to prevent the scheduling of our cattle, and that now, after a long residence abroad, he has proved himself unable to prevent the British Government from placing this embargo, and that at a time when the Minister of the Interior gets up and states that there is not a single case of pleuro-pneumonia in Canada, nor has there been a single case? How is it that the Government here were not able to impress this fact upon the British authorities, so that we might have been saved the great loss that this embargo has inflicted on our farmers and cattle shippers? I do not know that the Government are deserving of censure; I won't say that; but this matter has been considered for a good while, and full information has not been brought down to the House showing what steps the Government have taken in order to avoid this loss and detriment to the cattle trade. It is very desirable that all the papers should be brought down, and that the Minister of Agriculture should be in the House so that he could inform us what steps have been taken, or that some other Minister should make himself acquainted with the means that have been employed by the Government in order to remove this difficulty and loss to our cattle shippers, and furnish information to the House that would quiet the public mind on this question. It is highly desirable that the fullest light should be thrown upon this question in order that we can convince the British Government that our cattle have no contagious disease, and that no injury to the cattle of Great Britain can arise from our cattle being allowed access to the British market. When our Government have convinced the British Government that this disease does not exist here, I think they will have no difficulty whatever in having the embargo removed.

Motion agreed to.

EXPORTS TO THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. CHARLTON moved for:

Return showing the exports to the United States for the last fiscal year, of articles the export of which to the United States exceeds in value the exports of the same to all other countries, which return shall give: 1. A detailed classification of the description of articles, commodities or wares, under the general subdivisions of products of the mines, products of the fisheries, animals and their products, agricultural products and manufactures, coming within the scope of the inquiry; 2. The value of each class of articles exported to the United States and exported to all other countries; 3. The totals of value under each general subdivision ex-

Mr. LANDERKIN.

ported to the United States and exported to all other countries; 4. The grand total of values under all the general subdivisions exported to the United States and exported to all other countries.

He said: The motion which I submit to the House calls for information upon a question which will have an important bearing upon the discussion of our trade relations with the United States and with other countries. The House is aware that the legislation of Canada and the legislation of the United States as well, since the year 1867, has been of a repressive character, and this repressive legislation was so intensified by the action of the American Government in 1890 that one might almost look for a total, or almost total, obliteration of trade between these two countries. Taking into account the character of the legislation with reference to trade passed by the Legislatures both of Canada and the United States, that trade to any considerable extent does exist between these two countries, is a striking proof of the fact that the natural conditions of the two countries are highly favourable to extensive trade relations. Now, Sir, I wish to inform the House that when this motion was reached the other day, in passing over unopposed motions, I was informed by the Finance Minister that the Government would hardly grant the request made in the motion and compile the information which it calls for. I think very likely the Finance Minister will reconsider that decision, and in the anticipation that he will do so, I propose to outline the character of the information that I wish to obtain from him, or in his absence, from the Controller of Customs, or in the absence of the Controller of Customs, from some other member of the Government. The motion calls for information in regard to all articles exported from Canada to the United States in excess of the exports of the same article to all other countries in the world. Now, in view of the character of the commercial legislation of these two countries, in view of the fact that our own tariff seeks to hamper trade with the United States, of the fact that the American tariff is in the highest degree unfavourable to trade with Canada, it would seem almost an absurdity to expect that in any article our exports to the United States should be in excess of our exports in the same line to all other countries. When we come to examine the Trade and Navigation Returns they furnish a revelation of a very remarkable character as bearing upon this point. I have drawn some statistics from those returns which I will lay before the House in the fear that my hon. friend, the Minister of Finance, will not permit the authorities of the Customs Department to compile the information. I will read to the House some of the statistics I have gathered from the Trade and Navigation Returns:

EXPORTS to the United States and to all other countries of articles the export of which to the United States exceed the export to all other countries.

| Articles or classification of exports the produce of Canada. | United States. | All other Countries. |
|--|----------------|----------------------|
| Products of the mine. | \$ 4,756,280 | 573,610 |
| do forest. | 13,859,960 | 12,499,950 |
| Fresh water fish and salt water fish, fresh. | 1,287,822 | 4,642 |
| Horses. | 1,123,339 | 337,818 |
| Swine. | 130,093 | 15,997 |
| Sheep. | 1,088,814 | 159,041 |
| Poultry. | 52,114 | 9,013 |
| Bones. | 58,444 | 10,282 |
| Hides. | 385,246 | 7,122 |
| Sheep pelts. | 66,939 | 16 |
| Wool. | 228,030 | 281 |
| Flax. | 124,082 | ..... |
| Berries. | 96,104 | 115 |
| Fruit, N.E.S. | 24,646 | 1,114 |
| Barley. | 638,271 | 306,084 |
| Beans. | 351,058 | 4,624 |
| Hay. | 854,958 | 597,914 |
| Straw. | 25,117 | 932 |
| Maple sugar. | 48,174 | 1,477 |
| Trees, shrubs and plants. | 11,969 | 232 |
| Potatoes. | 259,176 | 162,782 |
| Vegetables. | 105,836 | 10,404 |
| Other articles. | 27,096 | 1,577 |
| Fertilizers. | 7,706 | ..... |
| Furs. | 6,664 | 2,103 |
| Grindstones. | 24,754 | 948 |
| Gypsum. | 27,091 | 2,366 |
| Household effects. | 1,246,085 | 37,081 |
| Lime. | 97,898 | 8,207 |
| Barrels. | 10,631 | 6,297 |
| Household furniture. | 123,872 | 50,749 |
| Wood pulp. | 424,253 | 1,640 |
| Other manufactures. | 249,752 | 117,727 |
| Bullion. | 309,459 | ..... |
| | 23,132,233 | 14,932,145 |
| Coin, silver and gold, not produce of Canada. | 3,824,239 | ..... |
| Total, including coin not produce. | 31,956,472 | ..... |

as large during the last fiscal year as in 1866, and I wish now to point out the striking influence exercised by the McKinley Bill, with its additional restrictions upon our trade and upon the exports of this country. I will take eleven or twelve of the chief articles, and make a comparison between the years 1890 and 1893. The McKinley Bill went into operation in October, 1890, and the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1890, was the last fiscal year before the higher duties went in operation, and I make a comparison between that year and the fiscal year ending 30th June last. The statistics are as follows:—

COMPARISON in Export of Farm Products, 1890-1893.

| Name of Articles. | 1890. | 1893. |
|-------------------|--------------|-------------|
| Horses. | 1,887,895 | 1,123,339 |
| Cattle. | 104,623 | 11,032 |
| Swine. .... | ..... | ..... |
| Poultry. | 105,612 | 52,114 |
| Eggs. | 1,793,104 | 324,355 |
| Wool. | 235,436 | 228,030 |
| Flax. | 175,563 | 124,082 |
| Barley. | 4,582,562 | 638,271 |
| Split pease. | 74,215 | 4,214 |
| Hay. | 922,797 | 854,958 |
| Malt. | 149,310 | 19 |
| Potatoes. | 308,915 | 259,176 |
| Rye. | 113,320 | 5,302 |
| | \$10,453,352 | \$3,624,892 |

In the list of articles enumerated, we exported, in 1890, the value of \$10,453,352; in 1893, we exported, of like articles, to the value of \$3,624,892; or, there was a falling off of six and three-quarter millions. These figures are startling.

Having shown the effect of repressive legislation on our exports to the United States, I propose next, and very briefly, to show what has been the current of trade in lines not affected by the repressive legislation of the McKinley Bill. I propose to show what, on certain lines, in regard to which our conditions have remained unchanged or have been slightly modified, has been the character of that kind of trade. I take first, the products of the forests. There has been a slight amelioration in the American burdens imposed on the products of the forests since 1890. In that year we exported products of the forests to the value of \$10,247,000. We exported, in 1893, the value of \$13,859,960; an increase of \$3,612,320, or 35 per cent. Of the products of the mines we exported, in 1890, the value of \$3,963,257. In 1893 we exported similar products to the value of \$4,756,286, or an increase of \$793,023, or 20 per cent. Of wood pulp, we exported, in 1890, the value of

If we have a trade with the United States of \$28,000,000 odd against \$15,000,000 with the rest of the world, it is a striking proof of the assertion I have made that the natural conditions of trade between Canada and the United States are, in the highest degree, favourable, and the existence of this large trade, in articles named, between Canada and the United States, as compared with the rest of the world is proof of the assertion.

I desire next to point out the influence that has been exercised by increased restrictions on the part of the United States in their legislation with respect to our trade. I said a moment ago that repressive legislation had existed ever since 1867. The influence of that legislation has been to cripple our trade with the United States since that time. Our exports to that country are not

\$147,098; 1893, the value of \$424,253, or an increase of \$277,155, or 190 per cent increase. These figures tell their own tale. On the one hand, we find that where repressive legislation has been passed, the exports affected have shrunk very greatly; on the other hand, where the McKinley Bill has not affected the exports, the trade has gone on increasing largely during the last three years. These figures prove beyond all question that the effect of the McKinley tariff was most disastrous as regards trade with Canada; they prove, furthermore, that, notwithstanding all the restrictions imposed by the United States, we export to them of these articles \$2 for every \$1 we export to all other countries.

I next refer to the exports of iron ore. The quantity of iron ore shipped from the entire Dominion last year was 26,114 tons, of which 15,000 tons came from the province of Ontario. In the lake region the trade in iron ore last year amounted to about 6,000,000 long tons, and the year before it amounted to over 8,000,000 tons. This vast amount of iron ore was taken from the mines of northern Michigan and a portion of Minnesota, shipped down the lakes and transhipped at Cleveland, Ashtabula, Erie and Buffalo, for use in the furnaces of the states of Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York. We have limitless quantities of ore just as accessible as the mines from which this vast supply comes, and that business, employing a large proportion of the lake marine, that business putting into circulation \$20,000,000 or \$30,000,000 a year, is a business in which we share to the extent of a paltry 15,000 tons, against the volume of 8,000,000 tons in the United States. We are shut out from that business by the operation of these repressive laws, and if the duty on ore were removed, in place of these 15,000 tons, we might reasonably hope to share almost equally with the western states in that vast volume of trade—a trade which would put into circulation in Canada, in all human probability, \$10,000,000, or \$15,000,000 annually.

Now, with regard to stone. Our total export of stone last year amounted to \$46,000 worth from the entire Dominion, of which \$16,665 worth was exported from the province of Ontario. The United States last year used \$27,000,000 worth of stone, and a considerable proportion of this building material was used in the cities in the great lake basin: Chicago, Milwaukee, Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, Erie, Buffalo, all cities growing rapidly. These are cities with an aggregate population of two and a half millions, and we are totally debarred from participation in that trade in structural material with these great populous centres, because the American tariff is absolutely prohibitory with regard to the importation of quarry products into that country. We have on the north shore of Lakes Superior and Huron as fine quarries as are found upon this continent; certainly the finest quarries in the great

lake basin, and with the removal of these restrictions upon the importation of structural materials into the United States, a trade of hundreds of thousands of dollars if not of millions of dollars, would be developed in quarry products in the lake region alone.

I allude to these statistics for the purpose of illustrating what I desire in the motion I have made; for the purpose of illustrating what these returns will show: That the trade between Canada and the United States cannot be strangled, that the natural conditions for that trade are so eminently favourable that trade will exist and continue to exist in large volume notwithstanding the utmost efforts of hostile legislation upon the part of Congress on the one hand and of this Parliament on the other. These figures show that with all this repressive legislation extending from 1867 down to the present moment, we export in that long list of articles I have enumerated, over \$28,000,000 to the United States and less than \$15,000,000 to all the rest of the world. If that is the case, Mr. Speaker, with these repressive measures that are in force, the imagination can scarcely conceive the impetus that would be given to, and the enlargement that would take place in the export trade of this country to the United States if the barriers were removed. Why, Sir, in the case of barley, these returns show that the exports have shrunk from \$4,583,000 to a paltry \$638,000 in three years; in eggs, from \$1,793,000 to \$324,000 in three years; in malt, from \$149,310 to \$19 in three years; and so all along the line.

It is stated by the Government that they are anxious to promote the trade of Canada with the rest of the world, and that they are very anxious to find new markets. They have sent an embassy to Australia recently; they have professed to make attempts to reach markets in the West Indies; and they have professed—I say professed, Mr. Speaker—to endeavour to obtain reciprocity with the United States. Now, if that profession is sincere, and if their efforts have been honest in that direction, we, of course, have no just ground of complaint against the Government; but I think that there is an infallible test of the sincerity of the Government, and a test which proves beyond question their insincerity in this matter. You have noticed, Mr. Speaker, and so have I, that wherever the question of reciprocity is debated in this House, the orators upon the other side strive to impress the country with the belief that it is not desirable. That is invariably the case. Whenever the Government and their supporters go upon the stump in the country while professing to be in favour of reciprocity, their whole attention and their entire efforts are directed to an attempt to convince the people whom they are addressing that reciprocity is not a desirable thing to ob-

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tain. That is what they seek to do always. They profess to be in favour of reciprocity, yet out of the same breath they betray their hostility to the measure by the course they take in belittling it and striving to prove to the country that it is undesirable and likely to be detrimental to the interests of Canada. I say that this course, which they adopt, is beyond question a proof of their insincerity with regard to reciprocity. There is a great deal said the purpose of which is to deceive the public. We have the changes rung upon the assertion that the United States will require from us preferential treatment. Well now, do we suppose, Mr. Speaker, that we can effect a reciprocity arrangement with the United States, an arrangement that would permit of free admission of the natural products of this country into the United States, without securing preferential treatment from them. At the very outset we must secure preferential treatment from the United States. We can secure reciprocity in no other way. We ask them to admit our iron ore, our structural material, our agricultural products, our animals and their produce; we ask them to admit this entire list of articles into the markets of the United States upon a preferential basis; upon the basis of a nation more favoured than other customers of the United States. We can only secure this concession upon preferential lines. We ask the United States to extend to us preferential treatment. Will the United States not say: Yes, if you will extend to us the same favour, if you will give us preferential treatment in your market we will give you preferential treatment in our market. I ask, Sir, is there anything unfair in this proposition in the abstract as laid down? If we apply to a great nation upon our borders for preferential treatment, is it reasonable for us to say: We will take preferential treatment from you, but we will grant you no preferential treatment in return. Can we expect an arrangement upon that basis? Certainly we cannot; and if we are getting preferential treatment from them, which we must get if we obtain an arrangement for the free admission of our products into their country—unless, of course, they adopt absolute free trade—it is only reasonable to say that we should give preferential treatment in return, and the only question to settle is: to what extent we should receive it and to what extent should we give it in return. Now, the position of the Government all through these reciprocity negotiations; all through the reciprocity discussions, has been a position of utter hostility. Talk about discrimination. Have we ever discriminated in favour of other nations and against Great Britain? Is there not a treaty before the House at this moment that does that very thing? Have we not done it before, and is there no probability that we can make an arrangement with the United States and afford preferential treatment in

our markets to a long list of manufactured articles without interfering with England's interests. Certainly there is. We can place upon the preferential list in an arrangement with the United States, almost every article upon which a duty is paid when it is imported from that country, without interfering with the interests of Great Britain. What articles could we enumerate in that category? We could take coal oil, barbed wire, binding twine, agricultural implements, locomotives, cars, steam threshers, axes, spades, printing paper, wall paper, leather, boots and shoes, carriages, clocks, watches, glassware of a certain kind, nails, tools, safes, printing presses, manufactures of wood, certain grades of cotton goods, furniture, engines, wood machinery, saw-mill machinery, and many other articles; and place them upon the list for preferential treatment without in the slightest degree interfering with England's interest in this country. We could give the United States an ample return for all the preferential treatment we could ask for from them without interfering with England's interest in the smallest degree. We should remember that England, in all her treatment of her colonies, is not niggardly and grasping, but generous. She has always been generous in permitting us to promote our own interests in our own way, and she would never raise the slightest objection to any arrangement we proposed to make with the United States for our own great advantage, even though it were attended with slight inconvenience and loss to herself.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I should not have entered upon this question at any length to-night but for the fact that it is being dealt with at the present moment by the Conservative press. That press seeks to place the entire question upon a false basis, to misrepresent it and to mislead the public in regard to it. I have before me an editorial in the Montreal 'Gazette' of Friday, April 20, from which I will cull two or three expressions. This article says:

The governing power of the United States absolutely refuses to open the door on any terms save commercial union.

Further on it says:

We challenge them to produce a single utterance of a responsible public man in the United States favouring reciprocal trade with Canada on any other terms than a common tariff along the seaboard, regulated by the American Congress and applicable to all other countries, including Great Britain.

And further:

A few years ago Sir Richard Cartwright, Mr. Charlton, and other leaders of the Opposition expressed a willingness to accept the American conditions, and to discriminate against Britain; to-day they repudiate and disavow any such purpose.

In the Ottawa 'Citizen' of this morning I also find an editorial, in which the following statement is made :

What arrant hypocrisy it is for the Liberals to pretend that they can have any other trade arrangement with the United States by treaty than commercial union? In discussing the budget the Liberal leaders took pains to denounce commercial union. Mr. Charlton said: "The Liberal party have never formulated such a policy." If that is not the policy of the Liberal party it is at all events the only concession that could be obtained from the United States. Are the Liberals prepared then to allow the United States to impose their tariff upon us against all the world while removing the custom-houses between the two countries?

Now, Mr. Speaker, that is the gist of the charges made by the Conservative press—that we can only get reciprocity upon the basis of commercial union, that we must have a common tariff, that that tariff must be enacted by the Congress of the United States, that we must surrender our fiscal independence and our commercial autonomy and become the vassals of the United States. These are the charges which are rung and rung again. The Liberals are accused of being in favour of these things. It is asserted again and again that the Americans have never shown any indication that they would give us reciprocal trade on any other basis. By this means it is sought to deceive the people of Canada and to raise a false issue with regard to this reciprocity question. Now, Sir, this statement of the case has been explicitly denied by the president of the United States; it has been explicitly denied by the late Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Blaine; it has been explicitly denied by a subsequent Secretary of State of the United States, General John G. Foster. And on May 31st, 1887, Hon. Thos. G. Bayard, then United States Secretary of State in Cleveland's Administration, in a letter to Sir Charles Tupper, stated that he and his Government were in favour of "a statesmanlike treatment, on a liberal and statesmanlike plan, of the entire commercial relations of the two countries, without affecting the political relations or legislative independence of either." It may be asserted without hesitation that the statement of the case made by the gentlemen on the opposite side of the House is totally destitute of truth or foundation. The truth is that the so-called commissioners from Canada went to Washington and refused to entertain propositions made on the basis of Canada placing on the free list for preferential treatment a list of manufactured goods, of course in return for the placing on the free list for preferential treatment by the United States of a long list of Canadian natural products. We do not deny, at least I do not deny, that it will be necessary to accord the United States preferential treatment for a certain list of manufactured goods in

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return for preferential treatment by them for a certain list of natural products and the same list of manufactured goods for which we grant them preferential treatment. That is not denied; but we do deny that commercial union is necessary or that a common tariff is necessary; we deny that our commercial autonomy is to be surrendered or our commercial independence in the slightest degree to be impaired. We assert that whatever the conditions of that reciprocity may be, it is to be in the form of a treaty, the terms of which are to be definitely fixed by the common consent of both countries; and, outside of the list of manufactured articles and natural products to be placed on the free list for preferential treatment by both countries, all other articles will be dealt with by the respective legislatures of the two countries, who will be free to impose customs duties upon them or to place them on the free list as they may please and determine. It will be remembered that last session the Minister of Finance for Canada was interviewed by a press reporter. The President's message had just been made public, and certain statements had been made in that message with regard to reciprocity negotiations with Canada. In the 'Empire' newspaper, Mr. Foster, the Minister of Finance is reported to have spoken as follows:—

I need not say that it causes surprise and regret—surprise at the nature of some of the statements made, and regret at the unfriendly tone adopted towards Canada. The statement that Canada was only prepared to offer to the United States the admission of natural products is not full enough to convey an accurate idea of what took place. The Canadian representatives asked those of the United States if they were prepared to consider an arrangement on the basis of free admission of the natural products of both countries, as in the treaty of 1854, with such enlargements and modifications as the changed conditions of the two countries made necessary.

Which enlarged conditions he afterwards said applied exclusively to natural products.

The reply was a negative. With a view, then, to clear the ground for arrangement wider than that: if such could be done, Mr. Blaine was asked as to certain conditions of a possibly wider arrangement, among others, whether the United States would insist upon a uniform tariff and would demand preferential treatment in our markets as against British and foreign goods.

The answer was that a uniform tariff would be necessary, and that too on the line of the present United States tariff and that the United States could admit of no arrangement which did not give United States goods favoured treatment as against foreign goods especially those of Great Britain, who was their chief competitor. To these propositions, the Canadian representatives declined to agree. The conference then broke off, so far as regarded the consideration of the commercial question.

This interview was brought to the attention

of General Foster, the United States Secretary of State, who was present at the conferences between the Canadian commissioners and the Hon. James G. Blaine, at that time Secretary of State. General Foster took up the points of that interview, and his version was given to the press on the 12th of December. It was as follows :—

During the reciprocity conference of last winter, Mr. Blaine did not insist that in a reciprocity arrangement a uniform tariff would be necessary for both Canada and the United States, nor much less, that it should be on the lines of the present United States tariff. He did ask that the schedule should be confined to natural products, but should include an agreed list (not an unlimited list, but an agreed list) of manufactured goods, and that the reciprocity should be confined to Canada and the United States, and because of these two conditions the negotiations were fruitless.

Now, the statement made by the Government last session, contained in sessional paper 52 of volume 11, was made on the 7th March, 1893. And this statement repeats that made by Mr. Foster on the 11th of the previous December. It repeats the statement that the United States Government had required a common tariff, and had insisted that the duties should be the same in both countries. Now, Mr. Blaine, at the call of the Senate of the United States, under resolution passed on the 24th February—more than a year previous to the date of this Canadian minute—submitted to the President of the United States his version of the proceedings of the United States commissioners. And his version was dated 15th April, eleven months previous to the date of this communication made by the Finance Minister and the other Canadian Ministers. Now, Mr. Blaine was not answering this communication, but was answering a resolution of the Senate of the United States, passed a few days after the commissioners were in Washington. These negotiations took place the 10th, 11th, and 12th of February. The resolution of the United States Senate was passed on the 24th February, immediately on the close of these negotiations, asking the President of the United States to submit to the Senate a statement concerning them. The President submitted on the 20th June, 1892, Mr. Blaine's statement of April 15th, made—months before the statement of our Government on the matter—in pursuance of this resolution. Is the statement made in the 'Gazette' article, that there is no proof obtainable that the United States have shown any disposition to make a reciprocity treaty with Canada, borne out by the language of the President of the United States, when transmitting his statement? Is that borne out by the statement of Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State? On the contrary, both the statement of the President and that of the Secretary of the United States go to show that the United States expressed their willingness to nego-

tiate a reciprocity treaty. They go to show that the United States commissioners at the outset—as Mr. Blaine has said in his letter of the 29th January, 1891—would entertain no proposition for reciprocity confined to natural products. The United States had uniformly occupied that position and made that assertion since the treaty was abrogated in 1866. We never had the slightest reason to suppose that the United States would consider for a moment the propriety of negotiating a reciprocity treaty, based upon natural products alone. Both the President and Mr. Blaine did say, however, that their Government was prepared to negotiate a reciprocity treaty which should include a list of manufactured articles. The President said, in transmitting this document of Mr. Blaine's to Congress :

Previous experiments on this line (that is on the line of reciprocity in natural products) had been unsatisfactory to this government. A treaty that should be reciprocal in fact and of mutual advantage must necessarily have embraced an important list of manufactured articles.

Not commercial union, not an unlimited list of manufactured articles, but an important list.

And have secured to the United States a free or favoured introduction of these articles into Canada as against the world. But it was not believed that the Canadian ministry was ready to propose or assent to such an arrangement.

The President concluded by saying :

It is not for this Government to argue against the announcement of Canadian official opinion. It must be accepted, however, as the statement of a condition which places an inseparable barrier in the way of the attainment of that large and beneficial intercourse and reciprocal trade which might otherwise be developed between the United States and the Dominion.

Might otherwise be developed. But for the refusal of the Canadian Commissioners to consider the basis of an arrangement that the United States was ready to consider and to form a treaty upon. Then what does Mr. Blaine say :

The commissioners were informed that the government of the United States would not be prepared to renew the treaty of 1854 nor to agree upon commercial reciprocity which should be confined to natural products alone, and that, in view of the great development of industrial interests in the United States and of the changed conditions in the commercial relations of the two countries since the treaty of 1854 was negotiated; it was regarded as of essential importance that a list of manufactured goods should be included in the schedules of articles for free or favoured exchange in any reciprocity arrangements which might be made.

And the Canadian Commissioners, according to Mr. Blaine's statement, declined to treat upon this basis. They said :

If any considerable list of manufactured goods of the United States should be admitted free into Canada, it would entail a material loss to the Dominion treasury, and if the same favours were likewise extended to the merchandise of other countries, the loss of revenue would be much greater. They felt that they would not be able to recoup these losses by other methods of taxation.

There is the case substantially. On the one hand the assertions, on the part of the Canadian Commissioners, made on the 7th March, 1893, that the United States Government required a treaty which should require a uniform duty; that it required the adoption of the United States tariff, and the breaking down of the customs line between the two countries. And, on the other hand, the statement of General Foster that such was not the case; the statement of Mr. Blaine that the proposal for negotiations was one which required the including of a list of manufactured articles which should receive preferential treatment as an offset to the request of Canada that the United States should grant the free admission of natural products into that country on the basis of preferential treatment. The statement of this fact by the President and by Mr. Blaine—a year before this Canadian statement was made by our Finance Minister—everything points to the truth of the assertion that the United States were ready at any time during President Harrison's Administration to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity with Canada, granting us preferential treatment in their market for all the natural products of our soil and requiring from us preferential treatment for a certain list of manufactures—that list afterwards to be agreed upon.

Now, Sir, what was to prevent our commissioners from entering upon negotiations on that basis, and, having ascertained how extensive it would be necessary to make that list, whether it would not be possible to select a list satisfactory to the United States which would avoid entirely discrimination against Great Britain, as I assert it would be possible to do. No, Mr. Speaker, the position of matters is very simple indeed. All the talk of the Government about being in favour of reciprocity is mere idle assertion, the Government has never shown a disposition or desire to secure reciprocity upon obtainable terms. They have systematically and upon all occasions sought to surround this question with fog. They have placed the matter, and have sought to place it, upon a false basis; they have made assertions destitute of truth, and, if the country had to rely upon the statements of the Government press, it would be entirely misinformed as to the conditions upon which the United States would be willing to treat or the conditions upon which it would be possible to treat at this moment. Sir, I repeat that this is simply a question of granting preferential trade by each country. We must, as a condition of reciprocity, ask and

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grant preferential treatment. We must have the privilege of exporting to the United States our horses, our swine, our wool, our vegetables, our apples, our hay, our eggs and a hundred other articles, upon a preferential basis, a basis which favours us above all other nations. We must ask for this preferential treatment. That is a condition of securing access to their market. I assert that any Government of Canada which says: We will take this preferential treatment and will give nothing in return is not seeking to obtain reciprocity, and has no reason to hope for it, and, if it professes to be able to secure reciprocity upon such terms, it is deceiving the people, and it is fair to say that that deception is one that it is aware it is practicing. We must give preferential treatment if we receive it, and, in my opinion, we can give it if we were prepared to look upon this question in the light of a fair business arrangement, and are prepared to give fair consideration for what we receive. We are not prepared to do it. The Government do not want an arrangement, having in mind the interest of its clients, who desire to keep out American competition. And as they refuse to make concessions for the purpose of securing reciprocity, they leave the vast producing interests of this Dominion, the farmers, the lumbermen, the miners, the fishermen, barred out from their natural market, and this country shrivelled and with its growth retarded by the refusal to obtain access to our natural market upon conditions reasonable and just, and obtainable for all these interests, and they do it for the sake of promoting the interests of a comparatively small number.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I shall not detain the House longer upon this motion further than to make one other remark. Having asserted that the arrangements can be made, having asserted that it can be made on reasonable terms, having asserted that it can be made on terms favourable to Canada, having asserted that it can be made on terms agreeable to Great Britain, and not detrimental to British interests, I affirm, in conclusion, that the arrangement, if it were made, is one that would be conducive to the highest interests of the entire Anglo-Saxon race. It would be the end of the bickering and jealousies and misunderstandings that exist between British America and the United States. All the questions of contention that arise between the United States and the old country originate with this colony of Great Britain, and, if this arrangement were made, so far from being detrimental to British interests, it would be in the highest degree advantageous, because it would inaugurate an era of cordiality between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race. I move for:

Return showing the exports to the United States for the last fiscal year, of articles the export of which to the United States exceeds in value the

export of the same to all other countries, which return shall give; 1. A detailed classification of the description of articles, commodities or wares, under the general subdivisions of products of the mines, products of the fisheries, animals and their products, agricultural products and manufactures, coming within the scope of the inquiry; 2. The value of each class of articles exported to the United States and exported to all other countries; 3. The totals of value under each general subdivision exported to the United States and exported to all other countries; 4. The grand total of values under all the general subdivisions exported to the United States and exported to all other countries.

Mr. KENNY. Mr. Speaker, the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat has held out what he is pleased to term another olive branch to the United States. He has argued the case at length, and has fortified his argument with an array of figures, which it is impossible to deal with immediately, in order to show this Legislature the repressive effects of the McKinley tariff. Any one listening to the hon. gentleman would be almost forced to the conclusion that the Government of Canada was responsible for the McKinley tariff. The hon. gentleman has told us during the course of this debate, as on many previous occasions, that it is owing to the fact that the Government of this Dominion, and the members of this Parliament who support the Government, and the large majority of the people of Canada who elect these members, that it is because all these forces united do not desire closer trade relations with the United States that we have not to-day a measure of reciprocal trade with that country. The hon. gentleman is thoroughly familiar with the discussion of this question in the Congress of the United States and he must know that, while the Wilson tariff Bill was under discussion in Congress there was hardly a reference made in any clause of it which would probably or possibly have the effect of extending trade with Canada that was not met, from one side or other, with the statement that it would not do to adopt it because any concessions that would encourage Canadian trade would simply have the effect of postponing annexation. The hon. gentleman has been at some pains to repeat to-night a statement which he has made this session repeatedly, that no prominent man on that side of the House had ever identified himself with the question of commercial union. I may not refer to a previous debate, but the hon. gentleman repeated that statement to-night. Sir, I see before me my hon. friend from Queen's, P.E.I. (Mr. Davies), and he is rather involved with that question himself. He will remember, at all events, that the Halifax 'Morning Chronicle,' the leading organ of the Liberal party in the Maritime Provinces I may call it so with all due respect to the other newspapers published in the Liberal interest in the Maritime Provinces—proclaimed that the man who was not in

favour of commercial union was a natural born sneak and a coward. But to deal more immediately with the utterances of the hon. member for North Norfolk, I find that on the 16th March, 1888, speaking from the place from which he spoke to-night, he made this statement:

I have attended meetings of some of these institutes, and have found in all cases the sentiment in favour of commercial union or unrestricted reciprocity—

He knew no difference between the two.

was of a most pronounced character, and I have found that this sentiment is by no means confined within party lines.

There is a positive statement made by the hon. member for North Norfolk on the 16th March, 1888, in this House, in favour of commercial union, or unrestricted reciprocity; and yet he stands up to-night and says that no prominent man of the Liberal party ever advocated commercial union.

Mr. CHARLTON. Does the hon. gentleman draw any distinction between unrestricted reciprocity and commercial union?

Mr. KENNY. The hon. gentleman himself has very deftly defined the difference between commercial union and unrestricted reciprocity, and with his permission and that of the House I will now read it to him and refresh his memory. I think it was in the same debate, and he will find it on page 211 of the 'Hansard.' He thus defines commercial union or unrestricted reciprocity:

An arrangement made between two or more countries whereby they adopt a common tariff and common excise laws, abolish all customs lines between themselves, throw the revenue into one common fund, and divide it, per capita, as may be mutually agreed upon.

The hon. gentleman asked me if I had ever defined commercial union. I have defined it as a measure which was originated with the intention of leading Canada into annexation. That is my definition of it; the hon. gentleman's own definition of it I have read to him. Is it any wonder that when gentlemen occupying prominent positions in this country made use of similar language when attending banquets in Boston, and promising that Boston, if their policy was carried out, would be the entrepot of the commerce of Canada, that one of the gentlemen present said that in order that the hon. member for South Oxford, who had just spoken at that banquet, might attain his object, it would be necessary that he should become a Senator from the state of Ontario. But, Sir, I do not know whether it was on that occasion—they had so many dinners in Boston and New York and elsewhere—but it was on one of those festive occasions that the gentleman who presided proclaimed that the Liberal party of Canada, "Davies from Prince Ed-

ward Island, Mercier and Laurier from Quebec, and Cartwright in Ontario, look to us, the people of the United States, for the sign by which they were to conquer." Such is the effect which the advocacy of commercial union has had upon the minds of the statesmen of the United States. The hon. leader of the Opposition is not surprised at that result, because he knows very well that when he was attending a public meeting in Halifax, in 1890, he referred on that occasion, and he has repeated the reference in Parliament, to the opinions of Senator Sherman, and Senator Blair, and Congressman Hitt, and Congressman Butterworth. The opinions of those gentlemen are on record, those of us who have taken the trouble to read their speeches in reference to Canada, know well what their individual sentiments are. I will quote one or two expressions of opinion of Senator Sherman, who was named by the leader of the Opposition in Halifax, in this House, and who appears to be the representative of these hon. gentlemen opposite in the Senate of the United States. Senator John Sherman, of Ohio, in his place in Congress, speaking on matters connected with Canada, made use of the following language—and he did so before the leader of the Opposition made his reference to him here, and when, of course, he was thoroughly familiar with the views and the language of the gentleman whom he extolled at Halifax. Referring to Canada and the United States, Senator Sherman said :

This controlling principle of blending local and national authority—many in one—was the discovery of our fathers, and has guided the American people thus far in safety and honour, and I believe can be, and ought to be, extended to the people of Canada. With a firm conviction that this consummation most devoutly to be wished, is within the womb of destiny, and believing it is our duty to hasten its coming, I am not willing, for one, to vote for any measure, not demanded by national honour, that will tend to postpone the good time coming when the American flag will be the signal and sign of the Union of all the English-speaking people of the continent, from the Rio Grande to the Arctic Ocean.

That is the language of Senator Sherman, who was quoted by the leader of the Opposition speaking at a public meeting at Halifax, and also in this Canadian legislative assembly.

Mr. LAURIER. I never quoted that speech of Mr. Sherman. I am not responsible for what Mr. Sherman said.

Mr. KENNY. I am not aware that the hon. gentleman quoted that particular speech, but at all events he quoted Senator Sherman as the exponent of his views. But he is not much more to blame for that reference to Senator Sherman than is the hon. member for South Oxford, who told us in this British legislature, that if we wished to ascertain his views, and the views of his

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party, we would find them reflected in a resolution which Congressman Hitt had proposed in the Congress of the United States. I think that is the first instance on record in history where a member of a British legislature told the members of that legislature that if they wanted to ascertain his views, all they had to do was to examine a certain measure introduced in a foreign legislature.

Mr. CHARLTON. If the hon. gentleman will allow me to correct what places me in a false light, I will do it now; if not, I will do it when he closes.

Mr. CHARLTON. The hon. gentleman read an extract from page 211 "Debates," volume I. 1888, in which I define what I understood commercial union to be, and the hon. gentleman read the extract correctly. I define in that extract what commercial union is. Mr. White (Cardwell), asked this question :

I do not desire to interrupt the hon. gentleman, but perhaps he will go further and state whether that is the proposition now before the House by the hon. gentleman?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The hon. gentleman has been told most distinctly, and it has been stated a dozen times on this side of the House, that it is not the proposition. I can add that the hon. gentleman and his followers must have been even more stupid, if that is possible, than is usually the case.

Mr. CHARLTON. I am not so uncharitable as my hon. friend. I do not accuse the hon. gentleman of stupidity, but he evidently believes that the country is stupid, and that he can mislead the people upon this question by dragging a red herring across the trail. So much for the question of commercial union arising indirectly on this question owing to the remarks made by the Minister of the Interior.

Mr. KENNY. If the hon. gentleman is satisfied, his record may rest on what he has just read; taken in conjunction with the whole of the speech which he made in that debate. I am perfectly willing he shall occupy that position. The hon. gentleman stated earlier in the same debate that the sentiment in favour of commercial union or unrestricted reciprocity was of the most pronounced character.

Mr. CHARLTON. I drew a distinction between commercial union and unrestricted reciprocity, and I have stated what that distinction was.

Mr. KENNY. The hon. gentleman will remember that during all this controversy when commercial union or unrestricted reciprocity was under discussion in one phase or another in this House, various references were made to the gentlemen with whom hon. gentlemen opposite were in correspondence and communication in the Congress of the United States, and it was not possible for us to get from hon. gentlemen opposite an accurate definition of the terms. We were finally driven, in order to ascertain what

were their views, to their friends across the border. The leader of the Opposition does not seem to be satisfied with these views of Mr. Sherman, which I have quoted, but if he will read that gentleman's speeches, he will find that from first to last, in all his references to the trade relations of Canada with the United States, that the course suggested would result, and was intended to result, in the annexation of Canada to the United States. Let me give another authority. The hon. gentleman has referred to Mr. Hitt. Mr. Hitt is known to all of us who were members of the House when commercial union or unrestricted reciprocity was under discussion, for his name was frequently mentioned by hon. gentlemen opposite. Mr. Hitt spoke as follows:—

Can there be any question that it would be in the interests of our people to have free admission to that market (Canada) for the sale of American goods, to have preference in fact in that market by the establishment of the tariff against the importation from any other country.

Mr. Butterworth also frequently expressed himself on the same line. Yet the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), attempted to-night to convey the impression to the House and the country that the reason we have not a reciprocity treaty with the United States to-day is because the present Dominion Government does not favour it. The hon. gentleman must remember that every reciprocity treaty entered into with the United States was abrogated by the Government of the United States and not by the Government of Canada. The hon. gentleman has told us to-night that he is in favour of a preferential arrangement with the United States on a list of certain specified manufactured goods, and he thinks this arrangement can be accomplished without discriminating against the mother country. He may have evolved that problem in his own mind, but the ordinary commercial man of Canada, and even the ordinary politician, will find it a most difficult problem to solve, for most difficult must it be to arrive at any arrangement whereby a preference can be given to manufactured goods from the United States, and at the same time not be given to similar lines of goods from Great Britain, and yet not discriminate against the mother country. The hon. gentleman is not just to hon. members on this side of the House when he says that we are not in favour of any fair measure of reciprocity with the United States. We are not in favour of surrendering the right to make our own tariff, and our own fiscal arrangements, and we are opposed to granting that power to a foreign Legislature. Hon. gentlemen opposite in their advocacy of this measure have been accused by one of the leading organs of the United States with wearing a mask, and that the men who advocated commercial union really meant annexation. The leader of the Opposition went down to Boston in 1891, long after the

general elections. The leader of the Opposition was entertained at a banquet presided over by General Collins. General Collins made use of this language:

We are done with the old world and with the old world ideas of commerce. That line which runs from the Atlantic to the Pacific, a little north of us, means nothing to separate you and me Mr. Laurier. Commerce is greater than politics. All lines of communication run north and south; the artificial barriers run between east and west. But whether the mission of the Jesuit, your mission or some one else's mission can unite the two peoples in kindred and blood, equal in civilization your great public necessities operating through Canada and the United States will leave us practically one people, with a common destiny to make out.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Hear, hear.

Mr. KENNY. Then the hon. gentleman approves of that doctrine; the hon. member for Bothwell believes that the ultimate destiny of Canada is to be annexed to the United States.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). No. That is not the declaration that the hon. gentleman made. The declaration made is that commerce is greater than politics.

Mr. KENNY. In order that there may be no misunderstanding, I will read again the concluding sentence of the quotation I have just made:

But whether the mission of the Jesuit, your mission or some one else's mission can unite the two peoples in kindred and blood, equal in civilization, your great public necessities operating through Canada and the United States, will leave us practically one people, with a common destiny to make out.

Is that the sentiment the hon. member for Bothwell approves?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). One people for what purpose? For the purpose the speaker refers to.

Mr. KENNY. In all my reading of the speeches of American statesmen in which the Munroe doctrines has been advocated. I never read one that took more strong grounds. I never heard the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) make a similar declaration till to-day, and I am rather surprised the hon. member for Bothwell should have made such an admission.

Mr. LAURIER. Is the Munroe doctrine in favour of the annexation of the continent?

Mr. KENNY. That is as I understand it.

Mr. LAURIER. No.

Mr. KENNY. Am I correct in the opinion that hon. gentlemen opposite do not believe in the Munroe doctrine? This language which I have read, however, was addressed to the leader of the Opposition by a gentleman who received him with courtesy, and who desired to say that which he supposed would be pleasant to him to hear. Governor

Russell, of Massachusetts, was at the banquet, and he made use of this language :

With existing restrictions removed or largely modified, I do not doubt great benefit will come to both countries, and Boston with her enterprise, her energy, and industry can be the commercial metropolis not only of New England, but of the great country beyond.

When Governor Russell made use of that language, of course, he had the promise ringing in his ears, made by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), that as soon as his plans, and the plans of his friends across the border were carried out, the distributing trade of Toronto, of Montreal, of Halifax, and of St. John was to be obliterated, and Boston was to be the entrepot of the commerce of Canada.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I would ask the hon. gentleman to read any statement of mine to that effect.

Mr. KENNY. Does the hon. gentleman question the accuracy of this statement ?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I undoubtedly do.

Mr. KENNY. That at a meeting in Boston—

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Read it.

Mr. KENNY. That he stated that Boston, if such an arrangement were carried out, would become the entrepot of the commerce of Canada.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I did not say that. Read it again.

Mr. KENNY. I read it before in this House, I have not the precise words at hand, but what the hon. member for South Oxford did say on that occasion is well known to every public man in Canada. It may be said : It does not concern us what these statesmen of the United States may say, and, to some extent, that would be a good argument ; but when American statesmen are named by the leaders of the Liberal party as the exponents of their views, and when the same American statesmen are treating and dealing with Canadian questions, I think it is perfectly pertinent for us to examine and inquire into the views which they express. As regards this particular dinner at Boston, the views which were expressed by General Collins and Governor Russell fade into insignificance before the language used by the hon. leader of the Opposition himself. Of course, we know how gifted an orator the hon. gentleman is, and that he excels in after dinner speaking. The hon. gentleman is reported to have made use of the following language :—

But as in the case of every dependency dependence will not last. Canada and England will have interests apart, and the day will come and must come when Canada and England will have to separate from each other,

Mr. KENNY.

That is the language of the leader of the Opposition.

I am a subject of the British Crown, but whenever it comes, that as a Canadian I have to choose between the interests of England and the interests of Canada, my whole heart is with my native land.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Hear, hear ; and your interest is against your native land.

Mr. KENNY. And the leader of the Opposition continues :

It is manifest to me that the interests of my country are identicle with the interests of the United States.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Mr. KENNY. Why did not hon. gentlemen opposite wait to applaud the whole speech ?

Mr. LAURIER. Will the hon. gentleman permit me to ask what newspaper he quotes from ?

Mr. KENNY. It is taken from a Boston paper, published at the time, and its accuracy has never been questioned until to-night.

Mr. LAURIER. I never had its accuracy put in question until to-night. The only accurate copy of the speech which was published was in the Toronto 'Globe.'

Mr. KENNY. Does the hon. gentleman say that what I have quoted here is incorrect ?

Mr. LAURIER. Mr. Speaker, I cannot undertake to say now that the report of a speech I delivered three years ago is correct or not correct. I do not believe it is correct. That is all I can say at this moment. At all events, I will be bound by the report of the Toronto 'Globe,' which was exact, and which I read.

Mr. KENNY. The hon. gentleman must remember that he occupies such a position in this country, that when speaking on international questions in which the loyalty of the people of Canada to the British Crown is concerned, every utterance of his is read with concern by his fellow-countrymen. One effect of that speech of the hon. leader of the Opposition was that Sir Oliver Mowat, I think it was he, after the speech of the leader of the Opposition was published, recognizing the effect which it would have upon the public mind of Canada, and, in order to disabuse Americans to the extent which he could, of the effect which it must have had upon their minds, is credited with the advice : That as a mere matter of party tactics, it was well not to speak so publicly upon that question. Sir, one effect of this language was that the New York 'Tribune,' which pays more attention to Canadian matters than most organs of public opinion in the United States—unless, perhaps, one or two journals which have a disloyal Canadian

to write for them—one effect of such utterances upon the minds of the editors of the New York 'Tribune' was that they proclaimed that the only prominent Liberal in Canada who did not desire annexation was Sir Oliver Mowat. I will, therefore, say in all sincerity to hon. gentlemen opposite: Whether in this Legislature or out of it, on either side of the border, when they proclaim to the Canadian or to the American people that we Canadians cannot live without the Americans, and that we are ready to surrender everything to them, they are doing a very great injustice to the people of Canada, they are misleading the American people, and they are thwarting instead of advancing the cause of reciprocity.

Mr. McMULLEN. I do not think it is right that we should allow the statements made by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Kenny) to go to the country without contradiction. The hon. gentleman, and those who surround him, have for years persistently endeavoured to mystify the public mind on the questions of commercial union, unrestricted reciprocity, and extended trade relations with the United States. In 1891 they very successfully mystified the public mind on that question. They lead the people of this country to understand that they were going to enter into a treaty of extended trade relation with the United States, and, after securing the confidence of the people, they disappointed their expectations, and, from that day until this, there has never been a single change in their tariff, or a single act of theirs that has not plainly proved that they are opposed to any trade relations with the United States. It is an amazing thing to think that hon. gentlemen opposite will sit in their places night after night, and day after day, and utter statements which cannot possibly be true. The hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Kenny) has stated that hon. gentlemen on this side of the House have held out another olive branch to the United States. I would like to know when the Government or its supporters have ever held out an olive branch to the United States? He wanted to know if the United States had given any evidences of their willingness to trade with Canada. I will remind him of the fact of their placing agricultural implements on the free list. Did hon. gentlemen opposite accept that olive branch? They accepted it by placing a duty of 20 per cent on agricultural implements. The United States have held out another olive branch by placing flour and wheat on the free list; have hon. gentlemen opposite accepted that? They have replied by putting 15 cents a bushel on wheat and 75 cents a barrel on flour. Every single move taken by the United States towards more extended trade with Canada has been met by this Government with an action in opposition to a more extended trade. And yet these hon. gentlemen deny such statements as that made by the hon. member for North Norfolk to-night.

Why is it that that hon. member is compelled so often to bring this question before the House? Simply because the Tory press of this country will persist in mistifying and fooling and humbugging the people. For that reason we are compelled from day to day and from week to week to reiterate the proofs which are incontestable in favour of the possibility of securing an extended trade with the United States. Yet I have no doubt that the Tory press will be found again to-morrow characterizing the statements made by the hon. member for North Norfolk as a repetition of the speeches he has delivered before. Why, Sir, consider the statement he quoted from the Montreal 'Gazette' to-night in the face of all that has been said on the floor of this House. That is a clear indication of the determination of the Tory press not to let the country know the truth in regard to the offers that have been made, but to mystify and blind the people upon this important question. That has been their aim and object in the past, and it appears to be their determination for the future. The hon. gentleman said that the Wilson Bill contained no evidences that the Americans are at all favourably inclined to establish extended trade with Canada. I cannot understand how that hon. gentleman can make such a statement. When hon. gentlemen opposite rise to speak on this question in this House, you can read in their countenances the personal interest they have in preventing any extended trade relations with the United States. I think I am correct in saying that the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat is the president or director of or is largely interested in one of the large sugar refineries of his district; and if we had extended trade relations with the United States the profits of that refinery would probably be seriously affected, and the hon. gentleman might lose his gains. He is no doubt making very considerable profits every year through the operations of the tariff, and any trade relations that might endanger the advantages he enjoys would undoubtedly be a serious stroke at his future well-being. Therefore, he is willing that the public mind should be kept in a state of ignorance with regard to the offers made by the United States on this subject. I have pointed out what the United States have done in the direction of removing the duty from eggs. Last year we heard very loud and very unanimous expressions of pride from hon. gentlemen opposite with regard to the immense trade that we were building up with Great Britain in eggs. Well, Sir, when the duty on eggs is wiped off by the Wilson Bill—although Canada, by her action, does not even deserve that—the people of this country will soon realize that the best market for our eggs is the American market. We shall then see how many thousands or hundreds of thousands will be shipped across the Atlantic. We on this side of the House are honestly and anxiously in favour of securing

an outlet in the United States for many of the commodities for which the farmers of Canada want a market at the present moment. Where is the market for our horses? Where is the market for our fat cattle to-day?

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. McMULLEN. Where is the market for our lambs? I would ask the hon. gentlemen who say "Oh." I would like to ask them where is the market that we used to have for our barley? Where is the market for our beans, and for many other things that I could name? But these hon. gentlemen, as long as they are in receipt of the advantages they enjoy under the existing restrictions, are willing that the farmers should fight and struggle and worry under the restrictions and extortions to which they are now subject, and be obliged to send their products to Liverpool, the slaughter market for all creation, and take any price they can get. These hon. gentlemen want to frighten the people of Canada with the idea that extended trade relations with the United States means commercial union. The hon. gentleman who last spoke said that if we entered into such relations, we must allow the United States to make our tariff. Now, that hon. gentleman is an intelligent gentleman; he has sat in this House for many years, and has heard the discussions which have taken place on this question year after year; and I am sure he has intelligence and ability enough to know that in making and reiterating that statement he is talking wide of the mark. There is not a single Reformer in this House or in this country that I know of who has ever expressed himself as favourable to the principle of commercial union with the United States. The hon. gentleman has referred to a speech made by the hon. member for North Norfolk when he was explaining to this House what commercial union meant, and he has quoted from that speech in order to prove that my hon. friend in making that statement was in favour of commercial union. Anything at all will answer the purpose, which for the moment fastens upon the members of the Opposition the charge of being commercial unionists. But I believe that the days of poisoning the public mind and blinding and mystifying the people of this country upon this question are drawing rapidly to an end. I am satisfied that the people are beginning to realize this, and that they cannot be humbugged on this question very much longer. Undoubtedly hon. gentlemen opposite have been marvelously successful at humbugging the public mind; but in the face of the quotations that have been presented to-night by the hon. member for North Norfolk, in the face of the evidences of the willingness of the United States to meet fairly the people of this country, in the face of the suggestion thrown out by Mr. Blaine to consent to a well considered list of manufactured goods along with natu-

Mr. McMULLEN.

ral products—all these facts go to show that if the Government were disposed to enter into a treaty of that kind, negotiations would at once begin which would result in extended trade relations with the United States. But our Government are not willing to do that. How could they? Touch the cotton factory? They dare not do it, because these factories are as dear to them as the apple of their eye. Touch the refineries? My hon. friend who has just taken his seat (Mr. Kenny) is too powerful a supporter of the Government to allow them to do that. Touch the cordage combine? The hon. gentleman who is associated with my hon. friend who has just taken his seat (Mr. Stairs) would certainly not allow that industry to be interfered with. So you can go through the different industries—every one has its representative in this House, or has powerful influence outside. The agricultural implement manufacturing institutions—principally that of Massey-Harris, no doubt exercise a very powerful influence on the Government. Messrs. Massey and Harris exercised such influence during the past year that they drew something like \$10,000 in the way of a rebate for their supposed exportation of agricultural implements to Australia. Whether they made the proposition themselves, or whether the Government, out of the kindness of their hearts, to encourage them in that industry, suggested that they should make the demand, they got the money. All those industries have powerful influence with the Government, and as a result the Government hang on to the old policy. And they will continue to do so so long as they remain in office. They will never make a reciprocity treaty. They do not want it. I am satisfied that if Canada waits until such time as hon. gentlemen opposite will accept a treaty for improved commercial relations between Canada and the United States she will wait until the Greek kalends. Our Government do not want any such treaty. They have proved this by their past and by the emissions contained in their standing offer. Session after session we have had evidence of their determination to keep things as they are so long as they can, and until the people rise in their might and insist on having reciprocity we need expect no change. But if hon. gentlemen opposite think that the organizations throughout the country formed by the farmers are to be blinded by such statements as those made by the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat, with regard to commercial union, he is mistaken. When they come to discuss the question of trade relations with the United States they will find that the people know a good deal more about it than they did in 1891. Hon. gentlemen opposite have tried to saddle us with annexation sentiments. Well, if we have anything of that kind in our ranks we must have become infected with the disease from hon. gentle-

men opposite, because it broke out in their ranks first. They were the fathers of annexation sentiment in this country, and if we have been unfortunately besmeared with the degrading sentiment, we must realize that it was from them we got it. It never originated with us. I do not know a Reformer in Canada of any importance who is an out and out annexationist. While we recognize the importance of extended trade relations with that country we do not wish to go on our knees and beg for them. We are willing to secure these relations on honourable terms. Hon. gentlemen have said that they are not responsible for the McKinley Bill. I can only say in reply that they are indirectly responsible, because had they dealt more generously, honourably and liberally with the United States on the question of interchange of trade, we would not perhaps have been subjected to the operations of the McKinley Bill. Year after year our Government have done things to provoke the United States and cause it to resent any approach to extended trade relations. Session after session they put upon our statute-books laws that evidently do not bear any desire towards relationship of a more kindly and extended character with our neighbours. As I said a few years ago, when the Americans put a fresh fruit offer in their statute, hon. gentlemen opposite waited nearly two years before they met their proposition, and were shamed into putting fresh fruit upon the free list. They have militated against the United States by discriminating in canal tolls and in many other ways, and if we would look over the whole record we will find that there is very little indeed that the United States have to thank Canada for, and that if strained relations exist between the two countries it is because there has been no desire whatever manifested on the part of Canada to have more friendly relations than now exists.

Mr. LAURIER. Before this question is put I desire to say just a few words in reply to the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Kenny). That hon. gentleman has asserted to-day, as he has done many times before, that commercial union meant unrestricted reciprocity and that unrestricted reciprocity meant annexation. The hon. gentleman thought he would fortify his position by referring to a banquet tendered to me in Boston some years ago. Strange to say, however, the hon. gentleman did not propose to state, as the main support of his contention, any words of mine, but simply the words of General Collins, from which he understood that General Collins meant that the two countries were to be united. I took no such construction from the words of General Collins, which I heard at the time; but I would ask the hon. gentleman, and any man of common sense and fair honour, whether, if I am tendered a banquet in the city of Boston or anywhere else, and I give my views, I am to be held responsible for the views of any American who sits at the

same table. Because the gentleman who sits at the same board is in favour of a certain course am I to be held responsible? Because I sit alongside a man with whom I agree in politics am I supposed to agree with him in religion? I have only this to say: that if General Collins meant annexation this is the answer I give on the spot. The hon. gentleman quoted a few words from a Boston paper, and asked if I ever uttered them. I really could not remember, but I have just looked over the report of the speech I delivered, and I find that I never uttered any such words as are represented to me by the hon. gentleman.

It is also objected that the American people would not consent to such an arrangement without practically forcing us to abandon the control of our tariff and taking it in their own hands. What this objection really means it is difficult to understand, and never was yet properly defined by those who raise it. It is an appeal to the national pride of the Canadian people. I have only to say, however, that if unrestricted reciprocity were to be had only by the sacrifice, however slight, of Canada's dignity I would have none of it. But whatever may be the opinion or the dread of others, I have no such anxiety. I have no fear that the American authorities would be disposed to be overbearing because they represent over 60,000,000 whereas we represent less than 5,000,000, especially when approached with candour by men sensitive to the honour of their country, but confident that such a feeling would evoke nothing but respect from hon. members. I am fully aware that the plan of reciprocity which we would propose, each country keeping the control of its own tariff, might be at the first view liable to difficulties of a more serious nature, but difficulties, I submit, with full confidence, which might be met and successfully overcome by negotiations embodied in the treaty. Since I arrived here this morning it has been my privilege to meet several American gentlemen, and discussing the question with them, they made me another objection. Their language in substance was this:—The people on both sides of the boundary line are the same; they derive their civilization from the same source; there are between them no natural obstacle. Why does not Canada join the United States in a political union? Why do not Canadians agree to be incorporated in the American Republic? If the United States grant reciprocity to Canada, they will contribute to a higher prosperity and development instead of bringing her to us we will only put obstacles in the way of annexation. I know this argument. I know it well. I have heard it in Canada; that is to say I have heard the same premises with a totally different conclusion. There the conclusion is that reciprocity would only be the first step that would finally lead to an end in annexation. Either with those who believe that unrestricted reciprocity between the two countries would incline to annexation or with those who believe that unrestricted reciprocity would lead to annexation, I refuse to discuss. Both arguments are unjust to the people of Canada. It were unmanly to be coerced, unmanly to be cajoled into any course, whatever it might be, which the people of Canada would not otherwise adopt.

Now, Sir, that is the language which I made use of in the great city of Boston.

Mr. KENNY. At the banquet ?

Mr. LAURIER. Yes. I am quoting from the speech I delivered on that occasion. I would like the hon. gentleman to learn and believe, once for all, that whatever I say here I am prepared to repeat elsewhere, and whether I speak in Ottawa, or Quebec, or Boston I express the same opinions.

Mr. WALLACE. I think in the speech he has just delivered the hon. leader of the Opposition has rather evaded than met the question raised by the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Kenny). Sir, I do not think it is a creditable thing for a political leader among the Canadian people to go to Boston and there at a public banquet use language that was, at any rate, not loyal to England.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Not as bad as to go to Ireland with pistols in your belt to fight the English Government.

Mr. WALLACE. If the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) understood the rules and courtesies of debate, he would conduct himself a little more seemly. I say, Sir, that when a Canadian subject of Her Majesty goes to a foreign city, among a people who have been unfriendly to Great Britain and uses such language as that used by the hon. leader of the Opposition on the occasion referred to, his action is one injurious to Canada. On that occasion he held out threats against Great Britain. Speaking in this hostile country he declared: If the interests of Canada and the interests of Great Britain should be at any time, as they may be, opposed to one another, then you will know where I am to be found—I will be found hostile to Britain.

Mr. McMULLEN. No.

Mr. WALLACE. Was it patriotic to suggest such a thing? Would a loyal Canadian citizen raise such an issue in a foreign and hostile country? We know that Great Britain has stood by Canada in every emergency, that she has come to the verge of war on more than one occasion in defence of Canadian interests, and I for one, say it was not courteous or loyal to Great Britain to declare in a foreign country that the time might arise—and the sooner the better apparently in the hon. gentleman's opinion—when the interests of Great Britain and the interests of Canada would be opposed to each other and the opportunity would arise to aim a blow at Great Britain. The hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) says that there is not a single act of the Conservative party in relation to this question since 1881 but shows that they are opposed to reciprocity. Look at the tariff just introduced by the Finance Minister. Let them read the clause which declares that if the United States will admit our barley, we are prepared to admit their corn into

Mr. LAURIER.

Canada. I would ask the farmers and the people of Canada if that is not a fair offer to make? Is there a single offer in the American tariff, as it went through the House of Representatives, or as it went through the Senate, or as amended at any of its stages, equivalent to this? If there be, I would like the hon. gentleman to say where it is. The other agricultural clauses are fair reciprocal propositions as between Canada and the United States; and yet the hon. gentlemen, who are always defending the interests of the United States, always standing up for the United States made the statement, which is not true—

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Order.

Mr. WALLACE. Which is incorrect.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. WALLACE. Well, if hon. gentlemen opposite are satisfied with that, I am glad to be able to please them. They are always satisfied with being incorrect, the hon. the Premier says.

Mr. LISTER. We are always satisfied with anything that comes from you.

Mr. WALLACE. Well, the people of Canada are not satisfied with anything that comes from hon. gentlemen opposite, for they have discarded them at every opportunity. The hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) says: Where is the market for the products of the farm; where is the market for eggs? The American Government has made eggs free, and the Canadian Government has done the same. We in Canada did not put a duty upon eggs until a duty was imposed upon eggs by the United States. When the hon. gentleman asks: "Where is the trade between Canada and the mother country as regards the farmer, he might find the answer to his question in the Trade and Navigation Returns. According to the figures there given, we exported last year of animals and their products, to Great Britain about twenty-seven and a half million dollars worth, and to all the other countries in the world, including the United States, only \$4,277,000 worth, or less than one-sixth as much to all other countries combined as we sent to Great Britain alone.

Mr. McMULLEN. How could they send them to the United States in the face of the McKinley Bill. What is the use of talking about sending to the United States?

Mr. WALLACE. That is just about as sensible a question as I might expect the hon. member for North Wellington to ask.

Mr. McMULLEN. You cannot answer it, anyhow.

Mr. WALLACE. When we look at the figures showing the exports of agricultural products other than animals and their products, we find we sent last year to Great

Britain \$16,800,000, and to the United States and all other countries \$5,200,000, or less than one-third the amount exported to Great Britain. When the hon. gentleman asks where is the market for our products of Canadian farms, I think he can find his question pretty fully answered by these figures.

Mr. LISTER. Where does the lumber go to ; where do the horses go to ?

Mr. WALLACE. We will let the hon. gentleman answer their questions when their turn comes. Now, I think those figures show that the best market for the Canadian farmer is the market of Great Britain. At the same time we recognize the fact that the markets of the United States are also valuable to Canadians, and the items we have put in our new tariff show that we recognize fully the value of the American market to the Canadian farmer, but we are not prepared to hand over, as some hon. gentlemen opposite have suggested, the control of our whole fiscal affairs to the United States.

Mr. McMULLEN. The old story over again.

Mr. WALLACE. And a true story every time. Those hon. gentlemen say that the present Canadian Government has never made an honest attempt to secure reciprocal trade relations with the United States. Sir, I challenge those hon. gentlemen to show me, in the history of the United States since the reciprocity treaty was abrogated 28 years ago, one effort that the American Government has made to secure a reciprocity treaty, unless coupled with the condition that there should be discrimination against Great Britain, with the necessary consequence that the Americans would have control of the tariff of both countries, and that we should abandon our position as an independent people and put ourselves under the control of the American Government. Sir, look at the history of the attempts made on the part of the Canadian Government, look at the visit of the Hon. George Brown to Washington in 1874, of Sir Charles Tupper to Washington in 1887, of our present Premier and Finance Minister, along with Mr. Bowell, when they went to Washington in 1892—all with the one result. And yet hon. gentlemen opposite say that in 1892 no honest effort was made by this Government to obtain a treaty. The President of the United States, in his Message to Congress, gives the answer to that statement. He says :

The statement was frankly made that favourable rates could not be given to the United States as against the mother country. This admission, which was foreseen, necessarily terminated the conference upon this question.

That was the position the Canadian delegates took on that visit, that there could be no discrimination against the mother country. Consequently no reciprocity treaty of that

kind can be made to which the Americans will consent, unless, as they have declared all along, it will discriminate against the mother country, and I challenge hon. gentlemen opposite to produce a statement of a single American statesman, a single American leader of repute on either side of politics, who has argued that there must be a common tariff along the seaboard between the two countries.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) No.

Mr. WALLACE. Show me one American statesman who has advocated any other doctrine.

Mr. CHARLTON. Blaine, Harrison.

Mr. WALLACE. I ask the hon. gentleman to produce a single line from either of these gentlemen to contradict the challenge I have given. They cannot do it. Gentlemen opposite are anxious to-day to repudiate commercial union. Why, it is only a few years ago, during the general elections, when they went through Ontario saying to the farmers: "If you want \$10 an acre more for every acre of cultivated land in this country, vote for the Reform party. If you want \$30 more for every horse in Canada, vote for the Reform party." There are 22,000,000 acres of cultivated land in Canada, which, multiplied by 10, would make \$220,000,000. We have over 1,000,000 horses, which, with \$30 of an increase in value for each horse, would make \$30,000,000 more, of \$250,000,000 that these gentlemen promised to the farmers of Canada if they would vote for the Reform party. If that policy would procure so great a prosperity for the Canadian people, why do they not advocate it to-day? Why do they now repudiate that policy? Why are they all getting up and trying to apologize, trying to explain away what they have said, trying to show that they did not mean commercial union, but they meant unrestricted reciprocity, for the two, they say, are entirely distinct and dissimilar? Did the Hon. Edward Blake say there was any difference between them? Mr. Blake, with all his astuteness and ability, and his devotion to the Reform party, could not tell the difference between those two policies; he said they were one and the same. Do hon. gentlemen repudiate the Hon. Edward Blake's statement?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Certainly.

Mr. WALLACE. When did they commence to repudiate? This is the first time I have heard the hon. member for South Oxford repudiate the Hon. Edward Blake's statements.

Mr. LISTER. What did the Hon. Mr. Blake say about you?

Mr. WALLACE. I am quoting Mr. Blake's opinion of the policy of his own friends, when he was with them, before he had

become hostile to them. He did not go over to the other side.

Mr. LANDERKIN. And never will.

Mr. WALLACE. Very well, if he is one of you, you must accept his evidence. You claim him as one of yourselves, then you must respect his statements. The hon. member for South Oxford says the Conservative party have not gone in for reciprocity because "in the interest of their clients the Government does not want reciprocity." Well, Sir, the clients of the Conservative party are the people of Canada, and if the reciprocity treaty that the Opposition have been advocating is diametrically opposed to the interests of the people of Canada, then you can say, in the interest of our clients, the whole of the people of Canada, the Government do not want that kind of reciprocity. Now, the hon. member for North Norfolk offers a resolution asking for returns of the exports of Canada to the United States. He has answered, I think, every question he asked, so he must be doubtful of the accuracy of his own figures.

Mr. CHARLTON. No; my list was an imperfect one.

Mr. WALLACE. He must have doubted the accuracy of his own figures, because he asked the Government to make a return of exactly the same figures.

Mr. CHARLTON. No; embracing the same thing, but more extensive, because my statement was imperfect.

Mr. WALLACE. I think he gave the returns, so far as I could follow him. I could not vouch for their accuracy, but I think he gave answers to every question to which he asked the Government to make returns. I think if we grant those returns we should also have similar returns of the business done with Great Britain under similar conditions; that is to say, that not only should we have returns of all the products exported to the United States to a larger extent than all other countries put together, but also returns of the exports to Great Britain of all the articles that we export to that country in larger quantity than we do to all other countries. I would therefore move that the following words be added at the end of paragraph 4:—

Also similar comparative statements of exports from Canada to Great Britain for the last fiscal year.

We will then have an opportunity of making a comparison between the exports from Canada to Great Britain and the exports from Canada to the United States, of those articles that we export in the larger quantities to each country respectively. I know such a statement will show what I have already said, that for the Canadian farmer the best market to-day is the market of Great Britain, whether for his animals and

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the produce of his animals, or whether for agricultural products. Our timber and minerals are large and growing interests. Canada has the greatest timber belt of the world to-day, and is not confined to any one market. If we sell to-day a large portion of our timber to the United States it is because the United States must have the products of our forests at whatever cost, because their own forests are becoming depleted.

Mr. GILLMOR. I must admit, Mr. Speaker, that I have not enjoyed this debate very much. Its tendency has been rather in the direction of estranging our neighbours, the people of the United States. Whatever we may say in our speeches at public dinners, and so forth, we must all admit that it is of the highest importance that the best understanding and the most cordial feelings shall exist between the kindred people of this continent. With respect to our relations as neighbours, is there any people on the face of the earth more like Canadians than the people of the United States? We sprang from the same stock. About a hundred years ago, part of the family took a different direction. It seems to me that we are trying to separate rather than come together. While there is no people so like Canadians as are Americans in their habits of thought, in their education, in their religion, a difficulty arises out of the principle of protection. There is no use talking about the two countries trading when the commercial policy prevailing is one directly opposed to free commercial intercourse. An attempt appears to be made both in the United States and Canada to keep foreign goods out of our respective countries, and we cannot come together under those circumstances and trade freely. But if the barriers were broken down between the United States and Canada, no member of this House can imagine the increase of trade that would take place. We can produce ten times as much surplus products as we do to-day, if we had a market in which to sell them. But hon. gentlemen opposite do not want to do this trading. Do not hon. gentlemen opposite know that if we buy the products of another country we will pay for them from the products of our own country. I have been for twenty years in this Parliament, and scarcely any question comes up for consideration, except trade. We have been fighting about the National Policy. Let us look to the mother country. There they have no trouble on trade questions. There for nearly fifty years no such trouble has prevailed, and yet the great nations on the continent have been endeavouring to see how they could take advantage of each other, and have been talking about reciprocity, while the queen of nations has not been bothering about it, and yet she has been doing almost more trade than all other nations put together. We have already been here for a considerable period this session, considering nothing but trade and tariff. Four

or five weeks we have been talking on the tariff, endeavouring to anticipate what they are going to do on the other side of the line, and how we are going to meet them in regard to some little barley and corn. If you want their corn, why do you not take it? If you want any product of the United States, throw down the barriers and let them come in. What nonsense is this talk about the trade question. If you want an example in trade matters, look to the mother country. For centuries she occupied the same miserable position as that occupied by Canada and the United States to-day. You may talk about our natural resources, about our advantages, our climate, and so on, and our lumber supplies to the world, but none of these can be developed under a protective system. It is impossible to develop them under such a system, and impossible that Canada can make progress. If any one could find anything more mischievous as regards the mode of raising a revenue than the plan of which the hon. gentlemen in this House have been talking for five weeks, I should like some one to suggest it. Of all ridiculous efforts to raise a revenue, there is none so foolish as that based on the principle of protection, for it is a misleading system, and one full of deception. With respect to our trade with the United States, there is no country whose markets are so important to Canada as are the markets of the United States, notwithstanding the fact that they produce similar articles to those produced here. Has it never occurred to any one that two peoples, with similar taste and resources, are about the best customers that can be obtained to help one another. I want to trade with all the world, but we can, at an early day, obtain half, for we can get in articles from all the world, and we are sure to pay for them from what we produce, but if you want Canada to arouse itself from its lethargy, open her ports to the trade of the world, and raise revenue on common sense principles. You cannot raise trade by this miserable squabble about ad valorem and specific duties.

Mr. LANDERKIN. This is a very important question, and requires serious consideration. This discussion has diverged a little from the principle of reciprocity. I think the hon. member for Halifax, I believe he is the senior member, made that diversion by referring to a speech made by the leader of the Opposition at Boston. In that speech, if I am correctly informed, because I did not hear the hon. gentleman, he stated that the leader of the Opposition had enunciated sentiments disloyal to England. The leader of the Opposition read the report of the speech and showed that he made no statement that was disloyal, but, on the contrary, that his expressions were loyal to England. I am glad the hon. Premier is present to-night, for I wish to call his attention to a speech delivered by the hon. member for Halifax when the hon. First Min-

ister was absent in Paris. Does the First Minister know the hon. member for Halifax was found on one occasion, not in the house of his friends, but of his enemies? He delivered a speech, which was delivered in consequence of another speech delivered by that eminent man, the Controller of Customs.

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman should confine himself to the subject before the House.

Mr. LANDERKIN. It is necessary, in order to convey the full import and importance of the words used by the hon. member for Halifax that I refer to this matter en passant. The hon. gentleman on that occasion stated that he was going to vote one way.

Mr. SPEAKER. Order.

Mr. LANDERKIN. I thought that perhaps, owing to the multifarious matters of business coming before the First Minister, he would not be able to read all the speeches delivered by that hon. gentleman, and if I read short extracts I would be pardoned by the House. The hon. gentleman on that occasion—

Mr. SPEAKER. Order.

Mr. LANDERKIN. I thought I might be permitted to discuss matters that occurred last session in the House when the hon. member referred to matters that had transpired in Boston.

Mr. LISTER. I move the adjournment of the House.

Mr. SPEAKER. I would just draw the attention of the House to this matter. Of course the adjournment of the House may be moved, but no member of the House, can, under a motion to adjourn the House, do that which is not in order of itself. You cannot pursue a course upon a motion to adjourn the House that would be out of order in the ordinary course of the debate.

Mr. LANDERKIN. Very good, we will not take up these extraneous matters. They were necessary to point a moral and adorn a tale, but I will have to leave them unsaid, and probably I can get a private interview with the Premier and tell him what occurred. I will not be able to refer to the speech of the Controller of Customs when he was going to stab Canada in her vital parts in the back; when he threatened that he and his friends, if a certain measure were passed in the old country, would become disloyal to Her Glorious Majesty. I am glad to hear the Controller of Customs to-night, after what I heard from him last session. I am glad to know to-night that he is truly loyal, that he has come back again and given up his treasonable designs on the Empire. I welcome him back as a good Canadian and a loyal Briton. But I do

not know what the hon. gentleman will be next year. It is very likely that treason bold and bloody will take hold of his soul—

Mr. SPEAKER. Order.

Mr. LANDERKIN,—and he will go marching on again against the Empire. He speaks of the loyalty the Government manifest towards Great Britain by their policy. He says they will not discriminate against Great Britain. Why, it is only the other day, in what the Premier was pleased to call the "little French treaty," they stated they were going to discriminate against the mother country, and I believe if the Premier asks for the vote of the Controller of Customs, notwithstanding his utterances to-night, he will be found a rebel against the mother country when that question comes up. The hon. Controller quoted from the Trade and Navigation Returns; but the other day he showed us there was a clerical error in these returns, and I take hold of that book with fear and trembling, because what may be laid down as a fact there to-day, may prove a fallacy to-morrow. He told us about the market in England, and I suppose that Canada should fall down and worship the Controller of Customs because he secured that market. Why I believe we had that market before the hon. Controller of Customs was born, and so long as wisdom rules in the councils of the Empire we will have that market long after he has passed away and when he is deeply mourned and regretted by the nation. I have not the slightest doubt about that, Mr. Speaker. The hon. gentleman amends this resolution. He has devoted a great deal of attention to political economy, and he knows that for the last fifty years our products have been admitted free into the British market. Yet, he wants to contrast the policy of Great Britain with the policy of a nation whose policy was described by the Democratic party at the last election as a policy as fraudulent as policy could be, a policy hedged in, and hampered, and built in by a high protective tariff. Anybody can understand that this is a very peculiar amendment to move under the circumstances. The Controller knows that our products all enter Great Britain free. He knows that we are driven out of the United States by a policy similar to our own, and he knows well that in a matter of this kind it is impossible to have an accurate estimate, because the circumstances are so widely different and the policies that prevail in the two countries are so different. We on this side of the House take Great Britain for our model; we want our tariff framed on the British model, not on the United States model; and we do not believe in those gentlemen talking about loyalty who in their fiscal policy will discriminate against the mother land, and imitate the policy of those who are opposed to the mother land and opposed to us. We believe in our country, we have faith in our country; we want

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a policy put forward in this country that will develop our industries, give freedom to trade, break down restrictions, and give every man an equal chance in the race for life. That is what we contend for. We on this side of the House have never admitted the principle that any foreign power or any foreign potentate shall frame our tariff. Our Government have been going to Washington by deputation after deputation, but they now tell us, that they stop when they come to discrimination against Great Britain, because they are so loyal. Nevertheless they did not stop at discrimination in the case of France the other day. In their treaties they discriminated against the mother country, not only in favour of France, but in favour of Spain. Yet the Controller of Customs reads us a lecture about loyalty. Well, if he subscribes to this treaty, if he subscribes to a policy of that kind, we know how much reliance is to be placed upon his loyalty. I am very sorry, Mr. Speaker, that I was not allowed to pursue the other lines of thought that I had mapped out for myself, so that I would have an opportunity of showing what divergent and what alternating policies these hon. gentlemen have. At the time the Controller of Customs did diverge on that former occasion, I believe he was not satisfied with his position as Controller of Her Majesty's Customs of Canada. I believe he aspired to a higher position, and it may have been that that set his treason to work.

Mr. SPEAKER. Order.

Mr. LAURIER. What is the point of order?

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. member must not impute dishonourable motives to a member for his actions in this House.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That is not dishonourable. I think my hon. friend was very unfairly dealt with in this decision.

Mr. MULOCK. I think the minority in this House have some rights, and I think Mr. Speaker has been too ready to call to order.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. You never hear him call the other side to order.

Mr. SPEAKER. If the hon. member thinks I have ruled improperly he knows what his remedy is. He can appeal to the House.

Mr. MULOCK. We will have to do it.

Mr. LANDERKIN. I do not think the Controller of Customs meant to march on the mother land. Perhaps it is not treasonable. I do not think he would have gone very far in it anyway, and I will not impute it to him. If I might be allowed to say: his policy was a vacillating one. It was not a positive policy. He had one policy one session and another policy an-

other session. One session he was not so loyal and the next session he became very loyal. Under the circumstances, I hope that this motion will pass, and I hope that all the information that can be derived from it will be given in the return asked for by the hon. member (Mr. Charlton).

Amendment agreed to; and main motion, as amended, agreed to.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 11.05 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, 24th April, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

Mr. BAKER moved that the third report of the Select Standing Committee on Public Accounts be now taken into consideration.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. AMYOT. We have not seen the report, and I should like it to be printed before we are called upon to deal with it.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I think we should have an opportunity to read the report before this motion is made, for it is impossible to follow the text as read at the Table. I think the hon. gentleman (Mr. Baker) would do well to ask that the report be taken into consideration to-morrow, so that hon. members may be able to be in possession of the record of the whole proceedings, as there seems to have been a contest. As to the fourth report of the committee, also presented to-day, giving power to examine witnesses and employ a shorthand writer, there can be no controversy with regard to its adoption. I move that this report be taken into consideration to-morrow, and it be made the first order of the day.

Mr. LAURIER. The hon. First Minister will see that he has adduced a strong argument in favour of the motion made a few days ago, that the committee should be empowered to summon witnesses and examine them under oath, because under the present procedure there will be on every occasion a great loss of time and the progress of the proceedings will be much impeded thereby.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I do not arrive at that conclusion. At all events, it is too late to discuss that now.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. BAKER moved that the fourth report of the Select Standing Committee on Public Accounts be now concurred in, and the committee have power to examine under oath or affirmation such witnesses as appear before them in connection with the inquiry mentioned in resolutions 1 and 2 of the said report, and also that the committee be empowered to employ a shorthand writer to take down the evidence of such witnesses.

Motion agreed to.

DETECTIVE CORPORATIONS AND MERCANTILE AGENCIES.

Mr. SPROULE moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 92) respecting Detective Corporations and Mercantile Agencies.

Mr. CASEY. Explain.

Mr. SPROULE. Mr. Speaker, the object of the Bill is for the purpose of compelling all those engaged as private detectives, or detective agencies, or mercantile corporations to become incorporated; first, by filing a certificate with the names and objects of the corporation of parties with the Secretary of State, and then within thirty days after the filing of that certificate to execute a bond in the sum of \$10,000 and two sureties for each member of the firm, the aggregate of which would amount to \$10,000, for the due performance of their duties. It also provides for the winding up of any such company, in the event of them ceasing to do business either by a failure to renew that bond every five years, or they can cease to operate by a two-thirds vote of their own association. It provides also that no persons shall engage in this work unless they are first registered under the provisions of this Act. It also provides that mercantile agents shall deliver to every person whose name may appear in their report a schedule somewhat similar to that left by the census enumerators, which they may fill up and deliver after reasonable time to the agents of the company. These shall be collected once a year and then filed in a book kept by the mercantile agency for that purpose. Under this provision it is not compulsory on persons to fill up that schedule, but they may do so or make such explanations as they may think it wise to make with reference to their own standing or business. It also provides that commercial agencies shall not be allowed to act as collecting agencies, but shall confine their business to that purpose for which they are incorporated.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

THE SALARY OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

Mr. MULOCK moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 93) to fix the salary of the Governor General.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Explain.

Mr. MULOCK. Mr. Speaker, in answer to the request of some hon. gentlemen that I should explain this Bill, I beg to state that the salary of the Governor General is referred to in section 105 of the British North America Act in the following words:—

Unless altered by the Parliament of Canada, the salary of the Governor General shall be £10,000 sterling, money of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, payable out of the consolidated revenue fund of Canada, and the same shall form a third charge thereon.

It will thus appear from this clause that the sum of £10,000 a year attached to this office was not in the spirit of this Act a fixed and unalterable sum, but simply a sum named at the commencement of confederation and apparently intended to be revised from time to time, inasmuch as it is only declared to be the salary until the amount is altered by the Parliament of Canada. Last session I moved for a return, I have a copy of it in my hand now, showing some—and I hope all—of the expenses in connection with this office from the date of confederation down to the 30th of June, 1892. Perhaps it is only necessary for me to give the total of these figures to show that the time has arrived—in fact, I venture to say has long since passed—for Parliament to address its attention to this question, in order to see whether an unnecessary expenditure of public money was not being made upon this office. And, Sir, I venture to say, that he is the best friend of the office in question who points out abuses in order to their removal. Such at all events is the spirit in which I take the liberty of introducing this Bill to the House. In justification of the course which I have pursued, let me say, that from the official return now in my hand, it appears that there has been expended the following sums out of the public money of Canada upon this office during the period I have alluded to, namely, from confederation to the 30th of June, 1892, in payment of the Governor Generals' salaries the sum of \$1,216,666.05, being the amount assigned to it under the Confederation Act; in payment of Governor Generals' travelling expenses, the sum of \$145,903.45; in payment of salaries to the Governor Generals' secretaries' office, the sum of \$270,350.14; in payment of contingencies, Governor Generals' Secretaries' office, the sum of \$217,426.60; in payment of rent (I presume of a residence before the acquisition of Rideau Hall), \$7,854; purchase of domain (being, I presume, the purchase of Rideau Hall), \$82,000; additions, alterations, repairs, and maintenance in respect of Rideau

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Hall, \$547,143.45; in payment for furniture, \$118,853.01; gardens and grounds (I suppose that is for wages of servants and expenses of that kind on the grounds), \$94,349.86; fuel and light, \$151,371.10. That, I believe, includes the annual grant of \$8,000 a year to the Governor General for fuel and light, which seems to me practically a gratuity and addition to his salary for which I fail to find any justification. These sums make altogether an amount of \$2,851,917.66, or an annual expenditure of \$114,076.70, being about \$65,000 a year in excess of the £10,000 sterling attached to the office at the time of its creation in 1867. No Government is specially blameworthy or entitled to special credit in respect of the administration of the expenses of this office. I find nothing to the credit of the Reform administration in that respect; but I venture to say that the expenses have grown to an unreasonable amount. In this view I invited the attention of the House a year ago to a motion which I submitted in Supply, in the hope that the Government would see fit to revise the whole system before the new Governor General accepted office. It would have been a most opportune time, I think, for Parliament to have dealt with this question, when one Governor General was going out and before his successor was appointed. Now, we are in this position: a new Governor General has been appointed, and it might fairly be said that with the practice of twenty-five years before him it would be unfair to have such a change as I propose take effect during the incumbency of the present Governor General. I feel the force of that objection; and, therefore, my Bill contemplates a substantial reduction all along the line, to take effect on the expiration of the term of office of the present incumbent. That is the direction in which my Bill moves.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved:

That Government Orders have precedence on Thursdays, for the remainder of the session, after Questions to be put by Members.

Mr. LAURIER. Mr. Speaker, I had hoped that the hon. gentleman would not put that motion, and I still hope that he will not press it to-day. It is true, we are now in the fifth week of the session, and I grant readily that this is about the usual period when the Government have been allowed to take one of the days reserved for private members; but the hon. gentleman is aware, and the House is also aware, that out of those five weeks three weeks have been taken by the Government. No opposition was offered on this side of the House to the Government's proposition, because the

subject of the reform of the tariff was one of such absorbing interest that everybody thought it would be only fair that Government business should have priority for the purpose of having that question thoroughly discussed. Three weeks have been thus taken away from the days reserved to private members for their own business. I submit that if the Government now take one of the three days in each week reserved for the business of private members, it will be most likely impossible for many of the measures on the Order paper to be reached during the present session. There are no less than five pages of debatable motions on the Order paper, and no less than twenty-six public Bills introduced by private members which have already reached the stage of the second reading. Among these there are several measures of very great importance; for instance, a Bill to repeal the Franchise Act, a Bill to amend the Franchise Act, a Bill to extend the ballot to the North-west Territories, a Bill to disfranchise voters who have taken bribes, a Bill respecting ocean freight rates on cattle, and other Bills of equally primary importance; and if the Government take Thursday from private members, I submit that most of these Bills will not reach their second reading this session, and a great deal of important legislation to the country will not take place. Now, I notice that the Government have not introduced any Bill in regard to the Franchise Act this year, nor have they expressed any intention to introduce such legislation, though we were promised last year and the year before last that the Government would introduce a very substantial measure—not to abolish the Franchise Act, I am sorry to say, but to amend it and make it more workable. Up to the present time the Government have done nothing in that respect. There are two Bills on the Order paper dealing with the Franchise Act, and if these are to afford the only opportunities we shall have of dealing with that important subject, I do hope that the Government will not press the motion which they have introduced to-day.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I am perfectly conscious of the advantage which the House and the country have obtained by the debate in regard to the tariff having been carried on from day to day without the business of private members being interposed. In consideration of that, we have deferred this motion a week longer than otherwise would have been done, and we only make it now in view of the very limited progress which has been made in forwarding the business of the session. While it is true that the Government has had to some extent the advantage of having the tariff discussion continued in the manner the hon. gentleman describes, it must be remembered that we are not asking for this additional day for our own business in the sense

that private members would have it but for public business of great importance; and I am sure that I need say little to the House with regard to the importance of despatch being used, especially in the consideration of the tariff amendments. We have the further fact that the estimates have not yet been considered at all, and some Government measures are yet to come down, which we have delayed bringing down because it was hopeless to undertake the despatch of them until better progress was made with the consideration of the items of the tariff. But these will be brought down within the next few days, I hope. There will be a measure with regard to the Franchise Act, which will afford ample opportunity for the discussion of that question, and hon. members will perceive that the two Bills relating to that Act which are on the Order paper only contain provisions which the House has discussed and well considered before, and therefore I shall be disposed to give every opportunity for the moving of those Bills. One cannot foresee that their consideration will occupy a very great deal of time. However, Mr. Speaker, in view of the crowded state of the paper for public Bills and Orders, I would be quite willing to meet the views of the House generally by adding to my motion the proposition that the Orders for Thursday be the Orders for Wednesday, so that the House will have all of Mondays for the consideration of notices of motion, and all of Wednesdays for the consideration of public Bills and Orders, and in that way, the two days of the week will be fairly divided between the two classes of business, giving Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays for the despatch of Government business. And if it will further meet the wishes of the House, I will agree that this should go into force after Thursday next, so as to give such part of next Thursday, as may be available for public Bills and Orders without Government business interfering. I think we might meet the convenience of the House and the wishes on both sides by this arrangement, which will enable us to make as much despatch as possible in the matter of the changes in the tariff, which affect so widely the conditions of the commerce of the country.

Mr. LAURIER. We will accept the suggestion of the hon. gentleman.

Mr. SPEAKER. Government Orders will have precedence on and after Thursday, the 3rd of May, after questions put by members, and the Order for Thursdays shall be made the Order on Wednesdays on and after the 2nd of May.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. All this week will be as usual.

Motion agreed to.

INQUIRIES FOR RETURNS.

Mr. GIBSON. I would like to inquire when we may expect the papers down with relation to the Curran bridge, which were ordered four weeks ago?

Mr. HAGGART. We will have them down for the committee on Friday.

Mr. MULOCK. I also desire to inquire when we may expect the papers, ordered about a month ago, respecting the Kingston Penitentiary and the British Columbia Penitentiary?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I think they will be ready to-morrow. They have been copied some time, but require to be read over.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

Mr. FOSTER moved that the House again resolve itself into Committee of Ways and Means.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Before that motion is put, I desire, in the interest of the furtherance of public business, to submit a proposition to the House. It is perfectly plain to me, and I think it is perfectly plain to every member of this House who happens to have a seat on the Public Accounts Committee, that, without impugning the recent decision of that committee of the House, it would have greatly facilitated the progress of public business, had the practice which prevailed in 1891 and 1892 been concurred in. However, I am not at present going back over the record with respect to those matters. I am rather desirous, for the credit of that committee and for the comfort and convenience of the House, of suggesting what, I hope, may prove a reasonable *modus vivendi*, by which we can give effect to the spirit of the statement made by the First Minister, in relation to this matter on a recent occasion. And I am the more desirous of doing that, because it is perfectly plain to me and others that the spirit of his remarks are still wholly misconceived by certain of his colleagues. As I understand the case, what that committee decided, with respect to the proposition of my hon. friend from North York (Mr. Mulock), was that they were not prepared to allow all witnesses going before that committee to be examined on oath. Without accepting that as being a wise decision, I acquiesce in it. When my hon. friend, on a subsequent occasion, moved in this House in the same direction, the Minister of Marine (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper) moved that:

The House is willing to grant to any committee the authority to examine witnesses under oath or affirmation, whenever it may appear that by so doing the committee may be aided in the examination of the matters coming before it.

Subsequently to that the Prime Minister in his speech, in which, as I observed at the

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time, I was disposed in a great measure to concur, laid down this proposition:

It was not by any means necessary that a member should make a charge of fraud or wrong, or the assertion or proof of *prima facie* fraud, but that he will assert that, on account of the extent of the claim under investigation.

That was, in the Minister's judgment, one sufficient reason.

Or on account of its extent, as compared with the vote out of which it is taken.

That, in his opinion, was another sufficient reason—

Or as compared with any other account of the same kind.

That was a third sufficient reason, and he went on to say:

Or for any other reason, which the ingenuity of the hon. member for Lambton (Mr. Lister), I am sure, is at any time sufficient to supply, an inquiry under oath should be had.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. That is not a further reason.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That was the fourth reason suggested by the hon. gentleman, but it was open, I thought, to the objection of vagueness, and we should be inclined to demur to it as not sufficiently explicit, whereas the other three were. Then the hon. gentleman went on to say:

But some reason should be given—I care not to be too nice—why the account of Mr. O'Connor shall be subjected to the examination of witnesses under oath. And then the House shall, at the request of the committee or without it, if the committee declined to make the request, give that committee power to examine witnesses under oath in relation to that matter.

He went on further to say:

For my part, whether in the committee or the House, I would not hesitate, on such a statement of fact—

That the expenditure exceeded the estimated cost of the work—

Without calling upon him to state what he could prove—to give power to examine all witnesses upon oath. I state that, as illustrating the extent to which I, at least, would be disposed to go.

It is becoming perfectly obvious that a very great portion of the time of the Committee of Public Accounts, and consequently a very large part of the time of this House, is apt to be taken up in very unprofitable wrangling, first in the committee, and afterwards in this House, when the subject in dispute is referred to us, unless we can agree together on some kind of definition as to what form of words shall be a sufficient reason and should constitute an instruction, in point of fact, to the committee to examine witnesses upon oath. Now, I am not disposed on the present occasion, in view of the re-

cent decision of the House, to press the matter, nor do I suppose I would be justified in pushing it to the limit to which the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) pushed it the other day, and which, as I have said, I believe to be the wiser course. I am willing enough to acquiesce in what I then understood to be the contention of the First Minister, to wit, that first of all a member of the committee should be at the pains of making a reasonable examination into the accounts and vouchers produced with respect to a particular item, but that, if after having made such examination, he should rise in his place and on his responsibility make the statement that it was desirable in the public interest, or that he believed it desirable in the public interest, or that he was convinced—if you will have it so—that it was desirable in the public interest that witnesses should be examined on oath with respect to any expenditure that he had examined—or the accounts and vouchers with reference to which he had examined—if the member will take that responsibility, the very least that could be done, if you will give effect to the spirit of the First Minister's contention, is, in such case, to allow the witnesses to be examined on oath as a matter of course. I am not asking for what my hon. friend contended, or even for what my hon. friend from Lambton (Mr. Lister) contended, which was that when he named witnesses in a special case they should be allowed to be examined on oath. Now, Sir, it appears to me that we shall surround the proceedings of the Committee on Public Accounts with every imaginable safeguard which any reasonable man can ask for, if we insist, or if the majority of the committee insist, that before any gentleman in that committee asks for an examination of witnesses under oath, he shall first carefully examine the accounts and vouchers produced. And, in view of what the First Minister has contended, if the member rises in his place in that committee and states on his responsibility that he has examined these accounts and that he believes that the ends of justice and the public interest require that witnesses should be examined under oath, then, in all conscience, that ought to be a sufficient justification and a sufficient warrant for the committee to require at once that witnesses be so examined. It must be recognized, Sir, that a very considerable responsibility is thus assumed; but it is indispensably necessary, in my judgment, that this definition shall be given, unless the entire mornings of the committee are to be devoted to a petty wrangle—which does not conduce to our dignity or to the dignity of the proceedings of the House at large—as to what particular form of words the demand shall be made in. And it is still less desirable that, when the majority rule one way and the minority another, a long discussion should forthwith ensue in this House for the purpose of ascer-

taining whether, in that particular instance, the majority's or the minority's view should be maintained. Extreme inconveniences are certain to arise, unless, as I have said, some reasonable definition be laid down; and there can be no doubt whatever that the country and the press will, under such circumstances, inevitably draw the inference that all this trouble would not be gone to, that all this difficulty would not be thrown in the way of investigation, unless some particular Minister or some particular official was anxious to avoid investigation if he could. Now, Sir, in the present instance, nearly six weeks have passed since this House met, and yet not one single witness has been examined. As I have said, Sir, if the proposal—which I think is a reasonable and fair one, which is very far indeed from going to the length to which I think the committee ought to go, or the length my hon. friend proposed it should go—is to be accepted, the time of the committee and the time of this House will be saved to a great extent. Sir, there is another reason why I would urge this very strongly upon the consideration of the First Minister. Who form the majority of the committee? Why, Sir, the private members on either side being about equal in numbers, it will be seen that in the great majority of cases in which investigation on oath was refused, the men who refused it were the Ministers of the Crown, the chiefs of the spending departments whose accounts were being then investigated by the Public Accounts Committee. Now, Sir, I have said before, and I repeat, that I believe it is a mistake, I believe it is contrary to the spirit of the Public Accounts Committee and the object for which it is formed, that a large number of Ministers should have seats there. I admit the wisdom and propriety of allowing Ministers to be heard before the Public Accounts Committee when the expenditures of their several departments are under consideration by the committee. That can be done, I think, and done in accordance with our rules, but I do say that it cannot but strike the public at large as a very unfair and a very improper thing that we should bring up questions for investigation into the spending departments, and that, again and again, investigation should be refused by a majority composed, as I have said, of the chiefs of these very spending departments. I do not wish to repeat too much what I said before as to the extreme desirability, when you are examining the officials of a particular department when their chiefs are in presence, of requiring these witnesses to be sworn. I think, Sir, that everybody must see for himself that it is asking far too much of these officials to expect them to give a very full account of the transactions, maybe reflecting upon their official chief, when that chief is in presence, unless they are virtually compelled to do it, and they can only be compelled to do it if their answers are taken down and if they are

examined under oath. Sir, as I have said, I do not at all desire to prolong this discussion; but I do desire to lay before the House what I believe to be a reasonable compromise on this question, a proposal which goes not to the length to which I think it ought to go, not to the length to which we proposed to go, but which carries out in effect and in reality the spirit of the remarks made by the First Minister on the recent occasion to which I have referred. And, in order that we may obtain an authoritative decision on the matter, I beg to move :

That Mr. Speaker do not now leave the Chair, but that all the words after "That" be left out and it be resolved: "Whenever any member of the Committee on Public Accounts shall declare in his place in the said committee that he has examined the papers and vouchers submitted in respect of any item referred to the said committee, and that he is convinced that it is necessary in the public interest that all witnesses examined in reference to the said item should be examined upon oath, it shall be an instruction to the said committee to cause such witnesses to be so examined."

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Mr. Speaker, I accept entirely the suggestion for a *modus vivendi* which the hon. member for South Oxford made, and, when he embodies it in a resolution, I hope to have the privilege of voting for that resolution. But the resolution moved by the hon. gentleman does not express what the hon. gentleman's speech expressed as the proposition which he would submit to the House, which he said would not go to the length he would desire, but would go to a reasonable length in order to meet the views and wishes of gentlemen on both sides of the House. Now, I adhere to every word he read from my observation made a few evenings ago; but the hon. gentleman will do me the justice to remember, and to admit, that I stated to the House my views of what was our power and what was our practice, except as regards the two precedents of 1891 and 1892, and also what was the English practice, namely, that this power should be called for and should be exercised by the committee in individual cases. The proposition which I laid down to the House was that whenever it were made to appear, in such classes of cases as I described in the extract which the hon. member did me the honour to quote, that it was desirable that witnesses should be examined under oath, I thought that the committee would at once ask power from this House, and that this House would grant that power, would grant that power even though the committee had not asked for it, if it were made to appear that such a case existed. But what the hon. gentleman proposes here is not merely to embody that principle in a resolution for the removal of doubt, for the removal of vagueness, for the removal of differences of opinion which he thought might exist between some hon. members on

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this side of the House, but he proposes that it shall be an instruction to that committee forthwith to examine those witnesses under oath. What I do assent to, and what the hon. gentleman, if I understand him correctly, proposed in the observations with which he prefaced his resolution, is this: that in any such case as I have stated if a member of the committee should state upon his honour, or upon his responsibility as a member of the committee, or as a member of the House, or otherwise, that he had carefully examined an account and that he had reason to believe that the public interest required that there should be an examination under oath, that should be acquiesced in as being a case for examination under oath. Now, I agree that although my statement of the other evening does not go that length—at least I think it does not—I would be willing, for the purpose of arriving at a clear understanding in regard to the question, to agree that that ought to be sufficient for the committee to act upon and come to this House for the power to examine witnesses under oath. But again I have to make this objection, which I made to the resolution which was moved the other day, that this in an instruction to the committee which makes it obligatory upon the committee in all such cases to examine under oath. It may well be that it is sufficient, and I agree that it should be sufficient, to induce the committee to come here and ask the power, nay, more, that it should be sufficient for us to confer power on the committee, if the case seemed to the House a proper one; but I do object to a sweeping regulation as regards all subjects, and as regards the committee being bound in advance by an instruction of this House to examine witnesses under oath, without the House knowing beforehand what the subject of the investigation is to be.

Mr. LAURIER. Then there is but one conclusion to be drawn from the conduct of the Government with regard to inquiries before the Public Accounts Committee, and that conclusion is this: that while they profess to be favourable to the inquiry, they are determined to do everything possible to put obstacles in the way of it. There is no other conclusion to be arrived at. My hon. friend proposed the other day to make it a rule that whenever it appeared desirable that an inquiry should take place under oath then the inquiry should take place under oath before the Public Accounts Committee, and the committee was to determine when it is desirable that such inquiry should take place. My hon. friend from South Oxford proposes a rule for the guidance of the committee and the guidance of the House, and that rule is this: that whenever a member declares from his place in the committee that he has examined the vouchers of the expenditure under investigation before the committee, and that he believes an inquiry should take place under

oath, such inquiry should take place under oath, and to this proposition the First Minister assents; he assents to the principle, but denies the principle in practice. Now, what will be the effect of the rule proposed by the hon. gentleman? The hon. gentleman proposes that upon every application the committee shall come back to the House for information, for guidance and direction. The practical effect will be what took place to-day before the Committee on Public Accounts, as we have it in the third report of the committee, where a long wrangle took place after the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) had affirmed that he had looked into the Behring Sea accounts, and that there was reason to investigate that account. The motion was denied, and a report was made to the House, and we have to wait until to-morrow in order to have the evidence. And so it will go on from day to day, and investigation cannot take place. We are in the sixth week of the session, and it has not yet been possible to examine a single witness before the committee. So I say that there is only one conclusion to be derived from the attitude of the Government. They profess to be in favour of this inquiry, but they put forward obstacle after obstacle in order to prevent these witnesses being examined under oath. Therefore I have to protest against the interpretation given by the hon. gentleman. If his interpretation prevails in this House, as I am afraid it will prevail, then let it be well understood that while they profess to be in favour of the inquiry, they do everything possible to prevent it.

Mr. CASEY. In discussing this matter hitherto there has been far too much talk about precedent, about the precedents of this House and the precedents of the British House. As for that matter, the precedents of this House are entirely in favour of the course urged from our side of the Chamber. But I think too much has been said about precedent in connection with this matter. This is a question with which the House has full power to deal, according to its wishes, at the present moment, no matter what the precedents may or may not have been. I think it is time that we looked at the matter from a common-sense point of view. What is the object of the Public Accounts Committee? It is a committee of inquiry. By whom is the inquiry likely to be instituted? By the supporters of the Government? Certainly not, Mr. Speaker. By members of the Government? Certainly not. It is the only court of justice open to the Opposition, or supposed to be open to the Opposition, where they can enforce an inquiry into that which the Government or their friends wish to keep a secret and to conceal. It is a tribunal on which the Government has a majority, on which, as has been already pointed out, the very members of the Government themselves often constitute a majority when a vote is taken. Before

any tribunal appointed to give justice to a minority appealing to it, the right of initiating an inquiry, the right to have an inquiry conducted under the sanction of an oath, should certainly rest with the minority rather than with the majority. For that reason I am inclined to think that the amendment of my hon. friend from South Oxford does not go far enough, and that the only safe principle to guide inquiries before the committee, is that the administration of the oath should be a matter of course in every investigation carried on before that committee. A great deal has been said about fishing inquiries, and so on. Let us compare this great anxiety to prevent fishing inquiries with the liberal use of the oath allowed in the courts of justice of the smallest description throughout the country in all sorts of proceedings, where a magistrate must examine on oath every witness heard before him, in deciding a matter, perhaps of a few dollars, in deciding a question whether a man was drunk and disorderly over night, in all such cases the oath must be administered according to law. A writ is not held to have been duly served without an affidavit to prove that it has been served. A deed or lease is of no use without an affidavit as to its execution. A man cannot even get his name on the voters' list under our much-beloved Franchise Act without subscribing to a solemn declaration, to which the penalties of perjury are attached, to the effect that he is qualified as a voter. If the oath is not only allowed, but enforced, and required in matters of such comparatively minor importance, what pretense of reason is there for saying that the oath should not be administered when it is a question of ascertaining whether the moneys of the country have been properly and honestly spent? The Public Accounts Committee is the great audit of the nation. The Auditor General is bound by technicalities. He is bound to pay money if cheques are in proper form, and drawn against the proper appropriation. It is the Public Accounts Committee alone that can decide whether a cheque has been drawn for an honest purpose, whether the money has been properly used, whether the will of Parliament has been carried out in the expenditure of the money voted. It is monstrous to pretend that there is any reason for not administering the oath in cases of an inquiry of such importance. It is absurd to pretend that there is any reason against administering the oath in these cases, and yet administering it in the smallest petty-fogging lawsuit that can come before a rural justice of the peace. The only reason that can exist is the one alleged by my hon. friend and leader who has just spoken—that there is something to conceal, or there would not be such anxiety to prevent inquiry. I remember, when a boy, seeing another boy searched on the charge of having stolen a jack-knife from one of his play-fellows. He submitted to the inquiry, which was not

under oath, until a certain pocket was reached, when he said: "You must not look in there." They asked why. His reply was: "Cos de jack-knife's in there." There is a jack-knife somewhere that the Premier and his friends do not wish us to find. We must be getting pretty near the pocket in which it is concealed, or there would not be such an attempt to prevent a search. In what position does the Prime Minister stand in regard to this question? In the hon. gentleman's speech the other night, he admitted everything claimed on this side of the House; to-day, he says he adheres to what he said then. He agreed with the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) as to the proper steps that should be taken before the oath was administered. He did not agree that the committee should be empowered to carry on the inquiry when these reasons are given in the committee, but he did agree that when such reasons were given either in the committee or on the floor of the House, the committee should be authorized to make the inquiry under oath. He agreed with the hon. member for South Oxford as to the reasons for administering the oath; he differed from him only in the attempt to postpone inquiries as much as possible by referring the subject-matter to this House and back again. His position is utterly illogical. It is the same as that in which the hon. gentleman found himself during the investigations of 1891-92. At the beginning of those investigations he professed himself anxious to promote the fullest inquiries into anything that might appear to be improper on the part of any persons concerned, no matter how high their position might be. After the awful revelations in the committee in 1891 the hon. gentleman became more cautious, more prudent, as was said the other night by the Minister of Marine and Fisheries. Finding that that sort of inquiries led to awful revelations, the hon. gentleman came to a dead stand on the question of charges made against the Minister of Railways and Canals, in connection with some contract work, and he refused point blank an inquiry into that affair. The hon. gentleman is now similarly departing from the logical consequence of what he not only formerly, but latterly, admitted. The hon. gentleman admits the propriety of investigating on oath under certain circumstances; but he wishes to handicap the inquiry with all possible measures of delay and hindrance. Is it to be concluded, as the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) stated a few nights ago, that if it is only when the Government are in a state of panic they are willing to grant free and full investigation? If it is, it is to be hoped they will soon be in a panic again, in order that the interests of the country may be served. But when the First Minister comes before this House with such a judicial manner, and such an appearance of intention to arrive at a *modus vivendi*, as it has been called, we do not expect

Mr. CASEY.

such propositions. We are led, moreover, to come to the conclusion that this is only a cloak for obtaining the end in view, to effect delay and present every possible obstruction to the inquiry.

Mr. LISTER. I take the liberty of saying that the position taken by the First Minister to-day is exceedingly gratifying, I am sure, to the Opposition, because it bears out the contention they made at the committee to-day, that all that it was necessary on the part of an hon. member to do was to state that he had examined the books and vouchers, and was of opinion, in the public interest, that the investigations should take place under oath. That was the position taken by hon. gentlemen on this side of the House in the committee to-day, but an opposite position was taken by the hon. Finance Minister and his colleagues and supporters in this House.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The hon. gentleman cannot refer to the proceedings of the committee.

Mr. LISTER. It is contended on the other side of the House that before witnesses can be examined on oath, a member of the committee must first rise and state that a certain account is erroneous in some particular, either there has been an overcharge or there has been a misapplication by a public servant. The proposition before the House is, as is contended in the resolution of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), that all that is necessary is for an hon. member to state that these accounts have been examined, and in his opinion, an investigation on oath is necessary. If that rule is to be adopted by this House, and the First Minister has agreed that it shall be the rule in future, I ask him what possible purpose can be served by compelling the committee to come back to this House and ask it to give the committee power to administer the oath? If a rule is to be adopted, it should be an inflexible one, and to apply to all cases coming before the Public Accounts Committee—a statement by an hon. member that, in his judgment, witnesses should be examined under oath, and that he has examined the accounts and vouchers. If, on a statement of that kind an hon. member has a right to ask that witnesses be examined under oath, because that would be the conclusion arrived at, what purpose can be served by the committee coming back to this House and asking authority to swear the witnesses, if the House agrees upon a right of conceding that all witnesses, on a statement of that kind being made, should be examined on oath? The natural result of that would be that these investigations will be delayed. This matter will come up before the Public Accounts Committee, it is pitched from that into the House of Commons; a motion is made here that witnesses shall be examined under

oath before the committee, it comes back again to the committee, the motion is made there to examine witnesses under oath, and the result of this meaningless procedure is that the investigation will be delayed, in all probability, for two weeks. The position I take is this: If the leader of the Government and the leader of the Opposition agree that that shall be the rule, then, that being the rule, in a case coming within the rule, the committee ought not be obliged to come back to the House for authority to administer the oath.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Discussion seems to be unnecessary at any length, because, practically, the leaders on both sides agree, but the trouble is that the rank and file of the leader of the Government will not support him. We stand in this position. We have the leader of the Government and the leader of the Opposition, and all the Opposition on one side, together with the member for Cornwall (Mr. Bergin), but outside the leader of the Government and the member for Cornwall we have a solid phalanx on that side of the House against us. I am quite sure that a little reflection will show the First Minister the necessity of agreeing to this resolution. We have on the Table of the House a recital of the facts which took place before the Public Accounts Committee, and a recital of the facts in exact conformity to those which the hon. leader of the Government declared would be essential and ample to justify the committee—to “compel” the committee, to use his own language—to take examination on oath; but, notwithstanding that the plan he suggested has been carried out exactly, we find almost every one of his supporters opposed to oaths being administered. What are the facts, as shown by this report:

Mr. McMullen states that having examined the expenditure in *re* the Behring Sea Arbitration as set out in the Auditor General's Report on Appropriation Accounts, he is satisfied that it is desirable in the public interest to examine Mr. Joseph Pope and other witnesses on oath with respect thereto, and he moves accordingly that Joseph Pope and other witnesses be subpoenaed to be examined before this committee *re* Behring Sea Arbitration, and that authority be asked from the House to examine them under oath.

That motion was negatived.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I understand that resolution failed to carry because the fact was that the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) did not make the assertion which is stated there, and the hon. member (Mr. Davies) has read, not what the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) said, but what the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davies) moved in the committee.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Oh, no. The hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) moved a resolution, and afterwards I

made the suggestion that the statement which he made in moving the resolution should be to the extent that they are here embodied in the resolution. My hon. friend from North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) said: “I accept Mr. Davies' suggestion.” It was then written out, and he formally moved it with that preamble in it. That complies with every condition that the right hon. the First Minister laid down the other day as desirable or essential before you can move a resolution to have a witness examined under oath. What more could the Opposition do? We carried out every suggestion which the leader of the Government made, and some of his friends had the sense to see that the majority were going against the First Minister, and stated that they would not follow the majority. I must not refer to what took place in the committee, it is true, but it came out inadvertently.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It is all over now.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Yes, it is all over now. I point-out to the right hon. gentleman the unfair and unjust position in which the Opposition are placed. They first make a motion in which he does not agree. He lays down the lines on which the motion should be drawn, and they adopt those lines, and use his own very language. Notwithstanding that, almost every one of his colleagues say that they will not accept it, and they negatived this resolution. One would almost imagine that there is something wrong about these Behring Sea accounts. We have two or three times tried to get the witnesses examined with respect to them, and, notwithstanding that we adopt the suggestion of the First Minister as to how we should proceed, the right hon. gentleman's colleagues vote down the resolution. My hon. friend (Sir Richard Cartwright) now says: We will submit the matter to the First Minister in a general resolution, and say that whenever the conditions he alleges ought to be complied with are complied with, then the committee should take the course of allowing the witnesses to be examined under oath. There is not a bit of distinction between the plan of my hon. friend (Sir Richard Cartwright) and the plan of the leader of the Government, except that my hon. friend's plan, if adopted, would prevent us coming back from the committee to this House, day after day, and would, if carried, form a general instruction to the committee, almost embodying a portion of the First Minister's speech. What more could be required? If the hon. the First Minister votes this down, I am very much afraid that an hon. gentleman sitting not very far from his elbow, will, on the very next occasion, exercise his astute mind in finding some means to get around the resolution again, and we will be brought a fourth time to the House to know if it is possible, on any condition under heaven to examine a witness under oath.

Mr. FOSTER. You got one to-day.

Mr. MONTAGUE. You got one in spite of yourself.

Mr. LISTER. I gave reason for it.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman (Mr. Lister) gave reasons. He complied with an additional condition which the Minister of Finance imported into the matter in order to get his resolutions through. But we do not wish to be obliged, in every case, not only to carry out what the First Minister said should be the law and the policy on the subject, but also to add something which the Minister of Finance, or one of his friends, say should be added to it. It may be that in every case a member of the committee cannot make the declaration which my hon. friend (Mr. Lister) did; that from an experience of thirty years at the bar he was able to say that the taxation seems to be very loose with respect to this account; and, after he had made his statement, the witnesses were allowed to be examined under oath. The Behring Sea accounts have not been taxed at all, and no such statement can be made with reference to them. The hon. gentleman who moved in the matter found by the Public Accounts, that large sums of money were paid for living allowances at the rate of \$10 per day to a large number of gentlemen, running from \$1,700 or \$1,800 each for clerks in the public service. He thought, rightly or wrongly, that that was enormously large.

Mr. COATSWORTH. He did not say so in committee.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) He did not give in detail every reason he had for desiring this.

Mr. COATSWORTH. He did not give any reason at all.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) He did give his expression of opinion in the words of the resolution which I have read.

Mr. COATSWORTH. That gives no reason.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. member is in direct variance with his leader.

Mr. COATSWORTH. Not at all.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman had better listen to what his leader said, and take his instructions from him. The leader of the Government has laid this down, and he has stated to-day that he agrees in substance with every word of the resolution proposed by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), but he thinks it is not desirable to give general instructions to the committee.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. If the hon. gentleman will allow me, I said that the proposition made in his speech by the hon. member for South Oxford went somewhat further than my observations and my offer

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

of the other day, but that I would be willing to accept it as a *modus vivendi*, as it was very desirable to arrive at a *modus vivendi* on the subject; but I said that the resolution went further.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) It went further in that it instructed the committee in every case to examine witnesses under oath, while the hon. gentleman thought that the committee should ask for instruction from the House in every case. But we find members, like the hon. member for East Toronto (Mr. Coatsworth), rising up and repudiating what the First Minister said. If the hon. First Minister will only come up to the Public Accounts Committee for one day, I think a *modus vivendi* will be arrived at which will facilitate the transaction of public business. I think it is time that this sort of thing should be put a stop to. Surely the hon. leader of the Government has sufficient authority over his followers to induce them in a matter involving public policy to accept his declaration and let the business of the country be carried on without from day to day throwing difficulties in the way and preventing us making examinations that we have a right to make.

Mr. WELDON. I would like to ask the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) whether he will venture to say that the motion made by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), which he has seconded, is, in his judgment, within our powers under the statute—whether he thinks that a resolution of this House can give us the power to do what he proposes we should undertake to do in this respect.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I think the hon. gentleman has my answer in the remarks I made the other day on the motion made by the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock), that in all cases where the Public Accounts Committee requested that witnesses should be examined on oath, instructions should be given to so examine them, and it seems to me that the statute says that whenever the committee deems it desirable—

Mr. WELDON. The House.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Whenever the House thinks it desirable it shall grant the necessary authority.

Mr. WELDON. The motion of the hon. member for South Oxford is that this House shall now give an anticipatory mandate to the Public Accounts Committee that whenever in the future a certain statement is made by a single member of that committee with reference to an unnamed item—the correctness of the statement being assumed—the examination in reference to that item shall be made under oath. I ask the hon. member again frankly—he has read the statute, and is perfectly familiar with its terms—whether we have power under that statute to give any such anticipatory mandate as that?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Certainly.

Mr. WELDON. I will again read the motion of the hon. member for South Oxford :

That all the words after "That" be left out, and it be resolved : That whenever any member of the Committee on Public Accounts shall declare in his place in the said committee that he has examined the papers and vouchers submitted in respect of any item referred to the said committee, and that he is convinced that it is necessary in the public interest that all witnesses examined in reference to the said item, should be examined upon oath, it—

That is, that statement by that member in that regard—

—it shall be an instruction to the said committee to cause such witnesses to be so examined.

We are asked to substitute for the particular and express words of the statute a very different thing, and I venture to stake what little reputation I have on the assertion that this motion is an attempt, by means of a resolution of this House, to alter an Act of the Parliament of Canada. I may remind the House that under the common law in the mother country the House of Commons had no such power. It obtained that power by the express terms of an Act, and therefore we must read that Act strictly. This is an amendment to the common law. Let me read again the section of the Act, on which the whole question turns :

Whenever any witness or witnesses is or are to be examined by any committee of the Senate or House of Commons, and the Senate and House of Commons shall have resolved that it is desirable that such witness or witnesses shall be examined on oath, such witness or witnesses shall be examined on oath or affirmation where affirmation is allowed by law.

The statute clearly contemplates that the committee shall come here in each individual case and ask leave. Nothing is plainer than that.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Do you consider that a penal statute to be construed with the utmost rigour in every case ?

Mr. WELDON. No ; but this is an alteration of the common law.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman says this is an alteration of the common law, and therefore the statute must be construed strictly. I do not think that is the rule. I think we are to look at the object of the statute, and this is not a penal statute, but a remedial statute, and a remedial statute is not to be construed strictly, but liberally. It is to be construed in contemplation of the end in view, which is to have witnesses examined on oath in such a way as to facilitate the public business. The hon. gentleman has referred to the provision of the statute, and reads it as though it were necessary to indicate the

particular witness and the specific object about which the witness is to be examined. I do not so read the statute. I do not think there is anything in it that will warrant us in so reading it. The beginning of the section is : "Whenever any witness or witnesses is or are to be examined." Suppose we leave out the word "witness" and read it : "Whenever any witnesses are to be examined." When are they to be examined ? That is for this House to determine ; the power is placed here. And if the House determines that the witnesses shall be examined on the representation of any one member affirming that he believes the public interest would be thereby promoted, it is competent for this House to proceed on that line. That is what we propose, and I ask the attention of the First Minister to this fact. We have moved for a large number of papers. The whole committee has not undertaken to examine those papers. It would be quite impossible for that to be done ; we would not get through the business of the session in twelve months if it were attempted. Certain members have moved for different papers, and no doubt they will devote their attention to examining the contents of those accounts and vouchers. That having been done, who is most competent to say whether it is desirable that witnesses should be examined on oath in reference to them or not ? The whole committee who have never looked at those accounts, who do not know what their contents are or what the difficulties are in the way of ascertaining the facts, or the member who has examined the accounts and stated his views to the committee ? The object and intention is that the members of the committee shall trust to the individual judgment of each other so far as to accept the conclusion to which the individual member has come, and to act upon his suggestion. The hon. Minister of Justice in the discussion of this subject has expressed that as his view. To-day, he says, that instead of laying down a general proposition, we should make an application in each individual case. There is no difference of opinion between the Minister of Justice and hon. gentlemen on this side, so far as the Minister of Justice has expressed any opinion on that fact, that if an individual member of the committee expresses the opinion, after examining that account, that the public interests would be promoted by examining the witnesses on oath, then such an examination should take place. If that is the proper view, what is the object of taking a vote at all in the committee on the subject ? The committee ought to proceed as a matter of course. And if they are to proceed as a matter of course, it would be a matter of great convenience that the general proposition proposed by my hon. friend from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), should be adopted, instead of requiring that a separate application should, in every case, be made to the House to instruct the committee to take the evidence

under oath. Such a course can only delay public business, interfere with the investigations in the committee, and greatly protract this session. The line of policy marked out by the resolution of my hon. friend from South Oxford is strictly that indicated by the Minister of Justice as the one that ought to be adopted by this House, and its adoption would greatly facilitate public convenience and the despatch of business.

Mr. MULOCK. The hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) has stated that, in his opinion, the spirit of the Act does not enable the House to grant an anticipatory order to examine under oath. If that be the spirit of the Act, it has only been discovered since this session, and has not been the previous interpretation of the Act in other sessions. In every application previously made to Parliament to examine witnesses, Parliament has proceeded upon the very opposite lines. In no case has Parliament first of all inquired into the merits. In no case has Parliament apparently had the slightest knowledge of the facts or merits of the case. But on the strength of statements, probably made in the course of debate or argument—and I think in most cases without argument at all—the Senate, and the House in harmony with the Senate has invariably passed resolutions declaring that it was advisable in such and such matters to examine the witnesses on oath. In no one instance until now has the point been taken that the House should first decide on the merits of the application. The Act would be a dead letter if the House were, in the first instance, to pronounce upon the merits.

Mr. WELDON. We do not argue that.

Mr. MULOCK. My hon. friend says the House has not power to anticipate. I think he will admit that this House has the power to instruct the Public Accounts Committee to examine on oath every witness that appears before it. A certain matter is referred to the committee. That matter is the public accounts for the year. Every item in connection with these accounts is as special a subject of reference to the committee as if it had been specially designated in the reference—as if every item into which the committee is appointed to inquire were specially named and designated. It must not be imagined, because the public accounts for the year are referred in bulk to the committee, that each item is any the less a subject of special reference. Take the references to the Privileges and Elections Committee. That committee has not a number of cases before it at once, and it generally happens that only one particular subject is referred to it at a time, so that the order of the House reads that, with regard to that particular matter, it is desirable that all the witnesses should be examined under oath. What does the House know about the merits in such a reference? Another matter of reference, a short time ago, by this House to a com-

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

mittee, was the subject of frauds on farmers, in which the motion to refer that subject to a committee was made by the former hon. member for Hamilton, and the House resolved that all the witnesses should be examined under oath. In authorizing one of these committees to examine under oath, the House could prescribe some limit if it chose. If any member is afraid that such power would be abused, let him propose some limitation to it. For instance, with regard to the Public Accounts Committee, to which there are hundreds of different subjects referred, the House might decide that in the case of some of the subjects, an examination should be had under oath, but that with regard to others such an examination need not be held. It must be borne in mind that the subject of reference to the Public Accounts Committee are separate and divisible. It is true they embrace all the expenditure of the year, but it is equally true that they are wholly independent of each other in one respect. My hon. friend will see that if my argument is not sound, you have not power now to authorize the examination of witnesses in any one transaction alone. You must either treat the reference to the Public Accounts Committee as separate and divisible, under different heads, or else you cannot make the order at all. We have to-day resolved that all witnesses in respect of one item of expenditure, namely, the Curran Bridge, shall be examined under oath, yet that is not the whole thing referred to the committee for the year. We have references about hundreds of other things, so that we really do exercise discrimination. The fact is that the First Minister speaks fair words, but unfortunately, when he is away, there are so many other law-makers in the Public Accounts Committee, that his law does not go beyond this House. We have one view presented by the Minister of Finance, another by the Minister of Marine, another by the Minister of Public Works, and another by the Secretary of State, who, I must say, is always very fair, but to-day seems trying to agree with them all. And of course we have the view of the Minister of Railways and Canals. These gentlemen will not agree to be governed by the First Minister. In fact it looks as if we would have to dissolve the committee and remove from it the members who seem to have formed themselves into a sort of insurrectionary band. I wonder if the spirit of old number eight has been transported by the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Ouimet) into the Public Accounts Committee. If so, the argument of my hon. friend from South Oxford is very well advised, and shows what we ought to do in the premises—that is, reconstruct the committee and put into it gentlemen who will recognize discipline and good advice. At present the difference between the proposition of the First Minister and the proposition of the hon. member for South Oxford is simply this: If we had a committee who would obey the First Minister, there would perhaps be no dif-

ference ; but inasmuch as the committee will not recognize his authority, the view of the First Minister is negatived, not because of his attitude, but because of the contumacy of his supposed followers. So that we have the issue now between us—a practical scheme to get over the difficulty and an impracticable one. In other words, an effective scheme in theory, but ineffective in practice, namely, the one suggested by the First Minister, and a practical scheme. In my view the law warrants the resolution proposed by my hon. friend from South Oxford, and the public interest demands it. It is idle to go on wasting time before the Public Accounts Committee, as we must inevitably do, if a special application for this power has to be made on every occasion, and if, when that application is made, nine members of the Government give each a different view of the law.

Mr. McNEILL. I just wish to say a word in explanation of the vote I shall give in connection with this resolution. If there had been any evidence at all adduced, or any attempt at all made to show that there was a likelihood of evidence being adduced, when application was made to this House for leave to examine witnesses on oath, of that leave being refused by the House, I should have been much inclined to support the proposition of hon. gentlemen opposite, provided it was in the power of this House to pursue the course they propose. But, as there has been no allegation whatever, during the whole course either of this debate or the debate that took place on the former resolution, to the effect that there has been any difficulty in obtaining leave from this House to examine witnesses upon oath when leave was asked of the House, I cannot see why we should run the risk of straining the constitution in order to do what does not appear to be at all necessary. All that hon. gentlemen have been able to say is that some delay may be caused by their being obliged to come to this House to ask for power to examine witnesses under oath. Now, it seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that all the powers they require to examine any witness before this committee they might have obtained long ago if they had only come here and asked for them. If they had asked for leave to examine Mr. Joseph Pope upon oath as to his accounts they would have had that leave, and, so far from there being any evidence that this House has ever withheld the power they asked, the evidence is all the other way—it goes to show that the House seems to have been inclined rather to exceed its powers in that respect, if we may judge from its actions in 1891 and 1892. Under these circumstances, Mr. Speaker, I shall certainly vote against this resolution, and I am very much inclined to think that the resolution is rather for the country than for this House. I am very much inclined to think that this resolution is nothing more than a

little kite-flying ; in fact, that it is for the purpose of making a little electioneering capital. If hon. gentlemen opposite really wanted to arrive at what they say they want to arrive at—that is to say, to examine on oath in reference to matters before the committee—they could obtain all the powers at any time by simply coming to this House and asking for those powers.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) They have asked.

Mr. McNEILL. Speaking on this subject before, my hon. friend from Prince Edward Island (Mr. Davies) who is interrupting me now, said that he was very anxious on behalf of the committee. He thought there was something derogatory to the committee in requiring them to come here and ask for these powers. He said he did not come here as a supplicant, and he did not wish to appear as a supplicant and he demanded certain powers for the committee. But the resolution he supported at that time was a resolution to compel the committee, whether they liked it or not, to examine every witness upon oath. That was a strange way to stand up for the rights of the committee—to impose upon them an obligation never heard of before in the Legislature of any civilized country in the world. If hon. gentlemen wish to investigate the public accounts, I say again, if they wish to arrive at the truth with regard to the items that come before them, they have the amplest means of doing so. There is no obstacle whatever thrown in their way. This House is ready, as the Prime Minister has said, and as all the speeches of other members on the subject have shown, to give any proper power with respect to the examination of witnesses if hon. gentlemen will come before the House and say that they have good reason to believe, on the examination of certain items, that it would be in the public interest to have witnesses examined under oath. So far as I can see, having listened to this discussion on both occasions as carefully as I could, there is nothing in this motion except an attempt to make political capital.

Mr. MULLOCK. Will the hon. gentleman allow me to ask him a question before he sits down ? I know he is a great admirer of British precedent ; I would like to ask his opinion as to the merits of the Imperial Act of 1871.

Mr. McNEILL. So far as the Imperial Act of 1871 is concerned, it is something very different indeed from what is proposed here. Hon. gentlemen opposite, in this resolution, propose that any member of the committee shall have the power to dictate to the committee whether a witness shall be examined under oath or not. The Imperial Act of 1871 gives power to the committee as a whole to examine under oath such witnesses as it sees fit. These two things are entirely different, and the position of the hon. gentleman who has asked me

the question reminds me of the course that was pursued by another gentleman on his side, my hon. friend from Prince Edward Island (Mr. Davies), when this resolution was before the House in another form. The hon. gentleman from Prince Edward Island then stated that the resolution authorized a practice identical with the British practice. My hon. friend from Prince Edward Island knows perfectly well that the British practice gives power to the committee to examine witnesses under oath, while the proposition which the hon. gentleman supported with such energy and with such vigorous declamation was a proposition that the committee should have no power in the matter.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) No, no.

Mr. McNEILL. Yes; it was to the effect that the committee must examine every witness under oath. I can only say, Mr. Speaker, that, if such a resolution were carried, the committee would be without power, and would be obliged to examine every witness under oath. And yet my hon. friend told us that that was the English practice.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I would like to ask my hon. friend, who seems desirous of arriving at a just conclusion, what he has to say about the action of the committee in refusing Mr. McMullen's application to examine Mr. Pope under oath.

Mr. McNEILL. I was not present, and I am not going to take my hon. friend's ex-parte statement of what occurred.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) But there is the report.

An hon. MEMBER. You would not believe him under oath.

Mr. McNEILL. Yes; I would take my hon. friend's statement on oath. But, I am sorry to say, I would not be willing to accept his statements with regard to political matters in this House. He is inclined to be a little imaginative at times.

Mr. EDGAR. I rise to a point of order, Mr. Speaker. I would like to ask if, the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies, P.E.I.) having made a statement of fact, the hon. gentleman is not bound to accept it at once?

Mr. McNEILL. The question is whether I am bound to accept the hon. gentleman's ex-parte statement of what passed in the committee.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I read from the report on the Table.

Mr. McNEILL. My hon. friend did not read, Mr. Speaker, when he addressed me. However, I will await your ruling, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. McNEILL.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I think my hon. friend has not finished his remarks, but sat down in consequence of being under the impression that there was a point of order to be settled.

Mr. McNEILL. I have nothing further to say, except what I was about to say when I was interrupted—and I am obliged to my right hon. friend the Prime Minister for giving me the opportunity to repeat it—that there is no material grievance, so far as hon. gentlemen opposite are concerned, that I have been able to discover. They may examine witnesses under oath if they wish to do so; all they have to do is to come here and state their wish to examine witnesses under oath and give a reason for it.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. If the House would indulge me for a moment, I would like to make a proposition on this subject which may shorten discussion; for I take it for granted that, above all, the desire of the House is to deal in a business way with a matter purely of business. Misunderstandings have arisen as to what we contend for in the committee and contend for in this House, and the result of doctrines which are laid down in the House or in the committee. Now, it seems to me that there is a difficulty in arriving at what I hoped was a practical proposition on the part of the member for South Oxford as to a *modus vivendi* on that subject this afternoon, and a difficulty we find whenever we approach the subject, and that is that what they contend for in support of their resolution is somewhat different, in our view, from that which is contained in the resolution itself. While I was able to agree, as I thought, with what the hon. gentleman desired to propose, I was startled to find, when his resolution was read at the Table, that it went a good deal farther. Another difficulty in settling the matter by resolution, even if we could agree upon its terms, is the difficulty of deciding what cases come within it after all, and we shall have, I fear, disputes renewed from day to day in the committee as to the practical application of a rule which is laid down at this Table. I think a further difficulty is that presented by the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) to-day, as to the construction of our statute, which is not in the line of the English statute upon the subject, and, therefore, leads us, to some extent, into a different line of practice from that which prevails in the British House of Commons. I submit now, and that is my only excuse for speaking a second time on this question, that this has become a vexed question—but is after all a mere matter of business capable of business adjustment—we should agree not to treat it as a matter of politics by a resolution of this kind, or indeed of any kind, in going into Committee of Supply or Committee of Ways and Means, but we should agree to pass an Act which shall

remove this subject from the political arena altogether. If that should be assented to by the hon. gentlemen opposite who have studied the question, I would agree on the part of the Government to facilitate the passage of such an Act at this session, in fact, that it shall be enacted in time for practical application to the operations of this committee before many days shall pass. I have no objection to state generally the terms which I think the Act ought to contain. I think that while it ought to contain the provisions of our present statute which enable the House to instruct the committee to examine witnesses under oath, at the same time it should go as far as the British Act in conferring powers on the committees themselves, all committees of the House of Commons and of the Senate, to examine witnesses under oath whenever they consider a case made out for it; and we can have then but little difficulty in agreeing as to what should be a sufficient case. If that be acceptable to hon. gentlemen opposite, I think it would be the best way to solve the question. I am told the hon. member for North York has introduced a Bill to that effect. The Bill is not yet distributed, and, therefore, I have not been able to see it; but I would agree to expedite the passage of that Bill, or to substitute a Government Bill immediately, and thus remove the question from the arena of dispute.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. So far as I am concerned, I think the proposition is a reasonable one, and if my hon. friends beside me agree, I will consent to withdraw the motion I have made.

Mr. LAURIER. The great contention between the two sides has always been this: On this side we have contended that the committee should be at once clothed with power to examine witnesses under oath; the other side have contended that the committee should have the general power, but they should not have power to examine under oath on every occasion where they saw fit. Now, the proposition of the First Minister is to give such power at once to the committee, and I think we cannot ask for more than that.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Might I be allowed to ask that the hon. gentleman should make it a part of the general settlement, so that business might be facilitated, that the third report of the Public Accounts Committee should be referred back to that committee, and that they should go on with the examination of these witnesses. It seems a pity that the whole subject should be brought up to-morrow and debated again on the report of the committee. If we desire to proceed with the public business, surely it is desirable, after what has fallen from the Minister, that he should agree that the action of the majority of that committee should be reversed, and that we should be allowed to examine these witnesses. I do not think there

ought to be any more difficulty about it; and as the leader of the Opposition has accepted the suggestion of the leader of the Government, and a *modus vivendi* has been found, let us make the *modus vivendi* cover the case now before the committee; otherwise we shall have the whole of this matter threshed out again to-morrow on this report coming up again. I suggest to the hon. gentleman whether it would not be well, as there is really now, after all said and done, but the minutest point of difference between the parties, that the Government should agree to allow these witnesses to be examined to-morrow.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The hon. gentleman will give me a little time to consider the proposition.

Mr. MULLOCK. With reference to the suggestion of the First Minister that the Government should take charge of the Bill I introduced, I should be pleased to have the Government to do so. I may say that it is on the line of the English Act, with the exception that the English Act of 1871 does not give power to the House of Lords to examine witnesses under oath, for some reason I am not acquainted with. But the Bill I have introduced, which is now in the printer's hands, does propose to give this power to committees both of the Senate and of the House of Commons. The Bill has advanced the first stage now, and if the Government will put it on Government Orders, we can move it to-morrow and get the Bill through this week, at all events through this House.

Amendment (Sir Richard Cartwright) withdrawn.

House again resolved itself into Committee of Ways and Means.

(In the Committee.)

Albumenized and other papers chemically prepared for photographers' use, 35 per cent ad valorem.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Albumenized paper have been raised from 25 per cent to 35 per cent. Why should that be done?

Mr. FOSTER. All photographic papers were 35 per cent with the exception of albumenized paper, which was 25 per cent. What we wish to do is to get them all on one list, because they are all of a cognate kind, and there is no reason why one should not bear the same duty as another.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. This is a very high duty. While I would not go the length of saying that it is indispensable to human comfort, nevertheless photography is being largely used for many purposes of general utility, and this will prove a very high tax to impose, and probably a smaller amount of duty would bring in a larger revenue.

Mr. FOSTER. This is the duty which all the varieties of chemical papers bear.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. You are now compounding the duties. I do not know what proportion the albumenized papers bear to the other papers manufactured for photographic use. The increase, which is equivalent to 40 per cent, being from 25 to 35, is hardly warranted, and it is desirable to encourage that art a little, rather than penalize it, as you are now doing.

Mr. FOSTER. We are not doing that.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. If about one-half of the papers used by photographers are albumenized and the other half what are called chemically prepared, and you raise one class 10 per cent, that is equivalent to a rise all round of about 5 per cent.

Mr. FLINT. How many establishments are there in Canada which manufacture these papers for photography, and also what proportion of these papers is imported?

Mr. FOSTER. This paper is manufactured in several places, including Montreal and Toronto.

Mr. FLINT. I am personally aware that the duties, even under the old tariff, have been complained of with considerable warmth by photographers generally, as being to a certain degree a restriction upon their opportunity to make fair profits. I do not know whether the Government has received representations from the consumers or not, but photography is entering so largely into uses and purposes which ten or fifteen years ago were never dreamed of, that it should be as little restricted as possible. I think the Finance Minister might consider the desirability of reducing this item in the interests of the consuming class. Have representations been made by practical photographers as to the effect of this tariff on their business?

Mr. FOSTER. The facts of the case are simply these. When we came to revise the items of photographic papers we found they all came in at 35 per cent, with the exception of albumenized paper, which was 25 per cent. This class is, however, a small item among all the papers used. We considered there was no reason why they should not be made uniform at 35 per cent, and we, therefore, prepared this uniform list. I may add, that the tariff has been before the country four weeks, and I have not received any communications from the photographic establishments protesting against the duty.

Mr. AMYOT. If there is an article that should be taxed it is one of this class, as it is a luxury. When we come to the item of photographs, we will find the duty is much less. It must be remembered that the albumenized paper is the raw material of the photographer. If you tax it highly, you should also tax equally high this material used in other countries and brought in here as the finished article. I do not object to albumenized paper being taxed 35 per cent,

Mr. FOSTER.

but the Government should tax equally the paper when it comes in as the perfected work of photographers living in other countries. When we reach that item of photographs I shall ask that the duty be raised so as to protect our own photographers. There are being received in Canada from the United States large numbers of photographs, which are given away as premiums and gifts in connection with publications. These works could be produced in Canada by our own photographers, if sufficient protection were afforded them.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I think the hon. gentleman is in error in supposing that this article is one of luxury exclusively. On the contrary, photographs are being more largely introduced and are being more exclusively used for scientific and mechanical purposes, and there is good reason for not imposing excessive duties on the raw material used for scientific purposes. The Minister has not stated what was the gross amount of other papers used, but he simply stated that there was more albumenized used. In preparing the tariff the hon. gentleman should have ascertained the percentage as between albumenized and chemical papers.

Mr. FOSTER. That we could not do, because all except albumenized are grouped together under one head and charged 25 per cent. The Trade and Navigation Returns do not show a distinction.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That was precisely one of the reasons why the hon. gentleman took a year to consider these matters, and expressly desired to gather all information. I can tell the hon. gentleman the individual opinions of some photographers—I do not think they have a trades union as yet, although they will arrive at it in the process of time—and the general opinion expressed is that already very heavy duties are imposed on the photographer's raw material. Perhaps the hon. gentleman can state the number of photographers in the country?

Mr. FOSTER. There are a number of them; their name is legion.

Mr. CASEY. I have had a great deal to do with practical photographers, and I am aware that the tariff imposed under the old tariff was found to be burdensome, and now it is proposed to level up the duty to the highest mark of the old tariff instead of placing it at the lower notch. The Minister of Finance apparently does not know whether the quantity of albumenized paper used is greater than that called in this item other chemically prepared papers, and yet he has proceeded on the assumption that the albumenized paper is used in excess of the other. In photographic studios, with which I am familiar, albumenized paper is used in excess of all other kinds, and is the staple article. Fancy papers are being introduced, but they have not yet come into general use.

All that is necessary in order to utilize albumenized paper is to make it sensitive by the application of the silver solution. About \$10,000 worth of albumenized paper was imported last year, on which the duty of 25 per cent was imposed. If the same quantity is imported the 10 per cent will be an additional burden of \$1,000 on the photographers. Photography is much more largely employed than it used to be, and the illustrated daily paper has become almost as regular a publication as the illustrated monthly used to be. With cheap raw material and improved processes of manufacture such as are coming into use from day to day, we can have our daily papers cheap and well illustrated by photo-lithography, or other processes of printing from the photograph. When the Minister of Finance promised a general reduction of the tariff the correct principle would have been to level down and not to level up. There is no doubt that the largest quantity of paper used by photographers is of the ordinary albumenized paper, and I think the Minister should have levelled down the tariff on this to a 25 per cent limit.

Mr. AMYOT. Could the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) give us some details about these photographic pictures taken for scientific purposes in Canada?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I simply state that there are a great many scientific processes for which photographs are coming into use.

Mr. AMYOT. Have you got the details?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I have not. I refer my hon. friend to the hon. member for Elgin (Mr. Casey), who may perhaps have them. It is well enough known that always and in all cases in connection with architecture and ship building, and a great many miscellaneous pursuits, photography is now being largely used. It is also useful—although I do not suppose that would matter very much to the hon. gentleman—if he were desirous of engaging in astronomical pursuits; it is very valuable astronomically.

Mr. AMYOT. Not in Canada.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. We hear that Canada is progressing, and I should like to see some proofs of it. Possibly a careful analysis of the sun spots might furnish the Minister of Finance with much better reasons than he has heretofore advanced for the diminished prices of products. The interests of photographers are not altogether so slight as may be supposed. According to the census, there were about 1,278, most of them heads of families, engaged in that occupation; so that, judging from the extreme consideration shown to seventy-five men engaged in the not so intellectual occupation of cleaning husks of rice, who were thought by the Finance Minister worthy of

\$150,000 a year from the people at large; I think that 1,278 photographers have a better right to be considered than seventy-five rice-cleaners.

Mr. AMYOT. I still contend that in this country photography is not employed in the preparation of one out of a thousand scientific pursuits. Photography in our country is a matter of luxury. I happen to know something about that as an amateur.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I am bound to say that some of these kodaks might be discouraged.

Mr. CASEY. I would ask the Finance Minister if any one has asked for this change? I think he should be in a position to tell the House to what extent the industry of producing albumenized paper exists in Canada, how many people are employed in it, and how much good this extra 10 per cent will do them.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I think I may certainly plead without the slightest suspicion of any self-interest in this matter, because most of the photographs to which my hon. friend has referred, so far as they affected me, have been most confounded bad likenesses.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Casey) will find that the paper from which albumenized paper is made has a duty of 25 per cent. It is an anomaly that the process of albumenizing from the paper shall have no higher duty than the raw material. Ten per cent is not a high protection in that regard. It was to give a slight protection to those who are preparing the albumenized paper in this country that the duty was put on, and I stated that it was prepared in Montreal and Toronto, and I think in other cities.

Mr. CASEY. I asked as to the extent of this industry.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know how many men are employed in it. It is not an independent industry in itself, but is carried on in connection with other processes of manufacture.

Mr. CASEY. The hon. gentleman should be in possession of this information before he makes any change. He says this tax should be put on because the raw material is 25 per cent. It would be quite as easy for him to reduce the duty on the paper imported for making photographic albumenized paper, as to reduce the duty in other directions. We have many provisions in the tariff, some of them made by Order in Council; that raw material imported for certain purposes shall be free. Why was not that applied here? Here are two raw materials: the paper is the raw material of the albumenizer, and the albumenized paper is the raw material of the photographer. If he wanted to encourage the albumenizer,

he could do so as well by reducing the duty on the paper as the mode which he has adopted.

Item agreed to.

Books, printed, periodicals and pamphlets, n.e.s., not being foreign reprints of British copy-right works nor blank account books, nor copy books, nor books to be written or drawn upon, nor bibles, prayer-books, psalm and hymn-books, 6 cents per pound.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. This appears to me about as objectionable a device for raising a revenue as could well be placed before us. So far as I can understand it, the effect will be to penalize the introduction of a very considerable number of cheap prints of various kinds which are being circulated among the people. It will disturb the whole trade. It makes it exceedingly inconvenient for a book-seller who imports a large quantity of books to divide the duty, as he must divide it, over the various books which are imported together; and, altogether, I must say that it is open to very nearly every objection which lies against putting specific duties in place of ad valorem duties. It is quite absurd to say that we are going to admit valuable works cheaper in this fashion than works of less value, because, as a matter of fact, an immense number of the best classics in our language are nowadays published in an extremely cheap form, and it is desirable that they should be circulated as widely as possible among our people. I am also informed by gentlemen who are more conversant with that particular subject than I am, that this will be a very objectionable tax in the case of a large number of books which are imported for Sunday school libraries and similar purposes, and certainly no obstacle should be placed in the way of those persons who are devoting themselves to the moral improvement of children in these ways. For myself, I should be glad to see this whole item put on the free list. I believe that a tax on literature in a country like ours is one of the most wasteful and unprofitable that could be imposed, and I believe that the prevailing density of apprehension on economic subjects is largely due to the heavy tax on useful literature which has been maintained by hon. gentlemen opposite and their predecessors.

Mr. FOSTER. This does not operate on campaign literature.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It does, because you tax the best kind of campaign literature. However, I do not propose to import any campaign literature, and I do not suppose the hon. gentleman would be disposed to do so; I do not think he could find any that would be of much service to him. But be that as it may, I am told that this tax of 6 cents a pound will in a great many cases have the effect of increasing the

duty 100 or 150 or 200 per cent over the present figure. I am told that instead of the comparatively reasonable duty of 15 per cent, this tax will in many cases amount to 45 or 50 or 60 per cent, while, on the other hand, those books which are of the nature of luxuries, and which do deserve to be taxed, if any books at all are to be taxed, will come in at an extremely low rate. If I want to get a very valuable edition of the English poets, or any of those publications which are emphatically editions de luxe, I shall be able to get them in at 2 or 3 per cent, instead of 15 per cent, as under the old tariff; but if I wish to get any books which are printed in a cheap form, no matter how excellent or valuable they may be, I shall have to pay 40 or 50 or 60 per cent.

Mr. O'BRIEN. With all respect to the hon. gentleman who has just spoken, I think that if there is any case in which a specific duty is admissible, it is in this case, and I entirely support the Minister of Finance in the change he has made. A book is composed of two parts. There is the material part—the printing, paper, book-binding, and so on. I am not saying whether the rate of 6 cents a pound is too high or too low; but that may be a proper subject of taxation. The other component part of the book is its literary merit. If you impose an ad valorem duty, you tax that part as well as the other, because you cannot separate the value of the literary part from the value of the material part; but, by the specific duty, you confine the tax largely to the material part. Some people no doubt bring in editions de luxe as articles of luxury; but there are a great many who require to purchase high-priced books to assist them in the pursuits of life, and I think it would be exceedingly hard if they were obliged to pay a heavy tax on those books. In regard to the cheap class of books of which the hon. gentleman speaks, they are so cheap that they can easily bear this taxation, if any books at all can bear it. As to whether books should be taxed at all or not is another question. It must be remembered that books have not a commercial value like other commodities; they do not depend on the same law of supply and demand. A book has its value altogether irrespective of supply and demand. Sometimes a book is high priced because few people want it, and only a small number want it and only a small number are printed, and it would be very unfair to compel a man who wants a book of that kind to pay a high ad valorem duty upon it. Therefore, I think the principle of the specific duty is a good one. At first sight it struck me very much as it has done the hon. member for South Oxford; but on second thought I concluded that the hon. Minister of Finance had successfully solved the difficulty. As to whether 6 cents a pound is too high a duty or not, I do not express an opinion. I accept the specific duty in this case as an exceptional applica-

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tion of it, as I am opposed to specific duties from a protective point of view. My hon. friend from East York (Mr. Maclean) advocated specific duties the other day most strongly as a protectionist; but this is not a specific duty in the ordinary sense. I think it is a method of taxing the material part of a book and letting the literary part come in free.

Mr. CASEY. The hon. Minister of Finance, in proposing this tax to the House, stated some things which I think are not generally known. One of them was this:

Then again, there is the aspect of the printers of the country towards the book publishing interest to be considered. The book publishing interest in Canada does not occupy the position that it did many years ago. The large book houses which were then scattered in almost every considerable city, doing business in their special way, have largely gone out of the business, and it has taken other channels of distribution.

It does not say much for the National Policy if the large publishing houses which were situated in every considerable city, have had to go out of business. However, let us look at the new channels of distribution. The hon. gentleman said:

It has taken other channels of distribution, most widely among which is that of the subscription sale and the distribution of books by means of agents through the towns, villages and rural portions of the country.

Now, I was not aware that the book-peddling trade—the book-peddling nuisance, if I may fairly describe it—had assumed such proportions as the hon. Minister seems to have found it has taken. If it be true that the book-peddling nuisance has driven old-established firms out of the business, I think it should be the aim of the Government to reinstate these old-established and legitimate firms and discountenance as much as possible the operations of the book-peddler, whose book is made up largely of trashy bindings and illustrations, for which a very fancy price is charged. It is well known that the price of any book got up in subscription form is very largely greater than that of the same book if published upon the old and legitimate system. Let us see whether the changes proposed in the tariff will have that effect. The hon. Minister says that the book duty hitherto has been an ad valorem duty, and that has been complained of on the ground of principle. But he does not say what the principle is on which this duty was complained of. Perhaps he may be able to explain that later on. He says:

After considering the matter carefully, the decision has been arrived at to change the duty, and to make it a pound duty rather than an ad valorem at first sight that might seem to defeat the object of those who seek relief for the reading public who take scientific, philosophical and educational works, because these books are not printed in this country,

and cannot be printed here, and it might be thought that the system would bear more heavily on that class and more lightly on a class of books of a more ephemeral, including current literature, put up in paper covers or more lightly put together than books of the other class. But the test shows that it is not so.

And he goes on to point out:

If you take a subscription book bound, which sells at \$5, its weight will probably be four pounds.

The hon. gentleman appears to have had a consultation with the book-peddling people and ascertained the weight of their five dollar books.

Adding an ad valorem duty of 15 per cent, as at present, the duty would be 45 cents. It is proposed to make the duty a pound duty, 6 cents per pound. The duty on such book would be 24 cents instead of 45 cents. If you come down to current and light literature, large quantities of which are sent into this country, and which have not expensive bindings, and whose price is almost nominal, such a book coming here would weigh half a pound or three-quarters of a pound, and the invoice price would be a few cents per pound. The ad valorem duty is almost nothing; the pound duty will be considerable.

That is to say, the duty he proposes is distinctly intended to bear more heavily on the cheap literature which comes into the country than on the higher-priced literature. But, as the hon. gentleman has spoken of a principle, I think that we should consider this matter as a question of principle. He has himself admitted that, in the woollen and cotton tariff, the specific duty does bear most heavily and with unfair weight on the cheaper classes of goods, and he has, therefore, changed the tariff from a specific to an ad valorem duty. But when we come to books, he takes the other side and charges a specific instead of an ad valorem duty, in order that the duty may weigh more heavily on the cheaper class of books. Where is the principle on which he made this change—the principle he alluded to in the earlier part of the quotation I have made? He follows one principle with regard to cheap woollens and cotton and applies another to books. If there is anything that should be lightly taxed, it is the cheap books that come into the country. They are as much a necessity in civilized life as cheap woollens and cottons. Children cannot obtain their education without them; and after obtaining their school education, they cannot become intelligent adults without cheap literature. The price of every book of a cheap class published in the country will be raised by this duty as well as the price of the books imported. The Finance Minister tries to get around this by alluding to this cheap literature as being of an ephemeral character, lightly put together, and of such a nature as will weigh half a pound or a quarter of a pound per book. I had an object lesson in that matter yesterday. I was shown by a large dealer

of books in this city an almost complete edition of Walter Scott's poems, printed in good style, on good paper, nicely bound, published in England, and which he was selling at 17 cents per book. Of course that book cost him less when he bought it.

Mr. FOSTER. Did he say how much it cost?

Mr. CASEY. No, but it was something less than 17 cents. He paid somewhere about 2 cents per book duty, certainly something under 3 cents, which would have been the tax had the book cost 20 cents. Now, that book weighs seventeen ounces, and he is charged 6 cents a pound on it. I do not know whether that additional ounce would carry the whole half-pound tax with it or not. When a book weighs seventeen ounces, what would the cost be?

Mr. FOSTER. Six cents a pound.

Mr. CASEY. Well, somewhere between 6 cents and 7 cents a book. There is an instance of a book, a celebrated standard English classic. He has Goldsmith, Milton and all the other classical English poets on his shelves, which he could afford to sell at 17 cents a book, on which he used to pay a duty of 2 cents, and now he will have to pay over 6 cents. That is the kind of literature the hon. Minister speaks of as ephemeral and says should be excluded by a specific tax. I say that the effect of this exclusion of cheap but good English literature, English reprints of the classical modern poets, and so on, will not only tend to give undue prominence to the Canadian producer of similar articles, but will give a great advantage to the subscription men—the book-peddlers, who, the Finance Minister says, have already got control of the book publishing interest. Now, Sir, I submit that this tariff discourages cheap literature of a good kind, gives undue advantages to the book-peddling fiend, and will result in shutting out our people from a great source of enjoyment, instruction and amusement furnished now by cheap English editions of the standard authors. As to the argument about distribution from the post office it amounts to nothing. These books are imported in bulk, and the duty might be collected at the point where the books are imported, and the postmaster would have nothing to do with assessing the duty upon them.

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

House again in Committee of Ways and Means.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. MACLEAN (York). Mr. Chairman, it was a satisfaction for me to hear the hon. member for Muskoka (Mr. O'Brien), who is dissatisfied with so many things this ses-

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sion, agree with me upon the question of specific duties upon this class of books. This item must be considered in conjunction with an item further on, which provides for the admission free of electrotypes and moulds for books. If these items are carried, as I have no doubt they will be, the result will be the creation of a large book industry in this country. At the present time all our cheap literature comes from outside countries. But if the protection proposed here is given and book plates are admitted free, as proposed, and if there is a slight modification in our postal laws, such as is likely to be decided upon, we shall have a book publishing industry in this country that will give employment to a large number of men, particularly pressmen, and there will be used a very large amount of Canadian paper; and there is no country so well adapted to produce paper as this Canada of ours. Surely we ought to print books for Canada upon Canadian paper. It is a matter of fact that 60 per cent of the cost of books such as are affected by this duty is the price of paper alone. If this measure is carried, the printers will be well satisfied, as they have petitioned the Government on this line. The result of this change will be that the pressmen, the paper-makers, the book-binders and the jobbers will control a large trade which hitherto has gone outside the country.

Sir HECTOR LANGEVIN. I am sorry that I cannot altogether agree with the hon. gentleman who has just preceded me. This item of the tariff reads:

Books printed, periodicals and pamphlets, n.e.s., not being foreign reprint of British copyright works, nor blank account books, not copy books, nor books to be written or drawn upon, nor bibles, prayer-books, psalm and hymn books, 6 cents per pound.

Thus, only the first three classes, printed books, periodicals and pamphlets, are charged 6 cents a pound, while the others are not. If we refer then to page 23, where the free list is given, we find this item:

Books, not being printed or reprinted in Canada, which are included in the curriculum of any university or incorporated college in Canada; books specially imported for the bona fide use of incorporated Mechanics Institutes, Public Free Libraries, and University and College Libraries, not more than two copies of each book; and books, bound or unbound, which have been printed and manufactured more than twenty years.

But the books given as prizes in the schools are to be taxed 6 cents a pound. I have had representations made to me to this effect—that this 6 cents a pound will put a very heavy tax on these books, which are simply intended to encourage the pupils in schools and which should not be made a source of revenue, especially in this case. Further, the books that go to our schools in the province of Quebec are French books, which are printed in large quantities in France,

and, therefore, are sold at a very low price. My hon. friend who has just preceded me (Mr. Maclean) speaks of manufacturing books in Canada. That would be very good for the books of another kind, books that could be bought generally by men of science or educated men, for these books have a value aside from the cost of mechanical production. But these other books are printed in France in large quantities, and very many of them contain engravings, the production of which costs very little for a large edition, but which would be expensive if printed in a limited edition. These books will cost, say, 10 cents or 15 cents each, and could not be manufactured here for anything like that price. Therefore, I would call the attention of the hon. Minister of Finance to this item—I had no opportunity of speaking with him or with his colleagues about it—in the hope that he may perhaps modify the item, even if he does not think it proper to put this class of books on the free list.

Mr. FOSTER. Have you any idea how much that 10-cent book would weigh?

Sir HECTOR LANGEVIN. I can hardly say; but do I understand that the duty means 6 cents a pound on every book of a pound or less?

Mr. FOSTER. No; it is at the rate of 6 cents per pound. A book weighing four ounces would pay one-quarter of 6 cents.

Sir HECTOR LANGEVIN. I should think that one of these books would weigh five or six ounces. They generally have a rather heavy cover of pasteboard, covered with paper. I do not urge the hon. gentleman to put this class of books on the free list if he thinks that they should bear a tax; but I think the tax might be reduced. About the other matter, of course, I do not think I should speak now, because there will be some change in the item, perhaps. Then there is the item about books not printed or written in Canada, and which are included in the curriculum of a university in Canada. That would give us books free for universities and colleges, provided there is a curriculum, as is the case of the universities of Ontario, for example. But in our colleges in the province of Quebec there is no list of books stated in this way, and these books, I am afraid, would not be admitted free, as they are for the universities of Ontario. In the province of Quebec these books would be free for the largest institutions, but not for the colleges. I think there is a discrimination which might be avoided by a very few words.

Mr. LAURIER. I can corroborate every word which has fallen from the lips of the hon. member for Three Rivers (Sir Hector Langevin). A statement has been placed in my hands showing that school books used in the province of Quebec, which are now admitted at a duty of 15 per cent, according

to the new tariff, would be subjected to a duty of not less than 35 per cent. I am not surprised that the hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean) should be in favour of this item, because he prefers a specific duty to an ad valorem duty. Of all the forms a specific duty can take, this is one of the worst, because it falls on that class of books which is mostly largely used by the people, both those which are the cheapest and those that are the best.

Mr. MACLEAN (York). The great bulk of those books will be just as cheap under the new duty as before.

Mr. LAURIER. That is quite impossible. To-day in all the book stores of the city of Ottawa you can buy an edition of Macaulay's History of England in five volumes, for \$1.50, 30 cents a volume, well printed, pretty fairly bound, and of good material. This is as cheap as it is possible to make them. Now, take a class of books like that, which are read by the poorer classes, which are circulated among the people by thousands, and take the same book published in a much more valuable form, as a luxury, a book worth at least 75 cents to \$1 per volume, and yet both editions are taxed equally 6 cents a pound. You will see, therefore, how far away from the mark is the hon. member for East York when he says this duty will not fall more heavily upon the poorer classes.

Mr. MACLEAN (York). The great bulk of the books will be just as cheap.

Mr. LAURIER. I contend, on the contrary, that this very item will be a tax upon the knowledge of the people, upon the dissemination of instruction, one of the most obnoxious of all duties that can be imposed. The hon. member for Muskoka (Mr. O'Brien) said this afternoon that there was a difference between the material of the book and the contents of the book, that is to say, its literary value. Well, everybody knows that the literary value of a book adds very little, generally speaking, to the number of volumes that are sold; but it is the merit of the author which induces a larger sale. Take books upon the same subject written by two different authors. They may cost exactly the same to produce, but the fame of one author will give a sale of one thousand to his book, whereas the other book will have only a sale of one hundred. This is the reason why I cannot admit the argument of the member for Muskoka. Take a book like Macaulay, or Shakespeare, or Byron, or Scott, or any of the classical authors, which are now produced at the cheapest rate possible; when you tax them by the pound instead of ad valorem, the result is what I have stated, that it becomes a tax upon the dissemination of instruction. School books of great literary value now used in the province of Quebec are subject to a duty of 15 per cent, but when they are taxed by the pound the duty will be no less than 35

per cent. I am afraid the hon. gentleman could not have contemplated such a state of things when he framed his tariff, he could not have contemplated such consequences as I now represent. In face of such consequences I think he will be induced to come down a little, and bring back the tariff to what it formerly was, that is, to 15 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. LANGELEIR. I am quite sure the Government did not consult their supporters from the province of Quebec, especially those who speak the French language, when they adopted this item of the tariff. From information that I have in my hand, and which has also been given to the leader of the Opposition, I conclude that this new duty will be a very heavy tax on all those who use the French language in the province of Quebec or elsewhere in Canada. It was stated a few moments ago by the member for East York (Mr. Maclean) that the same books would be printed in this country, and that the almost prohibitive duty which would result from a tax of 6 cents a pound, would encourage the publication of the same books in this country. That may be true for English books, which have a very large constituency among the English population of Canada, of whom there are nearly 4,000,000, while there is only about 1,000,000 of French-speaking people. One can easily understand that an English edition could be published in Canada, which would pay the publishers very well, whereas the same book could not be published in French for the want of a sufficiently large constituency. One result of the tariff in its present shape will be that a class of books, which I am going to mention from a statement in my hand, will not be published in this country any more than they have been in the past, and the French population will have to pay a very onerous duty, from which the English population will be exempt, because books printed in English, having a larger circulation, of course can be produced and sold much more cheaply. The books I am going to mention, whether the duty is 30, 40, or 50 per cent, will have to be imported, and the duty will have to be paid by those who read French books. The English population will be in a better position. I do not say that this unfair incidence was intended; I am quite sure that the Government did not know the practical result which this tariff was going to have on the French portion of the population of this country. I will read a statement which has been put into my hands by a very important firm of booksellers in the city of Quebec, Messrs. Forgues & Wiseman, who are dealers in French books:

The books upon which the proposed tariff will impose excessive duties, are prize books. For instance, we sell here, after having paid the duty of 15 per cent, insurance, freight, and made a reasonable profit, volumes of the 4th Series at 95 cents, but the new tariff will compel us to sell them

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at \$1.20; being an increase of 30 per cent on the present selling price, or equivalent to a total duty of 52 per cent. This is a class of books which are very largely imported into the province of Quebec to be distributed as prizes in the French schools all over the province.

Mr. FOSTER. Have you the weight?

Mr. LANGELEIR. I do not know the weight, but these gentlemen have made the calculation. I am reading from their statement. The Dictionary of Mgr. Paul Guérin, a most complete and irreproachable work from a religious point of view, sells at 50 cents a copy. The new tariff will increase the price to 62½ cents, being an increase of 25 per cent, a total duty of 40 per cent. The price of the Grammaire de Claude Augé, the last work approved by the Council of Public Instruction, and which has been adopted by our principal colleges and educational institutions, will be increased in price as follows:—Elementary grammar, present price, \$1.25; \$1.50 under the new tariff; increase, 20 per cent, a total duty of 35 per cent. The middle-class grammar: Present price, \$2; \$2.40 under the new tariff; increase 20 per cent, total duty, 35 per cent. Superior course grammar: Present price, \$4; \$4.80 under the new tariff; increase, 20 per cent, total duty, 35 per cent. Then the paper goes on to say that there is no objection to the present tariff, so far as regards scientific works, or works relating to French contemporary literature, the duty on which, under the new tariff, will be as formerly, in fact, perhaps a little lower than at present; but on these school works which have a large circulation, the duty will be enormously increased, as the House will see from the particulars I have read. The French population of the province of Quebec will be called upon to pay 35 per cent for their school books, while the population of the country speaking the English language would only be obliged to pay 15 per cent, because, I suppose, 6 cents per pound duty is supposed not to exceed the rate under the old tariff. It has been stated that it was not supposed to increase the present duty on school books. I am sure, therefore, that when the Finance Minister talks over this subject with his colleagues of the province of Quebec, he will see the propriety of changing the tariff in regard to French school books to be used in the province of Quebec. As a member of the Council of Public Instruction, I have had to examine a great many of the school books, very many of which are imported from France. We find it impossible to publish them in this country as cheaply as we can import them, and if the duty were raised to 50 per cent, that would not act as a prohibition, especially in regard to such books as Augé's grammar, which is an excellent work, full of wood-cuts. The gentlemen to whom I have referred have the books to which reference has been made, and have arrived at the conclusion that the new duty

on them will be equal to 35 per cent ad valorem, instead of 15 per cent, as is now being paid. I think when the Government examine the matter more closely, they will find it desirable to alter the tariff so as to do justice to French books used in the province of Quebec.

Mr. COCKBURN. I regret that the Government have not seen fit to make books free. In England, all books are free, as they are also in Austria, France and Germany. Even in China and in Mexico they are also free. Italy, I believe, imposes a duty, but it is on binding only; so does Denmark, Sweden and Norway. Spain is the only country which, I think, levies a duty on books. There the duty is imposed according to weight, and it is found to be the plan most advantageous. The United States has a duty on books, but, so far as I recollect, there are large exemptions, which apply to books required for schools, colleges, universities, literary, scientific and similar institutions, and also all books published in foreign languages. New Zealand also has a duty on books, but it applies only to blank books and ledgers, on which 15 per cent is levied, but all printed books calculated to increase the knowledge of the people are admitted free. It seems strange that we should adopt measures to circulate newspapers throughout the length and breadth of the land at large public cost as a means of disseminating knowledge, but that when books are brought in a heavy charge is levied. With respect to the change proposed by the Government, I think it is a fairer system than that already in force, inasmuch as it is a protection simply on the paper, not on the brains embodied in the work. If a revenue must be raised in this direction, there is no reason why it should not be raised on paper as well as on any other commodity. I hope on reviewing the position the Government may yet see its way to give us free books in this Dominion at no distant day.

Mr. CASEY. I agree heartily with the first part of the speech delivered by the hon. member for Centre Toronto (Mr. Cockburn), but I do not understand how he can reconcile the two portions of his speech. In the first part he expressed the opinion that books should be free, and he adopted the position which we might expect him to occupy from his training in connection with literature. But in the closing portion of his remarks he mentioned that a revenue might as well be raised on paper as on anything else, and he indicated that the present tariff was based on the paper, not on the brains necessary to produce the books. Evidently, he does not know that the Finance Minister considers this is not a question of revenue, but one of protection, and if he desires to raise a revenue he should not place a protective tax on the article, but a revenue tax. It is admitted that the hon. gentleman is proposing a tax for the purpose of securing protection to home industry,

and not for raising revenue. It has, however, been clearly shown that cheap books printed abroad will not only be taxed as regards the paper, but also in regard to the brains. The fact cannot be denied that the nature of the tax is such as to impose heavy burdens on cheap, good books imported from abroad, and, at the same time, a comparatively light tax on handsome books and Christmas editions, compared with the prices at which they are sold. Public school books, as well as the books of college curriculums, should be admitted free. In the province of Ontario, nearly all the books used in public schools are made at home, but still there are some books used in the public schools and many in the high schools which are not made in Canada. I think that Sunday school books for libraries, and books for public school libraries, ought certainly to be admitted free. I have lost track of some of the classes of books specified under this item. I cannot find mentioned anywhere else copy books and books to be written or drawn upon, which are here named as excluded from this tax. Do they come in as "Printed matter, n.e.s."?

Mr. FOSTER. If they are not described anywhere else, that would include them.

Mr. CASEY. But they are not printed matter; they are blank. I wish to know what rate is levied on these. I cannot wonder that the Finance Minister seems puzzled to find an item in these resolutions. The fact that this very item of books appears under the heading of "Animals and Agricultural Products," would show how carelessly they are drawn. I supposed that the Finance Minister should know these things before he brought down the resolutions to the House. I am waiting for an answer to my question.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman had better finish his speech. He does not expect me to pop up every time he asks a question. It is not parliamentary.

Mr. CASEY. It is not parliamentary for the Minister not to know what he intends to enact, and he is apparently quite lost in his own tariff, trying to find that item.

Mr. FOSTER. I am not irretrievably lost.

Mr. CASEY. I will sit down if the hon. gentleman wishes to answer.

Mr. FOSTER. You had better get through with what you have to say.

Mr. CASEY. Well, if he wants to find the item, I will finish my remarks while he looks for it. The Minister stated that the ad valorem duty on reading books was objected to on principle, but he has not explained what principle makes the ad valorem duty objectionable on printed books and what principle makes it proper in regard to blank books. He has given a long-winded argument about subscription books and so on, but that does not involve a principle. I

would ask the hon. gentleman on what principle he puts an ad valorem duty on blank books, and this duty of 6 cents a pound on reading books, and I would also ask him on whose request was this change made?

Mr. HAZEN. I wish to ask the Finance Minister: In the administration of this Act what books are included within the term "periodicals"? Does it include the "Nineteenth Century," or the "Review of Reviews," or "Harper's Magazine," or works of that class; because if it does, it would be most vexatious, not on account of the amount involved, but every time a subscriber receives a copy he would have to go to the customs-house.

Mr. FOSTER. They are on the free list.

Mr. HAZEN. I did not see them on the free list.

Mr. CASEY. The word "periodical" is specially mentioned in this item as dutiable.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I would like to add my voice to that of the hon. member for Toronto Centre (Mr. Cockburn) in pleading for the total abolition of this duty, if it is at all possible. I think it is one of the most odious taxes in the whole list, and it involves peculiar hardship upon a very large class of literary, and deserving but poor men. I see by the Trade and Navigation Returns last year that the sum of over \$100,000 was paid in duty upon books alone. Now, there is a large class of gentlemen in this community who receive very limited and small incomes—I refer to clergymen of different denominations, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant—who are bound to keep themselves abreast of the very best thought of the age, and in order to do so, they have to read the latest theological works on the different subjects on which they preach. The hon. gentleman admits free of duty, books that have been printed for more than twenty years, but the books to which I refer have been printed within the last year or two and of course come within the tariff which is now being enacted. By the time this tax is paid, together with the postage, which of itself is a pretty large tax, it amounts to a very heavy drain on the slender purses of these people. If this tax came out of the pockets of the well-to-do classes I do not suppose there would be so much to be said against it, although a tax on knowledge is always odious to an English-speaking and literary people; but I plead for the large class of men, numbering thousands, all through this Dominion, who find it to bear very heavily upon them. I have received letters from a large number of them, in which they ask me to mention the matter to the Finance Minister and to plead their case. I think the hon. Minister should amend his tariff to allow this large class of people to bring their books in free of duty. The average income of these gentlemen is very small—I believe a good

Mr. CASEY.

deal under \$1,000—and the smaller the income the greater the hardship of having to pay this tax is. I do think that if the Minister consulted the best feeling of the members on both sides of the House he would find a preponderating voice in favour of the abolition of this tax altogether.

Mr. CHRISTIE. I heartily endorse the remarks made by the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat. I would be greatly in favour of seeing books put on the free list. I do not know any greater benefit that could be conferred on our people than to give them the privilege of getting good, cheap books. Indeed, to my mind it is perfectly monstrous to tax school books, especially Sabbath school books. I do hope the hon. Finance Minister will see his way clear to place these at least upon the free list.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I do not think the revenue derived from the tax on books will be so very large that it is a matter of vital consequence to the Finance Minister to retain it. In my opinion it would give a very great impetus to the general diffusion of knowledge, if this tax were removed altogether. There are a very large number of the works of authors of very great eminence of which cheap editions have been published, which would find a very wide circulation in this country if there were no impediment in the way of a tax upon them. There are the works of Lord Macaulay, of Scott, of Dickens, of Kingsley, of Tennyson and of a great many others, of which cheap editions are published, which would be circulated very widely in this country to the very great advantage of the community, because these works would to a very large degree supersede the literature of a trashy character from which the public do not derive anything like equal advantage. Then, the persons of literary taste are rapidly increasing in number, whose income is not at all in proportion to their needs in this respect. Of course, the more widely knowledge is diffused, and the larger the number of persons who enter into the various professions, the smaller must be the average income which the professional or literary man receives, except those engaged in writing works of a high character, whose income is made considerable by the wide circulation of their works. But these people of literary taste have in most cases small incomes, and they are anxious that the money which they can spare for the purchase of books should go as far as possible. Then, there is the special class which my hon. friend from Queen's (Mr. Davies) mentions—the clergy. The clergy of this country are obliged, if they are to retain their influence at all, to keep abreast with their age, and to meet the various problems of doubt and difficulty which suggest themselves to the great mass of their congregations. They are obliged to study closely in order to do that. Their income in a great

number of cases is very limited, and the works they require which are of special importance to them are those which have appeared in recent times. There are very few books published more than 20 years that are addressed to the solution of the modern problems and the questions of doubt and difficulty of our day. A large number of questions have been raised in the interest of secularists, which profound thinkers on the religious side of thought are endeavouring adequately to answer. Their works have not a very wide circulation, as they are all copyrighted books, and they are necessarily pretty high in price. None of them are published in this country; the authors do not reside here; they could not well be published here. Those who are especially interested in reading them are not sufficiently numerous to make it worth while to any publisher to undertake to make an arrangement with the authors for their publication here, and so they are necessarily foreign productions, published in Germany, in France and in England. In order that these may be made accessible to our clergy, it is important that the duty upon them should be put at a low figure. I will mention two works of this kind that have recently appeared. Take Professor Sayce's book on the "Higher Criticism." It is not a large book, but it is a comparatively dear one.

Mr. FOSTER. How dear?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). \$2.50 or \$3.

Mr. FOSTER. How much would it weigh?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I suppose it would weigh a pound and a half; I do not know; I have not weighed it. Then there is Professor Sandys' book on "Inspiration"—a book addressed to the modern agnostic.

Mr. DALY. What is the price of that?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Four dollars, I think. What the weight is I cannot say. But any duty at all on these books is an additional impediment in the way of their wide circulation. It is perhaps one of the happiest laws of our intellectual existence that the knowledge obtained by specialists who devote themselves to the investigation of these subjects ultimately finds its way through the common channels of public opinion down to those in the humblest walks of life. In this way the standard of attainment is raised. The advantages of reading are not confined to those who undertake to master these subjects, but extend to the whole community, and the hon. gentleman, by the tax on works of this nature is not only doing parties, whose duty and whose interest it is to read them, an injury, but through them the whole public suffer in consequence of taxation of this kind.

Mr. SCRIVER. The hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) and the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills), when appealing to

the Finance Minister on behalf of a very large and influential part of this community might, I thought, very well have said something in behalf of another class, whose responsibilities are perhaps not so important and yet whose vocation has very great responsibilities. I allude to the class of teachers. There is not a member of this House, who perhaps does not know as well as I, how slender their incomes are. Slender as are the incomes of clergymen, inadequate as those incomes are to enable them, in many instances, to support their families in the positions they fill in the community, the incomes of teachers are still more slender. And not only are we all aware of the inadequacy of the remuneration which teachers receive for their services, but we are also, all of us, perhaps painfully aware that the qualifications of many of these teachers are not what they ought to be, and they ought to be encouraged, by every legitimate means in the power of this House, to improve themselves in the qualifications they need for instructing those placed under them. And I thought I would not be doing justice to my own feelings in this matter, if I were to allow the occasion to pass without making an appeal in behalf of that very large and important class.

Mr. EDGAR. I think, from all points of view, this is an objectionable tax. In the old form, the tax was objectionable, and in its new form it is more so. I have a letter from a country dealer, who sells books as well as drugs, and he says that at Christmas time he often sells a thousand pounds of cheap illustrated board books, the cost of which is about 20 cents per pound. The old tariff would, therefore, be 3 cents per pound, while the new tariff would be 6 cents, just a hundred per cent increase on that class of books. I think that is rather a hard measure, but I cannot see why knowledge should be taxed at all in this way. It is no doubt supposed to be a protection for Canadian publishers or the Government would not propose it. The Government will go any length, they say, to carry out the principle of protection, and this is carrying out that principle. I contend that it is a mistake, in the interests of the publishers of Canadian literature. If you give the Canadian people every facility to import their literature, that will cultivate their taste for books, and they will buy far more from their own publishers than if you shut out literature by means of this sort. I would point out to the Minister of Justice that the proper changes in the Canadian copyright law will do infinitely more for the Canadian publisher than putting a tax on the importation of books. If Canadian publishers are only to be allowed to reprint British copyrighted books, as is proposed under the suspended statute of 1889, they will get far more advantage than even the Government contemplate conferring upon them by this tax. And while I believe that the Minister of Justice has

taken strong and proper ground in dealing with the British Government on the question of the allowance of that legislation. still, I think, further steps should be taken by this Parliament. I should like to see this Government throw off this tax on knowledge, and this Parliament insist upon our Canadian legislation of 1889 being brought into force, so as to give our publishers the legitimate, proper and fair privileges given them in that Act. That Act passed in 1889 is hung up by Downing Street. Canadians cannot obtain the same privileges that the American publishers do with regard to reprints of British works. That Act would give a fair, reasonable and proper protection and assistance to Canadian publishers.

Mr. FOSTER. I wish to say a few words mainly in reply to the various criticisms—just and not at all immoderate criticisms, to my mind—which have been made upon this duty. In the first place, I do not think we ought to view this, as though we were now, for the first time, putting a tax upon books, and consequently be open to the imputation of bringing in a new tax upon knowledge. I think probably more may be said with reference to that catch phrase than there is very much weight in. A tax on knowledge is not, by any means, synonymous with a tax on books. There are a hundred other things as necessary to the pursuit of knowledge as books, upon which taxes are levied in all countries where taxes are collected. With the sentiment that knowledge should go as free in its methods of distribution as possible, I have of course every sympathy. Other things being equal, I should like to see books free in this country, and I hope the time may come when we shall see books free in this country. But at present the Government cannot see its way to make them free. There is \$113,000 revenue which books give to us, and which we are not in a position to forego at present. On the other hand, we have a class of deserving people in this country—hard working people distributed over every part of our country—who pursue an industry which is an old, honourable and most useful one. Those are the makers of paper, the makers of books, the publishers of books, and the typesetters, the printers of books. This duty has in it two elements. In the first place, it is necessary for revenue, and I do not see how we are able to do without it at present. In the second place, it may be made the means of making larger the industry of which I have spoken, and the only thing that the Government has had in view, in arranging the tax, is to make it as light as possible upon the conveyance of knowledge, and yet be more effective to protect the line of books which can be produced in this country. Those are the two first points I would like to have kept in mind. There are difficulties in the way of making any tax upon books equitable all over the range. You may make a percentage ad valorem or a specific duty, and any member

Mr. EDGAR.

can get up in this House and instance a line of books so great is the variety—the variety in the size of the editions called for, the variety in binding, the variety in weights, and the like—in which the tax appears to bear too heavily. There is no tax which you can invent with reference to books, but what special instances can be brought to show that it seems to act unfairly. So we must expect to meet instances in which the tax can be shown to work, as it would seem at first sight, inequitably. But let us look at the matter and see whether we do not get a maximum of advantage out of the tax as it is at present. Now, if there is an objection in any hon. gentleman's mind to a tax upon knowledge, I believe the tax upon knowledge by this arrangement of book duties will be less than the tax imposed upon knowledge by the ad valorem rate of duty. I touched upon that in my presentation of the Budget, and it has been brought out by several gentlemen in this discussion, and I do not wish to enlarge upon it now, except to show the advantages of a specific duty. In the first place, we must take into consideration what has been done in the way of freeing certain classes of books entirely. It was found impossible to free all books, but it was found possible to free some. While the tax is heavier on some classes of books, and while we can cite instances in which it is heavier than under the ad valorem tax, let us look at the other side of the question as well, and see what we have done under the present proposition in reference to freeing books. I have received letters from a great many people, including some of the best educators and most thoughtful men we have in Canada, who have been very warm in their praises of what has been done. The most of them would like to see free books, still, they say this is a step in the right direction. First, take account of the poor man's books. This duty is in the direct line of cheapening these books. We have made it easier for all the great institutions of learning in this country to fill their libraries with what is really the stock-in-trade of the students and thinkers of our country, free of any tax whatever. Then, it seems to me, if there is any deserving class in this country, it is the students, and if there is any class of persons who feel the tax upon books as a heavy tax, and one levied upon slim pockets, that class is made up of the students. Where you have one rich man's son passing through college, you have a dozen poor men's sons putting themselves through or being put through on slender means, who practise close economy, and to whom twenty or thirty or fifty cents in the price of a book is an important consideration. Students' books, if included in the curricula of the colleges, are free of duty, and, consequently, the students of this country coming from the homes in all parts of the country, and most of them poor boys, pass through the universities and colleges free from any burdens be-

cause of the book tax. Further, all books not in the language of this country, English or French, are admitted free. This is a boon to the people speaking other languages who are coming to our country, and who are amongst us in such small numbers that it is impossible for them to have books in their own language published in this country. There are also the several extensions of the free list which have been mentioned before, I need not particularize. The clergymen are spoken of. I sympathize with them. Unless we put books on the free list entirely, can any one tell me how we are to allow clergymen's books to come in free, and tax others. It seems impossible to do it. But by this tax we have lightened the burden upon the clergymen of the country. These men do not buy the trashy books; they do not buy the ten cent novels. They buy a class of literature which is solid, which, as a rule, is issued in small editions, and, consequently, not printed in this country; books the price of which is fairly heavy, many of them being high-priced works. On all that class of books, the duty of six cents per pound levels the price down. My hon. friend Mr. Mills (Bothwell) cited an instance to show the enormity of the tax on books, and that very instance shows the favourable working of this duty. He cited Sayce's Higher Criticism, which costs \$2.50. At 15 per cent, the duty would be 37½ cents. That book weighs one and a half pounds, and, at the rate of 6 cents per pound, would be charged 9 cents duty. The person who bought that book, requiring it as an arsenal of fact and argument to be used in the war against the socialistic and free-thinking tendencies of the day, would save 28½ cents duty under this clause. The hon. gentleman cited another book at a price of \$4, a thoughtful man's book; not a rich man's book. The duty under the old rate would have been 60 cents. But at the pound rate—

Mr. CASEY. But he did not know what it weighed.

Mr. FOSTER. Suppose it weighed two pounds—

Mr. CASEY. Suppose it weighed five pounds.

Mr. FOSTER—there would be a saving of 48 cents. Suppose it weighs four pounds, and it is not supposable that it would weigh so much, there would still be a saving of 30 cents on that book alone. Take the class of book used by the artisan, mechanic, engineer, school-teacher, clergyman—the thoughtful working-classes of this country through and through—and in every case it will be found that this duty weighs far less heavily upon them than did the ad valorem duty of 15 per cent. Take the cheap reprint of a good work, and if you weigh it and calculate the duty under respective rates, you will find that, on the average, the present duty is about the same, or perhaps a little less.

Mr. CASEY. By no means.

Mr. FOSTER. Though I have no doubt the hon. gentleman knows a great deal about this question, yet I must say that the case is as I state it. Then, there is a class of books upon which the duty is heavier. There is the class mentioned by my hon. friend opposite (Sir Hector Langevin), that used for prizes in schools. Another gentleman mentioned the class of Christmas prize books. It is true that upon this class of books the duty is higher. Take the case of the grammar cited by my hon. friend (Mr. Langelier). That book would cost 10½ cents under the old duty. Under this duty it will have to be sold at 12 cents; but the rise in the price of the individual book is only 1½ cents. As these books are printed at such a cheap rate in France, the pound duty, if you take it on a percentage basis, is higher than the old rate, and gives rise to the argument of my hon. friend that consideration should be had for the purchasers of these books. But, if you count the rise on the individual book, you will find that the change is very little. Take the Christmas prize book, a class of books brought in here and sold by the ton every Christmas. I am inclined to think that the next generation would be better off if not a single pound of books of this very cheap class were sold and distributed. Hon. gentlemen have looked at these books at Christmas time, possibly. They are very cheap, have heavy covers, and the prints in them are very cheap, and, in most cases, most atrociously executed. I do not think that in the training of the artistic taste of the future generation, these books will play a very useful or a very important part. But for a holiday Christmas book, which is really something artistic and has merit in it, I have the statements of the best book-sellers of this country to the effect that the 6 cents per pound duty will not raise the price materially on that class of books. But where you take a rough and heavily bound book, with an immense board cover, which is almost all material and has almost no thought or art in it, there, of course, the pound duty makes the rate appear abnormally high on a percentage basis. Then there is the class of trashy books, novels and the like of that, costing 5 cents, 10 cents, 25 cents, three for a quarter—on these books the duty will be higher under this 6 cents per pound than it was under the 15 per cent rate. Whether it will raise the price is quite another question, because the price of these books in most cases is a sort of mechanical price, they are marked and are sold at that price, and it is possible that the consuming public, though such a thing is not devoutly to be wished for, will not pay any more for them in the end. But if the 6 cents per pound duty does cause that class of books to be sold higher than at present that will be rather a gain than otherwise. Those books are not very elevating in tendency, they are a sort

of bad luxury, or an amusement; they are not bought by the very poor, and they are not bought by the solid middle class of the country. They are books for amusement, are sensational, and the like of that, and this duty will be higher on that class of books. Now, take the Sunday school books. Is there any way by which we could except Sunday school books without sweeping the whole duty from books entirely? They are selected from catalogues, and the Sunday school superintendent selects out of their catalogues to make up his library. But there is this about Sunday school libraries, and I think any superintendent of a Sunday school that has had to do with buying them is well aware that those books are printed very cheaply, and they are sold at high nominal prices. To the men who buy them in the gross, large discounts are given, the prices on them are marked, and my private opinion is that the Sunday school will not pay much more for that class of books than they do to-day, but possibly the profits of some people will be somewhat cut down. If you take Sunday school books of a fair grade through and through the 6 cents per pound duty will not make a very great difference as compared with the 15 per cent. You can find instances where books will be increased 100 per cent in consequence of the weight, and yet where the total amount of duty will not be over a cent, or a cent and a half, or two cents, on account of the extreme cheapness of the books. Now, what does this duty do with reference to the business of this country? Take the cases where there is a tax upon paper, upon the binding, upon the material that is in the book, this tax in that way bears the heaviest upon either a class of books which are read for amusement mainly or a class of books which have a sufficiently large circulation to enable them to be printed in this country. Why should they not be printed in this country? The printers' rates in this country are as low as they are in most other great countries, and lower than they are in the United States. We make our own paper, our publishers are enterprising, and where an edition cannot be economically set up in type in this country and published here, we have allowed that the plates shall be brought in. So there is every inducement given to publishing certain classes of books, and in that way the paper-maker is helped, and the publisher is helped, the binder is helped, and the printer is helped. These are classes of books upon which this duty throws that business, so far as it can be done, into the hands of our own printers, our own publishers and our own binders. Taking all these things into consideration, though you may pick out here and there instances in which you may say that the 6 cents per pound duty is a tax which bears inequitably, yet take it altogether, looking over the whole field, though I did not start out with any strong precon-

Mr. FOSTER.

ceived idea in favour of the pound duty, the more I looked into it the more I felt that it was the best duty, if you were to have any duty upon books, that we could possibly select. Not leaving out of account the fact that whilst we are putting this duty upon certain books, we are letting in a large class of books for a very deserving part of our people free, if we look at the question on all sides, I think we will come to the conclusion that this is about as good a duty as we could put upon books.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I am not going to detain the House by travelling over the lengthy argument the hon. gentleman has made to show that this is at the same time a very valuable tax because it will keep out trashy books, and an equally valuable tax because it won't raise the price of good books. It does not appear to me that there is much coherence in his argument. But I want to point out this to the House. The hon. gentleman tells us he cannot afford to lose \$113,000 of duty which is imposed on books brought into this country. Now, I say that our tariff, among its many barbarous stupidities, contains very few more barbarous stupidities than this same duty on books, and I say also that the plea of the hon. gentleman that he cannot afford to spare that \$113,000, after the examples we have had of the reckless folly with which he deals with public revenue, when it comes to a question of protecting some little miserable trumpety industry in which some one of his own supporters is interested, and which is probably taxed for his corruption fund, is about the best proof that can be given of the utter iniquity which this whole scheme is conducted. Look at the duty which we were considering the other evening, the duty on rice, for the benefit of 75 people employed in two mills. I would like to know who are the shareholders in those mills, I would like to know what political wires they can bring to bear. The hon. gentleman did not hesitate, and has not hesitated for a dozen years back, to tax the people of Canada \$150,000 to \$200,000 a year for these abominable trumpety mills, but when it comes to a question of granting information to the whole country, when it comes to a question of benefiting the whole community by sweeping off a tax which he says brings him in \$113,000, he can spare \$200,000 of the people's money for the benefit of a couple of his supporters, employing the number of hands that I have spoken of, but he cannot spare \$100,000 for the benefit of 6,000 teachers, for the benefit of 10,000 clerical persons—which I think is the number given us in the census returns—for the general benefit of the whole people, for the purposes of diffusing information. Verily these gentlemen love the darkness and hate the light, and therefore it is that they cannot afford to lose this \$100,000.

Mr. CASEY. The hon. Minister says that a tax on books is not synonymous with a

tax on knowledge. In one sense it is, in another it is not. You can tax knowledge without taxing books, but you cannot tax books without taxing knowledge. All knowledge is not acquired from books, although a large amount of it is; but you cannot tax books or literature of any kind without taxing knowledge at the same time. So the statement that this tariff imposes an increased tax on knowledge is perfectly true. The Finance Minister says there are a large number of people engaged in the publishing business in Canada, and they might as well publish the books we now import, and further that a large number of printers are employed by these publishing houses. The hon. gentleman, however, stated in his Budget speech that fewer people are now engaged in the publishing business in Canada than formerly. The hon. gentleman did not give a reason why the publishing business had fallen off, but I suppose it is due to the protective policy, which the hon. gentleman has upheld. While the hon. gentleman in his Budget speech made the number of those engaged in the publishing business appear to be small, he now represents the number as large, and he proposes to give them increased protection. Then the hon. gentleman proceeded to say that whether ad valorem or specific duties were imposed, special cases of unfairness could always be shown. We have shown many cases of unfairness in connection with the imposition of specific duties, but the Finance Minister has not yet produced a single case in which the ad valorem system has proved unfair to the trade of the country. The hon. gentleman also, in his efforts to prove that he sought to benefit the poor man, has mentioned that college books have been placed on the free list and also the books of college and university libraries, and he has called attention to the fact that most of the students are comparatively poor. That is very true. But a boy must pass through the public school and the high school before entering college. Why should he not have his books free all through, as well as men at college? If the majority of the students at our colleges and universities are not rich—and I am glad to know it—still more, the majority of those who attend our public and high schools are not the children of rich parents. And why not give them books free? The hon. gentleman says, how could you import books for clergymen free while you tax books of the same class imported for other people? And the hon. gentleman made a similar remark in regard to school teachers. I answer that question by asking another: How can you admit silk for corset-making free when you tax silk imported for other uses? Yet that is what is done by Order in Council under the existing tariff. There are dozens of instances where the materials are admitted free for special purposes. Why should we not adopt the same course in regard to clergymen and school teachers? There is only one remedy

and that is for the clergy and teachers to form a combine and send delegates to have a confidential interview with the Finance Minister and see what they can accomplish. I asked the Minister an important question, and it was this: Was any request received from the trade for the change proposed; if so, from whom did the request come? When the hon. gentleman proposes a duty which is intended to increase the production of cheap books in Canada, he should tell the House where the demand comes from, the parties whom it is going to protect and how it will increase their protection. That is the duty of the hon. gentleman as an upright and honest Minister of Finance, and I hope he will make this statement before the close of the debate. The hon. gentleman took the whole line of cheap books and called them all trash. A very good edition of Shakespeare's dramatic works can be obtained in England for one shilling. Does the hon. gentleman pretend that such a work is trash? He then proceeded to speak about trashy novels that were sold three for a quarter, and said we would be better without them. I do not think it is the business of the Finance Minister to decide whether the people will be better without certain books or not. It is not his duty to watch over the literary tastes of the people and endeavour to alter their tastes by means of customs duties. Not even the Controller of Customs has the right to control our desires in that respect; he is not controller of manners or tastes, although he may be of customs. The Minister has declared that the middle class do not use such books. We know, however, that many do so, and that there is a demand that must be supplied. Suppose you excluded these cheap books, with what are you going to replace them? Certainly not by books of the superior class. The tastes of the people will remain the same, and they will be supplied by cheap and trashy Canadian reprints in place of the trashy productions which we now import. The only difference is, that we will pay from 50 to 100 per cent more for those trashy Canadian reprints than for the imported books. The Finance Minister wishes to retain the manufacturing of these books in the hands of Canadian publishers. Even under the degree of protection afforded, 15 per cent, Canadian works have been particularly poor and trashy, and they will be worse under a monopoly. The hon. gentleman has further declared that it is desirable to employ the printers, and that printers' wages are as low here as elsewhere. The printers will not be much pleased to hear that statement from the Finance Minister, to be told that their wages are as low here as elsewhere. I do not think the working printers wish the change in the tariff. It is not in their interests, but in the interests of the printing offices. The Finance Minister admits in his statement that some books will be increased 100 per cent in value. This change involves increased taxation of 50 per cent

in most cases, and even 100 per cent. in favour of the publisher. The hon. gentleman should return to the principle of ad valorem duties, where he would have plain sailing, and under which he could tax every article according to its value. There is one item not yet clear. The hon. member for St. John (Mr. Hazen), asked the Finance Minister in regard to periodicals, and appears to be satisfied they were on the free list. I have looked carefully over the free list and periodicals are not there.

Mr. HAZEN. Yes, they are; and I will give them to you. I call my hon. friend's attention to page 26, where he will find that the following are mentioned as on the free list:—"Newspapers, and quarterly, monthly and semi-monthly magazines and weekly literary papers, unbound."

Mr. CASEY. I want a definition of periodicals then, because they are specially mentioned in the item before us. Is not a magazine a periodical?

Mr. HAZEN. Whether it is a periodical or not it is expressly exempted.

Mr. CASEY. The word "periodical" is specially mentioned in this item, and I have no doubt that it will lead to a good deal of confusion amongst customs officers, and some may decide that a magazine is a periodical, and some may not.

Item agreed to.

British copyright works, reprints of, six cents per pound and in addition thereto, twelve and one-half per cent ad valorem until March 27th, 1895, and thereafter six cents per pound.

Mr. EDGAR. I would like to ask the Minister of Justice if he has communicated to the English Government yet the fact that he proposes after next year to take off the authors' royalty?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes; the communication was made fully a month ago.

Mr. EDGAR. And is there any reply?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No, not yet.

Mr. FOSTER. I wish to amend that item. Instead of having a fixed date, I wish to substitute the words "until the end of the next session of Parliament."

Item agreed to.

Maps and charts 20 per cent ad valorem.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It does appear to me that maps and charts might very properly be put in the free list. They are most essential aids to knowledge, and it does seem an absurdity to have a separate item for such articles as these.

Mr. FOSTER. Maps and charts are made in Canada, and the duty is a small one. Globes were formerly included in this item, but they have been transferred to the free list. Admiralty charts are free.

Mr. CASEY.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I cannot conceive a justification for the tax on maps and charts.

Item agreed to.

Paintings, prints, engravings, drawings, building plans, photographs and pictures, n.e.s., twenty per cent ad valorem.

Mr. CASEY. On what principle does the Minister put a high tax on books which are an absolute necessity, while he puts a low tax on these items which are comparatively luxuries?

Mr. FOSTER. They are more artistic.

Mr. CASEY. They are luxuries.

Mr. FOSTER. Art is not a luxury; art is a necessity to any great people.

Mr. CASEY. Works of art of this kind are a luxury to most people in Canada, and therefore the Minister puts them at a low rate of duty, while he puts a high duty on books. That is quite consistent with his policy.

Mr. FOSTER. Not at all. Look at the next item of playing cards, and you will see the high duty put on these pictorial arrangements.

Item agreed to.

Paper hangings or wall paper in rolls, 35 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. With reference to this item I wish to propose the motion, of which I gave notice last Friday. After looking still more carefully into this matter I find that it will be impossible under a 35 per cent duty, taking into account the circumstances and prices upon the other side, for these papers to be made in this country at that protection. The old protection was a great deal higher. I propose to put in the place of that two items. The first will be wall paper, not including borders, printed on plain, ungrounded papers, and coloured with any material except bronze, gold or glitter, 35 per cent, thus keeping the cheapest class of papers at the same rate as proposed here. The other class, which are in the old tariff put at from 4 cents to 15 cents per roll, I wish to place at 1½ cents per roll and 25 per cent, which I think will keep the manufacture of them in this country. The duty, as I propose it here, is a very large reduction on the old duty, and yet not so large as to put the industry out of existence.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Before the amendment is carried, I want to call the hon. gentleman's attention to some statements which I have received from paper dealers in respect to this proposed change. I hold in my hand a letter from some of these gentlemen, inclosing samples of their goods, which it is proposed to tax, in which the writers say:

The fact is there is no ungrounded paper imported into Canada at all. All that is used is made in Canada.

They inclose a sample of ungrounded Canadian paper, which costs 3¼ cents per roll of seven yards, and say :

This grade of paper is not imported at all, in fact, is not made in the United States, and therefore this part of the proposed tariff which reduces the duty to 35 per cent simply amounts to nothing at all, as we could buy no goods which could be admitted under that clause.

They send me a sample, which is endorsed : "Grounded paper, lowest grade of American manufacture, costing 3 cents per roll of seven yards." They say that the duty under the proposed change, 1½ cents per roll, and 25 per cent is equal to 2¼ cents, or a total of 5¼ cents per roll, amounting to 75 per cent, as near as possible. Of course, on the higher and more expensive grades, the proposed duty would not bear so heavily ; but upon the cheapest grades of grounded paper imported from the United States, and very largely used, indeed, by the poorer classes throughout Canada, it seems to me that this is going to be a burdensome tax. I ask the hon. gentleman if these statements are correct. They are signed by three different paper importers.

Mr. FOSTER. Not having looked into that, I cannot say whether they are actually correct or not ; but I have no hesitation at all in saying that at the present prices of American papers, the duties we impose, when reduced to the equivalent of ad valorem, do run up pretty high—in some cases to 60 or 65 per cent. That, however, is owing to this curious fact, but still a fact, that if you take the grades of English paper and compare them with the same grades of paper made here, even where the stock of the paper made here is better than the English paper, you find that our prices range, on the whole, lower than the English prices. So that the competition of our paper-makers is not with the English makers. If it were a protection of 25 per cent would be sufficient, but it is with the United States makers. In the United States there is an immense combination, with a very large capital, which has, for the last three years, been trying to fight out and destroy all the independent paper-makers in the United States. In order to do that, they have demoralized prices to such an extent during the last three or three and a half years that surplus and pushed stocks have been sent to this country at prices at which they cannot at all be manufactured here. If the prices in the United States were normal, the protection of 35 per cent would be quite sufficient to hold the market ; but, under present conditions it is not. They can send over here a paper of a cheap quality at about 2 1-10 cents a roll, and the cheapest paper that our people can put against that cost 3 or 3½ cents a roll. Of course, outside of the demoralized prices,

our market is limited, and the same rolls and patterns which, in the United States would run for a very large market, have to run here for a very small market, and consequently, the cost of patterns has to be distributed over a small output. Quite a large number of men are engaged in the industry.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. How many ?

Mr. FOSTER. There are, I think, three factories making wall paper. They make about six million rolls of paper annually.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Of what value ?

Mr. FOSTER. To make that they use about 1,600 tons of raw paper, which is about the output of three mills.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. They must be very small mills.

Mr. FOSTER. Three fair mills. For every \$100,000 of merchandise they pay about \$44,000 in wages. The factory in Toronto has an output of \$80,000 per year, and employs forty or fifty hands, paying \$20,000 per year in wages.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Are these forty or fifty hands chiefly women and children ?

Mr. FOSTER. No ; all men, consequently with families depending upon them. The other mills have an output of about \$200,000 and employ a proportionate number of hands. Watson's mill employs an average of 65 ; the other, an average of 60—about 165 hands employed.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I would just like to call the attention of the Minister of Finance to what that statement implies. Here is a total product of not quite \$300,000. Here is a total employment of 160 or 165 people. The hon. gentleman is not content with 35 per cent for these gentlemen's benefit, but he wants to make it range from 35 up to 100 per cent, according to his own statement. But take the minimum 35 per cent, and, speaking roughly, that would represent a cost to the consumer of \$100,000 per year, for the maintenance of 165 hands. It is a very good sample of the remarkable wisdom and soundness of the political economy of which the hon. gentleman is the exponent. The consuming population of Canada are taxed to the tune of \$100,000 per year at the minimum rate, and in this case the tax may range, according to the quality of the paper made, up to 100 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Yes ; I am taking the hon. gentleman's own statement. He stated that the quality which they made at the 3 cents could be sold here at 2 cents. On that 2 cents there would be 25 per cent and 1½ cents per roll. That

makes a tax of 100 per cent on the cost value of the article. But I am willing to put it at the lower figure of 35 per cent. There you have a loss to the consuming population of Canada, according to his own statement, of 35 per cent on their output of \$280,000, and the value you get is the employment of, at the outside, 165 hands, whose wages, according to the statement he made us, would amount roughly to \$60,000 or \$70,000.

Mr. FOSTER. More than that.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Not a bit. The hon. gentleman said \$20,000 for the first one, which gave a result of \$80,000 product. And at that rate \$60,000 would be ample allowance for the other.

Mr. FOSTER. Forty-four thousand dollars for each \$100,000 of output.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. You said that, but it did not follow from the other statement, because the statement that was made with respect to the Toronto factories was that an output of \$80,000 employed forty or fifty hands, to whom \$20,000 were paid in wages. If that be the case, the other factories, with the product of \$200,000, must pay a great deal more than the Toronto one did. But be that as it may, the point I want to call the attention of the committee to is simply this: that whenever you come to analyse any of these statements, you find a monstrous loss to the consuming population of Canada for perfectly trivial employment given to a small number of people. This is a very fair sample of the way these tariffs operate all round, to the huge loss of the consuming population in comparison with the revenue derived. I do not know what revenue the hon. gentleman derives from the amount imported. What was the revenue on the amount imported under the very high tariff that prevailed before?

Mr. FOSTER. Ninety-five thousand dollars on last year's importations at last year's duty.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The net result is this, that we got into the Treasury \$95,000, but the public of Canada had to pay a tax at the very least of \$190,000. And, judging by the statement of my hon. friend and the natural effect of the alteration he is now proposing, they will probably have to pay to the tune of \$250,000, including what goes into the manufacturers' and into the general treasury. So here is another proof, if proof were wanted, of the perfect correctness of the statement often made on this side of the House, that the inevitable operation of these protective duties is to take two or three dollars out of the public at large for one that goes into the national treasury. We have proved that often enough, but it is as well to get into the tariff, whenever an illustration of the kind

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT.

occurs, to show how it works. The Minister is perfectly right in one part of his contention, which is this: That the nature of the goods is such that in our limited market it is a gross mistake to foster these petty industries, for the simple reason that we cannot possibly, with our narrow and limited market, manufacture these goods at all as cheaply as they can be manufactured in the larger market. That is a well known economic fact, which everybody who looks into these matters will fully understand and appreciate, and it is one of the very strongest grounds that can be urged against the folly of attempting to nationalize or encourage these little trumpery industries, which, although they may not take more than a few cents per family, collectively amount to a very large burden on the people.

Mr. FOSTER. Taking last year's importations and the duties raised on them, although you may point out special instances where in the case of exceedingly and abnormally low priced articles, the duties were very high, yet even with the high duties of last year the average rate upon the imported article was 55 per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It was more nearly 70 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. We have brought down that protection this year until, on the same importations, at the present rates, it will come to about 38 per cent. So that that is a large reduction, and brings it down to a fraction over 35 per cent, which will not be objected to. It is true you will find a range of prices in which the protection runs up to between 60 and 70 per cent, but that is an abnormally low price and an extreme instance of the incidents of protection. On the whole, the present proposed duties on the imports of last year will be about 38 per cent. Now, if you were to take English papers—where there is a normal price, where there is not this demoralization of prices—they could not come into competition with our own papers, under a duty of 25 per cent, such is the difference between the two. Take the range of prices of our own product in embossed papers, embossed borders, and in bronzes, and the range of British prices was in all cases over and above our own—in some cases very much above. And when we take the papers and compare them, although you may, according to your taste, like the British better in some respects, the substance of the paper, the ground of the paper, is quite equal in ours to the British article.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). In that 38 per cent do you include the low-priced paper?

Mr. FOSTER. The lower and the higher—the whole of it.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I would point this out, that where you lump a quan-

tity of these papers together—as, for instance, white paper, granite paper and hand-made—under your old tax, although the collective duty might only amount to 65 per cent, there were, it is well known, numerous cases in which the duty on the British article so taxed amounted to a great deal more.

Mr. FOSTER. I stated that.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Amounted to 100 and 120 per cent, and cases have been stated to me where it ranged to 150 per cent.

Mr. WALLACE. It will not under this new arrangement.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. In that respect this new arrangement is better. It provides for a duty half specific and half ad valorem. But even so, it will in many cases, on these cheaper qualities of wall paper amount, as my hon. friend has stated, to 60 or 70 or even 75 per cent. And, in the case of the paper which the hon. gentleman says is brought in at demoralized prices, it would amount to 100 per cent. The hon. gentleman stated that paper could be brought in at a little over 2 cents a roll.

Mr. FOSTER. At 2¼ cents at present quotation.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The hon. gentleman is imposing a tax of 25 per cent and 1½ cents a roll. If he will add the 25 per cent to the 1½ cents per roll he will find that the duty is, as nearly as possible, 100 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. Yet the burden is not an excessive burden. Suppose this paper comes in at 2¼ cents a roll and the duty calculated by my hon. friend is collected upon it, the price of the paper per roll is still very cheap, and, as the number of rolls required for an ordinary small house is not large, it will be seen that the incidence of the duty is still not heavy, as it bears upon the people. We must take into account, and the hon. gentleman would be obliged to take into account if he were in my place, that an industry has been established, and it is an industry that employs not only boys and girls and women, but mainly men with families.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It employs many women and children, if I am properly informed.

Mr. FOSTER. I believe they are nearly all men, and they must be men of considerable skill, particularly those employed as designers and so on.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. There is another point worth considering. The hon. gentleman was just now descanting on the desirability of promoting the artistic sense in our people and giving as many cheap forms of beauty as possible. There are very few things in which it is more desirable for

the comfort of our people and for the promotion of good taste among them to allow them to clothe their walls with reasonably pleasant and reasonably artistic qualities of paper. And, if the hon. gentleman has paid any attention at all to the progress of art in that respect, he must be aware that it is now possible, at a comparatively low rate, to obtain extremely pretty, and, I might say beautiful designs in paper, which go very far toward making the rooms of the poorest of the population cheerful and bright. We ought, as far as we can, to encourage that taste and not to mulct it by heavy duties. Were this an indigenous industry in this country, if there was a reasonable hope that perfection would be attained, something might be said in favour of this proposal. But, I am certain that in so very limited a market as ours, from the nature of the case, it is useless to expect that our wall paper manufacturers can attain, except at enormous cost, to anything like the perfection which is reached in this class of manufacture in great communities like those of Great Britain or the United States.

Mr. FOSTER. I would like my hon. friend to examine the work of our Canadian wall paper men. At the time of the inception of the National Policy there was one small factory in Canada. Now there are three and they supply all parts of the Dominion. If the hon. gentleman will look at the designs produced then and compare them with those produced now, he will see that there has been a very great advance in the artistic qualities which he so highly appreciates and of which he has spoken so nicely to-night. It is something, moreover, for a country to have its own distinctive art embodied in the homes of the people. If the hon. gentleman had seen the beautiful designs of the most chaste description with the maple leaf arranged most artistically upon a nice background, a thoroughly Canadian sentiment breathing from every leaf, I am sure that he would feel that this element was worth something.

Mr. McMULLEN. I have no doubt, from the description of the artistic designs as given by the hon. gentleman that he will be decorating his new mansion with Canadian paper.

Mr. FOSTER. I have got it in.

Mr. McMULLEN. That is all right. Did I understand the hon. gentleman to say that the value of paper produced in Canada was about \$300,000 a year?

Mr. COCKBURN (Toronto). Six millions of rolls a year.

Mr. McMULLEN. I would like to know from the hon. the Finance Minister if the committee understood him aright that the value of the paper manufactured in Canada is about \$300,000 a year.

Mr. FOSTER. That is what I said.

Mr. McMULLEN. And we import?

Mr. FOSTER. About \$175,000 worth.

Mr. McMULLEN. Now, that is about \$475,000 worth of wall paper used in this country in a year. The protective duty upon wall paper averages about 50 per cent, or, say, in all, a tax of \$250,000. Of that \$95,000 went into the Dominion Treasury, while the balance has been divided amongst the three factories. Now, the hon. Finance Minister says that they employed about 165 men, so that the tax divided amongst the factories would represent almost \$1,000 a year for each man employed. Of course these men do not get that amount of wages. No doubt, they get a reasonable wage and the manufacturer takes the rest. In order to load up the Minister the right way, the gentlemen on presenting the claims of these factories tell him about the demoralization existing in the trade in the United States. He is told that for three years past they have been cutting one another's throats there, selling paper at very low prices, and that if our duties here were reduced, they would send in their goods and demoralize the trade here. They have told the Minister that prices have been exceedingly low, that he must keep out this cheap paper, and that the people of this country must pay double the amount they could buy their paper for under the demoralization that exists in the United States. They want this tariff kept up until a combination is formed in the United States, and, when they have every assurance that the prices there will be kept high, the manufacturers here will be willing to consider whether they will enter into competition with the manufacturer of the United States or not. But they warn the Minister that if the people should be allowed to buy their wall paper at a cheap rate it would be ruinous to the factories here. The Minister made a statement to us the other night on the very same line in regard to rice. I suppose when he consulted the manufacturers of agricultural machinery, and they were pressing their case before him, undoubtedly they loaded him up in the same direction. They told him there was demoralization in the agricultural implement industry in the United States, and if he did not put on 20 per cent duty to protect Canadian manufacturers these cheap implements would be brought over from the United States and sold in Canada to the detriment of Canadian manufacturers. And so it is along the whole line. The Minister's ears are open to the arguments of these people, and he accepts them, and comes here and tells the committee all the advantages that the people are going to reap by the adoption of a policy of this kind. Now, this plainly shows the robbery and injustice to which the people of this country are subjected under the operation of this pernicious, yes, I say this cursed tariff, because it militates against the people's interest and robs them right and left. They are robbed for the sake of keeping up three paper factories.

Mr. McMULLEN.

and when the poor man buys a few yards of paper to decorate his little room he has got to pay 50 or 60 per cent for the purpose of keeping up these three paper factories. We heard the same arguments in connection with a print factory at Magog. It was kept up for several years. At first they commenced with a duty of 25 per cent, then it was raised to 27 per cent and to 30 per cent. The duty was kept up in order to shut out prints from other countries, and to give this factory a monopoly; but after all the taxes to which the people were subjected for the benefit of this factory, I understand that it is standing still.

Mr. FOSTER. You are very much mistaken.

Mr. McMULLEN. It was some time ago, it may have started again. All this shows the gross injustice and the robbery to which the people of this country are subjected under a tariff of this kind. The tariff upon books is the worst, and this paper duty come next to it. Unquestionably the duty on books is indefensible, at least on certain classes of books, and this duty on paper is next to the worst, because it imposes a heavy tax on the poorer classes of the population who desire to buy a little paper to decorate their rooms.

Mr. BOYLE. The speech of the hon. gentleman who has just sat down, as well as that of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) in his first remarks on this question, proceeded upon the old fallacy that the duty is invariably added to the price, and the consumer has to pay it. The argument which is adduced in support of this proposition is that a certain amount of paper is imported on which duty is paid, and that in consequence the wall papers manufactured in this country are made as much higher to the consumer as the price of manufacture with the duty added. Now, I wish to say that in this particular instance that is not the case. The papers which are largely manufactured in this country are ungrounded, and are sold at a very low figure. If the hon. gentleman will take the trouble to consult the prices he will find that the average price of the output of Canadian mills is just 5 cents per roll, even with the stiff protection they have. This is the price they are able to get for their output. How does this work? It works this way: Probably one-half of the output of all these mills, or what is equivalent to one-half, is a very cheap class of paper sold at 3 and 4 cents per roll, and this paper is sold so cheaply that if there was no duty at all, the Canadian manufacturer would command this market. I say, therefore, that the contention of hon. gentlemen opposite that the consumers are mulcted to the extent of \$150,000 or \$160,000, is altogether unfounded. On the other hand, when they take into consideration the amount of labour employed, the raw paper,

or unprinted paper, if I may so call it, has not been taken into account at all. That is also manufactured in this country, and gives employment to a certain number of hands. Then there is the staining, the colouring and the materials that go into it, to be taken into account. While I regret that the Minister of Finance does not see his way clear to allow the duty to remain as it stood in the first instance, I believe his arguments in favour of the change are good and irrefutable. At the same time I did not wish the wild statements made on the other side to go to the country unchallenged.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I wish to say to the hon. gentleman that the information which I received and laid before the House at an early stage of this debate was to the effect that none of what is called ungrounded paper is manufactured in the United States at all, and therefore, putting 25 per cent upon that class of goods is simply a blind. There is no such class of goods imported from the States, there is no such class of goods made in the States. The lowest grade of United States paper that is manufactured, a sample of which has been forwarded to me, costs 3 cents per roll, and comes under the proposed tariff of 25 per cent and 1½ cents specific duty, and the result of that will be that on the lowest grade of paper imported from the United States, and which is used by the poorer classes of the people, at least 75 per cent duty will be charged. Therefore, I say that the tariff in that respect, in that it taxes the poor man's paper very much more than it taxes the rich man's paper, is vicious, unjust, and therefore indefensible.

Mr. BOYLE. The hon. gentleman did not quite understand my argument. I stated that ungrounded papers were not imported. I do not know whether they are made in the United States or not, but they are made in England. But they are made so cheaply in this country that they would not be imported even if there was no duty. They are bulky and heavy. In any case the duty is only 35 per cent on rolls. However, the hon. gentleman's statement goes to bear out my argument that ungrounded papers are not imported into this country at all. If there is any advantage in it at all, the Canadian manufacturers have full control of the market, irrespective of the duties. He says that grounded paper can be bought in the United States as low as 3 cents per roll. I am not aware of any paper that can be bought as low as that; but assuming that is true, our Canadian manufacturers are turning out paper as low as 3 cents per roll, and paper just as good as that brought in and sold for 3 cents.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) These prices are certified to by three very large importers in the Maritime Provinces.

Mr. BOYLE. I do not question that. In regard to the manufacture of raw paper I

have in my hands a circular from Barber & Ellis, stating that they supply 600 tons of raw paper per annum for the manufacture of wall paper.

Mr. GIBSON. I must disagree with my hon. friend from Monck (Mr. Boyle) when he claims that the duty on paper does not raise the cost of the paper to the consumer. I have in my hand now an invoice of paper imported from Buffalo on the 5th February last, containing 250 rolls, at \$2.48½ per 100 rolls, the cost of which was \$6.21. The Government does not accept a 35 per cent duty upon that paper, but put their own valuation upon it, and charge it at the rate of 3 cents per roll, and the duty in that case amounted to \$7.50. In another invoice there were 150 rolls, at \$3.19½ per 100 rolls, the cost of which was \$4.79, and the duty upon which was \$4.50. Then on 14 rolls of borders the cost amounted in all to \$1.77, and the duty of \$1.32. On all the invoices the cost was \$12.67, and the duty paid thereon \$13.32, over 100 per cent, according to the valuation put by the Government upon papers imported from the United States. If you take the Trade and Navigation Returns you will find that as regards this class of paper which enters largely into the poorer class of dwellings it is a misnomer to say that the Government have been only charging 30 or 40 per cent, as has been mentioned by the hon. member for Monck (Mr. Boyle), because on comparing the Trade and Navigation Returns I find the total value of rolls over 3 cents per roll was \$35,000, on which was paid the duty of \$21,000, or equal to 60 per cent, while paper costing 3 cents per roll the total value was \$44,760, on which a duty was paid of \$30,750, or a duty of 70 per cent all round. I hope the Government, for the sake of maintaining one or two small factories in the Dominion, will not act unjustly. Many years will elapse before our manufacturers of wall paper will be able to compete with the United States manufacturers, for the reasons given by the Finance Minister, and I think it is hardly fair in the interests of the people, simply for the sake of maintaining one hundred or one hundred and fifty men, to impose a duty equal to 100 per cent on paper which goes into the dwellings of the poor. I therefore hope the Finance Minister will leave the duty as suggested, at 35 per cent all round.

Mr. COCKBURN. The hon. gentleman has possibly succeeded in showing that the late tariff was rather burdensome in certain respects. If so, the Government are entitled to credit for their efforts to make it a more moderate one. We are turning out 6,000,000 rolls a year of wall paper, and using 1,600 tons of paper and 567 tons of colouring matter. I quite admit that the duty ad valorem imposed at present is a heavy one compared with that on the higher classes of paper, but hon. gentlemen have the same opportunity of making a like com-

parison as regards manufactures of cotton, woollen and other materials. We are not able to make the finer classes of paper at first, and we cannot expect to do so for several years. We have to creep before we can walk, and when we have acquired the necessary skill and capital, we shall then be able to make finer grades. At the present time on the poorer classes of paper there is a heavy duty charged. But we have to take into consideration that if we are to give encouragement to this industry at home, we have also to consider whether the encouragement is such as will enable the manufacturers to withstand the white blank and cheap gilt competition. The brown blank foreign papers are sold in Canada at less than cost by large manufacturers in the United States, for the reason that they look for their profit to the finer classes of goods, and that they will make profits not only from the quality, but also as regards new styles. They are thus able to sell at lower prices than our manufacturers can at present do, and, therefore, I hold it is the duty of the Government to protect the industry. As we have now lower class cotton much cheaper than in England, in a few years, with the help of protection, we will have wall paper as cheap in Canada as in England, and I trust every effort will be made to see that this large, important and growing industry will prosper, and that no blow will be dealt by the Government at its success.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. We have been engaged in fostering an industry which is not in the slightest degree an indigenous industry, and on which, if the statements of the Finance Minister are to be believed, the people of this country have during the last fourteen years expended not less than \$1,500,000.

Some hon. MEMBERS. No.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Besides the annual charge of \$150,000 a year, which remained. That is the kind of political economy which the hon. member for Centre Toronto (Mr. Cockburn) is preaching to-night. From the time there was a small factory here, which I believe was when the blessed National Policy was introduced, the duty had been considerably over 100 per cent. In the course of two or three years three factories developed, but they have remained stationary as regards their development and the number of men at work. I am speaking from memory with regard to a discussion that took place some years ago. Under the late tariff this industry was taxing the consuming population of Canada about \$150,000 a year. It is true that the money does not all go into the pockets of those people, for the simple reason that they are obliged to manufacture at a greater cost than the same manufactures can be carried on where there is a large market, but the fact remains that for fourteen or fifteen years we have been

paying an immense annual sum for these factories. I believe it is an underestimate that during these fourteen years the people have paid no less than \$1,500,000 independent of the present annual outlay of \$150,000. If the hon. gentleman will compute the rate of interest on that sum, he will ascertain that the people of Canada are paying in that way a larger amount than the total sum of wages paid. We are well aware that the manufacturers charge up to the last notch, especially when there is a small number of manufacturers who can easily form a combine; they will charge the highest possible price, provided they can undersell the price of the imported article, plus the duty, and thus secure the market to themselves. That is the practice, and I do not particularly blame them for so acting. It is a natural and inevitable result of such a system as we work under here, but in calculating the total cost to the country you have to take into consideration not only the annual loss but the loss incurred during fourteen to fifteen years in building up this starving industry.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), has been making very elaborate calculations of the enormous tax imposed upon the people of Canada during the last fourteen years in this connection. If the hon. gentleman had taken the trouble to have inquired closely into the matter, he would have found this duty had only been in existence four years, since 1890, not fourteen years.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What was the duty before?

Mr. WALLACE. Thirty-five per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That was heavy enough in all conscience.

Mr. WALLACE. There is no doubt that some very cheap paper has been brought in from the United States, but that is the case under exceptional circumstances. The National Wall Paper Company of the United States, with a capital of \$48,000,000, has made a determined effort to crush out every paper industry in that country not in their combination, and to dictate prices. In pursuance of that policy, they have cut down the prices of some kinds of paper to a very low point indeed. In addition to selling the paper at a very low rate, they have made a special bargain with all the dealers to the effect that if they deal exclusively with them they will give a further rebate at the end of the year of 20 per cent, thereby bringing the price of paper down to the low figures that have been quoted. That paper has been sold below cost price; it has been sold under exceptional circumstances, and therefore it is not a fair estimate of the value of the wall paper. On this cheaper kind of paper used by the poor man, 35 per cent is now charged, and we have samples of it here which show that it is a good heavy

Mr. COCKBURN.

serviceable paper, with artistic patterns. It is sold in this country at from 2¾ cents to 3 cents a roll. I think that is a pretty low rate for a good quality of paper, and that the poor man has no very great reason to complain. On that paper there is now charged under the new tariff, a duty of 35 per cent exactly.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman knows that there is none of that kind of paper made in the United States.

Mr. WALLACE. What is the difference whether it is made in the United States or not, when it is made in England and Germany? That quality of paper is sold in England at about 2½ cents per roll, and in Canada it is sold at 3 cents. This 35 per cent will protect the market for our Canadian manufacturers, although they do not exact the full amount of protection afforded to them on that article. I say that those who buy a cheap paper in this country get a good, strong, serviceable article, more cheaply than they do for the same weight of paper in the United States.

Mr. FORBES. What is the good of the duty, then?

Mr. WALLACE. It is to protect the market for the Canadian manufacturer, and for the Canadian workmen. Hon. gentlemen opposite say, what is the good of this protection of 35 per cent? Let me point out that there is a duty on the blank paper itself of 25 per cent, so that the protection on the manufactured wall paper is only 10 per cent in addition. It is not an exorbitant protection to wall manufacturers, for colouring, and for procuring the patterns and all the other expenses they are obliged to incur. I may also add that they pay \$96,000 per annum in wages.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) If the statements of the Controller of Customs are correct, then the proposed amendment to the tariff is wholly unjustifiable. He says that this 35 per cent duty was placed in order to protect the Canadian manufacturer, and he tells us that it has had that effect. I think all parties were satisfied with the proposition made by the hon. gentleman to put a duty of 35 per cent on, but he forgets that the Finance Minister has changed his mind, and that he has confined the 35 per cent protection to a class of paper that is not made in the United States at all. He has changed his tariff with regard to the lowest class of wall paper that is imported from the United States from 35 per cent ad valorem to a specific duty of 1½ cents and 25 per cent, which makes a duty of 75 per cent on the lowest grade of paper. I want to call the attention of the Finance Minister to a state of facts which, if they exist, form a very great wrong. Wall paper importers in the Maritime provinces made importations this spring in accordance with the proposed tariff which

the hon. gentleman laid before this House, namely, at the rate of 35 per cent ad valorem. Although they imported at that rate, and disposed of their stock on the assumption that that was all the duty they had to pay; they are now told that they will be obliged to pay according to the higher or changed duties. That is a great injustice, if true. I will read to the hon. gentleman a letter which I received from three large importers:

21st of April.—We have been passing our entries subject to amendment for the past three weeks, during which time we have received almost the whole of our stock, and as our business is done entirely in the spring, we have sold a large portion of these goods based on the 35 per cent tariff. We have been informed this morning that we will be obliged to pay the amended duty on all the goods we have received since the Budget was read. We will therefore be subjected to a very serious loss. It might be said that we should not have imported anything pending changes in the tariff, but it was impossible for us to do otherwise, as at the time the tariff is finally settled, the whole season for these goods would be over.

I hope that the Minister of Finance will see that no such injustice is perpetrated on any class of the community. He proposed his new tariff of 35 per cent, and they imported and sold their goods on that assumption; but, as he afterwards changed his mind and doubled or trebled the rate, it would be a monstrous injustice to make these people pay the higher rate after they had disposed of the goods. I would like to know what the Minister of Finance has to say on that?

Mr. FOSTER. What I have to say is what I have to say in every such case: That when a tariff proposition is brought down, it is always subject to amendment; that from that time until the law is made certain every person who enters his goods enters them subject to amendments of the tariff, and that these gentlemen will have to be under the same rule as all others.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I am not fond of invoking the authority of the Governor in Council, and I have often taken objection to giving so much power to the Treasury Board; but if ever there was a case in which that reserved power could be justly exercised, it is in just such a case as my hon. friend (Mr. Davies) has referred to. The necessity for it, of course, ought to be very limited. In this case, our Government, after a year's consideration, comes down with a set of tariff proposals, and they ought to be prepared to stand by them. Unfortunately, the Government appears not to know its own mind for even the length of time between one day and the other. I say most distinctly and emphatically that, as a matter of justice and right, the Finance Minister ought, in such cases as those mentioned,—reasonable proof having been given—use the reserve power which, under his system

the Treasury Board possesses. If he has not the power, I think it would be quite proper that he should get that power for such cases. I have seen in bygone times a very great number of extraordinary proceedings taken by the Government where their friends were concerned. When Sir Leonard Tilley's tariff was brought down, we have known that by one stroke a great many thousand dollars were put into the pockets of importers. It may be in the memory of some of the older members of this House that Sir Leonard Tilley, to my astonishment, and I think to the astonishment of every man who had any acquaintance with affairs, went the extreme length of supplying money to the banks to enable them to help the importers to take a large quantity of goods out of bond and escape his own tariff. That was the proceeding of one of the hon. gentleman's predecessors, which I remember stigmatising as it richly deserved, on the floor of this House. I can recollect also that the late Sir Francis Hincks made what he called restitution to a number of tea importers who had been caught with tea in their hands on which they had paid duty; and, if I remember rightly, for I speak simply from recollection, he caused the tea duties which they had paid to be refunded—a very extraordinary proceeding, but with perhaps more to justify it than the proceeding of Sir Leonard Tilley. Now, the case presented by the hon. gentleman does deserve special action or special legislation on the part of the Government. It is owing to their own mistake, or to ignorance of business on the part of the Finance Minister in bringing down one proposition and then abandoning it, that he has got these people into the scrape.

Mr. HAZEN. A representation similar to that made by the hon. member for Queen's, P.E.I. (Mr. Davies) has reached me from a firm of dealers in wall paper in my constituency. They represent that they had taken their paper out of the custom-house at the rate of 35 per cent, and, expecting no amendment, had sold it at a fair profit on that rate of duty; and now they are called upon to pay the increased rate. It does seem to me that this is a case where some redress ought to be given to people placed in that position, because they naturally supposed that after a very careful inquiry had been made by the Government throughout the length and breadth of the country, the tariff embodied the mature deliberation of the Cabinet, and that they were safe in acting on that tariff. Of course, it may be said—and what the hon. Finance Minister says is very true—that the law has always been the same in that respect, and that the people who take their goods out of the custom-house before the law is passed do so subject to its being amended, and take their chances. It might also be said that in making sales they could guard themselves against the contingency of any amendment by providing for an in-

creased price in case of an increase of duty; but I am perfectly satisfied that that is not the case with regard to wall paper. This season of the year, when people are making repairs and changes in their houses, as everybody knows, is the time when paper-hangings are mostly disposed of. When taken out of the custom-house, they are sold, not to retail merchants in different parts of the country, but in small quantities to individuals; and it would be utterly impossible for the dealers to make an arrangement to increase the price if the tariff should be increased or to lower the price if the tariff should be lowered. They would have to be sold, not subject to amendment, but at a fixed price at the time of the sale. That being the case, I think the Treasury Board might well act on the suggestion made by the hon. member for South Oxford. I feel that an injustice will be done to those parties who have paid this rate of duty if they do not do so.

Mr. McMULLEN. The Controller of Customs stated a few moments ago that a Canadian factory was supplying good paper at 2¼ cents a roll. Will he state what factory that is?

Mr. WALLACE. The price is 2.93 for good strong papers of which I have samples here. The factory is that of Watson in Montreal. There are two factories in Montreal—McArthur's and Watson's. They state that that is their selling price of the article.

Mr. McMULLEN. The hon. gentleman has made the statement to the House that Canadian paper is sold at 2¼ cents or 2.93 cents a roll. I have it from a man in the trade that there is no paper sold at any such price. No doubt the hon. gentleman has got these samples from the manufacturers; as I said before, they have loaded him up in the right way. He is right in the midst of people who are interested in protection.

Mr. WALLACE. Does the hon. gentleman say that the manufacturer who made that statement and submitted these samples has stated a falsehood?

Mr. McMULLEN. I say that there is no paper of Canadian manufacture sold in Canada at 2¼ cents a roll.

Some hon. MEMBERS. How do you know?

Mr. McMULLEN. Because I have been told by a man in this House, who is in that business, and who is a reliable man. The hon. Controller takes these statements from those people, and he supposes that the prices marked are the prices at which they sell; but he knows nothing at all with regard to the accuracy of these statements; he is in entire ignorance whether they are correct or not. He is surrounded by people anxious to keep up the system of protection as thickly as flies around a sugar cask in summer time; he hears nothing but protection; it is on his right and on his left, and then he

comes to the House and submits the story that they have told him. All this goes to show that hon. gentlemen opposite are ever ready to get up and advocate the cause of the manufacturing classes: but there is not one single minister or controller who has a word to say on behalf of the consumer, who has to bear the burden and pay the piper.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. gentleman professes to tell what has occurred in my office day by day. He could only obtain that knowledge by prowling around the keyhole of the door, and I suppose he is quite equal to that.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. WALLACE. He says further that the man who has given me the statement about the price of this paper has stated a falsehood. The man is a responsible manufacturer, and I have no doubt he will supply any one in the quantities he sells at the prices he has quoted here. In contradiction of that statement, we have that of the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen), who states that somebody told him—he will not even give his authority, because he has no authority that would be worth a moment's consideration. The gentleman who supplies those samples and quotes those prices is a responsible man, and I am quite satisfied that the prices he has given me are those he quotes to the wholesale trade throughout the country, notwithstanding the statement of a gentleman who does not know anything about it.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I would point out to the House that, if the statement be correct, that these rolls are supplied at 2·9, a little less than 3 cents, there is a clear case of a protection of 75 per cent, because this is to be protected, as I understand, by 1½ cents per roll.

Mr. WALLACE. Not at all, only the 35 per cent. I might tell the hon. gentleman that the sample of English paper, which hon. gentlemen can see for themselves, is not of as good a quality as that quoted at 2·33.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). They can make their fortunes selling it in England.

Mr. WALLACE. The English paper is not as good a quality at 2·33 as our Canadian paper at 2·9.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Then, of course, our paper will go to England and drive the dearer and inferior quality out of the market there. But I wish to go back to the statement made by the hon. member for South Oxford, and the answer of the Finance Minister to that statement. The Minister of Finance has over and over again this evening appealed to the sympathy of the committee for some regard to the vested interests of the manufacturers, and the hon. gentleman is proposing, on the cheaper varieties of paper, a tax of 75 per cent by way of expressing that regard. The hon.

gentleman, of course, would admit that these parties could manufacture the paper in the free market and sell it at a fair price, provided Canada was not a sacrifice market. That we have been told over and over again. We have been told that we can make this paper cheaper here than they are making it elsewhere, and the hon. gentleman, in confirmation of that statement, brings forward samples of paper produced in England and the United States and also in the Canadian market. My hon. friend from Queen's (Mr. Davies) called the attention of the Minister of Finance to the fact that people who import paper and who sell in the only season of the year in which paper is called for—the spring season—have sold their paper with the duty added, which the tariff he brought down imposed upon it. The hon. gentleman now proposes a tariff ranging as high at least as 75 per cent, instead of 35 per cent, as in the tariff he introduced. That is, he asks from those people, who have sold with a fair profit added, 40 per cent in addition to what has already been paid. So that if they were selling at a profit of 35 per cent, which would be a very high profit indeed, but say a profit of 25 per cent, the ordinary charge made, they would have to hand over to the hon. gentleman, as an additional tax under his reconsidered tariff, the 25 per cent profit which they have charged their customers and 15 per cent more. And, the hon. gentleman says that is perfectly right. They ought to have known their business; they ought to have known that the Government could change the tariff, and ought to have added a sufficient amount to their profits to enable them to have paid any additional sum which the Government proposed. That is, they ought to have known what the Minister did not know—what was not simply in the Minister's mind but in the minds of the Minister's masters—in order that they might be enabled to protect themselves against possible loss. For the manufacturer, for the employer of labour in these manufacturing establishments, the hon. gentleman has every consideration. He has any amount of sympathy, and is ready to impose burdens in their behalf. He is ready to levy tribute on the consumer in order to give expression to that sympathy for these men. But for the importers, for the men the importers employ, for the men whom the ordinary paper merchant employ—and they are a hundredfold more numerous than those employed in the factories—the hon. gentleman has no sympathy at all. They are not entitled to any consideration at his hands. I believe that the manufacturer ought to have every consideration, every protection which every other member of the community receives. His life and property should be made secure to him. The law, for his protection, should be extended to him. I would not place him in any inferior position. But I say he ought not to be under the special guardianship of the

Government, and enjoy advantages at the expense of all the rest of the community, while the importers and the consumers should be in the position in which the hon. gentleman has placed them by these alterations in the tariff. The only remedy that exists in the way of repairing the injustice which, the hon. gentleman thinks, may, without any serious consideration, be inflicted upon these people, would be in the way suggested by the hon. member for South Oxford. But what kind of a way is it to deal with the taxation of this country, when men are placed in the position in which the tariff of the hon. gentleman has placed these parties. I predicted, at an early period of the session, that the tariff proposed by the hon. gentleman, and cheered by his friends, was not the tariff which he would ask us to adopt. And although we are not half way through it, yet what has happened so far has abundantly proved the statement that I then made. And I have no doubt whatever that we shall have further changes proposed. It just shows the House how much value is to be attached to all the serious considerations which the hon. gentleman gave the tariff that he submitted to us, and which he now thinks ought not to be adopted, and would not be fair to the community if they were adopted.

Mr. BROWN. While accepting, with all due respect, the statement made by the Controller of Customs, the prices quoted by him and those quoted by the same firms to their customers do not agree. The prices quoted to me two months ago were 7 and 8 cents per double roll for their common paper by that firm. They had not any single rolls at those prices. They seem to have two sets of prices—one for the Controller of Customs and one for their customers.

Mr. McMULLEN. The hon. the Controller of Customs challenged the statement that I made. Now, my statement has been verified by the experience of the hon. gentleman who sits behind me (Mr. Brown) within two months past. The hon. gentleman made rather an uncourteous allusion to me, saying that I was peeping through a keyhole. The hon. gentleman is only a keyhole Minister yet. What information he gets from the Cabinet is by listening or peeping through the keyhole, and he has been so long accustomed to that way of proceeding that he thinks he is entitled to make that charge against others, as if they were capable of occupying that very humiliating position. Well, I have not got as low as the hon. gentleman. I suppose he does as he accuses me of doing and makes quite a job of it. I fancy that while the Cabinet is in session, he must look like a crow looking into a bottle, as he tries to gather what information he can. The hon. gentleman has been loaded up by the manufacturers and he comes here and unloads the statements they have made, and we have to listen from day to day and from night to night to these state-

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

ments about the peculiar conditions under which these people produce these various commodities. And, as I stated with regard to the Finance Minister, he does not know a single thing about it. He is not cognizant of the circumstances attending these manufactures, and neither is the Controller of Customs. He talks about manufactures, but he is loaded up the wrong way.

Item agreed to.

Paper, tarred, 20 per cent *ad valorem*.

Mr. FOSTER. That is 25 per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. You are raising that.

Mr. FOSTER. We are lowering it as compared with what it was.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It was 20 per cent. I think it is a mistake to increase it.

Mr. FOSTER. I trust the hon. gentleman will be just and will consider this matter before he makes that remark. Tarred paper was formerly one-half cent per pound, which was pretty well up to 35 per cent—

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. About 32 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. It was first reduced to 20 per cent according to this item. But my hon. friend will see that that is below the protection that is put on the material of which this paper is made. The duty on the pulp-stock of which it is made is 25 per cent, and 20 per cent is not a protection, but the contrary; and, in common fairness, the duty should be made 25 per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. This tarred paper is an article, I am informed, which is very largely consumed in Manitoba and the North-west, particularly by those who are just entering the country as settlers; and I must say it appears to me very indiscreet and foolish to tax tar paper which is so largely used by those settlers. Instead of taxing this material, sound policy would dictate that it should be made free, at least for the use of settlers. It is a great hardship that an article of this kind, which is of so extraordinary value in so cold a country, in fact almost indispensable in erecting the kind of buildings the settlers have to use should cost 25 per cent more by reason of this duty.

Mr. FOSTER. But this is no protection.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. But it is a very heavy tax upon the settlers. I do not see my hon. friend from Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) in his place. He could speak upon the subject with more knowledge than I possess. Still, I have made a good many trips across the prairie, and I have observed that a large quantity of this article is used by the settlers, and I must say it is a very ill-advised step to impose this duty.

Mr. O'BRIEN. Tarr'd paper is a matter of absolute necessity in many parts of the country. In my section it has come into very common use, particularly among those who cannot afford to put up the best class of buildings. You might as well tax the shingles or the lumber they use. In the North-west it is in universal use. This is one of the worst features of the tariff.

Item agreed to.

Acid, acetic and pyroligneous, n.e.s., and vinegar, a specific duty of 15 cents for each gallon of any strength not exceeding the strength of proof and for each degree of strength in excess of the strength of proof shall be held to be equal to six per cent of absolute acid and in all cases the strength shall be determined in such manner as is established by the Governor in Council.

Mr. FOSTER. That is 2 cents instead of 1 cent additional.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. One cent; I have it here.

Mr. FOSTER. The proposition of which I gave notice is to make the duty 2 cents instead of 1 cent for the additional degree of strength. The protection on vinegar is the same as before; but the House will remember that we intend to add to the excise duty on vinegar, and, in order to make the duty equivalent on the higher grade of acetic acid, so far as vinegar is made from that, we have to put 2 cents duty on each additional degree, instead of 1 cent. Otherwise, when you come to acetic acid with a strength of 96 degrees, at which strength it is brought in, and from a gallon of it will be made a very large quantity of vinegar—a vinegar which will come into competition with good vinegar—there would be no protection at all. While this high duty is imposed upon the acetic acid as a protection against a spurious grade of vinegar, the House will see by looking at the next item, that both the acetic and pyroligneous have been greatly reduced for all manufacturing purposes, in which it is very largely used.

Item agreed to.

All medicinal preparations, including patent and proprietary preparations, tinctures, pills, powders, troches or lozenges, syrups, cordials, bitters, anodynes, tonics, plasters, liniments, salves, ointments, pastes, drops, waters, essences, oils (all liquids, 50 per cent; all other, 25 per cent); and all chemical, pharmaceutical or officinal preparations or medicines, not otherwise provided for; all liquids, 50 per cent *ad valorem*, and all other, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Chairman, after the word "oils," in the fourth line, strike out the comms, so that the word may not apply to oils except those that are medicinally prepared.

Mr. BORDEN. I did not observe one item that is passed. Perhaps you will permit me to go back to it—the item of sulphuric acid. I observe that the duty has been reduced

from half a cent to four-tenths of a cent per pound. I would like to call the attention of the Minister to the fact that this acid is used very largely in the manufacture of fertilizers, and the present tariff proposes to reduce the duty on fertilizers from 20 per cent to 10 per cent. While the reduction of the duty upon acid, which is one of the principal raw materials entering into the manufacture of fertilizers—

Mr. FOSTER. Not the principal one.

Mr. BORDEN. I am informed it is one of the most extensive—is only reduced one-tenth of one cent per pound. I have had some letters from manufacturers of these fertilizers in the Maritime Provinces to the effect that it will be impossible for them to continue the manufacture unless a reduction is made in the duty upon acid commensurate with the reduction made upon fertilizers. A letter which I have from a manufacturer in Nova Scotia states that they will be perfectly prepared to continue the manufacture of these fertilizers and would be glad if the Government would make both fertilizers and acid free. The hon. gentleman is retaining this high duty, it is believed, for the purpose of protecting the manufacturer of acids in one or two places, I believe one place in the province of Quebec and one place in the province of Ontario. It cannot be for the purpose of revenue, as the amount of revenue collected last year was only some \$700 or \$800. Now, I desire to ask the hon. gentleman to reduce this duty materially, commensurate with the reduction which he has made upon the manufactured article, although I myself think that he should make both the fertilizer and the acid free. The hon. gentleman manifested a moment ago his assent to the proposition to take the duty altogether off acids. I would like to know whether he is in earnest in reference to that, and whether he is willing that the duty should be removed entirely from sulphuric acid, as is demanded by the manufacturers of fertilizers in the Maritime Provinces.

Mr. FOSTER. When we come to the item of fertilizer, I think I will be able to satisfy my hon. friend that no injustice is done even on his basis. He has stated to the House that these gentlemen would be willing to undertake the manufacture and distribution of fertilizers provided that the whole were made free, no duty upon fertilizers and no duty upon sulphuric acids. Now, with this 10 per cent on fertilizers, and with this duty on sulphuric acid, and taking the quantity of sulphuric acid that goes into the compound with every other material they use, free, they have a protection on the outcome of some 2 or 3 per cent, so that they are just that much better off than they would be under free trade.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I will read a communication I received from Windsor, N.S.,

where this manufacture is carried on to some extent :

Sulphuric acid, which enters largely into the manufacture of fertilizers, paid hitherto a duty of half a cent per pound. The proposed duty is four-tenths of one cent per pound, only one-tenth of a cent less. The duty upon imported fertilizers has hitherto been 20 per cent ad valorem, and the proposed duty is 10 per cent ad valorem. The reduction of duty (only one-tenth of a cent) upon sulphuric acid avails but little to the manufacturer here as against 50 per cent reduction upon the imported article. What the manufacturers complain of is not the reduction of the duty upon imported fertilizers, but that the Government have placed them at a disadvantage by continuing the high tax upon sulphuric acid, which is to a certain extent, the raw material of their manufacture. They ask that sulphuric acid, for the purpose of fertilizers, be admitted duty free.

Do I understand the hon. gentleman is willing to concede that demand ?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Then it is just a question of fact whether they are at the disadvantage they allege, or not. He goes on :

Otherwise they cannot compete with the imported article made in the United States, with sulphuric acid admitted into that country duty free.

Mr. FOSTER. Then according to that statement they cannot compete on the basis of free trade ?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) He says they can compete, if you take these statements to be correct. This manufacturer says he can compete if you admit sulphuric acid duty free, and he is willing to have fertilizers free.

Mr. FOSTER. Very well, he is now in a better position than he would be.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) He ought to know his own business best.

Mr. FOSTER. I saw a gentleman who knows the business.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) You mean a gentleman from Halifax ?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I saw him, too, and read to him the substance of this letter with which he agreed, so far as I understood him.

Mr. FOSTER. They all want protection.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) He does not want protection, but he wants his raw material admitted free. If the manufactured article is admitted at a very low rate, he does not want to have a high duty maintained upon his raw material. I told him if he wanted

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

protection, he had come to the wrong quarter to get support, because I was the very man who would like to see fertilizers made duty free. But, I said, if I can give you any assistance by reducing the duty still further upon fertilizers, and get your raw material made duty free also, I should be most happy to assist you ; and it is in the hope that I am rendering that assistance that I am reading this letter to the hon. gentleman now. The writer goes on to say :

I understand the reason why the duty is retained on the acid is that there are two factories (one in London, Ont., and the other in Capleton, Quebec) in this country making the article. The Government must look at the thing in a practical way. Our fertilizer manufacturers say that the continuance of the duty on the acid will practically close up their factories, coupled with the reduction of duty upon the imported article ; that the amount of capital and labour connected with the fertilizer business is as ten to one compared with the acid business. Our Maritime Provinces manufacturing, notwithstanding the high duty, have always found it more profitable to get their acids from abroad, but with the reduction of the duty upon imported fertilizers they will have to go under unless they can get cheap acid. From small beginnings our factories, notably the one in Windsor, have grown into important branches of commerce in which a large amount of money has been invested. To have this industry ruthlessly destroyed, unnecessarily by the Government, will be too bad, and this ostensibly to profit two small concerns making a certain line of goods. This is protection with a vengeance.

Of course, I cannot say how far the statements of this gentleman are correct. I have no practical knowledge of the business whatever, and I give the statements for what they are worth. The writer is a gentleman whose name I will be glad to give to the Minister if he wishes it. Inclosed in the letter he sends me correspondence in a Windsor paper in which the argument is thoroughly thrashed out, and figures are given, which I will not detain the House by repeating ; because if the hon. gentleman has made up his mind not to give them what they think is fair play in the matter, it is not worth while to pursue the argument much further. It seems to me that the Finance Minister might have admitted acids free for the purpose of making fertilizers, and as the manufacturers buy acids in the United States and will continue to buy them there, no harm would be done to our manufacturers.

Mr. FOSTER. They do not.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The manufacturers do so almost entirely. I should like to see fertilizers admitted duty free, and also the raw material, and if the statement made here is correct, that the effect is to reduce the duty on fertilizers and to impose a higher duty on the acids, a heavy blow will be struck at that industry.

Mr. BORDEN. I have here the letter on which I based my statement :

Sulphuric acid (Chamber 50 per cent), New York, \$7 to \$8 per 2,000 pounds ; duty, $\frac{1}{4}$ of 1 cent per pound ; say twelve carboys at \$2 each, \$24 ; 30 per cent duty, \$7.20. Same acid from Great Britain per 2,240 pounds, \$5.60 ; same duty.

| | |
|---|---------|
| Acid which we use from reason already stated, New York, 2,000 pounds..... | \$14 00 |
| Duty, $\frac{1}{4}$ of 1 cent..... | 8 00 |
| Twelve carboys, \$2 each on package, 30 per cent..... | 7 20 |
| Freight per ton..... | 1 00 |
| | \$30 20 |

Delivered at Windsor, against the acid from Capleton delivered at Windsor, per 2,000 pounds, \$36.

The West Indies use large quantities of fertilizers which market we should like to reach, and could, provided we bought our acid as cheaply as the United States manufacturers do. As the matter now stands, this market is now prohibited to us. We claim that if we get sulphuric acid, duty free, we do not want any protection on superphosphates, and can do a much larger business, giving the farmer cheaper goods and increasing, to a large extent, the products of the soil, which means increased wealth to the whole community. We fail to see the justice of this revision of the tariff as contemplated.

It is on this ground I based my claim, and I hold it is in the interest of the agriculturists and is at the same time all that these particular manufacturers ask. I desire further to inquire if the Finance Minister intends to include in the item now before the House all legitimate medicines used in the sick chamber ; if so, whether he is aware that he is increasing the duty from 20 per cent under the old tariff to 25 and 50 per cent ? I find in the Trade and Navigation Returns that the duty on glycerine was 20 per cent ; for the future it will be 50 per cent.

Mr. WALLACE. No, it will be in the same classification as before. It will come under the similitude class, it being similar to vaseline, and the duty will be 20 per cent.

Mr. BORDEN. Under what class will come chloride of iron ?

Mr. WALLACE. Twenty per cent.

Mr. BORDEN. The hon. gentleman's customs-house officers at Halifax are charging 50 per cent on it to-day.

Mr. WALLACE. If they are doing so, the matter will have to be amended and corrected.

Mr. BORDEN. It is obvious that the tariff is not clear to the hon. gentleman's own officers. Under this change medicines which were formerly in the not-otherwise-provided class, have been added to the clause or are included in the clause now under discussion, and it is contended that an enormous num-

ber of medicines used by regular practitioners have been increased by this provision from 20 to 25 per cent on solids and from 20 to 50 per cent on liquids. I think this is a question of sufficient importance for the Finance Minister to be able to give the committee specific information as to the particular reasons why this transfer has been made from the not-otherwise-provided class. Under that class last year there were imported drugs and other substances of the value of \$228,220, paying a duty of \$45,000. Under this clause that duty would be enormously increased. What increase of revenue does the Finance Minister expect to obtain by this change ?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not calculate to receive any increase whatever.

Mr. BORDEN. Then what is the object of making the change ? The hon. gentleman includes with patent and proprietary medicines most of the drugs and official remedies used in the practice of medicine, and increases them to 25 and 50 per cent. How does the hon. gentleman do that, and at the same time expect not to obtain any increase of revenue ? It is evident the hon. gentleman does not know the effect of this change, and has not given it that attention which it deserves.

Mr. WALLACE. Drugmen of experience have expressed satisfaction with the new classification, which has hitherto not been very clear and has caused contention between importers and the Customs Department, and has also resulted in various classifications being made at different ports. Under the new classification and wording these disagreements will disappear and there will be uniformity at all ports ; at the same time we do not expect an increase in the revenue. Men of long experience in the drug business have expressed their entire satisfaction with the change, which they would not have done if it had not been satisfactory to them, to the retail drug trade and to the medical men.

Mr. BORDEN. The hon. gentleman has removed a large class of articles which came in under the 20 per cent list and placed them under higher duties.

Mr. WALLACE. Name an article.

Mr. BORDEN. The hon. gentleman will find that last year drugs imported under the heading, "other drugs not provided for" were of the value of \$228,000, and the hon. gentleman proposes to surmount his difficulties by taking the articles from that classification and increasing the duty to 25 per cent on solids and 50 per cent on liquids. Why should he charge 50 per cent upon liquids and 25 per cent upon solids ?

Mr. WALLACE. We have asked you to name one of these articles which you refer to.

Mr. BORDEN. I name calomel as one.

Mr. WALLACE. Calomel is a drug and will come in at 20 per cent as before.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Are all these mentioned in this class medicinal preparations?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

Mr. BORDEN. I will read the clause of a letter referring to this, that I have received from perhaps the largest drug firm in the city of Halifax.

It seems to us that the Customs officials for the purpose of putting an end to disputes and protests and saving themselves further trouble in construing the tariff on medicines, have taken the heroic course of applying the patent medicine duties to all medicines whatsoever. It was not perhaps meant to apply these duties to such drugs and medicines as calomel, castor oil, creosote, and camphor, but the new tariff, as worded, undoubtedly does include all of these and a host of others, and already the collector here is demanding 25 per cent duty on mercurial ointment and 50 per cent on *liquor ferri*. If this tariff becomes law as introduced we shall be left to the discretions and rulings of the department for any abatement of such claims. We think that the duties of 25 and 50 per cent ought to apply only to secret and patent medicines, and that the right way to avoid doubts and disputes as to the meaning of the tariff is to make the definition perfectly clear by limiting it to such medicines the composition of which is kept secret or the name of which is patented. All the well known patent medicines are examples of the former and antipyrine and lactopeptine of the latter class.

Could the hon. gentleman tell what is the duty on antipyrine and lactopeptine under this tariff?

Mr. WALLACE. The articles that the hon. gentleman names were the ones that we had the greatest difficulty in classifying before, and we will have to give departmental rulings that will be carefully considered, because you cannot draw the line at a moment's notice on these articles. We will give the ruling, and instructions will be sent to all the ports so that the matter will be uniform.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Under this clause will such an article as quinine be taxed 50 per cent?

Mr. WALLACE. It cannot be taxed 50 per cent because it is not a liquid. At all events, quinine is free. Articles of that kind not on the free list are 20 per cent.

Mr. SPROULE. Lacto peptine is a proprietary medicine, and it would plainly come under a specific duty.

Mr. BORDEN. What about pepsin?

Mr. SPROULE. That is not a proprietary medicine.

Mr. STAIRS. This matter ought to be considered more carefully by the Controller

Mr. WALLACE.

of Customs and the Minister of Finance. I believe that the language in this resolution is much broader than they intended, and when the Controller comes to give the departmental decisions to which he has just referred, he will find that under the language of the clause he will have to put a great many staple drugs in at 25 per cent for solids and 50 per cent for liquids; drugs of the class described by the hon. member for King's (Mr. Borden). It would be almost better if they could drop some of the words in that resolution which make it so broad. I feel confident that it is not the intention of Parliament to put a tax of 50 per cent on ordinary liquid drugs. It may be all right in the case of patent medicines which contain a great deal of alcohol that they should pay a pretty high duty, but it is not desirable by any means that staple drugs should pay either 25 or 50 per cent. I would suggest to the Finance Minister that he should give this matter a little more consideration and see if he cannot drop out some of these words which make the language of the resolution so very broad.

Mr. FOSTER. We have been looking into this thing, and as the Controller of Customs says, some of the best druggists that we have in the Dominion, who were consulted when the item was made out, with whom we had very full conversation with reference to it, and from whom we took suggestions, have stated since the tariff was published that they are satisfied with it. We have heard from the same gentleman who wrote to the hon. member (Mr. Borden), but I am inclined to think that when the free list is completed it will be found that there will not be any difficulty in this case. I would suggest that we would let the clause pass for the present; we will not lose sight of it, and we will take it up again. We have written especially to other druggists to get their opinion in regard to it.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The better way is to reserve it.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The Controller has stated that the department would fix the amount of taxation on these different drugs. That is not a proper thing. Parliament should fix the rate of taxation and the Government can make regulations carrying into effect the decision of Parliament. I do not think it is a proper thing at all to leave a Minister to determine what tax any particular article shall bear.

Mr. BORDEN. The Controller of Customs pointed out that one of the advantages of this change in the tariff was that he was going to take out of the range of doubt a very large number of drugs about which the department had a great deal of difficulty. Now he proposes a plan by which he will only get into further difficulty in regard to them. I am not quite satisfied with regard to glycerine. Will the hon. gentleman tell

me exactly what the rate of duty on glycerine is, because these people seem to be under the impression that it is 50 per cent?

Mr. WALLACE. It is 20 per cent, the same as vaseline, under the similitude clause. Vaseline and glycerine will come under the same classification, at 35 per cent.

Mr. STAIRS. I do not see how the hon. Controller can put glycerine in the same category as vaseline, as there is a great difference between the two.

Mr. WALLACE. I may be mistaken. I will make further inquiry.

Mr. BORDEN. The hon. gentleman told me first that glycerine belonged to the same class as vaseline—this hon. gentleman who has given so much careful investigation to drugs—then that the duty was 20 per cent, next that it was 35 per cent, and now he does not know what it is. So that it is very likely that the druggists in Halifax know more about their business than the Controller, and when they state that they are being charged to-day at the rate of 50 per cent on glycerine, they are probably stating a fact. Last year we were paying \$10,000 in duty on glycerine alone, which was equal to 20 per cent on the value of the glycerine imported; and this would mean that on the same importation next year the duty collected, instead of being \$10,000, would be \$25,000. This, I think, shows at once that, so far as this branch of the tariff is concerned, at any rate, the hon. gentlemen have not made the investigation that they ought to have made. I am perfectly certain, from the information that I have received, that the effect of this change in the tariff will be to increase the duty on the sick man's medicine from 20 per cent up to a point ranging from 25 to 50 per cent. It is carrying the system of taxation or protection or development, or whatever they choose to call it, to rather an extreme point, when they attack the sick man in his bed, and double the taxation on his remedies.

Mr. FOSTER. It is the doctor who attacks the sick man in his bed.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What the hon. gentleman wants to do is to discourage the indiscriminate use of medicine, which is quite in accord with the grandmotherly regards that runs through this whole tariff.

Mr. WALLACE. Without looking into the matter, I thought glycerine was in the same classification as vaseline, and would pay 35 per cent. I find that glycerine is now in the unenumerated list of drugs at 20 per cent, and it remains in the same classification, and at the same rate.

Mr. BORDEN. I understood the hon. gentleman to say that tincture of iron was at 20 per cent. Is that correct?

Mr. WALLACE. I misunderstood the hon. gentleman. Tinctures have always been at

50 per cent. The reason was perhaps that given by the hon. member for Halifax, that in articles of that kind there is a great deal of alcohol.

Mr. BORDEN. Before this item is passed, I might read a suggestion which is made by these druggists, who have given a good deal of attention to the subject. It is that these words should be added to this resolution:

Composed of two or more ingredients compounded together by art of the apothecary, but not to apply to definite chemical substances or compounds, unmixed.

Committee rose and reported progress.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and House adjourned at 12 o'clock (midnight).

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, 25th April, 1894.

The **SPEAKER** took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call the attention of the House at this early stage of its proceedings to a matter which I humbly think affects the privileges of the House. First of all, as a basis of what I have to say upon the subject, I would call the attention of the House to a portion of the proceedings on Monday last on a motion made by the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) for certain papers relating to trade and commerce between the United States and Canada. In the course of the debate on that motion, and near its close, there was an occasion on which Mr. Speaker thought it his duty to call to order a member who was addressing the House. I do not wish to enter into the particulars of the discussion with which that debate concluded, but in order to explain what I wish to say to the House, it is my duty to refer to one portion of it. The hon. member for Grey (Mr. Lauderkin) was discussing the motion of the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), and Mr. Speaker, as will be seen by column 1866 of 'Hansard,' thought it necessary to suggest that that hon. member should confine himself to the subject before the House. The hon. member (Mr. Lauderkin) seemed to entertain a different opinion, and Mr. Speaker found it necessary on two occasions afterwards to call him to order; but to give the

hon. gentleman (Mr. Landerkin) greater freedom of discussion, a motion was made to adjourn the House. That was, of course, under the practice of this House, out of order; first of all, because the hon. member for Grey (Mr. Landerkin) had the floor, and no member could intervene with a motion to adjourn the House while he was addressing the House; but more particularly, because in accordance with the well established rule and usage of Parliament it would have been quite impossible to entertain a motion to adjourn the House and thereby enable an hon. member to have greater freedom of discussion than he would have in debating the question which was before the House at the time the adjournment of the House was moved. If an hon. member were, for example, not confining himself to the question before the House at that time, to make a motion to adjourn the House, that would not put him in order. For these reasons: for the reason at all events that the adjournment of the House being moved would not give greater latitude to the hon. gentleman, that motion was ruled out of order. I refrain from quoting the subsequent debate in order not to dwell too much upon the particular features of that discussion, because I do not base what I am going to say and what I am going to do upon the details of that discussion alone. On two subsequent occasions Mr. Speaker found it his duty to call the hon. gentleman to order, more especially at one part of the debate in which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Landerkin) was not only not discussing the question before the House; not only referring to a past matter of a different character altogether and entirely irrelevant to the matter under discussion, but in which he appeared to impute treasonable motives and dispositions to a member of this House. I have said, and I beg to repeat, that I do not wish to enter again into the details of that discussion. I merely recite briefly the substance of what took place upon that occasion for the purpose of introducing what I desire to say now. On the following day a publication was made in this city commenting upon the incidents which I have mentioned as having occurred in this House on Monday evening. I think I have a duty to the House, and I think there is a duty on the part of the House in relation to the authority of Mr. Speaker—I think it my duty at any rate to call the attention of the House to that publication as being a gross breach of the privileges of this House. I beg to say that the publication I refer to was made in a paper called the Ottawa 'Free Press,' on Tuesday evening, April 24th, and it goes the length of imputing to the Speaker of this House the grossest partisanship in connection with his ruling on the Monday evening previous. The article which I refer to, and which, in order to conform to the precedents established in this House I will have to ask to have read at the Table; is this:

Sir JOHN THOMPSON.

It is evident from the proceedings in the House of Commons yesterday evening that the Reformers need not expect fair or even decent treatment from the present Speaker. The Ministers have, it seems, decided not only to use their partisan majority to prevent inquiry by parliamentary committees, but they propose to utilize a subservient presiding officer to burk free discussion in Parliament. The gag is to be applied whenever a Liberal member says anything, even in self-defence, which is calculated to disturb the sensitive nerves of the Thompsonian ministers. Since the present session began Speaker White has gone out of his way to prove himself before all things a Tory partisan, and the Reformers should recognize that fact and govern themselves accordingly. If the House of Commons is to be transformed into a bear garden upon the partisan Speaker must rest the responsibility. His conduct in rushing to the rescue of the Controller of Customs last night, after the latter had made himself as offensive as he could, ought to be fully discussed when the House is in committee passing the salary of its Speaker. It is only a few days since Speaker White appeared as principal orator at the convention of North Renfrew Tories called to nominate a candidate for the Ontario Assembly. Fancy "the first commoner" of Canada acting as a partisan heeler in a local election campaign.

The proceedings referred to were the proceedings of Monday, the comment which I believe to be a breach of the privileges of this House occurred last night, and my motion is made at the earliest time it could possibly be made. All authorities writing on the privileges of Parliament declare that it is a breach of the privileges of the House, unfairly to attack and unfairly to ascribe motives to any member of the House. The House has already, on at least two occasions, treated as grave breaches of privilege attacks which were made on its members. On one occasion, it will be in the memory of those at all acquainted with the proceedings of the House, an officer who was believed to have been the writer of an article aspersing members of the House, was called to the bar here, and it having been established that he was the author of the article in question, or the responsible publisher of the paper in which the article appeared, he was, by resolution passed by the House, I believe unanimously, dismissed at the bar of this House from his office. On a subsequent occasion, I dare say it will be in the memory of most of the members of this House here to-day, a member of the House published in a newspaper appearing in a distant part of the country, an attack which impugned the motives and assailed the conduct of a number of members of the House, and upon that occasion the House passed a resolution declaring that it was a false, scandalous and malicious libel, and an interference with the authority and jurisdiction of the House itself. Those precedents—if I am right in the opinion I have formed on this subject—followed the English practice pretty closely as regards procedure in matters of this kind. But the precedents

are abundant, in the action of the House of Commons in Great Britain, whose example we attempt to follow, for treating as matters of high contempt and disregard of the privileges of this House, an attack on the conduct and motives of its members. But if that be, as I contend, the well-settled law and practice of Parliament with regard to its members how much more is it a breach of the privileges of the House and a contempt of its authority, that the head of the House should be assailed in language of the grossest character, such as that to which I have called attention, which not only assails the conduct of Mr. Speaker as to fairness and impartiality, but attacks him in the vilest language that the editor could inscribe upon his pages. I think, Sir, there is nothing connected with the institution of Parliament itself, whether in this country or in the mother land, which has contributed more largely to the dignity, the authority and the public respect for Parliament than the absolute unity of both parties in Parliament to sustain the authority and the dignity of the head of the House. There is nothing more striking to those who study parliamentary institutions than to see how public men in the Parliament of Great Britain, for example, rally to the support of the Chair the instant the decision of the Chair has been pronounced. Nobody supposes that the head of the House of Commons, whether in Great Britain or elsewhere, is infallible. It is but human that he should err sometimes; but it is absolutely forbidden by the law of Parliament, and absolutely unknown in the practice of Parliament, that his motives should be assailed, or that impropriety and partisanship should be attributed to him as the causes from which his decision has sprung. That, I think, Sir, is dictated, not merely by a sense of courtesy on the part of both sides of the House, but with a view to self-preservation—with a view to the fact that without the sustenance of the authority of the Chair and the dignity of the head of the House, it is absolutely impossible that free discussion shall be carried on at all, or that parliamentary institutions shall continue to receive the respect of the public. Nothing can possibly prevent the lapsing of a House, such as this, into disorder and disregard of the rules of debate, and disregard of the amenities which ought to prevail between members of the House in their debates—nothing can save from destruction the safeguards for preserving the rights of the House and its members unless the authority of the Chair is implicitly obeyed and implicitly respected. Now, Sir, I am of opinion—and I only express it here for the purpose of waiving a contention which I might make on this question—that Mr. Speaker's decision on that occasion was absolutely unassailable. But I do not rest the proposition which I intend now to make to the House on the question whether the decision

of Mr. Speaker was right or wrong. The constitution of this Parliament provides ample redress whenever Mr. Speaker is wrong. The constitution of this House provides that whenever Mr. Speaker is wrong we shall have the decision in our own hands. It is not that a member shall rise and attack the decision of the Chair; it is not that we shall asperse the motives of Mr. Speaker; but it is that a vote of this House shall be taken as to whether Mr. Speaker is right or whether he is wrong. But the thing which is absolutely forbidden, on the principle of the self-preservation of Parliament, is that Mr. Speaker's decision shall be disobeyed, or that the motives which induced him to come to that decision shall be regarded or stigmatized as partisan either here or in any other part of the country. I feel, therefore, Mr. Speaker, that when an attack of that kind is made upon the head of the House, when the most diabolical partisanship is attributed to him, and when other instances are pretending to be referred to as indicating and corroborating his partisanship, I feel that that is not only insulting to the head of the House, but is particularly insulting to the House itself. It is derogatory to its dignity, and is calculated to impair its usefulness. Affecting as I believe it does the privileges of the House of Commons, it is amply within the power of this House to deal with the offender who so violates its authority and jurisdiction. But on this occasion, and on such occasions it would be my own inclination—and perhaps I am warranted in thinking that it would be more suitable to the inclination of Mr. Speaker himself—that the House should not search for opportunities to visit with punishment the man who so betrays the liberty of the press and degrades the authority of this House. It is not so important that that should be done as that the House itself should express its opinion upon conduct of that kind. The public opinion of this country is not so easily influenced that a wanton partisan attack shall destroy the character of any man, much less that of the Speaker of this House; but when a ruling by the Chair is declared to have been wrong and corrupt, and when motives of partisanship are attributed to Mr. Speaker, I think the House owes it to itself to express its own opinion on the matter, and that is what I propose that the House shall do this afternoon. That is of the more importance, and indeed the rules which preserve the order and dignity and decorum of this House are of the more importance, because it is impossible for Mr. Speaker to vindicate himself on occasions of this kind. Mr. Speaker's position in the Chair is one of such dignity, his position is one of such authority and of such a judicial character, as regards the bearing which he there manifests to each side of the House, that it is impossible that, either on the floor of the

House, from the place where he sits, or at a public meeting, or elsewhere, he shall have the opportunities of self-vindication which are ours as public men. We can defend ourselves here against aspersions. We can defend ourselves before the public, and, if we please, in the press; but Mr. Speaker has to consider at all times the dignity due to his office, and he has to leave therefore in the hands of this House, necessarily from his high position, his vindication from an attack of this character. I think that the House should not be slow, on this occasion, to give that vindication. I beg to ask, therefore, before making a motion on the subject, that the article I refer to shall be read by the Clerk of the House.

The Clerk of the House read the article, which appeared in the 'Free Press,' of Ottawa, on the 24th of April, 1894, and which was quoted by the Right Honourable the First Minister (page 1960).

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I shall proceed to read the general terms of the authority under which I am calling the attention of this House to the question this afternoon. On page 240 of Dr. Bourinot's book, this appears :

Any scandalous and libellous reflections on the proceedings of the House is a high breach of the privileges of Parliament. So, libels or reflections upon members individually have also been considered as breaches of privilege which may be censured or punished by the House; but it is distinctly laid down by all the authorities: To constitute a breach of privilege such libels must concern the character or conduct of members in that capacity. Aspersions against the conduct of members as magistrates or officers in the army or navy, or as counsel, or employers of labour, or in private life, are within the cognizance of the courts, and are not fit subjects for complaint to the House.

I have but to repeat that aspersions upon the character of the Speaker of the House itself, are infinitely more derogatory to the dignity of the House, and call with infinitely louder force for the censure of the House, than aspersions upon the conduct and methods of individual members of the House. I therefore beg to move :

That the article published in the Ottawa 'Free Press' dated the 24th April, 1894, is a scandalous, false and malicious libel upon the honour, character and integrity of the Speaker of this House and a contempt of the privileges and the constitutional authority of this House.

Mr. LAURIER. I am disposed, to a very large extent, to agree with the principles which have been laid down by the right hon. the First Minister, as to the necessity of upholding the honour of the head of the House. In this I would indeed go further than he has gone, and I would add that it is equally imperative to do everything that should be done in order to preserve the dignity of the House by maintaining the character of its individual members,

Sir JOHN THOMPSON.

when attacked in the press. I am not sure, however, that I am ready to subscribe to the whole doctrine which has been laid down in the motion before the House. A part of the article which is incriminated refers, not to Mr. Speaker White, but to Mr. Peter White, a member of the House of Commons, who was, in his private capacity, at a public meeting, taking a certain part therein. As to the language of the article, in so far as the action of Mr. Peter White at that public meeting is concerned, I do not believe that the motion before us can apply to that at all. Of course, I will go as far as anybody in maintaining the privileges and the character of Mr. Speaker in the discharge of his duties when in the House. I will say more. The First Minister stated, a few moments ago, that it is impossible to expect that a Speaker, in the discharge of the duties he has to perform—no matter who may fill that position—will not sometimes commit an error. But even if he should commit an error—if I, for instance, would be disposed to believe that Mr. Speaker had given a wrong decision and thought the matter of any moment at all, I would take the action suggested by the Prime Minister of calling the attention of the House to it, and endeavour to have redress at the hands of the House. But if the matter were a mere trifling one, such as Mr. Speaker has often to dispose of, even if my judgment differed from that of Mr. Speaker, I would still give him all the respect which his position calls for. I say that the motion goes too far in impugning the whole article, because the article incriminated applies not only to the Speaker of the House—and so far as it does, I have at this moment nothing to say—but it applies also to Mr. White, a member of the House and of the Conservative party, who took part in the proceedings of a Conservative meeting, and so far I think the censure moved now cannot apply. Now, with regard to the other part which affects the character of the Speaker as Speaker, I have only this to say: I believe that the House would not be called upon to dispose of this matter at this time, that the Prime Minister would not have the painful duty—for a painful duty it must be to move censure upon a newspaper—if, in the past, the House had taken more care of its own dignity. But, I am sorry to say and the facts will be in the remembrance of hon. gentlemen of this House—that, though upon some occasions the House has taken cognizance of injuries and insults to some of its members, yet, upon other occasions the House has shown a singular leniency in the case of similar insults that have been proffered under different circumstances. It will be within the recollection of every member of this House that, upon a certain occasion a gentleman who had held a distinguished position in this Parliament, and, who had previously held a distinguished position in the Legislature of his own province—the late Mr. Vail—was bitterly and wantonly assailed

and insulted in the columns of a newspaper—if I remember well in the 'Mail' newspaper in the city of Toronto—and, though the matter was brought to the notice of the House, no action was taken upon it. There is a still more flagrant example. A distinguished member of this House, the late Mr. Huntington, was insulted upon the very floor of this Chamber; and, though the House took action upon the matter and brought the offender to the bar of the House, yet it refused to pass censure upon him: If, upon these occasions, the House had done its duty and passed sentence upon these offenders and had thus asserted its own dignity, I believe that the painful duty which the Prime Minister is called upon to perform would not be required of him to-day. If the press generally had been taught this lesson—that no insult offered to any member of this House, whether high or low, would pass unnoticed, the press would have been more careful in its comments. But I believe it is within the knowledge of every one, that articles as offensive to some members of the House as this may be are daily scribbled and published in the newspapers, and no notice is taken of them. Therefore, I think this motion goes too far to have the absolute concurrence of the whole House. If the hon. gentleman would confine his motion to the attack upon Mr. Speaker as Mr. Speaker, I would be disposed to view it in a different light from that in which I now view it.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I am unable to agree with the hon. gentleman in the distinction which he would draw as between the closing portion of the article and the other parts of it, because, as the hon. gentleman will see upon careful perusal, the attack as to the meeting is made to fortify the charge against Mr. Speaker, as Mr. Speaker, as another proof of the Speaker's partisanship and another reason why neither the public nor the House shall feel any confidence in the Speaker's fairness.

Motion agreed to, on division.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

Mr. LAURIER. Before you pass to the item of introduction of Bills, Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of the right hon. leader of the House to the fact that it was understood yesterday that we were to take up to-day the third report of the Committee on Public Accounts.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I quite agree with the hon. gentleman and think the matter should be brought up at once.

Mr. LAURIER moved :

That the third report of the Select Standing Committee on Public Accounts be now taken into consideration.

Motion agreed to.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I hope, Mr. Speaker, that, acting in the spirit in which this subject was considered on the last occasion, the House will occupy but a very short portion of the present sitting in considering the matter. An understanding across the floor of the House was then reached that the points which had been in difference between hon. members in the committee and in this House should be settled, and the modus vivendi as it was called was to be in the form of a Bill. The Prime Minister stated the general lines of that proposed measure, and those lines met with the general acceptance of this House. I think it would be idle and a waste of time to further fight out any of the questions that have formed the subjects of discussion hitherto; but, acting on that expression of opinion which seemed almost unanimous, I propose, as a solution of the present questions in connection with the subject, that this House should pass a resolution which I shall move. I trust that the resolution will meet the views of all who are interested in either this special report or the general question; and, without further discussion or argument, but merely alluding to the arguments that have already taken place and the amendment proposed, I would move :

That this House having evinced a desire that the law and practice of Parliament respecting the examination of witnesses before committees should be amended in order to give power to the committees of this House to examine witnesses under oath: therefore the Standing Committee on Public Accounts be authorized to examine under oath Joseph Pope and other witnesses respecting the Behring Sea Arbitration accounts.

Mr. LAURIER. Mr. Speaker, it is a recognized mathematical truth that the shortest route between two points is a straight line. My hon. friend, instead of taking the direct route prefers to take the crooked one. However, I do not care how we reach the goal, provided we get to it, and therefore, I have only to offer him my congratulations upon his gracious surrender on this point, and to say that I accept the motion.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I am sorry it is a crooked path that leads towards the hon. gentleman's views.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman has imitated Colonel Crockett's coon, he has come down.

Mr. MULOCK. He only came down after firing, not before it.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The Minister of Marine and Fisheries has made a confession and got absolution, and I would suggest that the Minister of Finance do likewise.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. This is an unexpected way of receiving the motion, considering that the proposition is virtually what hon. gentlemen opposite made yesterday

afternoon. What we propose to do now is done in consequence of the agreement practically arrived at by the House, that the law should be amended, and that the House now agrees to apply the principle of the amendment to current proceedings. The House does that, not as a surrender, not as a coming down at all, but in vindication of that principle for which we have contended all along, that we could give no general authority to examine witnesses to the committee, and did not do so, but will proceed to do so in a particular case.

Mr. LANDERKIN. The hon. gentlemen told us it was against the constitution and they could not do it. How have they amended the constitution since?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I beg the hon. gentleman's pardon, I never said so.

Mr. LANDERKIN. I beg his pardon, he was not at the committee, but his colleagues were at the committee.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The question of legality was only as to giving general powers, or giving general directions to the committee, and not in particular cases.

Mr. LANDERKIN. But I want to draw the First Minister's attention to it so that he will see that the constitution is amended, in order that there may be no difficulty hereafter.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The hon. gentleman cannot tell me what took place upstairs.

Motion agreed to.

FIRST READING.

Bill (No. 94) to amend the Winding-up Act, Chapter 129 Revised Statutes.—(Mr. Stairs.)

TIGNISH BREAKWATER.

Mr. YEO (for Mr. Perry) asked, Was the putting up of a weather signal at Tignish Breakwater, Prince Edward Island, let by tender? If so, was the lowest tender accepted? What is the name of the person to whom the contract was given? What is the amount of contract? If done by private contract, who was the contractor? What is the cost of the same? Who has charge of the said signal? What is the yearly cost of maintaining the same, including keeper's salary?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. After Mr. Stupart, an officer of the meteorological service, had visited Tignish, the contract was given to Mr. Gallant, he having been recommended to the inspector as the only man who would do the work satisfactorily. The cost of erecting the signal-mast was \$100. Mr. George Conroy is the officer in charge of signal-mast—salary, \$45 per annum.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON.

FAST STEAMSHIP SERVICE.

Mr. LAURIER asked, 1. When and with whom was the contract made of which the Minister of Public Works spoke on Monday last as follows:—

The Government have resolved to ask Parliament, as has been announced, to ratify a contract that has been made with a firm for a fast service between a Canadian port and an English port?

2. What are the conditions of that contract?
3. Is it the intention of the Government to lay such contract at once on the Table of the House?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The words which the hon. gentleman has quoted, refer no doubt to some negotiations which took place with Mr. Huddart, of Australia, on the subject of an improved steam service on the Atlantic. The expression which is quoted might seem to imply that a formal contract had been entered into. All that can be said on the subject is that the correspondence contains what may be considered a provisional agreement, and that will be produced when the Bill on that subject is brought before Parliament, or at an earlier day if the House asks for it. I may say that the negotiations on that subject are not entirely concluded, and it will be more satisfactory that the correspondence should not be brought down until the measure relating to that service is introduced.

INQUIRIES—APPOINTMENT OF STENOGRAPHER.

Mr. LANDERKIN asked, Was a secretary appointed to the members of the Cabinet, or to the Controllers, who visited various parts of the Dominion during the recess as to the tariff changes? If so, what is his name? Was he a stenographer? Did he take notes of the proceedings in whole or in part of said meetings? Were type-written copies of said notes made?

Mr. FOSTER. I have to answer the first of that series of questions, in the negative, and of course that answer being in the negative, the other questions drop.

Mr. LANDERKIN. Was there no stenographer? The question is not dropped until it is answered.

Mr. FOSTER. I submit that I answered the question fairly.

Mr. LANDERKIN. You said it dropped.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman might address the Speaker.

Mr. LANDERKIN. Mr. Speaker, I am not satisfied. No answer has been given to the question, and unless we get an answer, I am not going to be satisfied.

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman must know that under the rules of the House no discussion can take place.

FISHING WITH GILL-NETS.

Mr. SUTHERLAND (for Mr. Lister) asked, Is there any regulation as to the size of the mesh for gill-nets? If so, what is it? Will such regulation continue in force during the present season?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The conditions in the fishery licenses for Ontario are, that whitefish and salmon-trout gill-nets shall have meshes of four and a half inches extension measure; herring gill-nets, three inches; sturgeon gill-nets, twelve inches. They will be enforced during the present season.

LIMITS IN SHELL RIVER DISTRICT.

Mr. SUTHERLAND (for Mr. Lister) asked, Has the Government been paid all rent owing by the firm of Shields, Haggert & Company, for limits 14, 15, 15a, 23, 25 and 25a, Shell River district? If so, when was the amount paid? What amount was paid? What, if any, amount was paid for interest on arrears of rent, and when?

Mr. DALY. 1. Not all the rent. 2. As already stated, all the rent has not been paid. 3. \$2,179.06. 4. The amount mentioned included interest on arrears. Limits 25 and 25a have been fully paid for, principal and interest, up to 31st March, 1886, and the remainder up to 1st January, 1887. The ownership of this property was for several years in litigation, and the parties to this litigation applied from time to time to the Department of Interior to be permitted to postpone payment until the matters in dispute had been settled. Finally the interests of all the parties were sold by order of the court, subject to the amounts due to the Crown, the purchaser being Mr. Alexander Ferguson, of Ottawa, who has paid \$5,000 on account, and intimates his readiness to pay the balance of about \$2,000 as soon as he can complete the title to the property.

GOVERNMENT DOCK AT HILTON.

Mr. SUTHERLAND (for Mr. Lister) asked, When was the Government dock at Hilton completed? Did the Government acquire the title to the property before constructing such dock? If not, was any agreement in writing entered into with the owners of the land which entitles the Government to insist on a conveyance of the same? Has an application been made to the owners of the land to convey such land to the Government? Was such application in writing? When was it made? What reply was given to such application?

Mr. OUMET. The portion of the dock constructed by the Government was completed on November 30th, 1887. The Hilton wharf was private property, but strong representations were made to the department by a petition of December 27th, 1884, that,

owing to difficulty in navigation by night in the River Ste. Marie, steamers going to Sault Ste. Marie had to lay over night at Eilton; that the wharf at that place was too limited in extent to afford sufficient shelter to those boats, and that the anchorage was not good, the water in the vicinity being deep, and rocks dangerous. The private owners were not in a position, and did not need to extend their wharf for their business, especially as they did not charge anything for vessels lying at the dock. The rest of the question must be answered in the negative.

BRAE HARBOUR, P. E. I.

Mr. YEO asked, Has any work been done to the pier or breakwater at Brae Harbour, Prince County, Prince Edward Island, since April, 1893? If so, what is the nature of the work? Was it let by public or private contract? What was the cost? Who performed the work, and what was paid for inspecting said work?

Mr. OUMET. The amount of \$100, authorized in October last for repairs to Brae Harbour, has been expended this spring, under the foremanship of A. McKinnon. No returns have yet reached the department. The work consisted in placing fender piles for the protection of the breakwaters from running ice.

TARIFF INQUIRIES.

Mr. CASEY asked, What has been the total cost to date of the inquiry conducted by members of the Government in regard to tariff changes, by means of meetings held throughout the country?

Mr. FOSTER. The inquiries into the tariff were conducted by the Ministers or the Controllers, and the secretary of one or the other was with the Ministers at the places where inquiries were carried on. So no special expenses were incurred; they were simply the travelling expenses of the Ministers and the secretary. The cost has not been totalled up, and it is not usual to give the travelling expenses of Ministers, which are paid out of the contingencies of the department.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Whose secretary was Mr. Payne?

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Payne was secretary of the Minister of Trade and Commerce.

Mr. LAVERGNE asked, Whether the Government are aware that the great majority of the ratepayers of the province of Quebec are in favour of a total repeal of the duties on coal oil, or for a reduction of 50 per cent at the least?

Mr. FOSTER. As I do not know all the ratepayers, or even a majority of them, in

the province of Quebec, I am obliged to answer that question in the negative.

Mr. LAVERGNE asked, Are the Government aware that all the farmers of the Province of Quebec are in favour of the complete removal of the duties on farm implements and on Indian corn?

Mr. FOSTER. The same answer as the preceding one.

Mr. LAVERGNE asked, What places in the province of Quebec and in the province of Ontario did the Controller of Inland Revenue visit, since the last session of Parliament, with a view to inquire into the expediency of making alterations in the tariff of Customs, and with a view to the legislation proposed to be carried out, this session, in that behalf?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). The Controller of Inland Revenue visited the following places in the province of Ontario during the past recess in connection with the inquiries re tariff changes:—Cornwall, Lindsay, Markham, Markdale, St. Catharines, Chatham, Barrie, Belleville, Napanee, Gananoque. He did not visit any places in the province of Quebec.

Mr. LAVERGNE asked, What places in the province of Quebec and in the province of Ontario did the Minister of Agriculture visit, since the last session of Parliament, in order to inquire into the expediency of making alterations in the Customs tariff, and with a view to the legislation proposed to be effected in that behalf during the present session?

Mr. FOSTER. During the summer the Minister of Agriculture, accompanied by the Finance Minister and the Controller of Customs, visited Montreal and Quebec, Toronto and Hamilton, where inquiries were made in relation to the question of amending the tariff.

Mr. LAVERGNE asked, What places in the province of Quebec and in the province of Ontario did the Controller of Customs visit, since last session, with a view to inquire into the expediency of making alterations in the tariff of Customs, and with a view to the proposed legislation in that behalf during the present session?

Mr. WALLACE. Cornwall, Lindsay, Markham, Markdale, St. Catharines, Chatham, Barrie, Belleville, Napanee.

Mr. LAVERGNE asked, What places in the province of Quebec and in the province of Ontario did the Minister of Finance visit, since the last session of Parliament, with a view to inquire into the expediency of making alterations in the tariff of Customs, and

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with a view to the legislation proposed in that behalf during this session?

Mr. FOSTER. Montreal and Quebec City, in the province of Quebec, and Hamilton and Toronto in the province of Ontario.

COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS ON THE FRONTIER.

Mr. EDGAR asked, Are the collectors of customs on the frontier of the United States permitted to engage in the buying and selling, or otherwise dealing in farm or dairy produce, either for themselves or as agents for others?

Mr. WALLACE. Not if their salary is \$1,000, or over. As regards a collector having a salary less than \$1,000 per annum, selling or otherwise dealing in farm or dairy produce, the only case that has been brought to my attention or the attention of the department, was one where such transactions appeared to conflict with his duties as an officer of the Customs Department, and I directed that he should desist carrying on such business.

Mr. EDGAR. At what place?

Mr. WALLACE. At Potton, in the province of Quebec.

INDUSTRIES IN GUYSBORO'.

Mr. FRASER asked, What is the description of each of the industries established in the county of Guysboro'? What are the names of the several manufacturers in the said county? What is the number of employees in each of said industries?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I will have to ask the hon. gentleman to move for a return for that.

Mr. FRASER. It is so small it will only take a few words to answer.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I do not think that anything the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fraser) is connected with could be at all small.

INDUSTRIES IN NORTH YORK.

Mr. MULOCK. I would remind the Finance Minister that a return ordered last session showing the industries and occupations of those engaged in the various municipalities in the riding of North York, has not yet been brought down.

Mr. FOSTER. I will make a note of that.

ST. ANDREW'S RAPIDS, MANITOBA.

Mr. MARTIN moved for:

Orders in Council, correspondence, instructions to officers of the Department of Public Works, and reports of such officers respecting the improvement of St. Andrew's Rapids in the Red River of the North.

He said: This motion is for the purpose of getting information, and also in order to bring before the House for its consideration, a very important matter affecting the city of Winnipeg. For many years the improvement of the navigation of the Red River has been discussed in the province of Manitoba. The question has always been before the people at the time of an election, and invariably the Government candidate has promised to secure from the Government an appropriation for the purpose of carrying out this improvement. The Red River, as the House is aware, runs in a northerly direction, and a portion of it connects the province of Manitoba through which it passes with Lake Winnipeg. The natural resources of Lake Winnipeg are very considerable. Along the shores of that lake are found large deposits of very fine building stone, and there is also a very large supply of timber suitable for firewood. One of the questions which has engaged the consideration of the people of Manitoba, and of those generally interested in the province, is the question of fuel supply. On account of our long winters that question is a most important one. Unfortunately there is no supply of fuel close to the city of Winnipeg, and at present this firewood has to be brought in, either from the country to the east by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, or from the country around Portage la Prairie, south of the Assiniboia River, which is heavily timbered, and from which the fuel is brought to Winnipeg on the newly constructed Northern Pacific Railway. Advantage has been taken of almost every visit that our province has received from members of this Government to lay before them the importance of this question, and I may say that very strong promises have been made by Ministers of the Crown on behalf of the Government that this question would receive serious consideration, that engineers would be sent to report upon the practicability of the proposed expenditure, and also make estimates as to its probable cost. However, all these promises have ended in smoke, and so far as the people of the province know, no genuine effort has been made by the Government to give this question any consideration, and no report that has amounted to anything has been made by any officer of the Government. The city of Winnipeg has taken this matter up specially. The board of trade of the city has considered it and dealt with it from time to time, and so also has the city council. The estimate of, I think, the city engineer of Winnipeg is, that the river could be properly improved for an expenditure of about half a million dollars, and it is considered that the saving to the people of Winnipeg on the item of firewood alone would be enormous, in comparison with this comparatively small expenditure. Firewood could be brought from the shores of Lake Winnipeg, in vessels, to the city of Winnipeg

and sold for fully \$2, and perhaps \$3, a cord less than it is now sold. We have to pay in the city of Winnipeg varying prices for firewood, but at no time does the price go lower than from \$5 to \$6 a cord for soft wood, not hard wood. The expenses, therefore, of the ordinary householder, the poor man, for fuel, is a very large item indeed, and our people are very much interested in this question on that account. If a reasonable expenditure could make this river navigable from the city of Winnipeg to the lake it would be a great boon for the poorer people in connection with firewood alone. But, Mr. Speaker, it is not only in connection with firewood that it would be an advantage to the city of Winnipeg and to the province generally, because there are many industries which could be developed in connection with Lake Winnipeg which are now undeveloped on account of this serious obstruction to navigation. The obstruction consists in rapids in the parish of St. Andrew's, through which the Red River passes. The United States Government have spent very considerable sums of money in improving the navigation of the Red River south of the national boundary, but so far as I am aware, no money whatever has been spent by the Dominion Government in improving the navigation of this river within the province of Manitoba, except possibly in the way of dredging at the mouth of the river; but of that I am not very sure. We find, Mr. Speaker, that other provinces of the confederation have been able to obtain from the Dominion Government the expenditure of large sums of public money because their representatives in this House have insisted upon the province receiving a fair share, and in some instances what appears to us a very unfair share. It has always seemed strange to the people of Manitoba, which has sent almost steadily an almost united contingent supporting the Government of the day, that these members have been unable to obtain for that province the expenditure of any money whatever for public purposes. I know that it is contended that the expenditure in connection with the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway should be charged largely to the province of Manitoba; but I dispute that proposition entirely. The great expenditure for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway through the mountains in British Columbia was of no benefit whatever to the province of Manitoba. The expenditure on that portion of the railway which connects Winnipeg with Lake Superior, was of great advantage to the province of Manitoba; but if the House will consider the large quantity of public lands situated in the province of Manitoba, which really and justly belonged to that province, which were taken and handed over to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company as a portion of their bonus, I think that so far as the construction of that railway is concern-

ed the province has furnished as much as should fairly be chargeable to it in connection with the cost of that great national highway. If we lay aside the question of the money spent on that work, there has been little or no public money spent in the province of Manitoba by the great Department of Public Works, which has had such apparently inexhaustible supplies of public money for expenditure in other provinces. I may say that in Lake Winnipeg there are very large deposits of excellent iron ore, which it has been found impossible so far to develop very largely on account of this obstruction to navigation. Several times arrangements have been completed for having the iron ore taken to points in the United States to be smelted; but in every instance those arrangements have fallen through on account of the impossibility of the iron ore bearing the expense of being freighted by rail from Selkirk, at the foot of Lake Winnipeg, to Winnipeg in order to be taken in barges down the Red River. Under these circumstances, and in view of the frequent promises made to the people of the city of Winnipeg by Ministers of the Crown—not referring at all to the very frequent promises made by candidates in elections in that city—I do think that it is time for the Department of Public Works and the Government generally, to let us know whether they have any intention whatever of dealing with this question. The proposed expenditure, when compared with similar expenditures which have been made in other provinces of the Dominion, is a very small one. It is admitted on all hands that the province of Manitoba has at the present time a very hard row to hoe. The people of that province are to-day placed in unfortunate circumstances. Apart from disputed questions as to the effect of the tariff and the effect of railway rates, the very low prices which are now obtainable for the products of the country, as to which there is no dispute, alone show what an unfortunate position they are placed in; and, therefore, if the Government have any intention whatever of carrying on any expenditure of this kind, which they have from time to time promised to the people there through members of the Government, the present is a most opportune time for them to put into execution those promises. I may say, so far as political matters are concerned, that no promises or suggestions whatever that might be made to the city of Winnipeg by future candidates in the Government interest in regard to this work, would have any effect whatever upon the electors. Year after year and election after election we have trusted to the principle that it is well to have a friend at court; but the people of Winnipeg have found to their sorrow that the friend at court had apparently no influence whatever in these matters. Apparently, the Government were so sure of the support of the members from

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Winnipeg, and from the constituency of Lisgar, in which this proposed improvement would be situated that they have been able to refuse to carry out their promises. Whether the Government have or have not made any inquiries into this question is not known to our people. While we have had promise after promise that the matter would be looked into, and that as soon as these preliminary inquiries were made the Government would give a definite and final answer, stating what they were prepared to do, we have never received any decisive report or answer from the Government as to what the cost of the improvement would be, or whether they really intended to carry it out or not. For these reasons I have brought the matter before the House.

Mr. OUIMET. Several petitions have been received asking for the improvement of the navigation of Red River at the St. Andrew's Rapids. In answer to these petitions the department gave instructions to their resident engineer, Mr. Gouin, to make a survey and to prepare estimates of the probable cost of the improvement. In 1891 a report was received from that gentleman estimating the cost of constructing two locks and two dams at \$635,125. That report, having been placed before the chief engineer, the latter considered that the estimate was too low, and that it would cost \$922,000 to carry out the proposed work. Under these circumstances, the department has as yet been unable to find a means of undertaking the improvement. It will be a matter of consideration for the department and the Government to ascertain whether it will be worth the amount of money to be spent to execute the improvement, and if that be found the case, as soon as the country can place at the disposal of the department the amount required to execute the work in question, it will be duly attended to. In the meantime, all these petitions and reports will be placed on the Table at the request of the hon. gentleman.

Mr. MARTIN. Has the hon. Minister any report other than Mr. Gouin's, as to the necessity of there being two locks?

Mr. OUIMET. On the 26th January, 1892, Mr. Hugh John Macdonald, then member for Winnipeg, transmitted to the department a letter from Mr. H. B. Ruttan, city engineer of Winnipeg, in which Mr. Ruttan stated that the estimate of the engineer of the department was too high, and that the work could be done for \$500,000. The difference of opinion between Mr. Ruttan's estimate and that of the chief engineer is as to the works necessary to make the improvement adequate for the requirements of navigation in order to open navigation up to Winnipeg. The report of Mr. Ruttan will also be placed before the House.

Motion agreed to.

TIMBER LICENSES.

Mr. CHARLTON moved for :

Statement of all timber licenses granted since 1st January, 1888, showing the date of each grant, the location, the area of the same, the name of the grantee, the bonus, if any, paid upon the same, whether disposed of :—(a.) At public auction duly advertised, where the public were invited to compete ; (b.) At auction where only applicants for the berth or limit were invited to bid ; (c.) By private application ; (d.) If in neither of the ways above mentioned, then stating in what way disposal and grant was made.

Also a summary statement giving total area granted, and total amount of bonuses received.

He said : I shall ask leave to amend this order, by inserting after subsection (d), an additional subsection as follows :—

The length of public notice given in each case when limits are sold, either at public auction or by other form of public competition.

The object, of course, of this amendment is to ascertain whether the Government, in giving notice of sale, have given what would be considered a fair length of notice. The sale of timber limits, to be made advantageously, must, in my opinion, be by public auction, and that after ample notice has been given. A short notice will, of course, prevent intending purchasers, who are not previously apprised of the intention to sell, from making a thorough examination of the property. It is unnecessary to say that timber limits are invariably in the wilderness, not easy of access, and if the first intimation to be given intending purchasers be conveyed by the public notice, it requires a little time on the part of intending purchasers to make their preparations for examination. Men familiar with the lumber trade are perfectly well aware that any public notice, short of three or four months, is utterly insufficient. The object of this motion is to ascertain whether the Government, in giving notice, has given the length of time necessary for making examinations sufficient for intending buyers.

We had a very loose system of managing the timber resources of the Dominion up to 1886. Up to February, 1885, according to the return brought down then, there had been 25,300 square miles of timber lands placed under license. These had been placed, without bonuses having been received in any case. The price was \$5 per square mile ; the licenses were placed upon private application ; no tenders invited, and there was no public sale. It was found by return brought down in 1885 that seventeen members of this House and senators had made private applications, in their own behalf, and had received limits at \$5 a square mile ; that seven members of the Local Legislature, friends of the Government, had made application in their own names, and had received limits ; that thirty-four applications of members of

Parliament for their friends had been made, and that upon these eighty-three licenses had been granted to friends of these members of this House and the Senate ; that twenty-eight applications had been made by members of this House, which were unsuccessful for the reason that some others were ahead and had got the properties under previous application ; and that 102 prominent friends of the Government, in various parts of the Dominion had secured timber limits upon their own application. This was not only a great but a gigantic abuse. If these 25,300 square miles of timber limits granted in this way were valued, it would show a waste of many millions of dollars of the public resources. Fortunately the most valuable licenses were in the disputed territory, and when the title of Ontario to that territory was confirmed the licenses granted in this manner, in disregard of the public interest, lapsed, and these great areas, placed under license by this Government at \$5 a square mile, are held under reserve by the Government of Ontario, and unquestionably, in due time, will bring bonuses of many millions of dollars. I allude to these facts, by way of retrospect, to point out the necessity for dealing upon business principles with interests of this kind. The Government is the custodian of the public interest, the timber interests of the Dominion are public property, and it is the duty of the Government, whether in its own behalf or as the guardians of wards, to secure as large a price as it can from the sale of these properties and to take all means that would be dictated by good business principles for the purpose of securing such prices. We have heard it stated that a month is considered sufficient notice. It is not sufficient notice in any case whatever. No property which the Government may intend to bring in the market should be brought into the market at such a short notice. Due notice of the sale of timber limits is not less than four months. The Ontario Government may be justly criticised with regard to some of their sales for not having given such notice. I think that a notice of three months is quite insufficient, although their sales have been very successful. At the last sale in Toronto, one timber berth of 36 square miles brought \$32,500 in the township of Morgan. If that berth had been offered for sale by tender it would not have brought one-half that sum. When men meet together in public competition to bid against each other, it is invariably the rule that the prices are relatively high, in many cases double what the same men would have paid if bidding separately, and submitting written tenders. In moving for these returns, and in asking to put in this addition to the motion, I do it for the purpose of ascertaining whether the Government, in the past, has given due notice, and has adopted the course of competition favoured by practical business-men in the lumber trade as likely to secure as high a price as

they ought to have received; and to urge that if, in the future, the Government sell properties of any considerable value, unless there be some special reasons for haste, as, for instance, the limits being burnt over, due notice shall be given, and the whole world invited to compete, and invited in sufficient time to enable every person who desires to be a purchaser to examine the property before the sale is held.

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, my only object in rising to speak upon this matter is to endeavour to impress upon the Government the desirability of giving sufficient time for examination in case of selling timber limits, both in the interests of the public, and in the interests of the lumbermen themselves. In a general way timber limits have become very valuable. To-day, the examination of these properties is made with very much more accuracy than was the case some years ago. For this reason, it is desirable that ample time shall be given to examine any timber limits that are put upon the market for sale. As to the time that it is desirable to give, that altogether depends upon the area that is offered. In some instances, three or four months might be sufficient; but, in a great many cases, six months would be required. It is desirable that the limits should be travelled closely in order to ascertain their real value; and one month is certainly not sufficient time in which to examine any timber limit. In my opinion, as a lumberman, one having had a good deal of experience in matters of this kind, in no instance should the time allowed for examination be less than four or five months; and, as I have said, in a great many instances, it should be six months, or even more. Now, as to the method of selling, I certainly agree that timber limits should be put up at public auction, and not sold by tender. My reason for so saying is this: If the principle of selling by tender is admitted, an individual knowing all the conditions of the limit, and the value of it, may ask that it be put up for sale; then, if tenders are asked for, the lumbermen generally, knowing nothing as to the value of the property, pay no attention whatever to the requests for tenders. The consequence would be that the individual knowing the value of the property, might put in his tender for a very small sum, and secure the limit. I am speaking of a matter of which I have personal knowledge, for within the last few years I have received a great many requests for tenders, and in no instance have I known anything about the property offered, nor in any instance did I consider it in my interest to examine the property. I am sure that the same may be said of lumbermen generally, and I am equally sure that, under this system, limits are acquired by individuals who know the value of the property, at prices very much less than would be paid were the limits sold by public auction. Entirely apart from that, I myself have attended a good many public

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auctions, where timber limits were sold, and in a great many cases, I have bid for limits far higher prices than I would have offered by tender. For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, I hope that in the interest of the public, and that in the interest of the lumbermen generally, the system of selling by public auction will be adopted, and that in no case will less than three or four months' notice be given, and that, in many cases, a much longer time may be allowed.

Mr. DALY. There is no objection to the motion of the hon. gentleman. I may say for the information of the House, that the Department of the Interior has sold the timber over which it has jurisdiction in Manitoba and the North-west Territories, and in the railway belt in British Columbia by public competition—that is by public tender, and not by auction sale, it having been the opinion of the officers of the department, in contradistinction to the views of the hon. gentleman who has last spoken, that better prices could be got by tender than by public auction. Ample notice has been given in every case—three, four or five months, according to the location of the limits, and the means afforded for people to go and examine them—and notice has been given by advertisements in the newspapers, not only in the locality of the limit, not only in the province in which it is situated, but in the newspapers in other parts of the Dominion as well. In addition to that, circulars are sent to all the lumbermen in Canada and the United States, whose addresses are known to the department, and I think we know them all pretty well. That is evidenced by what the hon. member for Russell (Mr. Edwards) has said, that he has received numbers of these notices. He says that in no instance has he sought to purchase any limits of which he has had notice. I have no doubt the reason is that he has all the timber limits in this part of the country he wants, and he does not require any in Manitoba and the North-west, or on the line of the C.P.R. in British Columbia.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Have there been sales at public auction?

Mr. DALY. There have been no sales at public auction since 17th February, 1885. The regulations of the department have been that all licenses to cut timber shall be disposed of by public competition, and only tenders have been received.

Mr. CHARLTON. No public sales, then?

Mr. DALY. Not that I am aware of. I am very glad the hon. gentleman has drawn the attention of the House to this matter by his motion, because I am satisfied that when the papers come down the House will find that the Government have got the best prices for the timber, that they received a number of tenders, and in almost every instance, proper notice has been given, and in every way the interest of the public has

been safeguarded. I am glad that he added clause "e" to the motion, in order that we may furnish to the hon. gentleman the notice that has been given. The hon. gentleman recalls the fact that I stated in the House the other night, in the debate on the motion of the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills), as to the sale of Indian timber, that a month's notice had been given. I was in error when I said that, because ample notice has been given by the Department of Interior when they have sold timber.

Mr. CHARLTON. What does the hon. gentleman consider ample notice?

Mr. DALY. Three to four month's notice, according to location of the berth, giving ample time to people to examine the berths and obtain all the information they require.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). When the hon. gentleman brings down this return, will he bring down the price at which the limits have been sold, so that we may see precisely what value has been put upon them, and the amount that is agreed to be paid for them?

Mr. DALY. I think the return calls for that.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I have not got the special knowledge on this subject which my hon. friend possesses, but I think, as hon. gentlemen opposite are not unfrequently fond of quoting the example of the Ontario Government, they would do well to imitate their practice in this respect. If I am not misinformed, all their sales of timber, which have been eminently successful, which have realized very large sums of money, so large that I believe the trade on some occasions thought they had paid a great deal too much—all these sales have been conducted at public auction. I am told that in the opinion of those who have had experience in these matters, the sums realized have been sometimes in excess of the true value. I think the Minister would do well to make a careful inquiry into the practice of the Ontario Government, and at least to make the experiment of seeing what can be done with those lands by putting them up at public auction.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I do not think this motion for the return calls for the amount of bonus that is paid, which I suppose is the amount of cash actually received. It is desirable that we should have the actual sum at which the timber limits have been sold, because it will give us an opportunity of comparing the prices received by the Government under this system, with the price received by the Ontario Government under the system of sales by public auction. The hon. gentleman called this a sale by public competition, as if this were the only public competition which could exist. I would rather be inclined to call a sale by public auction, where there are bidders

competing with each other, a sale by public competition, than a sale by private tender; because, while each party is tendering for a reserve or for a timber limit, there is no competition in the ordinary sense of the word, there is no rivalry whatever between one bidder and the other, each is bidding what he thinks will secure to him the reserve at the lowest figure at which he is likely to obtain it. That is the rule upon which he proceeds, and that must always be the case where you have a sale without one man knowing what the other is offering for the property. I think it would be of use to the committee, it would certainly be of use to the House, to have this information, and we can then form a judgment upon the system which the hon. gentleman has adopted to the exclusion of sales at public auction.

Mr. DALY. There is no objection to that information being brought down. I will be glad to give the fullest information. I understood the latter end of the motion would include that.

Mr. CHARLTON. By way of explanation I may say that this motion calls for a statement of all timber licenses granted since the 1st of January, showing the date of each grant, location, area, the name of the grantee, and the bonus paid, if any. Now, I suppose these licenses are granted subject to certain uniform conditions as to the payment of Crown dues, and whatever sum is paid to the licensees is termed a bonus in Ontario. I suppose that is the case here, and if that is the case, the resolution calls for this information.

Mr. BRYSON. I have but one observation to make with reference to what has fallen from the hon. gentleman who made this motion. It is well to remember that the circumstances under which the province of Ontario advertise their timber berths and those under the Department of Interior advertise their timber berths, are not the same. The province of Ontario, like the province of Quebec, have infrequent sales, perhaps once in two or three years, when a very large territory indeed is advertised; whereas in the case of the Department of Interior, as many practical lumbermen know, the limits advertised are in remote sections, and very often in very poor districts. The department adopted the practice of sending out slips to the lumbermen of this country, indicating the territory, the size, the location, and the time of sale. Any other mode would be a very expensive process indeed, and I think that the system the department has been acting upon for the last two years has certainly been in the public interest. Prior to that time, it is true, that limits were obtained by application; and the hon. member who introduced this motion might have gone a little further back than the period which he mentioned, to the time when the hon. member for Bothwell was Minister of

Interior, and when he, on application, gave timber berths to an hon. gentleman who had a seat in this House, because, as they said, it was the custom. I think that if this return went to the country making it appear that the Conservative party alone had adopted this principle, it would not be what the hon. member for North Norfolk desired to do. The hon. member for Russell (Mr. Edwards) is of the opinion that these districts should be sold by public auction. Now, those of us who are acquainted with the hon. gentleman, will say that may be his theory, but in practice he himself has adopted a course quite the reverse. I know from my own observations that that hon. gentleman has purchased repeatedly by private sale, as he had a perfect right to do, and that in no case have three or four months been offered to him, but he has had a refusal possibly of 35 or 40 days. On the same basis he has resold timber berths in the Ottawa valley at prices which, if they had been sold by public auction, would not have realized as much as they did at private sale. All things considered, I believe the principle adopted by the Department of Interior, is a thoroughly correct one, not only in the interests of the lumbermen, but in the interests of the country.

Mr. EDWARDS. By way of explanation I desire to say that I have never bought or sold a property of the Crown by private contract.

Motion agreed to.

OWNERSHIP OF McCORMICK'S ISLAND.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell) moved for :

Correspondence between the Department of Indian Affairs and a certain band of Indians, as to their claim to the ownership of McCormick's Islands and the Point Pelee.

Mr. DALY. The correspondence is so voluminous that it would cost an enormous sum to bring down the return asked. But if it will suit the hon. gentleman's purpose I will place desk room and all the papers connected with the subject at his disposal. The correspondence runs over a great many years.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I will see what papers might be published.

Mr. DALY. If the hon. gentleman will name the day, I will be glad to furnish him with the papers.

Motion agreed to.

TIMBER ON INDIAN RESERVES.

Mr. DEVLIN moved for :

Copies of all correspondence between the Government or any member or officer thereof and any person or persons, in connection with the disposi-

Mr. BRYSON.

tion of the timber on Indian reserves. Also, copies of all reports and valuations of any officer or employee of the Government, in connection with the timber on such reserves.

Mr. DALY. I will have to ask the hon. gentleman to allow that to stand. It is so very indefinite it covers apparently from confederation up to date. In any event I cannot consent to the latter portion of the motion, because it calls for confidential information in the department, which cannot be given to the public in the interest of the Indians themselves.

Mr. DEVLIN. Very well ; let it stand if the hon. gentleman wishes.

Mr. SPEAKER. The question is before the House. It cannot stand.

Mr. LAURIER moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

DISMISSAL OF TIMOTHY McQUEEN.

Mr. CAMPBELL moved for :

Copies of all telegrams, letters, petitions, Orders in Council, and all correspondence relating to the dismissal of Timothy McQueen as fishery overseer in the county of Kent, Ontario.

He said : I move for these papers in order to call the attention of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries to the very great injustice he has done to a very worthy officer of the department, Mr. Timothy McQueen. Mr. McQueen was appointed overseer of the fisheries in the River Thames in the year 1874, and he has been a most faithful officer of the department from that time. No complaints have been made against him, except one, which was made two years ago, and, after a thorough investigation, the head of the department reported that he was satisfied that there were no grounds for the complaint. Therefore, it was a very great surprise to most people there when they learned that this faithful old officer had been summarily dismissed. I placed on the Order paper a question which was asked on the 29th of March, as to the reason why the department had dispensed with the services of this officer, and the reply of the Minister was :

The services of Timothy McQueen, overseer, Kent County, Ont., were dispensed with for failing to prevent illegal fishing in his district and for assisting in a meeting called to protest against the action of the Department of Marine and Fisheries ; seining in the River Thames having been prohibited.

I communicated with Mr. McQueen as to the correctness of this statement, and, in justice to him I have to say that he gives a very different version of the matter from what has been given by the Minister. As to his preventing illegal fishing in the River Thames, no evidence, so far as I know, has ever been brought forward to sustain this

charge; and, in the second place, with regard to inducing a number of fishermen to attend a meeting to protest against the department issuing an order to prevent seining in the river, I think Mr. McQueen has clearly shown by evidence that can hardly be contradicted that this charge could not be sustained. He forwarded to the department a petition, which read as follows:—

We, the undersigned fishermen of the River Thames, county of Kent, hereby positively state that at no time were we approached by Mr. Timothy McQueen, the fishing inspector, to protest or give in a protest or to attend a meeting for protesting against the action of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries prohibiting seining in the Thames River.

Dated the 2nd day of November, 1893.

This petition is signed by Robert Jubenville, William King, Albert Williams, George McKingley, George Hurst, John Hurst, Thomas F. Merritt, Francis St. Amour, Bernard Daly, Theresa Jubenville, William Duquette, John M. Glasco, Christopher Farrell, William Fielder, Reuben Fielder, Peter Antaya, Joseph Antaya, William Trudel. I believe that these are all the fishermen engaged in that business along the Thames, and the Minister will see that they declare, in the most emphatic language, that Mr. McQueen did not at any time approach or ask or induce them in any way to attend a meeting to protest against the action of the department; so that I think that charge cannot be justified by the evidence. After Mr. McQueen had been notified suddenly that his services as fishery overseer had been dispensed with, he naturally inquired for the reason, and the reason was given as set forth by the Minister here. He then demanded, as any man naturally would, an investigation into the charges which were brought against him. He writes to the department on the 20th of October, acknowledging the receipt of their communication of the 13th October, stating the reasons for his suspension as fishery overseer, and asking that an investigation as to the truthfulness of the charges made against him, should, in all fairness to him, be instituted. The department, believing that that was a reasonable request, instructed the overseer, Mr. Kerr, to examine into the truthfulness of these charges, and I find that the department communicated with Mr. McQueen, under the date of the 10th of March, 1894, as follows:—

Having further reference to your letter of 22nd November last, transmitting a petition which you claimed to be a complete answer to the charges brought against you in your capacity of fishery overseer, I am to state that Overseer Kerr was instructed by this department to make a full investigation into the matter, in order to enable you to meet these charges in the best way you could. This has been done, and Mr. Kerr reports that he notified you to meet him in Chatham on the 25th January last. On his arrival he sent for you,

when you refused to produce any evidence or statement in writing or otherwise. Mr. Kerr then proposed to meet you again on the following Saturday, so as to give you a chance of having your witnesses on hand; but this he says you also refused to do.

Under these circumstances the department deems it unadvisable to take further action in the matter.

To this Mr. McQueen answered as follows:—

In reply to your letter of the 10th instant, and numbered 149, 94, I beg to state that I met Mr. Kerr at Chatham, on the 25th January last, to investigate the charges preferred by him against me as overseer on the Thames River. He asked me "to prove the charges preferred against you are not true."

This was a very strange position for any person to take—to ask a man who had been dismissed to prove that the evidence brought against him by the department was not true. It was a very singular position for him to take. In reply, Mr. McQueen very naturally says:

In reply, I said no; you have preferred charges against me, and I call on you to produce your witnesses to sustain them.

That is the position taken by Mr. McQueen. He goes on to say:

Mr. Kerr had no evidence to offer, but, he said, you voted against the Government last election.

There was the sufficient reason for his dismissal. Mr. McQueen, very naturally, replied:

I replied, it was none of his business how I voted, and it was a piece of effrontery on his part to ask me such a question. He also asked me if I had not asked Mr. James Hamilton, a fisherman, to attend a meeting at Chatham. I said no, and I defy you to prove any of the charges preferred against me. I have been an officer of the department for twenty years on the Thames River, appointed in 1874, and I defy the strictest scrutiny into my conduct for the last twenty years. This closed the interview with Mr. Kerr. I feel I have been harshly and most unjustly dealt with by the department in being condemned and dismissed on charges irregularly preferred and which no attempt was made to substantiate, and I close the correspondence by repeating the assurance that the charges on which I was dismissed from my position as overseer are absolutely without foundation.

Now, I consider that the allegations made against Mr. McQueen have been fully proven to be untrue in the petition sent down here by the fishermen. There is no doubt but that when the inspector went there to investigate the matter, he took a wrong position by asking Mr. McQueen to prove that the charges made against him were not true. He knew very well that the charges could not be sustained, and that the only way to dismiss Mr. McQueen was by trying to make out that he had voted against the Government candidate in the last election. I do not believe that the Minister of Marine and Fisheries

(Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper) will take the stand that every officer in the department should be compelled to support the Government candidate. If that is the position he takes, the sooner we know it the better. I believe those men are free and independent electors, who have a perfect right to vote for whom they please, and I think it was a piece of impudence on the part of the inspector to ask such questions of Mr. McQueen. I believe that was the only charge they could bring against him—the charge of not having supported the Government candidate. The alleged reason that he induced the fishermen to meet and protest against the action of the department has been proved untrue. I believe the Minister has been wrongfully informed on the question, and has done a very great injustice to this officer, who has been so long in the department and against whom no charges have been brought for the twenty years that he has been in the service. Such a man should not be summarily dismissed without good and sufficient reason, and I contend that the evidence, as I have it in my hand—there may be other letters that I have not, but these are the principal ones—clearly proves that the reasons for the dismissal of this officer were entirely unfounded. And I think that the Minister of Marine would only be doing justice to an old and faithful servant by ordering his reinstatement. My object in moving for these papers has been to call the special attention of the Minister of Marine to the circumstance; and I have no doubt that if he will look into the matter, he will find that he has done very great injustice to a very worthy officer of the department. I trust that, at an early day, he will do everything to redress the wrong he has done.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I think it was well that the hon. gentleman, in moving for these papers, ventilated the grievance of Mr. McQueen, because when the papers are brought down the hon. gentleman will find that it will be impossible to give so much prominence to the so-called grievance. The hon. gentleman has endeavoured to lead the House to believe, as no doubt he has been informed, that this officer was harshly dealt with, because he informed the inspector of my department that his political proclivities were opposed to the Government. I hope the hon. gentleman will believe me when I say that, up to this moment, I had every reason to believe that Mr. McQueen was a supporter of the Government. Friends of the Government have pleaded his case with me, and urged upon my attention many of the considerations to which the hon. gentleman has referred. And I think the hon. gentleman knows that Mr. McQueen's politics were adverse to him in the past, and he will not deny now that he always regarded Mr. McQueen as a friend of the Government. I am certainly guilty of no intentional harshness to this man. I believe that

Mr. CAMPBELL.

in dismissing him from office I did my duty. His record was most unsatisfactory. A report of the responsible officer was brought to my attention, and I brought that report to the attention of the Government, with the result that Mr. McQueen's services were dispensed with. Friends of his and Mr. McQueen himself urged upon me that this man had not been given a formal investigation. That is, in one sense, a natural complaint perhaps for officers to make; but with a lot of these petty officers, whose salaries are small and duties not very important, it would be a very expensive and questionable proceeding to institute in every case a formal inquiry, and no hon. gentleman would suggest that course. I had the report of the responsible officer, whose duty it is to inspect this division, and who made certain charges. Nevertheless, Mr. McQueen having pressed his long service and his innocence of the charges against him, I directed the officer to proceed to Chatham and give Mr. McQueen the opportunity of being fully heard. The hon. gentleman gives his version as to what occurred on that occasion. I hope it is unnecessary for me to say that that is not the report made to me, and I do not credit the statement that Mr. Kerr proceeded to discuss the subject in the way Mr. McQueen now avers. The papers will show that having given Mr. McQueen the opportunity of being fully heard, in order to report back to me so that I could decide whether the subject should be reconsidered and brought again before the Government, Mr. McQueen refused point-blank to say anything to right his case in any way whatever before that officer.

Mr. CAMPBELL. He asked the inspector to prove the charge.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. He undertook to fence with the officer sent there, and to direct the manner in which the investigation was to take place. And the papers will show that Mr. McQueen refused point-blank to open his case or to state his grievances before the inspector; but called upon the inspector to justify his report and his charges. There was a difference between Mr. McQueen and the inspector.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). What were the charges?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Neglect of his duties and failure to support the regulations of the department to this extent: A meeting was called to protest against the action of the department, which meeting was attended by fishermen and others, who were induced or encouraged to go there and protest against the course taken by the department. This officer of the department took part in bringing about this meeting, a thing that could not be tolerated, and was not tolerated for a moment. Another charge is that his division was not attended to by himself and that his services were com-

paratively useless. The papers, of course, will be brought down.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Of course we shall be able to consider the case better when the papers come down, and it is to be hoped the hon. gentleman will bring them down at an early day. But the hon. Minister can well understand that in a rural district, where fishing operations are carried on, the fishery officer is also a member of the community knowing the circumstances in which the fishermen are placed; and it would not be a very extraordinary proceeding on his part if he undertook to direct and control a meeting, knowing what the feelings of the people were, and perhaps himself holding the opinion that the regulations had been hastily made or that they were not in the interest of the department itself. An officer of the department might take part in such a meeting in perfect good faith, feeling that a mistake had been made by the overseer or the party who had induced the Minister to make the changes in the regulations which had been made. I do not think the imputation of insubordination should rest upon an officer who had done what the hon. gentleman says was done by Mr. McQueen in this case; and, unless the papers disclose something more than the hon. gentleman has stated, it seems to me that the department has acted with harshness.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I take issue with the hon. gentleman on that point. According to my experience we have extreme difficulty in the administration of these laws. In the first place, in many districts we have to deal with a class in the community who are not very well off. There is a general feeling among them—

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). They have to go to the river for their breakfast.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Yes, and for their dinner, and for their living; they depend largely upon what they get out of the sea or out of the lake. The difficulties with which the department have to contend must be apparent to those who will consider the matter. The feeling of the people is against the department in every way. Even some magistrates will try to avoid their duty in cases of infraction of the fishery laws; and, when compelled to act, will, even in the most flagrant cases—such, for instance, as the use of dynamite, destroying not only the fisheries, but the breeding grounds of the fish—impose the lowest possible penalty. Under these circumstances, if the department has not the sympathy or the apparent sympathy of its own officers, it is impossible to enforce the law, and it would not do to retain such an officer in the service of the department for a single day. If the officer finds the responsibilities too great or his duties unpleasant, he can get rid of his responsibility and of any duty

he considers odious by giving up his place. It would be a waste of money to retain officers who do not endeavour to encourage the community to live up to the regulations, by obtaining the best information he can with reference to them from the department, seeking to understand the ground of the department's action and explaining it to the people, and encouraging the opinion that the department does not wish to harass the fishermen in any way.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Was a charge brought against this man?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I acted on the report of the inspector.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Eighteen months ago a charge was brought against Mr. McQueen and thoroughly investigated by the department. It was shown that the charge was untrue and Mr. McQueen was confirmed in his office.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman does not refer to that in his motion.

Mr. McMULLEN. This appears to me to be a matter of considerable importance. I have had the opportunity of going over some of the papers connected with this case. This gentleman was a very old servant of the department, having served it for about twenty years. There seems to have been a determined effort to bring about his dismissal. About eighteen months ago complaints were lodged against him to the effect that he was not performing his duties properly. But he was able to make such explanations to the Minister as to relieve himself of the charges for the time being. But apparently the effort against him has been renewed, and this time successfully. While I quite agree that he should have been willing to present his evidence to show that the charges were false, it appears that he has been much irritated by the continuous efforts made by certain people to bring about his dismissal by making charges that evidently were foundationless. It is true that the Minister sent an officer to take evidence, and this officer called upon Mr. McQueen to prove that the charges against him were untrue. In my opinion they should first have called upon the party who made the charges to substantiate them and then have called upon Mr. McQueen for his defence. This would have been only just, and, as they were dealing with a man who had been twenty years in the service of the department, they should have treated him at least with justice.

RETURNS ORDERED.

Petitions from the Indians of the Saugeen reserve claiming the exclusive right of fishing in French Bay, Lake Huron, of all answers to the same, and of all departmental orders in reference to that subject.—(Mr. Laurier.)

Communications in the form of letters, petitions and reports, from 1st April, 1887, to 1st March, 1894, between the Government and Mr. J. B. Many, or the municipal council of St. Luc, in the county of St. Jean, in relation to the construction of a swing bridge on the Chambly Canal, opposite the south-east end of St. Thérèse Island, in the Richelieu River.—(Mr. Béchard.)

Papers, letters, petitions and reports sent to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, from 1st October, 1893, to this date, respecting the dismissal of I. B. Chevalier, of Iberville, from the post of fishery overseer; and of any communication sent from the Government to the said I. B. Chevalier.—(Mr. Béchard.)

Return giving the amount paid out of the Six Nation Indians' Fund (by way of gift or loan) to individual members, from the year 1886 to date, stating in each case:—the name of the person; the fact of whether gift or loan; the date when paid; the amount; the reason for the gift or loan; the authority for such gift or loan; the conditions on which loan was made; the provisions for repayment; the amount repaid.—(Mr. Paterson, Brant.)

Return showing:—1. The total number of depositors in the Dominion and Post Office Savings Banks. 2. The number of said depositors having deposits of \$1,000 or upwards and the total amount held by them. 3. The number having deposits of \$500 and over, not exceeding \$1,000, and the total amount held by them. 4. The number of depositors having deposits of less than \$500 and the total amount held by them. 5. The number of depositors not residing in Canada and the total amount held by them.—(Sir Richard Cartwright.)

Return giving a description of each of the industries established in the counties of Queen's and Shelburne, as reported in the census returns of 1891; also showing the names of the several manufacturers engaged in the said industries respectively, and showing the number of employees in each of said industries.—(Mr. Forbes.)

Return showing a description of each of the industries established in the county of Lunenburg, as reported in the census of 1891; also showing the names of the several manufacturers engaged in the said industries respectively, also showing the number of employees in each of said industries.—(Mr. Forbes.)

Copies of all complaints made by one Etienne Tremblay, since 1st November, 1893, against Joseph Placide Rocheleau, postmaster of Pauline, in the county of Rouville, P.Q.; and of the report of the post office inspector who inquired into the said complaint, or of any other official charged with such inquiry.—(Mr. Fréchette.)

Return of all correspondence, circulars, agreements, reports or any other papers leading up to registration of The Canadian Mutual Aid or Canadian Mutual Life Association; together with all reports, correspondence, agreements, circulars or other papers from the time of registration up to the present, including all matters in connection with the amalgamation with the Massachusetts Benefit Association of Boston.—(Mr. Sproule.)

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

Mr. McMULLEN.

After Recess.

IN COMMITTEE.—THIRD READING.

Bill (No. 37) to incorporate the Duluth, Nepigon and James Bay Railway Company.—(Mr. Masson.)

THE SCHOOLS OF MANITOBA AND THE N.W. T.

House resumed the further consideration of the proposed motion of Mr. Tarte (pages 159, 1600).

Mr. BRODEUR. In resuming the debate upon the important questions we have now to examine, I feel obliged to ask the indulgence of this House if I permit myself to address you, Mr. Speaker, in a language with which I am not very familiar. It is my duty to address the House in English in order to be understood by all those who don't know the French language, and who are to a certain extent, prejudiced against the rights of the minority and against the position that some French and Catholic members take upon this question. I want also to answer if possible, the charges and misrepresentations which have been made against the Catholics of the North-west and against the French Liberal members of this House, by the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin). It is very much to be regretted that the hon. member for Assiniboia did not think fit to address the House with calmness, and to discuss this question in a spirit indicating a desire to secure the welfare of the country at large. I regret to say that instead of giving us an example of calmness, he thought fit to abuse some of our fellow-citizens who differ with him upon the subject. I will refer especially to the attacks which the hon. member made upon the Hon. Mr. Casgrain, Attorney General of the province of Quebec. I am not a political friend of Mr. Casgrain, but I think that the hon. member for Assiniboia made a great mistake the other day when he attacked so violently his political friend in the province of Quebec, Attorney General Casgrain. Mr. Casgrain may differ in opinion with him upon this subject, but we must believe that he is sincere in the expression of his opinion, and consequently it was unfair on the part of the hon. member to attack him in the violent manner he did in the course of the debate. I take occasion also to tell the hon. member for Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) that he was entirely mistaken when he stated that the Catholics of the North-west had no grievances and that those men who in the province of Quebec wanted some legislation passed in order to overthrow the legislation enacted by the North-west Legislature adopted this action simply for the sake of party. I most emphatically deny that those in the province of Quebec who are now trying to have remedies applied to the legislation adopted by the North-west Legislature are raising an unfounded agitation. We do not

desire to make any false agitation ; we only claim what is just and fair, and we have the right to express our opinions and to ask that our opinions be respected. We are willing to respect the opinions expressed by the hon. member, we are willing to think he is sincere in his statement ; but at the same time if he wants us to admit his sincerity we have the right to claim that the same respect be shown to our opinions as we are willing to show to his opinions. I desire to say at the outset that my object in taking part in this debate is not to embarrass the Government or to make a case against the Government. These questions must be discussed with calmness and in a spirit of fairness and justice. Last year I had occasion to speak on the Manitoba school question, which was a burning question, as the North-west question is a burning question to-day, and I then declared that I would be ready to vote against the motion moved by the hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte), if the Government were willing and would promise to intervene if the Supreme Court declared they had the right to intervene. Instead of receiving at that time an answer, to which I was entitled, the Government refused to reply, but the Postmaster General subsequently did so, only stating, however, that if justice was not rendered to the Catholics of Manitoba by the Government, then it would be time for me to vote against the Government. On this particular question of North-west schools I do not desire to embarrass the Government, but I desire to show that the North-west Catholics have grievances, that they have been ill-treated by the North-west Legislature, and that they have not received from the Dominion Government the fair treatment to which they were entitled. The hon. member for Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) in the course of his speech said that the Catholics of the North-west and the French Canadians of the Territories had no grievances against the ordinance of 1892. I must say that my hon. friend is entirely in error in taking that position and in making that declaration. I will prove in a moment that the Catholics have received from the North-west Legislature the most grievous treatment that could be received by a minority from a Legislature. We must discuss the subject at some length in order to thoroughly understand the question and see what has been the position of the Catholics in the past and what is the position given to them under the ordinance of 1892. We remember that when confederation was established the North-west Territories did not form part of it. They were not comprised in Canada, but they were the property of the Imperial Government. In 1869 legislative measures were adopted by the Dominion Government to bring those territories under the control of the Dominion. Then the Government sent an officer to take possession of the North-west, but the manner in which action was taken led the peo-

ple of that country to become suspicious, and they to a certain extent protested against the Dominion Government taking possession of the North-west Territories. The Government—not only the Canadian Government, but the Imperial Government—sent for Archbishop Taché, who was then in Rome, in order to reconcile the French Canadians and half-breeds to the new condition of affairs. The Archbishop went to the Territories, and there he succeeded in pacifying the French Canadians and the half-breeds. At the same time a delegation was sent to Ottawa, which brought a Bill of rights, setting forth that the people of the North-west were willing to enter into confederation, provided that the Catholics were accorded the right of separate schools and would not be compelled to pay for the maintenance of public or Protestant schools ; and also that the French Canadians be accorded the right to use the French language in courts of justice and in the Legislature. The Bill of rights, section 7, reads as follows : “That the schools be separate and the moneys of public schools be divided between the different religious denominations according to their population.” In section 16 of the same Bill of rights, it was provided that both the French and English language be official in the Legislature and in the courts. The Dominion Government at that time agreed that the North-west should be included in confederation and become part of the Dominion on the conditions I have read, that is to say, that the Catholics should have the right of having separate schools, and that French Canadians should have the right to use French in courts of justice and in the Legislature. It is very much to be regretted that no law was then passed embodying those conditions respecting the schools and the French language ; but at all events the pact was entered into between the Federal Government, the French Canadians and the Catholics of the North-west, and so far no departure has been made from that arrangement which was then made. In 1875 or 1876 the Mackenzie Government regularly organized the North-west Territories and passed the North-west Territories Act. That Act is embodied in the Revised Statutes of Canada, and in clause 14 of that Act there is this provision concerning schools :

The Lieutenant-Governor in Council shall pass all necessary ordinances in respect to education ; but it shall therein always be provided, that a majority of the ratepayers of any district or portion of the Territories, or of any less portion or subdivision thereof, by whatever name the same is known, may establish such schools therein as they think fit, and make the necessary assessment and collection of rates therefor ; and also, that the minority of the ratepayers therein, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, may establish separate schools therein, and in such case, the ratepayers establishing such Protestant or Roman Catholic separate schools, shall be liable only to assessments

of such rate as they impose upon themselves in respect thereof.

We see, therefore, that the separate schools were guaranteed to the Catholics of the North-west, and by a subsequent clause of the same Act it is provided that the French language should be official. It is very important to remark that this law has been passed under a Liberal Government. It was under a Liberal Government that separate schools were established in Ontario; it was also under a Liberal Government that the separate schools have been recognized by the law in the Territories, and it was also under a Liberal Government that the French language has been recognized. It will be found also that the 93rd clause of the British North America Act was embodied in the powers conferred upon the Legislature of the North-west. That 93rd section relates to education, and it provides:

In and for each province, the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education, subject and according to the following provisions:—

“1. Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have, by law, in the province at the Union.

“2. All the powers, privileges and duties at the Union, by law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the separate schools and school trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic subjects, shall be and the same are hereby extended to the dissentient schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic subjects in Quebec.

“3. Where, in any province, a system of dissentient or separate schools exists, by law, at the Union, or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor General in Council from any Act or decision of any provincial authority, affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects, in relation to education.

“4. In case any such provincial law, as from time to time seems to the Governor General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor General in Council on any appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper provincial authority in that behalf, then and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this section, and of any decision of the Governor General in Council under this section.”

In the 13th clause of the North-west Territories Act, the 93rd section of the British North America Act is declared to form part of the North-west Territories Act. The 13th clause is as follows:—

The Lieutenant Governor in Council shall have such powers to make ordinances for the government of the North-west Territories as the Governor in Council, from time to time, confers upon him; but such powers shall not, at any time, be in excess of those conferred by the 92nd and 93rd sections of

“The British North America Act, 1867,” upon the legislatures of the several provinces of Canada.

No such ordinance shall be so made which is inconsistent with or alters or repeals any provision of any Act of the Parliament of Canada in force in the Territories.

Therefore the Legislature of the North-west is controlled by the Federal Parliament concerning any law with reference to separate schools. The Federal Parliament established separate schools in the North-west, and at the same time it gave power to the North-west Legislature to make rules; but it provided that these ordinances passed by the Legislatures should be in conformity and should not be in excess of the powers given by the British North America Act to the Provincial Legislatures. Consequently the Assembly of the North-west Territories have not the right to abolish separate schools, either directly or indirectly, nor have they the right to abolish the French language, either directly or indirectly. These powers belong to the Federal Parliament, and consequently if the Legislature encroaches upon the rights of the Catholics in the matter of the separate schools, or in relation to the usage of the French language, their Acts in this respect are entirely unconstitutional, and should be disallowed by the Federal Government. Under the 17th section of the North-west Territories Act the power of the Federal Government to disallow those Acts is absolute. That section reads as follows:—

An authentic copy of every ordinance shall be transmitted by mail to the Secretary of State within thirty days after its passing; and, if the Governor in Council, at any time within one year after its receipt by the Secretary of State, thinks fit to disallow the ordinance, such disallowance, when signified by the Secretary of State to the Lieutenant Governor, shall annul the ordinance from and after the date of such signification; and all ordinances so made, and all Orders in Council disallowing any ordinances so made, shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament as soon as conveniently may be after the making and enactment thereof, respectively.

It will be seen from this that the Federal Government has the right to disallow or to veto all the ordinances which have been passed by the Legislature of the North-west Territories. There is no limit to the exercise of that power by this Government. They may exercise that power on all the ordinances passed by the Provincial Legislature, whether they are legal or not, or whether they are constitutional or not. If they are unconstitutional it is undoubtedly the duty of the Government to disallow them; but even suppose they were not unconstitutional, yet if in their effect they encroach upon rights which have been guaranteed when the North-west Territories entered into the Dominion of Canada, I contend that it is the duty of the Government to intervene and to veto these Acts. From

the year 1875 the Provincial Legislature of the North-west Territories has passed several Acts concerning education, all of which have been embodied in the revised ordinances of 1888. According to these ordinances of 1888 I see that the Legislature established a Board of Education composed of five Protestants and three Catholics, but at the same time the law provided for the formation of two sections of that Board of Education. One section was composed of the three Catholics and the other section was composed of the five Protestants. It also provided in these revised ordinances of 1888 that the Catholic section of the Board of Education should have the control over the Catholic and separate schools of the North-west Territories, should have the maintenance of those separate schools, and should have the right to choose the books used in those schools. The Catholic section of the Board of Education had the right to appoint inspectors for their own schools, to establish normal schools, and to appoint examiners for licensing teachers.

Mr. DAVIN. Will the hon. gentleman point out where the right is given to any one section to found a normal school?

Mr. BRODEUR. Some time after the law was passed, a motion was adopted by the Board of Education to establish normal schools in the North-west, and the teaching in those normal schools was under the control of the Catholics when the teachers attending them were Catholics, and under the control of Protestants when the teachers were Protestants. I will prove that in a moment, I think, to the satisfaction of my hon. friend. The regulations in the revised ordinance of 1888 were almost identical with the regulations which we had in the province of Quebec. In Quebec we have a board of education composed of Catholics and Protestants, there being a Catholic section and a Protestant section; and each section has control over the choice of books, over its normal schools, over its inspectors and over its examiners. When the North-west was established, the Board of Education there was modelled after the Board of Education in Quebec. The intention was to place the Catholic minority in the North-west Territories in the same position as that in which we have placed the Protestant minority in the province of Quebec; the Catholics in the North-west were to have the same rights as have been enjoyed by the Protestants of the province of Quebec—rights which have never been encroached upon by the Catholics of that province. Well, after a few years, what do we find? Since a few years everything has been done by those who control the Government of the North-west to destroy the rights of the Catholics in that country. The proof of this I find in a letter which was written on the 20th of November, 1889, by Archbishop Grandin to Cardinal

Taschereau. I find that important letter embodied in a question put some years ago by my hon. friend from Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot):

This fanaticism is an epidemic and has spread from the reserves to certain centres of civilization. Our schools are hunted down. It is a crime for us to take advantage of the educational laws to procure assistance from the Government. Our reports are studied: they are found fault with, in order to more especially be able to accuse us and deprive us of that assistance which is ours by right. Although in the minority, we might be able, nevertheless, to send two representatives to the House, but they have succeeded in making this a thing impossible for us. I again charge the Dominion Government, who in marking out the electoral districts have divided up the two French centres in such a manner that it is impossible for us to secure representation.

So we see that even after the passage of the ordinance of 1888 the majority in the North-west Legislature were working to destroy the rights of the minority, and now they have put into execution their purpose mentioned in the letter of Archbishop Grandin, by the ordinance of 1892, of which I will give a synopsis. We remember that in 1888 the Catholics had the control of their own schools; they had the control of the choice of books used in those schools; they could regulate the teaching in them, and they could have French teaching during the whole course. My hon. friend from West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) asserted the other day that the teaching of French stands in the same position to-day as it did in 1888. I deny that assertion entirely. My hon. friend is quite mistaken. I will prove conclusively that the law has been disregarded in the North-west in order virtually to destroy the use of the French language. Now, what are the changes which have been made by the ordinance of 1892? They abolish the Board of Education as it was in 1888. Instead of having five Protestants and three Catholics on the board, they declare that the Board of Education shall be composed of the members of the Executive Council, who are, as we know, all Protestants, and of two Catholics and two Protestants, who, however, are to have no right to vote. Consequently, the Catholic schools, which were under the control of the Catholics in 1888, are, by the ordinance of 1892, put under the control of a Protestant board, because the two Catholics on that board have no right to vote. Suppose that the North-west Legislature should to-day amend the law so as to give the two Catholics the right to vote, that would not be sufficient; we have the right to have five Protestants and three Catholics on the board, as we had before; we have the right to have two sections of the board, and to have control of our own schools. What we ask is only that the Catholics and the French-Canadians should be put on the same footing as they were under the ordinance of 1888. By the ordin-

ance of 1892, the choice of books, instead of being in the hands of the Catholics, as it was under the ordinance of 1888, has been put under the control of the Protestant Board of Education; the inspectors, instead of being appointed by the Catholics to visit the Catholic schools, are to-day named and appointed by a Protestant board; the examiners, who, under the ordinance of 1888, were appointed by the Catholic section, are now entirely under the control of a Protestant board; and—what is very much more important, although it was denied the other night by the hon. member for West Assiniboia, and has also been denied by the Prime Minister—the right to educate the children in French in the Catholic separate schools is now denied; it is only permitted in the case of small children, of five, six or seven years old, who were raised by French-Canadian parents, and did not know a single word of English. But when those children reach the age of 7 or 8, teaching in the French tongue is prohibited, and they must be instructed in the English language alone. The papers have not yet been brought down, and I would certainly not have gone into all these details, if the hon. member for Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) had not thought fit to go into them. I know it would have been very much better to wait until all the papers are brought down before expressing our views on the question. But as the hon. member for Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) has seen proper not to wait, but to express immediately his opinion and raise prejudices, if possible, against the French-Canadians and Catholics of the North-west Territories, I felt it my duty to follow him on that ground and to prove if possible that the French-Canadians are ill-treated and suffer many grievances. We know that the Government has been petitioned to veto that Act. Petitions have been sent in by Archbishop Taché, Archbishop Grandin, and other eminent clergymen of the North-west and many laymen, asking for the disallowance of that legislation. But I exceedingly regret that the Government, instead of disallowing that Act, instead of vetoing it, refused to act with fairness and justice. The Government, as Archbishop Taché has said, was entirely inaccurate and unjust in the answer it gave. In its answer the Government had recourse to false pretensions and subterfuges, as has been asserted by Father Leduc, in order that the rights of the Catholics might be set aside. Those expressions are not mine, but are the words used by eminent clergymen of the North-west. They were used by bishops and archbishops, and I regret to say that some Ministers, who some time ago were proud to follow the advice of the bishops, will not now follow their advice, but have recourse, as has been said, by Archbishop Taché and Father Leduc, to false pretenses and subterfuges in order to prevent Catholics from enjoying their rights. It is very much to be regretted that

Mr. BRODEUR.

the Government, after having received those petitions, after having conferred with the leader of the North-west Legislature, did not see fit to send its statement to Archbishop Taché or Archbishop Grandin in order that we might know if the view of the case presented by it were true or not. No, the Government were not bold enough to send its answer to the clergymen of the North-west in order to learn what reply they would make. My hon. friend from Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) says that there are no grievances. I would ask him if it is not a grievance that the Catholics, who had previously the right to control their own schools, have not now that right? That right is denied to them by the ordinance of 1892. My hon. friend will not refuse to admit that in 1888 the Catholics had the control of their own schools. They were then in the same position in the North-west as the Protestants occupy in the province of Quebec, but by the ordinance of 1892, which the hon. member for Assiniboia supports, and which is supported by the Government, the Catholics in the North-west are deprived of the right to control their own schools. The Catholic section of the Board of Education has, by that ordinance, been abolished. Why prevent Catholics from having the right to control their own schools? Why not give them the same rights in the North-west as we are proud to give the Protestants in Quebec? Why treat the Catholics in the North-west differently from the treatment we are proud to give the Protestants of Quebec? I see here in this House many Protestant members from the province of Quebec. They know what the Government of that province has paid for Protestant education; they know that the Protestant minority have always been well treated by the Catholic majority there; they know that it never entered our minds to encroach upon the rights of Protestants granted by the constitution. Well, those same rights, which we are proud to give the Protestant minority of Quebec, are denied to us in the North-west. But although our Catholic friends in the North-west are ill-treated, we are not going to raise war. We are not going to say, as was said the other night by my hon. friend (Mr. Davin), that we will not submit to the laws of the country. No, we shall make a constitutional agitation. We will come before this Parliament containing a majority of Protestants, and I claim that our friends from Ontario will follow the example, the noble example, that has been given by their leader in the Legislature of that province, Sir Oliver Mowat. We hope that we shall be treated in the same spirit as has characterized the treatment of the Catholics of Ontario by the Protestant Liberal leader there. I do not think it will be denied that we have a grievance, when we see the Legislature of the North-west abolishing the

Catholic section of the Board of Education. What would happen if, to-morrow, we were to abolish the Protestant section of the Board of Education in the province of Quebec, and we were to put the Protestant schools under control of the bishops, or of the Catholic section of the Board of Education? There would be an uproar throughout the Dominion of Canada, and we would see many indignant persons coming to this House and asking the disallowance of that Act; and I know that the Government would veto that Act, as it would be its duty to do.

Mr. DAVIN. My hon. friend appeals to me. I stated the other night, and I state now, that the Catholic schools exist to-day as they existed in 1888.

Mr. BRODEUR. Suppose, as I have said, that we should abolish the Protestant section of the Board of Education in the province of Quebec. Will my hon. friend say that the Protestants of Quebec would still have their separate schools? What do we mean when we speak of separate schools, Mr. Speaker? Do we not mean the right to control of the schools, to employ the inspectors to choose the books? I have a declaration from Sir Oliver Mowat, made in 1889, when there was an attempt to overthrow the rights of the Catholics of Ontario of choosing the books for their schools, that the effect of such a law was virtually to abolish the separate schools. It is said, Mr. Speaker, that no change has been made concerning the choice of books since the ordinance of 1892 was passed. I think I have proven that prior to the passing of that ordinance the Catholics had the right to choose the books for their own schools. But now we see that the choice of books is in the hands of the Board of Education, which is entirely Protestant—for, though there are two Roman Catholics on that Board of Education, their influence counts for nothing, as they have no right to vote. After the ordinance of 1892 was passed, the books for these separate schools of the North-west Territories were changed. I do not think my hon. friend will deny that assertion. Instead of the Catholic readers which were formerly used, they have readers which are in use in the Protestant schools in Ontario. That is a very important fact, and the existence of that fact is a very serious grievance. My hon. friend (Mr. Davin) shakes his head. Does the hon. gentleman mean that this is not a grievance? Suppose that to-morrow we should prescribe none but Catholic books for the Protestant schools in the North-west, would not that be a grievance to the Protestants there?

Mr. DAVIN. Those books are acceptable to the Catholics of the North-west; therefore, there is no grievance.

Mr. BRODEUR. They are acceptable to the Catholics? However, we see the contrary

declared in the petition which has been put in the hands of the Government. That petition is signed by Bishop Grandin, who must know something about the matter; it is signed by Archbishop Taché, who must know something about it; by Father Leduc, who must know something about it. Here is what those eminent clergymen say about these books:

The text books are for the most part Protestant, and are offensive to Catholics, by asserting many things which Catholics have always contended contradicted the facts, by entirely ignoring, or greatly minimizing, misrepresenting or misinterpreting the part of the Catholic church and her ministers in history and in all departments of literature and science, and by propagating religious and philosophical theories which Catholics reprobate or disapprove.

Are these books accepted by the Catholics of the North-west? Are they accepted by the Catholic clergy of the North-west? My hon. friend says they are. Here is a petition signed by Archbishop Taché, Bishop Grandin, and other clergymen, who declare that they are not acceptable to the Catholics of the North-west. My hon. friend says that the books which are used in the separate schools in the North-west have been approved by high authority in the Catholic church. I think that is the expression made use of by my hon. friend. I do not know to what the hon. gentleman alludes, but I suppose that his statement is based upon the rumour spread by interested persons, that Father Caron has given his consent to the using of these books. If my hon. friend relies upon the authority of Father Caron, I can tell him that he has been entirely misinformed. I have here a letter from Father Caron, dated the 24th of February, 1894, in which he says:

In answer to your letter asking me if it be true, as affirmed by some, that as a representative of the Catholics in the Council of Public Instruction I have given my assent to the choice of Ontario readers as reading books in our Catholic schools in the North-west, I am glad to say that such is not the case. I said, at the informal meeting we had:—If we were obliged to put aside the Catholic reading books we would more willingly abandon the books used for the scholars of the fourth degree than the books used for younger scholars.

Well, we see that Father Caron has never given his assent to the use of these Ontario readers in the Catholic separate schools of the North-west; on the contrary, he protested as strongly as possible against the introduction of those books. Now, it is surprising that in that same meeting they claim to have passed a resolution, though no minutes were kept, that the Ontario readers should be used in the Catholic schools. I said a moment ago that the Government had to pronounce itself upon that part of the complaint of the Catholics in the North-west, but instead of giving a straight

answer, instead of listening to the petitions signed by these great men, he took the position of affirming that the assertions made by the bishops in that petition were entirely false; and the Minister of Public Works, who boasted some time ago that he was always proud to follow the advice of the bishops, has approved of that course on the part of the Government because he still remains a member of the Government. But how does he treat the question now? Archbishop Taché, on that point writes:

As to the selection of text books for pupils in the schools, it was altogether in the hands of the section: the respective members had only to agree among themselves.

All these rights are taken away from the Catholics and no choice whatever is left to them in the selection of books. Decidedly, I disagree with the Committee when they affirm: "The Committee cannot say that the complaint of the petitioners in this respect is well founded."

To support their views on the subject the Committee have thought proper to cite the following: "Mr. Haultain remarks that the Council of Public Instruction was but following the example of the Roman Catholic Committee of the Council of Public Instruction of the province of Quebec, which, he says, has ceased to use these 'Metropolitan readers'."

I confess I was not prepared for such logic. The Catholic Committee of Quebec replaced the Metropolitan readers by another series of Catholic readers; therefore, it is said that the Catholics of the North-west ought to be satisfied that the right they had to the selection of books for the schools has been taken from their hands and given to others who select the books they choose.

I admit that the value of such an argument is beyond my comprehension.

It is very surprising to find that although Archbishop Taché says they are using in the Catholic schools, books which misinterpret and misrepresent the Catholic religion, the Government say, Well, it is true that the North-west Council has abolished the use of the Metropolitan readers, but they have been replaced by others, as has been done in the province of Quebec. It is true that in the province of Quebec the Catholic section of the Board of Education has replaced the Metropolitan readers by others, but not by Protestant readers, as was done by the North-west Legislature, and approved by this Government; but they replaced those Metropolitan readers by other Catholic readers; consequently when the Government affirm that these gentlemen in the North-west have done no more than the Catholic section of the Board of Education in Quebec, I say they affirm what is entirely false and cannot be sustained.

Mr. DAVIN. But they are not Protestant readers.

Mr. BRODEUR. The Ontario readers?

Mr. DAVIN. No; they are used in the separate schools of Ontario.

Mr. BRODEUR.

Mr. BRODEUR. I beg your pardon. I think that Archbishop Taché knows as well as my hon. friend, and he says in his petition that these text books, for the most part Protestant, are offensive to Catholics. It may be true, that in some sections of Ontario the separate schools use these Ontario readers, but that is no reason why we should impose them upon the Catholics of the North-west. I know that the Ontario Government desires to assimilate as much as possible the use of text books in all the schools of the province, and it may be that in some sections the Catholics use those readers, but as I say, that is no reason why we should impose upon the North-west Catholics the use of these Protestant books.

Mr. DAVIN. I rise to state that I think the hon. gentleman ought not to make in this House a statement that they are Protestant readers unless he can put the reader before the House, as might easily be done, and say that this is a Protestant reader, and that there is an objectionable passage in it.

Mr. BRODEUR. Well, I have not taken the trouble to read all the readers which are used in the North-west Territories; I do not know if my hon. friend has read them, but I think I have the same right he has to make assertions. He asserted the other day that these readers were Catholic. I assert now that they are Protestant, and if my hon. friend wants to prove his assertion, he must himself begin by reading the readers to the House.

Mr. DAVIN. The hon. gentleman asks me to prove a negative, and that, by logicians, is considered not the proper thing to do.

Mr. BRODEUR. The other day the hon. gentleman said that he had asked a friend if he had any complaint to make against the readers in the North-west, and this friend told him that there was an objectionable poem in one of the readers which contained an account of an elopement. Well, says the hon. member for Assiniboia, I read that poem when I was young, and I never eloped. I think, Mr. Speaker, if my hon. friend had read that poem he would not be in the same domestic position that he is now. I think it would have been much better for him if he had not read that poem in his youth, as the consequence for him might have been, perhaps, an unhappy marriage. Now, even admitting that the readers employed in the North-west Territories are not Protestant readers, I say that the North-west Legislature has made a change in the regulation which puts the choice of books in the hands of a Protestant board, in the hands of men who are not friends of the Catholic religion. Now, I say there is a grievance in that act alone. They may be using good books now, or to-morrow, or one year hence, and this board may then change these books and select books that are entirely Protestant. Now, the rights of the Catholics have also been encroached upon

in respect to the nomination of inspectors. The Catholic section previously had the right to appoint inspectors for their own schools, as the Protestant section had the right to appoint their inspectors for the Protestant schools. That right which was enjoyed by the Catholics under the ordinance of 1888, has been taken from them, and inspectors are appointed by the Protestant Board of Education. The Government instead of giving a direct answer to the complaint of the Catholics on that point have misled them, according to the expression used by Archbishop Taché, and have evaded the question, according to Father Leduc. Here is what Archbishop Taché says :

I deeply regret to have to say that this observation of the Government upon a comparison of the duties prescribed for inspectors of schools in the ordinance of 1888 and that of 1892 "it will be seen that they are practically the same," is misleading and cannot but convey an unfair idea of the rights of which the Catholics are deprived.

Now, what was the objection of the Catholics? It was that they had enjoyed the right to appoint their own inspectors and they had been deprived of that right. Father Leduc said :

The report of the Committee of the Privy Council *eludes deliberately* the question and gives a conclusion the greater part of which is outside of the subject of the petitions. We complain that the ordinance of 1892 deprives us, Catholics, of the right of appointing our inspectors for our Catholic schools, a right granted by the ordinance of 1888. This ordinance conferred on the Catholic section of the Board of Education the power to appoint its inspectors. It is this right that we claim in our petitions. Protestant inspectors, owing to their religious education, their prejudices, their opposition to the Catholic school system, cannot generally inspire us with any confidence. We protest in our petitions against that violation of the right that we have to govern our schools and appoint our inspectors, as we acknowledge the same right to the Protestant schools. I regret to be obliged to state that the decision of the Privy Council, in the case in question, has not at all for its object the true complaint of the petitioners. Let them not tell us: "Out of four inspectors you have one Catholic." If we have him to-day we may not have him to-morrow. At all events, he cannot inspect but the schools of one district, all the schools of the other districts being outside his jurisdiction.

The Catholics of the North-west had originally the right to appoint inspectors. Now their schools may be inspected by men who are entirely enemies of Catholic institutions. The same course has been followed in regard to the examiners. Originally they were appointed by the Catholic section, but now the examiners are appointed by the Protestant Board of Education. Here is what Archbishop Taché says :

The report of the Committee says: "Although the formation of the Board of Examiners is

different under the present law, the Committee of the Privy Council are unable to ascertain that the Board of Public Instruction has in any way altered or restricted the mode and manner of examining teachers."

I am forced to say that such an assertion cannot convey a fair and exact idea of the condition imposed upon Catholic schools by the ordinance of 1892; the unfairness is due to the non-consideration of the privileges conferred by the Act of 1888.

Under the old ordinance, it was enacted as follows: "one half of the Board of Examiners shall be nominated by each section of the Board of Education." The Catholic section had therefore the right of nominating one half of the examiners.

The law said also: "Each section of the board shall have the selection of text books for the examination of teachers in history and science." Now all this is altered, and the selection is in the hands of the Protestants.

I now come to normal schools. It has been asserted that if there was a normal school previously to the ordinance of 1892 it was unsectarian. That assertion is not correct, and it is not in accordance with the facts which have been established. Here is the resolution which has been referred to :

At the meeting of the Board of Education held on the 25th January, 1888, it was resolved:—

That in the opinion of this board it is necessary to make provisions for the instruction and training of teachers for our public schools in the science and art of teaching.

That the board feels that the appointment of a normal school principal, whose duty it would be to hold normal school sessions in different parts of the country, would have the best possible results in increasing the efficiency of teachers and stimulating education :

Therefore, resolved

That His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor be requested to urge upon the Dominion Government the advisability of granting the sum of \$5,000 for the next financial year for normal school purposes.

It does not mean there was going to be only one normal school; it does not convey the idea that Catholics shall be obliged to attend a normal school frequented by Protestants. It is declared in that motion that \$5,000 should be asked from the Government for normal school purposes. What has happened? The Government instead of answering the question directly and recognizing the right of Catholics, has evaded the question and falsely represented the position. This is not a small charge made against Ministers. I have charged them with having recourse to false pretenses. The Government says :

It appears to the Committee that prior to the ordinance of 1892 normal schools had been sanctioned by the Board of Education without objection, and that an uniform framing of teachers had been adopted by and with the approval of both sections of the board.

The hon. member for Assinibolia (Mr. Davin) said there was only one normal school and the rules for Protestants and Catholics were

the same. The regulations of the Board of Education say the contrary :

Page 3.—“The following books are prescribed for the use of candidates for third class certificates : by the Protestant section : Ontario Public School English grammar, &c., &c. ; by the Roman Catholic section : as published and amended by adding, &c.

“45. The subjects of examinations for first class certificates shall be such and such, for schools under the control of the Protestant section ; or such and such, for the schools under the control of the Roman Catholic section.”

Undoubtedly all these regulations were kept out, says Archbishop Taché, of the reach of the Committee, when they say :

“There is nothing to indicate that there was to be one normal school for the Protestant teachers and another for Roman Catholic teachers, but rather the one normal school for all.”

I desire the Government to answer that charge, and I desire to learn if they are ready to assert, after what has been said by Archbishop Taché and Father Leduc, that there was only one normal school in the North-west. Father Leduc says :

Under the false pretense that at least two members of the Catholic section of the Board of Education have, in January, 1888, given their assent pure and simple to the future establishment of only one normal school, we are invited to remain quiet, to accept the new ordinance, to be satisfied with Protestant normal schools, even for the sisters, who would have to leave their convents to go to and mix with the teachers or candidates of both sexes, of all denominations, of every age, on the benches at Regina or elsewhere, and to receive from the lips of a Grand Master of Free Masonry the pedagogical teaching, free from all tinge of Catholicism, but possibly saturated with materialism and with all the errors which the Catholic church rejects and condemns.

That is to say that the sisters should be compelled to be taught by men who, as described by Father Leduc, occupy the same position in the Orange lodges as does the Controller of Customs. The gravest charge which I have to make against these ordinances is concerning the teaching of French, and I am glad to see the Prime Minister now in his seat, because I want to prove to him that he was entirely mistaken the other night when he conveyed the idea that the French language was permissive during the whole course in the separate schools of the North-west Territories. The following occurred during the debate as reported in ‘Hansard’ :—

Mr. LAURIER. Will the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) pardon me. He stated that he would refer to the question of teaching French in the schools.

Mr. DAVIN. Yes ; I intended to take it up in connection with this. With regard to the teaching of French, Mr. Speaker, there is this difference--that French is not proscribed, as my hon. friend (Mr. Tarte) seems to think, but what is prescribed is that in every school in the North-west Territories English shall be taught.

Mr. BRODEUR.

Mr. LAURIER. All right.

Mr. DAVIN. My hon. friend, the leader of the Opposition, says that is right, and he could not say otherwise, for he is a man of broad views. I have read his courageous speeches made in the heart of the province of Quebec, in which he has pointed out the importance to his own race and the importance to all Canada of our French Canadian friends learning English.

Mr. LAURIER. I understand that the teaching of English is prescribed. Is the teaching of French optional or is it proscribed ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. In those districts where it is the mother tongue of the children the bi-lingual readers of Ontario are used.

Mr. DAVIN. In those districts in which French is the mother tongue of the children, French is taught. English also is taught--they have the bi-lingual readers which are used in Ontario.

Both the Prime Minister and the hon. member for Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) asserted that in the separate schools the French language is permitted, and can be employed during the whole course. It is true that according to the ordinance of 1888, French was permissive and could be used in the separate schools. That law provided that a primary course of English should be taught, but French was permissive during the whole course, and the French-Canadians in the North-west had a right to be educated in French. What is the position of the French-Canadians in the North-west to-day in respect to this ? The ordinance of 1892 provide :

That all schools shall be taught in the English language and instruction will be given in the following branches. * * * It shall be permissible for the trustees of any school to cause the primary course to be taught in the French language.

It will be seen from this that according to the ordinance of 1888, the French language could be used in the separate schools during the whole course, but according to the ordinance of 1892 French is only permissible for small children of five, six, seven or eight years old. It therefore cannot be denied that our French-Canadian people have been deprived of the rights which they had under the ordinance of 1888. Let us see how they changed the law in this respect. The ordinance of 1888 read as follows :—

All schools shall be taught and instruction given in the following branches.

Now they have changed that in the ordinance of 1892 to read as follows :—

All schools shall be taught in the English language and instruction will be given in the following branches.

It cannot be denied from this that the teaching of French in the North-west is not now in the same position as it was by the ordinance of 1888. The Prime Minister was then entirely mistaken the other night when he conveyed the idea that the French-Can-

dians in the North-west Territories were in the same position as the French-Canadians in the province of Ontario. Let us see how the Catholics are treated in that great province which is governed by a Liberal Premier. In Ontario the French language is not the official language, but notwithstanding that they can teach French in the separate schools during the whole course. On the other hand, in the North-west Territories where French is the official language the French-Canadians have not the right to be taught in French. We have also a great grievance in the provision of the present ordinance regarding the examination of teachers. Here is what Father Leduc reports in reference to that in an interview which he had with the Secretary of the Council of Public Instruction :

I.—FOR THE EXAMINATION.

Before 1892, the candidates could pass their examinations in French. The examination papers were translated in this language, and twice I have been charged myself with this translation.

On Thursday last, the 22nd instant, I was at Regina. In order not to assert anything but perfectly certain, I went to see Mr. James Brown, the secretary of the Council of Public Instruction, and I put to him officially the following questions :

Q.—Under the ordinance of 1888, could the candidates pass their examinations in French ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Were the examination papers translated in French ?

A.—You know it well ; you have translated them yourself.

Q.—Under the ordinance of 1892, by which we are governed to-day, can the candidates still pass their examinations in French ?

A.—I do not see that they can do it.

Q.—If the candidates did write their examinations in French, would these examinations be recognized in the Council of Public Instruction ?

A.—No.

Therefore it is evident that the French language is abolished for the examinations.

My hon. friend from Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) wanted us to point out to him some grievance, and asked us to show him in what respect the position of the Catholics had been changed under the ordinance of 1892 from what it was under the ordinance of 1888. Here is an assertion made concerning the teaching of French in separate schools. Previously we had the right in the separate schools to teach French, but now it is denied. Under the ordinance of 1888 French-Canadians could pass their examination for teaching in the French language, but now, as you will find by the assertion of the secretary of the Council for Public Instruction, they cannot do so. If the hon. member for Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) does not find any grievances in all the facts I have brought before this House, then I must say that he is a very difficult man to satisfy. Let us now see what the Government should have done with regard to this

ordinance of 1892. Were they entitled to allow these Acts or was it not their sacred duty to come to the rescue of the Catholic minority in the North-west Territories and give them the right of controlling their own schools ? My hon. friend from Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) has said: You are not deprived of your schools; you have your separate schools. No, we have no separate schools now in the North-west. The right of having separate schools is the right of controlling our schools, choosing our books, appointing our inspectors, and appointing our examiners. All these rights are now denied by the ordinance of 1892; and consequently we have no longer separate schools in the North-west. It is said that separate schools are abolished in Manitoba; but by the contention of my hon. friend, they are not abolished, because a law was not passed explicitly declaring the separate schools to be abolished. It is true, there was no such law passed; but laws have been passed by which the separate schools have been virtually abolished. Now, Mr. Speaker, what was the right and duty of the Government? The right of the Government, the duty of the Government, was to disallow that Act. I have quoted section 17 of the North-west Territories Act, which formally declares that the Government has the right to veto all Acts of the Legislature of the North-west when it thinks fit. Well, is not the law concerning these schools a law which should have been disallowed? I say yes, it should have been disallowed, for two reasons: because it was unconstitutional, and because it was virtually killing the good harmony which existed until that time in the Dominion of Canada. Why has the power of veto been placed in the hands of the Government? It is for the Government to see that the constitution as contained in the British North America Act of 1867 shall be well established. Mr. Casgrain, the Attorney General of Quebec, speaking in Montreal some time ago, said :

The Federal Government had the right, and I say it was its duty to veto all laws contrary to the general interests of the Dominion.

That law was certainly against the general interests of the Dominion, because it is the duty of this Government to see that all sections of the country are in harmony, and that no section is ill treated; and when a minority is ill treated, as I have proven the minority in the North-west to have been in regard to their schools, by the ordinance of 1892, it is the duty of the Government to exercise its power of disallowance. But the Government said in its report that it would have been useless to disallow or veto that Act. Archbishop Taché answers the Government in the following way:—

The minority of the North-west have petitioned for the disallowance of the ordinance of 1892,

because it deprives them of most of the rights they enjoyed by the ordinance of 1888, and because as they say: The said ordinance, inasmuch as it places in the hands of non-Catholics the absolute control and management of Catholic separate schools to such an extent that such persons are enabled, as they have actually done, to obliterate almost wholly the distinction between Catholic and other schools.

To this complaint, made in such a general way, the committee answer:—It would appear from the facts that the disallowance of the ordinance in question will not meet the complaints alleged in the petitions, otherwise than by restoring the Board of Education which had control of the schools of the territories before the ordinance of 1893 was passed, because in other respects, the law and regulations concerning education in the territories were not materially different before the ordinance of 1892 was passed from what they now are, in so far as the points mentioned in the petition are concerned. Disallowance would not nullify any of the regulations complained of.

This assertion of the Committee is perhaps construed cleverly enough to catch the assent of those unaware of the change which has taken place, but the same assertion, in spite of its restriction, does not stand before the real comprehension of the facts and their consequences. The committee says: Disallowance will not nullify any of the regulations complained of. On the contrary, disallowance would restore the right of modifying all such regulations, and in fact abolish all regulations as well as dispositions uncongenial to the ordinance of 1888. For instance, it would abolish the office of superintendent and the power invested in its incumbent to make and establish rules and regulations for the conduct of schools and to institute and to prescribe the duties of teachers, and their classification.

So we see that the ordinance could have been disallowed; and if it had been disallowed, the Catholics of the North-west would have had restored to them the rights of which they were deprived. If the Government want another authority, I will cite the authority of a member of this House, whom I do not see in his seat, but who, I think, will express here at a future day the opinion which he has expressed in his paper. The hon. member for Provencher (Mr. La-Rivière), in his paper 'Le Manitoba,' makes a charge against the Government which I hope they will take cognizance of. We are not accustomed to find charges brought against the Government by that hon. gentleman. This is what he said in his paper:

That ordinance, No. 22, 1892, "*c'est ballon d'essai*," the success of which was to determine the fate of the minority, might have burst at Ottawa if the Federal Government had willed it; but it has refused its protection to the weak. Is it then decided in Ottawa that it will tolerate the violation of the rights, natural and acquired, of those who are not numerous enough nor audacious enough to constitute a dangerous element?

This is what has been said by a staunch friend of the Government. He asserts that

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the Government had not the courage to disallow that Act, and yielded to the influence of some fanatics who control them. I may cite also on that question the authority of a man who is pre-eminent in the councils of the Conservative party in the province of Quebec; I mean the Hon. Thomas Chapais, a member of the Conservative Government of the province of Quebec, who is also the son-in-law of the hon. member for Three Rivers (Sir Hector Langevin); and I should think that what he has declared in his paper is an echo of the sentiments of that hon. member. Mr. Chapais, in his paper, says:

We said the other day that on the question of the North-west schools the Federal Government had the power to veto, that the circumstances justified the disallowance, and that if the right of disallowance could not be used to protect the minorities, it must be abolished, because it should have been resorted to in this particular instance.

Well, we have the opinion of eminent men that this ordinance should be disallowed. The law is very plain. The section I have cited says plainly that the Government has the right to veto any Act passed by the Legislature of the North-west. Why, then, did not the Government take, concerning the North-west legislation, the position it took concerning the Manitoba schools. We know that last year the Government said: We cannot interfere with the Manitoba schools until the Supreme Court gives its decision upon our right of interference. The Government took this ground because, in 1891, a law was passed providing that, before dealing with the power of disallowance, the Government should ask from the Supreme Court, and, if necessary, from the Privy Council in England, whether it had the right to interfere. Well, the Government thought fit last year, before exercising any jurisdiction in the matter of the Manitoba schools, to send the question to the Supreme Court. Why should it not do the same thing in the matter of the North-west legislation? Why should it not refer also the questions of fact which appear in the petitions from the Catholics of the North-west? Why did it not refer to the Supreme Court those questions of fact in order to see whether the Government should exercise its right of disallowance or not? No, Mr. Speaker, instead of doing that, the Government passed immediate judgment on that question. The Government refused to disallow that Act, and consequently the Catholics of the North-west are now deprived of the rights they formerly enjoyed. I do not mean to say that the Government took the right course in referring the Manitoba question last year to the courts. On the contrary, I say that the Government should have disallowed the Manitoba Act, which is as unjust as the North-west Act; but I say that if the Government last year thought fit to refer the Manitoba Act to the courts, they should have done the

same thing with reference to the North-west ordinance. Of one thing we are certain, and that is that all this agitation concerning the schools was started by the Conservative party. I do not see now in his seat the gentleman who was the first to raise in this country the cry against separate schools. I do not see in his seat the hon. member for East Durham (Mr. Craig), who is responsible for all that agitation raised in 1889 against separate schools in Ontario, Manitoba, and the North-west. That hon. gentleman was the first who tried to abolish indirectly separate schools in this country. This I will prove by reading the motion made by him in 1889 in the Provincial Legislature of Ontario, of which he was then a member :

The English tongue is the language of the province of Ontario; and no system of public instruction, which does not insure that in every school aided by provincial funds, or supported in whole or in part by local taxation, the teachers employed are capable of imparting instruction in the English tongue—and that every pupil is instructed in it—and does not recognize and act upon the recognition that the English language is to be the language of such schools and require that the books in use in them, except those employed in giving religious instruction when and where such instruction is permitted by law, shall be approved of by the department having charge of educational affairs,—is satisfactory to this House.

That hon. gentleman is one of the best friends of the Government, one of the best friends of the Cabinet Ministers from the province of Quebec. Well, what happened then? Had Sir Oliver Mowat been as deficient in courage as the members of this Government, the separate schools of Ontario would have been virtually abolished. But what happened was this. In reply to that motion, Sir Oliver Mowat said :

If that motion was confined to public schools he would have no objection to it; as far as the separate schools were concerned, he was not prepared to admit that the Legislature had the authority to prescribe what text books should be used in separate schools. The Legislature was bound by the British North America Act, and he was not prepared to say that that Act gave them the power referred to. As would be well known to the House, there never had been any jurisdiction admitted to be exercised by the Legislature over the text books of the separate schools. Attempts have been made to get them to use voluntarily the text books of the separate schools, but as to imposing those text books upon them he was not prepared to say that the House had jurisdiction to that extent, and he should not advise the House to that effect. He cites then 93rd section British North America Act.

The Hon. Mr. Hardy also said :

That if any attempt was made to legislate concerning the text books, those affected would appeal to the Privy Council at Ottawa, which would undoubtedly sustain them.

We see, therefore, that the agitation to abol-

ish the separate schools was raised by the member for East Durham (Mr. Craig), and we see also that the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague) has admitted that the declaration of war against the separate schools in Ontario, made by the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), had been prepared by Mr. Farrar, who was then in the employ of the Government, making its campaign literature. It is evident, therefore, that if separate schools have been abolished in the North-west Territories and Manitoba, the agitation for their abolition was started by the Conservative party. And we know that last night one of the Conservative members in the Ontario Legislature attempted once more to deprive Catholics of their rights in Ontario, and in this attempt obtained the solid support of the Conservative party in that House. It will, perhaps, be replied that in Manitoba it was the Liberals who abolished the separate schools. Yes, Mr. Speaker, it is very much to be regretted that men who call themselves Liberals have thought fit to abolish separate schools in Manitoba, and the use of the French language. But there is one thing in that connection which affords me great pleasure, and that is that when the Manitoba Government proclaimed that policy, all the Catholic Liberals in Manitoba rose as one man to protest against it. And those who had portfolios in that Government resigned their positions. Do we see the same thing to-day in the Federal Government? Do we see the French-Canadian members of the Cabinet resigning their seats when they find the Government of which they are members abolishing separate schools in the North-west? No; there is no danger. It is true that Martin, the Liberal, has abolished separate schools in Manitoba; but the French members of the Manitoba Government resigned when that was done. Here we see the Federal Government virtually abolishing the separate schools of the North-west, and, at the same time, we see the French-Canadian members keeping their seats in the Cabinet, and, consequently, approving what the Government has done. Mr. Speaker, I shall not add more to this discussion except to cite the conclusions to which Archbishop Taché has come after having examined the conduct of the Government :

Meanwhile the seed of fanaticism and religious persecution is planted in the plains of the North-west; it is carefully cultivated at Regina, surrounded and protected by parliamentary enactments and official cares. The obnoxious seed has already obtained the proportion of a large tree. By order from Ottawa it could have been eradicated; but no, it is allowed to grow under the simple advice to cut off its longest stems, if thought to exceed proper dimensions, to graft on its coarse trunk some better shoots, from which could be gathered fruits less offensive to the taste of individuals and less dangerous to society.

I have read the report with a deep feeling of surprise and pain; it may be perhaps considered

as a clever piece of pleading against Catholic interests—

French members of the Cabinet may take cognizance of the charge of the archbishop.

—but I regret excessively to be prevented from considering it as a complete statement of the case or an impartial judgment of the same. No one was condescending enough to inform the Venerable Bishop Grandin, or those who represented him or any of the representatives of the Catholic population, of what the chief of the Executive at Regina had communicated to Ottawa; documents and views which have been all accepted, without challenge and without giving to the interested parties the least chance of refuting them.

What says Father Leduc ?

The Committee of the Privy Council has the greatest sympathy for us. It extremely regrets that the ordinance of 1892 has been the involuntary (?) cause of dissatisfaction and alarms. The ordinance is maintained. With it and under the cover of legality, they will be able to increase, to multiply the difficulties and obstacles to hinder our Catholic schools to work; they will impose on us new regulations more tyrannical, more impracticable than ever; the good will of the past of the members of the Council of Public Instruction and of the Legislature is a proof, at least probable, of their future good will.

The Committee of the Privy Council commends us to the mercy, to the generosity of the avowed enemies of our religious institutions, of our schools, of our convents. They have shown their dispositions (?) and now they are requested to amend either the ordinance or the regulations of the Council of Public Instruction in order to remedy our grievances and our alarms, if any.

Is this truly what we had a right to expect? Could such a decision satisfy the request of the petitioners? Does it conform to justice? Is this a specimen of the boasted "British Fair Play?"

We are sacrificed to the breath of the deplorable fanaticism which blows over our Territories; our rights are trampled upon; our Catholic schools existing by law, exist only in name.

It might have been otherwise; the Government at Ottawa has not willed it.

Now, Mr. Speaker, here is the position made by the Government for the Catholics of the North-west. Eminent clergymen come to us and declare that the Government should have maintained the rights of the Catholics of the North-west, that it should have prevented the injustice caused by the ordinance of 1892; but, instead of listening to the spirit of justice and fair play, they have listened, as has been stated by one of these eminent men, only to a few fanatics who control the Government. Is it not to be deplored that in this country the French-Canadians and Catholics should be treated as they have been? In the province of Quebec, where we have a majority, we have treated the Protestants with justice. They have no complaint to make against us. Why should they not give us in Manitoba and the North-west the same rights that we give to the Protestant minority in Quebec? We see

that the Liberal party was the first to establish the separate schools in the North-west. We see that the Liberal party, at the instance of the Hon. Mr. Scott, the present leader of the Opposition in the Senate, established separate schools in Ontario. We see that, if we depended on the good-will of the Conservative party, the Catholic schools of Ontario and in the North-west would be entirely abolished. On one side we see the Liberal party disposed to be just to the minority, and on the other the Conservative party which has always been unjust to the Catholics. I will ask my hon. friends on this side who come from Ontario to be just to the Catholics of the North-west, as their great leader in provincial politics is just to the Catholics in this province. We hope that they will help us restore to the Catholics of the North-west the rights of which they have been deprived, and I trust the Liberal party will continue to be just, as it has always been, to the minority.

Mr. MACDOWALL. Mr. Speaker, I do not often trouble the House, but, on a question so directly affecting the interests of the North-west, I think I may venture to trespass upon your time for a few minutes. The hon. gentleman from Rouville (Mr. Brodeur) has made an appeal to the Liberal members from Ontario to support the Catholics in the North-west. I do not see how they are to give that support in this case, for I understand that the motion under discussion is simply a motion for papers which are likely to be brought down. So far as the question is concerned, as it presents itself to the people of the North-west, my hon. friend from West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) has already fully discussed this question, and the only matter raised by the hon. member for Rouville has been the question whether separate schools still exist in the North-west or not. Section 14 of the North-west Territories Act, which has not been abolished, provides:

The ratepayers establishing such Protestant or Roman Catholic separate schools shall be liable only to assessments of such rates as they impose upon themselves in respect thereof.

It also provides fully for the maintenance of separate schools in the North-west. That clause, which was introduced, I believe, in the year 1876, has never been altered. It governs the school question, as regards separate schools in the North-west to-day, as it did in 1876, and the conditions under which separate schools are governed in the North-west are practically the same to-day as they were then. The hon. member for Rouville said that my hon. friend from West Assiniboia had endeavoured to raise prejudices against the Catholics by his speech. I think, viewing the speech from an independent point, the hon. gentleman endeavoured to his very utmost to do away with prejudices. The whole spirit of the people of the North-west is to put down

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all prejudices against forms of religion. We believe in civil and religious liberty to all mankind, in the fullest sense of the word. We who are Protestants believe that our Roman Catholic friends should have the fullest and freest liberty in regard to their schools, with regard to their Church, and with regard to their religion. When I look at the Ordinance of the North-west Government, although I am myself a Protestant, yet having many friends among the Roman Catholics, I can only look upon it as a protection of the Roman Catholics in respect of the maintenance of separate schools in the North-west. We know that of late years an agitation has been started in this House by the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) and those who follow him, directed against separate schools in the North-west. This has doubtless caused some irritation in the country. I believe that the Ordinance passed by the North-west Government will probably be the means of removing this irritation, and if it removes this irritation without removing separate schools, I think those who wish to maintain separate schools in the North-west should be the first to applaud it and the last to decry it. The hon. member for Rouville said that the majority in the North-west were trying to destroy the minority. I do not think that I need dwell very long on that subject, because he evidently is not acquainted with the people of the North-west, he evidently is not acquainted with the spirit that rules the majority, by whom I suppose he means the Protestants; for they have no desire whatever to impede in any way the action of the Roman Catholics with regard to their religion. I know that in the district I represent, whenever Roman Catholics desire to erect a church or erect a school, they find no more willing subscribers than among their Protestant friends, and that itself is the best evidence that the Protestant majority of the North-west do not wish to take any unfair advantage of the Roman Catholic minority. Now, with regard to the normal school teaching, the hon. member read a resolution that was passed at a meeting of the Board of Education held on the 25th January, 1888, and he stopped there; he forgot to read a copy of the resolution that was passed on the 3rd September, 1891, and which was quoted by my hon. friend from West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin). It was moved by Mr. A. E. Forget, who is himself a Roman Catholic, and it reads as follows:—

That all persons, inspectorates of Eastern and Western Assiniboia who obtained non-professional certificates at the recent examination of teachers and not holding certificates of normal training and who desire to obtain professional certificates be required to attend a normal session either at Moosomin or Regina; such normal session to commence on the reopening of the union schools after the Christmas holidays and to terminate, for third class teachers, six weeks and for first and second class teachers, three months from the date of commencement.

Therefore, the first motion towards requiring the teachers to pass an examination and obtain a certificate at the normal schools, was moved by one of the representatives of the Roman Catholic Church in the North-west Territories. As regards these normal schools, I may say that they are peripatetic. It is not provided in that Ordinance that they should be peripatetic, but it is the policy of the Government of the North-west that wherever it is in the public interest, that is to say, wherever there are a sufficient number of candidates in any one of the small sections of the North-west, a normal school shall be held and an examination of candidates shall take place, and certificates shall be issued. At the same time, teachers may be employed in the North-west who have certificates from any province in Canada, or from any other country in the world where a certificate is granted. It is not necessary that they should have certificates granted by the normal schools of the North-west Territories. In the future, teachers applying for certificates must pass an examination before the normal schools, but these normal schools move about from point to point, so as to make it as easy as possible for the candidates to attend them. With regard to the books that are used, the hon. member for Rouville said that the new regulation with regard to books practically abolished separate schools. The information that I have received concerning books from some of the ladies who teach in Roman Catholic schools in the North-west, is simply this, that they were put to the expense of buying a new set of books, and the new set of books are just as good as the old set were; and I consider that the ladies are perhaps the best judges as to those books. With regard to the attack on the Government for refusing to exercise their veto power against this Ordinance, I may say that the leader of the Opposition and the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) cannot support the contention of the hon. member for Rouville, because it is clearly laid down in the Acts establishing the constitution of the North-west, that the North-west Assembly has power, within the Acts, to regulate their schools, and if this Ordinance is within the power of these Acts, it would be certainly out of the question for the Government here to veto the Ordinance, I do not think the hon. member for Rouville has proved that the Ordinance was ultra vires, and if it is intra vires I do not see how he could expect the Government to veto it. I can assure you, Mr. Speaker, and I can assure the House, that the people of the North-west do not wish full provincial powers at present. They wish for certain powers for their own good government and the good government of their territory, and they consider that one of the most important matters for them is the matter of affecting their schools and affecting their education. They desire that the regulations concerning this matter should be carried out in a manner that will be fair to every religious denomina-

tion and fair to every man, whatever language he speaks. But they would one and all resent any action by the Government in Ottawa that would interfere with the powers that are given to their Legislature in the North-west. Therefore, I myself cannot agree with the hon. member for Rouville, and I must support the Government in declining to exercise that veto. We hear in this House that a great many petitions have been sent down to the Government concerning the North-west schools. There are only four members representing the North-west Territories, and yet I, for one, who represent more than one-third of the whole area of the territory, have not had a single complaint made to me with regard to this Ordinance. I believe that in my district there are more Roman Catholics than in any other district in the North-west Territories. I am personally a friend of a great many of them, and I am certain that if any great hardship had been done to them, I should have heard it, and I should have been asked to take action as their representative in this House. But no mention has ever been made to me of any grievance. I have raised the question once or twice, and as far as I can find out, the only fear they have is not with regard to what has taken place, but rather with regard to what might take place; and what might take place is this, that the normal schools might not remain peripatetic, and some of the ladies who belong to these orders and who cannot stay at hotels and other places of public entertainment, might be debarred from attending these normal schools. But the custom in the Territories is now established, and that custom is to make the normal school peripatetic, so that wherever there is a sufficient number of candidates, a normal school shall be held, and an examination shall be had of all the teachers. I think myself that this is a good thing for the North-west; it is a good thing to have a uniform system so far as you can, without interfering with religious prejudices. I do not believe we ought to interfere unnecessarily with the religious prejudices of our neighbours, however free we ourselves may be from these prejudices, because while from our point of view they may appear to be prejudices, from their point of view they may not appear to be so. But the Ordinance so far as it goes does not interfere with these prejudices in the least. It allows liberty to all. It provides for a uniform system of education. Every teacher must pass an examination and be proved to be fit to teach the young. The inspectors of schools must be fit to inspect schools; and with respect to those inspectors, whom the hon. member for Rouville (Mr. Brodeur) called the enemies of Catholic institutions, I may say one of them was Rev. Father Gillies, who only resigned his position the other day. That is one of the most direct proofs in refutation of the statement that the inspectors are the enemies of separate schools in the

Mr. MACDOWALL.

North-west Territories. I will conclude the few remarks I have to offer by endeavouring to impress on the House the fact that the people of the North-west, even though the majority may be Protestants, have no idea, have no wish, have not the slightest desire in any way to impede the good work that may be done by the minority, they have no desire to interfere with their religion in any way whatever, and I believe that the minority if they appeal to the Protestant majority in the North-west will always find ready and willing helpers to assist them in their good work.

Mr. LEGRIS. (Translation.) Mr. Speaker, the motion now before you creates too strong an interest to let it pass without my taking the liberty to offer a few remarks before this House should agree to it. We have already heard some hon. gentlemen opposite dealing with this question. They did it, intending to defend the action of the Cabinet, and the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) specially endeavoured to show that the stand taken by the Government was one which should command the approval of the people of Canada. He also undertook to persuade this House that the Catholics of Manitoba and the North-west Territories had no grievances; that the Ordinance of 1892 made no change whatever in the position of the Catholics in those territories, that they did not change the position of the Catholic and French people in that country, that the state of affairs now is just the same as that which existed previous to the Ordinance of 1892. On the other hand, the hon. member for Rouville (Mr. Brodeur), showed in a plain and victorious way that there were considerable grievances from the Catholic and French people in the North-west Territories. He evidenced his statement by quoting from the law and competent authorities, and the testimonials of bishops and archbishops, and other leading men belonging to the Catholic clergy of the North-west; he showed, I say, that the Catholic people were ill-treated, since they took away from them, if not immediately, at least in a sure way and in a near future, schools to which they had a right, and the teaching and use of a language to which they had likewise an indisputable right. The hon. member for Saskatchewan (Mr. Macdowall), who has just replied to the statements of my hon. friend the member for Rouville (Mr. Brodeur), repeated the statement of his colleague, the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin), namely, that the Catholics had no reason to complain. I am astonished, Mr. Speaker, to find that, for want of argument, they should always persist in saying that the Catholic people of those territories have no grievances, and that their position is now the same as before the adoption of the Ordinance of 1892. If it were truly so, if, as contended, the position were not changed, why then, I ask, should they have passed that Ordinance? And, as for that, a single fact

shows that it is not so, and that the contention of these members is unfounded. The control—and that has been admitted—now belongs to the members of the Executive Council, who, every one of them, are Protestants. I grant that, for form's sake, and in order to give some means of defence to those who would try to justify such a measure, it was enacted that this Board, at first composed of the members of the Executive Council, should also include two additional Catholic members and two Protestant members. But they hastened to add that these four representatives taken outside of the Executive Council should have no right to vote. So they were only appointed, and this provision was simply made in order to give them a right to make appointments *pro forma*, and not for the protection of the rights of the Catholics in those territories. It is also plain that by such a change the educational interests were handed over to a Protestant Board. Even though they should state over and over again that the position is not changed, that the state of affairs as regards the schools is the same as before, it is true for all that that the Catholic schools are entirely under the control of a Protestant Board, and that, some day or other, when the pill will have been swallowed, as common people say, the laws will be strictly carried out, and the Catholics will then have what is in store for them. For my part, if I deem it my duty to offer presently a few remarks, it is not that I hope that the Catholics of Manitoba or those of the North-west will be given back their free schools. I verily believe that, through the weakness of the men now in power, through their want of energy, through the want of courage of those who represent the Catholic element in the Cabinet, I verily believe, I say, that the schools in those territories and in Manitoba are abolished and will remain so. But while I have that feeling, while I do not hope that the Government could remove the evil done, while I have no hope that they could cause that to be given back to the Catholics which they allowed to be taken away from them through such guilty weakness, I think it is well, nevertheless, that the responsibilities should be settled. If the claim for disallowance was not pressed with such urgency with respect to the law affecting the schools of the province of Manitoba, as with respect to the Ordinances coming from the North-west Territories, we know, and the country at large now knows the reason why. It was because promises had been made and because these people to whom they were made reposed too much confidence in the present Government. These promises had been accepted and certain Ministers, amongst others the hon. the First Minister (Sir John Thompson) had misled the leaders of the Catholic people in Manitoba, and led them to believe that means would be taken, without, however, injuring

the Government, whereby justice would be done the Catholics. We find a sure evidence of the suggestion I am now making in the letter of His Grace Archbishop Taché, dated August 20th, 1892, from which I quote the following extract:—

That the intention of the legislature, in passing the Manitoba Act was to guarantee to us our separate schools, I have not the shadow of a doubt. It is for that reason that, even after the decision of the Privy Council, I say that the constitution is shamefully violated and that if a remedy is not applied to the evil, the federal power will have one more iniquity, one more shame to its credit.

Sir John Thompson has pledged himself officially and publicly; others did likewise, privately but solemnly. Let all do their duty. Let the press and people support them, they will make themselves greater; but we could be the more weak for our papers having cried out loudly should these cries, like so many others, end by a servile submission to the will of our opponents.

It is plain that, in order to let the election pass away, the Ministers, putting aside all dignity, all scruple, made to His Grace Archbishop Taché, who was claiming the disallowance of the school laws of the province of Manitoba—it is plain, I say, that the Ministers made promises of every kind so as to let the election time pass away and avoid the protest which they would certainly have received, had they not resorted to such subterfuges. The evidence of such promises having been made is to be found in the report of the hon. the Minister of Justice, dated March 21st, 1891, in which it is stated:

If the legal controversy should result in the decision of the Court of Queen's Bench being sustained, the time will come for Your Excellency to consider the petitions which have been presented by and on behalf of the Roman Catholics of Manitoba.

This is taken from a report signed by the hon. the First Minister, then as now Minister of Justice and speaking on behalf of the Government. He then gave to His Grace Archbishop Taché the official guarantee that should not the courts do justice to the minority, should they not give back to the Catholics the rights taken away from them by the school laws of Manitoba, the time would come when the petitions of the Catholics would have to be considered. It is plain, Mr. Speaker, to any man willing to understand what that means, it is plain that the Government thereby promised to remove the evil done by those laws. As for the North-west school law, the hon. member for Rouville (Mr. Brodeur) quoted from it fully enough to dispense me with repeating what he himself stated. I think it proper, however, to quote a letter from Archbishop Taché, addressed from St. Boniface to the hon. the First Minister under date January 2, 1894. His Grace writes as follows:—

ST. BONIFACE, 2nd January, 1894.

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND DEAR SIR JOHN.—Your telegram was received last night and I hasten this morning to answer both by telegram and letter.

I have not a copy of the full text of the regulations made under the Ordinance No. 22, A.D., 1892. I see the utility of that document to show an instance of what can be done in virtue of the Ordinance itself, so I write and telegraph to Regina to obtain what you desire.

Permit me to state that such regulations are but an instance of what can be done. Even if such regulations had been delayed, it would prove nothing in favor of the Ordinance, though the regulations themselves add to the conviction of the danger contained in the Ordinance. The fact is that, on the strength of the said ordinance, the Catholics are altogether in the hands of the open adversaries of their schools, and if the Ordinance is allowed to go on, it is merely and simply the sacrificing of the rights, privileges and practice of the Catholic population, and that even in communities exclusively French and Catholic.

The dangers of the Ordinance of which we complain are so obvious, that at first we thought it was unnecessary to petition for its disallowance and that the government would prevent its coming into force. It seemed impossible that the Ordinance would escape its notice.

Now that we have petitioned, let us hope that we have not done so in vain. The Catholics are weak in the North-west and that but increases the obligation of the government to protect them.

With the most profound respect and esteem,
I remain your obedient servant,

† ALEX., Arch. of St. Boniface,
O.M.I.

Two days later, that is to say on the 4th January, he wrote to the hon. the First Minister a new letter worded as follows:—

ST. BONIFACE, 4th January, 1894.

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND DEAR SIR JOHN.—I herewith inclose three documents I secured and they are marked A, B, C. You will easily perceive therein that no French or even Catholic book can be used in the schools of the North-west above the second standard.

You will also observe that all teachers, nuns as well as others, are obliged to pass the prescribed professional examination after a session in the normal school. This is actually in vigour and the Council of Public Instruction has the power to do still worse.

I therefore strongly urge the disallowance of the school Ordinance of the North-west Territories, enacted in 1892, and No. 22 also of the amendments to the said Ordinance passed in 1893, and No. 23.

May I be allowed to add that this trouble in the North-west is the result of what has happened in Manitoba. The delay is increasing the difficulties and adding to the injustice perpetrated against the Catholics and French who have been the pioneers in this country. What a disgrace to Canada if this injustice is allowed to go on without being checked.

With much respect and esteem,
Your obedient servant,

† ALEX., Arch. of Saint Boniface,
O.M.I.

Mr. LEGRIS.

This, it seems to me, is a new evidence that does away with the unfounded and all gratuitous statement of the hon. members for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) and Saskatchewan (Mr. Macdowall). And I think that every Catholic in this House and even every hon. member who will choose to consider this matter calmly and do justice to whom it is due, will acknowledge that the testimony of Bishop Taché, in this case, has surely more weight and is far more plausible than that of the hon. members I have just referred to. Now, following are the conclusions to which Bishop Taché comes, after writing the two letters I have just mentioned:

CONCLUSIONS.—Meanwhile the seed of fanaticism and religious persecution is planted in the plains of the North-west; it is carefully cultivated at Regina, surrounded and protected by parliamentary enactments and official cares. The obnoxious seed has already obtained the proportion of a large tree. By order from Ottawa, it could have been eradicated; but no, it is allowed to grow under the simple advice to cut off its longest stems, if thought to exceed proper dimensions, to graft on its coarse trunk some better shoots, from which could be gathered fruits less offensive to the taste of individuals and less dangerous to society.

I have read the report with a deep feeling of surprise and pain; it may be perhaps considered as a clever piece of pleading against Catholic interests, but I regret excessively to be prevented from considering it as a complete statement of the case or an impartial judgment of the same. The report is largely a mere endorsement of Mr. Haultain's views, though it does not require the well known ability of the members of the committee to ascertain that the memorial of Mr. Haultain can, in great measure, be easily refuted by the very text of the two Ordinances spoken of.

I easily understand that at a distance, without full practical knowledge of the details and the working of the two school systems, some errors could have found their way in the report, in spite of the best will; but what I cannot understand is that the Catholics have been kept in complete ignorance of Mr. Haultain's assertions against their petitions. No one was condescending enough to inform the Venerable Bishop Grandin or those who represented him, or any of the representatives of the Catholic population, of what the chief of the executive at Regina had communicated to Ottawa; documents and views which have been all accepted without challenge, and without giving to the interested parties the least chance of refuting them.

This is how the religious authorities in the North-west Territories were dealt with, these very authorities which were made to consent to a reference of the Manitoba school question to the courts, while disallowance was still within the time allowed. I repeat what I have already stated, that I do not think the Government are willing—and were they willing, the task would be made much more difficult to remedy the evil done to the Catholics of Manitoba and the North-west Territories. I consider they have been

greatly wanting in their duty when they declined to disallow the Manitoba school law, as they were wanting in their duty when they declined to allow the North-west Ordinances relating to schools passed in 1892. The Government ought to have disallowed those laws. They ought to have done so for their own autonomy; they ought to have done so through deference to vested rights. They ought to have done so in pursuance of the conditions under which those provinces came into the Dominion. They ought to have done so for the protection of minorities. The right of disallowance was specially conferred for the protection of minorities, in whatever part of the Dominion they happen to be. Not only have they got the right, but it is their duty to protect the weak against the strong. Suppose, Mr. Speaker, that the very laws which are complained of in Manitoba and the North-west should have been enacted by the Government of the province of Quebec; suppose that the Catholics of that province, who are in a great majority—the non-Catholics being only 13 per cent of the whole population of that province—suppose, I say, that those very laws should compel the Protestants to send their children to schools which are altogether under the control of Catholics, what would we see? There would be a general concourse of feeling among the whole Protestant population of the Dominion, who would complain of the federal executive power should it not disallow such laws, and they would be right. I have a good mind that the federal power would not hesitate to disallow such laws if ever they should be passed? Why, then, not give the same measure of protection, why not do justice to the Catholic minority, that justice which they would hasten to grant to the Protestant minority, should it ever so happen? Why should the Government not have done the same justice to the Catholics of Manitoba that should be granted to the Protestants, if the same thing should ever be done against them in the province of Quebec? I find, Mr. Speaker, by the last census, that the total population of the North-west Territories numbers 66,799 souls; of that number, 13,008 are Catholics, and 53,791 non-Catholics, which gives a proportion of 20 per cent of Catholics. In Manitoba, out of a population of 152,506, there are 20,571 Catholics and 131,935 non-Catholics, or 13 per cent of Catholics. The aggregate population of both the North-west Territories and Manitoba amounts to 219,305. Out of that figure there are 33,579 Catholics and 185,726 non-Catholics, or 15 per cent of Catholics. In the province of Quebec, there are only about 13 per cent of Protestants, out of the whole population. Well, suppose the same case should happen—and I am happy to be in a position to loudly proclaim that it will never happen—the Catholics would favourably look upon the disallowance of such a legislation. Why, therefore, deny the Catholics that same justice which they would

feel satisfied should be granted to their separate brethren? For, after all, we have a right to live in this country, to enjoy that liberty which the constitution secures to us to practise our religion, liberty granted to our separate brethren. That liberty we wish them to enjoy, as we ourselves wish to keep and hand down to our descendants. For many years since and before confederation, one political party always held much sway in the province of Quebec, by contending and succeeding by the use of every possible means in its power in having it believed that it had all to itself the monopoly of good principles. The Conservative party went on incessantly repeating that they were the only good party, the only party in which one could hope to go to heaven. On the contrary, the Liberal party, or all those who belonged to it, were condemned before judgment; they could hope for nothing else but hell for their lot. That notion was cleverly worked upon so as to benefit the party which was instilling it into the minds of our people. To reach their end, the leaders had at their devotion a powerful press, supported by all the advantages flowing from a long enjoyment of a power cleverly speculated upon, and other still more influential means. That idea was advocated, was engraved in the minds of the people to such an extent that even now, notwithstanding the reaction that took place, there are to be found in the province of Quebec worthy citizens who earnestly believe the Conservative party is synonymous with a Catholic party, and that outside of that party a French Canadian cannot cast a vote according to his conscience. It is through this erroneous conviction of the superiority and excellence of the Conservative party that the Catholics did not rise up sooner and call in due time for the disallowance of the Manitoba school law. There were so many who believed that the Conservative party was a sufficient guarantee to tranquillize every conscience. Now that the facts are before us, now that we know what we are to believe—and I for one, who was for many years a member of that party, who was somewhat concerned in the political contests in the county I now represent—I know what political machine we made with that catchword. I know that such an opinion as I have just stated played a great part. I was in rather close connection with the Conservative voters and leaders of my county, and if I make such a statement, it is because I feel it is true. I am quite convinced that these popular fallacies, supported by too strong sympathies in certain quarters, much contributed to cause it to be suffered that the party now in power should not disallow the laws which deprived the Catholics of Manitoba of their separate schools. It was a very common popular sentiment that one could not be a good citizen, have any love for his country and practise his religion outside of the Conservative party, a sentiment which they try

to utilize somewhat, even now, when an opportunity offers. In order to substantiate that statement, and disprove it at the same time, I will mention that in 1877, in consequence of some complaints laid in Rome, the Pope sent here an envoy to settle these difficulties. That high dignitary was Monseigneur Conroy, who arrived here in the month of August, 1877. Some time after his arrival the bishops of the province of Quebec wrote a collective letter, in which they said :

There exists no pontifical act condemning any political party whatever.

A few days later, Monseigneur Conroy, being in Montreal, and answering an address from the citizens, which was presented to him under the portico of the parochial church, used the following language :

Do not suffer yourselves to be led away by those who, openly or by indirect ways, want you to deviate from the doctrine which your bishops are teaching to you, nor by those who, through an excessive religious or political zeal, would like to put into force, against persons or parties, condemnations which were never passed.

But the Conservative party did not submit at once. They had gained such influence by taking advantage of the Catholic prejudices of that idea that they were the only good party, that they alone had sound political and religious principles, that they stopped for a little while, but the same tactics went on. On the 13th September, 1881, another voice, that of the papal authority, made itself heard again. Cardinal Simeoni, in a letter addressed to His Grace the Archbishop of Quebec, said :

The Catholic church, in condemning Liberalism, does not intend to aim at each and every political party which happens to be qualified by the name of Liberal, since the decisions of the church relate to certain errors adverse to the Catholic doctrine, and not to any special political party, and consequently those persons are wrong who, without any other reason, state that one of the political parties in Canada is condemned by the church.

But it was not a very easy thing to put a stop to that evil. Therefore, the same tactics were continued by politicians, and they continued to have it believed that the Liberals were repudiated by the Church. As I have already stated, I think, there are still men to be found who use the same argument in order to deceive the people. And as late as the 10th January last, one of the members of the Government, the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Ouimet), speaking at a meeting held at St. Jérôme, uttered the following words, according to the report of a paper which will not be suspected of a want of sympathy for the Conservative party, since it is 'La Minerve' :

With a Prime Minister like Sir John Thompson, this question is in good hands. Sir John is known for his talents, for his spirit of fair-play and his broad views, and he will do, I am sure, anything

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that is possible to do justice to every one, according to his right.

Moreover, what is the use of such an agitation as the Liberals are trying to raise on this question? Have we not to guide us in this matter, in which religion is specially interested, our bishops and the leaders of the Church? The Protestants, the great majority among them at least, wish for peace and harmony. Why stir them up against us by an ill-timed agitation?

It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that not very long ago, the hon. Minister pretended not to be so fearful. He affected bravery, for instance, when he took his sword and went to war; it is true he was not so courageous, when he came back before the others. Why should he tell us not to stir up the Protestants against us by an ill-timed agitation? I am at a loss how to express my feeling of surprise at such words as these. Here is a man, a minister, who tells us that we should follow the advice of the leaders of the church as to the school question in Manitoba and the North-west Territories. Why did he not himself follow that advice? Why did he allow separate schools to be abolished there? Why did he allow a gross injustice to be perpetrated against a large portion of the people? Why did he allow the minority to be ill-treated? Why was he not the first to protest, be the strong and courageous man, against the unfair action of the majority towards the minority? He chose to keep silent, and he would have every one keep silent like him; he wishes us not to say a word; he wishes every one to submit to the new order of things—in a word, he would like us to take the stand he once described in a sentence which will remain famous, a sentence which we all remember: 'A quat pattes les Canayens.' The hon. Minister advises the Catholics of the province of Quebec not to raise any ill-timed agitation, and he adds that with respect to a religious question such as this, we have to guide us the advice of the bishops and the leaders of the church. Why did he not himself follow the advice of the bishops? Instead of advising us to lower ourselves before the exacting demands of the fanatics of this country; to submit silently to the humiliation which he himself has accepted and which will remain on his name, he tells us we are wrong in stirring up any ill-timed agitation. At the last general election, we were met by such arguments as these on the hustings. In my county, the gentleman against whom I was running had nothing else to answer when I charged the Government with being unwilling to disallow the unjust Manitoba school law, they answered me that the time was not out yet; that the matter was in good hands, and that I had no right to lay a charge against the Government when they were still within the time allowed to do it. Well, that contention can no more be supported now, the time for the disallowance of the Manitoba laws and the North-west Ordinances has

elapsed, and the hon. Minister who advised us not to raise any ill-timed agitation must have known then that he himself would submit to the humiliation which his own colleagues in the Government would cause him to suffer, and he wished to prepare the people of the province to submit to it likewise. Well, I ask, have the Conservative party, for a good many years, the right to contend that they have a monopoly of sound political and religious principles? I say no. I say that, on the contrary, the party which tolerated such unjust deeds as we complain of should deserve at least to lose the support of the French-Canadian and Catholic Conservative members of the province of Quebec, and that of the other Catholics of the Dominion, as well as that of all the fair-minded men of this country. As an evidence of that statement, I will have only to recall the fact that it is the Conservative party who, in 1870, used Bishop Taché to pacify the Manitoba half-breeds, and induced them afterwards to come into the Dominion. Those who have studied a little the history of the troubles of 1870, and who are aware of what happened during the investigation of 1874, know perfectly well the treatment, to be regretted, that was inflicted on the men whom the Government used to pacify the half-breeds and cause them to consent to their coming into the Dominion. Two Conservative Ministers went so far as to deny what he had said under oath and have him pass for a perjurer. In 1871, a law was passed in New Brunswick purporting to abolish the Catholic schools in that province. Complaints were made asking for the disallowance of the law. It is well to observe that the Conservative party, then in power, found means to evade the question and refuse the disallowance. Those people are wrong indeed who try to throw on the Mackenzie Government the responsibility of that refusal. Such a gross error cannot bear careful examination. Indeed, it is a certain fact that the law establishing free schools in New Brunswick was passed in 1871. It was received at the Department of the Secretary of State on the 19th June, 1871. Well, after the 19th June, 1872, it was impossible for any Government to disallow that law. It is well known that the Mackenzie Government only came into power on the 7th November, 1873, that is to say, about a year and a half after the time allowed for the disallowance of the law had elapsed. Is not the Conservative party, that good party which has, all to itself, the monopoly of good principles, of religious principles, that party of honest men and order, responsible for the rebellion of the half-breeds in 1885, rebellion caused by a bad administration of the affairs of the North-west? It is also responsible for the Manitoba laws of 1890 abolishing the Catholic schools. It is equally responsible for the evil done by the Ordinances

passed by the Government of the North-west Territories in 1892. That good party is now supported by a newspaper, the only French paper that openly undertook to defend the Government as to that question of the North-west schools, and that paper is 'La Minerve.' It had the humiliation of being disposed by a letter which does justice on the statements set forth for the purpose of whitewashing the Government. Here is the letter in question:

ST. BONIFACE, 19th February, 1894.

MR. EDITOR:

I have just read the editorials published by 'La Minerve' in connection with the North-west schools. Presently, I must be satisfied with asserting that not only are its information incomplete, but that it is contrary to truth. I beg the friends of justice not to allow themselves to be prejudiced by these editorials or others of the same kind, but wait, before forming an opinion till they have before them the counterpart which will soon be put before the eyes of the public. As my name was mentioned in all this and as I have a particular knowledge of the facts, having been during six years a member of the Board of Education of the North-west Territory, you will please not be astonished if I take the respectful liberty to address you these lines with a report that they be published in your paper.

H. LEDUC, PRIEST, O.M.I.

It is still the same party which, through a want of energy, so freely sympathizes with the Orangemen and the association known as the P.P.A. I know that, not very long ago, in the province of Quebec, they firmly believed that that party was the only one, as I already stated, that could lead to heaven, and now we see the Prime Minister and several members of the Government who belong to such associations rely on insidious persecutions against the Catholics to keep them in power. To show the odiousness of such associations, I may be allowed, Mr. Speaker, to quote from the platform of the association called the P.P.A. platform, lately set out by that association:

We deem it dangerous to appoint to or select for civil, political or military duties in this country, people who owe allegiance to any foreign king, sovereign or ecclesiastical power, or men whose religion requires that in any conflict between Church and State, the Church should prevail.

'La Minerve,' of the 28th of March last, plainly states that the P.P.A. was organized to drive the Catholics from power and from all official positions. Well, it is that good Conservative party that sympathizes so well with such associations as I have referred to. It is that good Conservative party that now sympathizes so well with that association I have just mentioned. Not a single Minister dared raise his voice against it, while the Liberal leaders strongly denounced it. It is likewise well known that Orangemen are dictating their will to the present Government. To show how the Orange Association sym-

pathizes with the Catholics and is courteous with them, I will read a resolution passed by the Boyne Orange Lodge, at a meeting held in Montreal on the 18th April, 1892, a resolution which was published by several papers in Quebec and Ontario. Here is what it says :

Resolved that, whereas we think the time has arrived for the Orangemen to speak more plainly and make known to the world their belief, with respect to the Roman Catholic church ; we herein register the fact that our firm conviction is that the said Roman Catholic Church can in no way be considered as a branch of the Christian Church and that we believe the Romish Pope is one and the same with the Anti-Christ of the Scriptures.

I think the hon. members of the province of Quebec, who are constantly endeavouring to have their constituents believe that the Conservative is the party of the Catholic religion, will have some difficulty in explaining the sympathy which exists between their leader, the present First Minister, and those associations which show such good feelings towards us. To show the sympathy that exists between the Ministers and those gentlemen, I may be allowed to quote from a speech delivered by Mr. Samuel Hughes, at the meeting of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ontario, at Chatham, in the early days of March last, a speech which was published in several papers :

I am happy to state that the year just elapsed has been extremely satisfactory to the Orangemen, both in Canada and Great Britain.

It is but just that the Orangemen should express their profound gratitude to whom it is due for the marked success with which they came out of the settlement of some of the big difficulties between Protestantism and Catholicism in Canada, since the last annual meeting of this most illustrious Grand Lodge. Let us congratulate ourselves upon the fact that the school law passed by the Government of the North-west Territories has received the assent of the Governor General in Council ; it will prevent the repetition of many a religious quarrel as the one we are now witnessing in Ontario, in the new parts of our great Dominion.

These words are from an hon. member of this House, and one of the most distinguished members of the Orange sect. And among what political party do we find such feelings ?

Mr. FRECHETTE. Hear, hear.

Mr. LEGRIS. (Translation.) I hear an hon. French Canadian and Catholic member say : Hear, hear. He knows as well as I do that it is among his own party. He knows perfectly well that it is in his party that are to be found the mischievous elements that are steadily working against our Catholic fellow-countrymen in Manitoba.

Mr. FRECHETTE. (Translation.) Will the hon. gentleman allow me to ask him whether Mr. Dawson was a Catholic last year ?

Mr. LEGRIS. (Translation.) Mr. Dawson, last year, was the very member who pro-

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posed a motion of censure against the hon. Controller of Customs (Mr. Wallace), when this latter gentleman, notwithstanding his infirmities, wished to declare war against England, should she do justice to the Catholics of Ireland by granting Home Rule to them. I think it is the same Mr. Dawson whom the hon. member referred to. I will now quote from a speech delivered at Toronto, on the 2nd April, 1893, by a member who was for a long time one of the leaders of the Conservative party, and who was then acting under instructions and following the advice of the very leader of that party, Sir John A. Macdonald. Mr. McCarthy, in answer to those who charged him with raising a race and creed war, said :

It ill becomes you to blame me, for I undertook that crusade in 1886, at the request of Sir John A. Macdonald and the Dominion Government, in which were then champions of the rights of French Canadians and Catholics, of the name of Sir John Thompson, Sir Adolphe Caron, Sir Hector Langevin and others. * * * * It was all perfect as long as I battled for my party, as I faithfully did up to 1887. At that time, in accordance with the wishes and desires of Sir John A. Macdonald, I announced in the county of Haldimand that the French influence had to be broken down.

Now, is it any wonder that we should see such uneasiness, and the minds disturbed to such an extent all over the country ? And I look on that agitation as an earnest one. However, those who are not blinded by any party spirit are conscious of what duty requires of them. I hope those members who so forcibly spoke out their mind in the press will not allow themselves to be led blindfolded by that very party spirit to the extent of forgetting the good disposition they showed in some papers. To show the uneasiness which prevails in the minds of the people, I will quote, Mr. Speaker, a paper which no one will suspect of any want of devotedness to the Conservative party. I refer to the 'Trifuvien.' That paper complains very severely of the position made to the Catholic minority. On the 12th January last, the 'Trifuvien' refers to the "outburst of fanaticism which we are witnessing. The French minorities have nothing more to lose ; they took all away from them, their language, their schools, all which relates to traditions as well as to family." They take all away from the minority—their language, their schools, and those who represent them in the Government keep silent. The only thing that remains to them is their right to sit on the Treasury benches. If ever they renounce it, it will be because it was taken away from them. Then they will have to comply. Meanwhile, whatever humiliations, whatever injustice, whatever persecution their compatriots are subjected to, they will let things take their course, in order not to lose the only thing to which they cling. In the month of February last, another paper, which again no one will suspect of any want of sympathy with and faithfulness to the

Conservative party, the 'Evénement,' of Quebec, said :

Our political sky is becoming alarmingly dark. Heavy clouds are rolling up on the horizon. In many parts of the country, secret murmurs are instinctively finding their way out. Newspapers and men, heretofore known for their attachment and devotedness to the Conservative cause, are not concealing their dissatisfaction and a general feeling of uneasiness seems to prevail.

It is no use to delude ourselves, we are on the eve of a serious political storm.

A few days later, the same paper published over the signature of a member of this House (Mr. Joncas), who, nevertheless, is very faithful to the Government, the following lines :

We have allowed ourselves long enough to be humiliated, we have long enough yielded to compromises, in the hope that our good-will would be taken into account.

It is expedient that our opponents, our enemies should learn and understand that we do not intend to yield any longer to the unjust exigencies of a handful of fanatics and to the persecution systematically organized against us without any other motive than the hatred of our nationality and our religion.

Let our leaders display their energy, let them not shrink even from the painful necessity of severing certain political ties, should it become necessary.

They have a duty to perform, and however painful it may be, they should not shrink from its performance.

The same member of this House wrote in his paper, on the 20th February, 1894, that the Government could and should disallow Mr. Haultain's ordinance. Here is what he said :

Not only have the Government a right, but they are moreover in duty bound to protect the minorities, either Protestant or Catholic, in the various provinces of the Dominion.

In this emergency, the Ottawa Ministers had only to protect the weak against an unfair and aggressive majority. The performance of that duty was within the law and they should not have shrunk from it.

Will it also be said that they wished to avoid a greater evil, that they feared too great an outburst of fanaticism and grave complications ?

If through a fear of stirring up a tyrannical majority in any province of the Dominion, the central power shrinks and declines to protect the minority then it avers its inability and owns that it is not strong enough to rule.

The French Canadian people of this Dominion are loyal, peaceful and respectful of the laws of the land.

For the sake of peace, for the preservation of the harmony necessary to the good working of our political institutions, we have heretofore consented to many a compromise and made many a concession.

Of what use was our good-will to us ? To what have our frequent back-downs led us ?

Our enemies are more intolerant, bolder and more daring than ever.

In the face of such a state of affairs, what is to be done by our representatives in the Ottawa Cabinet ?

Unite in the first place, and then all of them exert themselves to cause our rights to be respected by their colleagues.

Unfortunately—why conceal it any longer ?—there are dissensions, as there always were for all that, among the French Canadian Conservative leaders at Ottawa, and even with respect to that North-west school question, so full of serious consequences for the future of our race, they could not pull together.

Who can tell whether a common and energetic action on their part would not have compelled the majority to do justice to the Catholics of those remote provinces ?

Ah ! They are guilty indeed the public men who, only considering their narrow selfish interests, sacrifice those whom they were intrusted to defend. They assume a very great responsibility, these power-thirsty men ; but the day of retribution shall come and it shall be a terrible one for those who betrayed the trust put in them.

The hon. member for Gaspé (Mr. Joncas) further stated in his paper :

The wave of fanaticism is rising rapidly and it threatens to bear down all that opposes its course.

Further on, he again states :

Our representatives in the Federal Cabinet seem powerless to resist it.

And in concluding that series of editorials, he said :

If our Federal Ministers are unable to obtain justice for us, they ought to resign.

I think, Mr. Speaker, that a member who perceives the weakness of the Federal Ministers and observes that they have not courage enough to resign, should be the first to tell them to do so and withdraw his support from them by his vote.

Mr. LANDERKIN. Would the hon. member tell us what Governor Royal said about it ? He is out of a job now.

Mr. LEGRIS. (Translation.) We heard, last summer, a member of the Government speak out his mind in very strong language with respect to this school question, at a meeting held in Montreal, and in the presence of his colleagues in the Ministry. Here are the words of the Hon. Mr. Casgrain :

A terrible wind is now blowing even at the very doors of the province of Quebec ; and the storm is so strong that it is shaking confederation to its very foundations. I am now taking up the question of separate schools in the North-west.

Confederation was the result of a compromise. In order to protect our fellow-countrymen, who had carried the seed of civilization to the North-west, we stipulated that they should always have the right to separate schools. Now, I contend that no one has the right to do indirectly what the law forbids to do directly. No one had the right to deprive the Catholics of the North-west of their separate schools. The Hon. Mr. Haultain, the Pre-

mier of the North-west Territories, understood that perfectly well. That is why he went in a roundabout way.

This last sentence answers the statements of the hon. members for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) and Saskatchewan (Mr. Macdowall). They both say that nothing has been changed, that the position of the Catholics is the same as before, and yet the Attorney General of the province of Manitoba, who is one of their political friends, declares in the presence of three or four of his colleagues, members of the Manitoba Government, that no one can do indirectly what the law forbids to do directly. The ordinances of 1802 may not have abolished separate schools in the North-west, but they are so made that these schools are actually abolished. At all events, the latter cannot work freely under the legislation as it is. I will continue, Mr. Speaker, to read from the speech of Mr. Casgrain :

The question put to the Federal Government was, whether the law should be disallowed. We have the right to insist that the protection given our countrymen shall be respected. If the understanding arrived at when confederation was formed can be violated by one party, then that contract is only a paper which can be torn at will. The Federal Government has the right, and I will say has the duty, to disallow all laws contrary to the general interests of the Dominion. Speaking for myself, I say that fanaticism has long enough had its way. We have had enough of the McCarthys, O'Briens and of the P.P.A., which wanted to ostracise everything that is Catholic. We are citizens and useful citizens of this country. I can claim to be moderate on these questions. I fought the Riel agitation. But when it comes to decide the question whether Catholics have rights in this country, I say that it is time to be up and doing. I appeal to all moderate men, irrespective of creed. Fanatics are not the majority in this country ; and if, to prove it, it is necessary to make a *coup d'état* let it be made. The man who will make it shall have the united support of the province of Quebec. If, to succeed, it becomes necessary to call around our flag all moderate men, we will do it and we will again go over the work of confederation. If we allow the sacred rights of our countrymen to be violated, we will vainly work for the progress of this province.

Very likely Attorney General Casgrain received an admonition from his colleagues, for, after having intended a *coup d'état*, he was satisfied with a *coup d'éclat*. My answer to this is that it is preposterous, it is the general expression of opinion, and no doubt he must have said a *coup d'état*. I think it my duty, Mr. Speaker, to record my protest against that part of the speech in which the Attorney General talks about again going over the work of confederation. There is no necessity to again go over the work of confederation. The federal power is provided with the necessary authority to protect the minority, to defend those who need its protection. If, as stated

Mr. LEGRIS.

by the hon. member for Gaspé (Mr. Joncas) in his paper 'L'Événement,' if it should happen, I say, that the Ministers have not minds strong enough to cause justice to be done to oppressed minorities, there is a very simple means which is in the power of the deputation, and if the members themselves should not have sufficient courage to intimate to the Ministers, when they failed in their duty, that they should give up their position in order to be replaced by cleverer and more courageous men, then, I say, the time is near when the people will take their cause in their own hands, do justice on all those who betrayed their confidence, and set forth a final protest stronger and more energetic than the one expressed by a certain member of this House. I will now briefly quote from an editorial published, on the 1st of March last, by another Conservative paper 'Le Courrier du Canada,' and in which the following was stated in reference to Mr. Casgrain's speech :

We are the more happy to applaud those vigorous and manly declarations because they respond to the feeling that our readers have found in the columns of 'Le Courrier du Canada' during the last few days. Mr. Casgrain exclaimed at a certain moment that if the central power is unable to protect the minorities, the guarantee contained in the right of disallowance is nothing less but worthless paper.

This is exactly our opinion. We said the other day that as to that question of the schools of the North-west, the Federal Government had the power to disallow, that the circumstances justified disallowance, and that if the right of disallowance cannot be used to protect minorities, it is not worth much. We congratulate the Attorney General on the energy and frankness with which he has developed this idea that the central power is bound to protect the opposed minorities, if the future of this confederation is going to be assured."

Well, if there is such unanimous approval of and such unanimous statements as to the right of disallowance as well as the duty to disallow these laws to which our attention is now called, what is to be said of the Government who thus failed in their duty? What is to be thought of the members who are willing to excuse and support by their vote the existing state of affairs? For this question has more than an ordinary importance ; it ought to take lead of all the others. It is vastly superior to trade or financial matters. A life or death principle, for a considerable portion of the citizens of this Dominion, is at stake, and it seems to me such injustice as those perpetrated against the Catholics should be met by a unanimous protest from all the members of the province of Manitoba who represent counties where the majority is composed of French-Canadians and Catholics. There ought to be but one voice to protest against the inertness and indifference of the French Ministers, and against the inaction of the Government in such a solemn circumstance. It is impossible not to perceive that the Tory party, now

triumphant, reject us, spurn us, and grind us down. The French Ministers are powerless to check the destructive course of fanaticism and intolerance. Blinded by party spirit and an insatiable thirst for power, they remain unmoved, calm spectators of the sacrilegious spoliation of the rights of a whole race. Their hands are not strong enough to hold up and fast the flag of liberty, justice and right which Lafontaine and Cartier unfurled all over the country. Well, our duty is plainly marked out. We should unite under the command of a courageous man. If it is conceded that those who are now in power are men of no capacity, where shall we find a leader worthy of ruling the Dominion of Canada? When shall we find a man who may, to the extent to which it is possible, redeem the wrongs and the disastrous results of an inert Administration which, for some years past, had not sufficient energy to manage the affairs of the country? That man is already found, and as for us, Liberals, we have no choice to make. Our opponents in this House cannot deny that we have in our leader a man whom the country admires, and who would have sufficient power and energy to do justice to the victims of persecution, who would have sufficient courage and strength of will to efficiently protect the minority, to put things in the normal state in which they ought to be and in which they ought to remain. That leader, enjoying the respect and esteem of every one, has the necessary energy to protect, at all times and in any case, our rights and privileges and do justice to all.

Mr. TAYLOR moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 11.40 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, 26th April, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved:

That when Mr. Speaker leaves the chair at six o'clock this day, the House stand adjourned until to-morrow at three o'clock.

Mr. O'BRIEN. While that subject is before the House, I would like to suggest to the Government, as this day week is a holi-

day, whether it would not suit the convenience of many members of the House to adjourn over Friday. This is going to be a very long session, and many would like to have a day or two at home. There will be very little business done on Friday at any rate, and an adjournment over that day would give members three or four days at home.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I think the hon. gentleman will find that a very large number of the members of the House are compelled perforce to remain here, and they do not want the holidays of the House extended beyond those which already exist. I regret very much that Fridays have come to be largely dies non, for reasons which I need not go into now. That is deeply to be regretted, because, in my opinion, it lengthens the term of the session at least two weeks, and I am very strongly opposed to increasing the length of the session if it can be avoided. I know that it would be a great convenience to hon. gentlemen who can do so, to be able to go home for a few days; but I think the convenience of the majority should be considered, and the convenience of those from the outlying portions of the Dominion who are compelled to remain should not be lost sight of entirely. It is too much to ask to adjourn over Friday for no reason in the world. We could get through with a certain amount of business, surely.

Motion agreed to.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND RAILWAY.

Mr. YEO asked, Has a petition been received by the Department of Railways and Canals from the inhabitants of Durar Road, Prince County, P.E.I., asking that a flag station be established at that place? If so, is it the intention to comply with the request of the petitioners?

Mr. HAGGART. There is no record in the department of any petition from any such place.

Mr. WOOD (Westmoreland) asked, What were the receipts from passengers and freight, for year ending 30th June last, at Memramcook and College Bridge stations, on the Intercolonial Railway? What number of carloads of freight were received and despatched from each station?

Mr. HAGGART. I am unable to answer the question in full, as the information as to the number of carloads has not reached the department, but—

| | |
|--|------------|
| The receipts for passengers at Memramcook for the year ended 30th of June, 1893, are.. . . . | \$1,395 30 |
| The receipts for freight at Memramcook are..... | 4,584 83 |
| Total. | \$5,980 13 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| The receipts for passengers at College Bridge are | \$1,334 80 |
| The receipts for freight at College Bridge are..... | 915 63 |
| Total..... | \$2,250 43 |

| | |
|---|-------|
| Tons of freight received at and despatched from Menramcook | 2,182 |
| Tons of freight received at and despatched from College Bridge..... | 472 |

I would ask that the question be allowed to stand until I can give the complete answer.

FIRE AT STRATFORD.

Mr. GRIEVE asked, Whether the Government have been informed of the destructive fire on Friday morning last at the public buildings in the city of Stratford during the employment of local workmen on the roof? Whether the work of replacing the slate roof of that building by an iron roof was done by public tender? If not, on what principle and at what price the contract was awarded? What were the dates of the giving of the contract, the commencement of the work under it, and the length of time that the men had been employed when the fire took place?

Mr. OUMET. The Government have been informed of the destructive fire. The work of replacing the slate roof was not done by public tender. The party who has the work was recommended as a most reliable roofer, and the price he asked, \$675, being considered reasonable by the department, was accepted on the 5th October, 1893. The work was commenced as soon as weather permitted.

MMINEGASH BREAKWATER, P.E.I.

Mr. PERRY asked, Has any work been done to the Miminegash breakwater, Prince Edward Island, during the winter 1894? If so, what is the nature of the work? Was the work let by tender? Who was the contractor? How much was paid for inspection, and to whom paid? What is the amount paid or to be paid for said work? Have the Government paid, or do they intend paying, for dredging Miminegash harbour during the winter 1894?

Mr. OUMET. No work was done on this breakwater during the winter of 1894. The department is not aware that any dredging was done in that harbour during the same winter.

BUFFALO BREEDING.

Mr. DAVIN asked, Whether the Government intend to establish a buffalo-breeding ranch at Fort Smith on Great Slave Lake, or Fort Vermillion on Peace River?

Mr. DALY. It is not proposed to establish a buffalo-breeding ranch at Fort Smith

Mr. HAGGART.

on Great Slave River, or Fort Vermillion on Peace River; but a Bill, which is to be introduced in the Senate, contains provisions for the protection of the buffalo and other fur-bearing animals in those portions of the North-west Territories of Canada which are not included within the provisional districts of Assinibola, Alberta and Saskatchewan. Such Bill will also apply to the district of Keewatin. Among other things, it contains a provision forbidding absolutely the killing of buffalo for a period of five years.

NORTH-WEST MOUNTED POLICE— MEDALS AND SCRIP.

Mr. DAVIN asked, Whether it is the intention of the Government to satisfy the claims of the officers, non-commissioned officers and men of the North-west Mounted Police Force, and of the volunteers attached to the said North-west Mounted Police, for an issue of medals and scrip on the same basis as that on which medals and scrip have been granted to the Militia of Canada?

Mr. IVES. One hundred and seventy members of the force received medals under the provision of the Order in Council authorizing the giving of medals to such members of the force as were actually under fire. The Government have not the intention to issue medals to other members of the force, or to issue scrip to any portion of the force.

EXAMINATION OF CANADIAN CATTLE.

Mr. SMITH (Ontario) asked, Is it the intention of the Government to arrange for the presence of veterinary surgeons representing Canada at the examination of the lungs of Canadian cattle slaughtered at the port of debarkation in Great Britain; the President of the Board of Agriculture of Great Britain having stated in the Imperial House of Commons that the removal of the embargo on Canadian cattle will depend upon the result of the examinations of such cattle to be made during the next few days?

Mr. FOSTER. The Minister of Agriculture last year cabled to Sir Charles Tupper to obtain permission to have Canadian representatives present at the examination of lungs of Canadian animals slaughtered at the port of debarkation, and was informed by him in reply that the Board of Agriculture declined to consent to the carrying out of such an arrangement. One reason given was that if the board granted this application from Canada, they could not refuse similar applications from others, which would surely be made. Sir Charles received the assurance that in case of any question arising, relating to disease found in lungs of Canadian animals, he would be immediately communicated with, and such undertaking has been carried out. The High Commissioner, authorized by the Minister of Agriculture, employed Mr. William Hunting, F.R.C.V.S., to represent Canada in any ex-

amination of lungs that might take place. It is considered the arrangement is satisfactory, and that it is not advisable to press this point further.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I would ask the Minister of Finance whether the Government have received any information as to the intention of the British Government with reference to our cattle? I am aware, and probably he is, that the shippers in Montreal are alleged to despair of obtaining any remission at present. I would be glad to know if the Government are in a position to give any information on the subject other than what the Minister of Finance has stated in reply to the hon. gentleman.

Mr. FOSTER. I suppose the hon. gentleman has seen what is current in the papers. That information, so far as I know, is correct, namely, that Mr. Gardner has undertaken to have examined the lungs of animals coming from Canada, to be slaughtered for the sake of experiment; and that when he is convinced by the reports of his officers that the cattle are healthy, he will make known his final decision with reference to the entrance of cattle from Canada, and we entertain the hope, of course, that if the specimens are healthy, the schedule will be removed.

Mr. McMULLEN. Has the hon. Minister any assurance that the examination will be confined to the first or second shipments, because if the examination is to go on according as each shipment arrives, the season may be over before Mr. Gardner comes to a decision.

Mr. FOSTER. The examination, no doubt, will commence with the first shipment, and will proceed until the Minister of Agriculture is convinced that Canadian cattle are healthy.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I am unwilling to delay the House unnecessarily, but I am bound to say that I am advised by gentlemen connected with the trade that they fear there is very little chance of anything being done, under these circumstances, by the British Government, at least during the bulk of the season. That, I am sorry to say, is their conviction, and I was in hopes the Government might have some better information.

Mr. FOSTER. I hope that fear will prove unfounded.

Mr. McMULLEN. If we had the assurance that the British Minister of Agriculture contemplated removing the embargo, it would be very much in the interest of cattle owners if the Government were to buy sample lots of cattle from different sections for immediate shipment by the first steamer. The expenditure which this would entail would certainly be made in a good cause, for it is highly desirable the British

market should be open to our cattle as early as possible. If the examination of these lots from different points showed no trace of disease, that probably might be accepted as establishing beyond all reasonable doubt that the disease does not exist in Canada.

Mr. FOSTER. The desirability of having the question tested as soon as possible has been fully represented to the British Government, and that Government is quite aware of our desire. I scarcely think the suggestion of my hon. friend would meet the case. Specimen shipments sent by our Government to the other side, would scarcely be taken as the best subjects for a test examination. The shipments would have to be in the natural course of trade, and it would scarcely fill the bill if we were to make our own selections.

Mr. LANDERKIN. When will the report of the Minister of Trade and Commerce be brought down?

Mr. FOSTER. I will inquire.

Mr. LANDERKIN. When will the report of the Solicitor General be brought down?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Some time after it is made.

SCHOOLS IN MANITOBA AND THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES.

House resumed further consideration of the proposed motion of Mr. Tarte (pages 159, 1600, 1992).

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I feel that it is due to the House, considering the great interest manifested in this question by the discussion we have had here during several days, that I should express myself briefly upon the points brought out. There is reasonableness in the desire of hon. gentlemen to know the views of the Government, in so far as they can with propriety be expressed on a question of great importance like this, even as a mere motion to bring down the papers. At the same time, I beg to say, in a preliminary way, that in my judgment it is better that the question, at the present time, should be very sparingly discussed; and, as far as I am concerned, I beg to intimate to the House, at the outset, that I do not intend to enter upon any exhaustive discussion of it to-day, nor even to make what I would consider, myself, a full defence of the position of the Government. The reason for that is perfectly obvious. To a great extent the question, in so far at least as it relates to the North-west, is one under consideration; and at this stage what may be incautiously said with regard to it may affect seriously the result of the consideration which the subject is receiving. As members of the House have become already aware, through the press and through the observations in this House, the Government have made a request to the Lieutenant

Governor of the Territories to convey to the Legislature of the Territories the great desire felt by His Excellency and his advisers—and, I am sure, very widely shared in this country—that the Legislature of the North-west Territories should reconsider the whole subject of education, with a view to giving redress to any grievances which exist there, and with a view likewise to giving any safeguards which are needed in order to make any portion of the people feel that their rights are well safeguarded and preserved. If, therefore, at the present time, members of the Government especially, should enter upon an elaborate discussion of the question, or upon a review of all that has transpired in this debate, we might find that the position of one side or the other had been seriously prejudiced by that course. For example, if we committed ourselves to opposition to the Ordinance of the Territories we might find that no serious grievances existed worthy of being made the basis of a complaint to the Legislature; on the other hand, if we warmly espoused the statement of grievances that has already been made, we might raise a feeling of resentment among the people of the Territories on the ground that we had, to a great extent, prejudged the case before the complaints could have been considered by the legislature. For these reasons, I trust that the House will make allowance, in considering the observations which I am about to make, for the want of an elaborate and full statement with regard to these various complaints, and that the public, in so far as they may deem my observations worthy of consideration, will recognize the fact that we hold in reserve much that, under other circumstances, we would desire to say in view of the deep interest that is manifested in the country upon this question. I shall endeavour to arrange what I shall say as not to carry on a direct discussion of the merits of what are alleged to be grievances in the North-west Territories on the subject of education, but what I shall say will be in the direction of laying before the House the reasons which have influenced the Government in coming to the conclusion not to disallow the Ordinance of the Territories of 1892. However, before discussing the matter of the Territories and the Ordinance of 1892, I desire to say a few words on the subject of the educational question in Manitoba, because the hon. gentleman who moved the resolution which we are discussing introduced that subject in the early part of his remarks, and strongly challenged the position of the Government and my own position in relation to it. I need speak but briefly upon this subject, because the whole question was elaborately discussed last year at a time when we sustained the combined assault of the hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte) and the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), based upon absolutely opposite

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and irreconcilable views as to what ought to be done. Any one who cares to turn up the record of that discussion will find the answer I have to make in regard to the remarks of the hon. gentlemen about my position and the position of the Government now. Our position was assailed on the ground, so far as the hon. member for L'Islet was concerned, that we ought to have disallowed the Manitoba legislation which was complained of, and on the ground, so far as the hon. member for North Simcoe was concerned, that we ought to have refused redress before the application for redress was heard. As to the subject referred to by the hon. member for L'Islet in the opening of his speech—the reference of the legal question to the Supreme Court of Canada, and the report I presented to His Excellency more than three years ago, these points were fully discussed last year, and I could say nothing more in defence or explanation than could be said by reading the report of the observations I made to the House last session. I shall not read my speech of that time, because I do not desire to fill the columns of 'Hansard' of this year by a repetition of what appears in 'Hansard' of last year. But, briefly, as regards my own position and as regards the language of my report, which the hon. member has again challenged as being a direct promise—a promise which, if I understood him rightly, he said no person who understood the English language could misunderstand—a promise that remedial legislation would be given here if the litigation contesting the validity of the Act should fail. I have a few words to say. I explained that subject fully to the House last session, and at that time I read my report. I have only to repeat now what I said then, and what was not then challenged in the discussion, much less shown to be erroneous, that the report contained no promise whatever either upon the subject of remedial legislation or upon any other subject. In that connection, I wish to observe that it has been said in many places, that as the report which I made and to which I am referring had a reference to redress by way of remedial legislation, it has been the cause of commotion, disturbance, expectation and disappointment in the province of Manitoba. In one place it was said by a gentleman in the province of Manitoba, a gentleman whose professional attainments certainly enabled him to know better, that what I had done was to put on record on behalf of the Government a very distinct promise that a law would be passed to give redress to the minority there. Mr. Speaker, both of these contentions are directly contrary to the fact. It is not in the least degree correct to say that my statement in that report, to the effect that the time might come when remedial legislation would have to be considered, induced expectation, induced agitation, and resulted in petitions being sent here, for the fact is that the report was a report upon petitions for that very

redress, and in that report I merely indicated, as I was bound to do, what course, in my opinion, might properly be followed by the Executive at Ottawa as regards these very petitions and that very agitation for redress. There were at that time before Council, and referred to me for report, two different classes of petitions, the one asking for disallowance of the legislation, and the other asking for remedial legislation. And if any hon. gentleman cares to turn to that report he will see that what the report says is in substance this: That, as regards the petitions for disallowance on the ground that the Act was beyond the competence of the Provincial Legislature, it was unnecessary to take proceedings by way of disallowance, because if the contention that the Act was ultra vires were sound that contention would be established in litigation, which was then in progress, the decision of the courts would finally dispose of that point. But with regard to the other class of petitions, the petitions asking for remedial legislation, I said that when the litigation was ended, if it should not end satisfactorily to the petitioners, the time would come when His Excellency in Council would have to take those petitions into consideration. That, Sir, was simply an indication that it was unnecessary to consider these petitions then. The House is well aware—and I shall refer to this but briefly—that the time did come when the petitions for remedial legislation had to be taken into consideration. The litigation had resulted in a decision by the highest court of appeal adverse to the petitioners, so that the time came when we were bound to take those petitions into consideration. Having taken them into consideration, we found important legal questions involved which we thought it necessary to refer to the courts under the statute providing for the reference of such questions. The proceedings on that reference are still in progress. The results, so far as the Supreme Court of Canada is concerned, are that the majority of the court has negatived the right of the petitioners to make an appeal under the circumstances, and has negatived the power of the Governor General in Council to entertain the appeal for remedial legislation at all. What can be meant by the assertion which has been made upon that subject that, notwithstanding that decision, if it should stand unreversed, or if it should be confirmed on appeal, the responsibility of the Government will still remain as to remedial legislation, I have never been able to understand. If the courts should decide eventually that there is no jurisdiction on the part of the Government to entertain the appeal for redress—that the petitioners have no case for such appeal, and that this Parliament would, therefore, not have power to pass a remedial statute giving redress to the petitioners, it is impossible for me to understand how there can be any further responsibility upon the Government in the matter. I

only say that by the way, because the information I have is that a considerable body of the petitioners, representing the religious minority in the province of Manitoba, have taken steps to appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on that subject, and, therefore, I forbear to discuss that feature of the question further. I come now to the question of the Territories, and let me call the attention of the House briefly to an analysis of what the complaints were, and what the requests were on behalf of the minority for redress under the Ordinance of 1892 in the Territories. Now, in order that the House may appreciate the various steps that were taken to investigate the complaints of the minority, let me premise that the Ordinance itself was passed, I think, on the very last day of December, 1892, that it was late in the month of October, 1893, before the first complaint came to my knowledge, or to that of my colleagues, so far as I can tell, and that the first petition on the subject only reached Ottawa pretty late in the month of November, 1893. So that when the subject came to be a matter for practical investigation, the time at our disposal within which disallowance would be possible, was very brief, and was not made brief by any want of diligence on the part of the Government here. The complaints are of two kinds. First, there is a complaint that harm has actually been done by the Ordinance of 1892 and regulations made under it. So far those complaints, of course, relate to the past, but there is likewise a very strongly urged complaint that the safeguards for the future, which the supporters of Roman Catholic separate schools had in the Territories, are removed by the provisions of the Ordinance itself; so that there is alleged to be a case of grievance as regards what has already been done, and apprehension as regards the future. Now, I desire to call the attention of the House to this principle, the correctness of which I am sure no member of the House, on reflection, will dispute, and that is that what had been done by way of regulation in the Territories, whether before or after 1892, was absolutely beyond the power of the Executive here to redress by way of disallowance. When we come to state what the particular complaints made by the petitioners were, the House will perceive that several of them arose from educational regulations made in the Territories before the Ordinance of 1892 was ever written at all, and what I wish to impress upon the House at this moment is that as regards those regulations, the disallowance of the Ordinance of 1892 would have had, as a matter of course, no effect whatever, and that the grievances, if there be grievances, would have remained precisely the same after disallowance had taken effect, except, of course, as to the power of the Board of Education to alter matters, but that I will discuss by itself. But I wish to go a step further, and to say that as regards the regulations made under the Ordinance

of 1892 itself, if those regulations were found to inflict a grievance upon the petitioners, that grievance would not be removed, those regulations would not be nullified, by the disallowance of the Ordinance. It is well established, it is clearly written in the British North America Act, as regards disallowance in the provinces, and the same principle would undoubtedly prevail as regards the Territories, that disallowance takes effect from the moment of its being proclaimed, gazetted or announced to the Legislature; and, therefore, it follows that what has been done under the disallowed Act in the meantime remains in full force and vigour. If the statute disallowed, or the Ordinance disallowed, has been void as being ultra vires, of course everything is null and void from the beginning; but if the statute or Ordinance had effect, that which has been done under it, while its life and vigour remains, until the moment of disallowance, remained still in full force and in effect, and is beyond the reach of the Executive here. Now, the first series of complaints relate to grievances which are said to exist by reason of certain regulations in the Territories. I do not propose to deny that those exist. We have here hon. gentlemen representing the Territories; they have as good a constitutional right as any man in this House to say whether complaints are rife there, because they represent immediately the people of the Territories, they have their confidence now, and they are responsible to them for any misstatement which they may make with regard to the state of affairs in their constituencies; we have statements made by these gentlemen, that they have never heard a complaint until they came to listen to the debates in this House during the present session, or until they read of those grievances in the press published in other provinces. I do not intend to discuss that question. I appreciate very highly that statement by these gentlemen, but I do remonstrate strongly against assertions which have been made here, and I admit made upon pretty high authority elsewhere, that separate schools have practically ceased to exist in the Territories, that they exist only in name, that they have been subjected to a stroke of paralysis, and that they have no force or vigour any longer. When we find it stated by responsible gentlemen whose word has the confidence of this House, and who are well qualified to speak upon the subject, that separate schools exist there still, receive their public aid still, have religion taught in them still, and that as regards those schools, not a complaint has been made by the parents of one child attending them, and that those parents, controlling those schools, supporting those schools, sending their children to those schools, are really unaware from experience that the Ordinance of 1892 was passed, I venture to think that those who make such strong assertions as to the non-existence, as to

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the destruction, as to the paralysis, of separate schools in the Territories, have been misled, either by the zeal with which they advocate their opinions, or by information received elsewhere which is not strictly exact. The first complaint which has been made relating to the past is one with regard to the normal training required of teachers in the Territories, and it is a complaint which has been strongly pressed in this debate; it is an assertion that no person is qualified under the Ordinance of 1892, to teach in the Territories unless, besides having educational qualification, they have passed a term at a normal school in the Territories, and that therefore persons whose profession is religion, and who live in communities, are not able to conform to that regulation. That regulation, if it had that scope, would indeed be very severe and a disaster to the children, at least to the female children attending the separate schools in the Territories, because it would prevent the best qualified teachers who are instructing Catholic girls there or elsewhere from teaching in the separate schools. But, Mr. Speaker, let us see, before we condemn, what the exact scope of that regulation is. When we find exactly what it is, it may constitute a grievance into which the Legislature of the Territories will be well disposed to inquire, and will be justified in redressing, but we shall only lessen the weight of our request that the grievances shall be investigated, if the people of the Territories, who know best about these matters, and watch them, find in the discussion of the question that we are exaggerating and over-stating the effects of the regulation itself. In the first place this regulation with respect to normal schools qualification does not apply to teachers at present authorized to teach, and even as regards those who may ask hereafter authority by certificate to teach in the Territories, there are certain limitations to the rule. One of them is a limitation to this effect, and it is alleged it has been inserted out of consideration for the position of those who are not able from their calling and engagements to attend the sessions of the normal schools, namely, that if they possess equivalent qualifications, certificates that show that they are not only persons of education, up to the standard established in the Territories, but that they have likewise acquired the art of teaching, their certificates shall be accepted as equivalent, and they shall not only be exempt from attendance at the normal schools, but they shall likewise be exempt even from examination, and shall receive certificates accordingly. There is a further exemption, on behalf of those who have obtained such certificates in the province of Ontario and the province of Manitoba, and I am told it is under the consideration of the Council of Public Instruction there now whether the same principle shall not be established as regards the province of

Quebec. But let me call attention to the fact that while this complaint has been made the subject of strong animadversion against the Government for refusing to disallow the Ordinance of 1892, that regulation was by no means made in, by, or under the Ordinance of 1892. In the year 1891, at a meeting held on 2nd September of that year, of the whole Board of Education of the Territories, comprising the Catholic Separate School Board and the Public School Board likewise, five Catholics and three Protestants, certain proceedings took place with regard to normal schools which I will presently read. I quote meantime from the report made by the Executive Council of the Territories upon that subject, and I will refer in a moment to some proofs that the statement is well founded :

With regard to the training of teachers I might say that our regulations do not compel any teacher who possesses equivalent qualifications to attend our normal sessions. Teachers are required to possess scholarship and professional skill. If any member of a religious order presents evidence of these she can obtain her certificate without attending our normal schools, but if she does not present such evidence, under our regulations she is not entitled in her religious character to anything more than any other lady who wishes to teach in a Government school and obtain a Government grant. Our duty is to see that none but properly qualified teachers are engaged in our schools and that none but properly conducted schools receive public money, and those duties cannot be delegated to the representatives of any religious body or bodies. As a matter of fact, many members of religious orders are specially and splendidly trained as teachers, and our regulations will admit them without any attendance at our normal classes. No member of any religious order teaching in the Territories to-day is affected by the normal school regulation, but, for the future, members of religious orders, of communities wishing to engage as teachers in schools drawing public money in the Territories, must conform to the regulations of which they have had full notice.

Mr. LAURIER. Will the hon. gentleman state the document from which he is quoting ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It is the reply of the Executive of the North-west Territories to the petitions. It is dated 4th January, 1894. When we look back we find that the normal system of training was established under the Ordinance of 1888. The regulations which made it compulsory, and which are referred to in the document I have just read, were passed in 1891, fifteen months before the Ordinance of 1892. It is curious to look back at the history of normal school training, because there one will find it begins by a request on the part of the whole Board of Education to the Governor in Council to ask this Parliament for a grant to establish a normal school, which shall sit at certain

places, and then when the grant was obtained the system was established and adopted, tentatively, it is true, but established and adopted unanimously by the Board of Education, by its Protestant and Roman Catholic members, and that the chief resolution connected with it was adopted on the motion of one of the Roman Catholic members of the board, no doubt in recognition of the great advantages, especially in a country of that kind, of having teachers not only qualified as regards the possession of learning, but qualified as regards the art of instruction itself. Let me read the proceedings of the Board of Education, and when I speak of the Board of Education I beg hon. members to observe that I speak of the united boards under the old system and not the present Council of Public Instruction, as it is styled, and as it is established under the Ordinance of 1892. Of a meeting of the Board of Education, in September, 1891 (page 21), these observations occur in the report :

The action taken last year by the board with reference to normal training, although tentative in its character, was attended with such results in Eastern Assiniboia as to warrant more decided action.

The board has, therefore, decided that, for the future, all persons who hold non-professional certificates, and desire to teach school in the inspectorial districts of Eastern and Western Assiniboia, must receive adequate normal training, either at Moosomin or Regina.

The board earnestly desires to extend similar advantages to all other inspectorates under its jurisdiction, but the schools in these inspectorates are so few and so widely scattered, that the same course is out of the question.

To meet the difficulty, the board would respectfully submit a proposition made by it to the authorities at Ottawa, in January, 1888, in the following terms, namely :—

That in the opinion of this board it is necessary to make provision for the instruction and training of teachers for our public schools in the science and art of teaching ;

That the board feels that the appointment of a normal school principal, whose duty it would be to hold normal school sessions in different parts of the country, would have the best possible results in increasing the efficiency of teachers and stimulating education.

Therefore resolved :

That His Honour the Lieutenant Governor be requested to urge upon the Dominion Government the advisability of granting the sum of five thousand dollars for the next financial year for normal school purposes.

In the event of this suggestion receiving the approval of your Honour and being adopted, the board would further suggest that it be empowered to secure the services of a competent person to fill the position of normal school instructor, and also to make provision for the holding of normal sessions at Lethbridge, Calgary, Edmonton and Prince Albert, and at such other places as may, from time to time, appear to require them.

In 1891 that resolution was unanimously passed by the board, and the system which had been in force, tentatively only before that, was then established. I am not by any means making this statement with a view of minimizing what has been said in reference to the inconvenience as regards certain classes of candidates, attending these schools. I am making the statement for the purpose of showing first of all, what the scope of the regulation complained of is, and secondly for the purpose of showing that the regulation is one which existed before the Ordinance of 1892 was passed. Let me say by way of explanation and by way of caution, that the passage which I have just read (necessitating, for example, that no person shall be qualified who does not attend the normal school) is merely a rough statement of the matter in the report of the proceedings of the board. When we come to look at the language of the regulation itself (also made before 1892), we find the exceptions which I have already mentioned as regards the possession of equivalent qualifications being acceptable. Then there is another complaint made to the effect:

That there is imposed a uniform course of instruction and a uniform selection of text books for all schools, Protestant and Catholic.

I am reading from one of the principal petitions which was presented for disallowance, and the expression appears in many places else. Now, Mr. Speaker, under the Ordinance of 1888, the Board of Education, which had control of education generally in the Territories, divided itself into two parts. That is to say, the division took place after certain business relating to specified matters which, under the Ordinance, came under the control of the board as a whole, had been disposed of. The board divided into these two branches, and thereafter one of the things intrusted to each branch was the selection of the school books which should be prescribed, by the one section for the Catholic separate schools and by the other section for the public schools of the Territories. What I wish to show the House is: That as regards the prescription of school books—which I grant is a matter vital to the operation of separate schools—this matter of the school books to be prescribed was settled by the Roman Catholic division of the Board of Education before the law of 1892 was passed, and it has not been disturbed and has not been unsettled since, excepting in two or three particulars which I will mention presently and which the House will see do not affect the point that I am now taking. The principal point which I make with regard to that is this: that it cannot be said with accuracy—as one hon. member asserted last night, but surely under a misapprehension of the facts—that the present Council of Public Instruction had thrust Protestant books upon the Catholic schools; nor can it be truly said that the Council

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of Public Instruction has withdrawn (in any sense which would make it a grievance so far as we see) any Catholic book that was permitted then, for in the case which I shall come to presently, the book was withdrawn as a favour to the Roman Catholic minority; or instead of calling it a favour, I would say, withdrawn as a step in the direction of meeting their wishes and their views. Since the objectionable Ordinance was passed, there has been no change with regard to school books except the changes that I shall refer to now. There was a meeting of the Council of Public Instruction soon after the passage of the Ordinance in 1892. There was a careful consideration and discussion as to what should be done with regard to the school books. There is a list of books prescribed. The House will readily understand that there are only two or three—four at the utmost—points upon which there is likely to be disagreement between the separate schools and the public schools as regards the books that should be used. That would be, as I recall at the moment, as to books referring to history, literature and science; and with regard to all those matters the books that should be used were agreed upon. Subsequently to that meeting, and on the 30th of September, 1893, a circular was issued by the Secretary of the Council of Public Instruction, and in that circular is to be found the only change which was, up to that time, made as regards school books prescribed for the Roman Catholic separate schools. I ask the attention of the House to it, for the House will perceive that that circular has not thrust Protestant books upon the separate schools, nor has it withdrawn any Roman Catholic book which was desired to be retained. There is on record a statement of the Executive of the Territories to the effect that the changes it has made were with the approval of the Roman Catholic advisory members of the board, and that they were made in the direction of what was believed to be the interest and desire of the Roman Catholic minority of the Territories. The changes mentioned in the circular are these:

The regulations of the Council of Public Instruction mailed to all schools on or about 16th August last, govern all examinations held under the direction of the Council.

The following readers are authorized for use in Roman Catholic schools in standards I and II, and become compulsory after 1st January, 1894, viz.:—

The Dominion series (Sadler's Catholic Readers), parts I. and II., and the Second Reader; or the Ontario Readers, parts I., II., and the Second Reader.

Then comes the passage which I had in my mind when I answered the hon. leader of the Opposition the other evening, and which, I think, I accurately stated in the interruption I made for the purpose of answering him, although an hon. gentleman who spoke last night seemed to be under the impression

that I had misled the hon. leader of the Opposition. The passage I will read. Although it does not immediately relate to this part of the subject, I read it now so as not to refer to it again :

In schooldistricts, where French is the vernacular, the school trustees may, upon obtaining the consent of an inspector in writing, use the Ontario series of Bilingual Readers, parts I., II., and the Second Reader, instead of the Dominion series or the Ontario Readers.

In all standards above the second the Ontario Readers are prescribed after 1st January, 1894.

The House will remember that what I am specially directing attention to is what has been done to constitute a case of complaint under the Ordinance of 1892. Now, I turn to the explanations given by the Executive authorities of the Territories, for the purpose of showing the House that what has been done has not been done with any view of creating irritation, causing complaint, or limiting, in any way, the free action of the separate school teachers. Mr. Haultain, in his answer to the petitions, says :

The only change of text books for these schools since 1888 was made at the last general meeting of the Council of Public Instruction held in June, 1893. At that meeting, and with the approval of the Rev. Father Caron, a Roman Catholic member of the council, a uniform series of text books for all schools was prescribed, with one exception.

At the Rev. Father Caron's request, Roman Catholic schools were allowed to use as optional text books the Roman Catholic Readers in the primary classes.

The only school text books in our programme which could possibly excite controversy, are the readers and histories.

In history, the text book, under the new regulations, is Buckley & Robertson's History of England and Canada. This book was already prescribed by the Board of Education, having been considered unobjectionable by the Roman Catholic section, and was in use before the late regulations and the Ordinance of 1892 came into force.

I ought to say here that in a letter which has been published and circulated through the House, the Rev. Father Caron denies that he was properly understood as assenting to the uniform class of text books prescribed for teachers' examinations; and, therefore, I do not wish to press unduly the statement I have read from this document to the effect that he was an assenting party. It is enough for my argument that nothing was done by way of abridgment of the rights which existed before the Ordinance of 1892 was passed, and that is the object I have in view. Now, Mr. Haultain has made a further statement which bears on this subject, and to which I will call the attention of the House. This is dated the 12th January, 1894 :

In my previous communication of the 4th January inst., I stated that the only change of text books for these (Roman Catholic) schools since 1888 was made at last general meeting of the

Council of Public Instruction held in June, 1893. At that meeting, and with the approval of the Rev. Father Caron, the Roman Catholic member of the council, a uniform series of text books was prescribed with one exception.

Instead of using the word "prescribed," I should have said "determined upon." As a matter of fact the only changes in text books for Roman Catholic schools actually made by the Council of Public Instruction are the changes set forth in the explanatory circular of the 30th September, 1893, the copy of which is hereto attached.

That is the circular of which I have read the principal part to the House. He continues :

I have already referred to changes in text books prescribed for examinations for teachers' certificates, and in this letter deal only with the question of school text books.

The changes indicated in the circular of the 30th September are the only changes in Roman Catholic school text books which have been made since 1888. The effect of that circular is : (1) To strike from the list of books for Roman Catholic schools the Metropolitan series of Readers ; (2) to prescribe for all standards above standard 2 the Ontario readers ; (3) to continue for standards 1 and 2 the Dominion series of Readers, the text books already in use under the regulations of the Roman Catholic section of the Board of Education, the Ontario Readers being only made optional in these standards ; and (4) to allow the Ontario Bilingual Readers to be used in French-speaking districts under the conditions set forth in the circular.

I have said that no school book was struck off which the Council supposed the Catholics desired to retain, and that none had been put on which was deemed by them objectionable. Let me read, in confirmation of that, a little further :

In abolishing the Metropolitan series of Readers, the example of the Roman Catholic Committee of the Council of Public Instruction of the province of Quebec was followed. At a sitting of that body held on the 20th May, 1892, His Eminence Cardinal Taschereau in the chair, among the books struck from the list of books approved for use in the Roman Catholic schools in the province of Quebec were the Metropolitan 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th Readers.

My previous communication has sufficiently stated the unobjectionable character of the Ontario readers.

Therefore, let me turn back to his first letter for the purpose of seeing what he says about those readers. The statement he made, which I have not under my hand at the moment, but I remember sufficiently as to detail, is that the Ontario readers were selected because they are prescribed for the Roman Catholic separate schools in the province of Ontario ; and I think the House was made fully aware last night of the opinion entertained by at least some members of the House, that the most admirable system, and the system they would desire to have regarded as a standard, is the Ontario system

of separate school education. If the Ontario system is so admirable and satisfactory, I think it can hardly be said that the readers prescribed for the separate schools in Ontario are objectionable for the separate schools in the North-west. In looking for the passage to which I was just referring, I have come upon the authority I referred to a moment ago, as regards the proceedings of the Board of Education with reference to normal training, and I find that on the 3rd of September, 1891, Mr. A. E. Forget, one of the Roman Catholic members of the board, moved this resolution :

That all persons in the inspectorates of Eastern and Western Assiniboia who obtained non-professional certificates, at the recent examination of teachers, not holding certificates of normal training—

Those may be roughly described as interim certificates merely, not qualifying a person to be regarded as a professional teacher.

—and who desire to obtain professional certificates, be required to attend a normal session, either at Moosomin or Regina, such normal session to commence on the reopening of the Union schools after the Christmas holidays, and to terminate, for third class teachers six weeks, and for first and second class teachers, three months from the date of commencement.

On this occasion were present and approving the Rev. Father Leduc, the Hon. Mr. Justice Rouleau and Mr. A. E. Forget, all members of the Roman Catholic section of the board.

Now, there is another branch of the subject which I have to touch upon briefly. That is the prescribing of text books for teachers' examinations, and I admit that that subject was dealt with to some extent under the Ordinance of 1892. The House will observe, when I come to show what the proceedings since the Ordinance of 1892 were, how unimportant were the changes that were made as to these text books. I must mention how these changes came to be made. In 1891, although the Roman Catholic section of the Board of Education had the right to prescribe the books to be studied by the teachers, and which would be the basis of their examination, the members of that section did not so treat the subject, for the reason that it was the opinion of at least one, and probably all the members of the Roman Catholic section of the board, that it would be more satisfactory if there could be, as regards teachers, a uniform set of text books. And on the 3rd of July, 1891, the Rev. Father Leduc—although the matter was one entirely within the competency of his own section of the board, addressed the secretary of the whole board thus :

At the next meeting of the Board of Education I wish to have the following subjects submitted to discussion, namely:—1. Certificates to priests and ministers. 2. Certificates for strictly elementary schools. 3. Blank forms for school returns, and so on. 4. A very clear programme of all the subjects

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on which candidates are to pass their examination, to be framed, printed and distributed to inspectors. 5. Only one good text book on each subject for teachers candidates, to be adopted by the sections of the board, and the same text books only to be used by the board of examiners.

At the meeting which followed that letter, that programme, which Father Leduc proposed, was adopted. The result was a uniform set of text books for the use of teachers of all classes, and the text books which were adopted, in the debatable subjects of history, literature and science, were books supposed to be unobjectionable to the teachers of any of the classes, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic. Therefore, I think, I need say very little more on that branch of the subject. But let me refer—and I must apologize for the disorder of my remarks, the material being somewhat diffuse, and many references being required—let me refer again, for the purpose of proving what I have said as regards the scope of the regulations with regard to normal school training, to the regulations themselves. If the House will look at the regulations of 1891 and 1893 they will find this set forth: The adoption, in the first place, on the motion of Mr. Forget, of the regulation which I have stated, and then a careful selection of all books which can be agreed upon, and which have been agreed upon, as unobjectionable, for teachers' examinations. And then they will find the regulations which permit equivalent qualifications to be accepted by way of dispensing with the attendance at normal schools in the case of those who do not desire, and who do not need to attend. So much for the objection that a uniform system of class books has been adopted for all classes of schools, and that objectionable books have been introduced into the syllabus. Now I come to what is said as to the effect of disallowing the Ordinance of 1892. I have endeavoured to divide the subject into two branches. First, to show what the complaints are as to existing regulations, and I think I have proved that, as regards each one of these, the complaint is founded, not on the Ordinance of 1892 or anything done under it, but on what was done by virtue of the Ordinance of 1888. I beg to say that, as regards the Ordinance of 1888, we have not, as far as I can remember, received a remonstrance or complaint as to its provisions, or anything done under it. On the contrary, we have the statement contained in the petition of His Lordship Bishop Grandin of St. Boniface, that the system established under the Ordinance of 1888 worked with perfect harmony. I shall, to be exact, quote the passage, because I may have inadvertently overstated it. The passage to which I refer is this :

The system indicated above for the management of the schools operated with entire harmony, to the general satisfaction of all connected with the active work of education in the Territories.

So that we had no reason to suppose that anything objectionable existed in the Ordinance of 1888, or that anything objectionable had occurred in the regulations which were made under it. But it is said that by the operation of the Ordinance of 1892, whether anything objectionable as regards Roman Catholic separate schools had been done previously or not, the Roman Catholic minority were rendered powerless to remedy anything which they thought wrong in the regulations which existed before. It is said that while disallowance could not have nullified the regulations which existed before, it would have restored to the separate schools control by the Catholic section of the Board of Education, and that the Catholics would therefore have been able to get redress against any regulations which were objectionable. So strongly was that pressed upon us, that it does seem to me it was carried to the length of admitting that there was no cause of complaint as to what had been done, down to the passage of the Ordinance of 1892. The matter was pressed to this length—I telegraphed to one of the petitioners, to the most eminent of them, to send to us, who were then earnestly investigating the complaints which were made in the petitions for disallowance, asking him to send as soon as possible the text of the regulations which the petitioners complained of as having been made under the Ordinance of 1892. The reply which I received is contained in the pamphlets from which most of the members here have read and which will doubtless be produced in this House as part of the return to this order. The reply was in the form of two letters the contention of which was that there was a want of safeguards for the future and that the Ordinance of 1892 removed the power from the hands of the Roman Catholics to redress their own wrongs and grievances by their own action in the Board of Education. I am sure that these letters, which were thus published and which, I think, were read in the course of this debate, indicated pretty strongly, not that there was any regulation with regard to which any practical grievance had arisen in the past, but that the principal grievance was want of security as to what might happen in the future. Now, let me state my contention on the subject, with the greatest possible respect for those who have differed from it so strongly, and who have based their opinions upon the remonstrance of His Grace of St. Boniface against the Order in Council declining to disallow. As regards safeguards for the future, my contention is that, inasmuch as there was a practical admission that no complaint was to be made as regards the text of the regulations under the Ordinance of 1892, or before 1892 there was nothing requiring urgency or haste, and we were bound to treat the Legislature of the North-west Territories precisely as it is the practice to treat the Legisla-

tures of the various provinces. One of the regulations which has been adopted as regards the reviewing of provincial legislation—adopted with assent of both parties, because followed by both parties—is this, there shall be no disallowance, even where there appears to be reason for disallowance, of an Act 'intra vires,' as we considered this to be, until the Legislature has had an opportunity to repeal or modify the legislation which is objected to. In practice, except in cases calling for expedition, we have always adopted the course of informing the Legislature of the cause of complaint and requesting repeal or modification. I am happy to say that, generally speaking, these representations have been acted on; and, when it was found that the principal cause of complaint against the Ordinance of 1892 was as regards safeguards for the future of the separate schools, and not a contention that they had been abolished, our duty obviously was to treat the Legislature of the Territories as we would treat the Legislature of a province and to call its attention to the complaints which had been made and ask them to review the whole subject and give redress, if redress were fairly called for. Now, Mr. Speaker, in a comparison of the correspondence which is in the hands of most hon. members in advance of this return being brought down—because I admit that we have been carrying on this debate to a great extent on the basis of documents that are being asked for, but most of which hon. members have in their hands—one cannot help seeing that in almost every step of the inquiry we are met by a controversy as to what the facts are. On one side it is alleged: You have practically abolished the separate schools; on the other, the separate schools are in the same vigour as ever, and are just as efficient and make as strong demand upon the treasury as ever. On one side it is asserted, you have made regulations under the Ordinance of 1892 which are injurious to the separate schools; on the other it is alleged, we have made no regulations of the kind. Then there is the demand that the regulations objected to shall be produced, and in answer to that we find the response: We produce such as have been made; but do not look there for our grievances, because our grievances may arise in the future. Assertions are made on one side and denied on the other as to the carrying out of regulations with regard to normal school training; the examination of teachers, the thrusting of Protestant books upon the Catholic pupils, the withdrawal of Catholic books. Upon every one of these points there is a positive disagreement as to the facts. Surely the onus lay upon those who raised the objections; and, although we would not let the question turn upon the rule as to the burden of proof, where there was time for inquiry, let me call attention to the fact that not until the end of October did I receive the letter complaining of the Ordinance, and not until November

did we receive a petition, eleven months having elapsed since it was passed and ten months after it was received here. There was certainly no time for an examination into controverted facts. There was barely time to investigate what appeared on the subject in half a dozen volumes of ordinances and half a dozen regulations, and there was certainly no time then to await an answer, if the answer could have been made satisfactorily—as I shall admit for the sake of argument it could—by His Grace of St. Boniface, in response to the reply which had come from the Executive of the Territories, and from which I have quoted. Therefore, it seemed to me plainly the obligation of the Governor in Council to decline to disallow under these circumstances. Let me call attention especially to the differences which exist, as to disallowance, between an ordinance of the North-west Territories and the statute of a province. If a year is allowed to elapse without the disallowance of the statute of a province, that statute being within the provincial powers—and that is practically admitted here, except for the statement of Mr. Justice Rouleau which I shall not discuss—that statute becomes law and is beyond the reach of any power but the legislature which enacted it. But, as regards an Ordinance of the North-west Territories, it must be remembered that this Parliament has control of the Territories in a fuller and more absolute sense than it has control of the provinces. We have a limitation upon our power with regard to the provinces; we can only exercise our jurisdiction within a limited sphere. But from day to day everything that happens within the Territories is within the jurisdiction of this Parliament, no matter what the Legislature of the Territories may do with regard to it. So, instead of being limited to the immediate exercise of the power of disallowance, as in the case of provincial statutes, we have the power from day to day, and from year to year, to correct any substantial grievances found to exist there, if the Legislature should turn—though I am sure it would not—a deaf ear to those complaints. Therefore, in view of the limited time for investigation, in view of the plenary powers which this Parliament has with regard to the Territories, I felt there was no just and proper call for the exercise of the strong power of disallowance with regard to this Ordinance. Now, in discussing another question, namely, the question as to religious instruction in the Catholic schools, it seems to me that, barring the apprehension which exists in the minds of the petitioners as to what may be done in the future, the Ordinance itself had not made such a decided change in the matter of religious instruction as to call for the exercise of the power of disallowance. The comments which have been made upon our minute of Council on the subject, are to this effect: that there is no religious test applied to the teachers, there are no means of ascertaining whether a teacher is

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qualified to teach religion, and that the morning prayer with which the schools were formerly opened, has been abolished, and the time at the close of the day in which religious instruction may be given to the children, is likewise curtailed. Now, as regards the qualification of the teacher to give religious instruction, there remains what I venture to think is the most vital principle with regard to separate schools, the pivotal point on which the whole system of separate schools turns in any country, and that is, the domestic control by the trustees of the section, or of the district, as they are termed there. The separate school supporters are controlling their separate schools, assessing themselves for their schools, receiving public aid for their schools, electing trustees who shall govern them, and no teacher can cross the threshold of a school-house door, unless under engagement with the trustees of the district; and if, therefore, teachers in Roman Catholic separate schools are not qualified to teach religion, or are not willing to do it, it is the fault of the people themselves, with whom ample powers of local government are still left by the provisions of this Ordinance. I might extend my remarks upon that subject to the question of the French language. There is much in this Ordinance and the regulations which have been made under it, to excite the susceptibility of those who are strongly attached to that language; but I submit to the calm judgment of this House that there was not sufficient to warrant this Government in disallowing it, so far as our information at present goes. We have the provision, I admit, that the instruction which shall be given in all classes of schools there, public and separate, shall be given in the English tongue, and I am sure that anybody who realizes at all the advantages of education, would be delighted if, in every school in this country, French could be taught also. It would be an acquisition and an accomplishment, but if any duty at all rests upon the state in regard to French-speaking children and with regard to English-speaking children alike, in a country like this, surely it is that at least they shall receive an English education. The views which have been expressed in the past by some of my hon. friends on the other side of the House in the province of Quebec, are broad and liberal as they are true, viz., that in a mixed population like ours, with the great body of the population of the Dominion of Canada speaking English, it is the plain interest of the children of the French-speaking population that they shall learn English; and if we English-speaking people can learn French too, we shall praise God for it. But, Mr. Speaker, French is not abolished in the schools. There is the provision which I read from the regulation of 1893 for the teaching by Bilingual Readers of those in the primary classes where French is the vernacular in order that they may be

trained to learn the English tongue and to acquire the English education which is provided for them. But it is remarkable that, while petitions came from almost every Roman Catholic school district in the Territories, against the Ordinance of 1892, alleging many things against it by way of mistake—as to regulations which existed before the Ordinance of 1892 was passed—alleging all that could be urged against the Ordinance, the complaint that the teaching of the French language was interfered with unduly, is not to be found in any one of the petitions on the file—with one exception, in a letter of His Grace the Archbishop of St. Boniface, transmitting petitions. His Grace mentions that subject as one that would be well deserving the attention of the Council. But it seems not to have been thought of until the last moment, and then it was only put in by way of supplement. I may mention, however, before I leave that branch of the subject, what the provisions are, and what may be stated in their favour or in their excuse, because it is but fair that we should consider both sides. Whether I concur in the answer, with regard to the abridgment of religious instruction, I do not say at the present moment, but I presume it will be admitted that in some districts it will be found convenient by Protestant parents to send their children to the separate schools, in some instances they may have no strong objections to that course. Out of deference to their interest and convenience, especially in sparsely-settled districts, it is provided that the morning prayer at the opening of the school shall be optional. The school hours are from 9 o'clock until some time early in the afternoon, and then from recess on to 4 o'clock; and while in the Ordinance of 1888 it is provided that religious instruction may be given during the last hour, all that can be alleged against the Ordinance of 1892 as to that is that religious instruction shall be given but half an hour, out of consideration to the interest of children whose parents dissent from the religious teaching of the school. Now, I beg to call the attention of the House to one branch of the subject which appears to me to be of great importance in considering what reasons the Government had for doing what they did. The prayers of these petitions, without, I think, a single exception, are in the alternative; they ask that this Ordinance shall be disallowed, or that the Legislature of the Territories shall be commanded to repeal or to amend it. Now, Sir, finding that under the circumstances which I have mentioned, as regards many of the complaints, they did not arise under the Ordinance of 1892 at all, and, therefore, did not call for disallowance, we turned our attention to the alternative, which, as I have just stated, was a prayer that the Legislature of the Territories be commanded to repeal or amend the Ordinance. It was not in our power to com-

mand the Legislature to repeal its Ordinance, not within our constitutional authority, and nothing would have made it more certain that representations in behalf of redress would be spurned, than that we should adopt the language of command which we had no right to use. But we did practically what the petitioners asked us to do, only we did it in terms that we thought would be more effective, that is to say, we presented in the name of His Excellency the Governor General of this country, and his Executive, an earnest request that the Legislature of the Territories should re-examine the whole subject, should inquire not only into the complaints that grievances which existed, but into the complaints that grievances might arise, and should make any amendment to the Ordinance which was necessary to remove the grievances that exist and the alarm with regard to the future. I think that in making that application to the Territories to give redress, we were complying, if not literally, at least in spirit with the second prayer of the petitioners that the Legislature of the Territories should be ordered to give redress. We were doing it to the extent of our limited authority, and what right has any one, then, to make the aspersion against us that in doing that, in complying to the fullest extent of our power and authority with that prayer, we were simply handing the minority over to their enemies, who had shown themselves hostile and aggressive already? We were not doing so, Sir, but we were appealing to the Legislature of the Territories, as we would appeal to the Legislature of a province; and we were doing more, we were appealing to a body which was perfectly conscious that the exercise of its legislative functions with respect to this question was all the time under the watchful eye of a Parliament which had ample jurisdiction to give redress, if such were denied by the Legislature. A question was asked last night by one of the hon. members who debated this subject very earnestly, it was this: Why, when we had referred the question of the validity and so forth of the Manitoba Act to the Supreme Court of Canada, we had not followed the same course with respect to this Ordinance? Well, Sir, in the first place, I say that this was not requested, by the petitioners or on their behalf, and I doubt exceedingly that it would give them anything like the redress they demand. The contention has hardly been put forward seriously that this Ordinance is ultra vires of the Legislature. If it were so, if the minority should desire that the question should go before the courts, there is abundant opportunity yet of sending it there; but doubting exceedingly that the Ordinance is beyond the power of the Legislature of the Territories, and doubting the desirability of putting the petitioners to the expense of a course of litigation in the Supreme Court on a question on which we entertain ourselves a strong opinion, by re-

ferring that question to the courts by the way of giving them redress, we should have been giving them a stone when they asked for bread.

Mr. LAURIER. Hear, hear.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I beg to distinguish for the benefit of the hon. gentleman who has been good enough to give me the first cheer I have received from him in the course of my remarks, the difference between this case and the case of Manitoba. This case rests certainly on a different principle, because the question there with respect to the validity of the statute admitted of such very great doubts, nay, of such confidence as regards the opinion that the statute was ultra vires of the Legislature, that we found the whole bench of the Supreme Court judges deciding that the Act was invalid. When that decision had been reached by that body, although it was subsequently reversed by the appellate tribunal, it showed there was ample ground for submitting the validity of the Act to that tribunal. Furthermore, the subject was of such doubt and uncertainty as regards the scope of the constitution that the House of Commons voted the money for carrying on the litigation, which, perhaps, the House would have been unwilling to do under the circumstances which surround this particular Ordinance, as the case did not seem to be so strong, and especially after the result of the litigation in the other case which was sent for adjudication. There were some questions raised in the course of the debate which perhaps it will hardly be necessary I should say much about, and which were hardly put forward with seriousness, but which have attracted some attention from the press. It was said: Here is a strange and suspicious circumstance: there must have been strong differences of opinion on the part of the members of the Executive at Ottawa, because we find these petitions referred to a sub-committee of the Council, consisting of three gentlemen, whose names were mentioned, and it is quite certain they must have fought like cat and dog, because they made no report and the subject had to be dealt with by the whole Council. All that supposition is founded on a singular misconception of the course of procedure in the Privy Council from day to day. Matters which come up concerning any particular department of the Government are referred to the Minister at the head of that department for his report, and in the great majority of cases, matters are decided on the report of the head of the department. The petitions which were presented in this case hardly referred to a question of law, and therefore did not come particularly under my care, nor did they fall particularly under the care of any other department, and so there being no particular Minister who had charge of the subject, no Minister of Education, for example, no Minister particularly in charge of the revision of the work of the

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Legislature, they were referred for convenience to a sub-committee, and that sub-committee made. It is said, no report on them, because they could not agree. The sub-committee made four reports on them, all of which were approved by His Excellency. It may be a matter of form, it may be a matter of routine, and it may be unimportant as to what was contained in their reports. So it was with respect to the reference to the committee itself. The committee examined the petitions, considered the questions raised in them and the requests embodied in each of them; and the committee recommended, as a Minister would have done, if they had been referred to him, as each batch of petitions came in, that they be transmitted to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Territories with a request for the observations of the Executive upon them; and when the observations of the Executive were received, the whole subject was taken up by Council itself, and the reference to the committee was cancelled, because the subject was one so difficult as to require the consideration of every member of the Council. The matter was no longer considered as a matter of routine, but as a subject that required the consideration of every member of Council. I perhaps ought not to have troubled the House by referring to that subject at all, because it is so utterly unimportant, and because every one who is acquainted with the working and proceedings in Council knows that there can be no disagreement unknown to the public immediately. When this Order in Council was passed everybody knows, who knows anything of procedure in a body like that, that the conclusions arrived at received the unanimous sanction of every member of that body. I grant that in the consideration of almost every question which can arise from day to day in such a body there are various shades of difference between members gathered together to discuss questions whether political or commercial, but the course always followed as regards matters coming before the advisers of the Executive authority of this country is simply this: that if these differences of opinion are as to mere matters of detail, mere matters as to whether it is advisable to do what shall be done in this or in that way, generally speaking the opinions can be harmonized, but if it involves a question of principle and members of the Council are irreconcilably divided the public within a very few hours hear of the circumstance through the retirement of the dissenting member or members. But with respect to this question it stands precisely on the same footing as other questions, and as regards any one of the fifty Orders in Council which are in this batch of papers under my hand, that unanimity was arrived at before advice was submitted to His Excellency for confirmation. I beg to say that while I have detained the House so long, I have spoken under the re-

straint of a strong desire to refrain from saying anything in the discussion which would affect the future settlement of the question, or which would minimize in any way the weight of the considerations which ought to be taken into account by the authorities of the territories, who will have to deal with the subject presently. And, Sir, begging the House to consider the circumstances which I have mentioned, under which this question of disallowance came before us, with regard to time, with regard to the plenary powers of this Parliament over everything that transpires in the territories, with regard to the obviously mistaken views of the petitioners as to regulations which existed before the Ordinance of 1892 was passed, and as to the character of the regulations which were adopted after the Ordinance had passed, and as to the absence of urgency, I think the House will be disposed to agree that after all we came to the safe and wiser conclusion, although it has created, I admit, considerable irritation on the part of those who had formed expectations of a more speedy, decisive, and heroic remedy being given to the petitioners.

Mr. LAURIER. Mr. Speaker, the question before the House at this moment does not, in any way, involve any censure or any approval of the conduct of the Government with regard to their decision on the Northwest school question. The motion is simply that the Government will please to bring down the petitions of the Roman Catholic minority of the territories, and the Orders in Council passed upon them by the Government. This debate has been a very extended one, and it has, to a large extent, anticipated the debate which must take place later on when the papers have been brought down. The right hon. gentleman has at length vindicated his course out of the documents in his possession, but not in the possession of the House. In so far as I will refer to the broader question, it is, at the present time, this: The Roman Catholic minority complain that by the legislation of the Assembly and of the Executive, they are in fact deprived of their schools to which they are entitled under the law of the land. They assert that although the name of "separate" school has been retained, that although they still apparently have the fact, yet, in reality, they have been deprived of all separate schools, and that their schools have been made public schools just as the other schools of the territories are. The answer of Mr. Haultain, or of the Executive, as I understand it, is, that this complaint has no foundation in fact, although new regulations have been made, in point of fact they do not abridge any of the rights of the Roman Catholic minority to which they are entitled. The right hon. gentleman has largely justified this pretension of Mr. Haultain, and there remains the simple question as to where the truth lies. On the one hand, you have the Roman Catholic minority contend-

ing that they are deprived of their rights, and this contention is supported by some of the most eminent men of the territories, among others, the Archbishop of St. Boniface and Mgr. Grandin, Bishop of the Northwest Territories. On the other hand we have the contention of Mr. Haultain that the complaint is altogether unfounded in fact. It is obvious that, at this moment, it is impossible for the House to pass any judgment upon the action taken by the Government, and, for my part, not having an opportunity yet of delving into the mass of documents which the right hon. gentleman had the advantage of, it is impossible, at this moment, to pass any judgment, and so I refrain from passing any opinion upon the conduct of the Government, reserving that right until such a time as I have had an opportunity of looking thoroughly into the documents which I suppose will be brought down before the House. There is one point, however, in which I am disposed to agree at once with the right hon. the Premier. Whatever may be the contention, on the one side or on the other, I agree that there was no cause whatever for a reference of this question to the Supreme Court. It is a mere question of fact on which each one can pass his judgment when the papers have been placed before us. I agree with the hon. gentleman that there was no case for a reference to the Supreme Court, but one of the reasons which he gave was not a good reason, judged by his own record. One of his reasons was that such a reference had not been asked for by the petitioners, that they were asking bread, and this would only give them stone. I would remind the hon. gentleman that he has somewhat altered his mind since last year.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It turned out that we had not the power to give them bread.

Mr. LAURIER. Last year the hon. gentleman had the power to refer a somewhat similar question to the Supreme Court, and he did not refer it then for the reason that it had been asked by the suppliants, because they were against it. He gave them a stone on that occasion, when they were asking for bread. This year, there is no occasion, however, for a reference. I am very glad that the hon. gentleman takes this course, and I am very glad also to know that this year the Government will not attempt to shield their responsibility behind the opinion of the Supreme Court, but that the Executive of the Dominion, which is responsible upon all such occasions, shall come up to the expectations of the public and give a decision themselves. I only wish that the hon. gentleman last year had done the same thing as he does now. I only wish that the Government last year had embraced the responsibility which rests upon them and discharged the duty which they owed to those who made application to them. This year

again, the people of Manitoba are to be given another stone, instead of the bread for which they are asking, because if I have not mistaken the hon. gentleman's remarks, he told us that the decision which was given by the Supreme Court with regard to the power of this Government to interfere in the Manitoba school question was now to be brought to the Privy Council, and that certain Roman Catholics in the province of Manitoba were now taking steps to bring that question before the Privy Council. I want to know what have the Catholics of Manitoba to do with that question. This cannot be called a litigation as between party and party. This question upon which the Supreme Court passed judgment was not a litigation between any classes of Her Majesty's subjects. It was simply an opinion which was asked by the Government of Canada for their own guidance, and when the decision has been given, why in the name of common sense should other parties now step in in order to have a decision over that decision. I suspect very much that there is something that the hon. gentleman has not told us about. I cannot conceive how any parties outside the Government can be brought in now, to refer to the Privy Council an opinion given by the Supreme Court upon the application of the Government of Canada.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. If the hon. gentleman will permit me, I will tell him that by the statute under which it was referred to the Supreme Court, it is distinctly provided that the parties concerned shall be notified, and that the matter shall proceed as between parties, and therefore if the minority has not the right to appeal, nobody has.

Mr. LAURIER. I do not contend that the Supreme Court judgment may not be taken to another tribunal, but what I do not understand is that the parties who were adverse to a reference to the Supreme Court should now go to the Privy Council. I always understood that what the Roman Catholic minority of Manitoba wanted, was to have the powers conferred on the Government by section 93 of the British North America Act applied in their own case; and that the Executive should give a decision upon their petition. Therefore, I do not think that it is at all proper now that the matter should be pushed any further. I will not again discuss this North-west school question at the present time; it comes up only casually. I have only this remark to make to the hon. gentleman: that the longer this question is kept before the public the worse it is for the good of Canada. It is a question on which there should be an immediate and speedy answer. It has been dragged from tribunal to tribunal, and if it is again to be dragged to another tribunal, what will be the consequence? The consequence will be that passion will be inflamed;

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and when a decision is reached the difficulties of the Government will be ten times greater than they are at the present time—difficulties which it may be beyond the power of anybody to counteract.

Mr. DEVLIN. Mr. Speaker, following the example of my leader, I do not propose to enter into a discussion of this subject at this moment, but rather to ask whether all the papers intended to be laid upon the Table have been laid upon it to-day? The motion asks for correspondence with any member of the Government, and, as important correspondence is said to have passed between the hon. Minister of Public Works and Mgr. Taché on this subject, I venture to hope that that also will be laid on the Table. There was something in the statement made by the Prime Minister to-day, however, which amazed me. That was when he accepted almost implicitly the version of the hon. member for West Assinibola (Mr. Davin) and of his colleagues in the representation of the North-west Territories, and seemed, all through his remarks, to throw doubt on the statements of those who thought proper to champion the case of the Catholics who claim to be affected by the ordinance in question. The right hon. gentleman said that it was proper in matters of this kind to take the advice of the representatives from the North-west Territories, and that he had listened with a great deal of interest to the opinions expressed by the hon. member for West Assinibola as well as by the hon. member for Saskatchewan (Mr. Macdowall). But, Sir, it is well known also—the Prime Minister admitted it—that in regard to this difficulty he has received very important documents from gentlemen who, I venture to say, are far better acquainted with the question than the gentleman who would play schoolmaster to the Catholics of the North-west, the hon. member for West Assinibola, or than the hon. member for Saskatchewan. It is well known that the hon. member for West Assinibola generally speaks in a dual capacity, although he is a single man. He speaks on certain occasions as an individual, having his own private convictions; on other occasions he speaks as the representative of Assinibola. It was no doubt in the latter capacity that he spoke here the other day. He had an eye to the majority of the electors of his constituency; and, although in that speech he said that the people in the North-west were actuated by broad, generous and noble sentiments, he seemed to fear that same majority, if he took any other position than the one he did take. You will remember that that very expression of his, that the people were most liberal-minded, most generous, in fact, broad-minded, was followed a moment afterwards, by the remark that because Mr. Haultain had made a certain concession to the Catholics it was quite probable that he would pay dearly for it at the next election. They were generous and broad-minded,

but Mr. Haultain had been asked to do a certain act of justice to the Catholics, which would be so severely resented by that generous and kind majority that he would suffer at the next election. The hon. Prime Minister said to-day that disallowance would have no effect. He is a high constitutional authority, and of course his statement must carry weight. He protested against the assertion that separate schools exist in the North-west only in name. Archbishop Taché, who thoroughly understands the schools of the North-west, Mgr. Grandin, who also thoroughly understands them, and Father Leduc, who has spent many years of his life in the North-west, always identifying himself with his schools, affirm that separate schools do not exist to-day in the North-west otherwise than in name—that they do not exist in fact. These gentlemen will no doubt be consoled by the reply given to their statements by the Prime Minister of the country. The Prime Minister said that it would be useless to discuss this question until the Legislature of the North-west had been heard from, and that, as it was possible slight inconveniences might exist, that Legislature had been invited to look into the matter, and had been also cordially invited to give their reply. Well, Sir, here is the passage to which the hon. gentleman refers :

They feel confident that any suggestion having His Excellency's authority would be given all proper consideration by the Assembly and by the council ; and they advise—

Bear in mind, not by the Legislature, but by the Executive Committee of the North-west Council—

—that communication be made to the Lieut.-Governor of the North-west Territories, urgently requesting that the complaint set forth by the petitioners be carefully inquired into, and the whole subject be reviewed by the Executive Committee of the North-west Assembly.

That advice was tendered, not a day ago, but weeks ago—if I mistake not, over a month ago. In all his long and able oration delivered here to-day, the Prime Minister never said one word as to any hope he had received from that Executive Committee that the advice tendered by the Executive Committee of this House would be considered. He has not even said whether the matter would come before the Local Legislature for consideration. He said also that in his opinion, as far as he could judge, there were little grievances in regard to the regulations of 1892. I have in my hands a letter addressed by Rev. Father Leduc to His Grace the Archbishop of Manitoba in which he states the grievances :

A petition made in the name of His Lordship Bishop Grandin, of St. Albert, 17 others, made by the trustees of the Catholic schools of the North-west Territories, and another drawn by Your Grace, has been addressed to His Excellency the Governor General in Council. All these petitions

expressed the grave subject of complaint of the Catholics with regard to the last school ordinance in the North-west Territories.

I quote this in order to give an idea of the number of petitions sent to the Government. Further on, he says :

We read in the report of the Committee of the Privy Council: Upon a comparison of the duties prescribed for inspectors of schools in the ordinance of 1888 and that of 1892, as amended, it will be seen that they are practically the same.

And Father Leduc adds :

The report of the Committee of the Privy Council eludes deliberately the question, and gives a conclusion the great part of which is outside of the subject of the petitions. We complain that the Ordinance of 1892 deprives us Catholics of the right of appointing our inspectors for our Catholic schools, a right granted by the Ordinance of 1888.

This is an important matter. The other day, when speaking upon this subject, the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) said that the rights of Catholics were in less danger in the hands of the Legislature of the North-west Territories than in the hands of this House. He said that the Catholics were represented on the Board of Education ; but when we look into the matter, we find that the Executive Board is composed of four members, not one of whom is a Catholic. It is true there are four advisers attached to it—two Protestants and two Catholics—but they have not the right to vote. They can give advice when consulted, or when they feel so disposed, but they cannot back up their advice by their votes. I put it in all fairness to the House. Here is a Protestant board, composed of four members, who, in all probability have no sympathy with us whatever in matters which we hold dear, and by which we are bound to stand, no matter what may be said in the North-west or on the floor of this House. Is it likely that the Catholics of the North-west can have any confidence in a board of this kind, composed of four Protestants, with entire jurisdiction over Catholic interests ? The hon. member for Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) said that the agitation now existing in Canada was entirely due to gentlemen from the province of Quebec. He attributed a good deal of it to the hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte). It is not my province to defend that hon. gentleman, who is well able to look after himself in the press, on the platform, and in this House. But I say that this agitation is not due to the Catholics of Quebec. Who was it that, in 1886, went into the province of Ontario and declared, before a large audience, that the great enemy of confederation was the French element in Canada ? It was the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McOCarthy), then in full sympathy with the Conservative party, president of the Conservative union of the province of Ontario, and who was specially sent by Sir John Macdonald into that

constituency to preach this very doctrine, namely, that although we might admire certain French-Canadians as individuals, yet, as a body politic, the French-Canadians were a great danger to confederation. The speech in which these words are found was delivered at Barrie. It was the note that sounded the war cry which, from that day to this, has been waged against French-Canadians and Catholics; and that speech was circulated by means of Conservative associations and by the Conservative press in almost every part of Ontario. Is it not a fact that the very element of which I now speak has become so strong, that even the Prime Minister has to give it representation in the Cabinet? I ask, would the Controller of Customs to-day be a member of the Government because of his mental qualifications? or because of any acts of statesmanship he has rendered to the country? Would that gentleman occupy the position he does, if it were not for the fact that he has, as Grand Master of the Orangemen, uttered strong and hard, but cruel words against the Catholics and French-Canadians? I have already in this House stated that all this was due largely to a mean spirit. Perhaps I use strong language, but I have to speak out the truth. I believe that as long as this state of affairs prevails that it cannot bring peace to any community or province, and can only be due to a mean spirit. I charge that the Controller of Customs has been acting with his fellow member from North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) in exciting this warfare. What happened the night before last in the Ontario Legislature? The hon. member for L'Islet is not a member of that Legislature, he is not connected with the party which took such a strange position in the Ontario Legislature the other night. Yet we find that there already inroads are being made on rights dear to the Catholics. We find there that war has been declared against the Catholics of Ontario—and declared by whom? By the leader of the Ontario Government? No; the leader of the Ontario Government has a proud record in this respect. Every time he found that the Catholics were assailed—whether in 1887 or 1890—he said: "The Catholics are in the minority, and they depend on the spirit of justice of the Protestant majority for the respect due to their rights." He said: I know that the Protestant majority in Ontario is strong, and that it might be possible to create prejudice among them, but justice is on the side of the Catholics, and I stand by them in their demands. And, Mr. Speaker, the majority of Ontario stood, I am proud to say, by the Liberal Government, and swept away the forces of the Conservative party. There is a movement—and I mention this in reply to the charge made that the hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte) has been largely instrumental in exciting this warfare—there is a very serious movement going on in different parts of the Dominion against

Mr. DEVLIN.

the Catholic minority. We know not exactly at times where it is. It is secret; it is insidious; it is mean. I refer to the Protestant Protective Association. Is that association throwing in its support with the Liberals? No, Sir, it is heart and soul in sympathy with the Conservative party, which to-day has taken as its platform the destruction of the Catholic schools of Ontario. Did that movement originate in Quebec? No, it comes from Ontario. It was imported across the line separating that province from the great country to the south. It is doing its contemptible, mean work in Ontario. The aim of that movement, which the First Minister has not denounced, either in this House or on any platform, although the subject has been frequently brought to his notice, is to take from the poor Catholic labourer the right to earn his living, and from the Catholic parent the right to educate his child as he thinks proper, and in the schools guaranteed to him by the constitution. Hon. members find it strange that we bring this question before this House, but let them consider the injustices to which we are subjected. Has any attack ever been made in the province of Quebec upon the rights of the Protestant minority in that province? No, Sir. But every attack, every injustice has been directed—against whom? Against the Catholics in some portion or another of the Dominion. You never hear, and you never will hear, of an attack being made on the Protestant minority of the province of Quebec, or of any other province where such minority happens to exist. I think, Sir, that I have shown that the hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte) did not start this agitation. The laws of the country guaranteed to us long ago the right of having our separate schools both in Manitoba and in the provinces of the North-west. Of course there has been a great deal of discussion over a statute which none of the lawyers seem able to understand. It has two sections, six lines in all, I believe, and it has gone from court to court, from the courts in this country to the Privy Council in England, and still none of the lawyers seem to be able to explain it. This, however, ought to be clear, that whatever rights the Protestant minority or the Roman Catholic minority are entitled to by the provisions of that Act ought to be respected. Still, the rights of the Catholics in Manitoba have been swept away, and those rights in the North-west are assailed, menaced and damaged. In proof of that one need not go further than this—to point out that 75 per cent of the Catholic schools in the North-west Territories are under the inspection of Protestant gentlemen. Very little was said by the Prime Minister about the difficulty which arises with respect to the French language in the North-west. The right hon. gentleman says he must take a broad view of the question; he must take a generous view of the question. He says

the French people must understand that it is wise, in this country, to educate their children in the English language; that the English language should be their language. But suppose the French-Canadian holds dear the language he has learned in childhood; suppose the French-Canadian thinks—and very justly too—that the French language is the better language of the two, and prefers that it shall be his own language and that of his children, and suppose he is living in a community where those who speak that language are the majority, is he bound to take this advice, to bring up his children to speak English, because, forsooth, it is given by the Prime Minister of Canada. Sir, there are others to speak upon this question, including some gentlemen from the province of Quebec, so I shall not deal longer with this portion of the subject. We have here to-day a memorial of the Archbishop upon this school question. Moreover, we are promised very important papers which are to be laid upon the Table. No doubt the Minister of Public Works will also lay upon the Table important communications which he has received—if I am correctly informed—from the Archbishop of Manitoba. I am satisfied that from all these sources we shall be able to arrive at a just conclusion, and that that conclusion will not be the one at which the Prime Minister of this country has arrived, namely, that there is little or no grievance in the North-west. I feel confident that after studying those papers we shall be able to tell the Archbishop of Manitoba, Mgr. Grandin and others who have taken part in establishing these schools, to whom the schools are dear, that they have not been “misled by zeal,” to use the words of the Prime Minister, that they have not been mistaken, but that their grievances have been shown to be well founded. The Ordinances of 1888 provide that the Lieutenant-Governor in Council may appoint and constitute a board of education composed of eight members, and three shall be Roman Catholics. The three Catholic members have the right to vote. The Ordinance of 1892, of which complaint is made, provides that the members of the Executive Committee and two Protestants and two Roman Catholics shall constitute a Council of Public Instruction. The appointed members shall have no vote. And yet we are told this is not a grievance. Under the Ordinance of 1888, any question on which there is an equality of votes shall be deemed to be negatived. So that the three Catholics, with the help of one single Protestant, could negative all hostile regulations. Under the Ordinance of 1892 the Catholics have no vote against hostile regulations. Under the Ordinance of 1888 important powers were granted to the Roman Catholics, as follows: To determine all appeals from the decisions of inspectors of schools and make such orders thereon as may be required. To-day they have no such power. To provide for an

uniform system of inspection of all schools and to make such regulations as may be deemed necessary with respect to the duties of inspectors. To-day the Catholics have no power in that respect. To arrange for the proper examination, grading and licensing of teachers and the granting of certificates. To-day they have no authority in these matters, and yet we are told they have no grievance. To make regulations for the general government and discipline of the schools. To-day they have no authority in that respect. If the Catholic teacher, carrying out what he may properly consider a conscientious duty should undertake to do what we do in this House of Commons, begin the labours of the day by consecrating them to God by a prayer, that Catholic teacher would be breaking a regulation. In other words, the law declares that the labours of the day in the school shall not be consecrated to God, as is the rule in Catholic schools. In 1888 they had the right to appoint inspectors; to-day they have no power to do so. Yet we are told there is no grievance. In 1888 they had the right to select and prescribe text books. To-day they have no such power. In 1888 they had the power to cancel the certificate of a teacher; to-day they cannot do so. Under the Ordinance of 1888 it is provided that the Board of Education shall resolve itself into two sections, the one consisting of the Protestant and the other of the Roman Catholic members thereof. To-day there is no such division. Under the Ordinance of 1892 it was the duty of each section (Catholic as well as Protestant, and exclusively) to have under its control and management the schools of its section. The Catholics have no power of control or management of their schools to-day. To make such regulations as may be deemed necessary for their general government and discipline. To-day there is no such power. And so I could go on, Mr. Speaker, quoting many more instances showing that every power and right the Catholics had in the control of their schools have been taken away. And yet they are told that they have no right to complain of their grievances. I do not wish to detain the House by going into this question at length, as an opportunity will be afforded later of discussing it more fully. Before closing, I desire to refer to one point in the speech of the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin). He had donned his war paint for this speech, and throwing his arms about, he warned us: If you touch this Ordinance you will arouse the people of the North-west. Then, coming back to his senses, he spoke in the highest terms of the venerable archbishop, expressing his confidence in and admiration for him, and declared that one had but to look about the North-west to see Archbishop Taché's monument. It is true that Manitoba and the North-west, as they stand to-day, are a monument to the archbishop. He has undertaken labours and

made sacrifices such as stand to the credit of but few men in this country. He went up there, not to amass a fortune, not to make a great name for himself, but simply to consecrate his life, his great talents and his bodily strength to the glory of his God and the protection and guardianship of the flock confided to his care. Sir, the great monument of his work is to be seen in the Catholic schools which he was able to establish all over the North-west. The monument which Archbishop Taché erected for himself, and the one to which he clings with the most tenacity, are the very schools of which we are speaking to-day. He suffered much, he sacrificed much, he laboured hard, in order to build up these schools. These schools are his monument, and now the enemy lays his hands upon it. I tell hon. members, you have attacked that monument, you have laid destructive hands upon it, you have taken much of it away in the North-west Territories as you have taken it all away in Manitoba, and you still profess to have admiration for the man who, when you were in trouble up there, when you were threatened by a rising of the half-breeds and the Indians, came to your rescue and defended your property as far as he could. Your expression of gratitude to the grand and venerable prelate consists in your laying destructive hands upon this noble monument which, by years of hard labour, he has built for himself and his people in the North-west.

Motion agreed to.

RETURNS ORDERED.

Copies of all Orders in Council and departmental orders now in force in the province of Ontario, concerning fisheries therein, and of all petitions received by the department with regard to the same.—(Mr. McGregor.)

Copies of all telegrams, letters, petitions, Orders in Council, and all correspondence relating to the dismissal of Timothy McQueen as fishery overseer in the county of Kent, Ontario.—(Mr. Campbell.)

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 5.50 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, 27th April, 1894.

PRAYERS.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

EXAMINATION ON OATH.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved:

That the Order for the second reading of Bill (No. 96) to provide for the examination of witness on oath by the Senate and the House of Commons, be transferred from Public Bills and Orders to Government Orders.

Motion agreed to.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

House again resolved itself into Committee on Ways and Means.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. FOSTER. Shall we take up the item of tea and coffee, which was allowed to stand at the request of my hon. friend?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Very well. I would ask the hon. gentleman to give us a history of the several changes; and, if possible, the reasons which have presented themselves to his mind in favour of these changes. I understand that two resolutions are to be rescinded:—

Coffee, green, when not imported direct without transshipment from the country of growth and production, 10 per cent ad valorem.

And a similar resolution with regard to tea and one resolution to be substituted:—

Tea and green coffee, n.e.s., 10 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; there is a further resolution, of which notice has been given:

Tea and green coffee imported direct from the country of growth and production. This item shall include tea and coffee purchased in bond in any country where tea and coffee are subject to customs duty, provided there be satisfactory proof that the tea and coffee so purchased in bond is such as might be entered for home consumption in the country where the same is purchased.

The effect will be this: Tea and green coffee, when imported direct from the country of growth and production, will come in free. It will allow also the purchase in London of tea which comes into that city, is put into bond, is there inspected under the supervision of customs officers, and is blended while in bond. Such of it as is found by the inspectors to be fit to be entered for consumption in Great Britain under their laws and regulations, can be imported into Canada free. A certain part of the tea which comes to London is found not to be fit to be entered for consumption under their Foods and Drugs Act. Such tea is marked by the inspecting officers as fit for export only, and the penalty is supposed to be re-export to the country from which it came. But, of course, a great deal of it is not returned to the country of production. That class of tea which would not be admitted to the British market for home consumption would be discriminated against here.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Judging from the record of importations hitherto, what teas does the hon. gentleman expect will bear this tax?

Mr. FOSTER. No teas that—

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman states the negative; I want a positive statement of the countries from which the taxable teas will come.

Mr. FOSTER. All other countries except those in the schedule I have mentioned.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Which are they?

Mr. FOSTER. Those in which a customs duty is not levied upon tea and in which teas are not entered in bond, inspected in bond, blended in bond, and satisfactory certificates of the quality and purity of the goods given.

Mr. GILLMOR. Will the Finance Minister explain about coffee?

Mr. FOSTER. Green coffee is in the same category. The green coffee which does not come direct from the country of growth or production is subject to the duty.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I am informed that most of the Java coffee which is imported into Canada is bought in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Can the Minister tell me under what circumstances coffee will come in free from duty?

Mr. FOSTER. I am not sure that most of it is bought in Holland. My information from the importers would lead me to believe that it is not the case, that most of it comes from Holland, but that a great deal of Java coffee is brought direct, that is on through bills of lading. A large proportion of coffee consumed in Canada comes in from Venezuela or the West Indies, and, of course, will come direct. But, if coffee is bought on the continent, for instance in Holland, it would not come in under this clause.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Holland does not impose a duty on coffee coming into that country?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Do not I understand that under this schedule coffee imported from Holland would come into Canada free?

Mr. FOSTER. No; it would not come in free.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I have a letter from a large importer stating that the great bulk of the Java coffee is imported from Holland. The reason why I ask the question particularly is that at the present time they cannot get an answer, yes or no, from the custom-house authorities. This, of course, is a great disadvantage to the trade.

Mr. FOSTER. There is no trouble in giving an answer; the answer is that coffee bought in Holland does not come under this clause.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The proposition then is this: If a country puts a duty on tea or coffee, though it may not be the country of production, and tea or coffee is imported into that country in bond, then it may be taken out of bond and imported into this country free of duty. But, in the case of a country that has imposed no tax upon tea or coffee, into which there is no necessity of importing it in bond, then tea or coffee

purchased in that country and imported into Canada, though exactly the same in every other respect as the other, will be taxed. Now, I would like to call the attention of the committee to this, to bring up the question of the propriety of imposing this tax. If the hon. gentleman thought that tea and coffee were proper subjects of taxation, that would be a subject fairly before this committee for consideration. But the hon. gentleman does not make that proposition. He undertakes to subordinate the collection of revenue to the policy of development, which he has told us at the outset should be the primary object to be kept in view by the Minister of Finance. Keeping in view that object they seek to induce parties to import direct from the country of production by offering exemption from taxation. Then the hon. gentleman found that he could not do that, the feeling among the English importers was too strong for him, and he was obliged to abandon the plan. If tea and coffee are objects of taxation in England, they are imported there in bond, and so he makes this amendment to include tea and coffee in the free list when imported from England, but tea and coffee imported from any country where there is no tax upon them, are to be taxed here. Now, let me call the attention of the committee to the way in which this will work. We have wholesale merchants in Canada who are engaged in the importation of these articles. Some of them have had their business connections established for years, not with London, not in the country of production, but with Holland, and they import the coffee we will say, from Rotterdam and Amsterdam, as my hon. friend from North Oxford has stated. Now, that being the case, why should they have their business ruined? Why are we legislating here with the view of destroying the established business of a certain class of merchants in Canada, in order to carry out a policy of this sort? The hon. gentleman is not legislating to get a revenue in this matter at all, that is not his object; he is legislating to force trade into particular channels. He has been obliged to abandon that policy to the extent of the English trade, and he retains it as against Holland, when by doing so he may ruin the business of some men who are as much deserving of the consideration of this House as any men in the whole community. I say that the whole system is monstrous. There is a heartless indifference to the civil rights of those portions of the population at whom a deadly blow is aimed by the course which the hon. gentleman now proposes to take. I say the proposition is a most unjust one, it is one that I would not undertake to characterize in this House as I think it ought to be characterized; and this committee will do a great injustice to certain mercantile men in this country if they support this proposition. I would like any hon. gentleman to answer me this ques-

tion: If Mr. Smith, a wholesale merchant, is importing his tea or coffee from Amsterdam, and has been for a quarter of a century, and Mr. Jones is importing his from London, why should Mr. Jones be allowed to bring his in free and Mr. Smith be obliged to pay the tax that the hon. gentleman proposes to impose by this tariff? Is there any justification for it? Is it the business of this House to interfere between parties in this way? A man's business connections are established, he cannot change them in an hour, he may not be able to change them at all; and the result of the hon. gentleman's proposition may be to ruin him, simply because he is obliged to pay a tax from which four or five competitors are wholly exempt. I say this is bad enough when you undertake to discriminate in favour of the producer of an article against the consumer, but when you undertake to discriminate in favour of one trader in the country as against another trader, as you do here, both of whom have their business connections established, you do a great injustice, and one that this House ought not to allow itself for one moment to perpetrate.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The point raised by my hon. friend from Bothwell certainly requires our serious consideration, and in view of the numerous alterations that have been made from time to time in this particular duty, I hope that the Minister of Finance will be prepared to explain to us whether my hon. friend's contention is correct, and if it be correct, on what principle he proposes to ask us to do what I am bound to say appears to me to be a very unreasonable and unfair thing, that is, to interfere with the established custom of trade.

Mr. FRASER. I would like to ask the Minister of Finance if tea and coffee imported into London in bond can be tested according to the methods in use there, before they are sold? If tea testers go to the bonded warehouse and there make the test? Otherwise, no tea that is not tested can be imported. The point may be raised that the tea was not tested according to the methods used in London, and consequently it cannot be imported.

Mr. FOSTER. Teas are inspected there.

Mr. FRASER. But can they be inspected in bond? That is what I want to know.

Mr. FOSTER. They are inspected in bond.

Mr. FRASER. By the tea testers?

Mr. FOSTER. Under a provision of the customs.

Mr. FRASER. But that is not the tea testing to which I refer. Those in the tea trade know that in London they have tea testers, and these testers practically control the purchasers, because they regulate the

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

prices by saying what tea is worth. What I want to find out is whether these tea testers in London are permitted to test tea in bond before it is taken out, because if not, you will not know whether the tea in bond is such tea as could be sold in England.

Mr. WELSH. I think the remarks made by the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) are very well taken. Suppose that in England they were to abolish the duty on tea and put it on the free list, what position would we be in then when importing it from England? We would be liable to the 10 per cent duty, without any doubt. I think this is an obstruction to trade. London is the largest tea market in the world. When a merchant goes to London and wants to buy Assam tea, or Ceylon tea, or China tea, or Japan tea, he gets a sample of every tea in the world laid before him in ten minutes, and he can make a selection. It is the best market in which to purchase, for I have had a good deal of experience in it, and I think this 10 per cent is simply like a turnpike gate on a public highway. Referring to the question of the hon. member for Guysboro' (Mr. Fraser), I think they do test all teas in bond. But I do not see the necessity of this 10 per cent on tea. I think this clause ought to be struck out, and tea should be put on the free list, as it was before.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I wish to call the hon. gentleman's attention to another thing, because the committee ought not to be satisfied with a statement as to what the intention is. We ought to know that the intention is a rational one, and the Minister ought to point out to us upon what grounds this distinction can be made. As the hon. member who has just spoken has remarked, if the duty were taken off tea in England, so that the bonding of tea would be an unnecessary proceeding, and that tea was not in bond, the hon. gentleman would have to impose a tax, and whether he would impose a tax on tea or not, would depend, not upon any public rational policy here, but upon the mere accident of whether tea happened to be taxed or untaxed in another country. The hon. gentleman, in his answer to my hon. friend from North Oxford (Mr. Sutherland), says there would be a tax on green coffee imported from Amsterdam or Rotterdam, but if Holland should put coffee on the list of taxed articles so that green coffee imported into Holland would be imported in bond, if the intention was to re-export it, then the hon. gentleman would at once be obliged to put his green coffee brought from Holland upon the free list. If it is proposed to take the article off the free list and put it on the taxed list, then the hon. gentleman would have to take it off the taxed list here and put it on the free list. It is proposed to adopt the tariff in this way. The hon. gentleman started with the

idea that he would as far as possible force the trade of this country into particular channels. He has been compelled on account of influence brought to bear on the department from London, to abandon in a large degree that position, and he has abandoned it so far that he ought to abandon it altogether, and there is no rational ground, so far as I can see, and the hon. gentleman has made no defence yet of the proposition upon which this attempt to impose a tax on a mere fragment of the trade should be continued, why this tax should strike at one importer and not touch another importer should be imposed. The whole proposition, as it stands, is a monstrous one, and one in which the hon. gentleman should not persist.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) could no doubt find a great many reasons against any propositions made to tax an article or to levy and impose duty on an article if he chose to deal in imaginations and suppositions. A very strong case was made out on the ground that Great Britain had no tea or coffee tax. In that case the discrimination would be made against Great Britain, and the hon. gentleman would argue in that case that a tax would be levied on tea coming from Great Britain, which is a very large tea market. That might be the case, provided there was no tax on tea, and provided in the near future there was no tax on tea. But we have practical questions to deal with, without making long-winded speeches on the suppositions as to what would happen if the tax on tea in Great Britain were removed. If I read past history and the present condition of Great Britain aright, there is no great possibility of the tax being removed in the near future.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I did not say there was.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman waxed very indignant on the ground that it was suppose to interfere with one man's business, that Mr. Smith's business, for instance, would be affected, but the tariff would not interfere with Mr. A.'s business. It so happened that Mr. Smith imports in a certain way, and it happened that the other importer imported in a different way. If the item in the tariff passes, the fact that the tariff presses severely on one man's business and not on another's business is simply because one man does and the other does not conform to the general principles that underlie the item. The hon. gentleman was very indignant because Mr. Smith should be interfered with, while Mr. A. was left alone, and he went so far as to lay down as a general principle that Parliament had no right, that in fact it was an outrageous act for Parliament, by fiscal regulation, to interfere with a man's business.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). No, I did not say that.

Mr. FOSTER. I have heard the hon. gentleman myself say that if he and his

party got into power they would certainly remove every vestige of protection from the tariff schedules, as they exist to-day, and the hon. gentleman who has just left the Chamber (Mr. Laurier) has stated as a cardinal principle of his policy, the removal of the iron duties immediately. The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) should not wax so indignant when the hon. gentleman is prepared suddenly and immediately to interfere with an industry involving millions of capital and thousands of workpeople, and yet complain because, in the course of importing tea and coffee, Mr. Smith takes a certain route, while Mr. A. takes another route, and a difference may arise in consequence. I think the main principle to be taken into account is, whether we are placing a tax on tea to the consumer of this country or not. I say we are not. If there is any truth in general principles, if three-quarters of the tea or nine-tenths consumed in Canada comes by direct importation or through London to this country without the imposition of any tax, the duty on the other one-tenth or two-tenths, coming in an indirect manner, and on which the importers have to pay 10 per cent, is not paid by the consumer. A person will import in an indirect manner only because in that market he gains an advantage more than equivalent to the 10 per cent, and it is certain that this impost will not have to be paid by the consumer either on his tea or coffee. Coffee comes here from foreign countries. Java coffee comes direct to this country, or is shipped here in bond; it is so imported here to-day. Jamaica coffee, which is of excellent quality, and Trinidad coffee also, come direct. Then there is the Venezuela coffee, which forms a large proportion of the total crop, comes here free as well, comes either direct or by way of London. So that on either or on both of those articles, it cannot be contended for a moment that the consumer in this country will pay any tax. The other point to be considered is the development of the trade of Canada. Within the last few years an important step has been taken in advance in the way of direct importation of tea and coffee. Other things being equal, it is desirable that the people of Canada should conduct their own trade in that way, instead of paying indirect charges and costs due to indirect methods of importation. Within the last few years a great change has taken place in that respect. Under the Administration of which the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) was a member for a short time, the tea trade almost abandoned this country, so far as the wholesale trade was concerned. It will come back; it is now a large and important trade and has a vast amount of capital invested in it as well. The other principle that underlies this trade is that as far as possible direct importations should be the rule, and the business should be carried on by our own people, with the least accumulation of costs and charges during the transit. These are two matters

which I think are clear and are to be relied upon. When we take them into consideration, I do not think it is so monstrous and outrageous an item in the tariff as has been alleged by the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills). The hon. gentleman must keep cool over the matter and not allow himself to become excited.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. Finance Minister has spoken about long-winded speeches. Who has made the long-winded speech on this occasion?

Mr. FOSTER. Neither of us. I was not competing with you this time.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman has avoided altogether the objection I have made. I will not discuss whether the consumer would get tea, under the argument of the hon. gentleman, as cheap as if the amendment I suggested was adopted. We were not discussing as to the terms upon which the consumer might get his tea. The question was whether the hon. gentleman had the right to discriminate between one importer and another, and perhaps ruin the business of one importer and not another. I referred to the fact that if Great Britain took off the tax on tea, the hon. gentleman's argument, so far as London is concerned, would break down, that the article would no longer be imported from London free of duty. They are better informed on trade questions in England than to make a change in the tariff in that way on speculation; but the question was not as to the probability of such a change, but as to the impropriety of the course which the hon. gentleman was taking, and which, if certain things were to happen, would become glaringly apparent. Whether it would happen or not, it was quite pertinent as an illustration to my argument. But I call the hon. gentleman's attention to this fact, that there are large importations of green coffee from Holland, where no tax is imposed. The tariff of the hon. gentleman may ruin the business of a merchant who has for years been engaged in trading between this country and Holland. Let me suppose that a man in Canada is a member of a house in Amsterdam, or that he is in partnership in a house there which may have lasted for a quarter of a century when it is impossible that his arrangements could be broken up; that person importing to Holland in the first instance and from Holland to this country, will be heavily taxed, while if he were connected with a London house he would have his article free under exactly the same circumstances. That, I contend, is a most unjust arrangement. I am not now complaining with regard to its effect upon the consumer; I am pointing out this: That one man is discriminated against as compared with another engaged in precisely the same business. If the Finance Minister were to propose to levy an excise duty on one distiller, and to permit another to manufacture

Mr. FOSTER.

his goods free; does he suppose that the man who was taxed would not come here and complain; does he suppose that his friends behind him could not see the injustice of an arrangement of that sort? Even under a protective tariff, it is supposed at all events, that those engaged in the same business would stand upon a footing of equality, but under this arrangement the hon. gentleman does not permit persons to stand upon an equal footing in this particular business. He says: If you import directly from the country of production your article shall come in free, but he has been compelled to modify that so far as the larger portion of the imports—those from England is concerned. His whole policy in that respect has, therefore, absolutely broken down. The effect of this will not be to produce revenue or to alter the direction of trade in any large degree. The course which has been taken will simply be to ruin a few men interested in houses long established.

Mr. McMULLEN. This is unquestionably a very important matter and we ought to discuss thoroughly the resolution before the House before we pass it. We remember that last year when the Minister of Finance made his Budget speech, he boasted very loudly that the people of Canada were getting a free breakfast table, but this new tariff of his will impose a tax upon tea brought from England. It cannot be denied that very often you can buy tea in England cheaper than at the point of growth. London is the greatest tea market in the world and largely controls prices, so that very often the merchant can buy considerably better in London, of the kind and quality of tea used in Canada, than he can buy in the country of production. There is no other place in the world where the business of tea blending is more largely carried on than in London. You may take certain classes of tea from the country of growth and relatively speaking they may be cheap enough, but to meet the tastes of the consumers of Canada, you must buy in the London market to which we have been long accustomed. I am afraid that the proposal of the Minister will not meet that taste.

Mr. FOSTER. This is the very thing that does meet it.

Mr. McMULLEN. The Minister knows that the blending of tea is not pursued at the place of production to the same extent as in London.

Mr. FOSTER. It is done in London and that comes in free.

Mr. McMULLEN. But it must be blended in bond in London, and teas are taken out of bond and blended.

Mr. FOSTER. They are blended in bond.

Mr. McMULLEN. They have not been in the habit of blending in bond.

Mr. FOSTER. How else could they be blended than in bond ?

Mr. McMULLEN. They might be taken out and blended afterwards.

Mr. FOSTER. And pay sixpence a pound duty in England ? They would have to pay sixpence per pound if they are taken out of bond.

Mr. McMULLEN. Will the hon. gentleman deny the fact that at certain times tea is cheaper in London than at the point of growth ?

Mr. FOSTER. And we get it at the cheaper rate under this tariff.

Mr. McMULLEN. The wholesale merchant in London does not always keep his tea in bond until it is sold.

Mr. FOSTER. All the tea that goes to a foreign country is kept in bond. Would any man in London, if he wanted to sell tea to Canada, take it out of bond, pay sixpence a pound duty and then sell it to a Canadian importer ?

Mr. McMULLEN. That would depend upon the tea crop in foreign countries. The tea crop varies the same as the wheat crop.

Mr. FOSTER. And that would make it all the worse if he took it out of bond and paid sixpence a pound duty.

Mr. McMULLEN. There is another thing which the Minister of Finance should consider. On every occasion on which we on this side of the House point to the restricted conditions of our markets as far as the United States and other countries are concerned, we are reminded by hon. gentlemen opposite that we have a free British market. Now, at the very time that the Government are making a very vigorous effort I hope to get the embargo removed off our cattle, what consistency is there in their imposing duties on British trade with this country, and in hampering British trade ?

Mr. FOSTER. Will you show the House where there is any duty on tea ?

Mr. McMULLEN. Will the Minister deny that a very important deputation of English tea traders waited upon the High Commissioner to urge upon him that he should exercise his influence and cable to the Government of this country to prevent this duty ?

Mr. FOSTER. Do you mean to prevent the present proposition ?

Mr. McMULLEN. The deputation remonstrated with the High Commissioner against the proposition that the Government made with regard to the duty on tea.

Mr. FOSTER. Do you refer to this present proposition ?

Mr. McMULLEN. You are not going to corner me.

Mr. FOSTER. Nor is the hon. gentleman going to corner me either. This is not the proposition that the deputation waited on Sir Charles Tupper with reference to.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Sir Charles Tupper issued his orders and the Government obeyed them.

Mr. FOSTER. We can discuss that question at some other time.

Mr. McMULLEN. The hon. gentleman will admit that a deputation of influential British merchants did wait on Sir Charles Tupper.

Mr. FOSTER. In prehistoric times.

Mr. McMULLEN. And that they urged upon him certain changes in the direction of meeting British trade. If this duty were imposed for the purpose of collecting a revenue there could not be very much objection to it, but it is quite clear that it is for the sole purpose of cultivating a trade with China in the interest of some particular person or corporation. Who is it that is going to benefit by the people of Canada being put to this inconvenience by this new duty ? The consequence is that a market will have to be found at the place of production largely, and we are detracting from the British market. The same privileges are not accorded to English dealers as to foreign dealers by this tariff proposal. I believe that we should not have thrown even the slightest obstacle in the way of cultivating most kindly relations with England, especially at this very time, when we are trying to get the embargo removed from our cattle.

Mr. FRASER. Would the Minister, for example, consider that good tea in bond taken out and mixed with inferior tea could be imported into Canada because part of the mixture had been in bond ?

Mr. FOSTER. The whole thing would depend as to whether after the mixture was made, it passed for export. That is, was of such a kind that would be admitted into English consumption.

Mr. FRASER. Then any teas that would sell in England could be imported into this country duty free, whatever the mixture was ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Bought in bond ?

Mr. FRASER. Any mixed tea that would sell in England could be imported here ?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. FRASER. How is the test to be made and to be known ? I would consider the test of the bond a clear test. You can take the tea out of bond and bring it here. But what mode will the Minister have of certifying that a mixture made in London should not be sold here ?

Mr. FOSTER. It refers to teas already blended or mixed in bond under the supervision of the customs officers.

Mr. FRASER. I understand then, that no teas can be imported free into this country unless they are mixed and blended before being taken out of bond?

Mr. FOSTER. Certainly, in bond.

Mr. FRASER. It is known in the trade that teas are taken out of bond in England and mixed together, not in bond at all, and sold subject to the tests made by the tea tasters in England. Would such mixtures be allowed to come into this country?

Mr. FOSTER. No. Would there be any possibility of such teas coming into this country? Would the English importer take tea out of bond, pay the duty, mix it, and then propose to sell it to the Canadian importer?

Mr. FRASER. Why not, as well as before?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think he could compete with the Canadian importer.

Mr. FRASER. Suppose he mixed it with inferior teas?

Mr. FOSTER. It would not come in then.

Mr. FRASER. This is simply a method of stopping a trade in one place and putting it into another, and is just in keeping with the whole policy of the Government. It explains to me particularly what was done in Montreal the other day, when the tea merchants insisted that the tariff should remain as it was at first. They wanted Montreal to become a second London, so that they could control the whole trade in Canada. There seems to be something back of this indicating that some parties are going to benefit by this change. Is it nothing to destroy a whole trade with another country?

Mr. O'BRIEN. I would like to ask the Finance Minister what will become of his scheme if the Americans should put a duty on tea?

Mr. FOSTER. Tea from the United States would come under the general clause.

Mr. O'BRIEN. Then the whole object of our policy would be lost. I think it is a great pity that the hon. gentleman did not leave the item of tea as it was in the old tariff. Everybody understood that, and we were not dependent on what other countries might do. The duty as now arranged is satisfactory to the London merchants, as appears from a paragraph which I saw in the London 'Times' the other day stating that they had had an interview with Sir Charles Tupper in which they suggested the arrangement that now seems to have been carried out.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I think the Minister of Finance would do well to tell us, what he has not told us hitherto, why he disturbs the former arrangement

Mr. FOSTER.

that we subsisted under for four or five years. He has not yet given us any specific reason, so far as I have observed, for that alteration.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). I was thinking of asking the same question. I would like the hon. Minister to state whether it is from motives of revenue or otherwise that the change has been made. The old tariff was well understood. Last year we imported about 18,000,000 pounds of tea, of which about half a million pounds came from the United States; of coffee we imported about three and a half million pounds, of which about a quarter of a million came from the United States. The duty was not large, being about \$8,000 on tea and \$3,000 or \$4,000 on coffee. If the object of the Minister in making this change is to secure more revenue, I would ask him how much he expects the revenue to be increased by it? Taking that into consideration, we shall no doubt be able to judge about what amount of diversion of trade may be expected, and whether it would be wise for the sake of that diversion of trade to make this change.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not calculate that there will be any increase of revenue. The whole tendency of the item, if it be passed, will be to stimulate direct importations. We do not make the change at all with the idea of getting an increased revenue.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What is the use of disturbing the well-understood arrangements of the trade for so very trifling a matter as now appears likely to result? If the hon. gentleman had succeeded in putting a stop to the trade from London, which amounts to about one-half of the total importation of tea, whether his movement is a good one or a bad one, it would have been at any rate an effective movement. But so far as I have been able to understand the hon. gentleman, and presuming that the hon. gentleman understands himself—which, bearing in mind the various turns and twists he has given to these resolutions, is a little open to doubt—so far as he has complied with the instructions of Sir Charles Tupper, the effect will be to influence the tea trade to the extent of only a few thousand pounds. Do I understand that he is not going to disturb the London trade at all? Is that his position?

Mr. FOSTER. Almost so.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Then why disturb the customs which prevail in the entire tea and coffee trade? I do not suppose that my hon. friend's correspondents have a chance of organizing a deputation of the Amsterdam trade to go and interview Sir Charles Tupper on this matter, but, practically, that would be their only chance of getting satisfaction. So far as I understand the case, it does appear to me that the hon. gentleman is making a con-

siderable disturbance for no practical purpose whatever. We are not to get revenue; we are not to divert the English trade, which I grant would be a matter of considerable importance to the Canadian Pacific Railway or to other parties; but the hon. gentleman introduces changes which are subject to disturbing influences in the event of other countries taking off tea duties or lessening them, and the practical result, according to him, will be almost nil.

Item agreed to.

Paraffine wax, 2 cents per pound; paraffine wax candles, 4 cents per pound.

Mr. FOSTER. The former duty was 5 cents, and it is now reduced to 4 cents, which makes 20¼ per cent ad valorem.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The hon. gentleman will find that the ad valorem duty is much higher on some grades.

Mr. FOSTER. I form my judgment from the returns of last year, which took in all grades. The total amount brought was 8,351 pounds, and the average duty would be 20¾ cents.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Although I am glad to see the duties reduced, still, as there are many grades brought in, the duty will be much higher on the lower grades. Can the Minister give the extreme, so to speak, of low grade paraffine candles?

Mr. FOSTER. From 12 to 28 cents.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. In the one case the specific duty would amount to one-third of the value of the article, which is close on to 35 per cent. You would have a variation from 14 to 35 per cent.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). More than that.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I dare say. It would be three times as heavy on the low grade as on the high grade, and the low grade is more likely to be used.

Item agreed to.

British gum, dextrine, sizing cream and enamel sizing, 10 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. British gum dressing, sizing cream and enamel sizing; 500,000 pounds imported, at the value of \$20,000. The duty was 1 cent per pound, and the unit value was a little more than 4 cents, so that the ad valorem duty on that under the old tariff would be 25 per cent, and it has been reduced to 10 per cent.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). What manufacture is that used in?

Mr. FOSTER. In paper, and, I think, some textiles. It is a raw material.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Then, of course, you reduce the tax on the finished article?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, I think we have.

Item agreed to.

Lubricating oils, n.e.s., and axle grease, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. The value imported was \$10,000.

Mr. WALLACE. There are many different values in axle grease, and only the highest priced was brought in under that duty. The average was about 4 cents a pound.

Item agreed to.

Barrels, containing petroleum or its produce or any mixture of which petroleum forms a part, when such contents are chargeable with a specific duty, 20 cents each.

Mr. MARTIN. I would like to ask if there is to be any change in the working of the regulations in connection with the importation of coal oil in tanks?

Mr. FOSTER. We have allowed oil itself to stand, and will discuss that question in discussing the duty on oil.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Would the hon. gentleman indicate in any way when they will probably come up? They will require some discussion.

Mr. FOSTER. Not later than Tuesday.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. We will arrange, then, that they should come up on Tuesday.

Mr. FOSTER. Very well.

Item agreed to.

Linseed or flaxseed oil, raw or boiled, lard oil, neatsfoot oil, and sesame seed oil, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. Linseed and flaxseed oil were formerly 1¼ cents per pound; lard oil and neatsfoot oil were formerly 20 per cent. These are all joined in one item at 20 per cent.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). You have wiped out the duty on the barrels.

Mr. WALLACE. As the duty is charged on an ad valorem basis, the barrel is charged as part of the invoice price under the general package clause.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What is the ad valorem equivalent of the 1¼ cents per pound on linseed and flaxseed oil?

Mr. FOSTER. About 30 per cent.

Item agreed to.

Olive oil, prepared for salad purposes, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I do not suppose this is a matter of great importance; still, I do not see what objection the Government has to people eating salad.

Mr. FOSTER. There is no prohibition of eating salad in this country. But, if one has such bad taste as to mix oil with his salad it is but fair that he should pay for it. The hon. gentleman must take this item as part of the whole. Olive oil, for other than food purposes, that is for manufacturing purposes, is made free, and the only

olive oil on which we now have a duty is that which comes in prepared as salad oil.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. You are adding to that duty.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). No doubt the Minister wants to have the oil prepared here.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not care ; this is for revenue.

Item agreed to.

Vaseline, and all similar preparations of petroleum, for toilet, medicinal or other purposes, 35 per cent ad valorem.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. How does that compare with the former duty ?

Mr. FOSTER. This is a reduction on vaseline. Formerly there was specific duty on vaseline, and similar preparations, 4 cents in bulk per pound, which would be equal to an ad valorem duty of 45¼ per cent, and on vaseline in bottles or other packages not over one pound in weight, 6 cents per pound. A very small importation, indeed, came in under that. Placing all vaseline at 35 per cent is a large reduction.

Mr. RIDER. Does the hon. gentleman mean to say that the same duty is to be charged on vaseline in bulk as on vaseline when put up in bottles ? This would not seem to be in accordance with the principle followed in the case of olive oil.

Mr. FOSTER. This is a duty of 35 per cent on bottles and all. The duty on the vaseline in bulk would be considerably less than on that put up in bottles. There is thus an advantage in favour of those who put it up in this country.

Item agreed to.

Blacking, shoe, and shoemakers' ink, and shoe, harness and leather dressing, and harness soap, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. This is a reduction of 5 per cent. I have no objection to the reduction. But, as we are under a paternal government could you not issue a ukase to reduce the price of blacking shoes ?

Mr. FOSTER. Don't be hard on the boot-blacks.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It would really be a benefit to the industry, for more people would have their shoes blacked.

Item agreed to.

Paints and colours, ground in spirits, and all spirits, varnishes, and lacquers, \$1 per gallon.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What revenue does that particular item yield ?

Mr. FOSTER. Very little—almost nothing. It was put in, and has been kept there for the purpose of preventing possible frauds by the mixing of a little colour with the spirits, bringing them in and afterwards dissolving the compound, and selling the spirits.

Mr. FOSTER.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Does not the hon. gentleman think it would be punishment enough for one to drink in his liquor what had been mixed with paint ?

Mr. FOSTER. No ; it is perfectly potable.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Have you tried it ?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Well, unless some of the hon. gentleman's colleagues can back him in that statement I think we ought to have the evidence from more competent authority.

Mr. FOSTER. The Minister of Trade and Commerce will vouch for that.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I doubt if he is any better authority.

Item agreed to.

Varnishes, lacquers, japans, japan-driers, liquid-driers, and oil finish, n.e.s., 20 cents per gallon and 20 per cent ad valorem.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. This is a mixed duty. I take it for granted that in this case, as in others, there is a considerable difference in the values of these articles. But about what ad valorem duty does this represent ? What is the average value ?

Mr. WALLACE. The average is about \$1.79.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What is the range of value ?

Mr. WALLACE. From \$1.40 to \$2.25.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Speaking roughly, then, this duty is about 35 per cent ?

Mr. WALLACE. The duty under the former tariff was 36 per cent on the average.

Mr. FOSTER. This will be lower ?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes—a reduction of about 5 per cent.

Item agreed to.

Paris green, dry, 10 per cent ad valorem.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Unless there is some rather strong reason against it, I think that, in the interest of the farmer, this article ought to be allowed to be imported free. It is a matter of very considerable importance to the farmers in many localities to be allowed to use Paris green for the destruction of insects, and more particularly of the potato bug, which has been a serious nuisance, as the hon. gentleman, no doubt, knows, over a large part of Canada.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Since the present Government came in.

Mr. FOSTER. No ; we have been exterminating the pest since we came in.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. If that has been the object, I can answer, from my own experience, that the hon. gentleman's success has been very small. Unless there is some good reason to be given, it is scarcely fair to tax an article which is so largely

used for the preservation of the farmers' crops—and increasingly largely used, I am told. It is scarcely fair to tax that without some serious reason for it. What is the amount of revenue derived from that tax?

Mr. WALLACE. Three thousand six hundred dollars. It is nearly all made in this country.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) In the Maritime Provinces it is nearly all imported.

Mr. WALLACE. Not at all. There is not 10 or 20 per cent of it imported.

Item agreed to.

Putty, 15 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. DENISON. I do not know as this is the proper item upon which to make the remark that I wish to make. But I wish to say that dry putty, when used in polishing granite, comes in free, but dry putty when used in polishing glass, from some mistake, I suppose, has been paying a duty of 20 per cent. If putty is free for polishing granite, surely it might be free for polishing glass.

Mr. FOSTER. My hon. friend will see that the substance used for polishing granite is made free this year that formerly was dutiable, which—but when we come to that item on the free list, we will take into consideration what my hon. friend said.

Mr. STAIRS. I want to draw the attention of the Minister of Finance to the rate of duty imposed on putty. I understand 15 per cent gives no protection whatever to the manufacturers of this country. The duty on the linseed oil, even at the reduced rate, on the amount that is required to make a hundred weight of putty, is just about the same as a 15 per cent duty on the putty itself. If it is proposed to continue the policy of protection, I do not think we should put the manufacturers of putty at a positive disadvantage.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. But the hon. gentleman forgets that we make linseed oil here, and we have been told repeatedly, though I am not sure by the hon. gentleman, that where we manufacture for ourselves, the duty imposed does not add at all to the cost to the consumer; so it is clear that on this principle he would have no grievance.

Item agreed to.

Earthenware and stoneware, 2 cents per gallon of holding capacity.

Mr. FOSTER. I want to add to that "brick for building, and paving brick." This will include brick used for paving streets, a sort of vitrified brick.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Is there any real utility in this tax at all? What is the importation of brick for building and paving purposes supposed to amount to, and how much are we likely to import, so far as

the Minister can guess, by the introduction of this duty?

Mr. FOSTER. This is a sort of amplification for the sake of clearness. Paving brick came in the same as brick for building, at 20 per cent. The quantity imported amounted to \$14,000 worth.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Does the hon. gentleman expect that paving brick will be manufactured in this country, by the imposition of this tariff?

Mr. WALLACE. It is being made in several places now. It is vitrified brick, very hard, and is pronounced a great success. The manufacture has been started in two places, by Taylor Bros., of Toronto, and one firm are making it very largely at Mimico.

Item agreed to.

Drain tiles, not glazed, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. McMILLAN. I think drain tiles ought to be placed upon the free list. All along the frontier in Ontario the land requires draining very much. There is nothing in the province of Ontario to-day that the land wants more than draining, and tiles are the principal item in draining. There are only \$110 worth of tiles imported into this country, paying \$20 of duty. Therefore, the duty can be no object with the Government, and as these tiles are a necessity in the province of Ontario, I hope the Minister of Finance will put this item on the free list.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. There is no doubt that my hon. friend is perfectly right. Every man who owns land in Ontario, or, I suppose, anywhere in the Dominion, knows that it is of great importance in an enormous number of localities to encourage tile draining as much as we possibly can. I think this is one more of those cases in which in the interest of the farmer—and we have been told this is a farmer's tariff—this class of articles should be made free. They confer a benefit of a high degree, and I am told that in some cases they have doubled and trebled, and even quadrupled, the average producing quality of the land. I think my hon. friend's request is founded on good sense, and is especially applicable to the state of facts in a great number of districts along the frontier of Ontario. As a rule, the cost of conveying these tiles any distance is so great that it forms of itself quite a sufficient protection to any local manufactures that may exist.

Mr. FOSTER. I agree with what my hon. friend has said as to the utility of these articles. I suppose it is true, however, on the other hand, that these unglazed drain tiles, being made all over the country in almost every brick yard, are not enhanced in cost by the duty which is put upon them. They are made locally and distributed locally, and the breakage attending their im-

portation from a foreign country would largely tend against their importation.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Take the case of a man living near the Detroit or St. Clair River; if there is no tile manufactory established within fifteen or twenty miles of him, it would be a great convenience to have tiles brought by water to his own immediate locality. They are a heavy article.

Mr. McMILLAN. Where I live, although some description of tiles is made within four or five miles of our residence, we find it better to go twenty-five or thirty miles for them in order to get a better quality of the article. Therefore, considering the very small amount of revenue that is derived from this duty, and the great importance of drainage in many parts of the country, I think this duty should be struck off altogether.

Mr. FOSTER. We will consider the matter.

Item agreed to.

Glass carboys and demijohns, empty or filled, bottles and decanters, flasks and phials, glass jars and glass balls, and cut, pressed or moulded glass tableware, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FRASER. What is the result of the change generally, taking the items altogether?

Mr. FOSTER. It is equivalent all round to about 8 per cent.

Item agreed to.

Insulators of all kinds, and lamps, including arc and incandescent; lamp-chimneys, side-lights and head-lights, lamps, gas-light and electric-light shades, and globes—for lanterns, lamps, electric lights and gas lights, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. MULOCK. Will the hon. gentleman explain what changes are to be made with regard to insulators?

Mr. FOSTER. A number of items were grouped together, and a uniform duty of 30 per cent has been imposed.

Mr. MULOCK. Does the hon. gentleman not think that 30 per cent is a heavy duty on lamps and lamp chimneys? These are not luxuries.

Mr. FOSTER. Some are luxuries, and some are not.

Mr. MULOCK. What factories are making lamp chimneys in this country?

Mr. FOSTER. Thirty per cent is not a high duty on glass.

Mr. MULOCK. It is a good deal for a poor man to pay when he does not receive an article worth the money. How many factories in Canada are making lamp chimneys?

Mr. WALLACE. There are two or three in Hamilton, several in Montreal, and one at Port Colborne, but I think the Port Colborne one has been burnt down.

Mr. FOSTER.

Mr. MULOCK. I presume it is reasonable to assume that all those have an understanding that, helped by this tariff, every man shall pay 30 per cent more for his lamp and lamp chimneys than he otherwise would have to pay. The Minister says lamps and lamp chimneys are luxuries?

Mr. FOSTER. No. I said some are and some are not.

Mr. MULOCK. You are now taxing all lamps and lamp chimneys. Some of those taxed are certainly necessary. They are necessary for the lighting of poor men's houses. I appeal to the Minister of Finance on behalf of this class of the people, whether it is reasonable to maintain a duty of 30 per cent on lamp and lamp chimneys, used in every household in the land? It means that for every dollar the poor man expends for a lamp chimney, he only receives 70 cents in value, in other words that he has to pay \$1.30 for every dollar's worth of property. I appeal to the Minister to reconsider this item. The Government are taxing the oil, and giving it high protection, and they are now proposing to impose a heavy duty on lamps and lamp chimneys. This system will affect all households unless they are to remain in darkness. The hon. Minister says there are lamps and lamps, that some lamps are luxuries and some are necessities. Surely he could form a scheme by which to separate the luxuries from the necessities.

Mr. FOSTER. It would be pretty difficult in this case.

Mr. MULOCK. Then I ask the hon. Minister to reduce the duty.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think we can do that. We get a large revenue from these articles.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. How much?

Mr. FOSTER. These items are scattered throughout the tariff. From two or three items which I now see, we obtained last year about \$7,000. It is true that we propose a duty of 30 per cent, but as it is an ad valorem duty, the cheaper article will have less duty to pay. I do not think, for the sake of simplicity we can undertake to make a distinction, and in fact it would be impossible to distinguish between lamps that are luxuries and lamps that are necessities.

Mr. MULOCK. There is another way of dealing with this matter, and that is to lower the duty. The total value of entries at the customs-house for lamps and similar articles last year was \$63,000, and the Minister says about \$8,000 was collected on lamps and lamp chimneys.

Mr. FOSTER. I did not say. I said they were distributed under different items.

Mr. MULOCK. According to the Trade and Navigation Returns, \$63,000 in duties were collected on lamps, lamp chimneys, gas lamps and a miscellaneous lot of things. We cannot tell from this return what amount of lamp chimneys were imported.

Mr. WALLACE. There are scarcely any lamp chimneys imported.

Mr. MULOCK. Then the manufacturers in Canada supply the people of Canada, and in view of our experience it is reasonable to assume that the manufacturers have charged pretty nearly the 30 per cent duty extra. This 30 per cent is the initial increase on the cost of the article, and when it passes through the hands of the wholesale and retail merchant there will probably be nearly 50 per cent added to the price to the consumer. There are probably a million households in Canada, and it is reasonable to assume that of that million, 800,000 households have to pay tribute under this one item. If the Minister was only thinking of the revenue in this matter he could tell us in a moment what would be the effect on revenue if there were no duty on lamp chimneys. We are told by the Controller of Customs that practically no lamp chimneys are imported. Therefore, it is not a matter of revenue, and if it is not a matter of revenue it must be a duty put on for the benefit of these two or three factories, which enables them to have a corner on lamp chimneys, and to take 30 per cent or thereabouts out of the pockets of every consumer. I ask the Minister, is he prepared to reconsider this item in that light, or does he at once say that he has no regard for the masses of the people?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not take the issue at that.

Mr. FRASER. The Controller of Customs says that there were very few lamp chimneys imported last year. We can then see how our glass factory stands in New Glasgow, for we have been closed up for five years, because the men in Montreal came down, bought out our manufactured goods and moulds, and paid us 8 per cent on our capital, without our doing any work.

Mr. FOSTER. Are you a stockholder there?

Mr. FRASER. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. How much do you get now?

Mr. FRASER. Eight per cent on my money; but that does not influence me, for I say that a policy which permits that is an iniquitous system. Hon. gentlemen opposite might take another view of it because they were making money, but I do not. The system is wrong.

Mr. SPROULE. You ought to be punished under the combines law.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. This is a very important matter and it is worth while to consider for a few moments. We have understood from the Government that if there was one thing which they were determined to put down it was these villainous combines, and here is a case in point. I understood from the Finance Minister that whenever a case of a combine was established, whenever it was clear that factories were closed, and the workmen put out of employment, as my hon. friend (Mr. Fraser) states in his place was the case, that the Government were prepared to give relief to the people by reducing the duty. Here is an opportunity for implementing their promise. In face of the declaration of my hon. friend (Mr. Fraser), are they prepared to reduce the duty so that in future this combination, which he has shown to exist, and which closes factories, and pays a dividend to the capitalists concerned, but leaves the workmen out in the cold, are the Government now prepared to implement their previous promises by reducing the duty?

Mr. FOSTER. I have reduced the duty.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. No, no. There is a reduction of 5 per cent in one case, but that does not account for the other cases, and taking these items generally there is a very considerable increase all round. Here is distinct evidence of the operation of a combine, contrary to the interests of the country, I venture to say, which shuts up factories, which deprives men of work, and which pays certain wealthy proprietors 8 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. Like my hon. friend (Mr. Fraser) over there.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I fancy that the political engagements of my hon. friend (Mr. Fraser) takes his 8 per cent, and a good deal more, too, so that he does not count; but the other fellows retain their 8 per cent, and unless in the shape of subscriptions to hon. gentlemen opposite I do not think they are taxed at all. However that may be, this is a case in point, and I want to know: Will the Minister, having this distinct and clear evidence, which he does not refute, implement his former promises and reduce the duty in this case? What is he going to do?

Mr. FOSTER. I think we will have to have some legislation introduced which will enable us to deal with combinesters like my hon. friend opposite, who agrees to shut up his factory, take 8 per cent, and let the poor labourers go.

Mr. FRASER. I am a shareholder in that company, and if I get the opportunity I am ready to take out of it any money I put in that business. It was the work of the directors, and I got my 8 per cent, and accepted it. But I come here and I say distinctly that it is an iniquitous thing that I should get 8 per cent—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Mr. FRASER. It is an iniquitous thing that I should get 8 per cent on money when there is no work done. It is iniquitous when that 8 per cent is put on the price of the article made in Montreal over and above its regular value. The men that manufacture the article in Montreal sell it to the people in this country, and we import none. They first put the price of the raw material, then the wages of the men, then their profits, and added to that is the 8 per cent paid to the New Glasgow Company, and the people of this country have to pay it. Is that fair? Is the policy right which encourages that? Is my argument going to be met by hon. gentlemen opposite by saying I am a shareholder, and I accepted that? Is that an answer to my statement? I know hon. gentlemen opposite are surprised at what I say, because I do not suppose that any of them would feel as I do on the question under the circumstances.

Mr. GILLMOR. You will vote to reduce the tariff on these goods?

Mr. FRASER. Yes; I will vote to reduce the tariff right down.

Mr. WALLACE. Are there not any other glass works in New Glasgow?

Mr. FRASER. There are two small concerns where they make a few bottles. There are the Lamont Brothers, and Humphrey & Company, who were in the glass factory and who being put out of employment now make a few bottles. The New Glasgow factory has been closed for five years, and consequently it has depreciated in value. I am not blaming the Government for that, only in so far as they have a tariff policy that permits it. I say that a tariff that enables the Montreal men to do that is not a good tariff, and I am going to raise my voice against it. The 8 per cent on the money that is invested is not so much after all, when you consider that the factory has been closed for five years and has depreciated, so that the original value is about gone. This policy has enabled the Montreal men to put a tax on the people of this country to pay that 8 per cent for five years, and to so reduce the original stock, or rather what answers to the stock there, as to make it almost not worth 40 or 50 per cent at the outside. So that, although I have got my 8 per cent, I have been losing all the time, because my original capital has shrunk.

Mr. FLINT. I think the request made by the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock), that lamp chimneys should be placed upon the same foot as common and colourless window glass, at 20 per cent, is a reasonable request. Lamp chimneys are one of the largest articles of consumption by the people. The fact that no lamp chimneys, comparatively speaking, are imported into Canada, it seems to me gives an additional

Mr. FRASER.

weight to the request. It shows conclusively that on an article most extensively manufactured in the United States and Great Britain the tariff is sufficiently high to prevent importations; and the additional facts cited by the hon. member for Guysboro' (Mr. Fraser), in regard to the combination which exists in this country, and which must inevitably take much more out of the consuming portion of the people than it has a right to take, are a further reason why ordinary lamp chimneys should be placed on the same footing as common and colourless window glasses.

Mr. MULOCK. The hon. Minister will also observe that the freight and insurance on this class of goods amount to a very considerable protection, for, they being perishable, easily broken, and bulky, considerable loss must occur in transshipment. These circumstances alone make it very difficult for an outsider to lay down goods advantageously in Canada. When you add to these things the duty, you see what an enormous protection you are giving to this combination, and how enormously you are increasing the cost of lamp chimneys to the consuming public. I have made a calculation which I will give to the Minister for his information. Owing to the duty of 30 per cent, the wholesaler in purchasing lamp chimneys from the manufacturer must add 30 per cent to the cost. In selling to the retailer he adds a profit of say 20 per cent, that is 6 cents on 30 cents. Therefore, the protection enhances the cost to the retailer by 36 per cent; the retailer puts his profit, say at the same rate of 20 per cent, upon the article, which means an addition of 7 cents. In other words, the original protection has grown to 43 per cent which the consumer has to pay in the shape of extra price for his lamp glass. Is that reasonable, humane or proper? In my opinion, it is an outrage on the masses of the people. The Minister and his colleagues may turn a deaf ear, but they will have to account for this later on. It is an absolutely indefensible transaction. Their system has destroyed industries, it has destroyed values, it has turned men out of employment, it has wasted property. The tariff has been abused, and, with this abuse staring the Minister in the face, he does not even give consideration to it.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT—

With every feature of a knave complete,
If it be honest, 'tis a devilish cheat.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I suppose this is a part of the policy of development. The hon. gentleman is not proposing this for revenue, because that is a subordinate object of the Government in this tariff; the taxes are imposed for the purposes of development, and, according to the statement of the hon. member for Guysboro' (Mr. Fraser), they have developed in one of the expected ways the manufacture of glass in his constituency,

as well as in other portions of the Dominion. Of course, this goes to show many of the advantages that are to be derived from the policy of the Government. But I remember a measure which the hon. Controller of Customs pressed upon the attention of the House a few years ago. It went to a committee, where it was carefully considered, and it attached the character of a crime to combinations of this sort. The measure then went to the Senate, where it underwent modifications, and the teeth which the hon. gentleman had inserted in it were withdrawn, so that when it came back to this House it wore a less formidable aspect than it did when it left here. The hon. gentleman, however, accepted the measure, which, according to the views of the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon), was passed during a panic in the House, when the hon. gentlemen opposite were afraid to assert what their convictions were, and voted in accordance with what they thought were their interests. Now, the hon. Minister of Finance, by his policy of development, has defeated the object the hon. Controller of Customs then had in view. The Controller of Customs is of opinion, in spite of his devotion to protection, that combines are not very good things, that they did serious mischief, that they enhanced prices unduly; and now the hon. gentleman has a practical illustration of a combine. He finds a large number of manufacturing institutions closed, the labourers in them thrown out of employment, and the property degenerating in value. In this matter he is supporting the policy which continues this state of things. Of course, the country will in time come to understand what the Finance Minister meant by his policy of development. As long as the subject was described as protection, there was confusion in the public mind between the question of revenue and the question of development. But now, since the hon. gentleman has gone into a careful analysis of the difference this session, and has pointed out that the collection of revenue was, in all these matters, a subordinate consideration, and that the really important point was development, and now that we see in what direction the development has taken place by high taxes, the public will understand the policy of the Administration better than they ever understood it before. In fact, I see an hon. gentleman over there giving his attention to this, and I am perfectly sure he understands the matter now better than he ever understood it before. When he advocated these high taxes, he did not intend to close up a glass factory in Guysboro' and another portion of the constituency, and to concentrate the production of these particular articles at a certain point and at that point only. When the hon. gentleman voted for high taxes, he did not intend to put an end to a cordage factory in Quebec and another in Whitby, but intended to stimulate institutions of that kind all over the country. But the Minister

shows now, how this policy of development is just as likely to work in the one direction as in the other. It may stimulate the direction of capital towards investment in enterprises that would, under ordinary circumstances, be unprofitable. To give, by high taxes, a profit to the new institutions called into existence, is one phase of the question only, which hon. gentlemen on the other side have seen; but now when we see that the effect is to close up a large number of institutions and to pay dividends to the proprietors of capital invested in others which are lying idle, and throw a large number of employees out of employment, depriving them of their wages, we are confronted with another phase of the policy of development. That is the phase to which the attention of the House and the country has been called, and which it is most important to carefully consider, and it is one, I have no doubt, whether the House will consider it or not, that the country will carefully consider between this time and the next election, whenever that may be.

Mr. McKAY. I hope the hon. Minister of Finance and the Controller of Customs will not change their policy with reference to this item of duty. There has been a good deal of misplaced sympathy with the poor people who buy these articles. Everybody must admit that the manufacture of that article in this country has resulted in cheapening the prices very much indeed. The average duty paid by a householder in this country would be so small that nobody would feel it in the very slightest degree. A great deal has been said by hon. gentlemen opposite about the combine in this industry. I do not know that there is such a thing as a combine, but I know that all the glass manufacturers are the political friends of these hon. gentlemen, and if they make a combine, it is made by the supporters of hon. gentlemen opposite.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). How are our political friends enabled to do this great mischief? Will the hon. gentleman explain?

Mr. SPROULE. This discussion brings up one very important phase of this question, which should not be overlooked. The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) has drawn our attention to an Act passed a few years ago, which I hold in my hands. It reads as follows:—

Every person who conspires, combines, agrees or arranges with any other person, or with any railway, steamship, steamboat or transportation company, unlawfully—

To unduly limit the facilities for transporting, producing, manufacturing, supplying, storing or dealing in any article or commodity which may be a subject of trade or commerce; or—

To restrain or injure trade or commerce in relation to any such article or commodity; or—

To unduly prevent, limit or lessen the manufacture or production of any such article or com-

modity, or to unreasonably enhance the price thereof; or—

Is guilty of a misdemeanour and liable on conviction, to a penalty not exceeding four thousand dollars and not less than two hundred dollars, or to imprisonment for any term not exceeding two years.

It would be the duty of some member of this House to draw the attention of the Attorney General for Nova Scotia to the hon. member for Guysboro' (Mr. Fraser), who admits that he is connected with a combine, that he has shared in the profits, and has accepted them without remonstrance. And I presume that this admission, were it not that the privileges of this House protect him, would make him liable to conviction under this Act. And notwithstanding the privileges of this Parliament, I do not know that he is liable under this Act.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. He could plead that the Finance Minister and his colleagues were accomplices before the fact, and ought to be punished at least to as high a degree.

Mr. McMULLEN. The hon. member for Hamilton (Mr. McKay), said that this particular industry did not extract from the consumer any very considerable amount in the way of increased prices. But when we come to consider the amount extracted from the consumers of lamp glass, rice, starch and all those different articles, if the collector of taxes went to their doors every now and then and demanded the taxation in these different commodities, they would find that they amounted to a considerable sum at the end of the year. We have in this Dominion nearly five million of a population, or about a million householders, estimating five to a household. Allowing to each householder, as his consumption of lamp glass, one dollar's worth in the year—and any one will admit that that is not an extravagant estimate of the amount expended by a farmer in his stables and otherwise—we find that on an average the tax would amount to \$300,000 a year, or 30 per cent. Where does that go? Not a brass farthing goes into the Treasury, because the Controller of Customs says that there is almost no duty collected on lamp glass. Where then does it go? It goes into the pockets of the men who manufacture lamp glass. That is their protection, and that explains why they were able to close the New Glasgow factory and pay dividends to its proprietor. The Government should show some consideration for the poorer classes, and more particularly the farming class who use lamp glasses so largely. These people have no electric light, no gas light as in the city; they must use coal oil and they must use lamp glasses. They are taxed heavily on the coal oil to encourage the production of that commodity in this country, and then you tax them heavily upon their lamp glasses. When you admit glass at a duty of 20 per cent, you ought to reduce the

Mr. SPROULE.

duty on lamp glasses. A reduction of 10 per cent might be made in this duty on lamp glasses and still ample protection be given to the manufacturer.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). There would still be \$150,000 of tribute.

Mr. McMULLEN. I believe there would be even more than that, and, at 30 per cent, the tribute amounts to \$300,000. As my hon. friend from North York (Mr. Mulock) has pointed out, the heavy freight upon lamp glasses, owing to their bulk and the breakages, are in themselves a large protection to the Canadian manufacturer. With a tariff duty of 30 per cent, the whole protection amounts to 40 per cent, or even more. Those engaged in the lamp glass business in this country are reaping a rich harvest. They have the benefit of duties amounting to \$300,000, of which the Controller admits very little goes into the Dominion treasury. And yet this combine is to be continued in its present state and they are to go on reaping the harvest which they are now reaping at the expense of the people.

Mr. WELDON. I wish the Finance Minister would take into consideration the suggestion that lamps and lamp chimneys should be transferred from this item to the next—that is, that they should be reduced from 30 per cent to 20 per cent. I think it is safe to say that out of every thousand lamps that are used, nine hundred are used by the poorer classes—lamps costing something less than a dollar. If the fact be, as I gather from the discussion, that those who enjoy this high protection have taken an undue advantage of it and formed a combine, I think it is fair and right for us who are moderate protectionists to take advantage of our control of the tariff to tell these gentlemen that they must not destroy internal competition. Therefore, I hope the Finance Minister will agree to put lamps and lamp chimneys in the lower list.

Mr. GIBSON. I would like to say a word in reply to the hon. member for Hamilton (Mr. McKay). He did not state quite accurately the case regarding the owners of the glass factory in the city he represents. I happen to know, as a matter of fact, that the gentleman who organized the glass factory, and who probably was instrumental in getting this rate of duty put on the schedule, was a friend of the hon. gentleman from Hamilton himself. At one time he was a good Liberal, but 35 per cent protection on his manufactured goods made him a very strong supporter of the hon. gentleman. He was able in a very short time to retire from the business with \$100,000 profit made by this factory. It may be quite correct, as the hon. member for Hamilton says, that the factory is now in the hands of the Grits, but the wrong-doing, if any, was through the instrumentality of a supporter of the hon. gentleman.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) referred to the statute and read a clause under which he thinks prosecution to prevent the continuance of the combine should take place. The hon. gentleman will see that the use of the words "unreasonably" and "unduly" in that statute render the statute itself nugatory, so that it is practically inoperative to-day. The hon. gentleman will see that it is to the Minister he ought to have appealed and not to the statute. He has the question now before him. He could not depend upon the courts to enforce a statute that is so exceedingly defective; but he can enforce the necessary regulation himself by voting for the reduction of the duties. That is a simpler way, a more efficient and less expensive way than the one which he suggests—that of an expensive prosecution which, after all, might not accomplish the object which he professes to have in view. The hon. gentleman from Hamilton spoke of certain parties who were Reformers previously, and who, my hon. friends here say, have since transferred their allegiance to that side of the House. And he has given the reason—the potency of this increase in the tariff. Why, Sir, the statement reminds me of the story of Hans Breitmann. The northern army—the Dutch brigade—were unable to defeat their enemies on the opposite side of the river. But when they learned that there was lager among the enemy, they fought with redoubled vigour, and were able to establish themselves on the other side of the river. The hon. gentleman knows precisely how to take a certain class of Reformers from this party to that through the instrumentality of the Finance Minister. But the Finance Minister will find that there are certain friends that are hurt as well as opponents that are helped and—if we are to regard the subject from that standpoint—the hon. gentleman will have as much to gain from the reduction of the tariff, as he is likely to gain from its increase.

Mr. McKAY. I would like to say a word in reply to the hon. member for Lincoln (Mr. Gibson), as he has not stated the facts altogether correctly. When I spoke of the owners of the glass works in Hamilton, it was in order to deal with the question of the combine which they had been accused of making. The hon. member for Lincoln referred to a gentleman connected with the business many years ago, who retired from the business completely, and left it in the hands of the gentlemen to whom I have referred. The gentleman to whom the hon. member for Lincoln refers was not a party to the combine, but the combine was made long after he went out, and by the friends of hon. gentlemen opposite. But I hold that the political complexion of the owners of these factories should not be considered. What we are looking after is to protect the men who are working in these factories from

being brought into competition with the cheap glass—

Mr. MULOCK. The cheap labour of the United States.

Mr. McKAY. No; of Germany, Belgium, and other countries where the workers in the glass factories are paid one or two shillings a day. I am a protectionist, and that is what we want to protect our people against, and that is what I shall endeavour to do as long as I have a seat in this House.

Mr. GIBSON. I do not wish to misrepresent the hon. member for Hamilton in any way, but he referred to the gentlemen who now control the glass works as friends of the Liberal party. No doubt they are friends of the Liberal party—I do not say they are not. When the question of a factory is up for consideration, whether it gives employment to many or to few, hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House are ready to defend the action of the Government in maintaining a high rate of duty. But he forgets about the thousands of people that have to pay for these articles. Now, we were accused the other night by the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague) that we even had the audacity as Liberals to accompany farmers' delegates when they came to Ottawa to interview the Government regarding the wine duties. Well, I do not think it was a very heinous crime to commit, because we find that when a manufacturer comes down he does not require the assistance of the Liberals, he is simply shown all the courtesies of the House, and given a seat in the gallery, and every little attention that can be shown him is given him by the members of the Government. And they never ask the Liberals to accompany them when they want to have their duties maintained. Even though our friends in Hamilton are engaged in this business, as Liberals we are in favour of a reduction in all duties, and are trying to do more for the people of Canada and the citizens of Hamilton who have to buy taxed goods, when we ask the Minister of Finance to put all duties down as low as possible.

Mr. MULOCK. The senior member for Hamilton says that we maintain this tariff to protect Canadian labour. Can he explain to the House how this excludes competition? Are not foreign artisans free to come to Canada in competition with the Canadian artisan?

Mr. McKAY. Let them come to Canada.

Mr. MULOCK. Then where is the protection for the home artisan? If protection in Canada has such an effect on labour, if it enhances the value of labour in Canada, as the hon. gentleman says, how is it that in Germany, which is one of the highest protected countries in the world, the artisans receive only a shilling a day? Another question I would put to him. He spoke of

this manufacturing interest being entitled to credit for a reduction in the cost of lamp chimneys—coming back to the question under consideration. Could he tell us how the price compares in Canada and the states to-day, or between Canada and any other country?

Mr. McKAY. I can only say that the price of lamp chimneys is very much cheaper to-day than it was some years ago before the factory was started. The cheapness of lamp chimneys to-day is due to the fact that they are manufactured in this country. I think the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) put his figures all together too high when he spoke about a dollar a year being expended in lamp chimneys by every family in this country. That would be putting the consumption of lamp chimneys at an enormous figure. I do not think the average consumption of lamp chimneys in any ordinary household, exceeds one dozen per year, and the price ranges from 30 cents to 60 cents per dozen. That is the price at which you can buy them in any store in this city. I think that at least 25 per cent of the people in cities and towns do not use lamp chimneys at all, they use gas or electric light.

Mr. FRASER. Do I understand the hon. gentleman to say that an ordinary family use only a dozen chimneys per year?

Mr. McKAY. I do not think they would use more than that.

Mr. FRASER. Then a farmer who has five or six rooms in his house, would only use two chimneys for each room in a year. All I can say is, I do not think the chimneys are washed at all in that case. The lamps must be left burning all the time, or people must have some method of lighting them without taking off the chimney. The experience of every person who keeps house is that lamp chimneys are broken almost every day. People in cities and towns, perhaps, do not use as many lamp chimneys, but we poor mortals who have to use them altogether, know that not only when the chimney is being cleaned, but even when it is burning, it frequently breaks to pieces, to the great satisfaction and joy of heart of the maker of lamp chimneys.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Is that the fault of the tariff?

Mr. FRASER. I do not blame the tariff for it, but I blame the makers of the tariff for not knowing how easily they do break.

Mr. FOSTER. That is the kind of lamp chimney you make down in your county.

Mr. FRASER. All I have to say is that the Montreal firm bought them at cash prices, and were very glad to get them.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. My hon. friend made them too well.

Mr. MULOCK.

Mr. FRASER. I have nothing to do with that matter. In answer to the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule), I want to say that being only a stockholder in that company, and everything being controlled by the directors, I do not think I can be prosecuted under that Act.

Mr. SPROULE. Did he oppose it when it was contemplated?

Mr. FRASER. I acquiesced in it. If an hon. gentleman happens to have stock in a company, and that company has protection, must his mouth be kept shut? A man would have to leave the world, almost, on that principle.

An hon. MEMBER. That argument has been frequently used from the Liberal side.

Mr. FOSTER. How much was that stock watered?

Mr. FRASER. It was not watered at all, but to get clear of it, I will give the hon. gentleman the benefit of the five years' lease and the 8 per cent upon it, and I will sell it to him at par. But that is no argument at all. The question before the committee depends upon its intrinsic qualities. It is ridiculous to say that twelve lamp chimneys per year would represent the use of an average family in Canada. Multiply the number of families in Canada by the number of chimneys, and you will find that they use four or five times that number. I would not object to 30 per cent duty on glass if it was necessary, and the Government got the revenue. I want to say distinctly that it is on that ground that I have anything to say against this tax. The poor should pay as well as the rich; the tariff should be so arranged that every man should pay in proportion to his wealth. In this case the 30 per cent goes into the pockets of the manufacturers, and not a dollar into the revenue. If the 30 per cent found its way into the revenue of this country, I would not object to it. I would not object to 50 per cent if the revenue of this country got the whole benefit of the duty and it was levied on universal principles. But I am opposed to any system that diverts the earnings of the people, by a channel made by the Government, into the pockets of one or two manufacturers. I include that 8 per cent, if it is wrong, 8 per cent is not too much for money.

Mr. FOSTER. Six per cent is a plenty.

Mr. FRASER. The hon. gentleman talks about 6 per cent, with his 30, and 40, and 50 per cent tariff. I care not what duty is paid upon goods if our revenue only gets the advantage of it. We must have revenue.

Mr. McNEILL. It is quite clear to my mind at least that where combines are proved to exist for the purpose of running up prices of goods, it is the duty of the Government to strike at such combines by making a reduction in the duty. We endeavoured some years ago to get at them in another way, but it did not seem to be very suc-

cessful. As regards this particular item of glass, I am not sufficiently informed to be able to say whether the combine has unduly enhanced the price. I hope, however, the Government will thoroughly investigate the matter, and if they find it has done so and is doing so, I trust they will reduce the duty as has been proposed. But I wish to make this observation on the general question of glass in connection with the general question of protection, that if hon. gentlemen opposite had wished to select any special article which would more than another show the advantage of the protective system as compared with free trade, and the utter fallacy of the statement which hon. gentlemen opposite have made to the effect that protection always increased the price of goods, they could not have selected any better article than this item of glass. If hon. gentlemen will consider that in free trade England the glass industry has been crippled from the fact that under protective tariffs the price of glass has been so reduced in other countries that English manufacturers are not able to compete in their own market with foreign glass, which has come in for years past, they will see that all the arguments which have been advanced as to protection necessarily increasing the price of commodities are utterly fallacious and disproved by cold facts. Because every one who is acquainted with the circumstances knows that for many years past Germany and Belgium have been sending glass goods into England and successfully competing with English glass manufacturers in their own market. If the inevitable consequence of protection is to increase the price of commodities, and the inevitable consequence of free trade as compared with protection is to reduce the price, I should like hon. gentlemen opposite to show how under a protective tariff the price of glass has become lower than under free trade in England.

Mr. MULOCK. We cannot teach you that.

Mr. McNEILL. It has been so for years past; it was so twenty-one years ago, before I left the mother country. German and Belgian glass was offered for sale on the English market at lower rates than that produced in England. It is notorious that there is a large importation of foreign glass into the English market, and that English manufactured glass has been largely displaced in the home market by the competition of these products of production; and it is not so only in regard to glass, but we know perfectly well the same remark applies in regard to other products of protective countries. We are aware that the protected silks of France have driven out English silk manufactures, except silk thread. We know that the protected sugar has reduced the price of sugar in England to such an extent that the sugar refiner has been almost driven out.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It is not so, but the output has greatly increased.

Mr. McNEILL. The hon. gentleman may say so if he chooses.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I know it.

Mr. McNEILL. There is this fact, that if that be so, free trade England found it necessary to send a plenipotentiary to a conference of Europe to endeavour to induce the people of these countries, which were protecting their sugar to that extent, to reduce their protection and to withdraw their bounties. We know very well that the English Government did their utmost to induce foreign countries to do away with the bounty system altogether, and so far went back on the system of free trade as to say that this idea of buying goods in the cheapest market being always the best thing possible for the people of the country who consume the goods was fallacious.

Mr. GILLMOR. Hear, hear.

Mr. McNEILL. They did so. They said that the sugar industry was being destroyed in England, and because of that they had a convention called and sent a plenipotentiary there.

Mr. MULOCK. The cheap sugar of France developed a greater industry in England.

Mr. McNEILL. I am not speaking at this moment of what other results may have followed.

Mr. MULOCK. Sugar became the raw material of other industries.

Mr. McNEILL. Hon. gentlemen opposite may go off to another subject if they please. If they will look at the speech delivered by the gentleman who represented England at that convention on the continent, delivered on his return to Greenock, they will find he said this: that if the same course was pursued by foreign countries with reference to other industries, England would find one industry after another closed, and the manufacturing industry of the country would be altogether destroyed. That was the statement made by the member of the House of Commons who represented England at the conference which was called together for the express purpose of endeavouring to induce foreign countries to abolish the bounties.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Does the hon. gentleman mean to say that the English Government has shown the smallest disposition to tax sugar whether it had bounties paid on it or not, because if he does, I should like him to show us in the English tariff one line indicating the slightest disposition on the part of the English Government to do so. It is quite true, I believe, that certain sugar industries in England did suffer from the bounties paid; but it was equally true, and it was shown over and over again, that the result of the matter was to give employment to ten or twelve persons for

every one thrown out of employment by the closing up of the sugar industry. The action of Germany and France in taxing their subjects very heavily for the purpose of encouraging an export trade in sugar was well taken advantage of by English manufacturers, and a very large and important trade in sugar-made goods was established, giving much more employment than the sugar manufacturing industry. By that change the English people benefited very largely indeed. The hon. gentleman's argument as to the question in hand, glass, means this: that those countries to which he has referred having great natural advantages for the production of glass are able to manufacture it more cheaply than England or Canada, it will be greatly to our advantage to exchange for glass made in those countries articles which we can manufacture cheaper than they, and thereby make a profit in the exchange. There is not much to be said in regard to the glass industry. I have no objection to this industry being continued in this country on reasonable terms, on the same terms as other industries of a similar kind, but I have very great objection to large sums being annually taken from the pockets of the people of Canada to support an industry which only gives employment to 200 or 300 hands. I say that the tax on people is vastly in excess of any benefit derived from the employment of those workmen. This is another illustration of the fact so often brought up in the course of these discussions, and which I hope will be brought thoroughly to the attention of the people of Canada: that there are enumerable cases in which hundreds of thousands of dollars of taxes are taken out of the people, without a one-hundredth part of them going into the treasury of this country. When I stated, as I have repeatedly stated and as I state here again: that the actual taxes under this protective tariff levied upon the people are to be measured by \$60,000,000 or \$70,000,000 a year, of which about \$20,000,000 goes to the public treasury; it is to such things as this I refer. Just such iniquitous exactions as this crop up whenever you come to search into any item of this tariff. Here is one illustration of an article which brings a revenue of perhaps \$10,000 a year, and for which the people are taxed \$300,000. We had another illustration in the case of rice, another in the case of wall-paper, and so it goes on all through, until probably out of all these items that are put before us, you will not find one out of five or six hundred items on which a tariff is imposed, and a protective element introduced, for \$1 that goes into the treasury, two, three, four, five, or it may be one hundred dollars are not taken out of the people of Canada.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). This is a tariff of development.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Yes, and the inwardness of it is developing very fast. I know something about the success that has attended glass manufactures in Canada. I was requested myself some years ago to take an interest in a glass factory in the town of Napanee. A very worthy man was induced by the false representations held out by the Government of that day and the Finance Minister of that day, to put all his capital I believe into that undertaking. He unfortunately put close on \$100,000 in that business, and a couple of years ago the whole plant and the whole establishment on which this \$100,000 had been spent, was sold for between two and three thousand dollars. This is another instance of the way in which this policy of development, this policy of promoting native industries, has worked in practice, when men were found fools enough to believe the absurd promises held out by hon. gentlemen opposite and their friends.

Mr. McNEILL. I just wish to say, that I said nothing in the world about England imposing a duty upon sugar, and my hon. friend (Sir Richard Cartwright) knows that. I made a specific statement to the effect that the statements and arguments of hon. gentlemen opposite, that protection always enhanced the value of goods, were proved to be fallacious by the facts; the facts being that protection in Germany on glass, in France on silk, and in France and Germany and other countries on sugar, had reduced the price of all these goods, and that England had competition.

Item agreed to.

Committee rose, and it being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

ST. CLAIR AND ERIE SHIP CANAL.

Mr. SPROULE (for Mr. Tisdale) moved that the House resolve itself into committee on Bill (No. 21) to incorporate the St. Clair and Erie Ship Canal Company.

Mr. MULOCK. There are one or two points in this Bill that I wish to invite the attention of the House to. I am sorry that the promoter of the Bill is not present, for I would be glad if he could agree with the suggestions I am about to make.

Mr. FOSTER. Why not wait until the promoter of the Bill is here?

Mr. MULOCK. I will mention the few points that I have to refer to. I do not wish any hon. gentleman to think that I am opposed to the Bill; on the contrary, it is an enterprise that I should like to see succeed. I wish to suggest a couple of clauses to guard the rights of individuals, but I do not think they are sufficiently serious to cause of delay in the passage of the Bill if it

is desired to put it through now. Clause 42 of the Bill says :

If any action or suit is brought or commenced against any person or the company for anything done in pursuance of this Act, or in the execution of the powers and authorities, or of the orders and directions hereinbefore given or granted, such action or suit shall be brought or commenced within twelve calendar months next after the act committed, or in case there is a continuation of damage, then within twelve calendar months next after the doing or committing such damage shall cease, and not otherwise.

I would draw the attention of the House to the difference between that proposition and the existing laws regarding railways and similar corporations. I understand the law to be this : that a cause of action arising by reason of the construction of a work need not be brought within twelve months, but an action can be brought within the ordinary time allowed as in other cases. But in regard to causes of action arising out of the operation of railways the Limitations Act does apply. In that case, and for a very proper reason, suitors are obliged to bring their actions within a shorter period. For example, suppose a passenger on a railway claims to have sustained some damage which entitles him in his judgment to bring action against a railway, it is of importance to the railway that it shall have timely notice of the cause of action, so that it may make inquiry into it in due time, and thus prevent frauds. Under the same principle if a person claims to sustain damage by reason of loss of goods shipped by a railway, the law with reference to the limitation of actions applies, and the action must be begun in one year. So that there is quite a distinction between limiting the cause of action in reference to something arising out of the construction of the work and something arising out of its operation. That was the position of the law with regard to railways ; and what I propose is that section 42 should be amended so that it will apply to causes of action arising out of the operation of the railway. The other clause which I wish to see amended is clause 11, or clause 11a, the amended clause which provides for a scheme of compensation to landowners for damages occasioned in connection with expropriation for the construction of the canal ; but, inasmuch as it is probable that causes of action will arise later in connection with the maintenance of the canal, the clause also provides for compensation after the canal is constructed—if it happens that some person owning land on the site of the canal is damaged by its operation—as, for example, a farmer who wishes to drain his lands, and who is unable to drain them by reason of the canal interrupting the natural drainage. That is a cause of action that he does not discover until the canal is constructed ; yet it is quite as serious a cause of action as one that happens in connection with the

construction of the canal ; but the remedy offered in that case is very different, and I think a very objectionable one. Under the scheme proposed, the farmer is obliged to appear before the Railway Committee of the Privy Council, or to have his case brought there and inquired into and reported upon. I know it is said that there are no costs awarded in such cases ; but that does not meet the case. If a farmer wants to drain his land, he has first of all to get some lawyer to tell him what the law is, and to tell him whether his remedy has to be secured at Ottawa or elsewhere. Having learned that it is at Ottawa, what has he to do ? He does not know what this dignified tribunal, the Railway Committee of the Privy Council is, and he has to consult a lawyer on that point. Then, he has to have his case taken before the Railway Committee in some way. He may have to send lawyers and witnesses to Ottawa in order to move the Council ; and, with this formidable prospect before him, perhaps in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred he will either forego his right altogether or settle his claim at a rate wholly insufficient to compensate him. The objection I take to this clause is equally applicable to the Railway Act. I think it is neither practical nor just that the humblest citizen in the Dominion of Canada should be compelled to come to Ottawa and have his case disposed of there, though he may live two or three thousand miles away from Ottawa ; and yet that is the law under the Railway Act, and it has been imported into this canal project. I suggest that the tribunal, instead of being the Railway Committee of the Privy Council, should be a neutral local authority, say an engineer appointed by the county court judge. I would be very sorry to see the Bill delayed, but I think it should be amended in these two points.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). I regret that the mover of the Bill, the hon. member for South Norfolk (Mr. Tisdale), is not here to-night, because I know that he feels very anxious to have the Bill passed in its present shape, as it left the committee. As to the first objection raised by the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock), that the period of limitation should refer to the operation and not the construction of the canal, I think there is something in it, but I would prefer that the mover of the Bill should be present during its discussion. As to the second objection raised by the hon. member, that, of course, is a very wide departure from the present practice. It would leave nothing to the Governor in Council at all.

Mr. MULOCK. They have plenty to do now.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). The departure is so wide that I would not, as a member of that committee, be prepared to assent to it, inasmuch as it is a matter for the Government to consider. On the whole, I would suggest

that the Bill lie over until the hon. member for South Norfolk, who is promoting it, is able to be present.

Mr. SPROULE. I would suggest that the hon. member for North York should give notice of these amendments, and at the third reading, if the House thought desirable, they could be introduced.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I have a very strong opinion as to the Bill undertaking to provide redress for those who may be injured in the construction of the canal in regard to insufficient drainage facilities, or in whose way in regard to drainage impediments may be put by the construction of the canal. I suppose that these matters could be as well discussed in committee; but in my opinion, while Parliament, in granting a franchise to the canal company, may and does impose limitations and conditions, it cannot, after the company is incorporated and in operation, undertake to limit, as is proposed, the remedy which other parties may have against the company. Once the company is incorporated it becomes an artificial person, and in law it stands in the same relation to the community as any other person. Let us suppose for a moment that in the incorporation of a railway company we undertook to grant the company immunity against the construction of waterways through the railway. We permit them to put impediments in the way of natural drainage and to interfere with the powers of the Local Government with reference to artificial drainage. I do not think we have any such power. I do not see on what ground it can be claimed. I think it is wholly at variance with the principles laid down by the judicial committee in the Parsons case, where it was held that this Parliament cannot relieve a corporation from the liabilities it might owe, as a person, under the laws of the province where it carried on its corporate operations. By this Bill, as framed, you provide that the canal company, when incorporated, shall stand in a certain relation to persons, with the drainage of whose lands it interferes, and you provide a remedy for those persons. Although you have no jurisdiction whatever, although you stand, in so far as their lands are concerned, in no legal relation whatever to those persons, you propose that they, instead of being allowed to have recourse against this corporation, to the laws of the province, under the authority of which they hold property, shall go before the Railway Committee of the Privy Council to have their grievances redressed. I submit that this House has no such power. It cannot do anything of that sort. It may provide, and it ought to provide, limitations to the franchises in the canal company. It ought to see that, in the exercise of those franchises, the company shall be subject to the same liabilities that an ordinary person would be. If it cost A, B or C more to

Mr. Wood (Brockville).

drain his land in consequence of this, the additional burden that would be imposed on him ought to be borne by this corporation. He ought not to be put in a worse position by this corporation than he otherwise would be in. So far you have the right to guard him, and so far it is your duty to guard him. But what his remedy shall be against the railway corporation, how it shall be enforced, is for the Local Legislature, having jurisdiction over the subject of property and civil rights, having jurisdiction over the constitution of the courts of civil procedure, to provide. Otherwise you could provide that every railway corporation in this country should have all claims made by it and all liabilities which it may incur, tried by the Railway Committee of the Privy Council. I do not think we have any such power, and if we bear in mind this principle, that every corporation we create is an artificial person, which, when it is once created, is subject to the same jurisdiction that any other person would be in like circumstances, we have the simple principle of constitutional law applicable to the case. And I think that we ought not to legislate in such a way as to invite conflict and to impose upon persons the duty of going before the courts for the purpose of having their rights redressed and their remedies secured to them. I submit this matter to the attention of the Minister of Justice, with a view to his consideration of the subject before this Bill proceeds beyond the committee of this House.

Mr. MCGREGOR. I hope the committee will see their way clear to allow this Bill to pass this stage, and let the amendments be made at the third reading. The promoters of the Bill are anxious to go forward as quickly as possible with the scheme they are arranging for. It is a very large amount for which they are financing, and we hope there will be no impediment as far as this House is concerned. The amount expended is very large, and we know now that this scheme is one of the necessities of that great waterway, because the tonnage of the great lakes is increasing very rapidly—at least from 50 to 75 per cent yearly. This route will shorten the distance a great deal. Not only will this be the case, but a boat will draw much more water going that way than over the old Limekiln Crossing, and this route will take from the Detroit River a large portion of the danger of navigation between Chicago, Duluth and the eastern ports. As has been suggested, I hope the committee will see their way clear to allow the amendments to be placed in this Bill at the third reading, if they are then found necessary. We have talked the matter over pretty carefully. The promoters of the Bill, the reeves of the different townships interested, and the wardens of the county have consulted together, and fully understand each other, so that I hope the Bill will be allowed to pass this stage.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I do not think there should be any objection to the second reading of the Bill now, and to holding over the amendments that have been proposed by the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) for consideration on the third reading. I know that the promoter of the Bill is very anxious to get it through, as he has made arrangements under it, and I may say that the people of that part of the country are exceedingly anxious that the Bill should be put through. It is a very important work to that part of the country, and the people there would not like to see any obstructions thrown in the way. At the same time, the points that have been raised might well be considered. I do not think there will be any objection at all to the first amendment suggested by the hon. member for North York, and as for the second amendment that he proposed, namely, to refer the matter to a local engineer, approved of by the judges of the county, an independent body, if that will meet the wishes of the promoters of the Bill, I am sure it would be far more acceptable to the people than referring the matter to the Privy Council. What they fear is that a reference to the Privy Council will entail a good deal of expense in case of any alteration required in the drainage system. In the Bill as now proposed, as it passed through the Railway Committee, a clause is inserted providing that the company will meet the wishes of the people, so far as the present drains are concerned. The question then arises as to the future drains, or present drains which may have to be enlarged. The Railway Committee thought that the authorizing of those constructions and the deciding as to who should bear the expense, should lie with the Railway Committee of the Privy Council. The reeve and delegates who were down here would prefer that the power should rest with the local authorities. In their opinion it would be more easy and less expensive to obtain in this way any redress which they might require than by going to Ottawa. I think therefore that the House might go into committee and pass the Bill, and leave the amendments to be considered on the third reading when the promoter is present. I am sorry he is not here to-night, as he can explain the provisions of the Bill more fully than any other member of the House. I hope that no delay will be made in the passing of the Bill, as it is a very important measure, and I trust the House will pass it with all convenient speed.

Mr. MARTIN. I think the hon. Controller of Inland Revenue (Mr. Wood) is somewhat under misapprehension with regard to the provisions regarding the Railway Committee of the Privy Council. The changing of that provision in this Act would not take anything from that committee. In fact, this is altogether an unusual provision to have in a railway Act.

The hon. gentleman is quite well aware that the ordinary course in regard to matters of that kind is to refer them to arbitration. As I understood in the committee, when this matter was being discussed, the idea of the promoter of the Bill was that it would be less expensive to come before the Railway Committee, where no costs were involved and where there is no appeal, than to go through the ordinary channels of arbitration. The proposition now made is something in the same direction—to take away these matters from the ordinary process of arbitration involving appeal after appeal; but, instead of having them come to Ottawa, to have them go before some local authority. So I would suggest that the hon. gentleman should reconsider the matter. I think he will see there is no reason why a Minister or a member of the Railway Committee should interpose objections if the parties are agreed upon the point; as it is not taking away any jurisdiction that the committee has previously enjoyed.

Mr. ALLAN. I am sorry that this clause relating to drainage was not discussed in the presence of the delegates from the counties of Essex and Kent, who came down to represent their localities with regard to this matter. It is considered of the very first importance—even of greater importance than the construction of the canal itself, and everybody is in favour of the canal—to provide safe-guards in reference to drainage. These townships have been to vast expense in connection with these drainage works. The township of Mersea alone has expended a quarter of a million dollars for drainage; and four townships have constructed a drainage system which runs very near to where this canal is projected to run, at a cost of \$180,000. So, while I am very anxious that the Bill should proceed to a second reading, and that it should not be obstructed in any way, still I think it is a matter of importance that the legal gentlemen of the House should see, before the final passage of the Bill, that the people of that section have their rights in the matter of drainage amply secured.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I think perhaps, in view of the unusual provisions, it would be more satisfactory to have the Bill stand over until the mover is here.

Mr. MULOCK. Would not the suggestion of the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) be a wise one?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I do not think so. The committee in the meantime would have to pass the Bill as it is, giving what the hon. gentleman has explained to be the unusual provisions as to arbitration; and I do not see why that should be done under the circumstances.

Mr. MULOCK. There was a controversy in committee. One hon. gentleman pretend-

ed that the language of the Bill followed the language of the Railway Act, and limited the causes of action to those arising after the operation, but another hon. gentleman said that there was a decision the other way. I did not look up the law.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. There is no occasion for hurry.

Mr. EDGAR. No doubt some conclusion will be arrived at satisfactory to all parties. But I do not know if the Government understand just what this undertaking is. It is the construction of a canal only thirteen miles in length, practically cutting off the Detroit River. If I understand the case aright, there is a fall of four and a half feet from the level of Lake St. Clair at one end of the thirteen miles, down to Lake Erie at the other end. I am not an engineer, but I think I know enough of these matters to believe that if this ditch is dug there will be a force of water which will make a passage large enough to divert the course of the largest river. There is a question beyond the drainage of the farms; there is the question of the drainage of the upper lakes, and the international question of diverting the Detroit River from its present course to this thirteen mile cut. I may be wrong; but it seems to me that these are questions which will arise and which the Government ought to look into.

Mr. GIBSON. Mr. Speaker, that matter is fully understood by the promoters of the canal, and the fears of my hon friend (Mr. Edgar) who sits beside me may be dismissed at once. The promoters would, of course, provide a guard-lock to keep back the waters of Lake St. Clair; for, if they did not, they would have the whole of Lake St. Clair flowing over their canal. They would have to build a guard-lock and a lift-lock. There is only four and a half feet of rise from Lake Erie to Lake St. Clair, and a lift-lock will have to be provided on the Lake Erie level to overcome this rise. To suppose that no provision would be made by the builders of the canal to protect it from the waters of Lake St. Clair would be preposterous; that will be one of the first cares of the constructors of the canal. The water must be under control of those who have the canal in charge. It would not be a canal at all if the waters were allowed to flow through without control. It would simply be a ditch and would be of no service.

An hon. MEMBER. But if the dam should burst?

Mr. GIBSON. If the dam should burst they can repair it. There was one point I spoke about when this matter was up for discussion. I understand that this canal is to be built on the course of the present creek. I thought at the time that provision should be made for the drainage of that country.

Mr. MULOCK.

The present means of taking away the water will be destroyed by this canal. No doubt it is intended that the canal shall provide for carrying off the water carried by the present drainage system. But the water carried by extensions of the present drainage system as well as the draining of lands not now drained should also be provided for.

Mr. MCGREGOR. We have arranged all that. We have arranged to take care of all the water.

Motion agreed to, and House resolved itself into committee.

Committee rose and reported progress.

IN COMMITTEE—THIRD READINGS.

Bill (No. 26) respecting the Ottawa Gas Company.—(Mr. Robillard.)

Bill (No. 28) respecting the Ontario Mutual Life Assurance Company.—(Mr. Bowman.)

Bill (No. 56) to incorporate the Dominion Woman's Christian Temperance Union.—(Mr. Scriver.)

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

House again resolved itself into Committee on Ways and Means.

(In the Committee.)

Common and colourless window glass; and plain, coloured, stained or tinted or muffled glass in sheets, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. MULOCK. What industry is the hon. gentleman trying to protect by the duty? Is this duty for revenue purposes or for protection purposes?

Mr. FOSTER. For revenue purposes.

Item agreed to.

Plate glass in panes of over 70 square feet each, 9 cents per square foot; and when bevelled, 2 cents per square foot additional.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I observe in a preceding paragraph that rough rolled plate glass is taxed 25 per cent. What I would like to know from the hon. Minister is whether there is any genuine manufactory of plate glass in this country?

Mr. FOSTER. There is not.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Is this rolled plate glass brought in here and finished?

Mr. FOSTER. The plate glass is brought in and bevelled here.

Item agreed to.

Spectacles and eye-glasses, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I do not speak on my own account solely, inasmuch as the Finance Minister requires spectacles as well as myself; but I do think that spectacles and eye-glasses, which are equivalent in a cer-

tain sense to wooden legs to those who are forced to use them, ought to be admitted free. The price of a really good pair of spectacles or eye-glasses in this country is exorbitant and the duty upon them is a serious consideration. I regret to observe that among a large number of the children in our schools, either from the decision of the faculty, or increasing failures of eyesight, very little children are wearing glasses, and the practice is increasing much faster than I like to see it. There are very strong reasons for making this duty low or for abolishing it altogether. If the hon. gentleman will consult any oculist of repute, he will learn, if he does not know already, that great injury to the sight arises from the use of indifferent glasses; and it is becoming more and more the opinion of oculists that it is extremely important that people should wear eye-glasses that are carefully adjusted to their sight. Thirty per cent is a very serious duty, and really good eye-glasses are not going to be made in this country for many a long day.

Mr. FOSTER. The duty is levied to a very large extent on the fine rims such as my hon. friend wears.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Then let the glasses come in free and tax the rims.

Mr. FOSTER. Thirty per cent is not a heavy duty upon a low-priced article.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Eye-glasses rest upon the same footing as artificial limbs, by supplying defective sight just as the others supply defective limbs.

Item agreed to.

Spectacle and eye-glass frames, parts of, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I would reverse that and make the rims 30 per cent and then cut the duty on the glasses down to 10 per cent or abolish it altogether.

Item agreed to.

Cement, including Portland or Roman, and hydraulic or water lime, 40 cents per barrel, including duty on the barrel.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). What does that tax amount to?

Mr. FOSTER. On the average importation, \$1.64 a barrel.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It appears to me that this duty of 40 cents per barrel on cement, including Portland or Roman, and hydraulic or water lime, discriminates enormously against the inferior quality. If I remember rightly these expensive cements range from \$2.50 to \$3 and \$4 a barrel, while water lime is sold for something like 80 cents or 90 cents a barrel. To tax the one 10 per cent and the other 50 is not a very square action. A good water lime cement is an excellent article and can be advantageously manufactured here. Portland and Roman cements are three or four times the price; yet they are all placed at the same figure.

Mr. FOSTER. The average rate of duty on the water lime was 24¼ per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The price of water lime runs from 40 to 50 cents a barrel, while the higher grade cements vary from \$2 to \$4. I believe that at the present time water lime cement of good quality is 90 cents, and high class cements from \$2 upwards.

Mr. FOSTER. There does not appear to have been any quantity of water cements imported.

Mr. GIBSON. The duty on Portland cement is 16 per cent, while that on water lime is 45 per cent. There are manufactures of Portland cement at Owen Sound, Deseronto, and Hull. Why does the water lime manufacturer require 45 per cent protection while the Portland cement manufacturer only requires 16? The usual price of Portland cement is from \$2.50 to \$3 in Montreal; the last quantity which I bought was at \$2.50. In all fairness, the Portland cement manufacturer should have as much protection as the water lime manufacturer. Moreover, I object to the system of levying the duty by the barrel.

Mr. STAIRS. There seems to be a slight misunderstanding as to the ad valorem duties. According to the Trade and Navigation Returns, the duty on Portland cement was 16 per cent. My recollection of the value of that cement was 6 shillings per barrel at the port where the duty was paid.

Mr. EDGAR. The price would be \$2.

Mr. STAIRS. Again, it appears from the Trade and Navigation Returns that no water lime cement was imported, or a very small quantity.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The value of water lime ranges from 80 to 90 cents, and it is taxed 40 cents, and that is equivalent to a duty of 40 or 50 per cent.

Mr. GIBSON. I am not dealing with the Trade and Navigation Returns, but I am speaking from my experience. I paid 35 per cent on several thousand barrels of water lime, manufactured in Thorold, which I exported to Michigan in connection with the construction of the American end of the tunnel. It was better than any cement I could purchase in the United States, and as it is such a superior article, there is little need for our manufacturers to receive, at the hands of this Government 40 or 45 per cent protection. I am speaking from my experience, and I use from 8,000 to 10,000 barrels of cement yearly, and I use more water lime than Portland.

Mr. WALLACE. Where is this Portland cement manufactured?

Mr. GIBSON. At Owen Sound.

Mr. WALLACE. The Owen Sound manufacturers are perfectly satisfied with the

duty, so I do not know why the hon. gentleman should be dissatisfied.

Mr. GIBSON. I am only showing the inconsistency of the tariff. On one article of cement there is 44 per cent protection, and on another, 20 per cent. Besides, the principle of taxing it at so much per barrel is entirely wrong. In regard to water lime, its importation is practically prohibited. The Government should reduce the proposed duty on water lime.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It is very curious that every time the Commissioner of Customs or some other Minister rises he tells us that the manufacturer does not want any alteration and is satisfied. It is not their business to tell us that this tariff is to be framed simply and solely on the basis as to whether manufacturers are satisfied or dissatisfied. We are here to consider the tariff in the interests of millions of consumers, and it is on their account I protest against these duties. Although I have not had such an extensive experience with cements as my hon. friend, I have had to pay for hundreds of barrels of water lime cement, which is very useful and desirable in the construction of houses and in regard to cellars, and it is not desirable that a prohibitory duty should be placed on it. It is perfectly clear that as the Canadian manufacturers can make water lime cement cheaper and of better quality without protection than any water lime cement in the United States, it is not in the interests of the consumers, nor is it a satisfactory answer to say that our manufacturers are satisfied, because all American water lime is prohibited. I dare say they are, but the Canadian consumers have certain rights.

Mr. SPROULE. It seems to me that the arguments of hon. gentlemen opposite are not very consistent, and have not very much force, because if the hon. member for Lincoln (Mr. Gibson) is correct when he says that it paid him to take Canadian water lime to the United States and pay 35 per cent duty, it evidently shows that the Canadian article was much better than the American. If we get the Canadian product of such fine quality at 90 cents a barrel, and it is much better than the other, I do not see that we would benefit very much by lowering the duty. I do not think any one can show that the Canadian is very much injured if he can get a superior quality at a lower price than on the other side. If the quality of Canadian lime is so good and the price is so low no Canadian is injured by it. With regard to Portland cement there is this difference: Portland cement will be used in a great many cases where water lime would do, but where Portland cement is much better. The quality of Portland cement we have in Canada is generally considered very good and there is not much danger of the Portland cement coming into competition with it.

Mr. WALLACE.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. There are manufactories at Thorold, where my hon. friend (Mr. Gibson) can get a very excellent article of lime, but our frontier happens to be 3,000 miles long and in close contiguity to the American frontier all along the line. There are a great many places in which it is a heavy tax to the Canadian consumer to have to pay the price at Thorold plus an enormous sum for freight several hundred miles, when by going across the border, he could get a fair quality at a very moderate rate.

Mr. GIBSON. The hon. gentleman did not seem to understand the point I raised. I said that they did not require this high protection as they were manufacturing an article of such excellent quality. I would not pay money out of my pocket for freight and 35 per cent duty to the American Government for an article I could get in the States for less money or for the same amount. After I had tried the American cement I considered that I was justified in going to the expense of exporting the Canadian cement I required and paying the American duty. What I said was that they did not require this large amount of protection, because if a barrel of American water lime is laid alongside a barrel of Thorold water lime, and the man knows his business, and they both can be bought for the same price, the man will prefer the Thorold lime to the American.

Mr. SPROULE. The Canadian cannot be injured, then.

Mr. GIBSON. Then what do you want the protection for?

Mr. EDGAR. The Controller of Customs, with a frankness for which we are very much more indebted to him on this side of the House than his colleagues are, told us that this duty was all right on Portland cement because the manufacturers were perfectly satisfied with it. It is very nice for the Controller of Customs to let us into the Cabinet secrets although he is not himself in the Cabinet. He tells us that as long as the manufacturers are satisfied we ought all be satisfied. Let us apply that argument to this case. He says the manufacturers of Portland cement, the expensive article, are satisfied with a duty of 40 cents a barrel; then let the Government decide that the manufacturers of the cheaper article, the water lime, should be satisfied with a proportionate protection. They have the officers to figure out what that would be exactly, as there is a little dispute whether the protection on the cheap article is twice or three times what it is on the dear article. As they proposed this duty because the cement manufacturers are satisfied, then the others ought to be satisfied with a duty that would work out the same ad valorem.

Mr. WALLACE. In answer to the member for West Ontario (Mr. Edgar), I may say: my statement was in reply to the member

for Lincoln (Mr. Gibson), whose argument was that the Portland cement manufacturers should have higher protection than they have now.

Mr. EDGAR. No.

Mr. WALLACE. He said that as the water lime men had 40 cents a barrel the others should have the same average protection.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. No.

Mr. WALLACE. And I said: that these men had made no representations to the Government that they required an increased amount of protection, and that they were apparently producing large quantities and supplying nearly the whole of the Dominion.

Mr. GIBSON. I wish to correct the hon. the Controller. I do not think he would misrepresent me, but he must have misunderstood me. What I said was: that I thought the way of placing the duty at so much a barrel was fair to the Portland cement people, but I thought that if you got the relative values on a proper footing and placed a duty of 20 cents on the water lime and 40 cents on the Portland cement, you would strike the thing about right.

Mr. RIDER. I do not see ordinary building lime mentioned on the list. It is quite an important industry in some parts of Quebec, and I would like to know what the duty on it is?

Mr. FOSTER. It is not mentioned in the schedule, and so would come under unenumerated articles.

Item agreed to.

Grindstones not mounted and not less than 12 inches in diameter, \$1.75 per ton.

Mr. GIBSON. Could the Minister of Finance tell me where there are any grindstones made in Canada?

Mr. FOSTER. In New Brunswick.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Have we not our nose to a maritime grindstone at present? This whole tariff is a grindstone of the very worst description.

Mr. SPROULE. There are grindstones made in the county of Simcoe.

Item agreed to.

India-rubber boots and shoes, with tops or uppers of cloth or of material other than rubber, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. MULOCK. I think this is too high a rate of duty. I would be very sorry to discredit our manufacturers; but, notwithstanding this high duty, it is conceded that it has not caused them to produce as finished an article as the American article.

Mr. FOSTER. They make a good article.

Mr. MULOCK. If you go into any establishment where the two classes of goods are sold, the merchant will always tell you that the American article is superior. So that if the high protection of 30 per cent causes careless manufacture, then it is time that

the manufacturers should be put more on their mettle.

Mr. FOSTER. They will be 5 per cent more careful now.

Mr. MULOCK. That is not enough. I would suggest that this duty of 30 per cent be reduced. Rubber goods are poor men's goods; I may very correctly say that rubber shoes are required in every walk of life. I should think I ought to get a little reduction for that.

Mr. FOSTER. You ought to get 5 per cent extra for that.

Mr. SPROULE. The 30 per cent is only upon boots and shoes topped with cloth. Those of pure rubber have only 25 per cent.

Mr. MARTIN. This item is a most important one for us in the North-west. I think the hon. member for North York puts the thing altogether too mildly when he says that 30 per cent is too high a duty; it seems to me that it is an enormous duty. Hon. gentlemen opposite have selected certain articles on which to reduce the taxes for the purpose of pacifying the people of the North-west. For that purpose they could not select a better article than boots and shoes made of rubber, because every person in the North-west has to buy one or two pairs of rubber shoes in the year. My hon. friend is quite correct in saying that those of Canadian manufacture do not compare with the American. On Canadian-made boots we have to pay heavy freight rates in addition to the protective price, and, as these goods are rather heavy, the freight rates are considerable. There are few items on which the protective duties bear so heavily as rubber boots, and boots and shoes generally. I hope the manufacturers are satisfied, because I can say that the people are very much dissatisfied with this duty. I suppose the Government are entitled to some credit for reducing it from 35 to 30 per cent; but it is merely an indication of what they ought to do. If 20 per cent is a fair rate for prime necessities, such as agricultural implements, then I think it ought to be sufficient for rubber boots and shoes.

Mr. SPROULE. I have no doubt at all this is a heavy grievance for Manitoba, because I see in the Trade and Navigation Returns, that Manitoba imported last year \$129 worth.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The duty was so heavy that it operated as a prohibitive duty, and compelled my hon. friend's constituents to pay 35 per cent on every India-rubber used in that country.

Mr. MACDOWALL. I do not know that this is a very important matter in the North-west. No doubt some rubber boots and shoes are used there as well as other forms of foot gear, and it is very desirable that we should buy these things as cheaply as possible. But

as the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) has observed, the amount imported is not very large, and the Canadian manufactured goods suits us very well. So that after all, I think it is in the interest of the North-west not to devote so much time to small matters such as rubber boots and shoes, which do not bear very heavily on our people, and to give our attention to other and larger matters, such as nails.

Mr. WILSON. I entirely repudiate the statement of the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) as to the quality of Canadian rubber boots and shoes. After an experience of thirty years, I can say that they wear quite as well as those made in the United States.

Mr. MULOCK. What about the finish?

Mr. WILSON. The goods worn by the poor people are finished quite as well as the American goods of the same description. And so far as the price is concerned, these articles were never cheaper in my recollection. Our manufacturers are not taking advantage of the duty, but are perfectly satisfied if they net 5 cents a pair profit, and that is cutting things very fine. It requires a very large business to make anything at that rate.

Mr. FLINT. I admit that of late years there has been improvement, but up to a very recent period it was very generally conceded that the American goods were the better.

Mr. WILSON. That is because some people always prefer a thing that comes from some other country.

Mr. FLINT. They like what gives them the best satisfaction for their money. The fact that in the Maritime Provinces we import very largely the American goods, notwithstanding the duty, is a proof that we find these goods a necessity, and feel that even in paying the additional price, we are getting value for our money. Although we do not presume to be able to influence the Government, yet I feel bound, in the interests of the fishermen of the Maritime provinces to impress on it the desirability of making a considerable reduction in the tariff on these necessary articles. The reduction they have made of 5 per cent is practically nothing.

Mr. MARTIN. The hon. member for Saskatchewan (Mr. Macdowall) rebukes me for paying attention to such a small matter as rubber boots and shoes in view of the enormities of the tariff—he did not put it exactly in that way, but that is the inference—in larger matters. It would be fair for me to criticise him for having neglected matters both large and small. Had he been here the whole session, he would hardly have made the statement that I was confining my attention to boots and shoes. My criticism of the tariff has been a very general one, and I do not think it is proper to neglect the ques-

Mr. MACDOWALL.

tion of boots and shoes. And I do not agree with the hon. gentleman that this is a small matter in Manitoba and the North-west. The hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) points out, with a great deal of joy, that we in Manitoba only imported \$129 worth, but, as the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) has pointed out, that is because the duty is so thoroughly protective. Although the North-west has paid a heavy tax on their boots and shoes, every dollar has gone, not into the coffers of the Government, but into the pockets of this gentleman with whom the Finance Minister seems to have such intimate acquaintance.

Mr. SPROULE. What I said was merely in answer to the statement of the hon. gentleman that they were importing large quantities.

Mr. MARTIN. I said we were using large quantities. In Manitoba and the North-west, where we have snow upon the ground six or seven months of the year, we certainly use more rubber boots and shoes than are used in British Columbia. Yet in British Columbia, where I fancy the eastern Canadian article cannot be brought on account of the freight rates, the amount imported was \$27,116 worth, and the duty collected \$6,733. Now, British Columbia has a much smaller population than Manitoba and the territories, and a very different climate, and consequently the boots and shoes made with cloth partly and with rubber, such as the item we are discussing, are not required to anything like the extent they are in our country. Hon. gentlemen opposite take a great deal of credit, because they reduce the duty on a few agricultural implements. Well, the duty on ploughs collected was \$1,000 less than the amount collected in British Columbia on these overshoes, and I can safely say that every plough that goes into Manitoba from foreign countries is entered in the Manitoba customs returns. In the matter of agricultural implements, our customs returns show completely what the imports are and the tax collected. But in the matter of India-rubber overshoes a considerable amount of the American goods used in Manitoba and the North-west have been imported at Toronto and Montreal and do not appear in our customs returns at all. I have no doubt that we use twice as many of these overshoes as they do in British Columbia; and if that be the case, we paid last year \$10,000 duty upon these, or twice as much duty as we paid upon ploughs which the hon. gentleman would admit to be a very important item. The duty upon self-binders the last year—

Mr. FOSTER. Question.

Mr. MARTIN. The hon. member for Saskatchewan (Mr. Macdowall) attempted to show that this was an insignificant item. Now, the items to which he refers were no doubt such items as self-binders. The

amount of duty paid in Manitoba upon self-binders was \$21,000, and if my calculation is correct, we must have paid, not into the coffers of the Government, but into the pockets of the manufacturers, fully \$10,000 in the way of duty upon this insignificant item, fully half as much as we paid upon self-binders. I do not know how the hon. gentleman looks at it; in fact, I do not know much about his particular portion of the North-west, but I am satisfied that the people of Manitoba generally feel it a great burden to have to pay 50 or 60 cents a piece more for their overshoes than they ought to do on account of this tariff, and it would be a great relief to them to be able to save that \$10,000 instead of handing it over to these manufacturers.

Mr. MULOCK. I wish to correct a remark that fell from the hon. member for Lennox (Mr. Wilson). In comparing the quality of Canadian and American rubber goods, I wish to say that the testimony I have received from time to time from dealers, has been that American was a better finished article, and I spoke of the quality—that was the character of the article I had in my mind. I do not know what the hon. gentleman's experience may be; of course, I speak with much deference before him, but I repeat that I have received that testimony, I may say, from almost every dealer with whom I have had any conversation, and I have spoken to a great many.

Item agreed to.

India-rubber clothing and clothing made waterproof with india-rubber, 35 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FLINT. The hon. gentleman seems to have endeavoured to make just as little reduction as he could. This item is a very large one in our imports, amounting in value to nearly \$300,000, and the duty is about \$100,000. I think that a more substantial reduction than this would not only have relieved the consumers to a large extent, but would have given the Government a larger revenue in consequence of increased importation; while at the same time those who desire protection would have received incidentally an adequate protection by a duty of at least 25 per cent. I think this is one of the errors in this whole tariff, that in no case where large consuming classes are concerned, has there been a real, substantial and generous reduction so that the people could receive the benefit of it. The interests of one class have been looked to almost solely, and the reduction has been made merely to the ear, so that the Government and its friends could say there had been a reduction, while at the same time the consumers have received no substantial advantage.

Committee rose and reported progress.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 9.50 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, 30th April, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READING.

Bill (No. 95)—(from the Senate)—respecting public harbours.—(Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.)

SEIGNIORY OF SAINT LOUIS.

Mr. DALY moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 97) respecting the Seignior of Saint Louis. He said: This Bill provides that the Governor General in Council may, upon such conditions as may be deemed expedient, accept from the censitaires 75 per cent of the arrears of rent due up to the 11th of November, 1892. It appears that the rents have been in arrears for thirty or forty years on this reserve, and efforts have been made to collect them, but owing to the resistance on the part of the censitaires to pay rents owing to the title of the seignior being in dispute as between the Indians and the Quebec Government, such efforts were not successful, so an arrangement was made to pay 75 per cent. The question was laid before the Caughnawaga band, and they agreed to accept this amount on condition that it was paid in cash. On referring the matter to the Department of Justice, we were advised that it would be necessary to have legislation to confirm any such arrangement. Action was brought against one Pinsoneault, to recover the amount of rent due, he being one of the censitaires. That suit has been going on for a long time, and is still pending, and we have not been able to get judgment. The censitaires were induced to appear before a notary, and thus we have the names of all those who are in arrears and the amount owing by each, and also their agreement to pay 75 per cent. The total amount in arrears is about \$7,000, and by the acceptance of the compromise we shall not only receive the 75 per cent of the whole amount outstanding, but, upon our accepting this settlement on behalf of the Indians, the censitaires agree to pay their rents hereafter in full.

Mr. LAURIER. Is Pinsoneault a party to this agreement?

Mr. DALY. Yes.

Mr. LAURIER. No doubt this Bill is the result of a great deal of correspondence between the censitaires and the Government. Will the hon. gentleman say whether that correspondence will be laid on the Table?

Mr. DALY. There is no objection to that.

Mr. MULOCK. Including the opinion of the department?

Mr. DALY. Yes.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

MEMRAMCOOK AND COLLEGE BRIDGE.

Mr. WOOD (Westmoreland) asked, What were the receipts from passengers and freight, for year ending 30th June last, at Memramcook and College Bridge stations, on the Intercolonial railway? What number of carloads of freight was received and dispatched from each station?

Mr. HAGGART. The receipts from passengers and freight for the year ended 30th of June, 1893, at the stations named, were as follows:—At Memramcook station: passengers, \$1,395.30; freight, \$4,584.83; total, \$5,980.13. At College Bridge station: passengers, \$1,334.80; freight, \$915.63; total, \$2,250.43. The number of carloads of freight discharged and despatched from each of these stations was—At Memramcook station; carloads discharged, 36; carloads despatched, 87; total, 123. At College Bridge station: carloads discharged, 8; carloads despatched, 2; total, 10.

MR. JNO. C. BOURINOT.

Mr. FRASER asked, Are the Government aware that Mr. Jno. C. Bourinot, Collector of Customs at Port Hawkesbury, N.S., is the proprietor and editor of the 'Eastern Journal,' a Conservative newspaper published at Port Hawkesbury, Inverness county?

Mr. WALLACE. The Government are not aware that Mr. John C. Bourinot, Collector of Customs at Port Hawkesbury, N. S., is the proprietor and editor of the 'Eastern Journal.' However, the collector's salary is only \$600 per annum, and, consequently, he is not debarred by section 14 of the Consolidated Revenue and Audit Act from engaging in other employment, provided it is of such a nature that it does not conflict with his duties as collector.

POSTMASTER OF ST. URBAIN DE CHATEAUGUAY.

Mr. SCRIVER (for Mr. Brown, Chateauguay) asked, 1. Are the Government aware that complaints have recently been made against the postmaster of St. Urbain de Chateauguay? 2. If so, what is the nature of those complaints, and by whom made?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. The Government is aware that complaints have recently been made against the postmaster of St. Urbain. These complaints are to the effect: That the postmaster is not trustworthy; that a parcel was delivered open to the housekeeper of the complainant; that letters and papers addressed to the complainant had been de-

Mr. DALY.

livered to others; that unsuitable persons are allowed to take part in the duties of the post office. On receipt of these complaints, an investigation was ordered, the result of which has been to show that the post office is well managed, and that the postmaster enjoyed the respect and confidence of the neighbourhood.

THE GOVERNMENT STEAMER 'DRUID.'

Mr. CHOQUETTE asked, What has been the outlay for repairs and maintenance of the Government steamer 'Druid,' employed in the Grosse Isle quarantine service, during the year 1893, and from the 1st January, 1894, up to this date?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The outlay for repairs and maintenance of the Government steamer 'Druid,' employed in the Grosse Isle quarantine service during the year 1893, that is to say, the calendar year, was \$10,622.63; and from the 1st of January, 1894, up to this date, \$6,019.88. Out of this latter sum \$5,000 has been paid on account of the contract with Carriere, Lainé's contract for repairs to the new engines.

MAIL SERVICE IN OTTAWA COUNTY.

Mr. GRIEVE (for Mr. Devlin) asked, Have any complaints been received by the Government in regard to the mail service between Lascelles and Wakefield, in the county of Ottawa? If so, what was the nature of such complaints and by whom made? Have any reports by officers of the Post Office Department been made with respect to this mail service? Have any letters been received advising the Government not to interfere with present arrangements, and if so, from whom? Are the Government aware that under present regulations it takes two and one-half days, on certain occasions, in transmitting mail matters a distance of nine miles? Has the postmaster General carried out during recess the promise made last session to consider the demands sent to the department for better mail service in the county of Ottawa? If so, what and where were the improvements made?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. 1. Yes, from the inhabitants of the township of Masham and the Lascelles Association, P.I., complaining of the present mode of serving the post offices at Rupert and Lascelles, and asking that these offices be served daily from North Wakefield. 2. Yes. 3. No. 4. No points being specified, this question cannot be answered. 5. Since last session, at the request of J. M. MacDougall, Q.C., the following improvements have been made in the mail service in Ottawa County: New post offices have been established at Glen Gordon, service weekly; North Low, tri-weekly; Martindale, tri-weekly; Inlet, tri-weekly; Des-

chenes Mills, semi-daily; South Branch, tri-weekly. The service on the Ottawa and Gatineau Valley Railway has been extended to Wright, giving the post offices at Low, Kazabazua, Aylwin and Wright a semi-daily service instead of a daily service by stage. Venosta has been given a daily service from the railway, instead of a weekly one by stage. Wilson's Corners has been given a semi-weekly mail, and a semi-weekly service has been established between Chenneville and Duhamel.

TARIFF INQUIRIES.

Mr. LANDERKIN asked, Was a stenographer with the Ministers or Controllers who visited the various parts of the Dominion during recess as to tariff changes? If so, what was his name? Did he take notes of the proceedings in whole or in part of said meetings? Were type-written copies of said notes made?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. At each of the conferences held by Ministers or Controllers, one of the secretaries of the Ministers or Controllers was present and took notes in part of the meetings. Type-written copies of the notes were made. The names of the secretaries, one or other of whom at various times so acted, were Mr. Payne, secretary of the Minister of Trade and Commerce; Mr. Gerin, secretary of the Minister of Agriculture, and Mr. Winter, secretary of the Controller of Inland Revenue.

PREVENTIVE OFFICER AT WOODSTOCK, N.B.

Mr. DAVIES asked, What is the name of the custom-house officer at the custom-house on the frontier between Houlton, Me., and Woodstock, N.B.? Is it known to the Customs Department that such officer is the keeper of a bar-room built alongside the frontier line, where liquor is sold wholesale and retail? Is it known to the Customs Department that such officer has access to the liquor stored in bond in the building adjoining his bar-room? What, if any, are the conditions and restrictions under which liquor may be removed by such customs officer from the bonded warehouse to the bar-room?

Mr. WALLACE. 1. We have a preventive officer only at that point; his name is Charles Campbell. 2. No, he was appointed on the distinct understanding that he would give his undivided attention to customs business. 3. The department has no knowledge of a bonded warehouse being in existence there, and having wired to the collector at Woodstock, N.B., under whose jurisdiction this office is placed, stating the alleged occupation of this officer, he replies: "Statement about preventive officer Charles Campbell is false in every particular, and no warehouse owner has access to any warehouse. Will write particulars."

CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS.

Mr. SOMERVILLE asked, What are the names of the candidates who went up for examination at the recent Civil Service examinations at Montreal, who have been disqualified for irregularities; giving the nature of irregularity in each case? What are the names of the scrutineers at said examinations, and is the Government aware that the scrutineers accepted bribes for overlooking irregularities?

Mr. COSTIGAN. 1. Edwin A. Morse, G. U. Rondeau, J. A. Forbes, Alphonse Bourassa, Rudolph T. Germain. The offence proved against each of these men is that of being impersonated by persons whom they employed for the purpose. 2. J. A. Desilets and Joseph A. Beaulieu. Desilets acknowledged that he received money from Rondeau to keep silence. Beaulieu did not appear when called upon for evidence.

BRITISH SEALERS IN BEHRING SEA.

Mr. DAVIES (for Sir Richard Cartwright) asked, Whether the Government have received a copy of the following resolutions stated to have been passed by the Legislature of British Columbia on or about the 11th day of April last:—

On the motion of the Honourable Mr. Turner, seconded by Mr. Horne, it was Resolved,—

Whereas by a Convention between the United States and Great Britain, dated 18th April, 1892, it was, amongst other things, provided:—

"That if the result of the Arbitration be to affirm the right of British sealers to take seals in Behring Sea within the bounds claimed by the United States under its purchase from Russia, then compensation shall be made by the United States to Great Britain (for the use of her subjects) for abstaining from the exercise of that right during the pendency of the Arbitration, upon the basis of such a regulated and limited catch or catches as, in the opinion of the Arbitrators, might have been taken without an undue diminution of the seal herds," such amount "to be promptly paid;"

And whereas the result of such Arbitration was to affirm such legal rights as pertaining to British subjects;

And whereas no such compensation has been awarded:

Be it Resolved, That this House ventures to express the hope that the Royal assent will not be given to the Bill now before the Imperial Parliament for giving legal effect to the Behring Sea Arbitration, unless the following claims be previously acknowledged and placed in course for settlement by the Government of the United States, namely:—

1. That British Columbian sealers be compensated in respect to vessels which have been seized;

2. That British Columbian sealers be compensated for illegal exclusion from Behring Sea during the years 1891, 1892 and 1893.

And that a copy of this Resolution be telegraphed at once to the Secretary of State for Canada with a request that he telegraph it to the Imperial Government.

(a) Whether any such basis of catch of seals as is above referred to was arrived at? (b) What steps, if any, have been taken to secure prompt payment of the several claims above enumerated? (c) Whether, pending action on the part of the United States, the Government of Great Britain is prepared to make any compensation to parties aggrieved?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. 1. The Government has received and transmitted to Her Majesty's Government a copy of the resolution of the Legislature of British Columbia, dated 11th April. 2. (a) No basis of catch as above referred to has been arrived at. It was at one time thought that such claims under the *modus vivendi* for 1892 and 1893 might, with advantage, be pressed. When the subject came up for discussion before the tribunal at Paris it was found inexpedient, under the terms of the convention, to advance these claims against the United States. A number of these claims have, however, been filed with the Canadian Government by the parties interested. They will be further consulted as to the basis and means for substantiating them for the purpose of being submitted for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. The claims under the *modus vivendi* of 1891 are included in this category, but differ from the others inasmuch as Great Britain has already awarded the sealers a sum of \$100,000 in respect to losses for that year. This amount has been paid. (b) Every step which it was possible for the Canadian Government to take has been taken periodically since 1886, to press for the payment of the claims of the sealers to compensation for losses through the seizure of their vessels. Her Majesty's Government have informed the Canadian Government that Her Majesty's ambassador at Washington was instructed that the discussion of the terms of the convention with regard to the settlement of damages, should proceed *pari passu* with the discussions of the arrangements for giving effect to the award. (c) The Government is not aware that any suggestion has been made to Her Majesty's Government that they were prepared to make any compensation pending action on the part of the United States.

CHARLES E. HICKEY.

Mr. SOMERVILLE asked, Is it the intention of the Government to permit Charles E. Hickey, Superintendent of the Williamsburg Canal, who is paid a salary of \$1,800 per annum, to continue to practice his profession as a doctor of medicine?

Mr. HAGGART. Charles E. Hickey has been instructed that so long as he is Superin-

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

tendent of the Williamsburg Canal he will not be allowed to practice his profession as a doctor of medicine.

THE GEOLOGICAL MUSEUM.

Sir JAMES GRANT asked, Is it the intention of the Government to proceed with the erection of a new Geological Museum this season?

Mr. OUIMET. It is not the intention of the Government to proceed at present with the erection of a new Geological Museum.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

Mr. LAURIER. Before the Orders of the Day are proceeded with, I beg to move:

That Mr. Martin be substituted for Mr. Charlton as a member of the Committee on Public Accounts.

Motion agreed to.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). The session has become well advanced now, and probably there will not be a great many days left for private members. Some years ago a rule was adopted that when notices of motion were called, if the party was not present and prepared to proceed, the motion was allowed to drop, and in this way an opportunity was given to members who had motions on the paper and who were prepared to proceed. Hitherto this session the First Minister has been very kind in this regard, and hon. members cannot have failed to have noticed it, and nothing in the way of favouritism has taken place, because when an hon. member requested that the motion standing in his name be allowed to stand the request has been acceded to. But when the rule was adopted, it was that a motion should only be allowed to stand at the request of the Government and generally on the ground that the Ministers were not able at the moment to discuss the questions involved. I suggest whether so much leniency having been shown to all members of the House hitherto, whether it would not be better to adhere more closely to the rule, so that injustice may not be done to those having notices of motion on the paper and who are ready to proceed with them.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I am glad the hon. gentleman has mentioned the subject, because it helps me to make the statement I had intended to make when notices of motions were proceeded with, that the Government will not be at liberty after to-day to assent to requests that notices of motion be allowed to stand. But some hon. gentlemen have relied on that courtesy being extended to them to-day, and so I will in these instances ask that the motions be allowed to stand.

DEEPENING OF THE ST. LAWRENCE RIVER AND CANALS.

Mr. DENISON moved :

That whereas the canal now in course of construction by the Government of the Dominion, at Sault Ste. Marie, is to have a depth of twenty feet, which is the depth of navigable water from Port Arthur to Port Colborne, it is, in the opinion of this House, expedient that the same policy should be adopted as regards the St. Lawrence and that the Soulanges Canal now being constructed, together with the other St. Lawrence canals and the channel of the river, where necessary, should be deepened to a uniform depth of twenty feet.

He said : Mr. Speaker, as I have already on previous occasions brought this subject before the House, I do not intend to occupy much time to-day. I bring it up, not so much in the expectation of securing its adoption, as the object of keeping it before the attention of the House and Government, and with a desire to impress on the House and the country the necessity of starting on a new canal policy. We have in the past been working on a policy of a 14-foot channel, a policy adopted twenty-five or thirty years ago ; and it is unnecessary for me to point out to the House how times have changed since then, and how, if I may use the term, absurd it is that we should now be pursuing the same policy as when this country was almost in its infancy. What we should now do is to inaugurate a new policy, and in my view we should start that new policy with the Soulanges Canal on the St. Lawrence. Before going further into this question, I desire to refer very briefly to the report of the Canal Commission, which was adopted in 1871, now twenty-three years ago. Some of the arguments used then apply with equal force now. Referring to the commercial aspects of the question, the Commissioners point out the necessity of having deeper canals by which to carry grain and other products of the western prairies, or as the Commission term them : "The country which extends from the Alleghanies in the east to the Rocky Mountains on the west," and they speak of the great resources of the country and of the desirability of having so eligible a route for shipping those products. The Commissioners speak of the St. Lawrence route as follows :—

Though the St. Lawrence route has never yet received anything like the amount of traffic which it should by virtue of its superior facilities ; yet it is surprising that it has even done as much as it has when we consider the formidable nature of the opposition it has had to contend against. The trade that should naturally have sought it, just as the river seeks the sea, has been wooed away from it by the enterprising communities, deeply interested in the prosperity of American canals and railways. The very want of a uniform system in its canals, no doubt has also operated to retard the development of the St. Lawrence navigation to a very large extent. Yet despite all the disadvant-

ages under which it has laboured, it has done an amount of business, which is of itself a guarantee of what might be accomplished under more auspicious circumstances.

Those remarks apply equally to-day as they did twenty-three years ago. The vessels used on the upper lakes were of a much smaller class than they are now, and on that account it is obviously necessary that measures should be taken to deepen the channel. The report goes on to show the growth of the intercolonial trade that depends on cheap transport, as follows :—

The growth of intercolonial trade depends on cheap transit, since the merchandise passing between the Maritime Provinces and Ontario must be of bulky character, requiring large vessels and rapid despatch to be really profitable. When a propeller can go direct with a cargo of coal, or other produce of the eastern provinces, to Kingston and Toronto, and there get a return freight of flour, barley and other western produce, intercolonial trade will have entered on a new era.

Although we had the canals deepened, including the Welland, we have only secured a depth of 14 feet. Still the trade that we look for by the deepening to 14 feet has never accrued to the country, principally on account of one canal being only 10 feet. Then the report goes on to deal with the question of navigation, and they insist upon it, that one uniform size of lock and canal throughout, including the Welland and Sault Ste. Marie canals, should be adopted. That is exactly what I wish to impress upon the House now. We have plenty of water from the town of Port Arthur to Sault Ste. Marie. At Sault Ste. Marie we are just building, I may say have completed, a canal of 20 feet, and from that point clear away to Port Colborne there is sufficient depth of water for floating a vessel of, I believe, 20 feet. We are at the present time spending a large amount of money on the Soulanges Canal, and if that canal were made 20 feet deep, our entire canal system could, bit by bit, be completed to that depth, as the country could afford it, and as our resources would allow. It is not to be supposed that we should expect to deepen our canal system all at once, but it could be done by degrees and so would not bear so heavy a burden on the country. Experience has shown that 14 feet is too shallow, and I think I am safe in saying, on account of the depth of the Welland Canal, that there are two or three hundred vessels in the upper lakes which cannot now find an outlet to Lake Ontario. With the exception probably of Suez and Panama, I know of no place in the world where the necessity exists for having a deep channel as it does in Canada. I do not know if I can even except Suez, because a vessel could go around by the Cape of Good Hope, and so avoid transshipment, and it is much the same in the case of the

Panama Canal, because ships can go around Cape Horn as they do now, without transshipment. But, if it would pay in a place like Suez to spend \$75,000,000 for the purpose of shortening the distance and saving transshipment, how much better would it pay to have this outlet for ocean-going vessels from our great inland seas, and not have them cribbed and confined as they are now. Vessels can ply in the interior drawing 20 feet of water, but when they come down to Port Colborne they are met with 14 feet, and when they get down to Lake Ontario there is only 10 feet at present. If we had our canals deepened as I now propose, when the work was completed it would bring Winnipeg practically within 400 miles of the sea, as vessels could come up as far as Port Arthur. It would permit all the ports on Lake Ontario to be practically seaports, and while it accomplishes all this, I contend that it would not interfere at all with the prosperity of Montreal, but that it would, on the contrary, increase it. Large sums of money have been spent in the Maritime Provinces and in the west on railway construction, and while the money required for deepening the canals would be expended at first in the older provinces of Ontario and Quebec, yet the expenditure would be more in the interests of the Maritime Provinces and of our great western country, than it would be in the interest of these two provinces I have mentioned. The reason for my contention is this: The coal of Nova Scotia could come in large ships past Montreal, and unload at the wharfs of Hamilton, Port Hope, Toronto, and elsewhere, and the wheat and flour from the great west could be brought down to the Maritime Provinces as a return cargo. When I last brought this question up in the House, it was said that the project would cost \$80,000,000 or \$100,000,000. That, Mr. Speaker, I think, is a very outside estimate, because Mr. Corthell, an eminent engineer of Chicago, tells us that the St. Lawrence canals could be deepened for \$27,000,000, and the Welland Canal for \$40,000,000, or a total of \$67,000,000. I might mention that this is less than the sum that was spent by the city of Manchester in building a thirty-five-mile canal to make that town a seaport, and if it is in the interest of a town of one million inhabitants to spend \$75,000,000 in constructing a waterway 26 feet deep for the purpose of carrying ocean vessels to their doors, surely it ought to be in the interest of a great nation like Canada, with the vast possibilities we have here, to spend \$67,000,000 to open up this great interior country, and bring ocean vessels into the heart of the continent. I was also told on a former occasion that it would take a very large amount of money to deepen Lake St. Louis. I examined, in the department, the reports of the United States engineer officers who have taken the depths of the St. Lawrence River, and I have taken some of their measurements from Cornwall down. I

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have noted all the depths of 20 to 22 feet, and under, and taken a few where it was over that. Commencing at Cornwall, going down, the depth begins at 24 feet, and then runs to 22 feet, 25 feet, 20 feet, 22 feet again, 60 feet, showing the extreme depth, and 24 feet down to Highlander shoal. There is nothing less there than 20 feet. At this shoal on one side of the river there is 30 feet, just opposite to it 20 feet, and then 29 feet, and opposite 16 feet. Then, in the centre of the channel the depths are 20 feet, 23 feet, and 63 feet, which carries you into Lake St. Francis. There are varying depths in Lake St. Francis in the neighbourhood of 60 feet, or thereabouts, and then it shallows to 29 feet off Coteau Landing. After leaving the slope of the bank at Cascade Point, where the river Ottawa joins the St. Lawrence, it runs from 10 to 38 feet; 32 feet, 16 feet on one side and 23 on the opposite, and 57 feet. Then you meet the Beauharnois Canal channel, and at that point there is about 68 feet in depth. Then the depths are 41 feet, 22 feet, 24 feet, 30 feet, 50 feet, 29 feet, and then comes the shoal for about half or three-quarters of a mile, over which there are varying depths which I took, as follows:—9 feet deep on one side and 13 on the other; I suppose an average depth of 11 feet. Then there are 14 feet, 21 feet, 19 feet on one side and 22 feet on the other, or an average probably of 20 feet, and then when you leave the shoal there is 27 feet near Lachine. I think we have convincing evidence in this that the only place where there would be any trouble would be in this shoal near Lachine Point. The least depth there is from 9 to 13 feet, part of it being from 21 to 28 feet deep, so that I am sure very little dredging would give the necessary depth. Now, Mr. Speaker, I will quote from a work by Mr. William Kingsford, published in 1865, nearly thirty years ago, which throws some light upon this question. In this work the writer says:

On the other hand, freights from New York to Liverpool are always less than freights from Montreal to Liverpool; as a whole it results that it is more profitable to ship from New York. While the navigation is kept at the present limit, the relative cost will be maintained, and the system will be unchanged. The reason is evident. New York, from the imperfections of the St. Lawrence, is the importing market for the West, and consequently there are numerous vessels to bear away the produce delivered for export. In Montreal the number of vessels is limited. In the former case vessels seek for freights, and competition induces cheapness. In the latter the freight seeks vessels, and high prices are maintained.

This argument, if it is correct, tends to show that the larger we make the port of Montreal, the cheaper the rates will be, as the result of competition. While at one time the people of Montreal were, I believe, somewhat disposed to oppose the deepening of the St. Lawrence, I hope and believe that that feeling has passed away; because there is

little doubt in my mind that with a great channel carrying vessels past its doors, Montreal would become a great Atlantic port, rivalling New York. I hold in my hand a copy of the 'Engineering Review' of January 20, 1894, which contains an article in reference to the Manchester Ship Canal, from which I wish to read a short extract :

The physical and engineering features of the Manchester Ship Canal have been described so often and in such detail that we do not propose to repeat the particulars here at any length. The minimum width on the bottom is 120 feet, but between Barton and the terminus, a distance of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the width on the bottom is increased to 170 feet. The depth throughout is 26 feet, but the sills of the locks are put in at a depth of 28 feet, so as to allow of further deepening should that be required.

I wish to point out the foresight shown in putting the sills at a depth of 28 feet, with the view of the possibility of the canal being deepened at some future day to that figure. I do that with the object of calling to the attention of the House the necessity of having the locks on our new canal at Soulanges constructed at a depth of 20 feet, so that we could deepen it to that extent at some future day at a comparatively small cost. We have been told that the Beauharnois Canal, being only a 9-foot canal, it would cost so much to deepen and enlarge the locks to 14 feet, that it is cheaper and better to build a new Beauharnois Canal at Soulanges. If there is anything in that argument, it will apply in the same way if at some future day we wish to increase the depth to 20 feet ; and we may have to spend at least twice the amount we are spending now on the Soulanges Canal to get the extra depth. The Manchester Canal is purely a local enterprise, which, as I mentioned before, cost, including the purchase of the Bridgewater Canal, some £15,000,000 sterling. In 1869 the Chicago 'Tribune' said that the tonnage of the great lakes was ten millions greater than the combined entrances and clearances of all the seaports of the United States, and three millions greater than the combined entrances and clearances of Liverpool and London. I mention that to show the enormous dimensions to which that trade has grown. We have the people of Brandon petitioning in favour of this canal. The people of Port Arthur are also in favour of it. I would like to read an extract from the Toronto 'Globe' of the 5th of June, 1893, as follows :—

It may be said that Welland Canal has already cost this country nearly \$24,000,000, and that the cost of a greater work forbids its being undertaken. There can be no gainsaying that the question of cost is all-important, but when a certain purpose is held in view and is not attained, the efforts employed, no matter how extensive and meritorious, have been partially wasted. This is very much the position with regard to the Welland Canal. It was intended to connect Ontario with

the upper lake traffic. This it has done to but a small extent. It would have been the truer economy to have expended a large sum and consummated the purpose for which the canal was undertaken, than to have spent the considerable and yet inadequate one that has only succeeded in making people inquire whether the canal is not to a large extent a failure.

The reason assigned for this is, as is well known, that every year vessels have to be lightened in order to pass through the canal. I would like also to read from the Toronto 'World' of the 10th of June, 1893, in regard to the deepening of the canal, as follows :—

The project will cost many millions, but it is a project upon which the interested countries can well afford to spend millions. People who are able to build four or five transcontinental railways can surely afford to develop a waterway stretching half way across the continent. The project of course will have its opponents. The great trunk railways, in which so many millions have been invested, will oppose the development of so gigantic a competitor for their business. The cities of New York, Baltimore and Philadelphia will naturally oppose a scheme whose realization would result in the building up of Montreal at the expense of those places. But the more opposition that arises from this quarter, the more will the necessity of the project become evident.

The 'World' then gives a quotation from Mr. J. J. Hill, who is, I believe, the president of the Great Northern Railway. He says :

I see no reason why the commerce that now seeks an outlet at Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and Boston should not be divided, certainly equally divided, between these cities and a city on the St. Lawrence River. I see no reason why the city of Montreal should not be the commercial rival of the city of New York to an extent that is far beyond anything that most of us would think possible. The improvement of the great continental waterways would certainly, if carried to an extent that would permit ocean ships to interchange their cargoes at Montreal with the largest ships now on the lakes, make Montreal the largest shipping port on the continent.

Then they go on to say :

The Canadian North-west is greatly interested in the question. So are the people of Ontario and Quebec.

I just wish to make one more reference before I close, and that is from a pamphlet called "For Canada—Transportation, the Problem," in which the writer says :

The more the country north-west of us develops, the more do the conditions under which we have struggled with New York for trade, change in our favour, in fact, the situation is reversed. Heretofore, it has been a question of the dead weight of grain drifting northward instead of in a straight line to the more central and larger New York market ; now, it is a question of the more northerly grain drifting southward, instead of travelling along its more direct route *via* our river.

Until we have the river deepened, the grain will continue to drift southward, I contend. He says again :

In the main, now that the North-west country is opening up, the only rival to New York must be Montreal. The dead weight of grain raised in the Central States may easily travel in a straight line east to the seaboard, but wheat raised in the North-west will not drift south-east on its journey to northern Europe, unless forced into that eccentric line through the insanity of the people possessing the more direct and the cheaper route.

I have nothing more to say, except to urge upon the House once more the necessity of inaugurating a new canal policy. I want a practical policy instead of the one adopted twenty years ago, of 14 feet depth of water. The amount of grain has increased and the size of the ships has increased four or five-fold. A 300-ton vessel was formerly the largest navigating the upper lakes, but now they run from 1,000 up to 3,000 tons.

Mr. McKAY. I am glad the hon. gentleman has brought up this question. It is one of vital importance to the country, as everything which tends to facilitate and cheapen transportation is of vital importance. We have one of the greatest waterways in the world, one on which already large sums have been expended. No matter whether this money was judiciously expended or not, it must be admitted that the work met the requirements of the time, as regards the commerce and the size of the vessels then in vogue. But the trade of the country has grown to such an extent, and the vessels used in transport have increased in size to such an extent, that it is now necessary, in order to compete with other countries—with the United States and their means of water communication—that we should keep up with the times. At present we have an uninterrupted water communication between the great inland lakes and the ocean—some thousand of miles. The only barrier is the depth of the water and the size of the locks on the Welland and St. Lawrence River canals. If these were enlarged, as advocated by hon. gentlemen, that barrier would be removed. We could then not only do business with the Maritime Provinces, we could not only enlarge our marine in connection with that trade, but we could increase our business with any country we desired. We could have the coal and the pig iron of the Maritime Provinces brought up to the manufacturing centres of the older province—Toronto, Hamilton, and other places—where they do not reach at present. And the vessels which will carry those products may get return cargoes from the west of flour and other goods. That would tend to establish an interprovincial trade, and lead us to look upon ourselves, not as Nova Scotians or New Brunswickers, or Prince Edward Islanders, or in any provincial light of that kind, but would make us realize more

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that we belong to the one country and are Canadians. A great deal of money has been spent by this Government in improving the navigation of the St. Lawrence River on the one hundred and eighty miles between Quebec and Montreal. I think the country has expended about three and a half million dollars for the purpose of deepening the channels through Lake St. Peter, in order to save a railway carriage of about 180 miles. Now, that is a very small proportion of our thousands of miles of railway traffic; and if, by spending what may be considered a large sum of money, we can utilize, as a through route to the ocean, probably fifteen hundred or nearly two thousand miles of our magnificent waterway, which we cannot do now, we can save that much of railway carriage. Everything that tends to cheapen the transport of the products of the country must certainly increase the price to the producer. Every cent saved to the farmers of the west in bringing their products to market increases the price they receive by that much. I believe I am giving the correct figures when I say that the surplus wheat from the North-west for the last year was over twenty million bushels. One cent per bushel saved on that would make \$200,000 put into the pocket of the farmers. Our canal system is something like a chain, its strength has to be gauged by the strength of the weakest link. Its efficiency and usefulness must be determined by the depth of water and length of locks at the shallowest and smallest part. To make the system perfect, it should be of one uniform depth and size throughout, and until it is, it cannot be utilized as a waterway to the ocean. It strikes me there is another question which might be solved by the perfecting of our waterway system and of our canal system—a question that has been up for discussion in past years. I refer to the question of the rebate of canal tolls. By the adoption of the policy advocated by the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Denison), we might settle that question, making our waterway so much the cheaper and superior to any other one that there could be no question of a rival. I will not take up the time of the House, as other gentlemen are going to follow, by adding anything further, except to express the hope that the Government will adopt the policy indicated by the hon. member for West Toronto.

Mr. SPROULE. I am glad to have the opportunity to support the proposition made by the hon. member for Toronto (Mr. Denison), because I consider the work to which he has called attention one of the great requirements of the age. These great water-stretches seem to have been designed by nature for man's use; but in order to gain the full benefit of them we must connect the various links by canals and channels deep enough to accommodate ocean-going vessels. There are hundreds of miles of navigation between the ocean and Port Arthur that

might afford the best means of communication among the various towns and cities and villages in the interior of this vast country, but which can only be partially used to-day on account of the disadvantages we labour under through the smallness of some small links in the great chain. Vessels that are able to pass through a canal where there is only fourteen feet of water are very few compared with the great number of ocean-going vessels that carry freight to every part of the world. The demand at the present time appears to be to cheapen the cost of transport; and in no other way, in my opinion, can it be so effectively done as by increasing the facilities for the navigation of the rivers and lakes of the Dominion. We are already able to pass from the ocean to Quebec, and thence to Montreal, a distance of 200 miles. Between Montreal and Lake Ontario ports there are only a few links which require to be a little deepened. This accomplished, Toronto would be one of the ocean ports of Canada. That would be a great consideration; but it would be a still greater consideration to continue the system westward by increasing the depth and width of the Welland Canal so as to allow the same ocean vessels to pass on to Port Arthur, making the head of navigation there. One of the great requirements of the day is to cheapen freight rates and, in order to do this, competition is necessary. At present the freight rates, we may say, are virtually controlled by two railway corporations; and we do not know how soon these may be amalgamated under one management which would practically be able to dictate terms to the world. Should that result be brought about—and I think we may reasonably expect it to happen before long, seeing what has taken place within the last few years—how important will it be to have competition with these railways to keep down freight rates. The only perpetual competition we can have is through the agency of the waterways of the country, and, to make this competition effective, we must deepen the canals. I think it is not too much to say that we have spent some hundreds of millions of public money upon our railways. These great works are valuable; they are useful; they perform a most important function. But by the expenditure of a small fraction of the amount of money put into the railways, we should be able to use our waterways to great advantage, to quite as great advantage as we use our railways at the present time. Why, then, should we not do it? One of the great causes of high freight rates is transshipment. In our section of the country we had practical experience of that. We assisted to build a railway of a gauge of 3 feet 6 inches, which was not the standard of the gauge of the country. The result was that, when a car of through freight reached Toronto over that railway, it had to be transhipped. This was a very serious drawback to our trade and resulted in so much less being given to the producer for his goods.

We know it costs 50 cents a ton to unload coal from a vessel or car. If that be so, it is not too much to say that it will cost an equal sum to tranship from one vessel to another, and as much also to tranship from vessel to railway car. If our canals were deepened, this cost of transshipment would be in a large degree saved; and the saving would undoubtedly be shared between the producer and the consumer; because, if it pays to carry freight at the rate at which it is being carried to-day, there would be no necessity to take a larger margin out of the price of the product for the purpose of carrying that freight, when you reduce the cost by the economy of deepening the canal. This great improvement will be required more and more as time goes on. It is only a few years since the vessels navigating our inland waters had a draught of only from 10 to 14 or 15 feet. Now, we find many of them drawing 20 and 22 feet; and, in some cases, I believe the draught is as much as 23 feet. The trend of the age seems to be towards the building of larger vessels, vessels which will carry more, but that will also require a greater depth of water. Many vessels are now fenced in in our inland waters, not being able to reach the ocean, because of the impediments offered by these narrow and shallow channels; and thus they are only partially able to do the work which they could do most effectively and profitably but for this embargo. Vessels that would come from the ocean to inland towns are prevented from coming. They have to break bulk and tranship at Quebec or Montreal, adding to the cost of transportation as I have said. If it were required, a hundred millions of dollars would be a small consideration to the country, when you take into consideration the saving of freight rates and the advantages that would accrue in the increased facilities for navigation. Two things are required in our country to-day perhaps more than any other: first, rapidity of transportation; and, second, the facility to carry larger quantities in a train or vessel. Now, we are proposing to give a very respectable sum for the purpose of getting a fast steamship line from Canadian ports to England and other European countries. We are doing this for a purpose. We believe that compensating advantage will accrue from it to our own people on account of the increased rate of speed and the improved facilities for carrying our goods to these eastern countries. If this principle holds good for that portion of navigation between Europe and our Atlantic seaboard, it must be equally true of that very large stretch of navigation which might be utilized from Quebec to Port Arthur. We should then have not only the advantage of carrying very much larger cargoes, such as the ocean-going vessels carry to-day; we should also have the advantage of quicker transportation. If this were done we could introduce the refrigerator system so successfully in-

roduced in ocean navigation, and thus we could carry cheese, butter, fresh meat, and other perishable articles and land them in Liverpool in much shorter time, in much better condition and at a cheaper rate than at present. Another great advantage—I believe that in the transportation of cattle it is admitted that the animals sustain less injury when carried by boat than when transported in cars. If you reduce the number of miles over which they must be taken by railway, and increase the number of miles over which they can be taken in vessels, you introduce a system that carries them with less damage, and lays them down in the markets of the world where they are to be sold, in a much better condition than they are by the present system. We have lately finished our great transcontinental line of railway, and I think there is no person in this country but will admit that the expenditure incurred in building that great line of railway was a wise one, that we have received great benefits from it, and that the country could scarcely get along without it to-day. But while these advantages are great, there is no doubt whatever that there are still great defects in the transportation system that we cannot overcome by the railways of our country, and that might be overcome by deepening the canals so as to allow ocean-going freight from the east to pass at least through the centre of the country, up to the west. And not only would we reap that advantage in respect to ocean-going freight, but if these canals were deepened as they ought to be, so as to allow ocean vessels to pass up, I am quite sure that we would attract very heavy freight from the northern fringe of those of the United States that lie along the Canadian border; and not only would we carry the freight of our own country, but we would carry a very large portion of the freight of the northern part of the United States, which, by the advantages of these cheap waterways, could reach the ocean much cheaper, by a shorter route and in a better condition, than it could by passing over the railways of their own country; and this traffic, in a measure, would partly repay the expense that would be incurred in deepening these canals. This question has been discussed from time to time by members of this House, and it has been written upon by the press of the country; but I am of the opinion that there never was a time in the history of the country that this enterprise could be undertaken with better chance of success than at the present time. All the great schemes we have had in hand that have involved heavy expenditure, are comparatively finished to-day, and we are in a better position than we ever were before for commencing some larger enterprises which, though they might incur heavy outlays, are enterprises which would afford compensating advantages for the heavy expenditure they would entail. We have noth-

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ing else now on our hands except this project of getting a fast steamship line; and as I said before, to get the best advantages from that fast steamship line, and to bring the large exporting towns and cities within reach of the centre of the country, can be accomplished in no other way than by deepening these canals. Therefore I think that wherever work is projected and carried out in the future it should be done with the view of accomplishing at some time that very desirable aim, and the money should be so expended that we shall have gradually a depth of at least 20 feet—and in my opinion we ought to make it even more than 20 feet, in fact, if we had a depth of 20 feet it would give us more advantages than we have to-day. For these reasons I, for one, would heartily support the scheme proposed by the hon. member for Toronto. It is a very important one in the interest of the province of Ontario, and for all the western country; and in my opinion it is equally important for the province of Quebec and the provinces down by the sea, because it would cultivate an interprovincial trade that we have not realized to the extent we should, up to the present time, and that we never shall realize until we have the advantage of these deep waterways. As I said before, it would reduce the cost of transportation, it would give us a fast conveyance, and it would give us perpetual competition with the railways of the country, and in these various ways I think it would pay us very well to incur the expenditure that would be required for the purpose of deepening these canals.

Mr. COATSWORTH. I am glad to see the receptive and responsive attitude of the Minister of Railways and Canals on this subject, and I trust it may be a good omen for those who are pushing this project, and that something definite may be accomplished by the discussion which took place last year and the discussion which is taking place this afternoon. It appears to me that the deepening of these canals is the logical development of the policy which the Government has been pursuing for a great many years. When we realize the fact that between Montreal and Port Arthur and Duluth there are from 100 to 150 ports at the present time open to navigation, besides innumerable ports that are not yet opened and made into harbours, we may understand that there is a vast extent of country to be affected by the project, and that the more we can develop the shipping trade, when we have so many ports into which ships can run, the better it will be for our country. Now, the development of the St. Lawrence route between Montreal and Quebec in order to allow ocean-going vessels to run up to Montreal, began in 1841. I wish to say at the outset that I do not intend to draw any invidious comparisons between what the Government did down there and what we want them to do up here, because

I think there is no one in the country but will approve of what the Government has done east of Montreal, and all we wish them to do now is to extend the same policy west of Montreal for the fuller development of the shipping of our country. In 1841 ninety-seven sea-going vessels came up to Montreal, at a time when the depth of water in the shallowest part of Lake St. Peter, was $11\frac{1}{2}$ and 12 feet. After an investigation it was decided that the channel of the river should be deepened so as to allow the passage of vessels drawing 16 feet of water, and in 1849 the channel was so deepened, so that vessels drawing 16 feet could come up to Montreal. But the policy of development was found so satisfactory that the Government went on with it, and in 1854 the river was again deepened so that vessels drawing 18 feet of water could come up to Montreal. In 1865 the channel was again deepened so that vessels drawing 20 feet of water could come up to Montreal. In 1877 it was again deepened to allow the passage of vessels drawing 22 feet of water; and in 1886, when the last work was done in this respect, the channel was deepened to $27\frac{1}{2}$ feet, so that vessels drawing $27\frac{1}{2}$ feet of water can now pass up from Quebec to Montreal. This result was not obtained without the expenditure of a considerable sum of money. I observe, in reading the 'Debates' of last year, the objection was raised that the harbours on Lake Ontario, Lake Erie, Lake Huron, Lake Superior, and the Georgian Bay, were not sufficiently deep to allow ocean-going vessels to get into them. It may be that at the present time these harbours are not sufficiently deep for that purpose; but we know very well that when sea-going vessels first came to Quebec and Montreal, those harbours were not in a satisfactory condition for such vessels to enter them, and it was found essential in the development of navigation to enlarge and deepen the harbours at both those cities, and this has accordingly been done, with the result that vessels of a very large tonnage can now enter those harbours. I do not know much about the depth of the harbours in many parts of the lake, but I know that in Toronto, the place in which I am particularly interested, even if there is not a sufficient depth of water at the present time, yet, owing to the magnificent entrance that the Public Works Department have given us at the eastern end of the harbour, we can obtain a depth there of almost 60 feet by satisfactory dredging; and I am sure that when the canals are completed the Minister of Public Works will see that proper dredging is done, so that the entrance to our harbour and the harbour itself may be all that can be required to accommodate shipping. Now, while I draw no invidious distinctions as to the St. Lawrence route below Montreal and above Montreal, yet, when it pays the Government, for the purpose of accommodating shipping at Montreal, to expend not less than

ten millions—because I feel certain that the expenditure on the harbours and the St. Lawrence below Montreal has not been less than ten millions—when it pays to expend that much to bring sea-going vessels up to Montreal, then I say the logical conclusion is that it will pay very well for the Government to extend these works up into Lake Ontario and the other lakes, where, as I said before, we will have from 100 to 150 harbours open for the reception of vessels. Nearly all the harbours to which I have referred are at the present time capable of accommodating all the shipping running on the lakes. Some of these harbours are Brockville, Kingston, Toronto, Hamilton, St. Catharines, Windsor, Sarnia, Goderich, Owen Sound, Collingwood, Sault Ste. Marie, Port Arthur. And we have the American ports of Rochester, Oswego, Buffalo, Cleveland, Sandusky, Toledo, Detroit, Bay City, Milwaukee, Chicago, Duluth. So if it was a wise act, and there is no one who doubts it, and none who would not approve of it, to spend so much money in order to enable sea-going vessels to reach Montreal, it would be a wise policy, and one that would meet the approval of the people of the country, if the Government were to formulate a policy for 20 feet or 22 feet navigation for the purpose of accommodating sea-going vessels ascending the St. Lawrence and the Welland canals. It may be that if the Government does not see its way clear to deepen the Welland Canal, a private enterprise which has been started near Toronto, will enable us to have a ship canal from Georgian Bay to Lake Ontario, and I am sure it will not be very satisfactory to see the Government canal running dry, I observe the hon. member for Lincoln (Mr. Gibson) smiles at the idea of the Government canal running dry, as it is in his constituency, but it surely will not be proper to allow a private enterprise to step ahead of the Government, and so I trust the Government will take the matter into consideration. This policy of canal enlargement is one that was contemplated at the time of confederation. When the gentlemen who were interested in carrying out the project of confederation visited the various points in the Dominion, at places where the people were most interested in canals, the canal question was referred to, and there was a clear understanding at that time that such steps should be taken as in process of time would result in the enlargement of the canal so as to allow sea-going vessels to enter all our lakes. We are now met with a great many objections to this development, and many of the objections have foundation only in the want of credence which possesses many men as to the possibility of carrying out large public works. But we have in Canada at the present time a standing answer to those who decry the construction of great public works, and which are ready to speak of the impossibility of such works being carried out, because we

can refer them to the stupendous works connected with our railway system, and to the engineering difficulties connected with the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the skill by which these were overcome affords a sufficient answer to those who doubt the practicability of deepening the canals, and as far as may be necessary the St. Lawrence, to allow sea-going vessels to ascend the lakes. As the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Denison) said: The policy we are now pursuing and the policy upon which the Government is proceeding as regards the deepening of the canals to 14 feet, is one that was adopted twenty years ago. During these twenty years there has been far greater developments, not only in our country, but in the country to the south than took place during the fifty years previous, and if those who were in charge of our affairs and in charge of our public works twenty years ago, deemed it at that time necessary for the proper conveyance of the lake and river traffic to have the canals deepened to 14 feet, surely with the prospect of increased shipping and in view of the large vessels now being built it is essential that the policy should be revised and we should take into consideration the advisability of deepening our canals so that ships from the ocean and from the lower provinces can reach our harbours on the lakes of Ontario and Manitoba. In fact it appears to me that the lake carrying trade is bound to burst its barriers in some way. During recent years the traffic on the northern lakes has so largely increased that while 14 feet navigation was previously sufficient to accommodate all vessels then, at the present time fully one-third of the vessels built since then are so large that it is impossible for them to pass through the Welland Canal. A year or so ago when it was desired to take one of the whalebacks down to the sea in order to make a trial voyage across the ocean the vessel had to be cut in two in order to get it through our canals. During a former debate on this subject it was stated that one of the reasons why our people are not prepared to enlarge our canals is that only one-third of the commerce passing Detroit actually reaches Buffalo. I think if we should wait until the commerce passing Detroit reaches Buffalo we would come to a condition that it is almost impossible to realize. Buffalo could not possibly accommodate the traffic which passes Detroit; so it is no argument to say that because only one-third of the traffic passing Detroit reaches Buffalo, therefore, we are not prepared to enlarge our canals. The very fact referred to by the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Denison), that so many vessels are tied up west of the Welland Canal, is one of the strongest reasons that should influence the Government in desiring to carry out the enlargement of the canals. In 1841 when only 96 sea-going vessels were able to reach Montreal and that by reason of lightering, the

argument for deepening the river gained force when the point had been reached that lightering became necessary, and from that time the improvements on the St. Lawrence proceeded. By the same reason when we have so many vessels tied up west of the Welland Canal, which cannot pass through that canal, the time has come when the Government should carry out canal enlargement to enable the vessels to pass through the canals. Those large vessels, moreover, are compelled to tie up through the whole of the winter because it is impossible for them to reach the sea and take part in the winter ocean trade, which is shared by vessels plying east of Montreal. One of the arguments referred to by an hon. member last year was that it was not desirable to have large cargoes of wheat in vessels as there was danger of the grain heating. I was glad to hear the hon. member for Hamilton (Mr. McKay) speaking on the resolution this afternoon, addressed the House as one who had had experience in shipping cargoes of wheat, and I am very sure that if there is any weight to be attached to the argument that there was danger of wheat becoming heated he would have given due weight to the argument and drawn the attention of the House to it. But I understand, as a matter of fact, that this only applies when the wheat is not in proper condition before it is shipped, and that if the wheat is shipped in good order it is not likely to be heated in transit, and the question of 10, 20 or 30 days on board makes no difference. Among the other reasons which might be mentioned to convince this House and to convince this Government that the time has arrived when we should enlarge our canals, is the policy that has been adopted by the United States. We all know very well that the greatest competitors that we have for the carrying trade of the west will be our neighbours to the south of us, and as my hon. friend from Grey (Mr. Sproule) suggested, there is already a tendency, owing to their immense shipping and to their great railway system, that the traffic may be diverted in a southeasterly direction instead of coming east along the St. Lawrence. Our friends on the other side of the line are in advance of us in their canal policy. They have already adopted a standard of canal locks 600 feet long, 85 feet wide and 20 feet on the mitre sills, which, I understand, gives about 22 feet, with a depth of 24 feet in rivers and in slack waters. It appears to me that the question for us is purely one of expense. I believe that the Government should take into consideration whether or not the interests and the demands of the people to the west of Montreal and to the west of Ontario should not be complied with, and whether some plan cannot be formulated by which we can at least arrive at an idea of the expense of the work, and of the profit to be realized from the enterprise. We will

then be able to determine with some degree of intelligence whether or not our canals should be enlarged. I trust, as a result of this discussion to-day, and also the discussion in the House last year, that if we are not able to accomplish anything more, we will at least inspire the Minister of Railways and Canals with the necessity of having a survey and plans made of this route, and of obtaining an estimate by his skilful engineers in order to ascertain what the exact cost would be. It is very easy to speak about \$100,000,000, but we do not know whether it is going to cost \$50,000,000 or \$100,000,000, because I do not understand that any practical survey or estimate has yet been made. I sincerely hope that the Minister will make it his business to see that there is a proper survey, proper plans and proper estimates, so that we may be able to arrive at an idea of what the cost of the extension will be. I suppose that we will have to submit to some opposition from the railways, but I would point out what has been the experience in the past of the effect of canal enlargement upon railways. It was said in the early days of the Erie Canal that it would destroy the railway traffic; but it was found after the railways were established, which I believe was subsequently to the building of the canal, that not only did the railways carry two or three times more traffic than the canal carried before the railways were built, but that the traffic on the canal itself increased two- or three-fold, so that it seemed as though the effect of the railways and the canals together caused such a development of the country as to promote so extensive a traffic that both railways and canals had enough to do to accommodate it. I therefore think that the canals, instead of being a hindrance to our railways, instead of entering into active opposition to them, which even my hon. friend from Grey (Mr. Sproule) seems to anticipate, would on the contrary tend to open up the country and promote such a degree of commerce as would not only benefit the canals themselves and benefit the people of the country, but I believe in the long run benefit the railways as well. I sincerely trust that if we do not accomplish more this session we will at all events be able to obtain from the Minister of Railways and Canals a promise that he will bring down an estimate of the cost of deepening our canals as we think they should be deepened.

Mr. DAVIN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to say a few words in support of the motion of my hon. and gallant friend from Toronto (Mr. Denison). I shall look at the question entirely from a North-west standpoint, because from other standpoints it has been very fully dealt with by hon. members of this House. I believe that it would be of great advantage to the people I represent if our canals were so deepened as to admit of the passage of vessels drawing 20 feet

of water. Let me dwell on this point for a moment, so as to bring it to the attention of this House and of the Government. We must do everything in our power to lower the cost of carrying our produce to the seaboard. My hon. friend from Grey (Mr. Sproule) touched on the danger lest the two great railways should amalgamate, but whether they amalgamate or not, we in the North-west at the present minute feel that we pay a great deal too much to carry our produce to Montreal. We know from statistics of the cost of transport in the states, and from the comparative cost of transport by water and by rail, that if we had the advantages that the proposal of my hon. friend from Toronto (Mr. Denison) would give there is not the least doubt that we in the North-west would get our produce cheaper to the seaboard. When this question was before the House in 1892 I supported a similar proposal by my hon. friend (Mr. Denison), and at that time we went into statistics as to the immense value of our lake carrying trade. The Minister of Railways and Canals, in dealing with the question, pointed out that the trade passing Detroit exceeded by some 10,000,000 tons the whole ocean-going trade of the United States, and exceeded by 3,000,000 tons all the exports from Liverpool and London. That one fact gives some idea of the vast value of the lake-going commerce to the United States. What we are chiefly interested in in the west is the cheapening of transport. The hon. Minister on that occasion pointed out that only about one-third of the trade passing Detroit arrived east, and that some two-thirds of it was practically consumed in the west. If we analysed that one-third of the trade which arrived east it would probably be found to consist of the very things that we export from the west: animals, cereals, &c., which we find a market for in Liverpool. Of course the motion of my hon. friend, which I cheerfully endorse, is merely with a view of pressing the project on the attention of the Minister, but whenever it takes a practical shape it shall have my strongest and heartiest support.

Sir JAMES GRANT. Mr. Speaker, it was not my intention to have entered into this discussion until I listened to the observations graphically given to the House by the hon. member for Toronto (Mr. Denison) upon this very important subject. We know perfectly well that at the present time there is a great responsibility in asking the Government to undertake the enlargement of our canals, notwithstanding how strongly we may wish to meet the growing trade of our country. We know that just now we have undertaken the responsibility of cutting down our tariff and lessening our revenue very materially, and notwithstanding the desirability of having our canals deepened and enlarged, under the circumstances I would not ask the

Government too energetically for the expenditure of a very large amount of money at this present period. However, as the subject has been so ably brought before this House, I feel, as a representative from the valley of the Ottawa, that I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without offering a few observations on a very important subject submitted to the Government and the country as far back as 1838. At that time an address was presented to Sir John Colborne by a large deputation, in which were several of the leading men of Canada at that time, in favour of the construction of a canal between Lake Huron and the port of Montreal. The subject was also brought up in the Commons of Canada in 1872, and was discussed at considerable length by the gentlemen then representing this portion of the Dominion. We know very well that no more important subject can be brought before the country than that of the construction of a canal to connect Lake Huron with Montreal, inasmuch as large vessels passing through that portion of the Dominion would be accommodated by the natural waterways of the country, the rivers and lakes between those two points, so that a very moderate expenditure indeed on actual canal construction would be necessary. Under these circumstances, when the Government of this country see, from the growing requirements of the country and the development of our trade, that the time has arrived for increased canal accommodation, I say that the Ottawa Ship Canal is one of the first projects that should receive their full and timely consideration. I will not enter into a full discussion of the subject at the present time. In regard to it we have had the report of Mr. Loranger, presented to the Government in 1858, and the report of Mr. Thomas C. Clarke, presented in 1860; and I say that, either on the part of the great French nationality or on the part of the English people, no two engineers have presented better reports to this country than those presented by those two gentlemen with reference to the Ottawa Ship Canal, also the able and exhaustive report of Walter Shanly, ex-M.P. So important was that project considered that it occupied the attention of the leading men of this country for many a day; and why was the canal not constructed? So much money would be required to carry out the work, and so many gigantic works for the development of the country were going on at the time that the people of the Ottawa valley felt that this project was so vital to the development of the country's trade, that the time would come when it would be looked upon as absolutely necessary and then the Government would take hold of it energetically. Under these circumstances they felt that they could well afford to let it rest for a while. At present the Soulanges Canal is under construction, and if the Gov-

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ernment saw the desirability of deepening that canal to 20 feet, it would probably not be possible now for them to stop the work to have that done. After a while they may see the necessity of deepening these canals, just as they are now deepening the Cornwall Canal. We know that the Minister of Public Works handles the projects that he has on hand with a masterly spirit; and when the Ottawa Ship Canal is to be taken into consideration, I know that the head of that department will not allow so important a project to be passed over in silence. Under these circumstances, I ask the members of the Government and the House who have the good of the country at heart, when the time arrives for the increased enlargement of our canals in order to meet the requirements of our rapidly-growing trade, to remember that one of the first projects entitled to receive their consideration is the Ottawa Ship Canal.

Mr. WHITE (Cardwell). Mr. Speaker, I am quite sure that any proposition put before this House for the purpose of improving the means of communication from the Canadian North-west and the American North-west to the seaboard will have the sympathy of the members of this House. I do not rise, however, for the purpose of participating in this debate, but rather to correct a misconception which the hon. member for East Toronto (Mr. Coatsworth), and I fear many other hon. gentlemen have with regard to the relation of the harbour at Montreal to the Government of Canada. Now, Sir, it is a fact that not one dollar of public money has ever been expended on the harbour of Montreal by the Government of Canada, and Montreal, of all the ports in this Dominion, occupies a unique position in that respect.

Mr. COATSWORTH. Will the hon. gentleman allow me to ask him a question? Did the Government refund the money the people of Montreal spent on the harbour?

Mr. WHITE (Cardwell). Not one cent of the money expended by the people of Montreal upon their harbour has ever been refunded by the Government of Canada, nor has any request ever been made to the Government of Canada for the refund of any portion of that money. I am coming to the point on which, I think, my hon. friend has been somewhat confused. It is with regard to the assumption by the Government in 1889 of the debt incurred by the harbour commissioners of Montreal for the deepening of the channel between Quebec and that port. Why did the Government assume that debt? What was the strong impelling reason? Was it in the interest of the harbour of Montreal? It was no more so than the proposed deepening of the canals which the hon. gentlemen have advocated to-day would be in the interest of the port of Toronto, or the port of Hamilton,

or any other port on the upper lakes; but in the interest of Canada as a whole.

Mr. DENISON. Nobody objects to the expenditure.

Mr. WHITE (Cardwell). No, but there seems to be a misconception as to the position of Montreal in relation to that expenditure. If there is any competition with regard to the traffic on the St. Lawrence River, it is between the port of Quebec and the port of Montreal; yet, notwithstanding the fact that vessels entering the port of Montreal were subject, down to 1889, to wharfage charges on goods and to tonnage dues, which were rendered necessary for the payment of interest on the expenditure for deepening the Lake St. Peter Channel, practically the whole foreign commerce of the St. Lawrence had centred in the port of Montreal as against the port of Quebec. Now, it is well known that the imports at the port of Montreal are not for local consumption. Practically the whole import trade of Ontario and of the North-west passes through the port of Montreal; and my point is that if wharfage dues are imposed on goods landed at the port of Montreal, or if a tonnage tax is levied on vessels entering that port, these taxes fall, not on the local trade of the port, but on the commerce of western Canada as a whole, and that the Government assumed that debt, not in the interest of the port of Montreal, but with the view of promoting the commerce of the country at large. When I stated that not a dollar of public money went to the port of Montreal, I referred to the harbour proper, and my statement in that respect will be found to be absolutely correct. Now, the competition which the St. Lawrence route has to-day is a competition with American routes, and I regret to say that up to this time we have not succeeded nearly as well as we had reason at one time to expect, in meeting the competition of the Erie Canal and the American lines of railway. I should be delighted, if the expenditure were not too large, to see our canals deepened to 20 feet. In the meantime, however, I have a more pressing and practical proposition to make—that is the speedy completion of the deepening of the canals to a depth of 14 feet, and the immediate cheapening of the cost of transportation from the vast lakes of the north and west, to the ports of Montreal and Quebec. Even if this Parliament should approve of the undertaking to deepen our canals to the depth of 20 feet, it would, according to the experience of the past, take fifteen or twenty years before we could hope to achieve that result. But the proposal to cheapen the cost of transportation, besides entailing an infinitely less charge on the Government than is involved in the larger and more important scheme, if you will, has this other advantage, that it can immediately be put into effect. If canal tolls were abolished, if the harbour of Montreal were treat-

ed with the fairness accorded to every other harbour in Canada, the Government would have to refund to the Montreal Harbour Commissioners a sum of money or make allowance to them of an amount which would put that Commission in a position to remit practically all the wharfage dues. When the Government assumed the Lake St. Peter channel debt, the Montreal Harbour Commission abolished all the tonnage dues—and if the wharfage dues, which constitute a charge, not so much to the detriment of Montreal as a city, as a detriment to the commerce of Canada and the St. Lawrence route, were removed, the cost of transportation would be appreciably lessened. That would relieve the St. Lawrence of a very serious handicap and be of incalculable advantage to Canada in her efforts to successfully compete with the Erie Canal for the traffic which goes out in such enormous quantities from Lakes Superior and Michigan. I have no desire to prolong discussion, but simply arose to remove a misapprehension as to the relations of the port of Montreal towards the Government in the matter of expenditure, which seems to exist in the minds of hon. gentlemen.

Mr. MARTIN. This question of deeper canals is certainly one of very great importance to Manitoba and the Territories. The present low prices for grain necessitate a consideration of the question of how the people of that portion of Canada are to continue growing grain. We have already discussed the question whether, owing to the low prices of grain, they should not give up growing it to so great an extent, and go into mixed farming. However, it has not transpired that any product can be grown in Manitoba or the Territories, which will not, in the end, have to find its market in the old country, so that no matter whether our people continue to produce wheat or whether they breed cattle, the transportation problem still faces them. No doubt, efforts have been made, and will be made, to diversify farming, but, after all, under present conditions, we shall have, for some years, to depend very largely on the growth of wheat. Therefore, every question which respects the cost of transportation is one of very great importance. I may say that at present a large proportion of the wheat that goes to Liverpool from Manitoba and the Territories goes via the port of New York. The price of wheat in Liverpool at present is nearly twice as much as that obtained by the farmers in the North-west. About 45 cents per bushel may be considered the average price this season for wheat, but the average price for the same kind of wheat in Liverpool has been 90 cents. So that it has cost the farmer just exactly as much more as he has been able to get for his wheat to transport it to Liverpool. The people there are under the impression that even under present circumstances and with the present transportation facilities, the cost of transportation is

too great. They are convinced that 45 cents a bushel is too much to pay for taking wheat from that country to Liverpool. I believe that a part of this enormous freight charge is caused by the wheat being shipped via New York. It is well known that the standard of wheat grown in Manitoba and the North-west is very considerably higher than the ordinary standard adopted in the American market. Our wheat which passes through New York and is handled by the grain men of New York suffers from being traded in on the basis of the lower grades of American wheat, so that we do not get that benefit from our better quality which we ought to get, and which we would get if we could send our wheat to Liverpool direct. Now, nothing would probably have a more beneficial effect than the transportation of wheat in ships from our Lake Superior ports direct to Liverpool. This cannot be done without involving the question which the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Denison) has brought before the House. It has always been one of the complaints of the farmers of the North-west that their wheat does not reach Liverpool in its natural state, but is always more or less mixed with inferior grades, grown either in eastern Canada or the United States; and in that way, while the quality of the wheat is used in order to bring up the average of the inferior grade with which it is mixed, the result is that the speculators, the dealers in wheat, get the advantage of the better quality rather than the farmer who grows it. Special attention has been drawn to this feature of the trade in very recent times by the construction of what are called whaleback steamers. It is known by experiment that those steamers are a great success, that they are very advantageous in carrying articles in bulk like wheat, and that if a whaleback steamer could leave a Lake Superior point and go direct to Liverpool without transshipment, there would be a very great saving in the cost of transportation. In this connection, the question of our present transportation facilities naturally comes to the front. It is the very strong impression of the people of Manitoba and the Territories that the present cost of transportation by railways is greater than it ought to be. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company contend that they have reduced the rates to the lowest possible point. Of course it is true, Mr. Speaker, that very considerable reductions have been made from time to time, since the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed from Manitoba to Fort William, in the price of carrying wheat from that country to the Lake Superior port. A reduction was made very recently. Still, in spite of that, we continue to feel that the prices are greater than the wheat will stand; that, unless the cost of transportation can be reduced and reduced very considerably, it will not pay the farmers of that country to produce wheat for export. Unfortunately, in this matter of freight rates, we have to

Mr. MARTIN.

deal entirely with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. It must be admitted at once that they more, perhaps, than any one else, except the people who are actually resident in Manitoba, are deeply interested in the development of that country. If we could get, as Canada has expected we would get, a large and comparatively sudden increase in our population in that portion of Canada, it would be a very great benefit indeed to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. They have told us in the most emphatic terms that they are unable to reduce the rates below the present figure. I say, Mr. Speaker, that it is unfortunate in the interests of the people of Canada generally, that we are compelled, in this matter, to deal with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and to accept as final the statements and decision of that company. I would draw the attention of the House to the fact that this matter was discussed in this House at some length when the Canadian Pacific Railway charter was before it for ratification, and to the fact that a gentleman sitting on this side of the House, a member of the Liberal party of Canada, took the stand that there should be inserted in the Canadian Pacific Railway contract a clause which would give the Government the control over the freight rates of this company. On the 26th of January, 1881, a resolution was moved by Mr. Béchard covering a number of points, but including this one:

That it be resolved that the Governor in Council should have the unrestricted right from time to time to regulate the tolls to be taken and to prescribe the accommodation to be given.

Now, Mr. Speaker, if that clause had been inserted in the contract made with the Canadian Pacific Railway syndicate in 1881, we should be in a position to-day to lay our case before the Governor in Council and thus have an appeal to a body which, it is to be hoped, might consider independently and decide as between the conflicting claims of the settlers in that country and the railway company. As it is there is no such appeal. The contract contains a clause which practically puts it out of the power of the Parliament of Canada or the Government of Canada, for all time to come, to interfere in any way with the question of freight rates upon the Canadian Pacific Railway, unless we are prepared to violate that contract. One of these clauses makes this provision—that the Governor in Council may control the freight rates of the company, but only after a dividend of 10 per cent has been paid upon the capital of the company. Now, Mr. Speaker, it is well-known to this House that the stock of the company was issued at 25 cents on the dollar; and, therefore, under that clause, the company must make the profit of 40 per cent upon the money which actually went into the railway before the Governor in Council can interfere in this

question of freight rates. Thus it seems very clear that Parliament, by its own action, has for ever placed the question of governmental interference with the rates of this company beyond its powers. Therefore, I say—unfortunately for us and unfortunately for Canada—in considering this question, we must accept as final the decision of the company. That decision has been given to us finally, and it is one in which we see little or no hope for ourselves. In this connection, I might draw attention to the fact that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company have, to a very considerable extent, abandoned the great international line through Canada and have constructed and are now operating, practically as their main line from ocean to ocean, a line which, coming east, leaves Canada at a point south of Regina and does not again enter Canada until Sault Ste. Marie is reached. This is a matter of very great importance in connection with the question of freight rates and in connection with the question of developing the North-west. The Sault line, which is controlled by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, is now fully constructed and in operation. The branch which connects with the Sault line leaves the main line at a place called Pasqua, within a few miles of Moose Jaw, which is west of Regina; and the line with which it connects passes on down through the states of North Dakota and Minnesota to Minneapolis and St. Paul, and thence, through Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan, to Sault Ste. Marie. I think I can safely say that the great bulk of the through travel, the China and Japan travel which has been so much spoken of in this House and in the country as one of the great benefits the people of Canada were to derive from the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, now passes down through the United States over this Sault line. I may say that in Winnipeg we find a very considerable difference in the traffic passing over the Canadian Pacific line. It is stated, Mr. Speaker, and not denied, that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company give very much lower rates to the people of these states through which the Sault road passes than they give to the people of the North-west. Practically the Canadian Pacific Railway Company has been enabled to purchase, control and extend the Sault line by reason of the position in which they have been placed and the credit given them by the large bonuses given them by the people of Canada. It is, therefore, most unfortunate and most discouraging to those of us who have gone to the North-west and to Manitoba to endeavour to develop that portion of Canada, to find that, after all the immense sums in money, in land and in completed railways, that have been given to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, we are at a disadvantage as compared with those states to the south of us in this matter of freight rates. Coming back, however, to the question of deepening the canals, I may say that I shall

have great pleasure in supporting the resolution of the hon. member for West Toronto. I may draw the attention of the House to this fact: that not only are we in Manitoba and the Territories vitally interested in a question of this kind, which is likely to give us cheaper transportation, but the people of the northern states are also vitally interested in this question; and it appears to me that in view of the immense expenditure that will be necessary, our Government should endeavour to obtain co-operation and a joint expenditure with our friends to the south. I may say that conventions were held in 1891 and 1892 on this subject. The first one was held at Grand Forks, in North Dakota, and the second one in St. Paul, Minnesota. I have already referred to them in this House in connection with the subject of reciprocity. While reciprocity was the prominent question discussed at those conventions, this question of deepening the canal highway from Lake Superior to the Atlantic Ocean was also discussed, and resolutions on the line of the one now presented by the hon. gentleman from Toronto were carried almost unanimously. I may mention that one gentleman, Mr. S. A. Thompson, of Duluth, who has made this question of canal development a special study, was not able to agree with the resolution which, however, met with the otherwise unanimous approval of the convention. Mr. Thompson was of the opinion that it was the duty of the United States to provide a canal system through its own territory from Lake Superior to the Atlantic Ocean, but he was the only delegate at either of those conventions who took that view. The rest of the delegates representing cities and country districts over the north-western states, were quite willing that a joint arrangement should be made between the two countries for the development of this great trade. It is true that the figures mentioned by the hon. gentleman are somewhat alarming, considering that Canada is already so much in debt; but if it were possible to bring about the joint construction of a system of canals, utilizing those that have already been constructed, the cost to the people of Canada would be very much lightened indeed. It does seem to me that there are really no other objections in the way. At any rate, the people of Manitoba and the North-west are certainly in this position to-day: that unless some relief can be obtained, either in the direction of increased prices for their grain in the markets of the world, or in the increased net prices to them by a reduction in the present heavy cost of transportation, we will have to consider very seriously whether we can continue to raise wheat for export in that country. Therefore, the hon. gentlemen will find that the settlers of that country are with them unanimously upon this question.

Mr. DALY. I would not take up the time of the House in discussing this matter were

it not for some remarks that have dropped from the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat (Mr. Martin). We had this question under discussion in this House some two years ago, and in reply to the hon. gentleman who has made this motion to-day, the Minister of Railways and Canals stated, as I have no doubt he will state to-day, that the Government were unable to meet his wishes and the wishes of those who advocate the enlargement of these canals, simply on account of the large expenditure that the scheme would require. If I recollect aright, the Minister of Railways and Canals stated last year, I think, when we were discussing the estimates, that according to the report of his engineers it would take from \$130,000,000 to \$140,000,000 to enlarge these canals in the way that is advocated by the hon. gentleman who has made this motion, and those who support it. There is no question, as has been stated by the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin), that our people in Manitoba and the North-west are vitally interested in the question of cheap freight rates. I suppose that there is no gentleman in a public position in Manitoba who can speak with more authority upon that point than the hon. member for Winnipeg, as it is a matter of public notoriety that the question of freight rates was discussed from one end of the province to the other some years ago while the hon. gentleman was in opposition to the then Norquay Government. At that time it was stated that the only panacea for our troubles, the only way by which the farmer of Manitoba or the North-west could get out his wheat cheaply was the building of the Hudson Bay Railway. The people of Manitoba are of the same opinion to-day. The hon. gentleman himself was of that opinion, because during the agitation that was then carried on, he and his leader, Mr. Greenway, while in Opposition, advocated on the platforms throughout the length and breadth of the province, and in the Legislature, that the people of Manitoba should burden themselves to the extent of guaranteeing the interest upon \$4,500,000 of bonds for the purpose of constructing a railway to Hudson Bay. The hon. gentleman moved a resolution to that effect in the Local House of Assembly, and upon that resolution was based an Act of the Legislature whereby the province of Manitoba undertook to guarantee the bonds of that road to that extent. But I regret to say that when the Harrison Government fell, and the Greenway Government, including the hon. member for Winnipeg, came into power, that hon. gentleman was not so great an advocate of building the Hudson Bay Railway as he had been previously, and he went so far as to say, or to indicate, to the country that the Hudson Bay Railway was not of so great a necessity to Manitoba and the North-west as it was while he was in Opposition, and the reason was that some capitalists in

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Winnipeg had become interested in building what was known as the Winnipeg Central Railway. Those men were in negotiation with Mr. Oakes and others, of the Northern Pacific Railway, for the purpose of building this railway. Their idea was that they should have an independent outlet from Winnipeg to the boundary, and that independent line would afford free ingress to the Northern Pacific Railway and the other lines of railway coming there, and by that means they would meet what was then called the excessive freight rates of the Canadian Pacific Railway; that is, this independent line of railway would allow the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern to come into our country, and by that means the freight rates would be decreased. Well, Sir, Mr. McNaught and other members of the Northern Pacific directorate came to Winnipeg on a certain morning when it was not known to the people of Winnipeg that they were about to arrive, and the hon. member for Winnipeg interviewed those gentlemen in their car at 9 o'clock in the morning, and the consequence was that from that day to this the hon. gentleman has not been so zealous an advocate of the Hudson Bay Railway as he was previously. I believe that during the day those gentlemen arrived in Winnipeg they went, in accordance with the request of the men who had brought them there, that is, Manitoba Central people, and interviewed the Government of which the hon. gentleman was a member, and these gentlemen representing the Northern Pacific Railway and the gentlemen representing the Manitoba Central, were in conversation with Premier Greenway in his room, and while they were in course of conversation, the hon. member for Winnipeg, then Commissioner of Railways for Manitoba, entered the room, and was about to back out, expressing his surprise at Mr. Greenway being in conversation with strangers. Mr. Greenway called him back, and said: "Mr. Martin, allow me to introduce you to Mr. McNaught; allow me to introduce you to Mr. Kendricks; allow me to introduce you to Mr. So-and-so." Mr. Martin expressed surprise—

Mr. SPEAKER. I do not understand what connection this has with the motion before the House.

Mr. DALY. I will show you and the House, in a few minutes, what connection it has.

Mr. MARTIN. I may say that the statements the hon. gentleman is making at present are quite untrue.

Mr. DALY. And I say these statements are true, and have been sworn to be true in a court of law.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. DALY. If I am out of order—

Mr. MULOCK. Did not the people of Winnipeg elect him afterwards?

Mr. DALY. The people of Winnipeg are probably sorry they ever did so. The connection that my remarks have with the question before the House is involved in the statement the hon. gentleman made in his speech with regard to the reduction of freight rates, and I want to establish the fact, by the statements I am about to make, that the hon. gentleman is not a sincere advocate of the reduction of freight rates.

Mr. LAURIER. Order.

Mr. DALY. Well, Mr. Speaker, if I am out of order I will come back to where I was.

Mr. SPEAKER. I allowed the hon. gentleman to refer to freight rates on the Canadian Pacific Railway, because I understood him to advocate the motion before the House as a remedy for the high rates now existing over that road, and that operate prejudicially to the interests of the people of the North-west.

Mr. DALY. It was exactly on that line that I was about to continue my remarks. The people of Manitoba were desirous, as they are now, to secure a reduction in freight rates, and they thought they were about to secure that reduction by the construction of an independent line of railway into the province of Manitoba. The hon. gentleman advocated the building of the Hudson Bay Railway up to a certain point, and he then dropped the scheme. That scheme was supposed to give our people lower freight rates, but he drops that scheme, and he enters into negotiations with other gentlemen whereby they make a contract with the Government of Manitoba, of which he is a member and he and the principal other members of the Government give the people of Manitoba distinctly to understand that the negotiations they had entered into with that railway are such as would give lower freight rates to the people of Manitoba and the Territories. I was going on to say that, notwithstanding the statement made by the hon. gentleman to the people of Manitoba, notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Greenway, the leader of the Government of which he was a member, stated from his place on the floor of the Legislature that he had a letter in his desk from Mr. Oakes, president of the Northern Pacific Railway, to the effect that the rates of freight would be reduced, it appeared from the letter, which was subsequently produced, that no such reduction would be made, and that the full promise which Mr. Greenway could make for Mr. Oakes was that the rates on the Northern Pacific would be identical with the rates on the Canadian Pacific. I regret if I have, in the slightest degree, travelled out of the bounds of debate and have been out of order, but I have been showing that the hon. member for Winnipeg

was not as sincere in times past in his advocacy of a reduction of freight rates as he has been to-day.

Mr. LAURIER. I rise to a point of order. I ask your ruling, Mr. Speaker, whether it is in order to charge an hon. member with insincerity.

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman should not charge insincerity against any member of this House for his action in this House. He has no right to do that.

Mr. DALY. I am not charging the hon. member with any insincerity in his statements made in this House.

Mr. LAURIER. Do I understand that an hon. member can charge insincerity against another hon. member in this House, whether it is in regard to matters in this House or out of it?

Mr. SPEAKER. I draw the attention of the House to this fact, that the line of argument which the hon. Minister of the Interior was following seemed to me to indicate that the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) in view of the opinion he held, was insincere on a former occasion in his action, and it might be implied that he was insincere on the present occasion. If that is the line which the hon. Minister is following, it is out of order, in my opinion.

Mr. DALY. I have not said so. I did not desire to convey any insinuation as to the hon. gentleman's action to-day. I said that on former occasions he had not shown himself so sincere as he had shown himself on this particular occasion.

Mr. SCRIVER. I understood the hon. gentleman to be endeavouring to show that the hon. gentleman was not sincere in his advocacy to-day.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I venture to submit that the observations of the Minister of the Interior are directly in the line of the discussion adopted by the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin). The hon. member for Winnipeg sought to call the attention of the House to the urgency which exists for the adoption of such resolutions for the construction or enlargement of the canals, in order to meet the wants of the people of Manitoba and the North-west. The Minister of the Interior called attention to the fact that this grievance might have been remedied by carrying out a feasible scheme that was before the people in Manitoba, of whom the hon. gentleman was one of the representatives, and that the scheme was frustrated by want of zeal on the part of, or opposition offered by, the hon. member for Winnipeg. It seems to be that his remarks are strictly in point.

Mr. LAURIER. But the hon. First Minister forgets that the hon. Minister of the Interior did not accuse the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) with want of zeal

or offering opposition, but he accused him of absolute insincerity, which is quite different.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It is a mere word.

Mr. SPEAKER. My reading of the authorities, and hon. gentlemen will recall them, although I cannot lay my hands on them at this moment, is that the actions of any member outside of the House in his private capacity, or in his capacity, for example, as a justice of the peace, may be referred to, and such reference is not a breach of parliamentary decorum; and from that point of view, as the hon. Minister of the Interior was referring to the hon. gentleman's action in another capacity, and not as a member of the House, it may perhaps not be proper for me to interfere. I will look up the question a little further, and express my opinion a little more explicitly on it on a future occasion.

Mr. McNEILL. The hon. member for Winnipeg was not a member of this House at that time. Would it be out of order to suggest insincerity on the part of a private gentleman twenty years ago, who happens, however, now to be a member of this House?

Mr. LAURIER. My understanding of the rule is, that while reference may be made to the conduct of members outside of this House, it is out of order to charge insincerity against a member of this House.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I think that is the rule, and it will be found to be so laid down in the authorities, and hon. members will find numerous instances of members of Parliament applying for committees with a view to inquiring into charges of that sort. Take the case of Mr. Isaac Butt. Certain charges were made against him and he insisted on an inquiry being held. Then there are similar cases on the part of Mr. O'Donnell and Mr. Parnell. It is a question how far a reflection on character or motives must go to constitute a charge for reference to a committee. If the charge contains no reflection on which to complain, well and good, but if the charge involves a serious reflection on the motives or actions of an hon. member, the House has a right to inquire into it, for, to use the words of Mr. Gladstone, the leader of the House is the guardian of the character of every hon. member, and every reflection on the character of an hon. member reflects on the character of the House.

Mr. McNEILL. I never heard it was out of order to refer to the actions of Mr. Butt before he was a member of the House.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Yes. Take the case of Mr. Mitchell. He was elected, and was expelled, not for anything he did in the House, but for what he had done before he became a member.

Mr. McNEILL. I understood the hon. gentleman to say that the cause of the in-

quiry was Mr. Butt's character before he entered the House, that it had not been all it should have been. Was that allegation held to be out of order?

Mr. LAURIER. It cannot be out of order to refer to the actions of a member outside of the House, but it is a different matter to attribute to an hon. member, deceit or want of sincerity. It is quite right, however, to say that the hon. member has done this or that, and leave the House to draw its conclusions. What I object to is a reference to the actions of a member in a manner injurious to him.

Mr. DALY. I was pointing out that the conduct of the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin), at the time when he was a member of the Provincial Government, was not consistent with the hon. gentleman's demand to-day that the people of Manitoba and the North-west should have cheap freight rates. That time, when the people of Manitoba had the opportunity of getting a line of railway into that country which would cause competition to the Canadian Pacific Railway and would give lower freight rates, has passed by. The hon. gentleman, as a member of the Greenway Government, had then an opportunity of making an arrangement with the Northern Pacific Railway people or with the Great Northern Railway, that would have enabled our people in Manitoba to obtain lower freight rates. But the hon. gentleman did not see fit, nor did the Government of which he was a member see fit, to take advantage of their opportunity. I say that his conduct is not consistent with that of a person desirous to obtain the cheaper freight rates of which the hon. gentleman has spoken to-day. I regret, Mr. Speaker, that any remarks I may have made have been construed into a desire to evade the rules of this House, because no person is more anxious than I to act in conformity with those rules. It may be, however, as it has been indicated in other places, that some difficulty may arise in connection with the career of the hon. gentleman in Manitoba which may necessitate discussion in this House, and at such times one may seem to be out of order when there is no wish on his part to controvert the rules. I repeat that the one and only opportunity which in my mind the people of Manitoba or the North-west have of getting cheaper freight rates, or of obtaining that competition in railroads which they should have; is in the building of the Hudson Bay Railway. I say that the Government of this country, and the members of this Parliament have shown their sincerity in their endeavour to procure the building of that line of railway. I hope and trust sincerely that in the course of a few months the promoters of that railroad will be in a position to announce that they have acquired the necessary capital for its building. I appreciate the fact, however, that if the canals were deepened in the manner indicated by

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the motion of the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Denison), that that would be a measure of relief to our people ; but as the cost is estimated at \$100,000,000 or \$130,000,000 or \$140,000,000, I am afraid that the time is far distant when we will be able to undertake that project. In the case of the Hudson Bay Railway, this Government has already given a land grant and has subsidized that road to the extent of \$80,000 a year for twenty years, and the Local Government has upon its statute-books to-day an amended offer of aid to that railway. I believe that with the aid which has been voted by this House, and with the aid which has been given by the Local Government, according to its amended offer, there is now an opportunity for that railway to be built.

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

Mr. COCKBURN. I regret, Mr. Speaker, that I was unavoidably prevented from being present this afternoon and of having had the pleasure of listening to the speech by which the motion now before the House was introduced by my hon. friend who has the honour to represent the constituency of West Toronto (Mr. Denison). I have no doubt that he did full justice to the subject, and I am placed in a rather embarrassing position, in not having had the pleasure of hearing his remarks nor the remarks of those gentlemen who so ably followed him ; I am accordingly in the predicament of perhaps being obliged to repeat statements or arguments with which the House may be already familiar. At the same time, I believe the subject to be so important, that even if I should be guilty of repetition, I trust the House will pardon me, believing as I do, that on so important a subject the arguments cannot be too often brought home to our minds. The motion before the House is :

That whereas the canal now in course of construction by the Government of the Dominion, at Sault Ste. Marie, is to have a depth of twenty feet, which is the depth of navigable water from Port Arthur to Port Colborne, it is, in the opinion of this House, expedient that the same policy should be adopted as regards the St. Lawrence and that the Soulanges Canal now being constructed, together with the St. Lawrence Canals and the channel of the river, where necessary, should be deepened to a uniform depth of twenty feet.

This is apparently a very large motion, and it might involve a very large expenditure. However, we are not asked now to incur that expenditure, but simply to pronounce upon a policy ; and perhaps if we had adopted such a policy earlier than the present day, the country might have been saved several millions of dollars which it has already expended on these canals. The question for us now is : would it pay to incur such a large expenditure as may be necessary to

carry out this great project ? Before we can come to any definite conclusion on such a matter as the interest which may be received from the investment, it becomes necessary to look at what is the traffic, present or prospective, on the waterways which we propose to deepen. Taking the season of navigation for the year 1891,—and I will quote particularly from the statistics of the United States as I have been able to avail myself of these, and they seem to be more complete and minute than ours,—there were carried on the great lakes some 30,299,000 tons of freight. This, Sir, seems a colossal amount and when we think of thirty millions of tons the imagination fails to conjure up the vast quantity of freight which was so carried. If we were to take the whole of this freight and load it into railway cars of the capacity of fifteen tons each, it would represent four tracks of railroad covered in continuous line with freight cars from New York to San Francisco ; and not only that, but it would leave over sufficient cars to cover a double track from New York to Chicago. The value of this thirty millions tons of freight was \$342,522,290 ; the average distance that this freight was carried on the lakes was about 566 miles, making the total mileage of our lake traffic for the year of seventeen billions one hundred and fifty millions. The total freight service rendered to the public by all the railroads in the United States, as certified to in the second annual report of the Interstate Commerce Commission for that year, was almost exactly four times the amount—68,727 million—in round numbers, 69 billions of ton miles. So that the freight service rendered to the people of the United States by the traffic of the great lakes during that year, 1891, was one-fourth of the whole traffic rendered by all the railroads of the United States combined. We find accordingly that the number of vessels built to accommodate this traffic has been immensely increased. I find that there were only six steel vessels on the lakes in 1866, with a total tonnage of 6,459 tons, with a valuation of \$694,000, whereas five years afterwards there were 89 steel vessels, with a total tonnage of 127,624 tons and a valuation of \$14,502,500, with 32 being built, to be completed that year. Now, Sir, the question is as to the saving ; because, of course, unless we can show that there is some probability of there being a fair return to the country, I do not think my hon. friend would be disposed to push the question. The saving to the public by lake transportation is best shown by comparing it with the cheapest transportation to be had by rail. According to the report of the Sault Ste. Marie canal, 9,041,213 tons of freight passed through that canal in the year 1890, which was carried at an average cost to the shipper of 1.03 mill—say 1½ mill—per ton per mile. The average cost to the shipper, by rail transportation, is put in the report of the United States Interstate Com-

merce Commission at 9·22 mills—say 9¼ mills—per ton per mile. But in looking at the reports of the Erie railroad, which does a large business in carrying coal, I find that its lowest rate per ton per mile is 5·4 mills. So you may say that 5 mills per ton per mile is the lowest rate charged by one of the largest and best equipped lines in the United States for through freight. If, then, I take the amount of freight that was carried by water through the St. Mary's canal, and suppose that it had been carried by rail, not at 9¼ mills, the average rate, but at the very lowest rate, 5·02 mills per ton per mile. It would have cost the shippers \$36,182,428. Therefore, the saving to the public in a single year on the Lake Superior traffic alone was some \$26,710,213. If I apply the same comparison to the entire freight traffic on the lakes, I find that if all that was carried by the vessels on those lakes had been carried by rail at the low figure of 5·02 mills per ton per mile, it would have cost the shippers \$86,088,171; but the entire cost of carrying that freight by water was \$22,294,008; so that there was saved to the public in one year no less than \$63,792,163, a sum declared by engineers to be about sufficient to make all the alterations and repairs to the canal system, which are demanded by my hon. friend. These are startling facts, Sir, and they are facts which we must take into cognizance. When we look at that immense traffic we find that there is a stoppage of two-thirds or more of it hanging, so to speak, over the Falls of Niagara; the vessels are unable to proceed further. The canal accommodation provided is not such as to allow them to pass, and accordingly we find, when we look at the lakes, a contrast in the size of the cities. On Lake Ontario we have Rochester and Oswego on the American side; but when we go to Lake Erie, where the large ships are able to move from lake to lake, we find such large cities as Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Sandusky and Toledo, and in the other lakes, opening up to new life, such cities as Bay City, Milwaukee, Chicago and Duluth. These facts show us how much can be done by river or canal navigation in the way of cheapening the transportation of products to markets. We have spent millions and millions of dollars in opening up our great North-west, and so far, comparatively, we have not achieved any very signal success. The difficulty in which the farmer is placed at present in the North-west is a very simple one. The price of his products is very low, lower than it has ever been before. He has to bear the competition of the cheap labour of the Argentine Republic, of India and of Russia; he is very far indeed from the ultimate market of Europe; he goes into partnership, as one gentleman puts it, with the Canadian Pacific Railway, or some other railway, and gets his 35 cents a bushel for his grain, and gives 35 cents to the railway to take it to the sea-

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board. It is worth double at the seaboard what it was when it left his farm. Now, the question I want to put to the House is: are we not able to lighten the burden of the farmers and to enrich our own country by framing a policy which will eventually open up a cheap means of bringing the farmers' produce to the seaboard? I do not at present calculate on the celebrated and traditional 640,000,000 bushels of wheat, though I think I can see far enough into the future to indulge in that fancy. I have no doubt that once we can materially cheapen the freights, we will give such an impetus to the growth of wheat and to the development of our North-west that places that are now comparatively deserted, will gradually be filled up; because, owing to the great difference in the cost of transporting grain or other products by water—at one-eighth, certainly one-seventh of the price by rail—I think the farmers or would-be farmers would flock into that country. To take an illustration: here is a wheat farm, we will say, of 160 acres, yielding an average of 15 bushels to the acre. I might say 20 bushels, but as my hon. friends opposite are sticklers in regard to the development of the North-west, I will put it moderately, and say 15. Well, by the water course the farmer will certainly be able to save 5 cents per bushel in the transport, including something in return freights, besides two or three rehandlings.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Will my hon. friend be good enough to tell what is the present rate of freight from Duluth to Montreal, if he knows?

Mr. COCKBURN. I regret very much that I am unable to tell the hon. gentleman.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). And how much we would save.

Mr. COCKBURN. I will say this much, there is no doubt that grain or merchandise can be carried by water at one-fifth of what it can be carried by land, and I say that if a farmer in Manitoba with 160 acres of wheat raises an average of 15 bushels to the acre, and in the whole he saves 5 cents per bushel, on this computation he would make 75 cents per acre, which for his 160 acres will leave in his pocket \$120, or 12½ per cent added to his profits.

Mr. MILLS. (Bothwell). The whole 160 acres under crop every year?

Mr. COCKBURN. I am supposing that he has 160 acres of his farm under wheat. Others may have 320, others 480, others may have less. Whatever quantity they have, if they are making 5 cents on every bushel, they are adding 12½ per cent to their profit, and are doing well. And we will be opening up a market, not only to the North-west, but to the Ontario farmer for his fruits, and meats, and vegetables, by steamers with cold storage. We will be also opening up a market to the Maritime Provinces by furnishing

them with a cheap and speedy means of sending to Ontario their coal, minerals and other products.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman says there will be a saving of 5 cents a bushel. Does he mean as against the present navigation?

Mr. COCKBURN. I mean the saving altogether, as I have just explained, by water communication and the enlargement of the canals. I am speaking of a vessel going from Fort William or any other harbour on Lake Superior direct to Paris or London or Liverpool or anywhere else in Europe, and I am contrasting that system with the present one, with no return freights and the expense of two or three rehandlings. I say that under this deepening of the canal and river system, the advantage given to the farmer in freight would altogether be about 5 cents per bushel, and if you take every wheat farm at 160 acres, there is a gain of \$120. And as my hon. friend is given to calculation, let him, if he pleases to indulge his fancy and take the proverbial 640,000,000 acres, and multiply them by the profit per acre, and he will find what a bonanza he would have. I say that such a canal and river and lake system would be the means of binding the provinces of the Dominion more closely together. It would enable us to get from the Maritime Provinces their coal and other minerals and products, and in return we could send our shipping down there with our goods. More than that, it would enable us to greatly cheapen freights—and I draw the attention of the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) to that fact—because those same vessels that are now locked up all winter in our frozen ice-bound ports, would then be free to earn their livelihood in the West Indies or the Mediterranean or elsewhere. So that instead of having our capital locked up six months of the year, we would have it free and earning a revenue during the whole twelve months. We would then be able to make our freights so much cheaper from Fort William or Duluth, as to rejoice the heart of my philosophical friend from Bothwell (Mr. Mills), when he would see the enormous reduction; and instead of quarrelling with me about a petty 5 cents per bushel, you would perhaps find him insisting on a still greater reduction. We are all aware of the enormous development which has taken place, and is daily taking place in the traffic on the lakes. So great is this development that during the four years, 1888-1892, there were as many vessels built on the upper lakes as were then plying on these lakes. And this is a progression which is not going to stop. But unfortunately, when these vessels come to Canada, they have to stop there. They cannot jump the Niagara Falls, and the canal offered to them is so narrow and small and incomplete that they find it cheaper to disperse their produce other

ways. The sum required will, as no doubt we will be told by the Minister of Railways and Canals, be a very large one. We do not propose to ask that that money be spent at present. We simply desire that a policy be formulated, so that in future the House will avoid repeating the blunder of building canals and then having to deepen them no less than three or four times. I should say our canal system should be so deepened that eventually there would be free room for ships drawing 18 to 20 feet of water. We must not approach this matter in a narrow or sectional spirit. I am speaking now, not simply for Toronto or the interests of Toronto. I am taking a larger view of the subject. I have shown how this would benefit the North-west. I have shown how it would open up a closer communication with our dear brethren in the Maritime Provinces. I have shown how it would tend to build up along Lake Ontario cities of a size somewhat similar to those we see lining the great Lake Erie, such as Buffalo, Toledo, and Cleveland. And apart from all that, really lake Superior has now become a lake in which we have a more particular interest. The Canadian Pacific Railway has opened this vast water-shed—a water-shed draining 475,000 square miles of territory; and I trust that no pessimistic or despairing spirit, that no anticipation of blue ruin, will prevent us from entering on this discussion in a fair and candid spirit. Happily it is one of those discussions in which politics should certainly be altogether absent; and I have no doubt that when my hon. friends opposite rise up to discuss this question, they will join with me in thinking that instead of doing, as we have done in the past, spending our money in making little canals and then enlarging them every few years, we should rise to the conception of our own position and nobility of purpose and the great future that awaits us, and build our canals in such a way that they shall be second to none. So that when our great North-west is filled up and we have these canals opened up to bring our coal and other minerals and products from the Maritime Provinces, we may feel that we are indeed one people, bound to secure for ourselves a heritage and a future of which we may all be proud.

Mr. HAGGART. The House must have derived considerable instruction from the interesting debate which has arisen on the motion of my hon. friend from East Toronto (Mr. Denison). Anything which will tend to decrease freights from the great lakes to the St. Lawrence must increase the value of all property from a line a good deal south of Chicago over to the Pacific slope and thence to the Atlantic coast. The decreasing of freights in any manner by a legitimate expenditure, or an expenditure which could be justified, would tend to the benefit of every piece of property in that district which I have described. The first thing

to be considered is the amount of the expenditure necessary to accomplish that object. In reply to the hon. member for Grey (Mr. Sproule), I agree with him that there is no work of public improvement in the country which tends more to keep down and regulate the prices of railway transport than the building of canals. The figures which the hon. member for Centre Toronto (Mr. Cockburn) has given—the comparison of prices between the cost of transport by water and rail shows at a glance how much cheaper it is to send material by water than by railway. The comparison of figures from United States statistics, produced by my hon. friends, shows that the average per ton per mile is only one and a third mill for water navigation and over nine mills for carriage by rail. This shows the enormous decrease in the cost of transportation by water as compared with the cost by rail. That fact alone would seem to be sufficient to induce us, if we could by a reasonable expenditure, to reduce the cost of carrying freight upon those great waters, the immense traffic upon which has been so graphically described by my hon. friend from West Toronto (Mr. Denison), who has shown the immense quantity of material transported from the upper lakes to Buffalo, a large portion of which traffic perhaps might be diverted to our own waters. The hon. member for East Toronto (Mr. Coatsworth) stated that it would be a benefit to Toronto and the upper lakes to deepen the canals to a depth of 20 feet on the mitre sills, and that if this were done it would induce the ocean vessels to carry their freight up to the ports of the lakes. I rather differ from my hon. friend, because I think most of the vessels carrying freights to Montreal have a greater draft than 20 feet, so that they could not use the canals even with the improvements suggested by the hon. member for West Toronto. If the hon. gentleman from East Toronto had looked more carefully at the report which he quoted so extensively, he would have seen enough to convince him that it is cheaper for those large ocean vessels to transfer their cargoes to smaller vessels, making their way up through the canals than for them to carry their cargoes, even if they had the necessary depth of water, because of the large spars and the great number of men employed in these great vessels.

Mr. GIBSON. Besides the dangers of navigation.

Mr. HAGGART. And the dangers of navigation also. The vessels making use of the canals have lighter spars and few men to manage them, and, all things considered, it is cheaper for them to transfer their cargoes than it would be for them to carry them to inland ports even if the necessary depth of water would be supplied.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Where then would be the gain as against the present navigation?

Mr. HAGGART.

Mr. HAGGART. I will speak of the point raised by the hon. gentleman in a moment. My hon. friend from West Toronto quoted from the remarks of the president of the Great Northern Railway, showing the advantages of completing the 20-foot navigation from the upper lakes to the port of Montreal. That gentleman seems to have understood the question thoroughly well. His object of deepening the channel was to allow the vessels plying between Buffalo and Duluth or Port Arthur to get to the port of Montreal for the purpose of unloading their freight and transferring it to the ocean vessels. I think that the report of the commission as well as the remarks of the president of the Great Northern Railway make it clear that there is no probability that the attempt will be made to deepen the channel so as to induce ocean vessels to navigate the lakes. In fact there is no commercial use in building a canal to a depth of more than 20 feet to the port of Montreal, for the simple reason that it could not be used by ocean vessels and its only purpose would be to enable the vessels on the lakes drawing 20 feet to get access to the port of Montreal. The question then is simply whether it would be a sufficient benefit to this country to induce us to make the large expenditure that would be required in order to deepen the canals to the extent I have mentioned. First, in order to carry out the works already designed to provide a 14-foot navigation to Montreal, it will require an expenditure of ten or twelve million dollars. This expenditure would not be necessary if the project of the hon. gentleman were carried out and the canals made of a depth of 20 feet on the mitre sills. I have not heard in the present debate anything of the size or construction of the locks that would be necessary with this system of navigation. I am quite in the dark as to what would be required if ocean vessels were making use of the 20-foot navigation. Our present locks are 225 feet long, 45 feet wide, and 14 feet deep on the mitre sills. With a 20-foot navigation, it would require locks of between four and five hundred feet long, with a breadth of 60 feet, and, of course, 20 feet on the mitre sills in order to insure perfect navigation between Montreal and the upper lakes. In the different stretches on the canal it would require a depth of water of from 22 to 23 feet; for a vessel drawing 20 feet of water, even if she is not going at speed, has a tendency to lessen the depth of the water, and would strike with anything less than 22 to 23 feet. Such a system would require a prism of water much greater than at present. There would have to be a width at the bottom of 100 feet, and, at the top from 150 to 160 feet. A great many things must be considered besides the mere depth if we are to arrive at a fair estimate of the cost. What effect would the enlarging of that prism have upon Lake Ontario? Engineers tell us that one reason for the decrease of water at Chicago and Milwaukee is the deepening of the stretches on the Detroit River.

How much greater would the effect be upon the waters of Lake Ontario by making the prism we have spoken of on the St. Lawrence route? That is a matter that can be calculated. So far as the cost is concerned, the engineers of my department calculate that a system of 20-foot navigation from Lake Ontario to Montreal would cost \$60,000,000. From that deduct \$10,000,000 or \$12,000,000, the amount required for the system of 14-foot navigation, and you find the net expenditure, say \$48,000,000. After the canal was deepened to the depth of 20 feet, and the vessels got into Lake Ontario, you would have to deepen every port on Lake Ontario from Kingston up to the mouth of the Welland Canal. The present depth of water at most of those ports, and we have to expend more money for the purpose of completing that depth in some ports, is in the neighbourhood of 14 feet. To increase the depth to 23 feet, which would be necessary in order that the canal could be of any use whatever to the ports along Lake Ontario, would entail an enormous additional expenditure. The hon. gentleman who has introduced the motion intends at present to stop at Lake Ontario; I suppose he is leaving it a moot question for the Government to decide whether we will make the Georgian Bay Canal and follow a system of water stretches into the port of Toronto, or whether we will deepen the Welland Canal. I do not know what expenditure would be required for the purpose of making the Georgian Bay Canal, but there is another rival in the scheme, as we have heard tonight from the junior member for Ottawa (Sir James Grant). He contends that the Ottawa line is the proper one to adopt for the purpose of tapping the upper lakes, that the distance is a great deal shorter, and the advantages for navigation, he says, are all in the direction of the Ottawa Ship Canal. However, leaving that aside for the present, the deepening of the Welland Canal to 20 feet on the mitre sill would require another expenditure of \$30,000,000. Then you get into Port Colborne, and from there up to Port Arthur there is not a single port in which a vessel could enter drawing 20 feet of water. The expenditure for deepening the canal to a prism of 20 feet would entail an expenditure of \$90,000,000, or, deducting the amount which is at present to be expended on the St. Lawrence Canal, an expenditure in the neighbourhood of seventy-eight million dollars. As I stated last year, and the year before, the whole scheme of deepening the waters to the requisite depth of 20 feet prism would entail an expenditure of 130 or 140 million dollars. That would still be independent of the expenditure that would be required in the different harbours along the route. A gentleman who promoted a scheme of constructing a canal, making use of a portion of the Welland Canal, or the upper stretch of it, and going into the Niagara River, completing 21 foot navigation from

there to Montreal, estimated the expenditure in the neighbourhood of \$150,000,000. Well, in view of the present reduction in the tariff, and the present expenditures by the Government, I do not know where we are to find \$100,000,000 for this undertaking. It is true, the hon. gentleman tells us, that this is only for the future, that we should begin first of all to build the Soulanges Canal to a depth of 20 feet on the mitre sill, and afterwards proceed from year to year until the whole navigation was completed to a 20-foot depth. As I said before, I do not see any necessity for it, I do not think that an expenditure of that kind would be justified. The only justification for deepening the canals to that depth would be the utilization of these stretches by ocean-going steamers; but, from the report of the commission, and from the testimony of parties who are engaged in seafaring life, we come to the conclusion that, after shippers get to the port of Montreal, it would be better in all respects to unload their cargo and transfer it to the vessels of which I have spoken. I have not been able to see, after listening attentively to the hon. gentlemen advocating this scheme, in what material manner we would be expending this large sum of money. The hon. member for Centre Toronto says we would save 50 cents a bushel in the transfer and handling of our wheat from Port Arthur to Montreal.

Mr. DENISON. To Liverpool without transshipment.

Mr. HAGGART. Well, I have shown the hon. gentleman that in case of a vessel loading with wheat in Port Arthur, it would cost a great deal more to take it all the way through the St. Lawrence and over to Liverpool, than to unload at Montreal. The channel of the St. Lawrence has been deepened until vessels drawing 20 feet of water are able to sail up to Montreal. Why does not the hon. gentleman propose a scheme by which ocean vessels, drawing 20 feet, could navigate the inland waters. The report of the commission justified, I think, the expenditure for the purpose of constructing those waterways to the depth of 14 feet, or, at most, 16 feet on the mitre sill of the locks. I think that any greater depth than that would cause the lowering of the lakes so that it would be impossible to utilize the existing navigation over the whole route. We could not retain sufficient water unless, perhaps, by damming a portion of the St. Lawrence, and that would render us liable to damages which, after the experience we have had of making a dyke at the foot of Lake St. Louis, would be enormous; in fact, the whole cost of the canal would be nothing compared with the constructive damages to which we would be liable. On these grounds, I do not see my way clear to recommend any large expenditure of this kind. The question of lowering the lakes by deepening the river itself is a point which has to be carefully considered. It is a question whether the reduction

in the freights would be sufficient to justify any such expenditure. As I have already remarked, we have made a reduction by our new tariff of the burdens upon the people in the way of taxation, we have promised an era of economy, and I think the Finance Minister would almost faint at the prospect of increasing the debt by 80 or 100 million dollars. While upon this subject, I may refer to some remarks of the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin). He says that if the Government had properly looked after the interests of the country when they entered into a contract with the Canadian Pacific Railway, we might have remedied all the ills of which the western people complain in the way of heavy freight rates which they have to pay at present. I would remind the hon. gentleman that there has been on the Statute-book from 1868 to 1888, a promise made to every railway company, and to every person investing money in a railway enterprise, that there shall be no lessening of the tolls charged by that railway until after 15 per cent upon the capital has been paid, and that was reduced from 15 to 10 per cent in the contract made with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. Does the hon. gentleman propose to throw upon the Government the whole responsibility for that state of affairs? Does he not know that from 1870 to 1878, there was an offer to any company constructing a railway in Canada, that they would be entitled to 15 per cent on their investments, before the Governor in Council could make a reduction of their tolls? Did not his own friends make that offer? They offered capitalists throughout the country who would construct this railway, not only a certain number of millions of acres of land in excess of what the Canadian Pacific Railway Company ever got, but a large sum of money besides; and I suppose they held the promise out to that company as it remained upon the statute-book all the time—that the Governor in Council could not interfere with the tolls until after 15 per cent had been paid to the stockholders in the shape of dividends. Instead of blaming the Government of the day for entering into a contract with the Canadian Pacific Railway, he should have complimented the Government for having decreased the statutory offer, which had been on the statute-book from 1868 to 1888, allowing the right to reduce the tolls after the company had earned 10 per cent on the capital expended.

Mr. MARTIN. I do not understand that that referred to a Government subsidized railway.

Mr. HAGGART. It referred to all railways. This is the clause:

The Government of Canada may, from time to time, reduce tolls on the railways, but not without the consent of the company or unless the company has earned profits of not less than fifteen per cent per annum on the capital actually expended on its

Mr. HAGGART.

construction, nor unless an examination has been made by the Minister of Public Works of the amount really expended by the company, and not until the income from all sources for the year is found to have exceeded fifteen per cent on the capital so expended.

The expenditure proposed is one which would require much consideration by the Government, the question of the actual route to be adopted would also require careful consideration, and before the Government could incur such a large expenditure details would be required, which are at present neither before the House nor before the Government, and no arguments I have heard presented would justify the Government in entering on such a large expenditure, especially when the system of canals which the country is pledged to carry out has not even yet been completed. It will be time enough when the resources of the North-west have been so far developed as to show a probability of some return being obtained for the immense expenditure which would be required for the purpose of building such works as are suggested and carrying out such an undertaking as that proposed. As the resolution is introduced, no doubt, mainly for the sake of bringing the subject before the House and for the purpose of discussion, I move the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. DENISON. Reference has been made to a reduction in the depth of certain rivers being likely to follow the deepening of the canal. I hardly think that argument is a very strong one, for this reason: That wherever the waters of the river are flowing down in the natural water course, but parallel with the canal, the same obstacle would exist in the natural channel in the river as exists now. No change would be made there whether the canal alongside was 14 or 20 feet deep. I suppose it would not make very much difference if the body of water passed through double the depth and half the width. The main point I want to make in regard to the passage of the water is, that the same obstructions, for example, opposite the Cornwall Canal, would exist at present, and these obstacles now act more or less as a dam. The last speaker referred to the difficulty of shipping direct to Europe, and I have no doubt he was correct in his remarks. That difficulty has arisen on account of the small class of vessels used. But I notice in this evening's paper, a paragraph to the effect that eight Canadian vessels are to be loaded with wheat for direct shipment to Europe. This shows that although it is difficult, it is not impossible, and if vessels of three thousand, four thousand or five thousand tons could be used, the trade would be placed on a paying basis, which is not now the case.

Mr. MULOCK. We have listened to a most interesting debate, and it is a singular feature, perhaps, and one that does not augur well for the success of the scheme,

that the godfathers of it are not altogether unanimous in recommending it. It was introduced, I must say, and supported by the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Denison) with some degree of pertinacity. I regret that the hon. member for Centre Toronto (Mr. Cockburn) under cover of advocating it, really endeavoured to slay it. They dealt in a grand way with the question of finance. It is singular that they have not arrived at anything very definite as to the cost. I presume that was a detail not worthy of consideration. The hon. members said there are those who declared the scheme would cost two hundred millions.

Mr. DENISON. One hundred and twenty millions.

Mr. MULOCK. I will accept the one hundred and twenty millions. The hon. gentleman was supported by the hon. member for Centre Toronto (Mr. Cockburn), who was quite satisfied with a canal scheme that would cost eighty millions. The member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule), with modesty characteristic of a bucolic representative, estimated the cost at \$100,000.

Mr. SPROULE. I made no estimate whatever of it.

Mr. MULOCK. I quite thought the hon. gentleman had made no estimate. I only stated that that was the figure he gave to the House.

Mr. SPEAKER. No. The hon. gentleman said he did not, and his statement must be accepted.

Mr. MULOCK. The hon. gentleman said he did not make an estimate. I accept his statement that he did not make an estimate. I am willing to say that none of them made an estimate. The matter of cost appears to be of no importance. But the member for Centre Toronto went into details as to the revenue. If he is strong on anything, it is on figures. Figures in his mind establish anything, and I am surprised, therefore, that he advocates postponement to the distant future of a scheme which he declares will be a grand success having regard to the illimitable resources of the North-west. You will remember, Mr. Speaker, that the hon. member for East Toronto followed with the statement that this policy was but the logical sequence to the National Policy. I trust the National Policy has a more sensible foundation than this scheme. But the hon. member for Centre Toronto referred to the financial aspect, and alluded to one great source of revenue which was wholly undeveloped because of the non-existence of this scheme. He referred to the possibility of the North-west being ready to pour out to the starving people of Europe six hundred and forty million bushels of grain annually. The Minister of Railways had at one time a lingering appreciation of the advantages of canals.

Mr. HAGGART. And I have yet.

Mr. MULOCK. The hon. gentleman favoured a canal scheme which cost the country \$450,000. The hon. gentleman says that canals lower the rates of freight, and that is an advantage. How did this canal lower the rates, when according to the last statement submitted to this House, there was only one vessel, the 'John Haggart,' that traversed it, and the tolls during one year amounted to \$135. I regret, therefore, that the hon. gentleman, having got his own canal system completed, should forget the interests of the whole Dominion of Canada. Why did he turn a deaf ear to the hon. member for East Toronto (Mr. Coatsworth) when he was pointing out that which alone was necessary to make the scheme a success? Build a canal, he said, and then 640,000,000 bushels will be poured out by the people of the North-west to feed the people of Europe. With this source of revenue in the North-west, why should the hon. gentleman adopt the halting advocacy of the hon. member for Centre Toronto and defer it? Six hundred and forty million bushels is the estimate of the hon. member for Centre Toronto (Mr. Cockburn). Now, taking the 640,000,000 bushels of wheat and following the example of the member for Centre Toronto (Mr. Cockburn), estimating a train load of twenty cars to measure about one-fifth of a mile; one train load would carry about 10,000 bushels; five train loads, in length about one mile, will carry 50,000 bushels; multiply by ten and you have 500,000 bushels and your trains are just ten miles long. Multiply it by another ten and you have 5,000,000 bushels to carry, and you have a train system of 100 miles long. Multiply it by another ten and you have 50,000,000 bushels on board, and you have a train service of 1,000 miles in length. But you have not one-tenth of the wheat out yet. Multiply it by another ten and you have 500,000,000 bushels and a train service 10,000 miles long, but you are not at the end of the 640,000,000 bushels of the hon. member (Mr. Cockburn).

Mr. COCKBURN. Let me inform my hon. friend that I had no intention of taking out 640,000,000 bushels in one day.

Mr. MULOCK. I have not the slightest doubt about that, nor in very much longer than one day either. I presumed the hon. gentleman was going to take away the crop of the year, before the next 640,000,000 were produced, and so he has his year's work, and as he won't do it in one day I will give him a year. Now, let us see how he will get rid of one year's crop before the next year's crop is ready for the people of England. This 10,000 miles of train has to be moved, and we will suppose the cars are moved day by day throughout the whole year. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Cockburn) seems to like that idea better. We will divide, therefore, his 640,000,000 bushels into

a daily output of say 2,000,000 bushels. This 2,000,000 bushels will have to be moved every day for 320 days, but I am afraid you will have to violate some of the regulations of my hon. friend beside me (Mr. Charlton) as to Sabbath observance, or you will not have quite that number of working days in the year. However, we will suppose that you can move 2,000,000 bushels a day every day in the year, by this canal system from the North-west to the seaboard.

Mr. GIBSON. You have only six months navigation.

Mr. MULOCK. Oh, we will have no cessation of navigation throughout the year for the hon. gentleman (Mr. Cockburn) will likely have a hot water system all the way through. Then, when these 2,000,000 bushels a day get to the seaboard, they will have to cross the Atlantic, and if each vessel carries 100,000 bushels, there must be 20 steamers a day.

Mr. IVES. Let me ask my hon. friend, if instead of applying the hot water system, he might not propose a Bill to prevent the river freezing?

Mr. MULOCK. I will allow my hon. friend the President of the Council to propose any amendment he likes. I have no doubt that he fancies that the Government can accomplish anything by an Order in Council, and, therefore, he can submit that matter to his Council. There is one other point to which I would draw the attention of the hon. member for Centre Toronto (Mr. Cockburn), and that is: that it will be rather difficult for him to ship all this wheat to Great Britain unless he has arranged in advance for its consumption. There are between thirty and forty million people in Great Britain to consume this wheat. Now, we will suppose that they raise enough in that country to feed one-fifth of the population, and this remaining thirty-two millions of people will have to eat this 640,000,000 a year. Let the hon. gentleman remember what an extraordinary feat that would involve. Every man, woman and child in Great Britain has got to eat 20 bushels of wheat a year. The hon. gentleman will have to direct his attention to that. He must first of all arrange that the 32,000,000 of people shall chew wheat every day in the year, so as to consume this 20 bushels, or 1-320 pounds. When the hon. gentleman has accomplished that, perhaps then he will have an output for his 640,000,000 bushels, and he will then find something for this canal to do.

Mr. COCKBURN. Let me correct my hon. friend. I wish to inform him first: that I never said I had 640,000,000 bushels; second, I never said I was going to take them to England, and third, his whole argument is therefore lost.

Mr. MULOCK. If my hon. friend does not propose to take them to England I presume

Mr. MULOCK.

he proposes to pass them up and down the canal for amusement. I took up the census returns this afternoon and I find there, an alarming increase recorded in the number of the inmates of our lunatic asylums. There are those who are sufficiently far advanced to become absolute inmates, and there are others that are only undergraduates. The province of Ontario unfortunately has a very high percentage as compared with the other provinces, and it looks almost if that high average in respect to the inmates was to some extent represented by those, who from that province are advocating this scheme in the House. A more wildcat scheme I presume was never presented to Parliament, or a scheme in which there was less sincerity; and it is only to be regretted that the time of this House should be taken up with misleading the public to think that there was anything in this project. We have the member for Ottawa (Sir James Grant) asking for a canal which would involve \$50,000,000 I am told; we have the Minister of Railways reminding us that there is the Soulages Canal scheme; we have our existing Welland Canal scheme; and we have the member for North Victoria (Mr. Hughes) taking off his hat in tribute towards the Trent Valley Canal. All of these are schemes to accomplish the same thing: to deceive the public, but this one now proposed is, I fancy, the most notorious of them all.

Mr. COATSWORTH. How would you like to make that speech in Toronto?

Mr. MULOCK. I would make it anywhere. It will get to Toronto.

Mr. CALVIN. Mr. Speaker, before this debate closes, I wish to say a few words in approval of the stand taken by the Minister of Railways upon this matter. Our present system permits in practice of a cargo being carried from Kingston to Montreal on an average of 25,000 or 30,000 bushels; 35,000 bushels has been carried, but 25,000 or 30,000 is the average; and after the completion of the improvements which the Government have now in hand, a cargo of from 1,800 to 2,000 tons may be taken safely. This improvement, therefore, must reduce the freight rate very materially as we can take so much larger cargoes. As one interested in this line of trade, I would rejoice, as I believe all engaged in the same trade would rejoice, if it were possible to have a vessel drawing 20 feet of water carrying a still larger cargo. I believe, however, that the expense of deepening our canal system to the extent proposed by the resolution of the hon. member for Toronto (Mr. Denison) is so enormous as to be beyond the capacity of this country at the present time. What I think would suit the interests of the trade and of the country best just now, is that the system of enlargement, to which the Government is already committed, should be completed with all the expedition possible. There are only a few little links necessary to complete this

upon which so many millions of money have been already spent, and we would rejoice in seeing that finished so that we might reap the full benefit of the money already expended. At present the depth of water is only 9 feet, and as we expect to have 14 feet, we would then have an opportunity of carrying a very much more satisfactory cargo through to Montreal, and as I have said the freight would in consequence be decidedly cheaper. Let us now see how this will compare with the ocean tonnage. I do not say that it will be carried without transshipment. I think transshipment will continue to be made at Montreal. As regards the item read from the 'Empire' by the hon. member (Mr. Denison), I think there must be some error in it, because I believe that the grain will be transhipped at Kingston. I am acquainted with the vessels which have gone up from Kingston. I have an idea of the vessels at Toledo. I believe they have gone there for grain, which will be transhipped at Kingston and transhipped into ocean vessels at Montreal. How will the tonnage of the vessels that will come through the improved St. Lawrence and Welland canals, compare in size with the tonnage of the average craft built on the Clyde? The average-sized steam craft built on the Clyde last year was, I think, 1,100 or 1,200 tons register, the sailing vessel a trifle larger than the average steam vessel. I think that the craft which will use the improved St. Lawrence canals will be about the same capacity. I heartily approve of the stand taken by the hon. Minister of Railways.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

QUESTION OF ORDER.

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. leader of the Opposition raised a point of order this afternoon on which I think it desirable that I should express my opinion. It was in reference to a statement made by the hon. Minister of the Interior that the hon. member for Winnipeg was insincere in his action on a certain occasion. I am of opinion that the expression made use of by the hon. Minister of the Interior was not in accordance with the rules of parliamentary order, and my reasons for that opinion are these: Mr. Speaker Addington on one occasion stated:

There is no rule better established than that *qui digreditur à materiâ ad personam* is disorderly, that whatever wanders from the subject in debate and is converted into a personal attack, is contrary to order.

The hon. Minister of the Interior, it is true, referred to a matter which occurred in another place; but by referring to it in this House he brought himself, with regard to the discussion of that matter, within the rules of order.

BUREAU OF LABOUR STATISTICS.

Mr. LEPINE (translation) moved for:

Copies of all communications received by the Minister of Agriculture in relation to the establishment of the Bureau of Labour Statistics for the Dominion.

He said: In connection with this motion, I wish to call the attention of this House to the fact that, since four years, the Government has not yet found the means of establishing the Bureau of Statistics which, in 1890, they considered so necessary, so indispensable to the well-being of the labouring classes. Indeed, it is calculated to get it believed that they had another object in view than the interest of the workingmen when they proved, as they did, the passing of a Bill establishing a Bureau of Statistics. Since four years, the Government must have received many communications in relation to this matter, but it seems they have not thought much of them. I, myself, since 1890, repeatedly requested the Department of Agriculture to put into force the law establishing a Bureau of Statistics. The answer I received was invariably that the department had the matter under consideration, or that they were waiting for the results of the census, or other reasons of no great weight. In the month of August, 1892, I again addressed myself by letter to the hon. Minister of Agriculture, now the hon. member for London (Sir John Carling), explaining to him, among other things, that the people were about putting a bad construction on the tardiness with which the Government dealt with the organization of the bureau and that they entertained doubts as to the good faith of the Government. The answer I received was very much like that which the hon. the First Minister made, last year, to a question put by the hon. member for Hamilton. The hon. Minister of Agriculture informed me that he was leaving for an errand of a few weeks in the North-west, and that when he would be back, he would bring the proposal before the Privy Council. The House will still remember the answer made by the hon. the Prime Minister to the hon. member for Hamilton. The Trade Department, he stated, was just considering the matter and it would soon bring up its report. From these answers it is easy to infer that the Government were never much concerned about the Bureau of Statistics. They even never gave any consideration to the answer to be given to the hon. member for Hamilton. For, after all, what had the Trade Department to do with the establishment of a Bureau of Statistics? What need had the hon. Minister of Agriculture to apply to the Privy Council? Did he not know that Parliament had authorized the establishment of such a bureau, for which it had voted a sum of ten thousand dollars? Had he forgotten that under the law, he was himself general commissioner of that bureau, and that to establish it, he needed no other auth-

orization than that given by Parliament? Mr. Speaker, there is surely in all that something that is not clear, something I cannot make out. The reason as to the census not being completed could, at the worst, be accepted; but the others had not a shadow of common sense. I would not doubt the good faith of the Government nor presume that the ten thousand dollars were used for other purposes than the ones to which they were to go, immigration for instance; but it is strange, for all that, to find that nothing was done towards the establishment of that bureau, and that they seem, which is worse, to have even forgotten that there is a law in our Statute-book with respect to it. Yet, if my memory serves me right, the Government, in 1890, considered as an urgency the establishment of that same Bureau of Statistics; the workingmen, they said, had been claiming that institution for several years past, and it was unfair to keep them waiting any longer. It is hard indeed to reconcile the stand taken by the Government three years ago, with the course followed since. And certainly the labouring classes cannot be charged with entertaining doubts as to the feeling of those who proclaimed themselves their friends, their defenders. It will be shown by the correspondence I have the honour to move for, that the Government were frequently urged to establish the Bureau of Statistics. Besides, were they not, it was the duty of the hon. Minister of Agriculture to establish such a bureau. There is room but for one opinion as to this matter. If the Government were not acting in good faith when they caused that law to be passed, let them have the courage to ask for its repeal. If they were acting in good faith, then let them set these offices in motion. I would understand the tardiness, the hesitation of the Government, were not that institution a thing of absolute necessity, or were they even entertaining doubts as to its usefulness. But how can one not feel satisfied as to the benefits to be derived from such institutions by the operatives, when one knows that in several great countries, in England and the United States, for instance, such institutions have had very good results? Why should we concern ourselves with gathering with so much care statistics relating to trade and industry, and with making annual comparative statements, if not the better to co-operate to the development and growth of these two great sources of public wealth? Now, why should not the labouring classes be granted the same advantages? Why should we not put on an equal footing that important class of our community? The benefits of the Bureau of Labour Statistics are acknowledged everywhere. In the country to the south of us, not only have they instituted a general Labour Department, but the various states have established Bureaus of Statistics the same as that the establishment of which was authorized by the Canadian Parliament four years ago. There are on the

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shelves of the Library hundreds of reports which show the usefulness of such institutions. These works have furnished information to many a member of this House in the course of certain debates. At all events, this House, the Government, the whole press of this country have acknowledged the necessity of a Bureau of Labour Statistics. It was admitted that there was the means of collecting and organizing all informations relating to labour in the fullest meaning of the word. The informations which the bureau was to collect were calculated to give to employees, as well as to the public powers, the means of solving many problems the solution of which they dare not undertake now. I repeat that one can scarcely realize all the importance of such bureaux. The statistics they prepare include all that relates to the conditions and growth of production, the organization and remuneration of labour, its relations with capital, the economical, moral, and social condition of the workingmen, the comparative conditions of labour in the Dominion and in foreign countries. They also show, as far as possible, the causes of the hastening or slackening of production in the various branches of industry, the results of the tightening or expansion of capital, the effects of labour societies, the causes and effects of industrial depressions and conflicts between employers and wage-earners, the variation of demand and supply of labour, the actual fluctuation of wages, as compared with the cost of living, the workings of savings and provident institutions and co-operative societies, in short all the elements indispensable to the rational bringing about of reforms, and which form a kind of observation of the conditions of labour. Therefore, in the face of all these advantages, we had some reason to expect that the Government would establish without any delay the Bureau of Statistics which was to give to the workingmen elements likely to help them in solving some of the labour questions. It was all the more easy, as they would have found, at the initial stage, a quantity of important elements in the report of the Labour Commission, the consideration of which, I think, never tired the hon. law-makers of this country.

Mr. LANGELIER. (Translation.) It is too voluminous.

Mr. LEPINE. (Translation.) They could afterwards have followed the progressive course of our industry and obtained, from time to time, information as to the kind, number and importance of industrial establishments, their plant and implements, the capital invested, the raw materials used, the number, sex and age of operators, the amount and kind of wages, the cost of the necessaries, the quantity and value of manufactured products. These statistics would have been published periodically, so as to give to the world of labour as reliable and regular information as possible. Lastly, the bureau would have been the official source where

any one could have found information in connection with organization and regulating of labour, insurances against accidents and a great many other matters. The steady relations it would have had with local authorities, labour associations, boards of trade, councils of arts and manufactures, provident societies, farmers' clubs, and other corporations, and would have had beneficial results for every one. Lastly, that bureau would have rendered to the Canadian workmen the services rendered elsewhere by institutions of the same kind which they try to improve every year by extending their powers and voting in their behalf large appropriations. It is therefore to be regretted that we should see the Government so indifferent towards such an important institution, which they themselves acknowledge as indispensable. It is, from my point of view, an evidence of the little regard, the little attention public powers in Canada generally pay to the labouring classes. It cannot be disguised that in this case the Government have not done all what they should have done for the workmen. The latter have a right to the Bureau of Statistics, and to deprive them of it is to do them a great injustice. The Government ought therefore to fulfil their promises without any further delay; or rather, let them put the law into force. If they should be unwilling to do so let them give explanation. This House has a right to know why the laws it enacts are not carried out. If the Government are empowered to take no notice of them, let us leave to them alone the care of making at their own free will the laws they wish. If they are not, let them respect the laws passed by this House. It was contended by some papers that the opposition to the Bureau of Statistics came from certain public officers. It is possibly true; but as these gentlemen are not responsible to the people, it is from the Ministers of the Crown that the people will ask for an account of it. In support of my observations, I could quote from editorials published by several of the most influential papers in this country in order to show how much the public sentiment is concerned about that institution, and what hopes the labouring classes based on it. But I do not wish to weary this House, and, besides, most of the hon. members have read these editorials, and I suppose the hon. Minister also took notice of them. I will now bring my remarks to a close with the statement that I feel satisfied they are the true expression of opinion of the labouring classes in Canada.

Mr. DEVLIN. (Translation.) Mr. Speaker, I am happy to support, to the full extent of my abilities, the strong speech just delivered by the hon. member for Montreal East (Mr. Lépine). The hon. gentleman, as we all know, represents here a centre where the workmen are very numerous. I feel satisfied that he is in a position to judge of the

opinions held by these working classes. There also happens to be a labour centre in the county I have the honour to represent here, and I have a personal knowledge of what importance such a Bureau of Statistics, as that which the hon. member for Montreal East referred to this evening, would be to these labour classes. The Government by causing that law to be passed, a few years ago, have themselves acknowledged the usefulness of this measure. The labour associations, generally, also claim the establishment of such a bureau. We know that, at every session, the workmen present a certain number of petitions to that effect. Unfortunately, I think, the House thinks too lightly of the clauses contained in such petitions. I rise, Mr. Speaker, simply to support the motion of the hon. member for Montreal East, which claims for the workmen what they have a right to expect from the Government, and I repeat it affords me much pleasure to support what the hon. gentleman has just stated.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The hon. gentleman may rest assured that the subject has not been neglected, as might be inferred from his observations. When the papers which are available are brought down it will not appear that the establishment of a bureau of statistics at the present time would tend to the benefit of the working classes to any such material extent as the hon. gentleman seems to suppose.

Mr. LAURIER. I hardly believe that the hon. member for Montreal East (Mr. Lépine) will be satisfied with the explanation given by the hon. leader of the Government why the statute which has been on our books now for four years has not yet been put in force. The Prime Minister says that there has been no negligence, though four years have elapsed since that measure became law. If there has been no negligence, what would have happened if there had been negligence? If it takes the Government four years to carry out, not an intention, but a law passed by Parliament at their own suggestion, what must the workmen of the Dominion believe of the care the Government take for their interests? When the measure was introduced four years ago by the then Secretary of State, it was stated that such a law existed in the neighbouring republic and in all civilized countries of Europe, and it was only to bring up the labouring classes of the Dominion to the same standard that they occupied in other countries that the law was proposed, and yet, after four years, the Government have no excuse to offer, but say they have not been guilty of any negligence whatever. I believe, perhaps, they are right, after all. Perhaps there is more truth in the statement than the hon. gentleman intended; but if that be true I think the hon. member for Montreal East will have his satisfaction if he remembers that in 1890, when the law was passed, we were on the eve of

a general election. The election is over, the matter has been forgotten since, and that is all there is in the matter.

Mr. INGRAM. I regret very much that I have not been able to understand the remarks of the hon. gentleman who moved this motion; but I understand the remarks of the hon. leader of the Opposition. He seems to think that the Government have been negligent in not establishing a bureau of labour statistics. Well, there may be negligence; it depends a good deal on how we view these matters. I believe the workmen of this country have taken a very great part in the collection of statistics in the preparation of the census, and the figures that most of the labour organizations of the country are looking for they can obtain in the census. While I say that much—while I say that the Government, believing that the labouring men of this country could obtain the statistics in that way, thought it was not necessary for them to establish a bureau of statistics any sooner than the present time, now that the resolution is moved in this House I trust that the Government will see their way clear, within the next year or two at all events, to establish a bureau of labour statistics. As regards the negligence of the Government, I believe they have the interest of the working classes as much at heart as the hon. leader of the Opposition or his party. I have listened on several occasions to boasts of the great friendship that hon. gentlemen opposite bestow on the labouring classes of this country. While they do that in theory, I have yet to find in what respect they have done it in practice. Now, I cannot enter into a discussion of this question, which involves greater considerations, perhaps, than simply moving for these papers; but when the papers are brought down and when another opportunity presents itself I will speak more fully on what I believe to be the best interests of the working classes of this country.

Motion agreed to.

POST OFFICE AT ST. FRANCOIS DE SALES, COUNTY OF LAVAL.

Mr. TARTE (translation) moved for:

1. Copies of all correspondence with the Post Office Department, since 1st January last, respecting the post office of St. François de Sales, county of Laval;
2. Of instructions issued to the post office inspector, in relation to the said office, and of the report of the inspector;
3. Copies of any contract awarded for the carrying of the mail from St. François de Sales to Terrebonne, since the date aforesaid;
4. Copies of contract for carrying the mail aforesaid during the past three years;
5. Copies of all petitions or representations presented to the department or to any Minister, in relation to the said post office.

He said: Mr. Speaker, influential citizens from the county of Laval have requested

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that I should obtain the bringing down of the correspondence respecting the matter of the post office of St. François de Sales. They complain that justice has not been done to them. The post office of St. François de Sales is not in the centre of that locality. I even think it is three or four miles away from the village. They, therefore, made some complaints and were granted an investigation. The county of Laval is under a special rule, a very particular one, as far as I could see. I spent there seven or eight weeks last year. The supreme rule in the county of Laval is that the hon. the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Ouimet) must have the control of everything. Those who applied to me were under the impression—which, I think, is founded—that had not the hon. the Minister of Public Works interfered, the investigation held in the month of January would have led to quite a different result. The post office inspector who had charge of the investigation did not even take the trouble to go to the village. I had this information from quite a reliable authority. Therefore, it is easy to see what kind of investigation was held. That is to say, there was no investigation at all. An officer was sent there as a matter of form, and the result is that the people are now suffering as they were before. I will, perhaps, be told that this is not an important issue; but, for one who knows the actual state of affairs in the county of Laval, I think I am doing my duty in calling the attention of the Postmaster General to the injustice then perpetrated and which still prevails. By doing this I may possibly cause others to be avoided. The hon. Postmaster General was not in his seat when I entered into these observations. I will, therefore, repeat them for his information. In the month of January last, he gave instructions to an inspector to go and hold an investigation with respect to this post office of St. François de Sales. That inspector did not even take the trouble to go to the village where he could have had information. He came back here after conferring with one or two friends of the hon. the Minister of Public Works. I am sure to state the truth when I say that the result of the investigation did not do justice to those who had made complaints. I am not acquainted with all those who made these complaints. The hon. Minister knows them; but, I am sure there are among them men who do not care for political parties and whose complaints should have been listened to. Therefore, I think it my duty to suggest to the hon. Postmaster General (Sir A. P. Caron) the expediency of holding a new investigation. Let him give special instructions to the inspector he will send there, and he will find that I am stating the truth when I state here, in his presence, the complaints which he has not taken into sufficient consideration. If I am well informed, and I think I am, there are but thirteen families in the place where the post office is located, while there are

twenty-eight in the village where it should be. Now, the carrying of the mail is much about the kind or the order of thoughts which presided to the selection of the place where the post office is located. It is made in a quite irregular way, and a letter mailed at St. Francois de Sales only reaches Montreal twenty-four hours later. I think the Postmaster General, who habitually does justice to those who make complaints when such complaints are founded, will consider it his duty to take this matter into consideration. I beg that he should be willing to order a new investigation with respect to it.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. (Translation.) Mr. Speaker, in answer to the hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte), I can assure him that all the papers that can possibly be brought down and placed on the Table of the House will be brought down. I may say to the hon. member that the information he has given this evening and which he presented to me in my capacity as head of the Post Office Department, will be given by me all the attention it deserves. I am not prepared to say that the same is quite correct, but I think it is of a kind to call for the attention of the department. As for opening a new investigation, I am in a perfect position to say to the hon. gentleman that should I think it expedient, after the information given to the department and after considering the record which will be handed to me, to cause this new investigation to be held, I will order it without the least hesitation. I think all such matters should be viewed from the standpoint of public interest and, as head of the department, I may tell the hon. gentleman that he gave me this evening some information that I will make it my duty to verify. If, after taking due precautions and attaining information to the extent the means at the disposal of my department will allow, I should think it necessary to cause a new investigation to be held, it will be so held.

Motion agreed to.

REDUCTION ON LETTER POSTAGE.

Mr. COATSWORTH moved :

That it is expedient to reduce the general rate of postage on letters from three cents to two cents.

He said : I do not propose to say very much on this subject, although representing a constituency largely interested in the question. We are suffering from the effects of the change made in the postal rates several years ago. At that time letters up to half an ounce were subject to 3 cents postage; drop letters, that is, city letters, were charged 1 cent postage, and on registered letters there was an additional charge of 2 cents for registration. A change was made by which the 3 cent letters were left as they were, except that the allowance of weight was increased from half an ounce to an ounce; the charge on city drop letters was

increased from 1 cent to 2 cents, and the charge for registration was increased from 2 cents to 5 cents. These changes bear very hardly on all parts of Ontario, and especially the cities. Of course the same remark would apply to other parts of the Dominion. The increased cost of drop letters was expected, I believe at the time by the department, to be compensated by the increased weight allowed on the 3 cent letters. I do not think the expectation was at all fulfilled. We do not object so much to the 5 cent charge on registered letters, although I doubt very much if the same income will, in the long run, result from that change, as resulted from the 2 cent charge for registration. About the same time, however, or perhaps a little prior to that time, a change was made in the case of newspapers, and for several years back newspapers have been carried through the mails free, at a cost, according to an estimate made in the present Postmaster General's report, of about \$100,000 a year, or at any rate \$100,000 for the past year. Now, there are two objections to the change which has been made. First, as regards the drop letters and registered letters, the change was reactionary, and I think the result will show that these letters have very largely decreased in number, and that ultimately there will be a very considerable loss to the revenue by reason of the change. I do not think we can afford to increase the postage on our letters, because the tendency of the times is in favour of a reduction and has been right along. And the other objection is with regard to making newspapers free. I suppose it takes one of some boldness to speak in that way, in the face of so many newspapers, and I do not wish to reflect on the newspapers in any way; but still it seems like class legislation. No doubt it was intended in good faith that the relief should be to the advantage of the subscribers, but I think, after several years' experience, we must come to the conclusion that the publishers, and not the subscribers, have benefited by getting their newspapers passed through the mails free. In fact, it has been elicited that to some extent—of course that is not the case with many of our best newspapers—the privilege of posting papers through the mail free has been availed of for the purpose of distributing a large quantity of advertising matter, and also bonus magazines and pictures given to the subscribers. The Postmaster General, in his report, says :

That the effect of reducing the postage on letters to two cents, even if postage were charged on newspapers, would result in a loss of about \$650,000 a year.

This, of course, is based on the actual carriage of the letters, according to the number carried during the past year. The effect of that—without, of course, any intention on the part of the department to mislead—is rather misleading, because we must take

into consideration the fact that there would be a very large increase in the number of letters passing through the mails should the postage be reduced from 3 cents to 2 cents. Now, with regard to the class of letters on which the postage has been increased, as I said before, there has been a great falling off in the revenue, and we will find, on the other hand that a decrease in the rate of postage charged on the letters would result in a large increase in the number passed through the post, so that I believe ultimately the decrease in postage from 3 to 2 cents on letters would be a very great advantage, and possibly produce a larger income. Certainly it would not be fair for us, in making the calculation as to the effect of the decrease from 3 cents to 2 cents, to base our estimates entirely on the number of letters that have passed through the mail the last year, because, as I have said, the number of letters would, no doubt, be very largely increased. Now, the increase of the limit of weight of the 3-cent letter from half an ounce to an ounce was of very little advantage to us in the cities, because the great proportion of letters which pass through the mail, the ordinary business letters, weigh less than half an ounce. From my own experience I judge that business people have received little or no benefit from this change; certainly the advantage, whatever it may have been, was no compensation for the increase in the charge for drop letters from 1 cent to 2 cents, and on registered letters from 2 cents to 5 cents. My own impression is that if we were to go back to the half ounce limit and fix the charge for a letter of that weight at 2 cents, we might make such a rearrangement of the rates of postage on different classes of mail matter as would enable a 2-cent rate for letters to be adopted without any diminution of revenue. Such a rearrangement was made in Great Britain when the postage there was reduced to the penny rate. In this respect, Great Britain and the United States proceeded upon different plans. In the United States, as I understand it, they simply reduced the letter rate from 3 cents to 2 cents without regard to the other rates. In Great Britain they rearranged their general rates of postage, so that they are able to give the mass of the people the advantage of reducing the letter rate to a penny, while, at the same time, not diminishing the revenue. It seems to me that there are many ways by which we might rearrange our rates so as to produce a satisfactory revenue, even with a decrease in the letter rate. There are some features of our system in which it seems to me there is a possibility of improvement. For instance—I suggest it with a great deal of diffidence—the newspapers might pay part of the postage? I do not know what the Postmaster General will say to that, but there is a suggestion of that kind in his report. As I said, I would not like to say anything that would arouse the animosity of the news-

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papers; but I fail to see why we should allow such anomalies in this country as the right on the part of one class of the community to use the mails for business purposes free, compelling the community in general to pay a higher rate of postage than is paid in the neighbouring countries. I am not prepared myself to suggest any re-arrangement of our postal rates, because I have not had experience in connection with our postal regulations; but there are two or three features of the system that have come under my notice, and which doubtless have been considered by the Postmaster General, which might possibly be changed to advantage. In the first place it seems to me that we might utilize our parcels system to a greater extent than we do. We know that in the old country the postage on parcels is cheaper than in this country yet the revenue is relatively greater and has been found to be capable of being developed to a very great degree. Then our money order branch, the revenue from which seems to be decreasing, might be improved by the adoption of the postal order now in use in Great Britain and the United States, postal orders there being issued in the form of bank bills not only at a low rate of expense to the public but at a low rate of cost to the Government. So, if statements I have read are correct, I am inclined to believe that great benefit might result to the revenue from the adoption of that system. Above all, it would assist in enabling us to meet the demand on the part of the masses of the people for a reduced rate of letter postage. It is very difficult, Sir, for our people to understand that there should be a 2-cent rate of postage in the United States and a 3-cent rate in Canada. There is another item I would like to refer to which does not seem to be quite clear to the ordinary mind, but which may be susceptible of explanation by the Postmaster General—that is, the contracts for the carrying of the mails. I have been looking through the report and I find that our country is divided, for the purpose of carrying the mails, into fifteen divisions; and, in the record of each of these divisions, are set out the names of the contractors for the carrying of the mails, the distance each has to carry the mails and the amount he is paid for the service. And I must say that when one looks through the report and finds the short distances that have to be travelled by some of those who carry the mails, one cannot but think that possibly this system of contracts might be re-arranged to advantage. Just for the purpose of making a calculation, I have gone through the Barrie division—which I think is a fair one for comparison—to ascertain the number of cases in which the mails were to be carried short distances. I find that in that division there are 404 contractors. Out of these 404 there are 113 who carry the mails less than a mile. Of course, as we all know, in the most of these cases it means that the mails are carried between the railways station and

the post office. In looking through the list I find most of those 113 contractors carry the mails about an eighth of a mile. In one case the contractor carries the mail ten rods—not a very long distance—and for this service he receives \$208.58 per annum. The very shortest route is one of four rods, and the amount paid is \$20. There is one route of thirty rods at \$35. One contractor carries the mails two hundred yards and receives \$30 a year. On one route of fifty rods the contractor receives \$6.25, while on another the contractor receives \$21.74. Of course, these are the shortest distances, and the distances vary. Those 113 that I have taken out of the 404 are all under a mile, only about a dozen of them are over half a mile, the great bulk run from one-sixteenth to one-eighth of a mile; and the total amount paid for the carriage of the mails these short distances in that division is \$10,135.07. Now, it may be that the Postmaster General can see a necessity for this, but to me, looking at it from a purely business point of view, I do not see why the postmasters cannot meet the trains where they come in so near the post office, and carry the mails to the post office. Now, if it be true that upwards of \$10,000 might be saved in that division, and if there are fifteen divisions, and if I have taken a fair average division, as I believe I have—because I find in some other divisions the number of instances where they carry the mails but a few hundred yards, or a few hundred rods, is very much greater than in the Barrie division—then if my calculation is correct, it seems to me that a very large saving, possibly from \$100,000 to \$150,000, might be effected by a reform in this direction. However, I merely throw that out as a suggestion that occurs to myself. I have had no experience in the carriage of the mails, and I simply speak as one who cannot understand why we should pay so much for carrying the mails from the railroad stations to the post offices. I suppose it is hardly to be expected that the Postmaster General should accede to my motion to-night; I do not see in his face, as I look at him, that responsiveness I would like to see. At the same time, I felt it my duty as a member representing a constituency in the city of Toronto, which pays the largest postal revenue of any city in the Dominion, to bring this subject to the notice of the House; and also because the number of letters sent in Toronto is very much greater, I believe, than in any other city in the Dominion. I think this matter affects all parts of the Dominion equally, and I feel assured that if the Postmaster General can see his way clear to reduce the rate of postage from three to two cents, even if he reduces the weight of the letter down again to half an ounce, there is hardly a person in the Dominion who will not fully appreciate his decision on that point.

Mr. SCRIVER. I do not propose to speak on the general question; I take it for granted

that the reply of the Postmaster General will be based upon the financial conditions of the department. If the expenses are already far from being met, if there is a considerable deficit in connection with this service, he will not be likely to consent to any recommendation to reduce the rates. However, I rose simply for the purpose of expressing my dissent from the view of the hon. member for East Toronto (Mr. Coatsworth) in regard to the compensation given to men who carry the mails for the very short distances he mentions; and I dissent, also, from his suggestion that the postmasters themselves might perform this service. Now, from my knowledge of what postmasters receive in country districts, I have no hesitation in saying that he will not find any of them willing to undertake this service unless they are given a larger compensation than the men receive who now perform it. If he had as great a knowledge as I have of the compensation that is given to postmasters generally, he would come to the conclusion that there is no class of officials so inadequately compensated as postmasters, either in country districts or in the larger villages. In regard to the compensation given to some of the carriers mentioned by him, I confess I do not understand how it happens that any man who carries the mail for only ten rods—I suppose it must be a daily service—should receive \$200 a year for it. I know the carrier who conveys the mail from the station to the village where I live, a distance of about half a mile, receives \$100 a year; he is certainly not adequately compensated. But I do not see that it is possible to make any reduction, either in this direction or in the compensation given to country postmasters. If any reduction of the expenses connected with the postal service can be effected, it is certainly not in this direction. It cannot be done with any justice to hard-worked officials in country post offices.

Mr. SPROULE. The hon. member for East Toronto (Mr. Coatsworth) appears to have taken some trouble to devise ways and means to overcome the deficiency in the revenue that would naturally result from a decrease in the postage from three to two cents, but he seems to have overlooked what to my mind would be the most likely way of providing a revenue, and that is to do away with the free delivery in such places as Toronto, and let the people there be good enough to walk to the post office to get their mails. He seems to forget that in the outlying districts of the country where he proposes to make the saving, a great many people walk three, four and five miles to the post office, for the purpose of getting the accommodation that the people of Toronto might have by walking one-tenth of the distance. As to his suggestion of doing away with the expense incurred for carrying the mails from the post offices to the

railway stations, I think a more unreasonable thing could scarcely be suggested by any member of this House. He seems to forget that many of these postmasters who keep the office the year round, are doing that work for a compensation of from \$12 to \$25 a year, and he would put upon them the additional work of carrying the mails to the railway station, obliging them, in many instances, to get a horse and conveyance, at least upon certain days, when the mail would be unusually heavy. I think his suggestion very unreasonable. I am of the opinion that it would be much more in harmony with reason to do away with the cost of free delivery in towns and cities, and at the same time to give to the people of the country a little more accommodation than they get at present. But I apprehend that as long as we have a deficiency in the revenue of between \$600,000 and \$700,000 for the postal service, it is not likely the Postmaster General will adopt the suggestion thrown out by the member for Toronto. My experience with regard to the reduction of postage, or rather the increase in the weight of the letter that may be carried for three cents, is that it is a very valuable consideration to men who write many letters. I do not know that it would be to lawyers, because they usually make their letters very brief, and they charge so much for a letter; they charge about 55 cents for every letter, usually containing five or six lines each. It is not much of an object to them, because their profits are in proportion to the number of letters written, and, therefore, to increase the number they are necessarily made shorter, but it is to people who have to write many letters without compensation.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) Mr. Speaker, I was happy to hear the statement made by the hon. members from Ontario, who preceded me, that in their province the postmasters are well paid. In the province of Quebec, at least in my county, as regards the remuneration allotted to mail carriers, I know some of them who carry the mail bags over a distance of from one to two miles for the small sum of \$35 a year, and that for a daily service. As it rather frequently happens that the incoming mail does not arrive at or about the same time as the outgoing mail starts, they have to wait for an hour or else make two runs. To perform that service they are bound to have a horse and carriage, and all that, I repeat, for the ridiculous sum of \$35 a year. I hope that the hon. Postmaster General will see his way clear to give to those people who perform the postal service in the province of Quebec a remuneration equal at least to that granted to the same officers in the province of Ontario. As regards the question of the decrease in the rate of postage from 3 to 2 cents, I think that in great centres like Montreal, for instance, 2 cents is too high a rate, and that one cent, as formerly, would

Mr. SPROULE

be enough. I will perhaps be told that if such a reduction should be made, the revenue would be decreased. No, the revenue would not be decreased on account of that, and here is why I came to such a conclusion: I am taking a fact based on experience. I refer to the reasoning of the Street Railway Company of Montreal when they were asked to reduce the rate of 5 cents they charged from the very moment you had a foot on the cars. They contended that should that decrease be made they would lose money. Well, the decrease was made, and the company are making more money than they ever did, although you can now buy six tickets for 25 cents. Proceeding from that principle, and it is experience that speaks out, its results, I say, in a city like Montreal the rate should be reduced to what it was formerly, that is to say one cent on each letter. The number of letters sent through would be doubled and the department would lose nothing, while giving the greatest satisfaction to the public generally. I also notice, according to the observations made by some hon. members from Ontario, that the postmasters of that province are by far better paid than those of the province of Quebec generally speaking. Thus, in my county, there are postmasters who are only paid \$22 a year for their services, and for the sum of \$22 they have to answer to parties who come in at any time in the day and even at night time, either to know whether some postal matter has arrived for them, or to mail a letter. Besides, they have to give the use of their house, to heat the office—all that for \$22 a year. Not only are those people not sufficiently paid for their services, but they have to bear considerable annoyance consequent on the management of the post office, and I say that to accept such a burden, a man must be in quite a need of those few dollars for his living. I already spoke about this to the hon. Postmaster General on various occasions. He knows, after the information I had the honour to give him, that there are various cases of this kind in which the remuneration should be increased a little. Thus, Mr. Speaker, I know of a mail-carrier in my county who goes over a distance of nine miles in the performance of his service, and who only receives the sum of \$120 a year; that is to say, that each run gives him 33½ cents. If it is to be said that that man is well paid, well, I understand nothing whatever about the question of a fair remuneration for services performed. One thing I well know, and it is that no man would do such a run every day for 33 cents; one must be in quite a need of earning a few cents to accept such a contract as this. I will now come to the question discussed by some members. They fear that the Post Office Department, after that decrease of from 3 to 2 cents, should not have as large a revenue as before. Supposing such a decrease should bring about a larger deficit

than the one there is now between the revenue and expenditure of the Post Office Department, the people would not complain, even though the deficit should be increased by seven or eight hundred thousand dollars a year, if the service comes cheaper to them in the purchase of stamps, and if those who are employed in the performance of that service are fairly remunerated. I am not prepared to say that the proposed reduction in the rate of letter postage from 3 to 2 cents should be adopted at once. However, if the Government could grant the decrease asked for, it would surely be a benefit to the farmer, who, more than any one else, deserves the protection of the Government. It may be, for instance, that in the rural districts 3 cents should not be too high a rate, but in the centres, I think one single cent ought to be charged, instead of two, as now, for there it is for transmission of letters within the limits of the same locality or in localities in the immediate neighbourhood. I trust the hon. Postmaster General, who seems to me to be good-humoured this evening, will be willing to give this matter his earnest consideration and take measures whereby he will the better further the interests of the public in this respect.

Mr. LANDERKIN. I desire to urge with all my might the importance, if it is possible, of making a reduction in the postal rate. I believe it would be best for the service, and that it would add to its efficiency and cause no loss of revenue. This was the result in Great Britain. Speaking from memory, I think the revenue is very largely increased with the reduction in the postal rate. There is another matter in connection with the postal question which I think is of very great importance, and is one which the Government should consider, and that is the propriety of reducing the charge of registration. It is altogether excessive, considering the fact that although it was increased a few years ago, there is no greater security given than before that the letters will be delivered to the parties to whom they are addressed. If the Government had guaranteed when they increased the rate of the registration fee to insure the safe delivery of the letters, there would have been some justification for the increase; but they did not do so, and I observe by the departmental report that a very large number of letters were lost and many of them were not registered. People objected to this fee and did not register money sent in letters, many of which were lost or tampered with by dishonest officials. It would be well likewise if the Government kept a very close eye over the officials, and when any of them were discovered tampering with letters in any way they should be instantly dismissed from the service and receive the punishment which they deserve. It should be understood by the people of this country that whenever they post a letter the officials shall honestly and faithfully deliver it without

tampering with it or investigating its contents. This is one of the matters which should be carefully looked after, and there should be no palliation by the Government of offences of that character. I understand the Government will submit amendments to the Franchise Act. I call the attention of the Minister of Justice to the desirability of reducing the postal rate, because when objections are filed under the Franchise Act all letters have to be registered. This is a serious drain on every one connected with the division of the lists, it is a very heavy impost, and one which the Government should deal with in the Bill. If they cannot reduce the rate from 3 cents to 2 cents, although I believe it would be advantageous, the Government should reduce the registration fee below 5 cents, now charged, and if they cannot do that, they should undertake to guarantee the safe delivery of every registered letter.

Mr. CASEY. I also am very glad this subject has been brought before the House. The arguments for a low rate of postage have been so well known in the old country for a length of time that no one would dream of increasing the penny rate. The usual argument adduced against a reduction in the rate of postage here has been that the population of Canada is more widely scattered than that of the United Kingdom, where the population is very much condensed and where postal matter can be more easily handled. But it is forgotten that in the United Kingdom, not only in cities but in country districts, there is a house to house delivery for the penny rate. But our circumstances as a country with a scattered population resembles more closely those of the United States. There the 2 cent rate has been in operation for a considerable number of years, I do not remember how many, but I have heard of no protest against that rate, or the statement made that it did not produce sufficient to meet the cost incurred in carrying the mail.

Mr. SCRIVER. The deficit last year was \$7,000,000.

Mr. CASEY. My hon. friend says there was a deficit of \$7,000,000; but that is a small amount distributed over 65,000,000 people for having a low rate of postage. The argument that this involved a small expenditure per head has been used in other connections, and it is specially applicable in regard to postage. The postage service is not a revenue producing service, although at the same time it should be made if possible to meet its own cost. I believe that Canadians, per head, send more postal matter than the people of the United States, for there are a large number of uneducated people in the southern states who seldom transmit letters. I have not seen the statistics, but in my opinion Canadians receive more letters per head than the population of the United States. I have every reason

to believe that the increased business would very largely make up the temporary loss of revenue. At present the Government send free newspapers from the offices of publication and only charge 1 or 2 cents when they are mailed otherwise. It is about as much trouble to handle newspapers as letters, they are perhaps not handled with quite as much care, but they are more bulky and heavier and impose more labour on the transport service than an equal number of letters. Yet we carry one free in most cases and at a very low rate in the others. I notice in the newspapers to-day an argument introduced by Mr. Henniker Heaton, of England, in favour of an Imperial penny postage, to all parts of the Empire. He states that the newspapers sent to Australia are about 9,000,000, which go for one penny each, whereas only 2,500,000 letters are sent, which are charged 2 pence half penny each, and a great many poor people send newspapers to Australia with messages enclosed to serve the purposes of letters. Although this fact is not found out in many cases, great trouble is occasioned in handling the newspapers to ascertain whether such messages are enclosed. No doubt this practice prevails to some extent in Canada. I myself have known newspapers received containing messages to the effect that the sender was alive and well. One cent does not seem to be a matter of much importance, but it means a reduction in the rate of 33 per cent, and that in the case of persons who send many letters represents a very considerable saving in the course of a year. The hon. member for South Grey (Mr. Landerkin) referred to the registration fee and declared it was unduly high. This is no doubt the case. We are charged two and a half times as much for registering a letter as was charged formerly, and it was not pretended that any greater care is given than when 2 cents was charged. The hon. gentleman alluded to the cost involved in sending out notices in connection with voters' lists. There are also other large classes of the community on whom the present rate bears very heavily, and among these may be mentioned the different friendly societies and other insurance societies which work on the assessment principle. The amount to be sent usually is \$1, and in order to send it the individual has to pay 3 cents for postage and 5 cents for registration of letter. That is to say, you tax the entire revenue of these friendly societies about 8 per cent per annum, which is a tremendous tax upon the members of those societies, who are increasing in number very rapidly throughout the country. There is no doubt that if there would be a loss of revenue from the reduction in postage, a very considerable amount could be made up by a system of insurance of letters. Even with the present not very careful system of handling registered letters, the loss is comparatively small in Canada. In Great Britain letters are insured as parcels are, by an express company,

Mr. CASEY.

at a fixed scale of payment on the amount enclosed. I have never heard of any complaints on account of that system; in fact, it is spoken of by the English papers as being a great success, and I am satisfied it would be taken advantage of in this country very largely, to the exclusion of forwarding money by express or telegraph or in other ways. At a very slight increase of cost, or, perhaps, none at all, we could draw a considerable revenue from the payment of insurance on registered letters. There is no reason now for charging any more for the simple registration without insurance, than it was two years ago, when it used to be 2 cents, and when we had as many safeguards as we have now. I hope that the Postmaster General and the Government will consider this matter very seriously so as to see if we can not come into the van of progress along with the mother country and our great neighbours to the south in the matter of cheap transport through the mails.

Mr. PRIOR. I am very glad, Mr. Speaker, to have an opportunity of saying a few words in regard to this matter. Although there seems to be a diversity of opinion amongst some hon. gentlemen who have spoken with reference to the pay given to contractors for carrying the mails in country places, I agree with the hon. member for Huntingdon (Mr. Scriver) that, taking it all round, it is very small pay; but there is one thing in which I am sure hon. gentlemen will agree with me, and that is in regard to the meagre pay given to city postmen. Before a man can obtain employment as letter carrier, in a city, he must prove that he is a man of good muscle, for he has sometimes to travel 12 or 15 miles a day on his rounds; he has also to pass a qualifying examination that I should be very sorry myself to have to pass at short notice, and he must further be a thoroughly honest man and a man of good character. It is also necessary for him to be civil and polite, because often he has to soothe down an irate female who does not get a letter she thinks she ought to receive. I think, on the whole, a man who has to possess such qualifications as are necessary for a city postman, ought to be paid more than a miserable stipend of about \$33 a month. Any illiterate man working as a labourer could earn more than that wage all the year round, and I do not think it is fair that the Government should ask men who are, to a certain extent, educated, and who must be thoroughly honest to do such responsible work for so small pay. I do not believe it is the fault of the Postmaster General, because every one who knows him knows that he would give everything he could to the men in his department, but I am rather inclined to believe that the Treasury is responsible for it. I trust that the Postmaster General will be able to see his way to give larger pay to these men, because I feel convinced that their work is a great benefit to the com-

munity at large, and that taking them all round, they give satisfaction. Their salary at present is entirely inadequate to the services they render the country.

Mr. DENISON. I wish to refer to one remark of the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule). He seemed to be under the impression that the city people were getting a great advantage over those living in the country because of the free delivery of letters. The hon. gentleman must not forget that last year the city letters delivered in Toronto were 4,000,000, which, at the one cent per letter we have to pay for city drop letters in the city over the rate charged for drop letters in rural post offices, would amount to \$40,000. Consequently, the people of Toronto have paid for the service rendered to them in delivering the letters.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Mr. Speaker, the hon. member for East Toronto (Mr. Coatsworth) has brought to the notice of the House a question of very great national interest. In every country the question of transporting the mails, and of putting the commercial community in the most convenient relationship possible, has always been considered of the greatest importance. The question which the hon. member has brought under the notice of the House is a most interesting one, and he has made it more interesting still, because, under his motion, I could hardly have expected that he would have referred to the sums which were paid to the various carriers or contractors who convey the mails over certain distances. I do not for one moment question what the hon. gentleman has said; but, without having before me the records of the department, showing the pay which was given for these different services, it would be impossible for me to discuss that point. My only excuse for not discussing it is that under the motion of the hon. gentleman I could not possibly have expected that he would have gone into details of that kind. Now, as Postmaster General, I am not responsible for the introduction of the policy which permitted newspapers to be carried free throughout the Dominion. But I would not like to reverse that policy. It may represent a loss of revenue, but it also represents the conveyance of organs of opinion which it is right and proper to convey to the people in a country like Canada. I am at one with the hon. gentleman in wishing that it were possible for Canada to reduce the postage on letters from three cents to two cents; but, Sir, Canada is a young country, and it is utilizing its revenue for the purpose of developing the great resources which Providence has placed in the hands of the Canadian people. We have been building up our country by the construction of great national works which have caused Canada to be looked upon, not only at home, but abroad, as one of the most progressive countries.

The proposition of my hon. friend from East Toronto (Mr. Coatsworth) would represent a loss to the revenue, not of \$650,000 per annum, but of \$800,000. Although my hon. friend has, no doubt, looked carefully into the figures which he has submitted to the House, at the same time, if he goes into the question, he will see that the experiment as tried in the United States has resulted in a large deficit in the revenue of the Post Office Department of that country. Those who advocated the reduction in the United States used the same arguments that my hon. friend has used here to-night. They said that the loss of revenue would be more than made up by the increase in the mail matter, as the reduction would induce more letters to be written than before. But experience, which is the great teacher after all, has contradicted that prediction, and the deficit following upon the reduction of postage has never been made up. We are all at one in this country in our desire to place the charge for the conveyance of letters at the lowest possible figure. In reading the pages of history, we remember well when letters were carried at rates that were next to prohibitive; but, still, at that period, when commercial necessities required it, the high tariff was paid, and gradually the rates were reduced. But, we must not forget that the Government have been reducing the calls made on the people of Canada under the tariff, by a million and a half of dollars.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The Finance Minister has got it back again.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. The Finance Minister need not be here to say what is exactly true, in so far as that is concerned. But without attempting at all to discuss the financial question, I think we shall all admit that by reducing the tariff we have been relieving the people of some of their obligations, and, therefore it seems to me this is hardly the moment when any of the friends of this country, or any who wish well for its future, should expect the Government again to reduce the revenue by \$800,000 more. The hon. gentleman has spoken of the contracts which were given for the conveyance of the mails from point to point. I can say that in most cases these contracts are given by tender. As to a man getting \$200 for conveying the mails over a few rods of territory, it may be that I do not know the case to which the hon. gentleman refers.

Mr. COATSWORTH. It is in Barrie.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. I must say that the department is not very apt to be liberal in the distribution of these contracts, in so far as pay is concerned. I call for tenders, and the lowest tender gets the contract, under the statute. If, under special circumstances, in the province of Ontario, it is possible for a contractor to get two hundred dollars for conveying the mails over one route, I am surprised at the statement and

shall look into it. As regards the parcel system, that question has aroused attention, not only of Canada, but of England and the United States. I can tell the hon. gentleman that the specialists of the department have had the matter under their consideration for some time, with the view of making the system as efficient as possible. We have had propositions from various sources to introduce changes into the present system. These propositions may be right or wrong, but they have to be carefully gone into by those conversant with the subject. My hon. friend from South Grey (Mr. Landerkin) spoke of the increase of revenue under the change. Those who have looked into the matter will not agree in the statement. I know that the increase of revenue in Great Britain has not been caused so much by the increase of letters written and mailed, as by the amalgamation of the telegraphic and postal systems. There is, practically speaking, no large revenue from the postal system, but taking the telegraphic and postal services together, there is a surplus. The conditions of the two countries cannot, therefore, be compared. In England, you have a compact, small country, with a dense population.

Mr. CASEY. They have a general delivery everywhere.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. The hon. gentleman is wrong in stating that all over England there is a general delivery. But, supposing he should be right, still the conditions are entirely different in the two countries. In Canada you have an immense territory and a sparse population. You have to traverse miles and miles with letters where you cannot get an adequate contribution, owing to the sparseness of the population. The matter has been discussed in the press. The differences between the two countries have been pointed out by gentlemen who took an interest in the question—

Mr. LANDERKIN. I have got the returns here of Great Britain, and if the hon. gentleman will allow me, I would like to read a statement from the return. The revenue in Great Britain from the post-office last year was £10,400,000 sterling, and from the telegraphic service, £2,480,000 sterling. The expenditure in connection with the post-office was £6,513,000 sterling, and in connection with the telegraphic service, £2,595,000 sterling. This is taken from the returns printed in 1894, and is no doubt for the fiscal year of 1893.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. I merely spoke from memory, but I can tell the hon. gentleman who has introduced this motion, that I am just as anxious as he to make the charges for carrying the mails as small as possible. But it would be absurd to hold out any hope of making a reduction, under existing circumstances. When the time comes when Canada can afford to be liberal, the proposition to reduce the rates of postage will be

Sir ADOLPHE CARON.

acceptable; but, under the circumstances, such a reduction would entail a loss of revenue of \$800,000, and it is impossible to hold out any hopes of granting it.

Mr. LANDERKIN. What about registration?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. That is a question which is being considered by the department, and which involves very much more than those who look into it superficially, believe it does. In England, registration represents insurance up to a certain amount. That system would involve, in Canada a large increase of the burdens of the department, and, though theoretically I am free to admit it would be a great improvement, we cannot at present afford to introduce it.

Mr. CASEY. What would be the loss on reducing the registration fee?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. I could not tell the hon. gentleman from memory.

Mr. TYRWHITT. We must all feel grateful to the hon. member for East Toronto (Mr. Coatsworth) for his desire to promote efficiency and economy in the postal service, but I regret that he should have selected the Barrie division of all others for practising economy. Under the contract to which he refers for carrying the mails from the post-office in Barrie to the railway station, a distance of about a hundred yards, the mail is carried fourteen times a day, backwards and forward. The service is performed at present by a lady for the sum of \$140 a year, and the contract was let last autumn, after some fourteen tenders were put in, of which hers was the lowest. I think if there is an underpaid class of officials in the country it is the postal carriers, and more especially in the Barrie division. I can cite one instance with reference to which the hon. member for North York can bear me out. Between the villages of Aurora and Schomberg, a circuit of fifteen miles, the mail is carried for the sum of \$350 per year. For that service, the country formerly paid something over \$1,000; but owing to competition it has been reduced to \$350. I can quote numerous instances in the Barrie division where mails were carried for less than a dollar a mile. For instance, a round trip of thirty or forty miles for \$300 to \$400 a year.

Mr. LANDERKIN. How many times a week.

Mr. TYRWHITT. A daily mail. As to the service being performed by the postmaster, take for instance the village of Allandale, where the mail is carried from the station to the post office, a distance of possibly one hundred yards. The carrier has to attend at the station about six or eight times a day. The trains are often, or at least occasionally late, and sometimes the carrier must lose an hour in waiting. It would be ridiculous to suppose that he should attend to the mail

and attend to his own business for the sum paid. Now, many country postmasters receive from \$10 to \$25, as already stated by a previous speaker; and when we wait on the Postmaster General and ask for an addition of \$2 to a salary, we have great difficulty in getting it. We find that in the new order of the Patrons of Industry, one of the great subjects of discussion is the salaries paid to post office officials. I have attended meetings of the order where the whole subject of debate was the salaries paid to the post office officials at Toronto, the unnecessary salaries paid to postmen for delivering letters in the city. In the country we are satisfied to pay the 3-cent postal rate, and some of us have to walk five or ten miles for our mail; whereas in the city these gentlemen have their mails delivered four or five times a day by officials whom the country pays.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). From a statement read by the hon. member for Grey (Mr. Sproule), it appears that in England the revenue from the Post Office Department amounts to between 5 and 6 shillings per head of the inhabitants. I do not think the revenue from our people reaches that figure. I do not suppose we should be able for some time to come to make the revenue of the post office system pay the expenses. Of course, the large portion of the service is new, as the Postmaster General has said. People are sparsely settled throughout the country and they require postal service; and the expense of serving them is, of course, very much in excess of the revenue derived from these districts. But the Postmaster General, I judge from what he said, undertakes to make those who send the letters bear not only the burden that legitimately falls upon them, but also the loss through the free carriage of newspapers. Now, this latter charge legitimately should fall upon the entire public and not upon the letter-writers. If the hon. gentleman will bear in mind that the public are contributing something towards the general education of the community by carrying newspapers free and make the necessary allowance for that carriage, he will find that the letter-writers pay more than their fair proportion of the cost of carrying the mails and the management of the Post Office Department. And, if so, I think that, especially at a time when the hon. member looks for a surplus of revenue, a fair opportunity is offered for the further reduction of the rate of postage. Now, if there were not an increase in the number of letters sent, owing to reduction of rates, that would justify the department in refusing to reduce the postage. I do not suppose there would be in one year a sufficient increase to make up the deficit, but there would be a larger number sent, and, in the course of time, the increase in the number of letters would more than make up the deficiency caused by the diminution in

the charge. That has been the experience in England. I have not looked up the American returns during the last year or two, but there certainly was a considerable increase in the number of letters sent immediately after the reduction of the postage in that country from 3 cents to 2 cents.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. There is a deficit.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Still there has been a large increase in the number of letters sent. The United States are somewhat in the same position as we are. They have extended their railway system into new districts that were partially settled and thus have increased the cost of the department. But I do not think the hon. gentleman ought to make that the reason for keeping up the rate of postage, if the experience of the world generally is that the reduction of the postal rate is accompanied by an increase in the number of letters sent; because there is not only an educating process going on from reading the newspapers but there is an educating process quite as great through the use of the mail for letter communication. People have their friends and relations scattered all over the continent and they will be more likely to communicate with them with a low rate of postage than they would if the rate was high. I would not press consideration of that sort in a year when trade was very stagnant and there was a probable deficit in the revenue, but the hon. gentleman himself has said that he hopes for a surplus, so that he may very well diminish the postal charge, the more especially so when we find that the Minister of Finance has, in a large degree, restored the duties which, in the earlier part of the session, he was disposed to remit. There is another matter, Mr. Speaker—the charge for registration. Now, that charge was formerly 2 cents, so that the total postage of the registered letter was 5 cents. Now, the charge for registration alone is 5 cents. I do not think that is a fair charge for registration. The Government does not make itself absolutely liable for the contents of the letters sent; it has not converted itself into an insurance company for that purpose. It seems to me that, looking at the state of the revenue, 5 cents would compensate the Government for any risk that it would incur from giving this insurance. Yet all the Government do in the matter of registration is to exercise due diligence in tracing a letter that may have been lost. Now, I think that is a great charge, and I venture to say that the hon. gentleman, if he looks at the first year when that increased charge was imposed, will find that he did not derive much more revenue than he did when the charge was less than one-half. Whatever the Postmaster General may be inclined to do with regard to the rate of letter postage, I believe he could, with advantage to the revenue of his department, recur to the old charge for registration.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. As it seems to be the wish of the House to discuss this matter further, I move that the debate be adjourned.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to ; and the House adjourned at 11.15 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, 1st May, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 96) to incorporate the Trust Corporation of Canada.—(Mr. Davis, Alberta.)

Bill (No. 98) to further amend the Revised Statutes of Canada, chapter 77, respecting the safety of ships.—(Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.)

Bill (No. 99) respecting the St. Lawrence Insurance Company.—(Mr. White, Cardwell.)

Bill (No. 100) to incorporate the French River Boom Company.—(Mr. Coatsworth, for Mr. Maclean.)

Bill (No. 101) to incorporate the Alberta Southern Railway Company.—(Mr. Davis, Alberta.)

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON moved :

That Mr. Dixon Craig be substituted for Mr. Tisdale on the Public Accounts Committee; and that the name of Mr. McInerney be added to that committee.

He said : The House will remember that we did not fill Mr. Burns's vacancy, and it was understood that it was to be kept open.

Mr. LAURIER. We had better wait till after the Gloucester election.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. COATSWORTH moved :

That in accordance with the recommendation contained in the report of the Select Standing Committee on Public Accounts, that committee be authorized to examine on oath George Bailey and others, touching the supply of street letter boxes.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved :

That when the House adjourns on Wednesday next, it shall stand adjourned until the following Friday, at three o'clock in the afternoon.

Motion agreed to.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved :

That the Order of business for Wednesdays do include the hour usually devoted to private Bills from half-past seven o'clock, p.m., under Rule 19.

Motion agreed to.

REPORT.

Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, 1893, Marine.—(Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.)

CATTLE EXPORT TRADE.

Mr. MULOCK. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I desire to ask the Controurer of Customs if he is yet prepared to give to the House correct statistics in regard to the cattle trade ?

Mr. WALLACE. I have not yet received the report from the Government officer in Montreal, but I hope to do so shortly.

Mr. LANDERKIN. Has any application been made in regard to the cattle shipping interests from Montreal ? Some time ago a deputation waited upon the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, when I was present, in regard to this subject, and I desire to inquire whether any steps have been taken to provide the shippers of cattle with additional facilities to those which they have hitherto enjoyed ?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Touching the subject to which the hon. member has referred, I desire to say that the gentlemen interested in the cattle trade made certain statements as to the charges made by the ship-owners in Montreal and Boston respectively, and they promised on that occasion to supply me with information as to the exact rates charged, in order that I might submit them to the Government. I have not heard from the members of the deputation since that date.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

House again resolved itself into Committee on Ways and Means.

(In the Committee.)

Stearine, 2 cents per pound.

Mr. FOSTER. There were four or five items that remained to be arranged, of which notice of amendment had been given, and with the consent of the House we will take them up, so as to be able to proceed with the oil items and finish up, if possible, to the metal schedules. The first amendment

is in regard to stearine. Stearine had a duty of 3 cents per pound under the old tariff. The duty was changed to 20 per cent, under the impression that it was not manufactured in this country. There has, however, been a manufactory producing this article in operation in Montreal for some little time and has capital invested in the industry, and it is a useful enterprise because it gathers up this matter and places it in a utilizable form and so prevents waste of material. The only industries that would be affected by this change are manufactories of lard compound and cottolene, and the manufacturers of those articles have not interposed any objections to the duty on stearine being made a little higher; and I, therefore, propose that the duty on stearine be 2 cents per pound.

Mr. McMULLEN. Can the hon. Minister inform the House whether the proprietors of the stearine manufactory are old residents of Montreal or of Canada, or whether they have come in from the United States and established that industry?

Mr. FOSTER. I think they came from the United States. I believe they are a branch of the New York house.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Then this is going back to specific duties?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, in regard to this item.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. To what is this duty equivalent?

Mr. FOSTER. The value of stearine at the present time ranges from 6 to 9 or 10 cents per pound. Taking the average at 8 cents per pound, the duty is equal to about 30 per cent.

Mr. MULOCK. What is the composition of stearine?

Mr. FOSTER. It is animal fat fibre.

Mr. MULOCK. Why not apply the ad valorem system to both tallow and stearine; otherwise the tariff will be an arbitrary one?

Mr. FOSTER. It is not so.

Mr. MULOCK. I understand that stearine is composed of the hard part of the tallow of beef.

Mr. FOSTER. The oil is entirely pressed out.

Mr. MULOCK. Why should there be a specific duty of 2 cents a pound on stearine and an ad valorem duty on tallow?

Mr. FOSTER. Because it is further prepared.

Mr. MULOCK. Is there not any labour on tallow; it does not grow?

Mr. SPROULE. There is no labour if it is not rendered, but in making the stearine there must be labour, because it is one of the three constituent parts of fat.

Mr. MULOCK. Does the tallow grow, then, without any labour to produce it?

Mr. SPROULE. I fancy it grows on the inside of animals.

Mr. MULOCK. Is it found in cakes or pots there?

Mr. SPROULE. I am referring to it in its natural condition.

Mr. LAURIER. The Finance Minister has stated that there has been a factory started in Montreal and that capital has been invested in it. Has he any idea of the amount of capital invested in this new industry?

Mr. FOSTER. I think about \$30,000.

Mr. LAURIER. How many hands are employed in it?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know. It has not been in operation for more than six or nine months, but it promises to be a very large and useful industry. It has largely developed in the United States, and there is no reason why it should not develop in this country.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That is not a reason why we should have a specific duty on the article?

Mr. FOSTER. This specific duty puts it on the level of lard and cottolene.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Why could not the hon. gentleman find out all the information about it during the whole year that he had to concoct this wonderful tariff? There is not a day passes here that we have not half a dozen alterations in the tariff, all for the worse, and all going back to the vicious system of specific duties.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The extent of the manufacture of this article is about equal to the ordinary cheese-press.

Mr. MULOCK. I see that on beeswax the Finance Minister has an ad valorem duty, and I presume beeswax is a product after squeezing out the honey, and requires about the same labour as the production of stearine, and yet he puts a specific duty on stearine.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Is this tax for development or for revenue?

Mr. FOSTER. This is for development purely.

Mr. LAURIER. Has the Finance Minister given attention to the statement that there is as much labour involved in this process of making stearine as in cheese-making?

Mr. FOSTER. I think there is more.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. When we are asked to tax the whole community for the sake of some monopoly the least the Minister of Finance ought to do is to ac-

quaint himself with some details as to what capital is employed in this factory, what number of hands it is likely to employ, and what reason on earth there is for making this alteration. The hon. gentleman proposes to go back on his own former propositions, and to make an important alteration, and he should tell us what has led him to do that. While I entirely repudiate the principle upon which he goes, still there is, I suppose, some sort of principle which he has in his own mind, and most assuredly it is his duty when he proposes a tax, not for revenue, but for what he pleases to call development; in other words, for the creation of a new monopoly to squeeze the people of Canada; surely he ought to tell us what these manufacturers promise to give in return. It is not that I attach any value to their promises, but it is as well to have them on record so that we may hereafter find exactly how far the Minister of Finance and his friends have been deluded in this case, as they have been evidently deluded in many others. All through this discussion the Minister of Finance does not pretend to tell us what is good for the consumers; but he tells us that this duty is enough for the manufacturers, that it is all the manufacturers have asked, and therefore there should be no objection. Well, if the Government is going to insist upon that policy let us at least know what the manufacturers offer. We have a right to know how many hands they promise to employ.

Mr. FOSTER. That will depend upon the development of the business.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Are we to understand that the principle upon which this tariff is being framed is that any man can choose to come to the Minister of Finance and say: I am going to put a few thousand dollars into a factory, and therefore ask you to put a new tax on the people. Does the hon. Minister accept that as sufficient ground for adding a new tax without making the slightest inquiry into the truth of the statement or as to the extent to which it is possible to develop such industry? What will this factory be worth to this country? Will it employ 10 hands, or 100 hands, or 300, as promised in another case?

Mr. IVES. The article in question is a product, the development of which interests the farmers more than it does the manufacturers or any other section of the people of Canada. It is a by-product of the animals which the farmers raise, and which they desire to sell. The hon. member for Peel (Mr. Featherston) the other night, I thought with very great force, argued that it would be infinitely cheaper and better to develop the slaughtering of the beeves in this country and the shipping of the carcasses by cold storage rather than the shipping of the live animals. He contended that it would be a saving in freight, that it

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT.

would be a saving of commission, and that it would be a saving in expenses generally. Now you cannot slaughter animals here as is done in Chicago, until you get into the way of utilizing the by-product. You cannot waste the tallow and offals and hoofs and horns, which so largely pay the expenses of the freight and slaughtering of animals in the United States. However, the very first effort that is made by the Government to give a new line of protection to the agriculturists of Canada is met by hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House with the usual spirit of opposition. They call it a protection to manufacturers. It is not a protection to manufacturers at all. It is an encouragement to farmers to commence the utilization of a certain by-product in which the agriculturists of this country are very greatly interested; and until this and other by-products following from the slaughter of cattle are utilized, it is utterly useless to talk about adopting the cheaper and more economical plan of slaughtering in the country, and shipping in cold storage. One hon. gentleman compared this industry with the cheese industry, saying that it was no more important than a cheese factory. That may be. It may be as yet in its infancy. I hope it will develop; I hope the time will come when all such by-products will be utilized, and it will be possible to slaughter our cattle here and avoid the undoubted waste of shipping live animals. If this industry is no more important than a cheese factory, it has no more protection than cheese. The farmers are as much protected on cheese as on this by-product. The hon. member for South Oxford is entirely beside the mark when he supposes that this protection is imposed in the interest of the manufacturers. It is really a farmer's protection.

Mr. McMULLEN. Will the hon. gentleman carry out the proposition he now makes with regard to encouraging the slaughtering of cattle in Canada? He says it is necessary to have a duty to protect this particular commodity. Does he propose also to put a duty on hides?

Mr. MULOCK. The hon. Minister of Finance offered as one argument for the adoption of this resolution, that the manufacturers of cottolene had not raised any objection, and had given their consent. Would the hon. gentleman give the names of the manufacturers of cottolene who have given their consent?

Mr. FOSTER. I am afraid our hon. friends are a little hypercritical this afternoon on a small question like this.

Mr. MULOCK. It is a very important question.

Mr. FOSTER. They have rung the changes on putting a new tax on the great body of the people. I do not understand that this

is a new tax, or one put on the great body of the people. The tax on stearine was 3 cents a pound before. The tax of 2 cents a pound which we now propose is equivalent to what it was before, relatively to the reduced duty on the other compounds. Stearine is used for no other purpose that I know of than in the manufacture of leather, for which it is free. My hon. friend will not on that account pay any more for his boots. The lard compound and cottolene men will have their protection left at 2 cents a pound. They do not get any added protection, and, as I said before, they have no objection to this change because they say that the 2 cents a pound will be exactly equivalent to the present duty on cottolene and lard compound.

Mr. MULOCK. Who are those men?

Mr. FOSTER. The lard compound makers in Montreal and Toronto, and the cottolene men in Montreal.

Mr. LAURIER. The hon. gentleman is not consistent with himself. In his Budget speech, he stated in his zeal that he was determined to lower the taxes on the people, but now he is putting them back. This is why we find fault with him—because he is not consistent with himself and with the spirit with which he moved his resolutions.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The inconsistency is not confined to this side, because my hon. friends were not pleased when that announcement was made in the Budget speech, and they were not at all pleased when the Finance Minister changes his mind.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The Finance Minister did not go as far as we desired, and because he did not the hon. gentleman says he is quite consistent in going back to where he was before.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It is impossible to satisfy hon. gentlemen opposite.

Mr. MULOCK. The hon. President of the Council has told us that this is the first time the Government have sought to encourage the farmers—that this is their only protection.

Mr. IVES. I did not say it was the only farmers' protection at all.

Mr. MULOCK. The hon. gentleman said this was the carping spirit in which the first effort made by the Government—these were the words, which I took down—to encourage the farmers, was met.

Mr. IVES. What I said was that it was the first effort to utilize this by-product.

Mr. MULOCK. I see. The first effort to deal with stearine. Then, perhaps the hon. gentleman will explain how this effort to reduce the duty from 3 to 2 cents is going to be of such advantage for the development of this by-product.

Item agreed to.

Tomatoes and other vegetables, including corn and baked beans in cans or packages, n.e.s., 1½ cents per pound.

Mr. FOSTER. The duty was formerly 2 cents per can or package and 2 cents additional for each pound or fraction of a pound over one pound in weight. It is reduced to 1¼ cents per pound, not taking the fraction into account. It is thought that this is a little too much of a cut probably, and the proposal is to put it at 1½ cents per pound. The industry is a large one, and this will give it a little more adequate protection.

Mr. CHARLTON. I would ask the Finance Minister if that change is satisfactory to the canning interest of the country?

Mr. FOSTER. I think it is the best we can arrive at.

Mr. CHARLTON. In speaking of protection to the farmers, it should be borne in mind that the canning interest is really a farmers' interest. The canning establishments of this country consume small fruits, vegetables, poultry, and so forth, and the whole of their raw material is drawn from the farmers around them; and if the policy of the Government is to be a protective policy, there is no manufacturing interest in the country so thoroughly deserving of consideration as this. I have received communications from canners in my riding, in which they complain of the changes made in the tariff as very detrimental to their interest. When we reach the resolution regarding fruit in air-tight packages, I will take occasion to read a letter from one of these canners.

Mr. SPROULE. I think we are entitled to congratulate the hon. gentleman on coming round so nicely to the protective principle for the farmers.

Mr. CHARLTON. Not at all. I say that if the Government have adopted the protective policy, the people I represent deserve fair consideration in the distribution of favours.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. They want their share.

Mr. CHARLTON. Precisely.

Item agreed to.

Fruits in air-tight cans or other packages, 2 cents per pound, the weight on which duty shall be payable to include the weight of the cans or other packages.

Mr. CHARLTON. I will take the liberty of laying before the Finance Minister a statement made by the manager of one of the largest establishments in this line in the Dominion—the Delhi Fruit and Vegetable Canning Company. This gentleman says:

The reduction of the tariff on canned goods has enabled Americans already to ship into our market a low grade of jams and canned peaches, and will almost deprive us of the markets of British Columbia and the Maritime Provinces. The Canners'

Association are now asking their members to see the Finance Minister and have this matter readjusted by reimposing the old tariff. It would seem, at first sight, that the present tariff is sufficient, and it would be if the quality of the goods were equal. But as the goods are not equal, and as there is no way of testing them except cutting open the jams, the supposition on the part of the buyers is that peaches are peaches; and until the can is served on the table, the buyer supposes that one can is as good as another, and even then he may hold that opinion, if his attention has not been called to some other brand. Standard fruit, according to Battemor standard, is a can reasonably full of fruit, sweetened ten degrees, cold corn syrup. Canadian standard canned fruit is canned reasonably full of fruit, sweetened with syrup made from granulated sugar, ranging from 30 to 40 degrees, so that the difference in cost of preparing the syrup is 25 to 30 cents per dozen cans. Then, you know that our peaches cost nearly double and often more than double the cost of American peaches. Jams are sold in the United States from 2½ cents per pound to 10 cents. The cheap stuff is a vile mess and should be prohibited from being made, let alone being imported into a Christian community. It may be said that the canners have formed themselves into an association or combine. We have always had an association, and we are now trying to sell all the goods to a selling committee, of which the writer is a member. This committee has not advanced the price one cent. In fact, the prices and quotations are lower than the prices at which the Delhi Canning Company was selling before the arrangement was entered into. Our object was to properly distribute and reduce the cost of freight and selling of the goods. Competition is sufficiently keen among us to keep prices low. Our market is limited; freight rates to the seaboard prevent competition with American goods for export, so that we require all the Canadian market for Canadians. The policy of the United States has been special legislation. So soon as we shipped any goods into that country, immediately up went the duty on canned goods. This, the writer knows, and I feel we have a right to demand from our Government ample protection in this particular line.

One of the most important points this gentleman makes is that with reference to the cost of fruit. The duty on peaches is 1 cent a pound, including the weight of the case, and a protective duty of 2 cents a pound on canned peaches is not equivalent to the duty on the raw material.

Mr. FOSTER. We grow our peaches.

Mr. CHARLTON. Not in sufficient quantities. We have to import American peaches, which, being carried a long distance, often arrive in bad order; and I think I am safe in saying that a hundred pounds weight of peaches with the packages will not make more than 35 pounds of canned fruit. A 2-cent per pound duty on canned fruit, when 1 cent a pound is charged on an article of which it takes a hundred pounds to make 35 pounds of canned fruit, is no protection. I feel bound to present this case in the interest of these people, as I feel they are not being

Mr. CHARLTON.

dealt with fairly by the Government. They produce a superior article. I believe the assertion to be correct that a lot of vile stuff is imported from the United States, not equal to the standard of Canadian canned goods, and it is desirable that such stuff should not be allowed to compete against our superior quality in our own market. If the policy of the Government is to be protective, this is an interest in which our farmers are directly interested, and which is entitled to consideration. I do not believe that the duty of 2 cents a pound is sufficient under the circumstances.

Mr. SPROULE. I think the hon. gentleman is perfectly correct. It is a pity that the duty has been reduced to 2 cents a pound. All the information we have from men in the business goes to prove that the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) is correct, and that a class of goods from the United States of an inferior quality is driving our superior quality out of the market.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I suppose the people who use both goods can find by experience that the imported are inferior and cease to buy them. With regard to the character of the goods, which largely depends on the time the canning is done, and the canning is likely to be done at the proper season in the places where the peaches are grown, they are not likely to wait for the peaches to decay before putting them up in cans. I would like to hear the statement of those not engaged in the business rather than the statement of those specially interested. I am ready to accept a reduction in the tariff on any article, as far as I can get it. I would like to go very much further than the hon. gentleman is disposed to go, both in the amount of reduction and the number of the articles to which it is extended, or even extended to the small extent it is.

Mr. SPROULE. The hon. gentleman appears to have little respect for the opinions of those in the business, and who know what they suffer from. He knows a little more about philosophy, but he does not know more about canned goods than men in the business. And the representations of truthful men should be considered when dealing with the question.

Item agreed to.

Earthenware and stoneware, demijohns or jugs, churns or crocks, 3 cents per gallon.

Mr. FOSTER. We propose to tax these 3 cents.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Why, cannot the hon. gentleman tell us why he came down in the first instance to 2 cents per gallon? Surely we ought to know what brought him to 2 cents and then what brought him back to three. We have more respect for the decision arrived at in Council by the hon. gentleman than he has him-

self. We think his original decision ought not to be gainsaid, unless good reasons are shown, and we want to know what are the good reasons that induced him to reduce to 2 cents and afterwards increase to 3 cents ?

Mr. LAURIER. My hon. friend asks for good reasons. He cannot expect an answer.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Let him give us some reason, even as little as the Prime Minister says it would require for the administration of the oath.

Mr. FOSTER. The factory in which these goods are produced has been making earthenware and stoneware for some years. They found it impossible to make the industry successful, and came to us about three years ago when the tariff was being revised, and we thought it best to put a duty of 3 cents per gallon holding capacity upon these articles. Since that time the industry has been holding its own and enlarging to some extent. A duty of 2 cents per gallon, I think, would have the effect of shutting up the industry, and, as it is a valuable one, and making a very good class of goods, I thought it would not be inadvisable to put the duty back to the old figure.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). This infant cannot walk yet ?

Mr. FOSTER. No ; its legs have not got their full strength yet.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What are the lowest grades in value of these articles ?

Mr. FOSTER. Prices are according to the capacity of the vessel, and the average is somewhere about 8 or 10 cents per gallon.

Mr. McMULLEN. The hon. gentleman knows, of course, that there is a difference between stoneware and earthenware. There is a kind of crockery ware made which is used for milk pans, etc., in making butter. I would like to know if this item includes that class of goods.

Mr. FOSTER. No ; if my hon. friend will read the item he will see what it includes.

Mr. McMULLEN. It says " earthenware."

Mr. FOSTER. Yes ; but it defines the items " demijohns or jugs, churns or crocks."

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I can understand the hon. gentleman's objection to demijohns ; but I do not see how churns and crocks are enemies of his.

Mr. FOSTER. Wooden churns are generally used ; stoneware churns are a sort of luxury.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I have been informed—I am not sure whether the information is correct—that there are a considerable number of these articles which do not sell for more than something like

5 cents per gallon of holding capacity. That is to say, these vessels are obtainable in 2, 3, 4 and 5-gallon sizes at 10, 15, 20 and 25 cents each.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes ; but the duty grades down.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. But you are putting on a specific duty, and, if it is true, as I am informed that these goods sell at 5 cents per gallon, this duty of 3 cents per gallon is a duty of 60 per cent, an outrageous duty, particularly on an article which goes into common use in every household in the country. It is too high a duty, even admitting, for argument sake, the propriety of the hon. gentleman's development theory. I think he will find that on the coarser description of these goods 5 cents per gallon of holding capacity is not too low a price. Of course, there are finer grades, and upon these the rate of duty would be lower.

Mr. WALLACE. Firsts cannot be had at that rate. If there are any goods of this kind sold so low, they are seconds and thirds, which are inferior goods of the same pattern and class.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I am speaking of the lower class of goods.

Mr. WALLACE. But firsts are the only ones that are fit to be used. If the others are sold they are sold virtually under false pretenses. The price of firsts is from 8 to 10 cents per gallon of holding capacity, so that this would be of 30 to 35 per cent. The returns show this to be about the percentage put upon these goods.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). You are including stoneware.

Mr. WALLACE. I am speaking of stoneware. There is no earthenware of this kind imported.

Mr. McMULLEN. The duty will not allow it to be imported. These goods are manufactured in this country.

Mr. WALLACE. We have earthenware manufactories in almost every county, in almost every riding, throughout the whole Dominion. We also have many manufactories that make the stoneware. They have to import their raw material, the stone which is ground up to be formed into these goods.

Item agreed to.

Plaster of Paris, calcined or manufactured, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. Make that 40 cents per barrel of 300 pounds, instead of 20 per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Is the weight of that barrel fixed by statute ?

Mr. FOSTER. It is the recognized weight of a barrel of calcined plaster. The former duty was equal to 45 cents per barrel of 300 pounds.

Item agreed to.

Slates, roofing slate, when split or dressed only ; also slate pencils and school or writing slates, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. I want to take out of that item slate pencils, and to put them by themselves at 25 per cent, and to change the other to 30 per cent.

Mr. McMULLEN. Are you altering the item ?

Mr. FOSTER. No ; leaving slate pencils as before.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. The items, then, will read as follows :—

Slate pencils, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Item agreed to.

Slates, roofing slate, when split or dressed only, and school or writing slates, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. McMULLEN. I think a duty of 30 per cent on roofing slate is excessive. The material for shingles is getting scarce in this country, and, if you are not going to discourage building, roofing slate is something that ought to be admitted at a reasonably low duty.

Mr. FOSTER. The quality of slate mined in Canada is very excellent, and gives good satisfaction. The green or coloured slate that comes in from the United States is of a poor quality, and the roofers are altogether in favour of the Canadian material. The duty we propose on slate is not as high as before. It was 80 cents and \$1 per square before, this would be equivalent to about 75 cents per square, and is about the equivalent of the United States duty. I think my hon. friend is not right in saying the slate quarries are showing signs of decadence, because new ones are being opened, and a very excellent variety is being mined.

Item agreed to.

Oils, coal and kerosene, distilled, purified or refined ; naphtha and petroleum, n.e.s. ; products of petroleum, n.e.s., 7½ cents per imperial gallon.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) When the resolutions of the hon. gentleman were first proposed, before we went into committee, I called attention to this special resolution as it particularly affected the Maritime Provinces in a way which I did not appreciate fully until I had examined the Trade and Navigation Returns. I would ask the hon. Finance Minister to look at those returns for a moment, because I really cannot understand them. The difference in the duties paid in the different provinces is something extraordinary. For instance, the province of Ontario last year imported \$153,650 worth of kerosene oil, which paid a duty of \$148,652.08, or 96 per cent. Quebec imported \$52,777 worth, on which they paid a duty of \$56,437.77, or 100 per cent. So that Ontario and Quebec are not very far apart in the percentage of duty that they pay upon this article. When we come to the Maritime Provinces, we see a very marked and strange distinction. Nova Scotia

Mr. FOSTER.

imported \$59,583 worth, on which she paid \$73,772.84 of duty, or at the rate of 123 per cent ; in other words, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick—I do not mention New Brunswick separately, because the rate is about the same—pay about 25 per cent more duty on the value of the kerosene oil that they import than does either Quebec or Ontario. When we come to the unfortunate little province which I have the honour to represent, she stands in the position she generally does in all these matters, of being thoroughly fleeced. While she imported \$11,544 worth of oil, she paid \$18,360.40 of duty, or 160 per cent. Anybody can see at once the gross injustice and unfairness of this tax. I want to call the hon. gentleman's attention to it, because I have received from one or two very large dealers in the Maritime Provinces, communications on the subject in which they present the matter in rather a forcible light. In the first place, they point out that while up to 1877 there was a customs duty of 15 cents per gallon, and an excise duty, on petroleum, the excise duty in 1877 was abolished, and the duty was reduced to 6 cents per wine gallon. Now, it is contended time and again that the 7 1-5th cents per imperial gallon, which has been imposed and at present exists, upon kerosene oil, is the equivalent of the 6 cents per wine gallon which was imposed in 1877. Looking at it as a specific duty, that is correct ; but if you look at the percentage that it represents as an ad valorem duty, you see how totally the changed conditions change the percentage. I am instructed that at that time the same quality of American oil which is now imported, was selling at 20 cents per gallon, and the duty being 6 cents per wine gallon, is equal to 30 per cent ad valorem duty. Since then refining has so changed the selling price of this oil that to-day, that same quality of oil which was then sold at 20 cents per wine gallon, is now sold at 3½ cents per wine gallon, while the duty remains the same, at 6 cents, which is nearly 200 per cent. So that while a duty in 1877 was placed upon this oil of 6 cents per wine gallon, equivalent to a 30 per cent duty upon its cost, and which has been retained at the same rate ever since, in consequence of the extraordinary facilities which have been since introduced for refining oil, and the cheapness at which oil is now produced and sold, the duty now amounts to 200 per cent upon the cost of that oil. Now, I have had sent to me in order to submit to the committee, several invoices of this oil which have been lately imported. For instance, here is one imported into the port of St. John, N.B., on 30th March last, from Buffalo. There were two tanks of refined oil. The invoice price was \$396 ; the quantity, 10,908 gallons ; the rate of duty at 7 1-5th cents, amounted to \$785—\$785 duty on \$396 worth of goods. Now, this statement only need be made to show hon. gentlemen how atrociously unjust the thing is, how intolerable such a tax is on an article that enters into the consumption of every poor

family. The duty at that rate is almost equivalent to 200 per cent. In the same invoice there were two tanks more, the invoice cost of which was \$405 ; quantity, 9,643 gallons ; duty, \$694. So that the total cost of this invoice was \$901 ; quantity, 21,082 gallons ; and the duty paid was \$1,517.90. Now, that is intolerable, it is vexatious, it is unjust, it is unfair ; I do not think anybody can defend it. There is no industry in this country which can possibly justify such an enormous robbery under the shape of protection. The same gentleman forwards me another invoice, a larger one. I need not go through the items, I will take the totals in order to save time. There were eight different tanks of oil imported, of which the invoice cost was \$1,974 ; the duty paid was \$3,454. This is a certified invoice under the customs law. I note specially these invoices, because it is frequently charged that the allegations made with respect to coal oil are unfounded, and I desire to obtain an accurate record of a special importation, the amount of duty paid and a certified invoice from the Customs Department, so that we might have some basis on which to argue the facts of the case. I submit that the statements I have presented prove conclusively that the continuation of the proposed duty is intolerable and indefensible. It is stated, and I suppose it affects manufacturers of oil in Petrolia, that the manufacturers are now reducing their prices in order to satisfy the public demands, and I presume there are very few hon. members who have not received, as I have received, large bundles of newspapers containing copies of advertisements published in different parts of Canada showing that oil is sold at 15 cents per gallon. An hon. friend near me says that the oil is not fit to use, and that is the remark I was going to make under instructions I have before me in these letters. I am told that the only Canadian oil fit to use is water white oil, and it sells at 1 cent or three-quarters of a cent less than oil imported from across the border with all the duties and charges on it ; so that while American oil sold at 20 cents Canadian oil would realize 19½ cents or 19 cents. The hon. Minister of Finance is making a slight change in the direct charge on the barrel, he is charging 20 cents per barrel instead of 40 cents. But the gentleman on whom I am relying to a large extent for my information and whom I know is thoroughly conversant with all the facts, states that this change will not amount to more than one-half a cent per gallon, and that the retailer will not be benefited. I want to point out to the Finance Minister and to the committee the very great injustice under which we in the Maritime Provinces are labouring. The hon. gentleman sought to meet the demand of public opinion in the provinces of Quebec and Ontario by allowing the importation of oil in tanks ; but that privilege has not been exercised in the Maritime Provinces, because the

oil has to be carried over 1,300 miles by railway from Buffalo. What the people of the Maritime Provinces demand is the right to import in ship tanks. The hon. Finance Minister would not concede that request. I have had a paper sent to me containing a statement from Mr. DeWolf submitted to the Halifax Board of Trade, and with the permission of the House I will quote from his remarks. He stated before the board as follows :—

Oil under the present law, is protected in two ways. First, in the matter of importing ; second, by the duty. It is well known that the law introduced in the last session of Parliament permitted the importation of oil in bulk, in tank cars only. This, of course, is a species of protection, accorded to the Petrolia refiner, in addition to the duty of 7½ cents per imperial gallon. This restriction increases the cost of oil laid down in two ways : First, by the high rate of freight, and second, by forcing importers to buy oil at a point best suited for railway accommodation, instead of at a seaport, where if the privilege of importing by tank steamer were allowed, oil could be purchased cheaper. Now, see what this protection amounts to per gallon :

| | | |
|--|--------|--------|
| Cost of oil f.o.b., Buffalo, for shipment by rail..... | 3 50c. | |
| Cost f.o.b., Philadelphia, by water..... | 3 20 | 0 30c. |
| Railway freight..... | 2 00 | |
| Water freight..... | 50 | 1 50 |
| Duty per wine gallon..... | 6 00 | |

Total protection per wine gallon.. 7 80

The newspaper from which I have quoted this extract from Mr. De Wolf's statement before the Halifax Board of Trade, goes on to say :

Now there is another circumstance connected with this duty on oil, that increases the cost of oil to the consumer. Every cent invested in a gallon of oil by the retailer becomes subject to profit. The retailer's average profit is 30 per cent, the nature of the goods render this only a fair profit to him, and has to cover leakage and other loss, etc. We find the above restrictions on importation and duty amount to 7·80 cents per wine gallon, or 9·36 per imperial gallon, as it is sold in this country. Now, as the retailer pays above, he accordingly looks for profit thereon ; therefore we add 30 per cent to the 9·36 and we have 12·17 cents, the consumer of imported oil has to pay on every gallon of oil he consumes, because of the protection afforded the Petrolia refiner. Now see what this aggregates per annum. From the latest Trade Reports we find the Maritime Provinces import 57,000 barrels of oil per year, or 2,280,000 imperial gallons, which multiplied by 12·17 equals \$277,476, the oil consumers of the Maritime Provinces pay each year because of the restrictions and duty on oil, all for the protection of the Petrolia refiner.

It is perfectly plain from these figures, and I do not think their accuracy will be questioned by any one, that if the duty were removed, the people of the Maritime Provinces would gain to the extent of 12 cents per

gallon. I attack this duty, first, on the ground that if protection is to be continued, this duty is abnormal, unnecessary and unfair. I attack it, in the second place, because the manner in which the Government allow oil to be imported in car tanks and prohibit its importation in ship tanks is unfair and unjust to the Maritime Provinces, and I prove the injustice by the Trade and Navigation Returns, which show that the people of the Maritime Provinces pay 60 per cent more duty on the oil they consume than do the people of the other provinces. I want to know on what grounds these duties can be defended by any hon. gentleman opposite?

Mr. FOSTER. I have listened to the hon. gentleman's presentation of his case. I do not propose to say there is not a great deal of truth in the presentation of a strong case against the present duty on coal oil; it would be useless for me to state that. I propose in the few remarks I shall offer to be plain and brief, and frank as well. This is an article the production of which, unfortunately, at present, is confined to a very small area of the country, taking into consideration the large extent of the Dominion. It is a fact as well, that this article or that imported of a cognate character is used all over this country from one ocean to the other. It is true that most of the people, probably all of the people, consider they pay a very high duty upon oil; and it is also true, and there is no use attempting to burk the issue, that a large majority of the people would be glad to see the duty removed. This is the state of the question presented from the side of one who opposes the duty on coal oil. We must, however, take into account some other points before we come to a final decision on the matter. One is, in the first place, the peculiar position which this industry has held in this country from Confederation to the present time. Without going into the history of it at any great length I may say that it has been a favoured industry, because it was recognized that it has a hard task to develop itself, and it was accorded a special favour. The Government which preceded this, as well as this Government, have both of them done that; and the present specific duty which is upon the oil is the specific duty which was placed upon it by the preceding Administration of the hon. gentlemen opposite. It is equally true that taking into account the lowered prices of oil, a specific duty of 7 1-5th cents, ten or fifteen years ago—bears differently as compared with the present time, so far as the ad valorem equivalent is concerned, and the ad valorem equivalent becomes much higher now than it was at that time, as my hon. friend has fairly argued. Well, last year we came to the consideration of this question with the facts as I have stated them; first, that the area was limited; second, that the consumption was wide; and third, that there was a general call for the lower-

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

ing of the duty, and, that added to the 7 1-5th cents of a straight duty there were other safeguards which had the aspect of protection (although they may not have been designed for that purpose), which materially increased even that rate of 7 1-5th cents. These were: the higher inspection fees upon the foreign oil, the limitation upon carriage through the country, and the limitation as to means and methods of distribution. Part of these were due to the fact that a safe oil must be had by the people of this country, and that for inspection and proper supervision these restrictions had to be placed about it. After carefully considering the question last year the Government came to the conclusion to afford a certain measure of relief. It took off the higher inspection fees upon foreign oil, and made the inspection fee equivalent to that upon the native product. It took away the limitation of carriage as far as tank cars are concerned, which subtracted to a certain extent from the cost of distribution. Altogether a relief absolutely certain to an amount varying from 1 to 2 cents per gallon was afforded by these measures that were taken last year. That, however, was not so great a measure of relief to the consumers as was afforded by the action taken by the producers and distributors of oil themselves. Without doubt the people in the Dominion of Canada, previous to a year ago, were paying from one end of the country to the other, a very much higher price for the oil than either the cost of the product at the wells, or the cost of carriage to these parts of the country warranted. The attention of these companies was called to that, and they set about remedying it and by improved methods of distribution, apart entirely from the reduction which was made in the protection in the way mentioned; it has made it so that during the past year the consumers of oil in this country have received their oil at a very much less cost than formerly. I hold in my hand a paper which goes to show this, and which it may not be uninteresting for the House to notice. It is a comparison of the prices of oil in the years 1891-92 and last year. In the province of Ontario at Alliston, the price of oil for a single gallon in 1891 and 1892 was from 18 to 20 cents, at the present time it is 14 to 15 cents; at Almonte, the former price was from 20 to 25 cents per gallon, and it is now 15 cents. I am just taking certain places in different parts of the country.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Has the hon. gentleman got the quality of the oil mentioned there?

Mr. FOSTER. The prices are for a similar quality of oil. At Beaverton, the price in 1891 and 1892 was from 15 to 20 cents, present selling price, 12½ cents; at Belleville, 20 cents a gallon, present selling price, 15 cents; at Bowmanville, 20 cents a gallon, present selling price the same; at Bradford, 20 cents a gallon, present selling price,

15 cents a gallon ; at Brockville, 25 cents a gallon, present selling price, 15 cents a gallon ; at Campbellford, 15 cents a gallon, the present selling price the same ; at Chatham it was 20 cents a gallon, present selling price, 10 to 12½ cents ; at Deseronto, 25 cents a gallon, present selling price, 15 cents a gallon ; at Fergus, 20 cents a gallon, present selling price, 15 cents a gallon ; at Gananoque it was 25 cents a gallon, present selling price, 15 cents a gallon ; at Glencoe it was 18 cents a gallon, present selling price, 12½ cents per gallon ; at Havelock, 15 cents a gallon, present selling price the same ; at Madoc, 25 cents a gallon, present selling price, 15 cents a gallon ; at Maxville, 15 cents per gallon, present selling price, 15 a gallon ; at Orangeville, it was 18 to 20 cents per gallon, present selling price 15 cents a gallon ; at Parkhill it was 18 cents a gallon and is now selling for 15 cents a gallon ; at Pembroke it was 20 to 25 cents a gallon, and it is now selling from 18 to 20 cents a gallon ; at Penetanguishene it was 25 cents a gallon, and is now selling for 15 cents a gallon ; at Peterboro' it was 25 cents a gallon, and is now selling at from 13 to 15 cents a gallon ; at St. Mary's it was 15 cents a gallon, and is now selling for 12½ cents to 15 cents a gallon ; at Simcoe it was 25 cents a gallon, and it is now selling at from 10 to 15 ; at Walkerton it was selling from 15 to 17 cents a gallon, and now it is selling at the same price ; at Wlarton it formerly sold for 15 cents a gallon, and now it is sold for 10 cents a gallon. It is the same all through. If we take some points in the province of Quebec the same comparison will hold. At Bedford, it was selling at from 20 to 25 cents a gallon, and at the present time it is selling from 18 to 20 cents ; at Drummondville, it was selling at 18 cents a gallon, and now it is selling at from 15 to 16 cents a gallon ; at New Glasgow it was selling for 18 cents a gallon and it is now selling for 16 cents ; at Roxton Falls it was selling for 16 cents a gallon, and is now selling for 15 cents ; at Somerset it was selling at from 17 to 18 cents a gallon, and it is now selling at from 15 to 17 cents ; at Three Rivers, it was selling at from 17 to 18 cents a gallon, and it is now selling at 15 cents a gallon ; at Valleyfield it was selling at from 20 to 25 cents a gallon, and is now selling from 15 to 20 cents. I have also a list here of the comparative prices of places in the provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. In Moncton it is now selling at 15 cents a gallon ; in St. John, 15 cents a gallon ; in Amherst, N.S., at 15 cents a gallon ; in Halifax, at 15 cents a gallon ; in Kentville, 17 cents a gallon ; in North Sydney, 15 cents a gallon ; in Truro and Yarmouth, N.S., 15 cents a gallon ; and in Prince Edward Island it is selling at the same price, at 15 cents a gallon. In the North-west, where coal oil was selling in the years 1891 and 1892 at 45 cents, 50 cents and 55 cents a gallon, it is now selling in Brandon at 25 cents ; in

Moosomin, 25 cents ; in Stonewall, at 25 cents ; in Winnipeg, at 21 to 25 cents ; in Qu'Appelle, at 25 and 35 cents ; and in Portage la Prairie, at 20 and 25 cents per gallon. All these instances go to show the extremely large reductions which have been made in the price of oil owing to the improved methods of distribution ; a reduction, which, although not due altogether to the reduction of duty upon it, has yet inured to the benefit of the consumers of this country, owing partly to the reduction of the duties and fees, and partly to the improved methods of distribution, undertaken at large expense and carried out very faithfully and very thoroughly by the companies who are at present engaged in producing and selling oil. Now, Sir, after having had these different reliefs, we come again to the question this year, and again the discussion arises, and consideration has to be given to it. There is no doubt whatever that our native oil industry has difficulties to contend with. In the first place, look at the difficulty it has to contend with in the different flow of oil in our country from that of the United States, its great competitor. Here, if oil flows or is pumped at the rate of one to three barrels a day it is a good average yield ; probably a little above the average. In the United States it flows sometimes from spouting wells at from two to three hundred barrels a day, down to forty or fifty barrels or along in that vicinity. That places our industry here upon a very different footing, and gave it, and still gives it the sympathy of the people of this country in its endeavour to establish and develop itself. It has other difficulties as well. Oil is found in only one locality in Canada. The crude oil is not of so good a quality in certain respects, so easy to manage, and does not show so large an illuminating percentage as the American oils ; in fact, I think that 40 per cent of illuminating oil is about the maximum of what can be obtained from the crude at Petrolea. That leaves a very large margin of disadvantage against our refiners. They have to utilize the by-products, as the refiners do on the other side of the line, but our refiners are put at an additional disadvantage on account of the lower percentage of illuminating power, and, consequently, in the price of the oil. Taking these things into consideration, with the fact of the great extent of our country, and the cost of distribution, you arrive at the circumstances that have weighed with both Governments, and that I am sure weigh with the people of this country when they face the rather serious question whether or not this industry should be blotted out of existence by the withdrawal of the protection which is necessary to keep it in existence. Now, Sir, let me call the attention of the House to one more fact. It is a fact to-day that this oil industry is not taking advantage of the protection which is given to it. The duty is 7 1-5th cents per im-

perial gallon. The producers at Petrolea are selling oil—a good usable refined oil, which is used by the farmers of this country in very large quantities—at from 6¼ to 6½ cents a gallon in tanks. Go to the other side of the line and you will find oil of a similar quality quoted at about 3 cents per wine gallon. Add one-fifth to that to make up an imperial gallon, and it brings the price to 3 3-5th cents per imperial gallon. To bring the oil to a certain point in this country will cost, say 1 cent per gallon, which will bring the cost to 4 3-5th cents. Add to that the duty of 7 1-5th cents, which will bring it as nearly as may be to 12 cents a gallon, whereas, at Petrolea it is sold in bulk at 6½ cents a gallon. Take a better class of oil, the Canadian water white, which is sold in bulk at Petrolea at 9 cents per imperial gallon. You can get the equivalent of that oil on the other side of the line for 5 cents per wine gallon. Add one-fifth to make up the imperial gallon, which brings it to 6 cents. Add 1 cent for transportation, which brings it to 7 cents. Add the duty, which brings the cost to 14 1-5th cents a gallon, while it is sold in quantities at Petrolea at 9 cents a gallon. That is proof that the people of this country are not paying the whole duty on the native product or on the imported oil. Hon. gentlemen will say to me, I come from a place where we have to pay 25 cents a gallon for American oil; I do not choose to use Canadian oil; I do not like the smell of it; my olfactories are so toned that I do not like to disturb them with it; and owing to this duty I have to pay for American oil 25 or 30 cents a gallon. The hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) read quotations to show that he could get that oil for 4 cents a gallon on the other side. Add one-fifth to that, and it will make 4 4-5th cents per gallon. Add a cent a gallon for the cost of laying it down at Halifax.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Fifty cents by water to Halifax; but you will not let me take it by water.

Mr. FOSTER. The 1 cent for freight added to the 4 4-5th cents makes the cost 5 4-5th cents at Halifax. Add the duty, which brings it to 13 cents; so that, if you pay 25 cents or 30 cents for the American oil, you do not pay it because there is a duty on it, but you pay it because of the cost of distribution. I am not going to say whether that is too great, or whether it is legitimate or not. I know that last year those who retailed the oil were getting, as their profit, much more than the cost of the oil, and, in some cases, they took more than the cost of the oil, plus the duty. That, however, has been changed, and if 25 or 30 cents a gallon is paid for the American oil, it is paid for the purpose of getting American oil by name, and not because its original cost, plus the duty and carriage, brings it up to that amount. To-day, the Patrons of Industry, from Petrolea down to the city of Quebec,

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get their oil in barrels delivered to them at the different stations, where they live, at from 9 cents to 11¼ cents a gallon. That is not an excessively high price for oil; and when hon. gentlemen opposite sometimes make the argument that on every gallon of oil used here by the farmer, he has to pay 7 1-5th cents, and when they multiply the number of gallons of oil used by 7 1-5th, and say that the result represents the burden that the farmers have to carry, my own opinion—and I base it on the facts that I have stated—is that on the average there is not more than 3 or 4 cents of duty paid. Now, Sir, what is the weight of the incidence of this duty? In the first place, we must have a revenue from something. We get a revenue of about \$420,000 or \$430,000 from oil. By the fact that we get nearly half a million of revenue from that, we are enabled to let in at lower rates other things which come into consumption in the farmers' and the artisans' families. In that way they get the advantage of the cheapness of those articles. Now, let the farmers count up and say how much oil they use. That question has been put them at public meetings, and we have got various answers. One man says he uses ten gallons a year, others say twenty gallons, and some thirty. Suppose we take the average at twenty gallons a year, and put the duty paid at 5 cents a gallon. There is a dollar which the farmer pays in duty by way of supporting the revenue and keeping up the industry in this country. It would be a pretty harsh thing for us to destroy this industry, in the face of the fact that it is the means of living of hundreds and thousands of people, and that it has been planted and fostered, and has had a helping hand from every Government from 1867 to the present time. It is not one great monopoly. A large proportion of the wells in the oil region are worked just as a man works his vegetable garden. A man owns his plot of ground, sinks his well, has it connected with the pumping machinery, and the three-fourths of a barrel, or the barrel of oil pumped out each day is his living; and unless we have very excellent reasons, we must pause before we destroy an industry of this kind. But I think there is one other point to be considered. This country is not very old. Some twenty-five years it has passed since confederation. These are not all the oil regions in this country. Others are being prospected and developed, and it may be—everything points in that direction—that down in the far east, and away up yonder in the far west, there may be almost inexhaustible supplies of oil waiting for the explorer, waiting for development and distribution to the people who need oil and light. What is the great competitor against which our own oil industry has to pit itself? And it has my sympathy in being pitted against such a competitor. It is the Standard Oil Company of the United States, one of the most gigantic trusts and corpora-

tion in the world—a corporation which pursues with relentless vigour and animosity every opposing interest until it succeeds in wiping it out. That gigantic corporation has its pipe lines laid up to our own Canadian territory, so that the very moment we take off the necessary protection we give our oil regions, now being developed, into the hands of that gigantic trust—that very moment we give our whole future oil development into the control of that same trust, with all its wealth and power. And once possessed of the oil wells and regions now being developed, they will have the leverage, and they will control the development of whatever there is to develop in the oil resources of this country from this time out.

Mr. GILLMOR. Is the hon. gentleman aware that this Standard Oil Company has a hold on these oil lands now?

Mr. FOSTER. I am not.

Mr. GILLMOR. I have been credibly informed that they have.

Mr. FOSTER. I think my hon. friend must give the House his proof if such is the case.

Mr. GILLMOR. I have been so informed.

Mr. MONCRIEFF. I can say positively that such is not the case.

Mr. FOSTER. Perhaps if my hon. friend would put the question to the hon. gentleman beside him he may get exact information.

Mr. LISTER. There is no truth in the statement.

Mr. FOSTER. I had always been under the impression that there was no truth in that statement. I know of nothing to justify it, and I think the converse is true. But I was going on to say that this Canadian oil industry has my sympathy because of this fact I have mentioned. We may be on the eve of large oil developments in this country, and I think it is worth while to keep our present oil industry alive and going, so that if, within a few years, other oil fields are explored, and opened up, we may have in our own hands the developing of our own Canadian oil industry. I do not wish to inflict a speech on the House. I just wanted to state frankly what there is in the whole matter. It is a large duty, I acknowledge. It is a duty, however, which, under present conditions, does not bear very hardly in amount on the individual consumer. And the industry is one that I would not like to see wiped out of the country. We have given a little relief this year with reference to the duty on the barrels, which makes it less onerous on the people of the Maritime Provinces. I think that the greater number of our people are reasonable on this point, and will hesitate to strike down an industry of this kind. We pared the duty down last year, we have already given some

relief this year, and I propose, with the consent of the House, to ask the chairman to change the present reading of the item by substituting 6 cents for 7 1-5th. In doing that, I hope the House, and I believe the country, will consider that all it was possible to do has been done.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) My hon. friend and leader asks a question which I would like to have answered, and that is: What is the reason of the applause which greeted the announcement of the Finance Minister that he had determined to reduce this duty 1 1-5th cents? The hon. gentleman is most ingenious. He can make a most ingenious statement, but it will tax all his ingenuity to give any explanation of those cheers.

Mr. FOSTER. They cheered because they saw the hon. gentleman's face light up with a smile.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) When the hon. gentleman refused to take off the protection, on the ground that it was necessary for the development of the oil industry, and when he insisted on retaining the obnoxious restrictions, hon. gentlemen behind him cheered right lustily. Now, when the hon. gentleman announces a reduction in the duty, they cheer him again.

Mr. FOSTER. Because the duty is still to be retained.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) When public opinion compels the Finance Minister to cut down the duty still further, the hon. member for Annapolis (Mr. Mills) will cheer louder than anybody, because his constituents are among those who suffer as largely from these obnoxious and impolitic restrictions as anybody else. What does the hon. gentleman say in his apology, and I think it is a very lame apology? He says, in the first place, there has been a vast and sensible reduction in the price of these articles throughout the Dominion. Is that true? We will try the issue of fact. The hon. gentleman has read the extracts which were sent to him in common with other members of the House—the advertisement that oil was selling in this and that village and town at reduced prices. It appears, therefore, by the acknowledgment of the oil producers themselves, the public have been fleeced to an enormous extent heretofore. But when the agitation against these duties became too serious, the Petrolea company took measures to have this oil sold at a much reduced price, compared with previous rates. I am informed from a very reliable source, of the inner working of these sales. A gentleman writing to me from the Maritime Provinces, says:

We observe that Hon. Mr. Foster says the reason he will not touch the duty is because the Canadian refiners have compelled the retailers throughout the Dominion to reduce their selling price to 15 cents per gallon, thereby forcing the retailer to gain a smaller profit. If Mr. Foster knew how the refiners have misled him, we do not think he would

use this argument for keeping up the duty. The facts are simply these: Last session the refiners promised the Government that if the Government would let the duty remain, they would guarantee that the people would get cheaper oil, and to show you how they accomplished this, they would take their cheapest and more inferior oil, or such an oil that very few people would use and go into a town and make some special agreement with a dealer by which they would get him to advertise their oil at 15 cents per gallon, they agreeing to compensate the dealer and protect him. In fact, they paid for such advertising for the dealer. When this was done, all other dealers in that town would be forced to keep some of this poorer oil to sell, and at the same price, which left the retailer without a living profit, but the refiners took good care to get their price.

As a matter of fact, the hon. gentleman, I think, acknowledged that the Petrolea refiners had not reduced their prices at Petrolea. And as a matter of fact, other hon. gentlemen who sit behind me, and are in the trade, and who know what they are talking about, confirm the statement made here that the quality of the oil offered for sale, in the Maritime Provinces at any rate, is of a most inferior description. The hon. gentleman, whose aristocratic olfactory organ has not to submit to the stench from this oil, but who can afford to use electric light and gas, is astonished that anybody would hesitate to burn stinking oil. I do not think the poor people should be insulted in this way. Their olfactories are as good as the hon. gentleman's, and while they have not the privilege of using gas and electric light as he has, neither have they the fine salary which enables him to enjoy these luxuries. We have to deal with things as they are. People, in order to get good oil, have to pay 25 to 30 cents per gallon for it. The hon. gentleman now has the statement before him and he will see, before this debate ends that it will be shown from many quarters that the character of the oil which the Petrolea oil refiners are endeavouring to make the public believe can be sold for 15 cents per gallon, is of such an inferior description that no man would buy it who can avoid it.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Not at all.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I hear two dissenting voices, those of gentlemen who come from that part of the country where the oil is produced. I for one object to the mass of the community throughout the length and breadth of Canada being made to pay double prices for their oil for the protection of this industry. This is one of those infants that never seem to be satisfied. Nobody seems to suggest that there is ever going to be a time when this exaction upon the mass of the people will cease and these restrictions be removed. This, apparently, is to be a protected industry to the end of time. They have had this protection for fifteen years or more and they

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

are not as able to compete with the oil we can purchase abroad as they were at first. Let me tell the hon. gentleman that, with regard to the best class of American oil, his calculations are all wrong. We need not deal with this question upon theory at all; we can get down to the actual facts. I passed across the floor of the House the two invoices of importations into the city of St. John from which I read. Does the hon. gentleman question the accuracy of those figures? Is it true that the Maritime Provinces pay 160 per cent on the total importations, and, upon many of the importations, nearly 200 per cent, when all the charges are added? Take a barrel of the best oil—forty-eight gallons of wine measure, or forty gallons imperial. I am told that the very best oil can be bought in the United States at 6 cents per imperial gallon. That would be \$2.40 per barrel. The cost of the oil, duties, fees, and other costs will be as follows:—

| | |
|----------------------|--------|
| 1 brl. oil..... | \$2 40 |
| Duty | 2 88 |
| Barrel duty..... | 0 20 |
| Inspector's fee..... | 0 10 |
| Freight.. | 0 40 |
| Barrel..... | 1 50 |
| Total..... | \$7 48 |

This, for a barrel of forty gallons would be 18 7-10ths cents per gallon. Now, allowing the general importer 1 cent per gallon profit, he could afford to sell it for about 20 cents per gallon to the retailer. I see my hon. friend from Westmoreland (Mr. Wood) following these figures. If they are inaccurate I expect him to challenge them, as he is well informed upon these matters. I have these figures from a gentleman in the trade. The Government not only fixes a duty of so much a gallon, but compels us to import a barrel which costs \$1.50, puts 20 cents duty on the barrel, adds an inspection fee of 10 cents, and makes us pay 40 cents a barrel freight; whereas, if we were allowed to import in ship tanks our freight charge would be diminished about one-sixth, and the duties and exactions which so enormously increase the price of the commodity would be practically swept away. I plead on behalf of the mass of the people; not on behalf of the rich people in the cities and towns who have their electric lights and gas, but for the great mass of the people who are obliged to buy this oil. This is class legislation of the worst kind. It bears most seriously upon the Maritime Provinces, and it bears with enormous weight upon the poorer classes in the Maritime Provinces. The sop which the hon. gentleman has given by his change of duty goes but a little way to offset the exactions to which the people are subjected. The duty upon the barrel, the cost of the barrel and the inspector's fee are still there. By the change he is making he may give us relief of 1 cent per gallon; but that is infinitesimal. When the hon. gentleman

determined to grapple with this question, he might have grappled with it like a statesman and not in this pettifogging way.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The hon. gentleman has not given any explanation of the extraordinary discrepancy in the duty levied on oil coming into the Maritime Provinces as compared with that coming into Ontario. If the duty ranges, as my hon. friend (Mr. Davies) put it, from 160 per cent in the case of Prince Edward Island, to 125 per cent in the case of the other Maritime Provinces and 100 per cent in the case of Ontario, we ought to know why this extraordinary discrepancy exists. I do not suppose that these amendments will affect that materially. On the value \$11,000 in one case, \$18,000 is taxed; on the value of \$153,000 in another case, \$148,000 is taxed. The hon. gentleman ought to tell us how that discrepancy arises and what he proposes to do to prevent it in future. Especially is it his duty to do so as he himself comes from the Maritime Provinces.

Mr. FOSTER. The explanation is a very simple one. The ad valorem duty would be higher in proportion as the invoice price is lower. If Prince Edward Island buys an oil for 2½ cents per gallon, the oil, duty and all, will be cheaper, but the ad valorem duty would be higher. There is no other explanation possible.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That simply means that the hon. gentleman's tax is so exorbitant that it compels the unhappy inhabitants of the Maritime Provinces, and especially the most unhappy inhabitants of Prince Edward Island to burn an extremely inferior quality of oil.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Does the hon. gentleman lose sight of the fact that oil is imported into Quebec and Ontario in car tanks, while, from the nature of the case that is impossible in the Maritime Provinces, or, at any rate, in Prince Edward Island.

Mr. FOSTER. Does the hon. gentleman mean to say that the returns for 1893 and 1892 take in that?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Do they not?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. There is no explanation except that the tax compels the people of Prince Edward Island to use the worst quality of oil.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) We do not use the worst quality.

Mr. FOSTER. It may be that these Maritime Province people have some wily means by which they get oil at cheaper rates from the people of Ontario.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I remember that in my time it was almost impossible to get the people along the New Brunswick border to pay duties at all, even under a moderate scale of duties.

Mr. FOSTER. That is all changed since the hon. gentleman's time

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Not at all; I know that while many of the hon. gentleman's friends and supporters are the very best protectionists by day, they are most enthusiastic free traders by night.

Mr. TAYLOR. I understand that the Finance Minister a few moments ago gave a statement of the prices of oil in different parts of Ontario, and that he quoted the price in Gananoque at 15 cents per gallon. I sent out for the Gananoque 'Reporter,' which I may say is not a Conservative organ, and I now read from the advertisement of Messrs. Britton & Donovan:

Canadian coal oil was never so good as it is to-day. Price 15 cents per gallon, or seven gallons for a dollar—and lots of it.

I made inquiries among the consumers of oil at Gananoque—and we live right on the American border. One gentleman, Mr. Robert Byers, told me two or three weeks ago that he had been using Canadian oil and that it lasted much longer and was otherwise very much superior to the American oil. I give the name, that of a gentleman of high standing in Gananoque.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Has the hon. gentleman used Canadian oil himself?

Mr. TAYLOR. No; I use the electric light altogether in my house. The imperial gallon is given for 15 cents, or seven gallons for a dollar, and those who are using it in my town say they prefer it to the American oil, that it lasts longer and gives a better light.

Mr. FLINT. It may seem somewhat ungracious on the part of representatives from the Maritime Provinces to make any complaint, in view of the reduction which the Government has made in the duty on American oil; but at the same time I think we have a reasonable right to complain, of the high protection still given to illuminating oil. The figures quoted by the hon. member for Queen's, P.E.I. (Mr. Davies), are in themselves conclusive proof of the fact that the people in the Maritime Provinces are paying more revenue, and more profit to the Canadian producers of oil, than people in the other portions of Canada. But in most of the quotations that are given by hon. members on the other side of the House as to the respective prices of Canadian and American oil, no account is taken of the relative quantities of imported and Canadian oils consumed. I presume this feature might be ascertained by a careful study of the statistics, but I am not aware at present just how it could be worked out. I do know this, however, and I state it as one of the facts which has not yet been stated in committee, that the relative proportion of the quantities of imported and Canadian oil used in the Maritime Provinces is as one to five. I have been informed by several large importers that those figures

would represent the average proportions of Canadian and imported oils consumed by our people, that is to say, that we import into the Maritime Provinces of oil upon which we pay the high duty, and inspection fees, and all the other charges, five times as much as we use of Canadian oil. Now, this fact alone is sufficient, it seems to me, to convince any impartial mind that, altogether apart from any 'a priori' reasoning, American oil must be intrinsically the best and the most satisfactory to the people who consume it. No test of the quality of oil is so good as the extent to which it enters into the general consumption of the people; and if in the Maritime Provinces, where a large majority of the consuming population represent people of moderate means, they deliberately use five times the quantity of imported oil that they do of oil of home production, that fact in itself, it seems to me, is an irrefutable proof that the imported oil is intrinsically the better for all the purposes required of an illuminating oil. Now, if we look at the duty paid by the people of the Maritime Provinces, we find that in Nova Scotia we import something over one million gallons of oil, for which we pay about \$60,000, and the duty upon that, I presume exclusive of the inspection and other fees—I would ask the Minister of Finance here if that includes the inspection fees?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. FLINT. Then that is exclusive of the other fees, which have to be added. We paid last year on \$60,000 worth of oil, nearly \$74,000 of duty. In the province of New Brunswick the imports are about the same, one million gallons, for which they paid \$56,000 in round numbers, and the duty upon that quantity was about \$73,000. The province of Prince Edward Island imported a much smaller quantity, although, perhaps, no smaller in proportion to the population. She imported 255,000 gallons, at a value of \$11,544, the duty upon which was \$18,360. In other words, the three Maritime Provinces imported oil to the value of \$127,544, upon which they paid a duty of \$164,870, apart entirely from the inspection and other fees, which would somewhat increase that amount. I think, perhaps, some of these fees are not to be complained of, as they may be necessary in order to secure safety in the quality. Those figures represent an average rate of duty of 130 per cent upon an article which the people find absolutely necessary for their comfort and convenience, and of which they use five times as much as they do of the Canadian article. Now, until the Canadian refiners of oil can produce an article more in accordance with the wants of the consuming classes, it seems to me this duty is not only an enormous protection, but it works an outrageous injustice to the people of the Maritime Provinces. At the close of the last session of Parliament, just before prorogation, this question came up in the House,

Mr. FLINT.

when many members were absent, and I took it upon myself to ask the Government to allow imported oil to be introduced in tank vessels as a peculiar concession to the Maritime Provinces, inasmuch as the Government had conceded the privilege of importing this kind of oil in tank cars as a concession and a relief, as the Minister of Finance has said, to the people of the upper provinces. But my request was refused, and I cannot for the life of me see upon what principle of reason, or fairness, or justice, the people of the Maritime Provinces, who are paying so much more duty in proportion to the quantity of oil they consume, should be refused the relief which was given to the people of the upper provinces. I think before this session ends we will have to press this question again in some shape upon the attention of the Government, with a view to inducing the Government to allow those who are common carriers to bring oil into the Maritime Provinces in tank vessels, as the people of the upper provinces are allowed to bring it in in tank cars. The reduction of duty now given by the Government is very trifling, and I have no doubt that had the Government concluded to reduce the duties still more, they would have received the warm approval and cheers of many hon. gentlemen opposite. I have observed that, no matter how strongly they insist upon retaining the protective principle in this tariff, no sooner does the Government reduce the duty upon any article whatever, than they receive hearty cheers and support from hon. gentlemen opposite, showing that even they are influenced by the feelings of their constituents, they are influenced by the feeling which is in the air that the duties hitherto imposed upon all the necessaries of life required by the people, have been to a large degree excessive. Now, while, perhaps, the figures relating to the duty may be somewhat changed within the past few months, owing to the circumstances referred to by one or two gentlemen on the other side of the House; yet, notwithstanding the fact that we pay so very high a rate, all the oil sold in the Maritime Provinces last year, was sold to the wholesale dealers at about a cent per gallon difference between the imported American oil and the best quality of Canadian oil; and still the sellers of Canadian oil could not, even with that difference per gallon, force their goods into the market except in the proportion of about one to five. I have before me an invoice which represents the usual proportion of the importations into the town of Yarmouth from the city of St. John, whence a large part of our importations of oil at present come. This invoice contained one lot of 50 barrels of the best American refined oil, which was delivered, duty paid, at 17½ cents per gallon. Another lot of 10 barrels of the best Canadian oil was delivered at the wharf in St. John, at 16¼ cents; and this, I am informed, represents the difference between those two

oils at the present time, notwithstanding the reduction made by the refiners. I presume that all that can be said on this side of the House will not induce the Government to make any further reduction, but even from their own standpoint, and in view of the fact that the Government have already assumed the privilege of introducing oil in tank cars as a substantial measure of relief to the consumers of the provinces of Quebec and Ontario, and to a small degree to the province of New Brunswick, where I believe tank cars are coming in in small numbers at the present time, I think the Government should listen to the appeals of those who ask that the privilege be allowed to the common carrier by vessel of bringing in oil in tanks to the seaports of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick. This would be a substantial relief in connection with the relief we have already received, and I respectfully ask the Finance Minister if this matter is under consideration. I should like to ask the Finance Minister this question, Has the Government positively closed its consideration of this phase of the subject as regards tank vessels and tank cars, or will the Government be prepared to take up this question at a later period of the discussion?

Mr. HAZEN. Would not such an arrangement as that of transporting oil by tank steamers interfere very considerably with the coasting trade?

Mr. FLINT. That question is one which was raised during the short discussion we had on this subject at the close of last session, namely, that allowing the privilege of transporting oil in tank vessels for the benefit of the people of the Maritime Provinces would interfere with the coasting trade. This is one of the difficulties of the system. It says: we appeal to the cupidity and selfishness of a particular class, as if the rights and benefits which were to accrue to the whole consuming population of the Maritime Provinces were to be set aside as naught for an assumed benefit to be derived by a small class. Although we have a certain number of packets in our community, yet I would not be prepared for one instant to concede the principle that they had any peculiar claims as against the great consuming classes of the people. If this privilege were granted to the people of the Maritime Provinces, thereby reducing the duty to the consumers of oil to the extent of about 1 cent per gallon, the consideration as regards freights by the small number of people who engage in the business would not possess any weight. I believe a very small proportion of the oil brought into the Maritime Provinces is conveyed there in sailing vessels. The largest quantity is brought by the steamers which ply daily between the United States ports and the provinces. Such an arrangement as is suggested would very slightly interfere with that trade. But even if it did,

the rights or the assumed profits in connection with that trade should not weigh against the general interests of the consuming classes.

Mr. WOOD (Westmoreland). I did not intend to take part in this discussion, but the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) has presented some figures to the House, and has asked me, mentioning me by name, to challenge their accuracy if I did not entirely concur in them. I was not able to follow the hon. member in all the figures he presented to the House, but I should not like the impression to be received by the House that I entirely concur in the figures which he submitted. The rate of freight quoted by the hon. gentleman, if I remember correctly, was 40 cents per barrel. So far as my knowledge goes, and I have had some experience in regard to importing American oil, the freight rarely, if ever, exceeds 20 cents per barrel, which represents only one-half a cent per gallon, instead of 1 cent per gallon. Then the hon. gentleman, in making up an invoice of American oil, charged the barrels at \$1.50 each, which, on an average of 40 gallons to the barrel, would add nearly 4 cents or 3½ cents per gallon. If the hon. gentleman was making a calculation of actual cost of oil, including barrels, he should have credited the value of the barrels after the oil had been taken from them. I think the market rate of such barrels, even in country places, is one-half the original cost. These two items alone will effect a material reduction in the cost of the oil, according to the figures which the hon. gentleman presented.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) What does the hon. gentleman calculate as the value of the barrel afterwards?

Mr. WOOD (Westmoreland). About one-half. I know in Sackville, where I live, buyers of these barrels pay 60 cents for them and take them away. I do not know what they pay in other places, but that is the price where I reside. I am told by some Ontario people that in certain towns in Ontario they pay as high as 80 cents; so one-half of the original cost is a fair price. I desire to say a word or two in regard to what the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) and the hon. member for Yarmouth (Mr. Flint) have said with respect to the injustice done to the Maritime Provinces by not permitting the importation of American oil in tank steamers. My own opinion is that no injustice and no hardship have been done to the Maritime Provinces whatever. I believe this regulation is framed, not in view of any effect it would have in the Maritime Provinces, but for the benefit of the oil refiners in Ontario. It is the competition they would have to meet if this oil were carried across the lakes in tank steamers they fear more than the competition they would have to meet in the Maritime

Provinces, if oil were permitted to be brought in by tank steamer.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) As the hon. member for Westmoreland (Mr. Wood) is conversant with the trade, I should like to ask him, for information, if there is any such substantial difference in the cost of oil in Philadelphia or New York when sold in tanks or in barrels?

Mr. WOOD (Westmoreland). I cannot answer that question.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The reason I ask is because I read in a trade journal the following :—

The price of barrelied oil has remained nominally unchanged at \$5.15 for New York loading and at \$5.50 for Philadelphia loading. Bulk oil has also been steady at \$2.65 here and at \$2.60 at Philadelphia. The principal foreign markets are steady.

All these quotations refer to refined oil. If they are correct they should settle the whole question.

Mr. WOOD (Westmoreland). If the one price included the barrel, and the other did not.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I assume it would.

Mr. WOOD (Westmoreland). I do not know how the quotations are, but that may account for the difference. With regard to oil for export to foreign countries in bulk I have very little knowledge of that business, because our knowledge of the oil trade in the Maritime Provinces is principally confined to the importation in barrels of the American oil for illuminating purposes. To come back to the question: would there be any advantage resulting to the Maritime Provinces from the importation of oil in bulk; I think if we just fix our attention on a few facts which we are all familiar with it will be evidence to the House that no material advantage can result even if that permission were given. The schooners that are accustomed to bring this oil to New Brunswick carry it for one-half a cent per gallon. They bring it in small quantities, they deliver at all the outports wherever it may be required, and if the oil were brought in tank steamers they certainly could not carry it at a less rate unless they brought an enormous quantity at a time. For my own part, I can hardly see how a tank steamer could afford to bring the oil at even so low a rate as that charged by the schooners. At all events, the steamers would be obliged to land their oil at some central seaport. The importers would be obliged to have their tanks there to receive it, and when they distributed it through the country they would have to add, to whatever the freight by the steamer was, the cost of barreling in this principal seaport the freight to the outport, and the cost of tankage, so that the cost when it reached the consumers in the country places—how-

Mr. WOOD (Westmoreland).

ever it might be with the consumers in the principal centres—would certainly, in my opinion, be greater than it is under the present system. Then the points which are raised by my hon. friend from St. John (Mr. Hazen) are important points. If this permission were given and it proved successful, it would only be favouring some foreign steamships, to the detriment of our own sailing schooners. The hon. member for Yarmouth (Mr. Flint) made the statement that in his opinion the oil at present imported was principally imported in the steamers.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) It nearly all comes to Charlottetown by steamers.

Mr. WOOD (Westmoreland). It may come to some cities, it may come to Charlottetown in steamers, but I know it is not carried by steamers to the smaller ports.

Mr. McLEAN (P.E.I.) I think the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) is not correct in saying that the oil comes to Charlottetown in steamers. None whatever comes in steamers.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) How does it come, then?

Mr. McLEAN (P.E.I.) It comes in sailing vessels from New York.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I will take the hon. gentleman's statement, as he understands the trade better than I do.

Mr. WOOD (Westmoreland). I know that in regard to St. John a very large proportion of the oil imported there comes in schooners. I was not aware before that any came by steamers, and I am very doubtful if any does. How it is in Halifax I do not know; but in the outports of Moncton, Sackville and Dorchester, with which I am best acquainted, I know that the American oil is all carried by schooners and is brought in for the very low rate of freight to which I have referred. The reduction of 20 cents duty on the barrel will, of course, help the people in this. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Davies) expressed some surprise that we on this side should be able to applaud the very excellent speech, as we regard it, of the Minister of Finance, and that we should be able to applaud the second time when that hon. gentleman at the close of his speech found himself able to reduce the duty on oil. It does not appear to me, at all events from my point of view, that it was at all strange or that it need excite the least surprise that we were able to do this. In the address of the hon. Minister he stated that it was the policy of the Government to retain a duty sufficient to preserve the industry which existed at the present time in Canada, and also to provide, if possible, for the future development of this industry when the other important oil fields to which he referred were found capable of being developed. At the close of his speech we were a second time glad to learn that he

was able to accomplish this object, and at the same time to reduce the duty on the imported oil which we in the Maritime Provinces so largely consume.

Mr. HAZEN. When I asked the hon. member for Yarmouth (Mr. Flint) if in his opinion the allowing of the bringing in of oil in bulk in tank steamers to the lower provinces would not have a prejudicial effect on the shipping interests of these provinces, I think that he tacitly admitted that that would be the case to a certain extent. If we are to believe the evidence that was laid before the House last year there can be no doubt about it, that so far as the port of St. John is concerned, it is practically the unanimous opinion of all who are engaged in the shipping trade there that if oil were allowed to be brought in in bulk in tank steamers it would have a prejudicial effect upon the shipping interests. That is the evidence laid before this House, and submitted to the Governor General in Council by almost all the coasting owners, both Liberals and Conservatives, in that city. Last session a memorial was presented to His Excellency the Governor General in Council from a number of gentlemen in the city of St. John, and when I read their names my hon. friend from Yarmouth (Mr. Flint), and I think my hon. friend from Queen's (Mr. Davies), will agree, that there was no party advantage sought, as they will find the names of gentlemen belonging to both political parties equally on that memorial.

Mr. FLINT. Will the hon. gentleman read the prayer of the memorial?

Mr. HAZEN. I shall be most happy to. I will read the prayer of the memorial and the names of the petitioners. It is as follows:—

St. JOHN, N.B., 3rd June, 1892.

To His Excellency the Right Honourable Sir Frederick Arthur Stanley, Baron Stanley of Preston, Governor General of Canada, etc.

The memorial of the vessel owners, lumber shippers, lime shippers, and others of the Maritime Provinces.

Respectfully sheweth,—

That the foreign illuminating oil imported into the Maritime Provinces has been carried exclusively by our coasting vessels in barrels from New York and Boston to the Maritime Province ports up to the present time, to the extent of about seventy or eighty schooner cargoes per year, being a source of very considerable income to our coasting trade.

That if the Bill now before Parliament, promoted by an agent of the Standard Oil Company of the United States, asking for the admission of foreign oil in bulk, be made, it will result in serious loss to our coasting trade, as that oil would then be carried in tank steamers, the property of the said Standard Oil Company, who would not only obtain all the profit from the sale of the imported oil (at the expense of the established local dealers) as a monopoly of that business by them must inevitably

result, as has been the case in all other places where they have obtained the facilities, which the said petition would give them, for destroying all competition, but they would also derive all of the benefit from the transportation of oil in bulk at the expense of our coasting vessels.

That it would furthermore seriously affect the shipment of lumber from the Maritime Provinces, as where our schooners which carry cargoes of lumber to the United States ports are enabled to obtain return cargoes of oil, under the conditions, they can afford to carry the lumber at a less rate of freight than if they had to return in ballast, as would be the case if they lost the oil traffic, and the advance in rate of freight on lumber which would thereby be necessitated, would add to the cost of the lumber delivered in American markets, and make competition in those markets with that commodity the more difficult, which at present is only too formidable.

That it would also add another burden to the lime industry, which our vessels are enabled to carry at a comparatively low rate of freight at present, in consequence of their obtaining deck loads of empty oil barrels for United States ports, which traffic would be destroyed were foreign oil imported in bulk,

Your memorialists would, therefore, earnestly and most respectfully pray that this Bill be not passed, the passing of which would result in a serious loss to the local capital, and to the advantage of a foreign corporation.

| | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| J. F. WATSON, | E. LANTALUM & Co., |
| JOS. A. LIKELY, | F. A. PETERS, |
| D. J. PURDY, | W. J. DAVIDSON, |
| DONALD CARMICHAEL, | J. P. MADONEY, |
| J. H. HAMMOND, | N. C. SCOTT, |
| D. J. SEELY, | OLIVER, EMERY & Co. |
| TROOP & SON, | WM. THOMPSON & Co., |
| JAS. KNOX, | E. B. COLWELL, |
| R. C. ELKIN, | MILLER & WOODMAN, |
| B. G. TAYLOR, | J. E. SAYRE, |
| N. B. & H. B. ROBINSON, | WM. THOMAS, |
| MAGEE BROS., | Master Mariner, |
| TURNBULL & Co., | SCAMMELL BROS., |
| JOHN A. CHESLEY, | G. WETMORE MERRITT, |
| GEO. McDONALD, | GEO. F. SMITH, |
| R. H. ARNOLD, | GEO. F. BAIRD, |
| TROOP & McLAUCHLAN, | VROOM & ARNOLD, |
| T. OUGLER, | E. MCGOLDRICK, |
| HENRY HILYARD, | EDWIN OUGLER, |
| JOHN MCGOLDRICK, | W. H. MURRAY, |
| GEO. S. PARKER, | PUDDINGTON & MERRITT, |

Some hon. gentlemen opposite will know some of the people whose names I have read, and will know that half of them are not supporters of the present Administration. In addition to that memorial, a telegram was sent to the representatives of the city of St. John, signed very largely by the same gentlemen, to this effect:

We strongly deprecate any change in regulations to permit importation of oil in tank vessels, or steamers, as it would be prejudicial to the interest of the trade of the Maritime Provinces, and would urge all opposition possible on your part.

It appears that these gentlemen, engaged in this important business in the city of St.

John, rightly or wrongly, believe that it would not be for the benefit of that part of the Maritime Provinces at least to allow, as my hon. friend from Yarmouth (Mr. Flint) would allow, oil to be imported from the United States in tank vessels. I would like to say one word with regard to a remark made by my hon. friend from Queen's (Mr. Davies). He alluded to the fact that our people in the Maritime Provinces prefer using American oil, because they believe it to be better than Canadian oil. My own personal experience would lead me to conclude that that feeling is to a considerable extent a matter of prejudice. Until about a year ago I was in the habit of buying for my own household use in St. John, American oil for which I paid 22 cents a gallon by the barrel. Some months ago I thought I would make a trial of Canadian oil, which I purchased by the barrel for 16 cents a gallon; and my experience and that of the other members of my household was that we had never used a better quality of oil than that Canadian oil.

Mr. BOWERS. Did that price include the price of the barrel?

Mr. HAZEN. No, it does not; it is fair to say that; but when I returned the barrel I was allowed 80 cents for it. My recollection is that the price I paid for the American oil did not include the price of the barrel either. That oil which I got for 16 cents a gallon was as good as any oil I ever used.

Mr. FLINT. How does the hon. gentleman account for the fact that the people of the Maritime Provinces use so much more imported oil than they do Canadian oil, even though the price is somewhat higher?

Mr. CAMERON. Is that a fact?

Mr. FLINT. It is a fact.

Mr. CAMERON. I doubt it very much.

Mr. HAZEN. I am not conversant with the trade. I simply rose to give my personal experience. But I think the reason may be that in the years gone by the same care was not taken at Petrolea with the refining of the oil that is taken now. I do not know whether that is the reason or not; but years ago the oil sent from the upper provinces down to the provinces by the sea was not of as good a quality as the oil sent at the present time, although at that time the oil had the same protection from the Administration of hon. gentlemen opposite that it has to-day from the present Administration. With regard to the oil advertised in the city of St. John at 15 cents a gallon retail, I am not in a position to speak from personal knowledge; but I have been told that oil bought there is giving a fair degree of satisfaction, though I do not say that with any degree of authority. But this I do say: I was talking the question over a short time ago with a New Brunswick dealer in oils, who gave me to understand that the feeling

Mr. HAZEN.

against Canadian oil existing in our province was to a considerable extent a matter of prejudice. He told me that on several occasions people had got Canadian oil at his store, thinking that they were purchasing American oil, and that they had made no complaint at all after they had used it.

Mr. CASEY. This matter has been reasonably well discussed—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. CASEY. But very little on the part of those gentlemen who raise the frog-like chorus of "hear, hear," whenever any allusion is made to the length of the discussion on this side, I do not rise to croak or to excite croaks; but I cannot let this matter pass without saying something about it, and the more so because I had occasion to discuss this matter some twenty years ago when my hon. friends on this side of the House were in power. I will begin by saying that this is one of the cases in which it would be specially useful to the House to know on what ground the men who have this outrageous protection of very much more than 100 per cent, demand its continuance. It is one of those cases, in which it would not only be right but should be obligatory to put the Finance Minister and the representatives of the oil combines upon their oaths, and make them tell the House and the country honestly and straightforwardly on what ground they propose to retain this outrageous duty. The hon. Finance Minister laughs at the idea of being put upon his oath, or having his colleagues the manufacturers put upon oath. I call them his colleagues, because they are undoubtedly his colleagues and his coaches in the production of this tariff and the statement he has presented to the House. We had a little breeze the other evening about one member of the House, and a Minister at that, being coached by another member. The Minister of Finance has shown that he was coached on this subject, not by a colleague in the House, but by those in whose interests and on behalf of whose bank accounts he has been legislating. That is how he has got his opinions and his arguments on this question of coal oil. There was a strolling committee or commission of inquiry going around the country last summer and fall ostensibly to see what changes the farmers wanted in the tariff. We do not know what that expedition cost. The Finance Minister says he has not footed up the amount, but he would not tell us the amount even if he had, in answer to a question from this side of the House. We shall have to fish it out of next year's Auditor General's report or out of the papers; but we will get at it somehow. We know that it has cost a considerable amount. Farmers came before that commission, and although they were met as opponents by the two Controllers who conducted the inquiry, and although they were brow-beaten and resisted by those two hon. gentlemen, they did

make their views known on some points. Upon none so emphatically as this article of coal oil were they bound to have a very considerable reduction in the duty. After going to all this expense to find what the farmers want about coal oil, the Minister refuses to make any material reduction. He has been wasteful in two ways—wasteful of the money of the public generally, taken from the country to pay the expenses of a hippodrome commission not intended to accomplish anything, and wasteful of the money of the consumer by retaining this tax. In view of the two facts: the well-expressed opinion of the farmers on the subject, and the refusal of the Finance Minister to take any notice of their opinion, I am compelled to speak on a subject which I might otherwise have passed over in silence. We have a lot of petty disputes and local points raised as to whether the importation of oil in tank steamers would imperil the interests of a few coasting schooners in New Brunswick or elsewhere. That is all beside the question. What interests the country is the fact that, according to the Minister's own admission, a tax of 100 per cent is imposed on one of the prime necessities of life, even after this reduction of 1 1-5 cents per gallon. The hon. gentleman tells us that this oil can be sold at Petrolea, and is sold at 6 cents a gallon, and that, if it costs much more anywhere else, it is the fault of the swindling retailers, who will go on charging too much for it. We have to hear from the retailers yet more fully on this question. We have the coaches of the Finance Minister—one sitting in this House here—I do not know but that there are two in that matter. But we have at least one sitting in the House, representing this combine which should be illegal, and would have been made illegal, I believe, by the Act which passed this House some years ago, if that Act had not been emasculated in the Senate.

Mr. LISTER. The hon. gentleman made a statement here, whether jocularly or not, I do not know. But I desire to state here that I never approached the Finance Minister, either directly or indirectly.

Mr. CASEY. My hon. friend understood quite well that I made the allusion jocularly. If he did not know it before, I tell him so now, inasmuch as he represents a constituency largely interested in this industry.

Mr. LISTER. Many of the hon. gentlemen who have spoken, and are now speaking, know very little of the subject.

Mr. CASEY. It may be true that many of the hon. gentleman who have spoken know very little of the subject. The difficulty seems to be that the only ones who know the subject thoroughly are those whose constituents are interested in producing an erroneous impression on the minds of us poor ignorant people who know nothing

about it. In 1866, when Mr. Colby, formerly President of the Council in this Government, was urging the reduction of one-half in the duty on coal oil, I had the pleasure of going through a series of experiments, carefully conducted by coal oil manufacturers, in the presence of various members of the House and the Government. And at that time I certainly did acquire a very passable knowledge of the method of refining coal oil and the whole coal oil question. Perhaps my knowledge is not so very ready now, but I feel some interest in the question, and I think I can show the House that I know something about it before I get through. My hon. friend need not imagine that he can check criticism by insinuating that those who differ with him know nothing of the subject.

An hon. MEMBER. We will leave that to those who hear us and the country.

Mr. CASEY. The fact remains that, on the Minister's own assertion as to the prices of coal oil at Petrolea he proposes to charge a duty of 100 per cent on this necessity of life. He has shown no good reason for such a tax, so disproportionate to any other he imposes. He told us he was going to tax lightly the necessities of life, yet coal oil is a necessity of life, and he taxes it about three times as high as the average duty imposed on other articles. Let us see what Mr. Colby said, in 1876, with regard to the reduction of duties on coal oil at that time. We often hear of quotations from what has been said by some gentleman on this side at some period of his parliamentary career in favour of protection. Let us see what a late member of the Government said, not so long ago, with regard to a low tariff on coal oil. In moving for a reduction of the duty, he pointed out that:

When the duty of 15 cents a gallon had been imposed, refined petroleum was worth about 40 cents a gallon. At that time there was also an excise duty of 5 cents a gallon so that there was a protection to the infant manufacture of that day of 10 cents a gallon, which would be 25 per cent on the product.

He admitted that the duty then had not been disproportionate, and went on to show that at the time he spoke, in March, 1876, the price of coal oil had fallen in the United States to 10 cents a gallon, United States currency, which was then not quite at par. On that basis of 10 cents United States currency, the refiner, under 7½ cents duty, which was the duty Mr. Colby proposed to levy upon coal oil, would receive a protection of 20 to 25 per cent, while other manufacturers in the country had to be content with 17½ per cent. Mr. Colby thought if they had a protection a few per cent higher than ordinary manufacturers it would be quite sufficient, and I think he was right, and the Government evidently afterwards thought he was right, for the reduction took place ultimately. After these

specific remarks, he went on to mention a few general considerations. He said :

This tax fell very seriously on the individual consumer as well as on the whole country. The man who consumes a gallon of oil per week—and thousands do that and more—pays five dollars a year as a tax to support the refiners who control the prices in Canada.

Instead of \$5 we would pay about \$3 per year under the proposed tax.

If a new Budget were coming down it might be urged with great propriety that light should be placed on the same basis as other necessities of life. There is nothing that contribute more to the comfort and happiness of our people, especially the poorer classes, than cheap light during the long winter evenings. A duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents would be almost 100 per cent on its market value of 10 cents United States currency. If a tax of 80 or 100 per cent were imposed on articles of food it would be considered preposterous.

This is a statement of a strong protectionist, at a time, however, when he wished to take a different line with regard to one item.

Committee rose, and it being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

House again in Committee on Ways and Means.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Chairman, when you left the Chair at six o'clock, I was quoting some remarks of a late colleague of hon. gentlemen opposite, Mr. Colby, with regard to the unwisdom of imposing a high tax on coal oil. I would quote further :

The present condition of the trade is due to what is called the London combination. It is well known there exists a combination of gentlemen who have taken advantage of the liberality of the Legislature and the high rate of tariff to control the entire market in this country. In order to accomplish this they have subsidized and closed up all the refineries in the country, but the very few which are in operation in their interest. Of forty-four refineries only about four are in operation, and the rest, which are closed up, are paid from two to four thousand dollars a year. They have bought off all competitors and organized a system of extortion upon the people of this country. There they stand between the producer and the consumer, dictating to the producer on the one hand, what he shall receive for his crude oil, and to the consumer, on the other hand, what he shall pay for his refined petroleum.

So far the hon. gentleman's remarks, made in 1876, are equally applicable now. I do not know the exact number of refineries in operation, but I know the number is very much less than it used to be twenty years or more ago. I know there is a combination amongst the refiners of coal oil ; I know that,

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as Mr. Colby said, that combination dictates not only to the consumer of refined, but also to the producer of crude oil. The hon. Minister of Finance has drawn us a very touching picture, I might almost say a pastoral picture of the small producer of coal oil for whom he has so much sympathy, the man who owns but a few acres of land upon which he has a well bored, the produce of which well he sells to the refiner. He has drawn for us a pastoral picture of this poor elector of East Lambton milking his little well, and every evening carrying the produce over in a couple of patent pails to the refinery. I do not say that is how it is done, but from the tone in which the hon. Minister talked about it, one might almost imagine that the production was on that scale. No doubt the hon. gentleman knows that the oil combine makes regular contracts with these people, giving them practically the combine's own prices. They have the owner of the well completely at their mercy, for he cannot sell his oil except to the combine. The owner of the well is not benefited by the advantage that is given to the combine by this high tariff. Now, Mr. Colby goes on, and in what he says next, I am sorry to say we cannot apply his language to the present condition of the country :

For the first time in Canada a ring has been organized for the purpose of regulating and controlling prices. This arises out of the exceptional condition of the tariff—the fact that it is made a specific instead of an ad valorem duty. Owing to the rigidity of the rate they could see, no matter what the cost of production might be, precisely the margin of profit, and avail themselves of it to dictate to the consumers what they should pay.

The last few words I have quoted still apply. We have still a specific duty and it operates to the full extent of the duty to increase the price of the refined article. But Mr. Colby's remark that "for the first time in Canada a ring has been organized for the purpose of regulating and controlling prices," is a statement to make us sigh and think of the good old times that are gone. I saw Mr. Colby in the city the other day. He must often think of the time when he was able to make the statement to the House : "For the first time in Canada a ring has been formed." We who have to bear the burden and heat of the day in Parliament at the present time know that, instead of only one ring being formed, the whole country is governed by rings ; the Government is run by rings and is conducted in the interests of rings ; tariffs are formed at the dictation of rings ; and, instead of there being, as in the good days of 1876, only one ring, we are now all covered with rings from head to foot like a South Sea Island princess, and, like her, we find our rings very heavy to carry. The fact that a ring has been formed seems so startling to Mr. Colby that he continues :

Under the circumstances it is the duty of the Government and of Parliament to administer a lesson, quick, sharp and decisive, to those gentlemen who, for the first time in the history of Canada, have organized a ring for the purpose of preventing competition and monopolizing the market.

Mr. JONES (Halifax). That is the fruit of protection.

Mr. COLBY admitted it was the fruit of excessive and undue protection and not of the reasonable policy which has been advocated by the Opposition in this House.

The Opposition at that time being the same gentlemen who now sit on the Treasury benches.

It was the fruit of the protection which he had repudiated, and the protectionists were consistent with their principles in denouncing this libel on a sound policy.

Mr. Colby claimed to be a protectionist; he claimed that we ought to encourage and develop home industries; yet from the point of view of consistency with sound protective policy, he denounced the duty on coal oil at that time as being excessive and burdensome. And, mind you, Mr. Speaker, the duty he found fault with at that time was not as excessive as the duty now imposed. The protection afforded was only 10 cents per gallon, and that on oil that was worth about 10 cents a gallon in the United States. There was a customs duty of 15 cents on foreign oil imported, and an excise duty of 5 cents per gallon on oil manufactured in Canada, so that there was a protection of 10 cents per gallon. Now there is a protective duty of 6 cents a gallon on oil that can be bought in bulk, as quoted in this debate, at 2.6 cents per gallon in Philadelphia, or \$2.60 per hundred gallons, making a duty of over 200 per cent upon that grade of oil. Mr. Colby went on to prove that the revenue would not suffer from the change he proposed. He alluded to the trouble in smuggling which we know must go on under such a high duty, and with such an extended boundary line as we have, and he stated that if the duty was reduced, he believed the imports would be doubled. Events have proved that he was right in that prediction. At that time we received in customs duties on oil, with a tariff of 15 cents per gallon, \$103,665; whereas now, as I understood the Finance Minister, we receive \$400,000 this year on duties on American oil. The reduction in duty that Mr. Colby advocated, and which afterwards came about, has resulted in quadrupling the amount of revenue received from it. If the duty were reduced now to one-half the present amount, or even less, it would still be an extremely productive revenue tariff. It would put a great deal of money into the treasury, instead of putting it into the pockets of the combines who control the coal oil interest. But since Mr. Colby's day as a coal oil reformer, the idea of revenue has been drop-

ped out of sight in settling the taxes. The present Finance Minister says that revenue is not in question; what he aims at is to develop certain manufactures in the country. Now, if he wants to develop the coal oil industry, there is an easy way open to him. While he is giving this tremendous protection to the refiner, let him follow out his alleged principle by letting raw material come in at low rates, let him reduce the duty on crude petroleum, or knock it off altogether. That is taxed by the present tariff at 3.5 cents per gallon, which amounts to a duty of about 150 per cent on the crude oil, taking a barrel of crude to be worth a dollar, which I understand has been about the average value of Canadian crude. American crude oil is not worth quite as much, so that the present duty is really a stronger protection against that oil; it is a protection of 150 per cent, taking the average price of the more valuable Canadian oil as a basis of calculation. Now, if he would seriously reduce, or altogether remove, that duty on crude oil, and let us have the raw material free, refineries would spring up all over Canada, and hundreds and thousands of men would be employed in refining American imported crude, not only for use in Canada, but for export. We can refine here as cheaply as they can in the United States, and why should we not import American oil and refine it here, and send it to the ends of the earth, thereby giving employment to men at good rates of wages, as the Government claim they wish to do? But no, that would disturb the combine which regulates, not only the price of refined, but the price of crude, which forces the oil producer to accept their price, and compels the oil consumer to pay the price they ask. For the sake of this one combine the whole country is taxed to this enormous extent. I cannot do better than to quote a few more remarks from Mr. Colby, to emphasize the fact that the general public are suffering for the benefit of a very few. He says:

In bringing forward this resolution he did so purely in the public interest, and with no desire to embarrass the Government. Could any one doubt it was in the interest of the country to have this inordinate tax upon one of the necessities of life, and the cost of it to the consumer reduced one-third? How could hon. gentlemen decline to remedy this unmitigated evil?

And the evil is now as unmitigated as it was then, even greater than it was then, on account of the fall in coal oil elsewhere.

Could they go to their constituents and say they had voted to allow this abuse to continue twelve months longer?

And so he proceeded to emphasize the resolution. The country had reason to thank Mr. Colby then for calling attention to this matter, and to thank those who reduced the duty and removed the excise; but, Sir, they have no cause to thank the Government for the present proposal to reduce

the taxation 1 1-5th cents per gallon, leaving it, as I said before, even after that reduction, a tax of at least 100 per cent. The combinesters pretend that a reduction of, say, one-half in this duty would kill the industry in the one neighbourhood where it exists; well, even if it did, I think it would be very hard for us to defend, before the whole country, our course in saying that we preferred the interest of that one neighbourhood to the interest of all the rest of the Dominion. But it is simply false to allege that a serious reduction in the duty would kill the trade. I know enough of the coal oil refining, from the experiments I have seen and from observing the operations of refining on a business scale, to know how much is made out of the by-products. I am quite aware that we cannot make as good illuminating oil out of Canadian crude as we can out of American crude, at the same expenditure of money; but by reducing the percentage taken out for illuminating purposes so that you will not bring over too much paraffine in the distillation, you can greatly improve the quality of the distilled product; and then, by developing the trade in lubricating oils and in the solid products left in the oil after the first quality of illuminating oil is distilled from it, you can find a very large and profitable market. Even now, our lubricating oils are sold in the States; they cannot make lubricating oil to compare in quality with our own, any more than we can make illuminating oil to compare with theirs at the same cost of money. Yet the fact remains that our crude oil is worth on the market more per barrel than theirs, because it contains more of these other valuable ingredients. The effect of a reduction in this duty would be, in the first place, to curtail somewhat the profits of the combine on the higher classes of illuminating oil; and in the second place, to force them to develop more thoroughly the manufacture of, and the trade in, the other products of the Canadian crude oil. They would have to take their place as progressive manufacturers, without the Chinese wall of protection which shuts them out from outside competition; but they would still have a very valuable property, even if the trade in illuminating oil of the higher class was entirely done away with. Now, as to the quality of the oil itself. It is absurd to pretend that the Canadian oil which is sold at 12 and 15 cents a gallon, is as good as the American oil at anything like the same figure. Everybody who has used the two, knows better than that. Canadian oil will burn as long, perhaps a little longer, quantity for quantity, and keeping the blaze of the same size in the two lamps. I have seen that experiment tried, one lamp filled with American oil and another with Canadian oil, and the Canadian lamp being turned up to the same point, burned somewhat longer than the other, but it burned with an inferior flame, it burned with a yellow

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flame, it burned with a flickering flame, as compared with the other, and was altogether an inferior quality of illuminating oil. In the second place, even at these rates of 12 and 15 cents per gallon, note the tremendous difference with the prices of American oil. Why, Sir, American oil is quoted by the hon. member for Queen's, P.E.I., at \$5.05 per 100 gallons, in the barrel, at Philadelphia. Compare that price, with the freight and the fair profit of the retailer added, with the 12 to 15 cents at which our cheap Canadian oil retails here, and you will see there is a vast difference. Again, as to these low prices. We know they only began lately, that we never heard of such low prices for Canadian oil until the agitation was started last year. We know that the refiners have made special arrangements to have their oil sold in different districts at low rates; we know it, because the Finance Minister so informed the House. The hon. Minister said:

A year or more ago, very large prices were paid for oil, whether they were Canadian oils or American oils. That was not the fault of the producer at Petrolia. At the very time the Canadian oils were selling from 25 cents to 45 cents per gallon in Canada, they were being sold in bulk at Petrolia from 9 and 11 cents per gallon. It was pointed out to the producers last year that it was necessary for them to take measures by which oil should be reduced in price to the consuming public, and with an expenditure of commendable energy, and an expenditure, I am sure, of a large amount of money, they have perfected arrangements by which to-day, instead of the prices which I have quoted, oil is being distributed now from Calgary to Cape Breton and sold at no place at a cost greater than 25 cents per gallon, and coming down to a cost of 10 and 12½ cents per gallon.

This is the whole matter in a nutshell. The manufacturers inaugurated an era of low prices when they knew the tariff provisions were coming before Parliament. We have, however, no guarantee that these low prices will continue longer than for the time being. What proof have we that the coal oil manufacturers will not put up the price the moment this session is over and all danger of wiping out the present high protection has passed? If they are able to spend large sums of money in order to be able to sell their oil cheaper than before, that fact alone shows that previously they were making undue profits. It would be endless to enter into all the arguments and considerations that occur to any one in regard to this tax, which is outrageously high, and one levied, not for the benefit of the producers, of crude oil, as pretended by the Minister, and not even according to the basis of protection afforded to other industries. If we take the price of oil at 6 cents per gallon, a duty amounting to 2 cents per gallon would be equal to 33⅓ per cent protection, which would be a duty on the same basis as that given to great manufacturing industries of

this country, and it is going a little too far to ask Parliament to give this industry special protection for the benefit of the oil refiners, or even for the benefit of those who produce the crude oil.

Mr. McNEILL. I cannot agree with the hon. gentleman in the statement that we have no cause to thank the Government for what they have done in regard to this matter. For my part, personally, I thank them very much for what they have done, and I think the people of the province to which I have the honour to belong will also thank the Government for their action. I believe the people of Ontario have no desire to see the industries of this country destroyed. Personally, I object to excessive protection, but I object still more to the murder of our native industries, and I am quite sure from what has come to my knowledge in regard to this matter, and I have taken a good deal of interest in it, that the Government desired to go just as far as they could to meet the wishes of the consumers of coal oil in this country without destroying the industry. They have only been checked in the amount of reduction of duty by the consideration that if they reduced it further, according to the best judgment they possessed, after they had given the matter the most careful consideration, they would destroy the industry. Although the hon. Finance Minister has said this is a somewhat peculiar industry, I will go so far as to say that, personally, I believe, on the broad principles of protection, there is perhaps as little to be said in favour of the protection of this industry as could be urged in favour of any industry that might be mentioned, still I am quite sure the people of the country desire that this industry should survive. They desire it should survive for two reasons: First, because they have no wish to see all the capital invested in this industry lost, and they have no desire to see all the people who have been induced by the action of Government after Government to embark in this industry, ruined. And, second, because they desire to avoid placing themselves in the power of one of the most crushing and cruel combines existing in the world to-day, and we must remember that if we destroy our coal oil industries in Canada, we are simply handing ourselves over bound hand and foot to the tender mercies of that great combination which exists on the other side of the line.

Mr. FLINT. Is it worse than ours?

Mr. McNEILL. It is a great deal worse, because it is a great deal more powerful. It is also more dangerous, because when we kill our own industry, it will be a combine over which Parliament can have no control whatever. And as the Minister of Finance has pointed out, there is every probability that hereafter this industry may assume very different proportions in Canada from its

proportions to-day. If we had the Standard Oil Company controlling the whole of the oil products of this continent, I should like to know what probability there would be of Canada developing its oil industry to a greater extent than at present, what opportunity there would be to open up new fields.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Does it control the United States at the present time?

Mr. McNEILL. If the hon. gentleman will look into the matter, he will find that the Standard Oil Company of the United States act in the most tyrannical manner, that in some places they sell oil at very low figures for the express purpose of killing out competition, while at other places, where there is no competition, it runs prices up to very high figures, twice and perhaps three times as much as the price oil is selling in other parts of the country.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman will see that the prices quoted were at New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, and at all events at those places the price was under 3 cents. How does the hon. gentleman account for the low price if there is a great monopoly?

Mr. McNEILL. I think evidence can be produced to show that the prices charged by the Standard Oil Company of the United States are in many places very high indeed. The company charges prices to suit themselves, they have the whole market in their own hands, and as soon as we kill our own industries here we shall be placed under the heel of that combine, and the people of this country do not want to see that result. For these reasons, and because I believe that the Government has gone as far as in their judgment they could go in reducing the duties on coal oil, I desire to say I do not at all agree with the hon. gentleman, but on the contrary, hold that we have cause to be grateful to the Government for the careful consideration they have given to this matter and for the conclusion at which they have arrived.

Mr. FLINT. In the remarks which I have made on this question upon previous occasions, as well as in the remarks which I will make to-night, I assumed as a basis for discussion, that for the present at any rate a certain amount of protection on coal oil was to be taken for granted. In other words, I was not arguing the matter upon the principles of a revenue tariff or upon the principles of free trade, but upon the assumption which I have mentioned when my arguments were made. All that we have pressed for—at any rate all that I as a representative of the Maritime Provinces have pressed for—was justice, equality and fair-play as between different portions of the Dominion. No question of protection or free trade, or revenue tariff, or no question as to striking down the industry at Petrolea, can fairly

enter into that phase of this discussion. I ask the House, and I ask the Government, to make some provision for the importation of refined oil in bulk, to enable the consumers of the Maritime Provinces to obtain that relief which this concession is said to have given to the consumers in Ontario and Quebec. I have been met on former occasions by my hon. friends from the city of St. John (Mr. Hazen and Mr. Chesley) with a quotation from a petition to the Government sent by representative men of the city of St. John. Now let us see to what extent that petition affects this question, and to what extent the Government has complied with the request made by these very respectable gentlemen. They petitioned the Government and the House: to refuse their assent to any measure looking to the importation of oil in bulk, either by tank cars or steamers, and the whole weight of the argument which they brought to bear upon the Government and upon the House was: that by permitting the importation of this oil in bulk, either by tank steamers or by tank cars, they were striking a blow at the traffic in this commodity by sailing vessels. Upon this one-sided ground alone, which, as I conceive it a narrow and selfish ground, they appealed to Parliament not to permit at all the importation of oil in bulk. I presume that these hon. gentlemen supporting the Government cheered when the Government deliberately ignored this petition and paid no attention to its prayer, and permitted oil to be imported in bulk, with the reservation only, that it should be imported in cars and not in vessels. The effect of this has been, as any one might have predicted, to enable the merchants of the city of St. John, a city which is a convenient distributing point for all the Maritime Provinces, to import the refined oil and to distribute it to the Maritime Provinces. All the fearful consequences that were predicted to result from such a wide departure from fair-play and fair dealing, must have in consequence resulted from the action of the Government. In other words, by the permission of the importation of oil in bulk by tank cars, all these evils to the carrying trade of the smaller vessels of the Maritime Provinces must have been realized. I understand from very good authority that about 75 per cent of all the oil imported into St. John is now imported in tank cars, and consequently the whole argument based upon the representations of those very respectable gentlemen of the city of St. John, falls to the ground, because the oil comes in at the present time in tank cars, and vessels cannot carry it in competition with the railways. I appeal to the Minister to do the same justice by the people of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, and the more distant portions of New Brunswick, that he is doing to the distributing centre of the city of St. John, and allow us to import into Yarmouth, or Halifax, or Sydney, or any of the larger ports of Nova Scotia, this refined oil in bulk,

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so as to make these places distributing centres, deriving all the advantages from the making of barrels and the handling of this oil, which would result if it were imported there in bulk. I am arguing this question without any interference whatever with the protective principle. I am asking it solely on the basis of fair and equal justice to all portions of the Dominion. I am asking that the consumers, and that the handlers of this expensive article in one portion of the Dominion, should have precisely the same privileges as they have in other portions of the country. If it is, as I believe it to be, a benefit to the consumers to be near the distributing point, then our people in Nova Scotia should have that benefit as well as the people of St. John. At the present time I understand a large quantity of oil is brought in bulk to St. John, and the petition which my hon. friend (Mr. Hazen) quoted with so much gusto against me, has been ignored by the Government. I presume, however, that the action of the Government meets with his approval, as any action that the Government might take would likely receive his approval, whether that action was for a restriction or an extension of these privileges. I say that the time is coming when hon. gentlemen opposite will just as loudly cheer the next step taken by the Government, and that step will be to permit the importation of oil by tank vessels as well as by tank cars. As to the talk about the terrible crushing, grinding monopoly of the Standard Oil Company of the United States, I believe the people of this country will take these diatribes for about what they are worth. It is true that the Standard Oil Company is an immense corporation, that to a certain extent it does control the oil trade of the United States; but yet it is within the knowledge of every gentleman in this House that in consequence of the application of this enormous amount of capital, in consequence of the business ability brought to bear upon it by the minds at the head of that corporation, and in consequence of the circumstances surrounding the oil trade and the competition elsewhere, the price of refined oil has fallen steadily year by year almost ever since the formation of the Standard Oil Company. The prices of oil in the United States as quoted here to-day, show conclusively that the Standard Oil Company is not to be compared as a grinding, crushing monopoly, to the monopoly which the Government of this country has enabled certain refiners of the Dominion of Canada to create. We have a combination in Canada which, for its own benefit, is taking out of the people of the Maritime Provinces from \$150,000 to \$160,000 more than ought justly be taken. When this question is again approached by the Government, I believe that they will do well to still further reduce the tariff upon this great necessity of life, or at any rate, that they will bring their minds to bear upon the problem of doing fair and equal justice to all portions of the country

by allowing the people to import in bulk or in any way they please.

Mr. GIBSON. I wish to say a few words with regard to the duties on coal oil. During last winter a gentleman living in the town of Niagara, sent me an invoice in which, on \$30 worth of coal oil he had been charged duties amounting in all to \$37.62; made up of the duty on the oil, the duty on the barrels, and the inspection fees. It will be seen therefore that the duties amounted to \$7.62 more than the actual price of the oil. Yet, to-day the Government supporters clap their hands with joy at the remarkable reduction that the Minister of Finance has made upon the coal oil duties, when he is only drawing a sprat across the track, when we find that his proposed reduction on an importation of 400 gallons of oil would amount to the handsome sum of \$4.40. Taking that from the invoice price, \$37.62, that my hon. friend in Niagara paid, they will still have to pay \$33.22 on \$30 worth of coal oil, a duty of over 100 per cent. The hon. Finance Minister this afternoon mentioned a number of towns and cities in the Dominion where he said the price of coal oil had been materially reduced. I can tell him that where I live the people have to pay \$1 for 5 gallons of coal oil, while across the river in Buffalo they could get the same for 25 cents. The Government have not gone so far in the reduction of the duty on coal oil as they should have gone. I agree with the hon. member for West Elgin (Mr. Casey) when he says that in all fairness the producers of coal oil should be put on the same level as the manufacturers, and that if they were they would be well protected by a duty of 2 or 3 cents a gallon.

Mr. GILLMOR. I will not quote any statistics in connection with this matter, but a thought or two have occurred to me during this discussion which I would like to express. I suppose we ought to be thankful for the reduction, because I am pretty well acquainted with the Finance Minister, and—

He will if he will, you may depend on't;
He won't if he won't, and there's an end on't.

If he takes off one cent, he will not go any further. In this case he takes off a cent and a fifth, and I suppose we ought to be thankful for small favours. While this discussion has been going on, I have just been thinking about taxation generally. In the first place, the gentlemen who seem to delight in rolling this protective tariff under their tongues as a sweet morsel, do not like to pay their own tax bills. I am sure there is not one of them who does not grumble at his county rates when the tax bill is presented to him. No one likes taxation. It is an evil anyway, and we only put up with it when it is for the public good. Taxation is bad enough when it is for the public good and when it is spent honestly; how

much worse is it when it is not for the public good, and is spent dishonestly? If the Government want to keep out American coal oil, why in the name of common sense do they not keep it out? They have the power to do so. But they do not exactly want that. They want a protective tariff, and they want a revenue tariff; they do not know exactly what they want. With regard to this tax on coal oil, I think the Government ought to issue a proclamation asking all the churches in the Dominion to pray next Sunday that nobody should ever discover any more oil in Canada, because the moment it is discovered they will want to make it as scarce and dear as possible. The Lord has evidently made a mistake in giving the people coal oil in Canada, because for twenty years we have been taxing it. The Finance Minister got up this afternoon and made a most pathetic appeal on behalf of the poor people who had discovered the oil in the earth, and spoke of the Standard Oil Company of the United States, the great combine that was going to spread its upas branches all over Canada and destroy everything and everybody. But he is working to establish in Canada a combine just like it. That is the object of the whole system. If the Government want to keep out American oil they can do so. But they want revenue, and they are getting \$300,000 from the duty on coal oil. But there are plenty of ways of getting revenue without taxing coal oil. This is one of the worst ways in the world of getting revenue. If you want protection, keep things out; a revenue tariff is for bringing things in. The whole system is contradictory. It is like what an hon. friend of mine says of one kind of theology:

You shall and you shan't,
You will and you won't;
You'll be damned if you do,
You'll be damned if you don't.

Take them on one tack, and they say we want revenue; take them on another tack, and they say we want protection. Why, you do not know what to do with them. I am very thankful to the Minister of Finance, so far as my constituents are concerned, that he has taken off one and a fifth cents. That is a wonderful thing, and no doubt they ought to be thankful for small favours. The hon. gentleman need not think that this duty will compel the people to use Canadian oil. I never had more than one or two gallons of it in my house, and it smelt so badly that I thought there must be a dozen polecats about my yard; I do not want any more of it. It is possible that he may compel the people to use it, but I think they would prefer using American oil, even if they had to pay a great deal more for it. I was glad to hear my hon. friend from St. John (Mr. Hazen). It seems that he is anxious about the shipping industry. He wants to encourage the coasting trade, and he thinks that by allowing coal oil to come

in, in tank vessels, the Government could help that trade. I do not wonder that the hon. gentleman is anxious about that trade, because it has almost been destroyed. If the hon. gentleman wants to get the vessels something to do, let him advocate free trade. If he wants to encourage the city of St. John, and make it what it was 40 or 50 years ago, let him advocate free trade, and go against this system of protection that has caused grass to grow on the wharfs and made the warehouses empty. There is no place in the Dominion of Canada that has been so injured by this system as St. John. Formerly we could send our lumber and other produce to Boston, New York and other markets of the United States and bring back cargoes of flour, corn, oil and everything else that the people wanted. In those days St. John had vessels and warehouses and merchants, whereas, comparatively speaking, it has none now.

Mr. McMULLEN. I hold in my hand a carefully prepared statement of the quantity of oil imported during 1893, the duty paid on the oil and the barrels, the cost of inspection and so on. The oil imported amounted to \$437,563 worth, the duty on which was \$430,506.81. The barrels inspected numbered 228,348; the duty on these amounted to \$58,309.45, and 30 cents a barrel for inspection amounted to \$68,504.40. In all, the duty on the oil and the barrels and the cost of inspection amounted to \$557,320.66. Deduct from that the value of the oil, \$437,563, and you have left \$119,756.66 over and above double the amount of the cost of the oil, or in all, 127¼ per cent. Now, I want to draw the Finance Minister's attention to one or two points. To prove that the oil men do not charge the people for oil up to the point that they might under the protection they have, the hon. gentleman said that they sold it for 3 or 4 cents a gallon below the price at which the duty would enable them to sell it. I would like to put this conundrum to the Finance Minister. What is the object of keeping the duty on if the coal oil refiners of Canada do not take advantage of it? The Finance Minister has stated to the committee that the producers do not sell their oil up to the point at which they might sell it under the tariff. What, then, is the use of keeping up the protection? That is a question the Finance Minister ought to be able to answer. He claims that the duty is necessary. If the sellers of the oil declare it is not, as they do, when they declare that they sell it from 3 to 4 cents a gallon below what they might extract from the people, the hon. Finance Minister ought to explain what peculiar consideration there is which causes him to keep up the rate of duty. If it be really considered a national necessity to encourage the production of coal oil, the proper way to do that would be by means of a bounty, and not by taxing the poor people to the enormous extent to which they are taxed by the operation of this tariff.

Mr. GILLMOR.

An hon. gentleman opposite said he uses electric light in his house, and not coal oil. No doubt most hon. gentlemen opposite use electric light or gas, and very few lose anything by this tax. But the duty strikes the poorer classes and the farming community particularly, who use a very large amount of coal oil in their houses and stables, and every other way. The Finance Minister, in his calculations this afternoon led the committee to understand that about twenty gallons would be the outside amount used by a householder in a year. Well, we are supposed to have a million householders, which would make an annual consumption of twenty million gallons, on which last year's duty of 7 1-5 cents would amount to \$1,400,000. The duty actually collected by the treasury last year was \$430,000, which leaves a balance of \$989,494 that went into the pockets of, and was divided among the refiners of coal oil, or very nearly a million dollars paid by the people last year to the refiners in Petrolea. That is, taking it for granted that the refiners availed themselves of the full protection granted them. Now, the American white oil sold to-day is worth 4 cents per gallon, wine measure, or 4.80 per Imperial gallon, f.o.b. at Buffalo. The same quality of oil is sold at Petrolea at 12 cents a gallon. That is the best quality of oil, and the second best is sold at 7½ cents per gallon. So that the difference in price between American and Canadian oil of the best quality is 7.20 cents, which is virtually selling Canadian oil at the highest point, and taking the utmost advantage of the protection now enjoyed. It is very singular that, notwithstanding the urgent appeals of the Patrons of Industry and the Farmers' Institutes throughout the country, this odious tax should be retained. By resolution after resolution, they sought to impress upon the Government the necessity of remitting this tax. In every lodge, in every gathering, in every public demonstration, they have declared most emphatically that the duty on coal oil must be abandoned. What has the Minister done in reply? He knows that on the 21st February, 1893, an important and representative deputation came to Ottawa and waited upon him. What was the first item in their appeal? It was to take off the duties on coal oil. What they wanted was a remission of the duties on coal oil, binder twine, corn, and wire used for fencing purposes. In response, the Finance Minister has taken 1 1-5 cents off coal oil; corn remains as it was at 7 cents; binder twine is unchanged; and he has reduced the duty upon fencing about one-half. To all the appeals and remonstrances of those people, his only response was the reduction of 1 1-5 cents in the duty on coal oil. We know perfectly well that if there is any class which requires some consideration at the hands of hon. gentlemen opposite, it is the farmers. But since this committee has been engaged in the recon-

struction of this tariff, although they are disposed to call it a poor man's tariff, the interests of the agricultural community have occupied a very secondary place. It would be a mockery to call this thing a poor man's tariff. There is not one change that has been made in the direction of meeting the demands of the farmers, except the one reduction on agricultural machinery, which the Government could not, for very shame, refuse to make. They have reduced the duty from 35 to 20 per cent, in the face of the offer of the Americans to admit our agricultural implements free if we will reciprocate in a like manner. The statement of the hon. member for Elgin (Mr. Casey) is true. We are living under a regime of combines—the cotton combine, the starch combine, the glass combine, the lamp chimnies combine, the cordage combine, and others. We are ruined by combines, and all these combines, including the combine in coal oil, get the ear of the Minister. I suppose they load him up the right way, with all the stock arguments they have, and he comes here and very plausibly recites to us the arguments he receives from them, and appears to be really convinced of their soundness. Well, the hon. gentleman may be able to carry his followers with him in this House, but he will find great difficulty in carrying the people throughout the country, who are the victims of this tariff. To convince the people that the duty of 6 cents a gallon on coal oil is a blessing to them in disguise, will be more than he is able to accomplish. I do not wish further to detain the committee, but would like the Finance Minister to answer the conundrum I have put to him.

Mr. FOSTER. I will not answer conundrums.

Mr. McMULLEN. No; the hon. gentleman will not dare to reply. He cannot explain to this House or the country—I defy him to explain why, when the manufacturers of coal oil, as he tells us, do not charge the full price they might extract under the tariff from the consumers, but in some cases sell at 3 to 4 cents a gallon less, it is necessary to keep up the protection to the point it is? We must only conclude the Finance Minister has been mislead.

Mr. MONCRIEFF. Perhaps, on account of my not having troubled the House very often this session, I may be pardoned if I ask you, Sir, for a few moments longer than speakers generally have taken in discussing this matter. Now Sir, when the Finance Minister brought down his Budget a few weeks ago, it gave this side of the House, at any rate, a great deal of satisfaction; and I believe that the reports that are coming in from all parts of the country since that tariff has been made known by the newspapers show that its new arrangement generally gives universal satisfaction throughout the Dominion. I do not mean to say that it will satisfy every

Reformer in the country—it would be impossible to do that; but I think the people at large are perfectly satisfied with the new tariff, and I believe that when the next election comes off the people will uphold the Conservative party in what they have done, and will return them by, I hope at any rate, as large a majority as they have here to-day. The item before us just now is one that particularly interests the community in which I live, as well as that represented by the hon. member for West Lambton (Mr. Lister). Now, when the Finance Minister announced a few days ago, that the duty upon oil was to remain at 7 1-5 cents with some changes in the regulation, and that the duty on the barrel had been reduced by an amount equal to about 1½ cents per gallon, I felt that our industry was being protected quite satisfactorily. I regret very much that the hon. gentleman has seen fit to make a change. That change, I have no doubt whatever, has been made by the Government after full and serious consideration of the question. But I rather think, Mr. Chairman, that if the Finance Minister's ears had been turned to the producer and manufacturer alone, he would not have made the change that he has made. This instance alone, I think, is sufficient to disprove the very unkind remarks that have been thrown across the floor at the hon. Finance Minister—such as that he has been “filled up by his coaches,” and that he has been “loaded up by the manufacturers.” I think, Sir, that when these words were used in the House the disapprobation that was expressed was a fitting rebuke to the hon. gentleman who used them. Is it possible for the Finance Minister to become acquainted with the needs of the country unless he can come in contact with the people, with manufacturers, if it be a manufacturing question, with farmers, artisans, labourers, and all other classes? I believe this Government has received deputations of every class of the community, and it is only after hearing these deputations that they are enabled to decide what should be done in relation to the tariff that we are now discussing. If the hon. Minister should refuse to hear a deputation, if he should refuse to hear a manufacturer or any other person who had his case to lay before him, he would be deserving of the disapproval of the House. Now, Sir, coming to the question of oil—I desire to answer a few of the statements made by the last three speakers. The hon. member for West Elgin (Mr. Casey) amused me very much. He gave a lecture to the oil refiners of this country about the best means of manufacturing refined oil and what disposal to make of the by-products, and I rather think the hon. gentleman found himself in very deep water indeed. An hon. gentleman behind him remarked that some people talk a good deal in this House about what they don't understand. I fancy that applies particularly to the hon. member for West Elgin. The hon. gentleman also

stated that there were combines in the country. I give this House my word that I know nothing of any combine. I do not believe there has been a combine in refined or crude oil for years before I had the honour of a seat in this House. The hon. gentleman says that the combine fixes the price. My answer to that is, that, as there is no combine, the combine cannot fix the price. He further said that the prices throughout the country had been reduced by the combine during the last twelve months and he emphasized that by referring to the great drop that had taken place in refined oil within the past year. I think this House will remember that a year ago I explained as well as I was able that it was not the manufacturers of oil or the producers who were accountable for the high prices at which oil was being sold. It was as ridiculous to blame the producer of oil in the county of Lambton for the price of refined oil in Montreal as it would have been to blame the man who is working a thousand feet under ground in a Maritime Province mine for the price of coal in Montreal. I also showed to the House the absurd prices the consumer was being charged through the country. I am not going to repeat those figures, it would take up too much time; but I may say that the average price was from 20 to 25 cents per gallon in the various towns and villages whose names I gave. At the same time American oil was being sold at ridiculously high prices—30 to 35 cents a gallon. I believed that the life, so to speak, of the oil industry depended upon these prices being broken. I assured this House that I was fully aware of the condition, that the producers of Lambton were thoroughly alive to it, and that steps would be taken to reduce these prices. The hon. member for West Elgin would give the House to believe that the producer and manufacturer had the prices so high that the retailers had to sell correspondingly. I think that if you will refer to my speech, in which I gave the prices in every part of the Dominion, you will see that I stated that the price of refined oil in bulk at Petrolia was 7 cents per gallon, a fraction of a cent higher than it is at this moment. I wish it to be distinctly understood that the high prices referred to by the hon. member for West Elgin only applied to the retail trade and not to the producers or the manufacturers. What has been done during the past year? I assured the House last session that steps would be taken to lower the prices. Is it correct that prices have been lowered all over the Dominion? The hon. Minister of Finance read you quotations from one end of the Dominion to the other showing a reduction from an average of 20 and 25 cents to 10 and 15 cents a gallon. That does not affect the producer's price; it does not affect the manufacturer's price. The whole fact is that the middleman is being brought to take a fair and reasonable profit for the article he sells. The hon. member for Wellington asked the

Mr. MONCRIEFF.

question, what is the use of this protection? Now, that is a very proper question to ask, and I will endeavour to answer it. Take first, the case of the lower provinces. They are at a long freight distance from the place of manufacture and production, and in addition to that, in the earlier years, the quality of our oil not being nearly as good as it has been for the last few years, the people in that section of the Dominion became prejudiced against Canadian oil. There is no doubt that ten or fifteen years ago, our oil was nothing like as good in quality as it is to-day. But I can assure this House that at present we make just as good an article of oil in Canada as any one wishes to use, and I will in a short time refer you to the certificates of dozens of Patrons' lodges as to the quality of our oil. Owing to the prejudice existing against Canadian oil, it was very easy for some people to get out of the habit of using Canadian oil altogether; and for years past that prejudice has been so strong that American refined oils have held about one-third of the market, and we have had the other two-thirds. Now, just such remarks as were made by the hon. member for Queen's in speaking about the quality of our oil, and just such remarks as were made by the hon. member for Charlotte (Mr. Gillmor), when scattered through the country, will certainly not have the effect of inducing the people to lay aside the use of American oil, and take up Canadian oil. I found an article in a Halifax paper the other day, which I will read you:

Why, anybody would rather pay 30 cents a gallon for American oil than have the Canadian for nothing. All I know of its being used for is cleaning iron, rust, etc., for which I believe it is noted, for I knew a man who cleaned up an old rusty shot gun with it once, and he is prepared, he says, "to take his solemn David" that that gun has killed sixty yards dead shot ever since.

Now, that is the kind of articles which, taken in connection with the speeches of hon. gentlemen opposite, will not have the effect of rendering Canadian oil more popular.

Mr. CAMERON. What is the name of the paper?

Mr. MONCRIEFF. The Halifax 'Chronicle.' I may say it is not an editorial, it is a contribution which appears in the paper, but, at the same time, it is very injurious to Canadian trade, as the speeches of the two gentlemen I refer to are also injurious to Canadian trade. Now, the hon. member for Wellington asks, What is the use of protection? If the hon. gentleman had his way, he would reduce the protection to 4 or 5 cents. He says you can get oil on the other side for 4 cents a gallon; well, if you add 5 cents duty to the 4 cents cost, you would have 9 cents; and I suppose that freight rates would be about the same to bring it from the States into this neighbourhood as they would be to bring oil from the place of production in Canada to this neighbourhood.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Would the hon. gentleman, before he leaves that branch of the question, give us information as to the amount of capital invested in wells now in operation, and the amount of capital invested in refineries?

Mr. MONCRIEFF. I will do so before I sit down, and I will also be pleased to give you a copy of the speech I made in the House last year upon the subject, and which I think was a very good one. Now, coming back to the question of the hon. member for Wellington (Mr. McMullen), he would have the duty reduced to 4 cents a gallon. The price of the article in the States, he says, is about 4 cents, which, added to a 4-cent duty, would make cost of oil 8 cents. We will suppose that the freights would be about the same from the States to this neighbourhood as from the oil regions of Canada to this neighbourhood. So he would have American oil laid down in this country for 8 cents a gallon, and he would have Canadian oil laid down here for 6 or 6½ cents a gallon. That would only be about 1½ cents difference between the two. Now, were you to believe just such letters as I have read, scattered through the country, and just such speeches as you have heard from hon. gentlemen opposite spread broadcast, and you were asked to choose whether you would take American oil for eight cents or Canadian oil for 6½ cents, which would you take? You would take American oil every time. And it is to keep the prices of the two oils separate, as far as possible, that protection is wanted. It is not wanted to give the Canadian producer or manufacturer anything more for his produce. As the Finance Minister said, they do not use the protection at all. All we want of protection is to prevent the industry from being destroyed. I will now answer the question of the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills). There are to-day in the neighbourhood of 6,000 wells pumping in the oil regions. Every one of those wells, with their concomitant machinery, pumps, and so on, must cost in the neighbourhood of \$600 or \$800 each. They have to be ironed, they have to be tubed off, they have to be drilled, and if you multiply those 6,000 wells by even \$500 each, their cost, which is a long way below the mark, you will have three million dollars as the value of wells pumping to-day. Then if you take the refineries and the capital engaged in them, you have two or three millions more. There are twenty square miles of land, some of which is worth from \$200 to \$600 an acre, and a large portion of it is worth \$200 an acre over and above its value for agricultural purposes. Then there are hundreds of thousands of dollars invested in digging large holes in the ground as reservoirs; there are miles of pipe lines laid down throughout the country to bring the oil from different wells to the factories. Putting all these things together,

I think I have shown you in the neighbourhood of fifteen millions of dollars as the amount of capital invested. I may also add for the information of the House, that I think there cannot be less than 500 individual proprietors of wells. I have a list in my hand containing the names of some 400 individual owners. That list was made out in 1892, and I know the number has greatly increased since then. There were then at least 400 separate individuals and firms, and the total number of wells then pumping was 5,345. At the present time there are, I should think about 6,000 wells pumping and there are refineries manufacturing oil and supplying two-thirds of the market of the whole Dominion. Many of those proprietors are active workmen, and those who are not working themselves, employ engineers. Then there are teamsters drawing the oil, there are coopers, machinists, boiler makers, and so on, all forming one hive of industry, and all exhibiting pluck and perseverance. Now, I will proceed to answer the charges that our oil is not a good oil. I am aware that the majority of hon. members of this House know to the contrary, from the statement made by hon. gentlemen who have preceded me; but I have here a number of letters from Patron lodges of the country, which purchased oil last fall and winter. Oil was bought from an enterprising firm in London, not refiners, but a firm of grocers and dealers in oils, who sent out circulars to the public and to the different Patron lodges, with the gratifying results that many orders were received. I will read a few extracts from these letters. The secretary of Lodge No. 135 says: "Received your oil last week, and gives good satisfaction." Another letter is dated November last, from Lodge 734, Scotland, the secretary of which says: "Your oil was satisfactory." Here is another one from Hanover Lodge 568: "The oil gives the best of satisfaction." A further letter from Hanover, same lodge, after they had used the oil and on sending another order, is to this effect: "The quality of the oil gives the best satisfaction." Here is another, dated Genoa, Lodge 1884: "The oil is at hand and gives satisfaction." Another letter is from Norwich: "We received your oil all right, and full measure, and enclose post office order in payment." Another letter is from Norwich, of a later date: "Your oil gives good satisfaction." Another is from Morrisburg, Lodge No. 564, in which the secretary says: "We find it very satisfactory." Another is from Kemptville, Lodge No. 909: "We are pleased with the price of your coal oil." Another is from Lodge 1193: "We are well pleased with your oil and the price." Another is from Lodge 728, at Crown Hill: "Send oil the same as last." Another letter is from the lodge at Purple Valley: "We are pleased with the barrel of coal oil got from you." Another is from the lodge at Alma: "Send oil the

same quality as the last." Another is from the secretary of Lodge 425: "The oil gives universal satisfaction, and in all likelihood you will receive further orders." Another is from Lodge 311, Forestville: "The oil received is very satisfactory in every respect." Another is from Lodge 764, Scotland: "The two barrels were satisfactory." Another is from Lodge 1086, from Brantford: "You may ship another barrel of the same quality in reply to this order." Another is from Lodge 1912, in which the secretary says: "We are satisfied with the quality of the oil." Another is from Townsend Centre: "We are pleased with the oil." Another is from the lodge at Mount Hope, in which the secretary says: "All are satisfied with the oil." I have several other letters to the same effect with which I will not trouble the House. These are letters from Patron lodges, in which they express perfect satisfaction not only with the quality but with the price at which it is obtained. I stated last year that I had been assured that if the selling price of oil was 12 cents or 15 cents per gallon, no complaint would be heard. From figures given by the Minister of Finance it is apparent that a low price has been reached. There is hardly a prominent point on the line between Western Ontario and Prince Edward Island where oil is now selling at more than 15 cents. At Hamilton it is 10 cents, Stratford it is advertised at 10 cents, or five gallons for half a dollar, and I could mention place after place where oil is selling nearly as low. In the county of Glengarry it is selling at 10 cents, at two or three of the most prominent places in the county. So the promise I made a year ago that this state of things would be brought about has been actually realized to the letter, and at the risk of being considered egotistical, I think the exposure I made in this House a year ago as to the prices at which oil was retailing and the profits realized has had the result of saving to this country hundreds of thousands of dollars. I admit that the steps taken by the Minister of Finance last year to a certain extent reduced the price, at that time oil was selling in bulk about 7 cents and to-day it is selling at 6 and 6½ cents, wholesale; every hon. member can arrive at the proportion by looking at the difference in the wholesale price. The hon. member for Lincoln (Mr. Gibson) made the statement that oil in Buffalo was selling at retail for 5 cents. If the non. gentleman says he knows that of his own knowledge I certainly will not contradict his statement, but I can tell that hon. gentleman that I have been making inquiries during the last few days, and I wrote to a gentleman in Buffalo for the retail price of ordinary oil to the consumer, and in his letter, which I have in my desk, he says that ordinary oil is sold to the consumer at 10 cents per wine gallon, and that is not "water white." I, therefore, think the hon. member for Lincoln has

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been misinformed, as I am certain my information is correct. Buffalo of all places in the United States is the point where oil should be the cheapest, because it is at the mouth of delivery pipe lines from the refineries without any cost of freight, and yet the people of Buffalo are paying higher per gallon for their oil than are people in Glengarry, Hamilton, and other places I have mentioned. The people in Buffalo are paying 12 cents per imperial gallon, and at very many points in Ontario an equally good oil can be obtained at less price. In Detroit the selling price of oil is 9 cents per wine gallon, which is certainly higher than in many of our towns and cities to-day. In Port Huron it is selling at 9 and 10 cents per wine gallon. I had occasion to refer to Port Huron during the debate a year ago. Then oil there was selling at 6 cents, whereas it is selling at 10 cents to-day. The Standard Oil Company then was endeavouring to suppress all competition and was endeavouring to run competitive dealers out of the town. They succeeded in doing that, and to-day oil is 10 cents a gallon, or 12 cents an imperial gallon, and is dearer in Port Huron than, I believe, it is in Sarnia on the Canadian side. - These are facts for some hon. gentlemen to consider. Let me mention another circumstance. In this very city to-day what do we find? We find oil peddled through the streets in carts at prices that are strange to me. They sell American oil at 30 cents a gallon, and Canadian oil at 18 or 20 cents a gallon. Is not that very strange, when at the present time there are two standing advertisements in the newspapers, and when there are several merchants in town selling oil at 12½ cents a gallon delivered to their customers. Let me give another reason to the hon. member for Wellington (Mr. McMullen) why we want protection. It is this: we want to keep the points as far apart as possible, so as to endeavour to get our own people to use our own oil. The interests of the retailer who sells an American gallon of oil and can make on it from 10 to 15 cents per gallon profit is to sell the American gallon to the prejudice of the Canadian gallon on which he is only making 25 per cent. You will find that state of things all over the country. The Halifax 'Herald' of the 5th of April, in an article on coal oil duties, makes some very interesting observations in connection with this matter, which I will read to the House:

What now is the wholesale price of oil from the importer to the retail trade? We are informed that it varies from 19½ cents to 20½ cents per gallon as an average price. This, it will be observed, gives the importing oil dealer a profit of nearly 50 per cent. This seems to be a very large profit to be charged on such a staple article as illuminating oil. Articles of such extensive and general use are usually sold at a very small wholesale profit. It does not appear likely that there are many importations that are sold at an advance of 50 per cent. Oil seems to be a peculiar commodity in this res-

pect. How can any importer who adds 50 per cent to the duty paid cost of his goods, contend that it is because of the duty that he is compelled to keep up the price of oil to this high rate?

But if the importer's profit seems extraordinarily high, for a staple article, the retailer's profit will be found to be higher still. Every one knows that American oil is retailed at the rate of from 30 to 36 cents per gallon. A great deal of oil is sold at 9 cents a quart. Now if the retailer buys at 20 cents and sells at 30 cents his margin is 50 per cent; and if he sells at the rate of 36 cents a gallon, his margin is 80 per cent! This surely must be admitted to be a most extraordinary rate of profit, something that is unparalleled in the case of any other staple article.

Now it must be apparent that with importers' profits of about 50 per cent and the retailers' profits ranging from 50 to 80 per cent, the price of American oil to the Canadian consumer is very little determined by the duty, and a great deal determined by the dealers.

When the conditions of trade are such that profits of from 50 to 80 per cent can now be added by the importer and retailer, will any one tell how much the consumer is likely to profit by a couple of cents being taken off the duty?

There was an agitation down there to take a couple of cents off the duty on coal oil, and this was an article written regarding that. If that oil in the city of Halifax cost from 30 to 35 cents a gallon, how much would the consumer benefit if there were 2 cents a gallon taken off the duty? A good deal has been said with reference to the Standard Oil Company of the United States, and I wish to say something with reference to that concern. It seems to be questioned by the hon. member for Yarmouth (Mr. Flint) that there was any oil monopoly in the United States that is doing injury there, or that would be likely to do injury if it were allowed full swing in this country. I certainly do not pretend of my own knowledge to know anything about the Standard Oil Company, but I have an opportunity of reading what the New York and Chicago papers say with reference to it. Let me give one or two extracts from the United States press, which deal with the Standard Oil Company, which will probably astonish the hon. gentleman. About a year ago the Standard Oil Company, although they had millions upon millions, aye, billions of gallons of oil, would not sell a gallon of it at any price to take across the Atlantic. Why was that? It was because they had control of the market, and they did not propose to sell any oil on this continent for a European port, and the only way you could buy it was to cross the Atlantic and purchase it from their agents on the spot. Ships were lying idle waiting for freight, and it was causing consternation, so to speak, among the oil trade and shipping interests, and here is what the 'Oil and Drug Review' of Chicago says upon the subject:

Shippers of refined oil at New York, says the *Times* of that city, are disturbed over the refusal

of the Standard Oil Company to sell them this product. Without it they cannot fill their foreign orders, and vessels fitted for carrying oil lie idle in the docks. Refined oil is quoted at 5:30, but offers for it at 15 points advance have been declined at the Standard offices with the invariable reply that this company has no oil to sell.

The facts are thus set forth in the circular of Cornish & Mead, brokers:

Barrel and case petroleum freights have dwindled to comparatively small proportions, and as if to complicate and make matters worse, the Standard Oil Company, for some occult purpose, is understood to have for an indefinite period refused to sell refined for export to Europe, thus narrowing the field of employment for vessels in the trans-Atlantic oil trade to crude and naphtha, which goes chiefly to French ports.

This course of the Standard Oil Company has become so oppressive to shippers, however, that they are looking below the surface for causes and motives. It looks to many of them as if the Standard Oil Company had set out to monopolize the markets of the world by wiping out the middlemen, or shippers.

That is an instance which will show you what a large monopoly and a powerful corporation of this kind can do. Now, will the hon. gentlemen be surprised if I tell them that in a place in the state of Michigan, I read that refined oil is selling at 2 cents a gallon? There is a war there between the Standard Oil Company and the other refiners, and so the price is reduced to 2 cents. But just as sure as it is reduced to that low figure to-day in Zeeland, Michigan, just as sure as I told you a year ago that it was 6 cents in Port Huron and is 9 or 10 cents a gallon to-day there, just as sure will you find that a year hence, if I have an opportunity of speaking in the House on this same subject, I will be able to report that the price in Zeeland, Michigan, will be 10 or 12 cents. At Aberdeen, in Dakota, the people are objecting to pay the Standard Oil Company 15 cents per gallon for their oil, and some independent citizens are starting in business in competition with them. The Standard Oil Company will run down the price upon them very shortly, they will be driven out of the market, and next year you will find again that the old standard price of 15 cents a gallon will prevail, and that no person dare face the music and compete against them. In this connection I wish to refer to an article taken also from the 'Oil and Drug Review,' which appeared in that newspaper on the 28th of February last, only a few months ago:

Reports are now frequent from numerous points in the North-west that the Standard Oil Company is making unusual effort to drive out all competition and monopolize the trade. The fact of the Standard's ambition being to tolerate no rivalry in the oil trade causes no surprise, its aim has always been in that direction, and it has the power and resources to accomplish that end. The monopoly, however, deserves the keenest reproach with which it exercises its power to crush competition, it pays

no heed to the means employed in satisfying its insatiable greed, the game is none too large or small to bag. The pedlar with his barrel of oil must succumb, albeit it is his dependence, the Standard must not be interfered with in its invasion, scruples cannot be considered. Even the barrel man who at the best ekes out but a precarious living must be deprived of his business. The Standard possessed of the empty barrels that may accumulate in a town, handicaps the independent oil dealer, as he has no container for his oil, he is barred the delivery of a sale. Such tricks are not uncommon to the monopoly, it plays the cards to win. Consumers in most instances pledge their support to the Standard, but it avails nothing, the battle as it were, is short and decisive, the tentacle has got its grip and up goes the price of oil, the consumer is mulcted for being in sympathy with the oppressed and there is no help. The monopoly is relentless when it come to business.

Now, I think I have satisfied hon. gentlemen, from American newspapers, that what I state in regard to the Standard Oil Company being a grasping monopoly represents the true state of affairs in the United States. The same paper, on the 28th of February, refers to an evident effort made by the Standard Oil Company to crush out competition in Utah. This is what it says :

The refined oil war has opened at Salt Lake, Utah. The Florence Oil and Refining Co., from Denver having shipped several cars of oil and put their tank wagon on the streets, the Continental Oil Co., at once reduced the prices wholesale to 12 cents, arranged with the retail wagons to sell at 15 cents thus cutting the price nearly one-half from what it has been and what it will be as soon as they succeed in showing their competitors there is no money to be made by marketing their own product.

It is very easy for a powerful body like the Standard Oil Company to act in that way; and if that corporation had control of our markets, we might expect that that company would play the same trick here that it has played in every place where it has operated across the line. I also find in the same paper an interesting article on the discussion that is going on in this Parliament at the present time. In its issue of the 7th of March last it says :

Canadian oil producers and refiners are alarmed over the agitation prevailing in the Dominion to place petroleum on the free list. It is now highly protected, which effectually prohibits importation of American oil except for a limited quantity of high grade refined. The desire to have the tariff removed emanates with the consumers, who contend they are charged unreasonable prices for oil, viz. : 15 and 20 cents per gallon. The well-owner or oil producer claims the dealer or distributor of the oil is responsible for the prices exacted of the consumer, and supports his position by denying that 6½ cents at the refinery nets him more than a fair profit on his investment.

The editor of this paper certainly posted himself well in regard to the position of

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the Canadian oil market, giving the correct prices and a pretty fair estimate of what the retailer had been charging for oil by the gallon. Here is his solution :

American refiners can give relief to Canadian consumers were they not barred by a tariff duty, but it is probably as well that Canadian oil interests should be protected, for should competitive trade occur, the great American octopus would rapidly intrench itself by methods that has made it an unscrupulous monopoly in the States.

This is very valuable indeed, coming from an authoritative paper in the United States, and it contains a lesson for us. It candidly advises us to keep the protection which we have, because if the monopoly ever secures a foothold here, it will certainly be to the disadvantage of our consumers. Now, Sir, it is owing to the knowledge which I have acquired in watching this oil industry here and on the other side of the line that I have dreaded any interference with our protective duty, because there can be no doubt that the more you lower our protection the greater percentage of American oil is likely to come into the country, and that is what we do not want. As long as we have crude oil in abundance; as long as we make a good article, fit for any lamp in the country; as long as we do not charge an exorbitant price; as long as the oil is furnished to the merchants of the country at only a fair and reasonable profit; as long as there is no combination existing, we ought, I say, to keep up the wall which for the last fifteen years has been protecting us against the American oil producer and manufacturer, for the purpose of securing to ourselves our own trade, and giving employment to the hundreds of men who are engaged in the industry in this country. The whole oil business, from first to last, is a matter of labour. It is labour from the time the workman chops the timber for the well rigs; it is labour in making the tools; it is labour in drilling the well; it is labour that takes the iron out of the pits for the tubing in which the wells are cased and by which they are pumped; it is labour that makes the tubing; it is labour that pumps the wells; it is labour that takes the oil to the refiners; it is labour that manufactures it into refined oil; it is labour that makes the barrels into which the oil is put. I suppose, speaking truly, that the labour applied in distributing the oil throughout the country would be also required if American oil were let in free; but up to that point everything connected with the production of Canadian oil is a question of labour. It is simply wages and labour from the moment the tree is first struck with the axe until the oil is put in the cars for distribution throughout the country; and I understand that the policy of this Government is to protect the industries of this country, in order to furnish Canadian labourers with work in their own country, so that they shall not have to

look for employment elsewhere. It is with the knowledge that I have obtained by reading of the working of those monopolies in the United States, and with a pretty good knowledge of the trade, both producing and refining in our own country, that I dread to see our tariff reduced as it is. I cannot exactly prognosticate what the result will be. I think I can establish, from the information I have here before me, that oil is being distributed in this country to-day to the general consumer, better in quality, on the whole, a safer burning oil, and at a price not higher than the consumer pays on the other side. I think I might almost go the length of saying that, so far as Ontario is concerned, I believe it is better served with oil to-day than any state in the union. In addition to the labour which this industry supports, it is surrounded by a beautiful agricultural country. For a radius of 25 miles the oil region is the central market for innumerable farms. It is acknowledged in that part of the country that our market—and I suppose that is the case with most mining towns—is perhaps a better market for farm produce than any other place of the same size in western Ontario, if not in the whole of Ontario. I do hope with all my heart that the lowering of this tariff may not have any prejudicial effect on this industry; but if it should it will be a sad day indeed for the farmers and oil producers of that district. I am not speaking from an interested standpoint, because I have no personal interest whatever in the refining business, but I am simply speaking as representing the district, and as one who ought to have a little more knowledge of it than people living at a distance. There are hundreds of people there, every dollar of whose capital is invested in that business. For myself politically I care not. My whole heart is with those people engaged in that business, and if it should happen that the reduction in the tariff to-day will affect them prejudicially, I should feel, I know that the Conservative party would feel, and I believe that this whole House would feel sorry indeed that the duty had been interfered with to the injury of that particular neighbourhood. It is asked: why should it be supported at all? One reason is that the business was encouraged by a high tariff to begin with—by a tariff of some 15 per cent. At the same time the Americans, when we discovered our oil, put on a tariff of some 500 per cent, and about 3,000 to 4,000 per cent upon the crude oil at its present value.

Mr. McMULLEN. The hon. gentleman says that the quality of Canadian oil now manufactured is equal to that of American oil?

Mr. MONCRIEFF. Yes.

Mr. McMULLEN. If the hon. gentleman would turn up to page 35 of the Marine and

Fisheries report he will find that last year 18,800 gallons of American oil were imported for our coast service. Can the hon. gentleman explain how that took place when the Canadian oil is equal to, if not superior, to the American oil?

Mr. MONCRIEFF. I could not tell the hon. gentleman that unless the tender happened to be lowest. Perhaps the Minister of Marine can explain that. I fancy everything is done by tender. It has been suggested by a gentleman behind me that it comes in free for fishing purposes.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) For fishing purposes?

Mr. MONCRIEFF. For Government purposes in the light-house districts. The question was rather a fishy one.

Mr. BOWERS. Is the oil they sell at 7 cents in Petrolea the best quality of oil they make?

Mr. MONCRIEFF. It is not. If the hon. gentleman will refer to my previous remarks he will find that the quotations I gave were for prime white oil. The water white oil is sold 2½ or 3 cents more. Prime white oil is what is generally used throughout the country, and is approved of to such an extent that it is almost the only oil used. At the same time, there is not as much percentage of water white oil in Canadian crude as in American crude, but the quality of prime white is certainly good enough to be used in any lamp in the country. It is the same oil that I use at my own table. I never think of using the water white oil, but always use the prime white.

Mr. BOWERS. The tendency of the hon. gentleman's speech is to make the country believe that the best oil we use sells at 7 cents in Petrolea.

Mr. MONCRIEFF. I did not intend to convey that idea. I take it for granted that the House knows that I was speaking of the prime white, because I have always so emphatically referred to the price of that quality, and whenever I quoted the price I gave it as the quotation for prime white, and the House knows well that the other quality of oil is always higher. But the prime white is of such quality that I have dozens of certificates from lodges approving of it, and I can refer to hon. members in this House who use it, and who will acknowledge that it is a first class oil. In fact, except to experts, the difference between it and the water white would hardly be observed. And the oil referred to in every one of the letters from Patrons was the oil of which I quoted the wholesale price, 6 to 6½ cents for first quality prime white oil.

Mr. McMULLEN. Has the hon. gentleman any positive authority that oil is retailed at Buffalo at 12 cents?

Mr. MONCRIEFF. Nothing further than this, that I communicated with a gentleman of very high standing there, saying I wished particularly to know the price of oil charged by the retailers in Buffalo. And I would be pleased to show the hon. gentleman the letter I received in reply. His answer was that the price of ordinary oil by the gallon to the consumer was 10 cents per wine gallon. As regards the other places, Detroit and Port Huron, I know of my own knowledge.

Mr. McMULLEN. A letter has been put into my hands from Buffalo, dated the 11th April, in which it is stated :

Your favour of the 6th addressed to the Standard Oil Company, referred to us as we handle such goods in your territory. We quote you present price on water white oil in tank car lots at 4 cents per gallon, f.o.b. cars here, in barrels at 6½ cents same place. Prime white oil in either case ½ cent per gallon less.

Mr. MONCRIEFF. I am not disputing the hon. gentleman's figures ; I am not disputing that the price of coal oil in the United States wholesale is very low indeed. But, if you take the trouble to inquire at many points in Michigan, Illinois, Ohio or any other of the states, you will find that the price of oil is from 10 to 15 cents per wine gallon to the consumer.

Mr. MONTAGUE. It is 10 cents in Buffalo.

Mr. MONCRIEFF. My hon. friend says it is 10 cents in Buffalo. And, remember, that it is for the wine gallon, which is equal to 12 cents for the imperial gallon. Now, all this cry about American oil being so cheap is perfectly true, so far as it relates to the wholesale prices; but it does not apply at all to the consumer. If hon. gentlemen who desire the information will look over the speech I made a year ago, they will find the facts there set forth. I made careful inquiry on the subject. To ascertain the price of oil in the United States, I sent out an affidavit to officials and others in dozens of places, asking them to fill up according to the facts and make the necessary declaration before a magistrate. The prices ran from 12 to 15, 18 and 25 cents per gallon; and, at the same time, the wholesale price was 4 cents in the city of Buffalo. If you will investigate the matter carefully you will find, I believe, that the Canadian farmer is getting a better quality of oil at a cheaper price than is the general consumer in any state of the American union. I have just one word more to say and then I have done. The hon. member for West Elgin seemed to urge the total abolition of the duty upon crude oil. I do not believe that he thought for a moment what the result would be when he advocated the abolition of this duty and the importation free of American crude for use by our refiners. The refiners of the

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country are a very small element as compared with the producers. The producers, as I have told you, number about five hundred. This interest, in fact, has created a small British colony in Western Ontario, whose entire business is that of oil. The refineries are small in number—some eight or ten altogether. If there was no crude oil in our own country, the refiners would bring in the American crude and manufacture it here; and, if necessary, a reasonable protective tariff might be imposed upon the finished product. But it is to protect the oil-producing territory and the oil producers of the country that it is necessary to keep the duty on crude oil, so that the refiner may use our own crude instead of that produced in Ohio and other parts of the United States. I have occupied the attention of the House longer, perhaps, than might be expected upon a subject of this kind. My excuse is that I am in a position to realize how large this industry is and the danger of doing anything that would have the effect of letting a larger percentage of American oil come into this country. If, instead of one-third of American oil, our consumption should be two-thirds of American oil, that would mean the displacing of so much of the Canadian product, the result would be simply slow death; there is no doubt about that. The oil would be pumped up, but there would be no place to sell it. The result would be to make a deserted village of that district and to effectually destroy the \$15,000,000 of capital directly and indirectly invested in the business. The result would be one of the most painful things to any man who had the interests of his country at heart. Under these circumstances, you will hardly be surprised, Mr. Chairman, that I have occupied the time of the House in discussing this matter at some length.

Mr. SCRIVER. Mr. Chairman, though I have no doubt the patience of the House has been pretty sorely tried by the protracted discussion that has taken place on this item, yet I do not wish to see the item adopted until I have had the opportunity to say a few words on the subject. I undertake the discussion with some hesitation after the very pathetic appeal that has been made to the sympathies of the House, first, by the Finance Minister and afterwards by the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat (Mr. Moncrieff). Surely an industry of this country, for whose support the sympathy, and, I might almost say the pity, of hon. members of this House must be craved, must be in sore straits. And yet, after all, what does that appeal amount to? It means that the House should consent to give this industry an advantage of more than 100 per cent. Well, my own opinion is that an industry that cannot live in this country without being sustained by such an exorbitant impost, such exorbitant taxation levied upon the great body of the consumers of this

country, does not deserve to exist. In fact, my belief is, from all I had learned by reading and by the discussions in this House, that this is an industry that can only be sustained in competition with the similar industry in the United States, by a duty which is an unreasonable one, a duty which presses sorely upon the great body of the consumers of this country and especially upon the labouring and farming population of the country, and my further belief, founded upon personal knowledge and observation is that there are some natural defects in the oil as it flows from our soil which cannot be carried off by the process of refining employed. The process of refining here, no doubt, is the same as in the United States; and yet, in my opinion, the result is an inferior Canadian article as compared with the American product. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Moncrieff), if he were to travel in the part of the country in which I live—that borderland on the frontier of the United States from the rivers St. Lawrence and Richelieu and on to Lake Memphremagog—would find great difficulty in convincing the hard headed farmers of that country that the Canadian oil is equal to the American. The store-keepers have made the experiment repeatedly, particularly during the last year, after the statements made on the floor of this House, of bringing the Canadian oil to their places of business and attempting to sell it to the people of that country, recommending it as fully equal to the American product; and the result in every instance, so far as my knowledge goes, is that the consumption of Canadian oil has not increased in all that border land. As to the hon. gentleman's figures, I confess I do not understand them. I live on the border myself, I have had opportunities of knowing a good deal about the trade on both sides of the line, all through the northern part of the state of New York and portions of the state of Vermont, and it is within my knowledge that water white oil of an excellent quality has been sold during the past ten years, all through that country, in no instance at more than 10 cents retail per gallon, and for several years past it has been sold at 8 cents. Our own farmers, as I know, go across the border with their five gallon cans, and get them filled with five gallons, wine measure, it is true, for 40 cents. Whether they pay the duty on it, I do not profess to know; perhaps they do, and perhaps they do not. I know that I buy my oil over there, and I pay the duty on it. I buy it by the barrel, an excellent quality of oil, oil that would not offend the sensitive olfactory nerves of the class the Finance Minister speaks of, or the olfactory organs of the Finance Minister himself—I cannot say that of any Canadian oil that I have ever used—and I buy that oil at seven and a quarter cents per wine gallon. The last barrel I bought cost me about \$3.20, and I paid \$3.60 duty on it,

something like 125 per cent. Under these circumstances, having the matter brought to my attention in the way it has been, and having heard the general expression of opinion on the part of intelligent people in that part of the country, I am of the opinion that this tax is an unreasonable one, one that perhaps does not press so sorely upon an individual when he comes to think of the amount he is called upon to pay year after year, and yet he does feel it when he makes a comparison between paying 20 cents at home for the imperial gallon, and getting it for 8 cents a gallon just across the border, five or six miles away. I say that this is an improper and an unreasonable tax. Though I dare say the taxpayers of this country may feel grateful in a certain measure for the reduction which the Finance Minister has made, I am sure they will not be satisfied with it; they will feel, probably, as I feel, that the Finance Minister ought to have gone still further, that he ought to have removed the objectionable inspection fee and the duty upon the barrel, and have reduced the tax to 5 cents a gallon.

Mr. TAYLOR. I merely wish to reply to a question asked by the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen), and which the Finance Minister did not reply to, nor did the hon. member for East Lambton (Mr. Moncrieff) reply to it. I understood the hon. member for North Wellington to say that the refiners of this country took full advantage of the duty, and I think he answered the question that he asked the Finance Minister, by a letter which he read to this House, giving quotations for oil in Buffalo at 4 cents per gallon in tank cars. That quotation is for the wine gallon, which, if made equivalent to the imperial gallon here, would be equal to about 5 cents per imperial gallon. The duty is $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents per gallon, which, when brought into this country, would cost $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents. The same oil is being sold wholesale at Petrolea in tanks at 6 cents. That is an answer to his question. Do the oil men take advantage of the duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents when they are selling it at 6 cents a gallon?

Mr. McMULLEN. Not the same oil.

Mr. TAYLOR. The same quality you quoted.

Mr. RYCKMAN. It is not my intention to take part in the discussion on this question, but I only want to reply to a remark of the hon. member for Huntingdon (Mr. Scriver), who stated that the coal oil which is produced in our country is not a good quality. I am interested in a firm who handle about 2,000 gallons of coal oil per month, and during the last four months I do not know of a single person coming back to our place of business and saying that the coal oil was not good. We retail coal oil for 11 cents a gallon, and we make about 20 per cent on

it. Therefore, I think that the people in my part of the country, at least, are well satisfied with the Canadian oil.

Mr. BRYSON. Before this item is carried, I would like to say one word. I listened attentively this afternoon to the statements made by the Finance Minister, and he certainly impressed me with the view that this industry should receive protection at the hands of the Government. Now, I desire to be frank, and I will say that while I am a protectionist, I am of the opinion that even a protection of 6 cents is more than that industry should receive. I believe that any industry like that at Petrolea should receive a comparative protection, a protection as compared with other articles; but I think the protection which this industry has been receiving up to the present time, has been in favour of the few and has discriminated against the masses of our agriculturists. The hon. member for Huntingdon (Mr. Scriver) says that in his opinion the oil that is produced at Petrolea is not of as good quality as the oil we import from the other side. I am in accord with that view of the hon. gentleman, and I regret to be obliged to say so. I regret exceedingly, as a Canadian speaking in Parliament, to be obliged to say that the oil produced at Petrolea is not of as good quality as that we import from the United States. I must say this, because I think it is a mistake for members of this House to stand up and say that the Canadian oil is as good as the American oil, when we know, as a matter of fact, that it is not. I believe those members thereby do an injustice not only to the people they represent in Parliament, but to the manufacturers of coal oil at Petrolea, because when these manufacturers know that the prevailing sentiment of the people is that the coal oil produced at Petrolea is not of as good a quality as that we can procure on the other side, they will naturally endeavour to improve the quality of the oil that they send out to people of this country. Now, the revenue that we derived from coal oil last year was something like \$430,000. I think the Finance Minister might have reduced that tax very materially, and have made up the revenue lost on coal oil by putting it upon tobacco and liquor. I think the people could stand a little more tax on tobacco, and liquors for the sake of having their oil a little cheaper. The agriculturists and labourers of this country have not the advantages of either gas or electric light, and it appears to me clear from the statements we have heard to-night, and even from the statement of the hon. member for Hamilton (Mr. Ryckman), who has just spoken, that the amount of protection afforded to the coal oil industry is not less than 100 per cent. I believe that an industry that has been fostered for at least thirty years, should not enjoy so high a protection, when it works as a discrimination against the agricultural and labouring classes

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of this country. The farmers of this country are a class who up to the present have had very little protection. The farming community are making money by the sweat of their brow; they understand how to lay by every cent made by them, and when I hear hon. gentlemen rise in Parliament and say that the ordinary farmer uses only from ten to twenty gallons of oil annually it is a mistake. But that is not the principle on which we should consider this matter; the question is, are our farmers obtaining their coal oil as cheaply as they should get it; is the protection afforded to the refiners at Petrolea not an excessive protection? In my humble judgment, and I have looked at the figures, even the protection to-day of 6 cents per gallon is really more than the manufacturers deserve. While I appreciate the reduction made, I believe discussion emanating from both sides of the House will have a tendency to reduce the price of coal oil to the farmers, because now they will be able to ascertain exactly what they should pay for it. The profits of the middlemen will be brought down and the price reduced to a uniform basis throughout the country, and these facts will enable our farmers to obtain coal oil at least 3 or 4 cents per gallon cheaper than in 1892.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I am not going to enter into a discussion of the merits of the tax on coal oil. There is, however, one feature which must have struck every member of the House both in the speech of the hon. Finance Minister and of the hon. gentleman who represents the constituency in which the refining operations are carried, and that is a declaration that in this industry we can never compete with the coal oil industry of the United States, that there oil can be obtained from which a larger percentage of refined oil can be produced than we can produce in this country, and so the price here can never be quite so low as it is on the other side. I believe experiments so far as they have been made with oil obtained in Canada, go to show that, if the oil refiners of Canada had the American market, by manufacturing a lubricating instead of an illuminating oil they would produce a better lubricating article for both the Canadian and American market than can be produced from the American oil, while the American oil is superior in another particular to the oil obtained in Canada, and so if there was reciprocity in this particular article it would be advantageous to both countries. I was disappointed in the remarks which fell from the hon. gentleman who represents the oil producing constituency. I think he should have given the House more information in regard to this industry, including facts as to the amount of capital invested, the quantity of crude oil raised, the value of the refined material, and the cost in connection with manufacturing operations.

Mr. MONCRIEFF. I gave all that information, but the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) was busily engaged listening to an hon. member and probably did not hear me.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I heard the hon. gentleman speak about one million of capital being invested, but I understand there are five thousand wells, and that an expenditure of about five hundred dollars has been incurred on each; so that there has been an expenditure equal to about two and a half millions dollars.

Mr. MONCRIEFF. Three millions.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The House would be glad to learn how many engines and boilers are employed, the cost of refining, and also the number of men employed. These facts would have proved valuable in enabling hon. members to form an opinion on the subject, because according to the statement of the Finance Minister and the remarks of the hon. member for East Lambton (Mr. Moncrieff), our coal oil industry can never be made economically a success. The ground of defence alone must rest upon principles of sociology not on principles of political economy. But I am not going into any discussion of the subject. I am simply calling the attention of the House to this fact, that there is a very great inequality in the rate of taxation in connection with this article. We find in Ontario and Quebec that the tax is about 100 per cent, while in the Maritime Provinces it is 160 per cent. There is a serious departure from equitable principles of taxation when on the same article you impose a very much higher tax on the people in one section than those in another. Whether the hon. Finance Minister—if he is going to continue his reductions to the amount which is indicated—has acted fairly in the mode of reduction is a question which the committee should seriously consider. Hon. gentlemen opposite have favoured the principle of protection. I am not going to argue that question; I am not going to say whether that principle should be applied to this specific industry or not. From my point of view there are no exceptions to a sound principle as regards economic reasons, but I wish to call the attention of the committee to this fact, that the Minister of Finance has in connection with this matter interfered with freedom of commerce, and I should like to know whether the hon. member for East Lambton (Mr. Moncrieff) favours that action, whether he thinks it right and proper for the Finance Minister to say that refined oil shall not be imported from a foreign country except in a particular way. I can understand why the hon. Minister imposes the duty of 6 cents per gallon or even 7½ cents, I can understand why he might go higher from his view of political economy, but I do not understand that he should interfere with freedom of transportation. For instance, the hon. gentleman per-

mits refined oil to be brought into St. John in tank cars; he prohibits it being brought into Halifax or Charlottetown in tank vessels. Why should that be done—what is the object? Is it not for the purpose of imposing a heavier tax on all refined oil consumed in the Maritime Provinces than in any other portion of the Dominion? Is it not establishing the principle of inequality in taxation? Let me suppose, for instance, that a man engaged in the wholesale business should purchase illuminating oil, that he owns a steamer fitted up for carrying oil in tanks. Does the hon. gentleman mean to say that the owner should be prohibited from using his vessel in that trade? Why, if the hon. gentleman were to prevent importation altogether I could understand it, if he were to increase the duty I could understand that, but that he should say that with a view to putting impediments in the way of trade: While I have not the courage to increase the duty, and will not place myself in opposition to the people, I will put impediments in the way of trading and I will declare that the ship-owners shall not bring oil in in tank vessels, I say that is an attempt to apply the principle of protection in a way it has never been applied with respect to trade in any other article imported into Canada. There are some articles we prohibit being imported. We prohibit the importation of obscene literature. We know the ground upon which that is done. We seek to develop the industries of the country, as the hon. the Minister of Finance says, by increased taxation. That proceeds upon an intelligible ground; but the hon. gentleman has, for the first time in connection with this trade introduced a new principle, and that is putting impediments in the way of this commerce being carried on in a particular manner. That principle is highly objectionable. If the hon. gentleman wishes to keep up high taxes with a view of helping those engaged in this particular business, it would have been better to have left his tariff as it was and to remove this impediment. It would have equalized the taxation more than the course he has pursued.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What does the Minister of Finance compute to be the consumption of our own petroleum in Canada?

Mr. FOSTER. About two-thirds of the consumption is supplied by the home wells, and about one-third from abroad.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Then in all, our total consumption would be about 20,000,000 gallons. I have had, and I suppose other members of the House had, a document, apparently authoritative from the Geological Survey furnished us, in which the total production of petroleum is given at 800,000 barrels, and I find that a barrel of refined is taken to be 42 imperial gallons. Judging from the valuation which is

put down at \$834,000, I should imagine that it was too high a price if these 800,000 barrels were absolutely raw. The matter bears very decidedly upon the question, and we ought to know what the consumption is.

Mr. FOSTER. I have not seen that calculation.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I am afraid in this, as in a great many other items, the hon. Minister has not taken the trouble to acquaint himself with the actual facts.

Item agreed to.

Crude petroleum, fuel and gas oil, other than naphtha, benzine or gasolene, when imported by manufacturers other than oil refiners for use in their own factories for fuel purposes, also the manufacture of gas, 3 cents per gallon.

Mr. COCKBURN. I must say that even with this reduction of 3 cents a gallon, it seems to me rather a heavy price to pay for raw material. I have swallowed the 6 cents on the refined oil, a high figure, I think, but inasmuch as it was a protection to Canadian labour, and inasmuch as there had been already a material reduction on it, I would not consider it a very wise proceeding at once to deal summarily with the manufacturers of oil at Petrolea. I was willing enough to consent to the 6 cents on refined oil, but when I find 3 cents charged as a protection on this crude article, I must say that I am somewhat staggered. Three cents per gallon is equal nearly to a duty of 200 per cent ad valorem on the crude article; and while we have been talking on both sides of this House on the duties that we owe to the farmer, and have considered the various aspects in which this question might affect him, I think we might also think of the duties we owe to the manufacturer. In the city of Toronto this crude oil is very largely used in the manufacture of gas, and we have in the Dominion some 48 gas companies using it. The capital of these companies is, I think, about nine and a quarter millions, or, at least twice the amount of capital invested in the oil wells at Petrolea. Therefore, it would be well to consider what we owe to the large amount of capital invested in these gas companies, and what their interests may demand with reference to this question of crude oil. This oil is used also very largely for manufacturing purposes. A year ago, we had, in the city of Toronto, sixty-eight consumers for manufacturing purposes, and forty-nine gas engines, and we sold last year over 75,000,000 cubic feet of gas. A large amount of this 75,000,000 cubic feet is consumed by what I would call the smaller tradesmen, who are working, as they do in France or in England, along Adelaide Street and other streets in Toronto in their own homes. I refer to tinsmiths, workers in stained glass, and book-binders, who are all very much interested in cheap gas, and who will feel, no doubt, strongly opposed to this high duty of nearly 200 per cent on their raw

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material. It is virtually their raw material, because if the gas company has to pay this duty on the crude oil it imports, it, of course, must charge it to the consumer. The tariff was absolutely prohibitory on the importation of crude oil from the United States, and it remains absolutely prohibitory at this amended figure. It is an unnecessary charge for the inspection of this oil, because it occurs to me that there is no necessity for inspection. This oil is not coming into the country to be sold to the public, but is simply imported for the use of the manufacturers of gas. I hope therefore that the Minister, if he does not feel at liberty at present to give us free oil, will consider whether he cannot give it, at any rate, to the gas companies.

An hon. MEMBER. And the farmers.

Mr. COCKBURN. It is a case in which, unfortunately, the farmers are not concerned. I almost feel ashamed to speak on behalf of any other class than the farmers in this House, where they receive so much consideration. Both political parties have been taking the farmers to their bosoms, and have been coddling them in every possible way. I want to say a word for the poor workingman, and, therefore, I suggest that if the whole duty cannot be taken off this crude petroleum, the same policy should be adopted with regard to refined oil that has been adopted with regard to other manufactures, and that it should be provided that the duty of 3 cents should next year be reduced to 2 cents, and the following year to 1 cent, and ultimately abolished altogether. I may be told that by proposing this I am striking at the refining of oils; but I do not see why the producers at Petrolea should not take the crude oil that comes from the United States and do the refining of it. Thus we might have established there a large refining interest. Looking at the National Policy as a policy for giving our manufacturers their raw materials at the lowest possible cost, I cannot see how we are consistently to support a duty of nearly 200 per cent on what is the raw material of the gas companies. It is pretty hard on these gas companies at present to have to pay this duty, inasmuch as they are entering on a hard struggle with the electric light companies; and, under all the circumstances, with a view to helping the smaller trades, such as jewellers, tinsmiths, bookbinders, and others in the cities, I trust that the Government may yet consider this question and, if they cannot take the duty off altogether, see whether they cannot hold out the hope of reducing it next year to 2 cents, after that to 1 cent, and then letting the crude petroleum come in free.

Mr. AMYOT. What is the dividend of the gas companies?

Mr. COCKBURN. If my hon. friend buys stock at the present value, it will be about 5 per cent.

Mr. MONCRIEFF. What is the present value ?

Mr. COCKBURN. The stock, I may state, is limited, as to the amount of dividend it can return. The dividend is limited to 10 per cent. The company is unable to pay more, and I may state for the company with which I am more particularly connected, that considering all the circumstances, it has the cheapest gas in the Dominion. It has now been reduced under able direction, to \$1 per thousand feet.

Mr. MONCRIEFF. The hon. gentleman did not answer my question. Would he be kind enough to tell me what a \$100 share in the gas company is worth ?

Mr. COCKBURN. What the worth of a share may be will depend on the quotation for the day. It varies, just as your coal oil does, only it is not so seldom quoted. When you have the gas, you have it.

Mr. MONCRIEFF. I think it is worth \$200.

Mr. COCKBURN. If the hon. gentleman would like to purchase some at \$200, he will no doubt be able to get it.

Committee rose and reported progress.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to ; and the House adjourned at 11 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, 2nd May, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 102) to incorporate the Wolseley and Fort Qu'Appelle Railway Company—(from the Senate).—(Mr. Davin.)

Bill (No. 103) to amend the Acts relating to the Moncton and Prince Edward Island Railway and Ferry Company—(from the Senate).—(Mr. McInerney.)

HOMESTEAD EXEMPTIONS IN THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES.

Mr. DALY moved to introduce Bill (No. 104) to repeal the Homestead Exemption Act in the Territories. He said: The Bill provides for the repeal of chapter 52 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, an Act respecting Homestead Exemption in the Territories,

and chapter 19 of 1893, an Act to amend the Homestead Exemption Act. It further provides :

Such appeal shall not affect any act done or any right of action existing, accruing, accrued or established, or any proceedings commenced in a civil action before this Act comes into force, and that all the provisions of the said Act shall continue in force so far as they apply to or affect any homestead heretofore registered under the said Act.

Any provisions heretofore enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the North-west Territories and which have not been repealed, purporting to exempt real property in the North-west Territories from seizure by virtue of writs of execution, the validity of which has been questioned or may be open to question by reason of their repugnancy to the provisions of the Act hereby repealed, shall hereafter be deemed to be valid, and shall have force and effect as law.

It appears that when the Exemption Act was passed in 1878 the present condition did not exist in the Territories, because at that time the Real Properties Act was not in force, and the Territorial Real Properties Act conflicts with the provisions of the Homestead Exemption Act ; and the North-west Assembly, by the ordinance passed, chapter 45 of the session of 1888, provided the following exemption, that :

The homestead of the defendant, provided the same be not more than 160 acres ; in case it be more, the surplus may be sold subject to any lien or incumbrance thereon ; the house and buildings occupied by the defendant, and also the lot or lots on which the same are situated, according to the registered plan of the same, to the extent of \$1,500.

It has been held by the courts of the Territories that these clauses of chapter 45 of the Ordinance, exempting certain property, are not within the jurisdiction of the Territorial Assembly, and consequently it is necessary that the Territorial Assembly should obtain authority from this House to pass legislation such as they attempted to pass by this ordinance 45. It is in order to carry into effect the wishes and desires of the people as expressed by their representatives in the Territorial Assembly, that this Bill is introduced.

Mr. MARTIN. Then the matter will be entirely in the hands of the Territorial Assembly.

Mr. DALY. The whole matter will be entirely in the hands of the Territorial Assembly.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

THE QUARTERMASTER GENERAL.

Mr. MULOCK asked, Has a Quartermaster General been appointed to the Canadian militia ? If so, what is his name ? When was he appointed ? Is he a graduate of the Royal Military College ? What are his duties and salary ?

Mr. PATTERSON (Huron). Provision having been made during last session of Parliament for the pay and allowance of a Quartermaster General, Lieut.-Col. Percy H. N. Lake, H. M.'s East Lancashire Regiment, has been appointed Quartermaster General. He was appointed by Order in Council, 15th August, 1893. He entered the army from the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, of which he is a graduate. He is likewise a graduate of the Staff College. His pay, including allowances, is \$3,200 per annum. The duties of a Quartermaster General may be defined under the following heads:—

- "A," Transport of Troops ;
- "B," Quartering of Troops ;
- "C," Remounts ;
- "D," Military Intelligence ;
- "E," Military Topography ;
- "F," Mobilization.

Transport of Troops:—This includes the arrangements necessary for the movements of troops by land or water, both for the annual training of the militia and the preparation of such arrangements as would be rendered necessary in case of a sudden emergency.

Quartering of Troops:—This includes the elaboration of schemes connected with the permanent camping grounds for use by the militia at their annual training. The preparation of estimates of expenditure in connection therewith; the supervision of all details connected with the housing of men and horses in the permanent barracks, and the preparation of estimates in connection with that service; the allotment of rations, of fuel, light and forage, of the permanent force, and allowances in lieu thereof, and further, the preparation of detailed arrangements for the quartering of the militia at various points at any season of the year, in the event of an emergency which would necessitate their embodiment.

Remounts:—The supervision of the purchase of horses for use in the permanent force, their allotment to the various units and the casting of horses in the service, likewise the arrangements for the supply of horses which would be required on an emergency.

Military Intelligence:—Includes the collection and compiling of information relative to the military circumstances of this and other countries.

Military Topography:—This includes the preparation of the maps, plans and detailed topographical information necessary for the successful carrying out of military operations in the event of an emergency.

Mobilization:—This term may be broadly taken to include the drawing up of detailed plans for the defence of Canadian territory in any emergency which may arise; the placing in the field of a part or of the whole of the available forces of the country, either separately from or in connection with Her Majesty's Imperial forces. It further includes the arrangements which must be

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carried out in time of peace for the preparation, localization and system of distribution of the arms, equipments and munitions of war, and other stores which would be rendered necessary by an emergency such as would call out the whole armed strength available in the country.

The correspondence passing through the hands of the Quartermaster General daily is detailed in general order 62, for the 13th October, 1893:

Correspondence:—Correspondence of the following subjects will be addressed to the Quartermaster General at headquarters:—

- (a.) Transport and quartering of troops ;
- (b.) Appropriation of barrack accommodation, and question as to barracks, hospitals and all buildings in military charge ;
- (c.) Hire of land and buildings for military purposes, gun and rifle ranges ;
- (d.) Field and lodging allowances ;
- (e.) Remounts ;
- (f.) Information relative to military defences ;
- (g.) Military geography and maps for military purposes ;
- (h.) Localization and mobilization of the militia.

I may say, in further explanation to the hon. gentleman, that none of the work detailed above has ever been attempted since the Imperial forces left Canada. It is of a nature which in Her Majesty's Regular Army is only confided to officers who have been specially trained, and who have shown special aptitude for it. There is no officer in the Canadian militia who has had any means of acquiring even a rudimentary knowledge of the matters detailed above.

Mr. MULOCK. Would the hon. gentleman be good enough to answer one of the questions which has not been answered? It is: What are the duties of the Quartermaster General who has been appointed to the Canadian forces? The hon. gentleman has given us an essay, and perhaps he will now state whether the officer in question is expected to discharge those duties which he, in his essay, says are attached to the office. Has the appointee to discharge the duties named in this paper?

Mr. PATTERSON (Huron). Certainly.

Mr. MULOCK. He seems to have his work cut out for him.

I. C. R.—FREIGHT RATES ON GRAIN.

Mr. BOWERS asked, What is the rate of freight on the Intercolonial and connecting roads on grain per ton, or car on shipments: (a.) To St. John, N.B., from Montreal? (b.) To St. John, N.B., from Toronto? (c.) To Halifax from Montreal? (d.) To Halifax from Toronto? What is the rate of freight on the Intercolonial and connecting railways on coal per ton or car: (a.) Sydney to Montreal? (b.) New Glasgow to Montreal? (c.) Spring Hill to Montreal?

Mr. HAGGART. Rate on grain in car-load of 30,000 pounds: To St. John from Montreal for export, \$3.60 per ton. To St. John from Montreal for export, \$4 per ton. To St. John from Toronto for export, \$4.30 per ton. To St. John from Toronto for export, \$4.50 per ton. To Halifax from Montreal for export, \$3.60 per ton. To Halifax from Montreal for export, \$4 per ton. To Halifax from Toronto for export, \$4.30 per ton. To Halifax from Toronto for export, \$4.50 per ton. Rate on coal: Sydney to Montreal, \$3.51 per gross ton. New Glasgow to Montreal, \$2.80 per gross ton. Springhill Junction to Montreal, \$2.49 per gross ton.

"DRAWBACKS" TO SHIP-BUILDERS.

Mr. AMYOT asked, 1. Did the Government pay sums of money to ship-builders in Canada, in the form of drawbacks, during the following years, for vessels built in Canada: 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878 and 1879? 2. During the same years, did the Government pay moneys to such ship-builders, under the form of bounties, for such ships? 3. In what year did the Government cease to pay moneys, by way of remission of duties (or drawbacks), and begin to pay money, in aid of such ship-building, under the form of bounties? 4. In what year did the Government cease to pay moneys in the form of bounties? 5. In what year was the last payment made, for vessels so built from 1865 to 1879, inclusively?

Mr. WALLACE. 1. Drawbacks on duty paid on material used in ship-building were paid from 1865 to 1872, inclusive; none were paid during the fiscal years 1873 to 1879, inclusive; but during the calendar year 1879—that is to say, for the fiscal year 1879-1880, drawbacks were paid under the provisions of the Order in Council of the 12th November, 1879. 2. No. 3. Answered by first question. 4. Answered by reply to second question. 5. 3rd June, 1880, under Order in Council of the 12th November, 1879.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN ARTHABASKA.

Mr. DESAULNIERS asked, Whether the Department of Justice have received complaints with reference to the manner in which Hcn. Marc Aurèle Plamondon, one of the judges of the province of Quebec, administers judicial matters in the district of Arthabaska? If so, what action do the department propose taking against that state functionary?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I find nothing of that character in my department.

ST. THOMAS POST OFFICE.

Mr. CASEY asked, Is the post office at St. Thomas, Ont., now conducted as a city post office? What is the salary of the postmaster, and of each of the employees? Does the postmaster receive any commissions, allowances, box rents or other revenue over and above his salary? If so, how much from each source?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. The post office at St. Thomas, Ont., is not now conducted as a city post office. The postmaster's salary is \$2,000 per annum, in addition to which he is allowed \$1,020 for the assistant postmaster, Mr. O. C. Boughner, and \$1,380 for the other employees. The postmaster does not receive anything over and above his salary of \$2,000.

SHIPPING MASTER OF MONTREAL.

Mr. CASEY asked, Have the Government received a copy of the following resolution, alleged to have been passed by the Montreal Board of Trade, on or about the 26th April instant:—

The following resolution was moved by Mr. Andrew Allan, seconded by Mr. T. B. Brown, Mr. John Torrance and others: "That the position of shipping master of this port is one requiring from its incumbent for the proper discharge of his duties, experience and familiarity with the shipping matters and customs, and should, in the opinion of this board, be filled in accordance with the wishes of the shipping and commercial community; that it appears that the shipping interests of this port have unanimously recommended to the Government the appointment of a person who, in their opinion, possesses the qualifications necessary for the proper discharge of the duties of the post, and their recommendation has been approved by the council of this board. This Board, under the circumstances, has learned with surprise that the Government have decided to appoint to the position Mr. Fabien Vanasse, whose qualifications are not known and whose candidature has in no respect received the support or approval of those classes whose interests are intimately connected with the office and who are called upon to maintain the same. Under these circumstances, this board strongly urges the Government to reconsider its decision in the matter and to make the appointment suggested and approved of by the shipping interests and the council of the Board of Trade."

If not, have they received any communication directly or indirectly from the Montreal Board of Trade, or from any person or persons on their behalf regarding the appointment of Mr. Vanasse as shipping master at Montreal? If so, what was the nature of the communications?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The answer to the first part of the question is yes. The last part drops.

Mr. CASEY. It does not drop. The Minister must answer it.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The only answer I have to the question is yes, and it is a complete answer.

Mr. CASEY. I rise to a point of order. It is open to discussion whether that is a complete answer or not. The hon. Minister takes advantage of a technicality—

Mr. SPEAKER. What is the point of order?

Mr. CASEY. The point of order is that the answer given by the Minister is not a complete answer to the question.

Mr. SPEAKER. That is not a point of order. If any hon. member wishes to discuss an answer which he has received from a Minister, he can only do so by moving the adjournment of the House.

Mr. CASEY. I beg to ask for information on the point. Is it too much, when a question is asked of the Minister, to require answers to all the points contained in the question, or some reason for not answering them?

Mr. SPEAKER. Order.

Mr. CASEY. I am asking for information whether it is not possible to discuss a point of order at this time as well as at any other time?

Mr. SPEAKER. Really, I do not see that any point of order has been raised by the hon. member. The Government may decline to answer a question altogether if they so choose. Then, as I have stated, the only remedy open for a member who wishes to discuss the matter is to move the adjournment of the House.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The only difficulty is that the hon. gentleman did not read his question; but to save time he very properly dropped thirty or forty lines. If he takes the trouble to read the question quietly over to himself, he will see that yes is a complete answer to it, and that not another word is required.

Mr. CASEY. As the hon. Minister has discussed the question, I suppose I am at liberty to reply. I do not see that dropping—

Mr. SPEAKER. Order.

Mr. CASEY. If I am not as much in order as the hon. Minister, I beg to move the adjournment of the House. The part of the question which I did not read consists merely of the resolution of the Montreal Board of Trade with reference to the appointment of Mr. Vanasse as shipping master at the port of Montreal. I dispensed with the reading of that at the request of the members of the House. I asked whether the Government had not received this resolution? I said, if not, had they received any communication directly or indirectly from any parties on behalf of the Montreal Board of Trade, and what was the nature of such communication?

Mr. CASEY.

My reason for putting that question was that the Board of Trade at the same time passed another resolution calling upon the senior member for the city to bring the matter before Parliament and to ask whether such important interests as those of the Board of Trade should not be consulted in making an appointment of this kind. It was for that reason that I asked whether the Government had received communications from other parties. But the hon. Minister takes advantage of the words "if not" at the beginning of the second question, to say that when he answers yes to the first question, the second one disappears. Technically, I suppose it does; but I do not think the Minister is serving his own interests or keeping in touch with the House in taking advantage of that technicality. I beg leave to withdraw my motion for the adjournment of the House.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Carried.

Mr. CHARLTON. I may be permitted to say that I hope the withdrawal of the motion will be permitted. It would be a pity to lose the day for private members for so small a reason.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I want to say a word on the subject. I think the hon. member has been too sensitive altogether as to the nature of the answer which has been given to him. His question distinctly was as to a certain resolution which his question details—a resolution passed by the Montreal Board of Trade. His question was whether that had been received by the Government, and the Minister answered: "Yes, we have received it." The second part of the question is, if you have not received it, have you received anything else from other people? It was surely not expected that we should answer that which is only to be put in case the first question is answered negatively.

Mr. CASEY. That is the technicality.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. There is no technicality about it. We have received a communication from the Board of Trade: that is the answer to the first question. And the answer to the second is, yes, we have received that very communication.

Mr. CASEY. I would suggest leaving the second part as a separate question.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I think that motions to adjourn interposed between business, when the motion is not in connection with a matter of very great importance, are to be deprecated. Unless the object is to discuss some matters of very great urgency, the business of the House should not be interrupted in this way. On private members' day, if any private members wish to move the adjournment, I think the Government will not object to the motion being carried.

Motion, to adjourn, withdrawn.

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY REPORTS.

Mr. COATSWORTH asked, 1. For how many years has the Geological Department been publishing reports? 2. What number have been printed each year? 3. What number have been gratuitously distributed each year? 4. What number have been sold each year, and what amount has been realized each year on sales? 5. What amount of these reports for each year now remain in the department for sale, and at what price are they held? 6. Are there not numerous complaints made because those reports are not distributed free of charge? 7. Is it the intention of the Government to make provision for their free distribution?

Mr. DALY. I beg to say, in answer to the hon. gentleman: 1. Since 1842. 2. From 1876 to 1880—400 copies of the French edition were printed annually; from 1881 to 1884—500 copies were printed in French. Since 1885 to 1894—750 copies in French. From 1876 to 1877—2,400 copies were printed in English; in 1878—3,000 copies in English; in 1879 to 1893—3,500 copies were printed in English. It will require several days to give the returns asked for in questions 3, 4 and 5. 6. A very few complaints have been received respecting the free distribution of these reports.

CAPE BRETON RAILWAY.

Mr. LANDERKIN (for Mr. Davies, P.E.I.) asked, Has the Department of Railways paid or determined to pay all or any, and, if any, which of the claims of sub-contractors for the construction of the Cape Breton Railway? If so, what claims and amounts have been so paid or determined; and if any have been rejected, which, and for what amounts?

Mr. HAGGART. The Government have not paid any claims of sub-contractors for the construction of the Cape Breton Railway.

Mr. LANDERKIN (for Mr. Davies, P.E.I.) asked, Has the claim of Luke Day, a sub-contractor under Sims & Slater in the Cape Breton Branch of the Intercolonial Railway, been allowed by the Department of Railways, or is it the intention of the Government to pay or to recommend for payment all or any part of such claim?

Mr. HAGGART. No claim of such a man has been presented at all to the Government.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS—MANITOBA AND NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES

Mr. McMULLEN. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I would like to inquire when the return, ordered on 30th March last, of the cost of the construction of public build-

ings in Manitoba and the North-west, will be brought down?

Mr. OUMET. It is in course of preparation, as far as my department is concerned.

GOVERNMENT IMPORTS FROM THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. LANDERKIN. I would like to know when the return of the amount of goods imported from the United States, for the use of the Government in the public service, will be down?

Mr. WALLACE. If such has been ordered, it is in the course of preparation.

Mr. LANDERKIN. When will it be brought down? Of course, the Government would not import very largely from the United States, and the return cannot be very large.

TARIFF COMMISSION.

Mr. MARTIN. When will the return as to the expenses of the Tariff Commission be brought down?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I do not know. The expenses are not returned. Probably not this session.

THE LORD'S DAY OBSERVANCE.

Mr. CHARLTON moved second reading of Bill (No. 2) to secure the better observance of the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday. He said: I feel quite well aware than in approaching the discussion of this question, I am not entering upon a subject likely to be of very great interest to the House. I regret that this should be the case, but I think I may assume that it is. I have, however, to ask that my fellow-members will consider this question without any party bias whatever, because it is in no sense a party question. It has nothing whatever to do with party politics, and should be considered entirely uninfluenced by such considerations at all. I hope, also, that the consideration of the question will be approached by hon. members without their being influenced by personal considerations—by what the mover of the Bill may have said in the House upon various public questions, which possibly may have created some little feeling against himself in the contests that have taken place here. I should deprecate any such feeling existing towards me of a character calculated to prejudice any chance this Bill otherwise might have. I remember, some years ago, when I was promoting a Bill in this House, I approached the gentleman who was then the first Canadian of his day, and the leader of this House, and I asked him to be so kind as to allow no consideration connected with my having been in opposition to him to influ-

ence his opinions or decision with regard to that Bill, and that hon. gentleman said to me that he would be sorry to have me or any other gentleman entertain so poor an opinion of his disinterestedness and his character, as a man, to suppose that he would allow the fact that the mover or promoter of a Bill had been opposed to him politically, to have any influence whatever with him. I may say that the Bill succeeded. The hon. gentleman who led the Government never interposed an objection, prompted by the consideration that I was a political opponent, and through his kindness the Bill received in this House consideration on its merits. I ask the same treatment from my hon. friend opposite. I present this Bill upon its merits. I ask that it may be considered on its merits, and that my own position in the House or in the public may not, in any sense or degree, prejudice its chances of success.

Many attacks have been made, I am sorry to say, in connection with the Bill, upon the character of its promoter as a crank, a fanatic, a saintly man, a Puritan, a self-righteous man, and so on. I am sorry to say that we all deserve to confess our sins, and look to a higher source for forgiveness. Our highest aspirations often savour somewhat of earthly things :

We hope, we resolve, we aspire, we pray,
And we think we mount the air on wings,
Beyond the recall of sensual things,
While our feet still cling to the heavy clay.

I wish to claim, in connection with this matter, no merit further than that of seeking to serve my fellow-countrymen and of being governed by what I believe to be good intentions. I do not present the Bill because I think it reflects the opinions of one section more than another, but because its provisions will benefit the whole country. I believe it to be a public measure, conceived in the highest interests of the people. I believe that, if passed, it will reflect credit on the House and be a blessing to the people. This is not a popularity yielding measure certainly ; but it will be a beneficent measure, in my humble opinion, if it passes.

This Bill, Mr. Speaker, is based, of course, upon religious considerations. The sabbath was set apart in the first place to commemorate the creation of the world ; it was set apart by the Creator and hallowed by him. The only institutions that were transmitted to posterity from the possessions of man's first estate of innocence were the sabbath and marriage, and when the time came to inaugurate a greater event than the creation of the world, when the time came to redeem man, the hallowed day was changed from the seventh day of the week to the first and re-established as a memorial of redemption. And thus it stands to-day recognized by nearly all Christian churches—recognized by the Catholic church, recognized by almost every Protestant church—as the day set apart by Divinity to cele-

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brate that great event, the greatest of all events in human history.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I propose to present this Bill not from the religious standpoint except incidentally. I propose to present this Bill and urge its claim upon the members of this House from a civil standpoint. I propose to present it as a civil measure ; as a measure designed to secure for the people of this country their civil rights, and their religious rights as well, under the law. The aim of the Bill is not to prescribe religious observances ; it will not interfere with the belief or religious observance of the Mahomedan or the Jew, the Pagan or the infidel. It will prescribe to no man what his religious belief or his religious conduct or his religious observances shall be. It is designed to secure to all men certain civil rights ; it is designed to secure to the labourer the right of rest on the first day of the week ; it is designed to secure the right to the Christian labourer to enjoy religious observances or ordinances upon the first day of the week—and, unfortunately in many cases, unless the law steps in and protects him in that right, it is impossible for him to exercise it. The foundation for action in this Bill is, first, that the Bill is in the interest of human liberty, and second, that it is in harmony with divine law.

Now, while we may not be called upon to legislate with regard to religion and morality, while we may not make a man's religion or a man's standard in morals something that will determine whether he shall be a member of this House or a member of any other body or not ; religion and morality, nevertheless, Mr. Speaker, have very much to do with the interests of the state. George Washington, in his farewell address to the American people, used this remarkable language :

Of all the dispositions and habits that lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who would labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness.

Now, the state, while it is not called upon to dictate what a man's religion shall be or what a man's religious observances shall be, ought not to sanction that which promotes irreligion and vice. No Christian state would be justified in doing that. The state is not justified in sanctioning and promoting obscene plays, the introduction of obscene literature, gambling or vice of any kind. It is the proper function of the state to prohibit all those usages and practices ; it is the proper function of the state to refrain from that which promotes irreligion and vice ; and no civilized state, whether there be there a connection between church and state or not, would be performing its duty if it permitted any usage which promoted irreligion or which created or increased vice.

All human law rests upon the Decalogue :
Thou shalt not kill ; thou shalt not steal ;
thou shalt not bear false witness against

thy neighbour ; thou shall not commit adultery—these are the foundations of civil law. And the Decalogue, Mr. Speaker, is not of parital obligation—it is a symmetrical whole ; and the state cannot observe part of the Decalogue and disregard part of the Decalogue. If it gives heed to the sixth or the seventh or the eighth commandment, it must give heed also to the fourth, which is part of the symmetrical whole. Now, although there is no union of church and state in this country, there is, nevertheless, some intimate connection between the civil institutions of the country and religious obligations. No state can be entirely divorced in its laws and usages and constitutions from this obligation. St. Paul said with regard to the empire of Rome, "There is no power but of God ; the powers that be are ordained of God." "By me kings reign and princes decree justice," said Solomon, in referring to Jehovah. Men cannot sever the connection that exists between religious obligation and civil institutions, whether there is a union of church and state or not. Christianity has stamped its distinctive features upon the civilization of this century, upon its political institutions, upon its social institutions, upon its religious institutions—the teaching of the great prophet of Nazareth leavens all phases and all functions of society ; and the contrast that exists between the civilization of the nineteenth century and the civilization of Rome under Nero and Caligula is entirely due to the operation and influence and the formative power of Christianity brought to bear upon the society of our age. So, Sir, we are bound, in the consideration of this question, to give the requirements of the higher the divine law due consideration. We are bound to permit these requirements to have their due weight and to determine what bearing they have upon our civilization and to what extent we are meeting these requirements. As I have said, the state cannot dictate the creed, the mode of worship or the religious observances of the people. But just as truly the state should not promote infidelity, the state should not dishonour God's law. It is just as absolutely debarred if governed by correct principles from doing the one thing as it is from doing the other, if it properly discharges its duty. The state should protect the rights of conscience. The state should protect every citizen within its bounds in the exercise of religious liberty ; and I hold that the state may properly provide such laws as public necessity and the public good require.

I lay this foundation, because every principle in this Bill is involved in it. I proceed next to the consideration of the question, Have we any precedents for the legislation that is proposed in this Bill ? Is this some new scheme hitherto untried ? Is it a new theory that is propounded here for the first time ? Is there any precedent for the action proposed in this Bill ? I answer, Yes, not only one

precedent, but multitudes of precedents. A law of this kind was first put upon the Statute-book in England in the reign of Edgar, in the year 958. Between that year and 1854, there were thirty laws placed upon the Statute-book of Great Britain with regard to sabbath observance, more or less stringent in their character, but all conceding the principle that the state could properly legislate with regard to Lord's Day observance. Shortly before Queen Victoria's inauguration, a Royal Commission was appointed to examine into the question of Sunday observance in England, to traverse the whole field of investigation, and report as to the character of such laws, to report as to the character of Sunday observance, to report as to whether additional legislation was necessary, to report whether legislation of this kind was justifiable. This commission was struck in the year 1832 ; it was a special commission, consisting of twenty-nine members, among whom were Sir Andrew Agnew, Sir Robert Peel, Sir Robert Inglis, Lord Viscount Morpeth, Lord Viscount Sandon and Sir Thomas Baring. Many celebrated men were members of this commission. The evidence taken before this commission fills some 200 pages. They proceeded to summon witnesses, medical men, employers of labour, manufacturers, merchants, all classes of business men in England. They made an exhaustive examination of all the questions bearing on this matter, and I shall make two or three extracts as indicating the character of their report. In their report, paragraph 23, the following language occurs :—

In recommending a general revision and amendment of the laws for the observance of the sabbath it should be observed that Sunday labour is generally looked upon as a degradation, and it appears in evidence that in each trade, in proportion to its disregard for the Lord's Day, is the immorality of those engaged in it.

Now, that statement, if you will pause a moment to consider it, is pregnant with suggestive truths—that labour done on that day is looked upon as a degradation, and that Sunday labour promotes immorality ; paragraph 24 declares :

The workmen are aware, and the masters in many trades admit the fact, that were Sunday labour to cease, it would occasion no diminution of the weekly wages.

I shall read one more extract from the report of the commission, and one extract from the evidence given before that commission. At paragraph 29 of the report, I read :

The express commandment of the Almighty affords the plain and undoubted rule for man's obedience in this as in all other things ; and the only question therefore, is, in what particular cases should the sanctions and penalties of human laws be added to further and enforce this obedience to

the divine commandment; a question which should be approached with much seriousness of mind, when the obligations of legislators to promote, by all suitable means, the glory of God, and the happiness of those committed to their charge, is duly weighed.

These extracts correctly indicate the character of the report made upon this question by this commission in the year 1832; and I would just produce one item of evidence given before the commission by John Richard Farre, M.D. :

The researches in physiology by the analogy of the working of Providence in nature, will establish the truth of revelation, and consequently show that the divine commandment is not to be considered as an arbitrary enactment, but as an appointment necessary to man. This is the position in which I would place it, as contradistinguished from precept and legislation; I would point out the sabbatical rest as necessary to man, and that the great enemies of the sabbath, and consequently the enemies of man, are all laborious exercises of the body or mind and dissipation, which force the circulation on that day in which it should repose; whilst relaxation from the ordinary cares of life, the enjoyment of this repose in the bosom of one's family, with the religious studies and duties which the day enjoins, not one of which, if rightly exercised, tends to abridge life, constitute the beneficial and appropriate service of the day. The student of nature, in becoming the student of Christ, will find in the principles of this doctrine and law, and in the practical application of them, the only and perfect science which prolongs the present, and perfects the future life.

So much for the report of this commission, and the character of the evidence given before them, which led to their recommendation that the Sunday observance laws of England should be made more stringent.

If we turn from Great Britain to the various colonies, we will find that scarcely one English colony is without some kind of an enactment with regard to the Lord's Day observance. I believe there are only two of the forty-four American states that have not upon their Statute-books laws of a similar character. Precedents are abundant, and I think, Mr. Speaker, we may fairly come to the conclusion that the laws were warranted by divine authority and by human need. If human need had not required the placing of such laws upon the Statute-book, surely we would not find thirty statutes in Great Britain, we would not have over forty American states with laws of that kind, we would not have every English colony, with perhaps one or two exceptions, with laws of that kind; and the universality of those laws, and the length of time during which they have been in force, and the result of those laws in all these cases, render the conclusion inevitable that the laws were warranted and that they were justified by experience.

If we look at the character and progress of states and nations that have enacted and

lived under these laws, one of the most powerful arguments bearing upon their propriety and necessity, is furnished. Take the Anglo-Saxon race itself, a sabbath observing race from the commencement, with 6,000,000 people in 1700, with twenty and a half millions in 1800; the English language the fifth among the languages of Europe in the year 1800, spoken in that year by twenty and a half millions of people, spoken to-day by one hundred and fifteen millions; risen from the rank of the fifth language in Europe in 1800 to the first language in Europe in 1890; spoken by sixty millions more people than the French language; spoken by thirty-six millions more people than the German language. Surely there is some cause for the wonderful progress of this race. Its institutions must have been of a good character, its laws must have been well adapted to secure national growth and prosperity. In my belief nothing marks the contrast between Anglo-Saxon states and continental states more pointedly than the laws of the Anglo-Saxon states with relation to sabbath observance, to obedience to divine law, and to rendering obedience and homage to the will of Him who rules nations, by whose edict nations prosper or nations are brought low.

The Scotch people are prominent above all other people for their observance of the Lord's Day. I do not suppose that there is a race on the face of the earth whose progress has been more remarkable, whose influence is more widely extended, that has made a better figure in science and literature and material advancement than the Scotch people, who inhabit a little country, with a limited population, but the leaven of whose influence has reached the ends of the earth; it is felt in this Dominion, in the United States, in every British colony, and in proportion to their number their influence is vastly greater than the influence of any other race on the face of this globe. It is not because of the superiority of the race or of any natural advantage, but it is in consequence of the stability of character, firmness and persistency in adhering to their rules in regard to religious matters and sabbath observance, a characteristic which they have displayed during the last two hundred or three hundred years. We may safely follow those precedents and examples because the whole course of experience with respect to them points in one direction and in one direction only, and proves that this experiment has been pre-eminently a success.

I shall proceed in a few moments to the citation of authorities on this question, which I trust will have some weight and influence with almost all members of this House, and especially with those hon. members who come from the province of Quebec. Before doing so, however, I may be permitted to say, or rather it may be necessary to say a few words with respect to the change of the Sabbath from the seventh day

of the week to the first day of the week. I judge this is necessary from the fact that last year one of the leading newspapers of this city contained an editorial, in which it combatted the position that the law with respect to sabbath rest had any application now, or if it had any application it referred to Saturday and not to the first day of the week, and an hon. friend, who sits behind me, took the same ground, that we were arguing for the enactment of a law requiring the observance of a day for the observance of which there was no sanction or requirement in the divine law. I do not think it is necessary to enter into an extended disquisition on this point. Suffice it to say that the Catholic Church has accepted the first day of the week as the Lord's Day, and the Protestants have accepted it, with one or two trifling exceptions, and the change of the day is held to rest upon the example of the early Apostolic Church. Recently a manual of worship of the early Christian Church was found in one of the Greek convents of Constantinople. That manual gave the order of worship among the early Christians and dealt with all the religious observances, and it required explicit observance of what is termed the Lord's Day of the Lord as a day of rest and religious observance, when the people should be gathered together for the purpose of breaking bread. If we establish the fact that the early Christian Church adopted that day, and if we refer to the further fact that the institutions of the Christian Church were fixed, not by chance, but by the direction of the Third Person in the Godhead, the Holy Spirit (the apostles were commanded to tarry at Jerusalem for that spirit till it came, and it was poured out upon them at Pentecost), if we consider that influence directed the apostles in laying the foundation of Christian institutions, we have the fact that the selection of the first day of the week was by virtue of the influence and direction of the Holy Spirit, and that the Catholic Church and all other churches that recognize that day are following the example of the Apostolic Church, and that the Apostolic Church was governed in its decision by the influence of that power that our Saviour promised to send to direct them and instruct them and bring to mind and remembrance all things he had said unto them. Let these remarks suffice for this branch of the question.

With respect to the propriety of the choice of this day from a civil standpoint, of course for obvious reasons it is necessary to have a uniform day. One body might observe Saturday, another Friday and another the first day of the week, and the result would be great confusion in civil employment. The lawyer at the bar might observe one day and the judge on the bench another; the clerk in the store might observe one day and the customer another; the locomotive engineer might wish

to lay off on Saturday and the fireman on Sunday, and this would produce great confusion. So the necessity of enacting one day as the legal day of rest and thus following the example of the Christian Church, is apparent, and that should be the day of the week as laid down by the Christian Church.

I wish, having shown that there are many precedents for a law of this kind—precedents in British legislation, precedents in colonial legislation, precedents in American legislation, and I will show later that there have been precedents in recent days in European legislation—to refer to some of the authorities for the observance of this day, and I take into account the fact that I have many friends in the province of Quebec who are somewhat sceptical as to the propriety of legislating for the observance of this day, not that they do not recognize the day, not that their church does not recognize the day, but they have some doubt as to the propriety of this House of Commons interfering in this matter. I desire to refer to certain Catholic authorities for the purpose not only of strengthening my position, but of influencing the convictions of my fellow members who are Catholics. I take the liberty of reading what the Holy Father Pope Leo XIII. said about this matter of Sunday observance in one of his deliverances to the church of which he is the head. His Holiness said:

The observance of the sacred day which was willed expressly by God from the first origin of man, is imperatively demanded by the absolute and essential dependence of the creature upon the Creator. And this law, mark it well, my beloved, which at one and the same time so admirably provides for the honour of God, the spiritual needs and dignity of the man, and the temporal well-being of human life. This law, we say, touches not only individuals, but also people and nations, which owe to Divine Providence the enjoyment of every benefit and advantage which is derived from civil society. And it is precisely to this fatal tendency, which to-day prevails to desire to lead mankind far away from God, and to order the affairs of kingdoms and nations as if God did not exist, that to-day is to be attributed this contempt and neglect of the day of the Lord. They say, it is true that they intend in this way to promote industry more actively, and to procure for the people an increase of prosperity and riches. Foolish and lying words! They mean, on the contrary, to take away from the people the comforts, the consolations and the benefits of religion; they wish to weaken in them the sentiment of faith and love for heavenly blessings; and they invoke upon the nations the most tremendous scourges of God, the just avenger of His outraged honour.

These are the words of the head of the Catholic Church. These are weighty words, these are words of wisdom, these are words that every man, whether Catholic or Protestant, in this Dominion may well heed, these are words directly warranting the action proposed on this occasion, to ask by

legislative enactment to some extent the honouring of this day for which His Holiness speaks. I have here expressions on the same line from His Eminence Cardinal Taschereau, from His Grace Archbishop Fabre, from His Eminence Cardinal McCloskey, from Cardinal Gibbons, from Archbishop Ireland, from Archbishop Riordan, from Archbishop Goss, from Bishop Keene, of Richmond, Va., from the Bishop of Buffalo. All these Catholic prelates take exactly the same position (some of them in a more pronounced way) that is taken by the head of their church. As to the Protestant clergy, it is unnecessary to quote from them; it is only necessary to say that all are in favour of legislation that will secure a better observance of this day for the public benefit and for the civil government of man. As for jurists, I might quote the language of Lord Mansfield, the language of Sir Matthew Hale, the language of Blackstone, the language of Justice Field, the language of Judge Thurman, and I will quote an extract from Judge Kelly of Minneapolis, which is so pertinent to the case and is so recent that I will place it upon record now. Judge Kelly says :

The Puritan taught and enforced a strict, very strict observance of the sabbath-day. And he made that day the corner-stone of his political fabric. I am not a Puritan, nor a descendant of the Puritan. I am a Southern born and Southern reared. By blood, I am Irish, and by faith, Catholic. All the traditions of my life have been adverse to the Puritan and his teaching. But for all that, I thank God that the Pilgrim Fathers left Leyden and landed at Plymouth, and that the impress of their presence and labours here have been left in the character of every American state. If, perhaps, they were in their ideas about the sabbath too severe, that very fact has made the impress more lasting.

This is the language of a judge in one of the western states, and an Irish Catholic. Then with regard to statesmen, I might quote the words of Disraeli, the words of Gladstone, the words of Argyle, the words of Bright, the words of Shaftesbury, the words of Washington, the words of Lincoln, of Garfield, of Harrison, of our own statesmen of Ontario, Mowat—I am afraid I could not quote the words of some gentlemen who are interrupting me on the other side of the House. As to labour organizations, I might quote the words of Henry George, of T. V. Powderly, of P. M. Arthur, of the American Federation of Labour. There is not a labour organization, I believe, upon this continent that has not placed upon record its desire for Sunday rest through resolutions passed by the order, and through the language of its recognized head. As to religious organizations I will quote from one only; I will quote the following from the circular of the Third Catholic Plenary Council, assembled at Baltimore :

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And the consequences of this desecration are as manifest as the desecration itself. The Lord's Day is the poor man's day of rest; it has been taken from him,—and the labouring classes are a seething volcano of social discontent. The Lord's Day is the home day, drawing closer the sweet domestic ties, by giving the toiler a day with wife and children; but it has been turned into a day of labour,—and homes are fast losing their sweetness and their hold. The Lord's Day is the church day, strengthening and consecrating the bond of brotherhood among all men, by their kneeling together around the altars of the one Father in heaven; but men are drawn away from this blessed communion of saints,—and as a natural consequence they are lured into the counterfeit communion of socialism, and other wild and destructive systems. The Lord's Day is God's day, rendering ever nearer and more intimate the union between the creature and his Creator, and thus ennobling human life in all its relations; and where this bond is weakened, an effort is made to cut man loose from God entirely, and to leave him, according to the expression of St. Paul, "without God in this world." (Eph. ii. 12.) The profanation of the Lord's Day, whatever be its pretext, is a defrauding both of God and his creatures, and retribution is not slow.

The case could not have been put in better form than in this circular of the third Catholic Plenary Council of Baltimore. Now, Mr. Speaker, there has been manifested a growing discontent among the labourers of Europe and the labourers of America because of the exactions of capital, and because of the gradual loss of their privileges as regards the day of rest. These labourers have felt instinctively that the demands of corporations and employers that compel them to labour seven days out of seven, was trampling upon their just rights. Whether they had religious scruples or not, whether they believed in God or not, whether they believed that the Lord's Day was of divine origin or not; these men have instinctively felt that as a civil right they were entitled to one day's rest out of the seven; and this agitation has begun to produce fruit. There was formed in Geneva in 1861, the Sabbath Observance Federation. The operations of this federation at first attracted little attention and produced little results, but at the time of the holding of the World's Fair at Paris in 1889, attention seems to have been called to this question by the example of the United States and of Great Britain with regard to their exhibits. These exhibits at the Paris exhibition, as well as the exhibits of all the British colonies, were closed on Sunday, and this was an object lesson which seems to have produced a powerful effect on public sentiment in Paris, to the extent, at least, of drawing attention to this question. In connection with this fair, an International Congress of Weekly Rest was held at Paris under the authorization of the French Government from 24th September to 27th September, 1889. This national congress made recommendations with regard to Sunday rest by passing resolutions advising legislation

with reference to this matter, and recommending the securing of Sunday rest to the labourer, by legislative enactment. This international congress was followed by the International Labour Congress which was convened by Emperor William II., of Germany, at Berlin, in March, 1890, less than a year after the congress at Paris. The International Labour Congress which sat from 15th March to 30th March, also passed resolutions in favour of Sunday rest. Here then we have the resolutions of the International Congress of Weekly Rest at Paris in 1889, the resolution of the International Labour Congress, convened by the Emperor of Germany, at Berlin, 1890; and following these recommendations came fruits.

Germany passed a law in 1891, and again in July, 1892, and in that law, the prosecuting of certain employments was prohibited on the Lord's Day, and clerks in all callings were only employed five hours on the Lord's Day, while work in mines, manufactories, workshops, tile shops, dockyards, and building yards was prohibited. Austria passed laws of a similar character in 1884 and in 1885. Hungary passed a law of a similar character in 1891, and the association of newspaper editors and printers has maintained a severe struggle to bring to an end the printing of newspapers on Sunday, with good prospect of success. Belgium passed a law in 1885, and the law was further amended in 1889. By this law letter delivery was curtailed more than one-half; fifteen hundred freight trains were discontinued on Sunday, the freight depots were closed, postmen are free every Sunday, and the service performed by special persons, and various other provisions were made for securing Sunday rest for employees, and so the principle of recognizing man's right to Sunday rest was recognized in Belgium. Denmark passed a law in 1891 which released 100,000 Sunday slaves from their labour on that day. Spain, the last country we would almost dream of in connection with Sunday rest-reform passed a law in February, 1892, and under the provisions of that law, Sunday rest was made obligatory in every government establishment in Spain, and Sunday labour in all factories was prohibited for persons under eighteen years of age. France passed a law on the 16th of February, 1892, and again on the 2nd of November, 1892, and by these laws contractors were prohibited from compelling labour upon Sunday, women and children were secured their Sunday's rest, and this provision of the law, curiously enough,—I wish to call the attention of my hon. friends to this fact—guaranteed women and children one day's rest a week—not the sabbath nor the Lord's Day, but simply one day's rest a week. The legislators did not dare to use the expression Sunday rest, as they were afraid to seem to make concessions to the Catholic party, who were de-

manding this legislation, but they gave a law guaranteeing one day's rest a week; and this indicates pretty clearly what the Catholic sentiment of France is with regard to the matter. The fact being that the Catholics have become ardent friends of the labour Sunday rest movement. Through the influence of this movement the government has closed its freight depots on the railways after 10 a.m. Sunday, postal deliverers have been reduced one-half. Sunday fairs in many instances have been deferred till Monday, and in the French army Sunday is kept strictly as a day of rest. Holland passed a law in 1889 dealing with the Sunday rest question. Sunday work for women and children in factories is forbidden. A large proportion of Sunday freight trains have been discontinued. Postmen and telegraph employees are free on Sunday. Railway employees have more or less Sunday rest. Elections have been discontinued on Sunday. The civic guard does not drill that day, and no Sunday papers are issued. Italy is moving in the direction of a Sunday law, under the advice of the Pope, and the influence of the Congress of Workingmen's Societies, and other leagues and organizations. A law is in course of preparation in Russia itself for securing a cessation of labour on the Lord's Day. Norway has a law in the same direction. Sweden has a similar law. In Switzerland almost every canton has a Lord's Day law and prohibition of Sunday newspapers. Now, here are the fruits of this agitation in these continental countries where a few years ago there was scarcely a whisper of legislation with regard to Sunday observance. We have now such laws in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, France, Holland, Russia, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland; and surely Canada can never claim to be the moral leaders of this continent or a moral leader in any sense, if we lag behind in this matter, and refuse to place a law of the same character upon our Statute-book. This movement for sabbath reform is a movement, I repeat, specially in the interest of labour, and it is an interest in regard to which labour is beginning to awake. The labourers of all countries are realizing that they are being made slaves to the exactions of corporations and capitalists, and that unless the legislatures step in and secure to them the rights they desire to maintain, they will continue to be slaves to Sunday labour.

Last fall there was held at Chicago the most remarkable of all the Sunday rest conventions or congress as yet held in the world—the International Congress on Sunday Rest, which met on the 27th of September, and remained in session three days. This congress was attended by leading statesmen, public men, journalists, jurists—

An hon. MEMBER. And priests.

Mr. CHARLTON. Yes; priest and preachers; and Archbishop Ireland was one of the most active among them. Leading men were there from all sections of the civilized globe, and the expression of opinion with regard to this matter was of the most unmistakable character. The arguments placed before the public through the medium of that International Sunday Rest Congress are unanswerable, and to my mind among the best papers presented to that congress were those of Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland. That international congress has given to this movement in the United States an impetus that will be sure to tell in the near future.

It is conceded on all hands that the rights of labour cannot be secured without the intervention of law; it is conceded that the law must step in, or the labourer is powerless; it has been shown that the advocacy of Sunday labour comes not from the men who perform the labour, but from the men who pocket the dividends, and who profit by trampling on the rights of the individual. It has been shown furthermore that the labourer is not a free agent in this matter. He reaches home Saturday night too tired to continue to work, and too poor to quit; and he is compelled to work. With him it is not a free choice, but a choice between breaking his conscientious scruples and starvation for himself and his family; and unless the law protects him in the right he desires to enjoy, he is powerless and at the mercy of those corporations who wish to coin money out of his life-blood, his sufferings and his loss, and by the deprivation of himself and his family of every religious privilege and every natural right.

Now, Sir, we have in all parts of the world at the present time labour troubles and unrest; we have to-day 200,000 miners on strike in the United States; we have an army of disaffected men marching on to Washington; we have bomb-throwing in almost every capital of Europe; we have society trembling on the verge of great social upheavals; and we are all standing in dread of the changes that may speedily come. What is the matter? Has all this trouble and unrest come because we have been dealing with the disaffected classes on the basis of Christian privileges and Christian usage? Is it because we have paid heed to the injunctions of the Teacher of Nazareth, and have found that these injunctions have proved insufficient? No, Sir; it is because we have disregarded those injunctions; it is because modern society disregards the principles of Christianity and the commands of its Founder; and the remedy for all these difficulties lies in the application of Christian principles, which will make better masters and better men. Unless these principles are applied, these social upheavals will continue; and the first step to take in applying them is to recognize God's law, that the sabbath-day is to be remembered and kept holy, and the labourer is to be secured in the posses-

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sion of his right to enjoy that day as a day of rest.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I come to the point where I propose to inquire, do these Sunday laws that are proposed violate any of the true principles of human liberty? It is claimed that they do. It is claimed that it is an unjust interference with a man's natural right to say that he shall not be permitted to labour, that he shall not be permitted to employ labour, that he shall not be permitted to do just as he pleases with regard to such things. If a Sunday observance law is an infringement of any just and true principle of human liberty, then, of course, we cannot pass that law; and the question is, is it? With regard to this matter I wish to refer to just three authorities; though I might refer to hundreds. I wish first to refer to Blackstone, who we all know is a very eminent English jurist, whose opinion on a legal or any other question should command respect. With regard to the Sunday rest he says:

It is of admirable service to a state, considered merely as a civil institution.

Mr. Justice Field, of the United States Supreme Court, one of the foremost jurists of this continent, in giving a decision in California some years ago, when he was chief justice of that state, said:

The legislature had the right to make laws for the preservation of health and the promotion of good morals, and so to require periodical cessation from labour, if of opinion that it would tend to both. Archbishop Ireland said in my hearing last September, at Chicago, with reference to this matter:

I know well we cannot ask the interference of the civil law for mere religion's sake. This consideration is often urged against enactments of Sunday laws. But Sunday is more than a religious day. Sunday is the safety of society, the safety of the nation. Sunday is the inheritance of those who are disinherited from the wealth of the world. Sunday is the day needed by the masses of our people. On this ground I appeal to our lawmakers to aid us in preserving us it from desecration.

Noble words these, carrying conviction to every man who is open to conviction—words pronounced by one of the highest ecclesiastical authorities on this continent, and one of the foremost and purest men in the world. We have, in these declarations by jurists and ecclesiastics, the foundation laid for the vindication and proof of the assertion that Sunday laws do not violate the principles of human liberty. In conclusion, in urging this branch of the subject, I may say that it is proper for this Legislature, or for any Legislature, to impose any degree of restraint necessary for the general welfare. All laws impose restraints. Laws against theft impose restraint; laws against murder impose restraint; laws against any crime impose restraint. Any restraint it is necessary to impose for the purpose of securing the public weal is a restraint which the law-

maker has a right to impose, and if it can be shown that this restraint with regard to Sabbath observance is a salutary one, calculated to benefit society, this Legislature has the right to impose it.

I propose to inquire briefly into the question: In what respect does a Sunday rest law promote the public interest? And in what respect is it necessary in the public interest? I answer that it is necessary in many respects. It is necessary, first, as a sanitary regulation. We have the power to make quarantine regulations. We appoint health officers who impose restraints, who interfere with individual liberties, and they have the right to do so in the public interest. We have the right, as a sanitary regulation, to abate a nuisance of any kind, detrimental and prejudicial to health. We have the right to regulate the hours of labour. We can pass a 10 or an 8 or a 12-hour law; we can regulate the hours of labour upon the grounds of a sanitary regulation. We can inspect food; we can prohibit the use of certain articles of food. We can exercise the most arbitrary powers in connection with food inspection, as a sanitary regulation. We can order the destruction of infected clothing and diseased cattle. We can do anything that the public good and safety require. And I say that the Sabbath observance law, as a sanitary regulation, is in the public interest. With regard to its bearing on the question, as a sanitary regulation, let us see what the outcome of the deliberations of the Royal Commission, appointed in 1832, was:

This commission took the testimony of medical men as to the utility of Sunday rest in repairing the waste of physical energy. The impression produced by this testimony was profound. All concurred in the opinion, fortified by experiment and experience, that the respite from toil one day in every seven was essential to man and beast as a condition of the highest development. Other inquiries as to economics and the interests of manufacturers, operatives and of the people in general, led to the same conclusions. And for sixty years the laws unchanged, have continued to bless a great people.

So I come to the conclusion that this law, as a sanitary regulation, is justified upon the ground of public necessity.

In the next place, I come to the conclusion that this Sunday observance law does not violate the principles of human liberty, but, on the contrary, is necessary in the public interest, because it has a tendency to promote good morals and social purity. Now, what rests upon the morals of the individual? If there be no private virtue, how can you expect public virtue? If there be no public virtue how can you expect stability in our institutions? Is the state not interested in securing a condition of things that will promote private virtue? Will the state permit the unrestrained introduction of obscene literature? Will it permit the placing before the public of obscene plays? Do we

establish reformatories and houses of correction? What is our justification for our expenditure on these? It is our wish to promote public virtue. We wish to reclaim those who have fallen; we wish to promote the interests of the state, because there can be no public virtue without private virtue, no stability of human institutions without private virtue, and consequently a law which above all others will promote good morals and social purity is a law which should pass. Permit me in this connection to make two quotations from papers contained in the compilation of proceedings of the International Sunday Rest Congress at Chicago. "The Sunday Problem; its Present Day Aspects." Prevention is always better than cure. A policy that will promote social virtue and purity is a policy of prevention, the prevention of evils that result from vicious courses. And in connection with this matter, one of the most eminent doctors of law, Dr. Butler, in his address at Chicago, said:

The practical solution of these questions has been reached by dealing with the Day of Rest as an accepted and essential part of the established order of Christian civilization, demanded by the physical, moral, and social needs of men, and requiring the exercise of the power of the state to protect its citizens in its enjoyment, and to compel its observance so far as may be necessary to that end, wholly aside from any attempt to enforce its religious observance.

Cardinal Gibbons, in the same connection, said:

How many social blessings are obtained by the due observance of the Lord's Day? The institution of the Christian sabbath has contributed more to the peace and good order of nations than could be accomplished by standing armies and the best organized police force. The officers of the law are a terror, indeed, to evil-doers, whom they arrest for overt acts; while the ministers of religion, by the lessons they inculcate, prevent crime by appealing to the conscience, and promote peace in the kingdom of the soul.

A third reason for the enactment of such a law is that it gives higher education, and in that sense supplements the efforts made in our public schools. The public take an interest in educational matters. It is felt to be a part of the duty of the Legislature of a state to see that the children under its care do not grow up in ignorance, and provisions are made for their education. These provisions are, in the main, for secular education. Now, a man may be a very highly educated man, and his education may only increase his powers for evil. The Sunday observance law steps in and offers to supply the deficiency of secular education by giving to the child the opportunity for that higher education which is given in the church and in the Sunday-school, and by the religious instruction, which will not be given if the Lord's Day is not observed, and will not be

given thoroughly unless the state throws its influence on the side of right and upon the side of the observance of the Lord's Day. Now, intelligence is a good thing, and the fear of God is just as good a thing, and if the public school gives education in the line of intelligence and the higher education of which I speak is given in the church and Sunday-school the state is doing its full duty, and only its full duty, if it permits this higher education to supplement the education given in the common schools.

In the fourth place, an additional reason for enacting such a law as this is the fact that the law is calculated to secure the rights of conscience and religious liberty. Now, we profess in this country to have religious liberty; we profess to regard the rights of conscience. It would be considered an outrageous thing if any law was placed upon the Statute-book which interfered with the free exercise by any citizen of his rights of conscience and religious liberty. There is no member of this House but would raise his voice against such an outrageous enactment. But, Sir, there are scores of thousands of men in this Dominion, there are more than a million of men on this continent who cannot exercise their rights of conscience, whose religious liberty is denied them, who are obliged to work on the Lord's Day, and have no remedy, and can have no remedy until the law steps in and protects them. And the object of this law is to give these men the rights of conscience and religious liberty—not to say to them that they must go to church, not to say to them that their religious observances must be according to this rule or according to that; but to say to them: You may go to church, and the state will protect you in your right to go to church, the state will see to it that you shall go to church if you want to, and no human power shall prevent it. That is the object of this law—not to force religious observances upon the people, but to permit religious observances; not to interfere with religious liberty and the rights of conscience, but to secure a religious liberty and the rights of conscience; and, without this law, these rights cannot be secured; without this law there must be thousands of men in this Dominion who cannot and will not exercise these rights which we here hold they have a right to exercise, and in the exercise of which the law should protect them. At the Sunday Rest Congress there was a gentleman of the name of Beach who was sent to the congress by the Pennsylvania Railway to read a paper. He went on, Sir, in a very plausible way to state that the roads were quite in favour of diminishing Sunday labour as far as it was possible, but there were seasons of the year when there was great pressure on the roads, and there was such a thing as emergency freight. Here would be a steamer at New York going to sail on Tuesday, and some shipper away back in the western states had some freight he wanted to send by her,

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and, in order to get it there in time, they would have to send it over the road on Sunday, and, consequently, it was necessary to do a very large amount of Sunday work. When I followed I showed that there was certain emergency work upon a farm: Here was a farmer with grain standing in the field, when it looked as if it might rain on Monday, and he felt the pressure of an emergency to put it in the barn the day before. But it was not held that he had the right to do so, and no Christian society would bear him out in the assertion that he had the right to do so. I was followed by Mr. L. S. Coffin, a member of the Iowa Railway Commissioners Board, who was at Chicago as the representative of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, the Order of Railway Conductors and the Order of Railway Telegraphers, numbering in the aggregate 110,000 men. Mr. Coffin differed from Mr. Beach, and showed most conclusively that the statements made by that gentleman with regard to the railway companies would not hold water. He said there was no such thing as emergency freight, no such thing as perishable freight since the introduction of the refrigerator car system; delay only involved the use of a little more ice. He showed that stock in the cars was all the better for the rest on Sunday. If the railway was pressed with work in the fall it was a confession that there was a dearth of motive power, and, instead of violating God's command and compelling their men to work on the Lord's Day, they had only to add one-sixth to their working force and one-sixth to their rolling stock to overcome the difficulty. He said that it was the cupidity of the railway stockholders and of the management that disregarded the rights of labour and failed to provide sufficient working force and rolling stock which deprived labour of its right to Sunday rest.

The next reason, Mr. Speaker, why a Sunday observance law is in the public interest, and a law that we ought to pass, and a law that every civilized state ought to pass, is that it secures good homes. Daniel Webster once truly said that the good home was the bulwark of the state. Now, a good home that graduates an honest, industrious, virtuous, God-fearing son as a voter, lies at the foundation of the state's prosperity and permanence. The bad home that graduates the vicious man who has no regard for God and no regard for morality, and no regard for principle, is doing its utmost to sap the foundation of the state. And, if a Sunday observance law is calculated to secure good homes, and it is generally proved that its practical operation is to promote that end, we need no other reason than that fact as a justification for the passing of such a law. Now, the state ought not to be indifferent to evil influences. I wish to read a short extract, which shows about how this compelling of men to work on the Sabbath is looked upon by the labour-

er himself. This Mr. Coffin, to whom I have alluded, in speaking of this matter of men being compelled to work in the railway yards and on the train without being secured their Sunday rest, spoke of a man in the city of Keokuk, in the state of Iowa, and he gave the language of that man when he was conversing with him and asking how often he had been in church during the last five years. The man said :

For five years I have lived at Keokuk ; for five years I have been every Sunday in the yards, making up trains and getting in cars, and for these five years I have not been inside of a church on Sunday. My wife, thinking that if I had to work it was her duty to stay at home and get me a good dinner, for those five years has not been inside of a church on Sunday. My children do not go to Sunday school. And when I have been in the yard with those cars I have thought it over, and have come to this conclusion : It is the almighty dollar that everybody is after and they don't care a — for us.

Now, that was this man's process of reasoning. The lack of a law securing to that man his Sunday's rest had kept him out of church, had kept his children out of church and Sunday-school, had kept his wife out of church for five years, and in consequence of this failure to protect them, they were existing and the children were growing up in a condition of semi-heathenism. What kind of a Christian nation is it that turns a deaf ear to the cry of scores of thousands of people who ask simply that there shall be a law passed that will secure to them a right which God has given, which the state can give, and the exercise of which the state is bound to secure them if it discharges its duty to its citizens ?

In the sixth place, Mr. Speaker, this law is quite consistent with the principles of human liberty and demanded by human necessity and the necessities of society, because it promotes temperance and obedience to the law, because its direct tendency is to diminish crime. Now, we all deplore the evil of intemperance, we discuss the possibility of putting an end to it. We discuss prohibition, we discuss high license, we discuss one remedy and another, but the best remedy, and you and I both know it, Mr. Speaker, is to reach the individual man, to reach his convictions, to reach his conscience ; and to do that we must adopt the approved channel and methods, and a Sunday observance law is right in the direction of reaching that man and bringing him under the influences that will produce the desired effect. Now, we provide jails for criminals. Would it not be a great deal better to keep the man out of jail ? Certainly it would. We have institutions for the administration of justice, we pay an enormous sum for the administration of justice. Would it not be a great deal better to have less justice to administer ? Certainly it would. We punish crime—not from any feeling of revenge, but we punish crime as

an example to deter others from committing it. Would it not be well to adopt some more effectual method to keep men from committing crime ? We are a terror to evil-doers, and we should be a praise to those that do well, and we should attempt to do well ourselves ; but we cannot attempt it in a better way than to obey the commands that a higher power has placed upon us, and to move in the direction of the institutions that He has laid down for our guidance and government. Now, no cause that would check these evils should be disregarded, and why should we overlook that cause which promises to be more effectual than other influences ? The enactment of a law which will bring people under religious influences, which will give them Sunday observance and Sunday rest, will, so far as the state is able to produce that result, make these men and women, and boys and girls, better individuals, and better members of society. I hold that this law is of a character calculated to promote temperance, to promote obedience to law, to diminish crime, and no other reason than that is necessary to justify the passage of such a law.

In the last place, this law is justified upon the grounds of public necessity and public welfare, because it is a law that promotes the welfare and prosperity of the state. We meet here and we discuss the tariff—discuss it at great length, greater length than necessary, sometimes ; we discuss law, we charter companies, we discuss policies. What do we do all this for ? Why, the professed reason is that we wish to promote the public good, to increase the prosperity of the state. That is the excuse of holding these sessions. If we did not do that, or attempt to do it, we would not be discharging our public duty. Now, if this law will promote the welfare and prosperity of the state, it is a wise, just and beneficent law, a law justified upon the ground of public necessity, a law that needs no other reason to justify its passage. Now, who says this law will not promote prosperity ? Who says this law will not make better individuals of the people of the country ? Who says it will not promote material prosperity, and place it upon a higher moral plane, and in every way act to strengthen the nation and make it more powerful and prosperous ? Nobody can say so. We waste time here on a thousand schemes, and the whole of them combined are not as well calculated to secure the result we are talking about as this single law. Now, Sir, if all these things are so, if these seven reasons, any one of which would warrant the passage of this law, are reasons that can be defended, are reasons that can be proved to be well founded, then, why not be guilty of recognizing God ? Why not promote, by legislation, morality, promote thrift, promote cleanliness, promote public health, promote self-respect, promote individual and national prosperity, and promote respect to human right ? We can pro-

note all these things by this law, we can promote all these things more effectually by this law than by any other law. We can promote all these things more effectually by this law than by all other laws.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. CHARLTON. Those hon. gentlemen say, "Hear, hear," perhaps in a tone of irony. I tell you, Mr. Speaker, that if any man believes there is a God—and I am not talking to those who do not—if any man believes there is an overruling Providence, if any man believes that it is a divine command to remember the sabbath day and keep it holy, if any man believes in respect for, and obedience to, God's law, and in laying the foundation of our public institutions and public education in that law—if any man believes this, he cannot but believe that this law is the best calculated of all laws to secure the prosperity and welfare of the state. If he does not believe this, all these arguments are thrown away on him, as a matter of course.

Now I come to the provisions of this Bill. It is not a drastic Bill, it is not a puritanical Bill; it is a Bill that fails to meet the expectations of the greater portion of the Christian people of this country. The word "religion" is not in the preamble of this Bill, the word "religion" is not in the body of it. It makes no provision whatever for religious observance; it does not profess to interfere with the right of any citizen of Canada with regard to religious observance. One of the aims of this Bill is to secure religious rights. Another aim, and the chief aim, is to secure civil rights, to check the influences that are at work now, and that threaten our national welfare. For that purpose, this Bill proposes three or four simple things. It proposes, in the first place—and perhaps some of my hon. friends will be shocked at a proposal so puritanical and absurd—it proposes to put an end to the publication of Sunday newspapers in this Dominion. The provision is this:

Whoever shall, on the Lord's Day, either as proprietor, publisher, or manager, engage in the printing, publication or delivery of a newspaper, journal or periodical, and whoever shall, on the Lord's Day, engage in the sale, distribution or circulation of any newspaper, journal or periodical, shall be deemed to be guilty of an indictable offence.

Now, I pointed out a short time ago that Sunday newspapers are not published in Great Britain, they are not published in Switzerland, they are not published in Holland. An effort has been made, and the effort will probably prove successful, to secure a law in Hungary by which their publication will be prohibited there. One of the American journalists, Mr. Bennett, of the New York 'Herald' I believe, spent a great sum in finding out that the British people would not tolerate a

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Sunday newspaper. The Sunday newspaper is an institution of modern date. I can well remember when the first Sunday newspaper was published in the United States. There are nearly 700 daily newspapers published on Sunday in the United States at present. One of the greatest American editors, Horace Greeley, denounced the Sunday newspaper as a social demon; and so it is. Its influence upon the religious and moral life of the United States is most disastrous. It tends to sap every good influence that exists in the country; it banishes the Bible, it banishes religious reading matter; it banishes all solid literature from the family. It begets a lower tone of sentiment. Triviality, superficiality, and immorality are the characteristics of the Sunday newspaper. A man who reads the Sunday newspaper is a superficial and trivial being, to the limit of the Sunday paper's influence upon him. The Sunday newspaper is the sworn enemy of the sabbath, the avowed enemy of the sabbath. It makes no concealment of its desire to break down the Bible. It defies and opposes the sabbath at every step of its career. A newspaper in a city may not have the voluntary choice whether it will issue a Sunday edition or not. If a newspaper is issued on Sunday, another newspaper is compelled to follow suit or fall behind in the race of competition, and upon hundreds of publishers the necessity of publishing a Sunday edition is forced by the fact that other newspapers publish Sunday editions. Under the old American sabbath which prevailed at the time of the Centennial Exhibition, that Exposition was not open on the Lord's Day; at the time of the Paris Exhibition the exhibits of the United States were not open, nor were they at the Vienna Exhibition; but we notice the influence of the Sunday newspaper in the intervening years by the fierce indignation displayed against the principle of Sunday closing at the Chicago Exhibition. We notice that every Sunday newspaper in the United States derided and belittled that sentiment of the thirty or forty millions of people who petitioned against the opening of the Exhibition on the Lord's Day, and we know the influence of the Sunday newspaper in the United States has been most disastrous, most debasing, most demoralizing, and its existence in that country is a great evil. The Sunday newspaper is the anti-christ of America; itself a violation of divine law, it is the enemy of all divine law; and unless it is put down the Christian religion will be put down; within its theatre of operations it is a question between Christian institutions and this engine of the devil. We propose to prohibit the publication of Sunday newspapers. We propose to follow the example of the mother land, an example of many hundred years, which has carried her over all her difficulties. I wish now to refer to one or two authorities, contained in the International Sunday

Rest Congress papers, with respect to the publication of Sunday newspapers in the United States. My first authority is J. W. A. Stewart, D.D., and my second is His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons. Dr. Stewart says :

In the name of all that is sacred, let six days suffice to ding it continually in my ears that I belong to sense and to time ; let there be one day on which the "still small voice" may be heard, which whispers that I belong to eternity and to God. The spiritual man does not stop to ask whether the Sunday newspaper is a sin ; he instinctively says it is an impertinence. After he has given six days of thought and time to temporal things, it comes and does its best to drown that voice which tells him of his higher destiny ; it comes to pre-empt his thoughts and his hours, and to drive away prayer and the Bible and holy meditation. I say to the spiritual man it is an impertinence.

Cardinal Gibbons says :

A close observer cannot fail to note the dangerous inroads that have been made on the Lord's Day in our country within the last quarter of a century. If those encroachments are not checked in time, the day may come when the religious quiet, now happily reigning in our well-ordered cities, will be changed into noise and turbulence ; when the sound of the church bell will be drowned by the echo of the hammer and the dray ; when the Bible and the prayer-book will be supplanted by the newspaper and the magazine ; when the votaries of the theatre and the drinking saloons will outnumber worshippers, and salutary thoughts of God, of eternity, and of the soul will be checked by the cares of business and by the pleasure and dissipation of the world.

I repeat that we do not want this American institution in Canada. We do not want that condition of things which has dragged the United States down from the position of a nation which was once known for its regard for the sabbath to a nation which permitted its great Columbian Exposition to be opened on the Lord's Day, and is rapidly declining from the proud position it once occupied as a Christian, sabbath-keeping nation. I repeat that we will act wisely if we follow the example of the mother land and prohibit the publication of the Sunday newspaper, and by prohibition of its publication save the country from the attendant horde of evils that have attended its introduction in the United States.

It is said by some that we have not the power to deal with this question, that we have not the power to deal with this question of overwhelming importance which threatens the religious and moral life of the nation. I do not believe it. I believe, as the Parliament of this Dominion, we have power to make a criminal offence of any act calculated to injure this country. We have the right to make a criminal offence of theft, arson, murder and assault, and we have the right to make criminal a thing which is infinitely worse than all

those acts in individual instances. I affirm that it is worse than any single case of murder—the consequences of publishing Sunday newspapers are worse than those following a single case of murder, arson or theft. I tell this House that the consequences of the introduction of the system, looking at the experience of the United States and judging, not by theorizing, but by the actual results following this great outrage on God's law, are of a character so grave and serious that the Government are warranted in dealing with this question. We have power over the introduction of obscene literature, we have power in the matter of copyright, we control the transmission of printed matter through the mails ; and is it to be said that the central power of this country, possessing power over copyright, over the mails, over the importation of impure literature, is incapable of stretching forth its hand and dealing with the greatest danger which threatens the people of this country? Why should we go for national rather than local control? Because we want to make Canada the moral leader of this continent. We want to set an example to the neighbouring nation and we desire to place ourselves right where that country is wrong. Let Canada take this course, let Canada grapple with this evil and take heed of the results which have followed it in the neighbouring nation, and, forewarned, let Canada place herself in a position where she will be forearmed.

The second provision of the Bill is with respect to the closing of canals from six o'clock in the morning until nine o'clock on Sunday. A great many people think this is a surrender of principle, and that the canals should close during the twenty-four hours. However, the provision will be one that will prevent the quiet and sanctity of the sabbath being interfered with so far as worship is concerned, and is one that should be adopted, as this country does not want to place itself in the position of committing breaches of a divine law.

Section 3 of the Bill is with respect to railway traffic. This Bill has been submitted to all the railway men of this country. In 1890 letters were received from Mr. Van Horne and Sir Joseph, then Mr. Hickson, with respect to this Bill, and the manager of the Grand Trunk made certain suggestions which are embodied in it. I assume, and I have a perfect right to assume, that the Bill is satisfactory to the railway managers, because no protest has been received from any of them since 1890, and the Bill has been submitted every year since that time. The provisions with respect to railway traffic, I am sorry to say, are perhaps not of a very important nature. The question was surrounded by difficulties. It was found practically impossible to deal with the question of through trains without inflicting serious consequences upon the railways. Their business connections with the

American roads render it necessary for them to conform in this matter to American usage to some extent; at least, it is held that that is the case, and I presume it is correct.

An hon. MEMBER. You are making a compromise.

Mr. CHARLTON. My hon. friend says: it is a compromise of the principle. This is an attempt to secure all that is practicable in the line of the principle. We might easily fail in asking more than we can get. All great reforms are secured step by step and item by item, and if the choice is placed before us either of securing something that is tangible and something that will lead to the securing of something more, I hold that it is prudent and proper that we should take a practical course and not stand on a theory that will wreck our attempts to do anything in the matter. Now, Mr. Speaker, this provision with regard to railway traffic goes as far as it is possible to go at the moment, by positive legislation, and it places before the United States and upon the United States, the responsibility of continuing the evil of through freight traffic, by offering to them reciprocity in legislation upon this matter and declaring our readiness to abate this part of the evil if the United States will render it practical to do so by concurrent action. This is the provision:

At such time as the laws of the United States shall make corresponding provision, no through freight in transit from one point on the frontier of the United States to some other point on the said frontier, shall be allowed to pass over Canadian roads on the Lord's Day, except live stock and perishable goods.

As soon as the United States will make corresponding regulations we place before them this proposition. We greatly strengthen the hands of that element in the United States that are agitating for railway reform. We go as far as we can go, without inflicting ruinous consequences upon our own roads, and we take a step which, in my opinion, will speedily secure for us the realization of what we desire by the adoption, on the part of the United States Government of that proffer which we make, to act in co-operation with them for the purpose of putting an end to freight traffic on the Lord's Day as far as it is possible to do so. The Bill, so far as it stands now, deals with local traffic. It prohibits local freight traffic, it prohibits local passenger trains, it leaves other trains with their necessary connection as it was thought necessary to do so. I may say with reference to the provision of this section, that this Bill was submitted to a special committee three years ago. Upon that special committee were representatives of all the railway interests in this country, and these points were thoroughly discussed. The difficulties that stood in the way of this arrangement were all raised and met,

Mr. CHARLTON.

and the provisions of the Bill were necessarily made to meet the objections of those men, or the report of the measure could not have been secured. I repeat that the Bill, so far as it refers to railway traffic, makes the best provision that under the circumstances it was possible to secure.

The last provision of the Bill is with regard to excursion trains, and it prohibits excursions by train, partly by train and partly by steamboat, on the Lord's Day. This provision was introduced into the House several years ago, but the Bill failed to pass. A member of this House at that time, the Hon. Mr. Bowell, sent the Bill to a friend of his, Mr. Wood, in the Ontario Legislature, and Mr. Wood introduced in that Legislature that same Bill, and it was passed and is now the law of Ontario. This section provides:

Excursions upon the Lord's Day by steamboats plying for hire, or by railway, or in part by steamboat and in part by railway, and having for their only or principal object the carriage of passengers for amusement or pleasure and to go and return the same day by the same steamboat or railway or any others owned by the same person or company, shall not be deemed a lawful conveying of passengers within the meaning of this Act; and the owner, superintendent or person by virtue of whose authority and direction such excursion is permitted or ordered on the Lord's Day shall be deemed to be guilty of an indictable offence; provided that nothing in this section shall be deemed to prohibit the ordinary carriage of passengers authorized by provincial statute.

That is the provision with regard to Sunday excursion trains, and that is, as I have said, now the law of Ontario. There is, I believe, some pressure on the part of the public to induce railway managers to relax the policy they have hitherto pursued in regard to Sunday excursion trains. The great railway managers of this continent are opposed to Sunday excursions, and they are desirous, I believe, so far as it is practicable in that respect, to give their employees Sunday rest, and the primary objection to the Sunday excursion train is found in the fact that one class of employees are robbed of their Sunday's rest in order that another class of employees may have a day of frolic. This is very happily set forth by Archbishop Ireland in his address at the International Sunday Rest Congress at Chicago, where he says:

The opponents of the Sunday strive to have us believe that the violation of Sunday rest is more or less in the interests of labour. When the question was agitated whether or not the Exposition should be kept open on Sunday, the chief reason put forward was the interest of labour. It turned out afterwards that sixteen thousand men were to be employed seven days in the week, so that other labourers could visit it on Sunday. Labour is most concerned in the sacred observance of Sunday.

And labour is concerned in the prohibition of Sunday excursion trains. Labour is concerned in the prohibition of anything that

may act as an entering wedge to deprive the labourer of his Sabbath rest. No labourer actuated by proper motives would desire to rob his fellow-labourer, the engineer, the fireman, the brakeman, the conductor of the excursion train, of his Sabbath rest, in order that he might have a frolic upon that day. And if Sunday rest is to be preserved, the principle must be respected by all labourers, and will be respected by all labourers. No labourer with a true sense of what is at stake, will require any other labourer to lose his Sunday rest, feeling that he himself may be the next to suffer. The opening of the British Museum on the Sabbath has been systematically opposed from the commencement by the labourers of London. They realize that the opening of that museum and the consequent requiring of those in charge to lose their Sunday's rest would be apt to react upon themselves, and with instinctive realization of what is at issue they have uniformly opposed the opening of that museum on Sunday. In the interest of labour, I repeat, Sunday excursions should be prohibited. Anything that involves Sunday labour should be prohibited, and the argument: that it is in the interest of labour that these violations of Sunday observance are made, is a fallacious argument in all cases.

With regard to Sunday excursions, Mr. Speaker, let us see if they are desirable in themselves apart entirely from the consideration of labour being required and men being robbed of their Sunday rest in order that an excursion may be obtained. I hold they are not. In the first place, Christian people necessarily avoid the Sunday excursion; in the second place, the worst class patronize them, so far as my observation goes, and they are too often a saturnalia of drunkenness and vice. In the city of San Francisco, where there is no Sunday law, the police were obliged to suppress the Sunday excursion as a public nuisance. Sunday excursions would go to the suburbs of San Francisco, and a crowd of male and female hoodlums would terrorize the suburbs all day. Then the trains would get back at night filled with a drunken rabble, the lights were turned out, and the scenes became so scandalous that the police of the city suppressed a Sunday excursion train as they suppressed a brothel. The planters of Louisiana were obliged to petition the Legislature of that state to prohibit Sunday excursion trains, because they led to a sulphurous Monday and a blue Tuesday, and their employees worked only four days in the week. It is the uniform testimony of employers of labour, that the efficient labourer, the happy, clean, self-respecting labourer, is the man who stays at home on Sunday, goes to church and Sunday school, and comes up to his work on Monday morning fresh and alert and ready to grapple with his duties; while the man who goes on a Sunday excursion is demoralized and bedraggled, if not worse, on Monday

morning, and is unfit to go to his work. Such a man has not had what the Lord intended to give him, he has not had his Sunday rest, with Christian worship, and enjoyment in the bosom of his family; but he has been spending the day in dissipation. He might better have been at work for two days than to spend one day in that kind of dissipation. Therefore, aside from the fact that the Sunday excursions inevitably deprive the labouring man of the rights that should be guaranteed to him by law, they are vice breeders and undesirable in many respects.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I repeat that the provisions of this Bill are moderate, that it is not in any sense a drastic measure, that it is not a puritanical measure, that it is not open to the objection that it forces upon any class of people in this country any religious observance or usage whatever. I repeat that the object of the Bill is to secure to the labourers of this country certain civil rights—the civil right to the rest day, the civil right to religious observance if they wish to participate in them, the civil right of conscience that will permit them to go to church if they want to, and if they do not, they may settle the matter with their spiritual advisers. The object of the law is to provide that no employer of labour shall make a slave of a man and prevent him going to church on Sunday if he wants to. It is not a religious enactment; it stands purely and squarely on the principle of civil rights, and the religious portion of the law is merely incidental. Of course, religious conviction is an important matter. It is important that we would realize that the provisions of this Bill will be blessed by the great Lawgiver who gave the day of rest for man's benefit. But the Bill deals with a civil question, and aims to secure for men a civil right. Now, the state should be on the side of justice, good order and truth.

Petitions have been presented to this House deprecating the passage of legislation of a religious nature, assuming that a measure of this kind is a measure to secure some kind of religious usage, or some kind of law that will affect a man's religious standing. Those petitions do not meet the case: the Bill is not one of the character that they assume. It does not propose that the state shall legislate with regard to any religious observance. It does not propose that the state shall say that Armenians are right or that Calvinists are right, or that the doctrine of the Trinity is right, or that Unitarianism is right; it does not propose to say one word about religious observances or tenets or ordinances. The Bill plants itself squarely and unequivocally on the principle that the state does not dictate to men what their religion shall be, but guarantees to them the enjoyment of the privileges of the religion that they believe in, and that is all there is in the measure.

Now, I wish to call attention to the significant character of the opposition to

this Bill, and to all Bills of a kindred character. Not that some good men do not oppose the Bill; not that some conscientious men, a great many of them, do not oppose it. But I affirm that you can find no bad, vicious element of society in favour of this Bill. The hoodlum, the Anarchist, the thief, the brothel-keeper, the brothel inmate, the saloon keeper, the drunkard—every vile, satanic element in society is opposed to this Bill; and I call upon the men who oppose this measure to take notice of the society and associations in which they are placed. The bearing of this question, not upon religious life primarily, but upon national life, is a matter of very great importance to us. The highest requirements of statesmanship are involved in the consideration of this Bill. The question is, will this Bill have a tendency to lay broader and more securely the foundations of the state that we are building on the northern part of this continent. The question is, will this Bill promote religious liberty? Will it promote public virtue? Will it have a tendency to promote good morals, and from a blessed combination of good influences clustering around the christian Sabbath to graduate good men and good citizens? Will this Bill promote temperance? Will it promote obedience to law? Will it promote respect for God's commandments? Will it have a tendency to secure to the inhabitants of this country that higher education which must go with secular education if we are to turn out men properly equipped for their duties as citizens? These are the questions involved in the consideration of this Bill—questions of statesmanship higher than the consideration of a tariff or the question of the establishment of an experimental farm, or the usual questions surrounding any proposal as to a public measure. These are questions of the highest possible importance in their bearing upon the future of this nation, not only in this decade and the next decade, but in all succeeding decades as long as this nation shall have life. There are upon this continent to-day, seventy millions of English-speaking people. There will be upon this continent a hundred years from to-day, in all human probability, three hundred and seventy-five millions of English-speaking people. How are all these people to be educated? In what way are the foundation of the future to be laid? What is to be the character of the influence to be exerted by these English-speaking races upon the world? What kind of a nation are we to build here, with our vast natural resources and capability of supporting a hundred million people? Shall we stop to consider these questions? Shall we realize that upon us devolves the responsibility of building for the future? And shall we take into consideration this measure in the spirit in which we ought to consider it? Shall we consider that God has not laid upon us an unreasonable demand, and never did?

Mr. CHARLTON.

He never made upon any human being an unreasonable demand. He never required of man anything that was not in man's interest. He never required of man anything that man would suffer by performing, and he requires of us, as a Legislature, attention to this matter in the light of our responsibility to him, in the light of our responsibility to the people of this country. He requires our attention to this with a due sense of the importance of this question and the responsibility that rests upon us. The wisdom of the infinite is a safe guide, and we can not despise the means which He has appointed to secure national wealth and prosperity, without invoking upon our own heads the disasters that will be sure to follow the disregard of His commands. For that reason I press this Bill, believing it is in the highest interest of Canada, believing I am justified in urging its passage in the warmest manner. I present it to the kindly and judicious consideration of every member of this House—the leader of this House, and every one of his followers and the gentlemen who sit in Opposition—and I ask that it may receive that consideration which the importance of the questions demands.

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

SECOND READING.

Bill (No. 96) to incorporate the Trust Corporation of Canada—(from the Senate).—Mr. Davis (Alberta.)

THE LORD'S DAY OBSERVANCE.

Mr. CHRISTIE. I only intend to occupy the time of the House for a few moments. It gave me great pleasure to hear the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) again introduce the Bill to secure the better observance of the Lord's Day. The question is one of vital importance to the prosperity and well-being of the Dominion. The hon. gentleman has been very indefatigable in his efforts to secure better sabbath observance in the face of strong opposition. I trust that on this occasion his efforts may be crowned with success, but, be that as it may, I think he is justly entitled to the thanks of the Dominion for the ability, zeal, and perseverance with which he has advocated this great moral reform. So far as I can understand this Bill, and I have examined it very carefully, it encroaches on no man's rights or privileges in any way. Neither does it interfere with his religious opinions, be they what they may. Its chief aim appears to be to secure to the employees of the Government on our railways and canals and other public works and the employees of other corporations, the inestimable boon of Sunday rest. We all know that there

are thousands of employees who are robbed of their Sunday rest, who are denied all opportunity of attending Divine worship or of receiving religious instruction in that way, whose lives are one continual round of toil, without the necessary break of Sunday's rest to restore their wearied energy and fit them for a more efficient discharge of their duties during the remaining six days of the week. Without that rest their physical and mental vigour decays and becomes demoralized. It is generally admitted that if the Lord's Day were universally observed as a day of devotion and rest from secular labour, men would be stronger and healthier, able to do more work and make more money, and be better in every sense of the word. This Bill, if enacted, will be a great blessing to this great mass of employees. It is intended to lighten their burdens, to break their bonds, to make their lives better and brighter and happier. That is not all. It will contribute in many ways to the welfare and prosperity of the people. The first clause of the Bill is for the prevention of printing and publishing of Sunday newspapers. We know that that evil has already obtained a foothold in Canada, and is spreading, and will continue to spread, unless prevented by timely legislation. We know that prevention is better than cure, and that if we would deal with this evil now, it would be much easier prevented than at a future day. In the United States, we all know that Sunday newspapers are scattered broadcast. And the practice there has had a most baneful, demoralizing influence upon the people. We know that the best men in the United States have long been struggling and striving to rid the country of that great and terrible evil; but, so far without success. Now, I am convinced that if even this section of the Bill was adopted it would be a great benefit, and would promote morality in this community. The second section of the Bill provides for closing the canals from six in the morning until nine or ten at night on the Lord's Day. That, no doubt, is a step in the right direction, and no doubt it will be a great boon to the employees on the canal, the boatmen and others interested. But I would have been glad if the Bill had gone a little further. I would like to have seen the sanctity of the whole twenty-four hours preserved. No doubt these employees require a whole Sunday's rest like other people, and I should be glad to see the Bill amended so as to ensure that to them. The third section of the Bill seeks to minimize the Sunday labour done on our railways. We all know the vast amount of labour—of what appears to be unnecessary labour—done on our railways on the Lord's Day. We are told even by railway experts, men who are intimately acquainted with the working of railways, that much of the labour that is now expected and exacted of employees cannot in any fair

sense be considered absolutely necessary. Some go even further and tell us that if they had the power they would not allow a fire to be lit or a wheel to be moved on the Lord's Day, that such a rule could be carried into effect without in any way impairing the efficiency of the service, and that it would not involve a loss to the roads or in any way affect the trade or commerce of the country, but would be a great boon, a great benefit to the men mentally, morally and physically, and a great boon to the public as well. This Bill makes ample provision for all works that are really necessary—indeed, I think it goes too far in that direction; but, be that as it may, it certainly makes ample provision for all works of necessity and mercy. The Bill would undoubtedly be a great boon to the employees on our railways whose lives must now be embittered by being obliged to work seven days in the week. These men cannot help themselves; they look to this House for relief, and I do trust and hope that the House will extend to them all the relief it possibly can. We are told again and again that these Sunday laws are unnecessary, that they infringe on the rights and privileges of the people and interfere with their religious convictions, that the sabbath is really a matter of convenience and expediency, and that there is no necessity for its strict observance. I hold these views to be fallacious and erroneous. I firmly believe that the sabbath was made in man's interest. I believe that the sabbath was made for man, but it was made for man's benefit, made to be kept and not profaned and desecrated. Its observance invariably brings a train of blessings such as can never follow its desecration. I think we ought to beware of ignoring or trampling on the divine commandment so far as the observance of the sabbath is concerned.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). This Bill has been so frequently discussed in Parliament that I do not think it is necessary that I should say very much with regard to it. We have before us two questions—we have the question as to where the right to legislate upon this subject rests, and, having found that, we have the question how far that power ought to be exercised for the general good of the community. I do not understand that my hon. friend who has brought in this Bill undertakes to legislate upon this subject on religious grounds, but that he submits this measure to us solely as a police regulation intended to secure the good order of society and to enable those parties who belong to the various religious communities of the country to engage in worship upon this day as they may think best. Of course, Sir, the views of the Christian world upon this subject differ very considerably. The various religious bodies that exist in Christendom do not all hold the same views upon the subject; they do not all regard the Lord's Day as

identical with the sabbath-day spoken of in the Old Testament. It is a historical fact well-known to most people that at the time of the Reformation the great majority of the reformers held to the view that the Lord's Day was a voluntary institution which persons might or might not observe as they saw proper; and in Calvin's Institutes, this view is set forth with a very great deal of learning and very elaborately. But I do not think we are called upon to discuss the question as to whether the sabbath is an institution divinely appointed and binding upon mankind for all time. This is a question which concerns the individual himself and with which the state, as such has nothing in particular to do. Now, Professor Wayland, in his work on moral science discusses this subject. After expressing very much the same view as that set out by my hon. friend from North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), in the very able speech he addressed to the House this afternoon, Professor Wayland, near the conclusion of his article upon the question whether the state ought to undertake to enforce the views generally entertained by Christian communities upon this subject, expresses the opinion that the state, having no power to secure the observance of the day in the manner in which God himself intended that it should be observed, could accomplish nothing by legislation in that particular; but that legislation with a view to securing the good order of society and to securing to every man the right of conscientiously worshipping on that day as he thinks right is a proper regulation. The state has no authority to enforce the observance of the sabbath in the sense in which we expect every Christian to observe it, but it ought to secure to him the exercise of his right in this particular as his conscience tells him. Now, my hon. friend is asking for this legislation with a view to securing to the various members of the community, and especially those engaged in the public service, the right or the enjoyment of Sunday as a day of rest, and as a day of worship to such members of the community as may see proper to use it for that purpose. Of course, Sir, we are told in the New Testament that it is the duty of Christians not to forsake the assembling of themselves together; and, while that is a duty devolving upon us, no one proposes to enforce that by penal legislation at the present day. There are two provisions in this Bill that I do not think stand exactly on the same footing. The one is that relating to public officers throughout the community, embraced in sections 2 and 3, which are within our jurisdiction, and upon which I think we ought to legislate, legislate with a view of securing to the parties in our employment the rights which, as members of the Christian community, belong to them. But when you propose to legislate in the way spoken of in section 1, and in sections 4 and 5, I think a different principle applies. You are

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

undertaking to deal in these sections with questions relating to personal and civil rights, and these, it seems to me, fall within the jurisdiction of the Local Legislature. I would call the attention of my hon. friend who spoke immediately before me (Mr. Christie), to chapter 205 of the Revised Statutes of Ontario, which is entitled "An Act to Prevent the Profanation of the Lord's Day." The Legislature of Ontario has legislated upon that subject. I have not looked at the statutes in the other provinces, but I think in every province of the Dominion there has been legislation to secure the observance of the Lord's Day. That is within the jurisdiction of the Local Legislature, and the same public opinion which stands behind my hon. friend from North Norfolk, if these subjects were within our jurisdiction, stands behind the members of the Local Legislatures in the various provinces to enable them to discharge their duty to the public in this respect, and to secure to the various members of the community the rights which belong to them. I need not read the sections of the Ontario statute, but they go quite as far as my hon. friend proposes to go in this Bill; and they go further in this particular, that they make no restriction, they make no exemptions from any particular hours of the day. My hon. friend, in the first section of this Bill, provides:

Whoever shall, on the Lord's Day, either as proprietor, publisher or manager, engage in the printing, publication or delivery of a newspaper, journal or periodical, and whoever shall, on the Lord's Day, engage in the sale, distribution or circulation of any newspaper, journal or periodical, shall be deemed to be guilty of an indictable offence.

Now, I am not saying that that goes further than is justifiable in the public interest. Certainly the distribution of many newspapers on Sunday gives employment to a great number of persons, and seriously interferes with the observance of the Sunday as a day of rest. You do not care, on your way to church, to have newsboys thrusting newspapers under your face, and offering to sell them to you on Sunday. But with regard to that provision, I do not know on what ground we have a right to legislate. Of course, every newspaper is local in its character, the publication is local, it is not something which extends in its operation over the entire Dominion. The work of printing and publishing a newspaper is as much under the control of the Local Legislature as would be cutting out clothes and making them on Sunday in a tailor's shop. Both would be violations of Sunday rest, both would in that respect fall within the jurisdiction of the Local Legislature. If then, we were to legislate upon the subject, unless the provision making it criminal would bring it within our jurisdiction, it would be ultra vires of the authority of the House. Then there are other sections of the Act which, it seems to me, are ultra vires in

the same way; for instance, excursions upon the Lord's Day by steamboats plying for hire, and so on. Now, these, unless they were lines of steamboats starting from a city with a view to sailing to a foreign country, or with a view of sailing from one province into another province, would be within provincial jurisdiction. Take, for instance, section 92 of the British North America Act, subsection 10, and clauses (a) and (b) of that section:

(a.) Lines of steam or other ships, railways, canals, telegraphs, and other works and undertakings, connecting the province with any other or others of the provinces, or extending beyond the limits of the province.

(b.) Lines of steamships between the province and any British or foreign country;

are under the jurisdiction of this Parliament. If they were going upon voyages of this sort, it would be within our power to say that they shall not sail on Sunday; but if they are going to sail into a lake on an excursion, and return again, that would be as much under the jurisdiction of a local legislature as would be a cab starting out from the city and driving ten miles and back again. The vessel goes out into a lake, the cab goes in the opposite direction, but so far as jurisdiction is concerned, they would be exactly on the same footing. Now, the question with regard to sections 1 and 4, as to whether we can acquire jurisdiction, depends on the provision which my hon. friend has introduced in section 5. Section 5 says:

Any person guilty of any offence declared in section 1 of this Act to be an indictable offence, shall, on summary conviction, be liable to a fine not exceeding \$50 for the first offence.

My hon. friend spoke about the offence being one worse than murder, arson, or another serious offence which he has mentioned. But whatever he may think in that respect, the punishment which he has attached to the offence is a police regulation. What was before a police offence, and made so for the purpose of securing the peace, order and quiet of society, and to enable parties to worship freely, is not, it seems to me, taken out of the jurisdiction of the province by this provision. If the hon. members will look at the legislation with regard to the Sunday observance in the various provinces, they will see that it treats such violation as a police offence. This section providing for a punishment, treats it as a police offence. There is no provision that a party shall, upon conviction, be sent to the penitentiary for five or ten years at hard labour, or that he shall be capitally executed. There are none of the punishments that are incident to a serious crime, attached to this offence, but remain under subsections 15 and 16 of section 92. It has always been regarded, where there are laws relating to the observance of Sunday, as a disorderly act, and as one

that requires legislation in the direction of police, and the legislation proposed by my hon. friend is legislation of that sort. There is nothing provided here except the pecuniary punishments, and those light punishments that are incident to police offences. I think it would be a very serious abuse of our authority to undertake to obtain jurisdiction over a subject which, for centuries, has fallen in a different class, and undertake to declare it a crime; and the mere declaration, without the incident punishment, would not transfer it from one category to the other. I think that this Bill ought to be read a second time, and that the provisions of this Bill ought to be confined within those limits over which we have jurisdiction. We can control persons who are engaged in the railway traffic in certain cases; and with regard to all public officers, with regard to our own property, the closing of the canals, the closing of public offices, the closing of post offices and everything of that sort—all these are under the jurisdiction of this House, because they are part of the machinery of Government. I take it that it is as part of the machinery of the Government we have jurisdiction; it is not because the subject matter falls generally under our control, the subject matter falls under the control of the Local Legislatures. Whether that was best or not, I am not called upon here to say. It is the fact with which I am dealing. I say, as a matter of law, the jurisdiction on the subject of sabbath observance generally is in the Local Legislatures and not in the Parliament of Canada, and that our jurisdiction over the subject at all is due to the fact that those officers and those public works of which I have spoken are public works of Canada, and as such we can close them on any day we may see proper, not because the day is Sunday, but because they are ours, precisely as any individual carrying on his farming operations may say to his men, You shall have a holiday to-day. It is upon that ground we have jurisdiction over the subject with respect to these particular matters, and it is on that ground we should deal with the subject so far as these public works are concerned; but so far as regards the regulation of persons outside, private individuals, the securing of peaceful worship in churches, the securing of the proper observance of the sabbath by the community generally, that is a work which belongs to provincial jurisdiction as a matter of civil right and not to the Parliament of Canada.

Mr. McMULLEN. I shall not attempt to add to the very forcible argument presented by the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) in his very excellent and well-delivered address this afternoon on behalf of this Bill. He deserves much credit for the persistence with which he has pressed the consideration of this measure on the House for several years. While I will not for a moment attempt to combat the arguments

presented by the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) or to challenge the accuracy of his views regarding the question of provincial rights and the question of the power which may be exercised by this Parliament, I think this House should give effect to any provisions of the Bill over which we have jurisdiction. If certain provisions are not considered to be within the jurisdiction of this House after the Bill has received its second reading and has gone to committee, such provisions could subsequently be eliminated and in that way we could give effect to such provisions as are entirely under our control. I agree that the regulation of traffic on railways and canals on the Lord's Day would unquestionably be within the jurisdiction of Parliament, because they are directly under the control of the Dominion and cannot possibly be interfered with by the Local Legislatures. With respect to railways, I may say that if there is one thing more than another that has led to the demoralization which exists in the United States, it is the running of railway excursion trains on the Lord's Day. That is a most objectionable feature, and it introduces a demoralizing element among the people. During several seasons I visited Old Orchard Beach for a short time, and I was struck with the enormous traffic in all directions on that day. No less than four excursions were run from Boston to Old Orchard every Sunday forenoon, returning in the evening. I can honestly say that I have seen at that watering place, where there is supposed to be not a drop of spirits sold, it being in the old state of Maine where the Maine Liquor Law is supposed to be in existence, more people drunk on Sunday afternoon than I ever saw on any other day of the week, these people reaching there by excursion trains.

Mr. MACLEAN (East York). Were those people drunk by reason of the excursion on the railway, or by reason of the liquor they drank?

Mr. McMULLEN. Those people had supplied themselves with that kind of nourishment when they left Boston. They took bottles of liquor in their pockets and used it to excess and got drunk, and if they had not had the opportunity of taking that excursion on the Lord's Day they would undoubtedly not have got drunk. On no other day of the week were there such cheap excursions as on Sunday, and this afforded an inducement to the poorer classes to come out and carry refreshments with them, with the result of using them to excess. It is not too much to say that a man might have gone round and gathered a cart load of empty bottles on Monday morning. This was the outcome of the Sunday excursions, and these demoralize any country, as they have demoralized the United States. The hon. member from North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) deserves the thanks of this Dominion for introducing this Bill, if it does not accomplish more than

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prevent the inception of such excursions here on the Lord's Day. I hope they will not be permitted. With respect to the canals, I remember the speech delivered by the Minister of Railways last year, in which he clearly pointed out the difficulties connected with the closing of the canals on the Lord's Day, and particularly at a late period of the season, when ship-owners were anxious to reach the port where they might unload their cargoes, and if they were detained twenty-four hours in the canal this delay would prove a great drawback to the shipping interest. There is no doubt a good deal of force in that argument, but I contend we should as far as possible avoid encouraging boats passing through the canals on the Lord's Day. Boats very often make it their business to strike a canal on the Lord's Day, because the men have an opportunity of a little joviality and they spend the day passing through the locks. This should not be encouraged, and in fact obstacles should be placed in the way of vessels passing through the canals on that day. I heartily congratulate the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) for the very able manner in which he introduced this Bill, and for the extensive and able address which he delivered to this House. I am sure it will be read with great interest by the Christian people of this Dominion, and he will receive hearty thanks for his able efforts in the direction of securing the legislation called for by this Bill. As I have already intimated, I will not attempt to answer the remarks of the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills), but in speaking of the sabbath, he said it was a question for each man to answer for himself. I can hardly accept that statement. The question of drinking liquor you may say is one for each man to decide for himself. But if we are to leave every man to judge for himself and do as he pleases, we would eventually have no sabbath observance, and if we left every man open to drink what liquor he pleased, we would have a great deal of demoralization.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman has misapprehended my statement. The moral duty of observing Sunday was a matter which the civil magistrates could not enforce—it must be a voluntary observance, but the civil magistrates could secure to every individual the undisturbed right of worshipping God as he pleased.

Mr. McMULLEN. Unquestionably, the seventh day is a divine institution, and it depends on what day you begin to count from whether we shall have it on Saturday or what is understood as Sunday. We do not propose, however, to settle that question in this House. Our sabbath has been recognized as such by the Christian world for nearly 1800 years, and I think we are all willing to continue the first day of the week as we have it. I do not know that we are disputing as regards that.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Certainly not.

Mr. McMULLEN. I do not know that I understood the question of the member for East York (Mr. Maclean), but if I did not, I will be very glad now to answer any question he wishes to put.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the second time.

BRIBERY AND DISFRANCHISEMENT.

Mr. WELDON (Albert) moved second reading of Bill (No. 6) to disfranchise voters who have taken bribes. He said: Mr. Speaker, the Bill which I now move the second reading of, is, in form, not altered very much from that which I introduced last year; and the reasons which I then gave in support of it I need not repeat at any length. The object of the Bill is clearly indicated by its title. It proposes to disfranchise voters who have been found to have taken bribes. The principle of the Bill, it seems to me, is as simple and clear as can be. It is, I believe, a thoroughly British principle, that those who have the ballot should use that power worthily. When electors are found to care so little for their right to vote that they are willing to give it away and put it in the hands of another, it is wise to take that power away from them until they have had an opportunity of thinking the thing over, and of prizing the franchise more. I shall not make any lengthened argument in favour of this Bill to-night. Some objections were taken last session when the Bill reached the committee stage, and one was, that we made no provision for punishing the briber. Mr. Speaker, we make no provision for punishing any one. There is nothing punitive in the nature of the Bill, there is nothing to degrade, or wound, or hurt; no fine, no imprisonment, no degradation of any sort other than this, that we say, a man who is found out to have taken a bribe shall not have the controlling power of the ballot for a term of years. The law at the present time heavily punishes one who gives a bribe. I think, Sir, the serious objection that will be taken by the House to this measure is that it is not likely to work, that it is not likely to have sufficient backing to secure its operation. In answer to that, I point to the vigour with which, in the city of Montreal, within the last twelve months, a body of young men, with nothing but public spirit to impel them, have constituted themselves into what is called the Volunteer Electoral League, have themselves put up money amounting now to some four or five thousand dollars, in order to make thoroughly operative the section of one of our Acts already on our Statute-book against the personating of voters. If there be in that city sufficient public spirit to lead to the expenditure of so much money, and what is very much more, the expenditure of a great deal of effort with a view of purifying the elections in that regard, I think it

is a hopeful sign that we may find in some of our counties, enough public spirit to make this Bill operative.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). This Bill, in its provision is very much the same as the Bill we had on the Statute-books, introduced by Mr. Blake, and which was in force for some years, but afterwards repealed under what circumstances I do not know. I think the hon. gentleman's Bill refers to the same subject and proposes to deal with it in much the same way.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the second time.

Mr. WELDON moved:

That Bill (No. 6) to disfranchise voters who have taken bribes, be referred to a select committee to be composed of Messrs. Dickey, Lister, Amyot, Choquette, Masson, McLeod, Frémont and Weldon, with power to report from time to time.

Motion agreed to.

THE BALLOT IN THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES.

Mr. MARTIN moved second reading of Bill (No. 7) to extend the ballot to the North-west Territories.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Mr. Speaker, I would like the hon. gentleman to consider the particulars of this Bill. In the first place, there is no objection at all to the principle of the Bill, as can be understood from the fact that a Government Bill on this subject was promised in the Speech from the Throne at the opening of last session; that it was introduced, read a second time, I think, and, in consequence of want of time and the pressure of other business, was laid over, as it well might be in view of the fact that no election was imminent in the Territories. The Bill has been reintroduced this year. The hon. gentleman, I think, on examination of the Bill which he has introduced, will find that it merely repeals certain clauses and requires some substantive enactment in order to be effective. I would suggest to him that we should simply read the Bill a second time to-night, and that before we go into committee upon it, he should consider that point.

Mr. MARTIN. If the hon. First Minister looks further he will see that the effect of my Bill is to repeal those exemptions in the ordinary law affecting elections which formerly excluded the North-west Territories, and to make the Territories a part of Canada so far as that law is concerned. No subsequent legislation would be needed, because the Franchise Act and the Dominion Elections Act would then apply to the North-west Territories. However, I am quite agreeable to the course suggested by the hon. First Minister, that the Bill be read the second time now, because I am not very sure whether after all that is the better

course for the Territories at present. Under one of the statutes which my Bill repeals the Territories have a way of their own of making a voters' list not subject to the Dominion Franchise Act, and while, as a matter of principle, I see no reason why the Territories should not have the same law as the rest of the Dominion, I have no objection to having the Bill conform to the measure introduced by the Government last session and also this session, which would leave the law regarding voters' lists the same as it is now, although even that requires some modification to make it applicable to a general election.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the second time.

CUSTOMS ACT AMENDMENT.

On the Order, second reading of Bill (No. 9) further to amend the Acts respecting the Duties of Customs.—(Mr. Charlton.)

Mr. CHARLTON. Before moving the second reading of this Bill, I may say that the subject with which it deals is now under the consideration of the House in connection with the new tariff. I would suggest to the hon. First Minister that the Bill should be read the second time, so that it may go to the Committee of the Whole at any time that the House is prepared to deal with it, in the event of its being thought proper to deal with the subject.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I agree with the hon. gentleman that it would not be well to proceed with the Bill to-night; but I can hardly acquiesce in the second reading of the Bill. I understand that the provision of the statute which the hon. gentleman desires to repeal is no longer in force, and it is proposed in Committee on Ways and Means to substitute for that a new provision altogether. So that the whole subject will come up in that way.

Mr. CHARLTON. I move, then, that the order be discharged.

Motion agreed to, and order discharged.

GRAND JURORS IN ONTARIO.

Mr. EDGAR moved second reading of Bill (No. 24) to reduce from twelve to seven the number of grand jurors necessary to find a true bill in the province of Ontario. He said: This Bill is not to abolish grand juries, but to reduce their number only in the province of Ontario. It is not proposed to reduce the number by the Bill, but it is proposed that this Act shall come into force on a day to be named by the Governor in a proclamation. Practically, the object is to conform to the law of the province of Ontario on the subject. In the year 1892 an Act was passed in the Legislature of Ontario to be brought into force by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, authorizing

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the reduction of the number of jurors necessary to be called from 24 to 13. That part of the subject came properly within the jurisdiction of the province of Ontario, but the true Bill to be found by grand jurors I have no doubt comes within the jurisdiction of this Parliament. Therefore this Bill proposes that, notwithstanding any law, usage or custom to the contrary, 7 grand jurors instead of 12, as heretofore, may in the province of Ontario find a true bill. I suppose it is pretty well known that in the province of Ontario there is a very strong feeling in favour of the abolition of grand juries altogether. In response to a circular letter issued by the right hon. First Minister a few years ago, the replies of 25 of the judges of Ontario favoured the abolition of grand juries, 18 were against it, while 6 were doubtful. There is a great deal of complaint in the country about the expense of grand juries, which runs from \$1,000 to \$1,500 a year, I think, in most of the counties, and if the number of grand jurors is reduced by half, as this Bill proposes, the expense will be reduced by half. And surely 7 of a grand jury should be as competent as 12 to bring in a true bill. I may say that the important body of the Patrons of Industry are very anxious to have the number reduced. In this Bill it is practically proposed to reduce the number from 12 to 7, and I hope that the House will consider this a good thing on the whole and a saving of expense.

Mr. LISTER. The Bill of my hon. friend is likely to provoke a good deal of discussion. Two questions have to be considered: first, has this Parliament the right to reduce the number of grand jurors? and second, is the reduction advisable? There is a very wide difference in Ontario as to the wisdom of reducing the number of grand jurors. There is much to be said in favour of the present system and against its abolition or reduction. We ought first to decide, however, whether this Legislature has any power to interfere in the matter. As a matter of fact, the Legislature of Ontario has always dealt with this question of grand jurors up to the present, and we should therefore, to be certain beyond peradventure, that this is a subject over which this Legislature has control before we undertake to deal with it. I think that, as the Bill will give rise to very considerable discussion, it ought not to be proceeded with to-night, especially in view of the small number of members present, and in view of the fact that many members have not given the matter very much consideration, or not sufficient to justify us in dealing with it at present.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). If the Ontario Legislature has jurisdiction to legislate on the subject, then the number should be no doubt reduced to seven, which is the figure they have fixed it at in that province. But if they have not the power, we have before us the question whether we ought to adopt

a uniform system or follow the inclinations or wishes of each particular province. I agree in what the hon. member for West Lambton (Mr. Lister) has said, that we should have a further discussion of the subject. That, however, can be had in committee as well as on the second reading.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the second time.

CIVIL SERVICE SUPERANNUATION.

Mr. McMULLEN. I see that item number fifteen, second reading of Bill to amend the Civil Service Superannuation Act, has been passed over. I was quite ready to proceed with the Bill.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The Finance Minister is not able to be here, and he would like to be present when it is discussed.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to ; and the House adjourned at 9.15 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, 4th May, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

MESSAGE FROM HIS EXCELLENCY.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON presented a Message from His Excellency the Governor General.

Mr. SPEAKER read the Message, as follows :—

ABERDEEN.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons :

I acknowledge with thanks the Address you have loyally adopted in reply to the Speech with which I opened the Session, and I rely with confidence on the assurance that the important measures submitted to you will receive your careful consideration.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, 1st May, 1894.

FIRST READING.

Bill (No. 105) for the relief of Caroline Jane Downey—(from the Senate).—(Mr. Denison.)

INQUIRY FOR RETURNS.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). In the documents brought down relating to the Thousand Islands, there seemed to have been a letter ad-

dressed to the Government on the 24th March by the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, which is not amongst the papers ; and the papers, I learn this morning, have gone to the printers. It would be well that everything up to the present time should be included, and that all the correspondence should be printed together.

Mr. DALY. It must have been a clerical omission. I will send over to the department and have it rectified.

Mr. McMULLEN. A return of the House was ordered on the 30th March last for a statement of the sums paid to Mr. A. F. Wood, Government valuator, for services, maintenance and transport during the years 1891, 1892 and 1893. It must be a very short return, and I cannot understand why it takes five weeks to bring it down.

Mr. HAGGART. I will bring it down in a day or two.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

Mr. FOSTER moved that the House again resolve itself into Committee on Ways and Means.

(In the Committee.)

Wrought scrap iron and scrap steel being waste or refuse wrought iron or steel, fit only to be re-manufactured, the same having been in actual use, not to include cuttings or clippings which can be used as iron or steel without re-manufacture, and steel bloom ends and crop ends of steel rails, three dollars per ton ; and on and after the first day of January, eighteen hundred and ninety-five, four dollars per ton.

Mr. LAURIER. We expect from the Minister of Finance some explanation of this increase of 100 per cent on the heavy duty which was put on five or six years ago. I would remind the Minister of Finance that when he made his Budget exposé, he merely stated what his intention was, but never gave any reason for the change of policy he intended.

Mr. FOSTER. I regret very much that I am not physically very able to make explanations to-day. I forget almost what I did say in regard to the matter in the Budget speech.

Mr. LAURIER. Nothing.

Mr. FOSTER. I have no doubt it was, as usual, something very wise and pithy. What the hon. gentleman asks me now is as to the reason for the increase on scrap. That probably necessitates a few words on the general subject. What the Government had to face, in considering the iron and metal schedules, was, in brief, a very general demand for a lessening of the cost of merchantable iron, such as is used in the different subsidiary but very widely distributed industries founded upon pig iron, puddled bar, and bar iron, but especially upon the latter. The price of iron entering into these industries was

thought to be high—too high to make it possible to reduce to any extent the protection which these industries had; and the problem to solve was to make this commodity cheaper, and at the same time not to destroy the development of the iron resources of the country, which in 1887 had a large protection granted for their development. The only way the Government could see of bringing these two things about was to adopt in part an extension of the system of bounty which should compensate the iron industry for the lessening of the protection upon bar iron and steel and puddled bar. So it was decided to keep the bounty system as applied to pig iron, and also to leave the protection given to pig iron, and then, in working up to the bar iron, to grant a reduction upon puddled bar and afterwards a reduction upon bar iron. Ever since 1887, although there has been a fairly strong protection in customs duty added to the bounty on pig iron, unfortunately the door was left open in the allowing of scrap to come in at a duty of \$2 per ton, whilst puddled bar had a customs duty of \$9 per ton. Chiefly, I think, for that reason, this fact seems to be clear, that, although from 1887 up, for a number of years, the iron industry, in regard to the making of pig out of the iron ores of the country, developed fairly well, and during the last three years has developed largely, I may say rapidly; yet the process stopped at that point, instead of being carried from the pig iron to the puddled bar, and from that to the bar iron, and bar iron came to be made almost entirely, and in the last two years I may say entirely, from scrap instead of from puddled bar. This had a bad effect in two respects. It discouraged the working up of iron from the pig into the puddled bar; it placed scrap where puddled bar should have been; and it also had a bad effect upon the iron of the country, because it is impossible to make a good quality of iron, of certain sizes and kinds, out of scrap, and for that reason a great deal of bar iron had to be imported. It was felt necessary, therefore, that this should be stopped; and the only way to do that was to raise the duty on scrap, so that there might be inducements to make puddled bar from pig iron, and thereby obtain a better quality of iron. After all, while there is a certain amount of scrap which is a good and in some cases an unused iron, it is in most cases, as everybody knows, a used iron, having been used twice over, often a dozen times; and all authorities go to show that after iron has been worked and reworked a number of times, it loses its vitality, its strength and its fibre; it is too dead for a good many processes, and a proper quality can only be successfully obtained by the use of puddled bar or an admixture of puddled bar. So that the Government had these three things in view: first, to keep the protection and encouragement which was necessary for the iron industry as a whole; in the second place, to reduce to the makers

Mr. FOSTER.

of iron materials the cost of their bar iron and steel which were their raw materials; thirdly, the working of pig iron from ore, and from that into puddled bar and bar iron. This latter process it is proposed to encourage by increasing the duty on scrap, making the transaction as easy as possible, by raising it by \$1 a ton to the end of the present year, and thereafter having a uniform duty upon it of \$4 per ton. This, it is hoped, will induce the manufacture of puddled bar from the pig, and the better kinds of iron from the puddled bar. It will not, however, make it necessary that the refuse iron, a great deal of which we have in this country, which every country has, and which ought not to be allowed to go to waste, shall be allowed to go to waste. A large proportion, probably one-third of the scrap which is worked up into iron in this country, is domestic scrap. That is increasing from year to year, and though there may not be an importation of scrap—it is not probable that there will be a large importation of it—there will yet be a large quantity of scrap iron in the country, which will be made up by the rolling mills, and which will supplement the puddled bar in the making of a higher and better class of iron. I do not know that I have anything more to say upon this special point at the present time. I shall be happy to give any information I can as the debate progresses.

Mr. LAURIER. I am sorry that the hon. gentleman is not in his usual state of health, because apart from the general sympathy that we all feel with him, there is no part of this tariff that his ingenuity would be more required to defend than the iron duties. There is nothing, in my estimation, which shows more clearly the fallacy and danger of a protective tariff than the increase which the hon. gentleman is now making in the duty on scrap iron. Every one remembers that, five or six years ago, the duties on iron were remodelled by the then Finance Minister (Sir Charles Tupper) with a great flourish of trumpets. His object, he declared, was to develop the iron industry to an extent of which the country had no conception. We were to have charcoal furnaces and iron furnaces, and two hundred thousand men at least earning a living out of the smelting of iron in this country. That was why such an onerous duty was put upon scrap iron at that time. To-day, after six years' experience, far from having realized these expectations, the Government admit their failure by coming down for more duty. The protection then given was not sufficient.

Mr. FOSTER. We are coming down for less duty.

Mr. LAURIER. Not on scrap iron.

Mr. FOSTER. It is not used by anybody for making articles.

Mr. LAURIER. Then why not leave it as it is? If the hon. gentleman will give us the details of the numerous interviews

he had with different persons during the recess, he will be forced to tell us that there were remonstrances from day to day against the increase of duty on scrap iron. If he will be candid and tell us about the interviews he had with those who use iron in their manufactures—and their name is legion—he will have to admit that he had remonstrances from all these against the duty on scrap iron. I am sure he must have had the most active and vehement remonstrances from the manufacturers of agricultural implements. He has decreased the duty on agricultural implements from 35 to 20 per cent, and of this I do not complain. But the manufacturers have remonstrated with the Government, on the ground that while reducing the duty on the finished article they increased it on the raw material.

Mr. FOSTER. Quite the other way.

Mr. LAURIER. If the hon. gentleman has been informed the other way, his information is altogether at variance with that I have received. I have heard vigorous complaints on the part of the manufacturers of agricultural implements. They complain that they are hit both ways—in the first place, by the reduction of the duty on the finished article, and then by the increase on their raw material. The hon. gentleman says that raw scrap iron is not used. What then is the object of raising the duty? He must see that such a reason cannot be accepted by the country.

Mr. FOSTER. My hon. friend must certainly be mistaken. If there is any point in his argument it is this: that while we have lowered the duty on agricultural implements from 35 to 20 per cent, we have raised the duty on the raw material. We have done nothing of the kind. The manufacturers of agricultural implements do not use scrap iron. They use pig iron, and on that there is no increase of duty. They use steel, and upon that there is a reduction of \$2. They use bar iron, and on that there is a reduction of \$3 a ton. There is no iron product, outside of pig iron, which goes into the manufacture of agricultural implements that has not been lowered, so far as the duty is concerned. The only men who have a quarrel with the increase of duty on scrap iron are those who roll the scrap into bar iron, but that is their quarrel, and not the quarrel of the agricultural implement men, because the latter benefit by the reduction of \$3 per ton on the bar iron which is made out of the scrap. So that the raising of the duty on scrap iron, though it may be argued by certain persons as a hardship, cannot be a hardship to the men my hon. friend is speaking for, because it does not make any difference to them whatever.

Mr. MULOCK. Was not a request made that all iron should be put on the free list?

Mr. FOSTER. They would like to have bar iron and steel free, of course, but that has nothing to do with this argument.

Mr. McMULLEN. The whole question of the duty on iron is an exceedingly important one. I can well remember the manner in which the question of increased duty was brought before the House by Sir Charles Tupper, when that hon. gentleman was Minister of Finance. We were then promised a very large and desirable development of our iron industries. We have not experienced any thing of the kind. The fact of the matter is that the duties then imposed for the purpose of developing our iron resources have fallen very heavily upon the consumers of iron, of which the farming class is the largest. If we are anxious to develop our iron resources we should do it entirely by a bounty and not by the imposition of duty. In the United States they did it almost entirely by bounty, and the result was that the tax did not fall entirely upon the consumers of iron, but on the whole population. The man wearing a broadcloth coat and a tall hat paid his percentage of the duty just as well as the farmer who used the iron. If it is considered a national necessity that we should develop our iron resources, let us do it at the expense of the whole community and not at the expense of any particular section of it. All classes, of course, use iron to some extent, but the great consumer is the farmer. If the hon. gentleman would remit the duty or fix it at the lowest possible rate, consistent with the necessities of the country, and then grant such a bounty as would secure that industry the necessary encouragement, there could be no objection to his course. But to levy the duty on those who consume the iron and then allow the others to go scot free, is an unfair method of proceeding.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I would like to mention that the farmer has not complained so very much about the effect of these duties. When the last iron furnaces were built—the Ferrona Iron furnaces in Pictou—pig iron was selling at \$32 a ton in Toronto. Since those furnaces have been at work, whether on that account or not, that article is now selling at \$15 a ton, so that there could not be a very great complaint with regard to the burden of these duties. There has been an extraordinary drop in iron.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Mr. Chairman, hon. gentlemen on the Treasury benches some years ago put up the duty on pig iron to a very high figure in order to encourage the production of pig iron in this country. They left the scrap iron duty at a lower figure than that upon pig iron, which is a coarser article. I suppose the idea was not to interfere with the rolling mills. Well, the rolling mills now import a good deal of scrap iron, and the producers of pig iron

complain ; and so the Government find themselves between the deep sea and a certain party whom I need not name, and they are obliged to legislate now against the rolling mills so as to allay the complaint of those who are engaged in producing pig iron. The hon. gentleman said that the scrap iron produced is not of very good quality. I daresay that is the case. When you have English iron and Swedes iron, and American iron, soft iron and hard iron, tough iron and brittle iron, all mixed together and rolled out into a new bar, you have iron of a very unequal hardness, and very unequal tenacity, and, thus, not a very good article for use for many purposes. The hon. gentleman still adheres to the idea of helping by undue taxation those who are engaged in the production of pig iron. Now, the hon. gentleman can stimulate the manufacturing interests of this country a great deal more by giving them an opportunity to get iron at a reasonable figure than by keeping up taxation that enormously increases the cost of the iron, and then—the hon. gentleman says it does not increase the price. Then what is it for? what is the object of this taxation? Let any one compare the prices of pig iron in Scotland with the price in Canada, and he will see whether this duty increases the price or not. The hon. gentleman, if he looks at the figures, will see that the price here is enormously greater than in Scotland, and the reason is the existence of this duty. If the hon. gentleman had decreased the duty on pig iron, he could have done a good deal to help the iron manufacturers and could have enabled them to enter into competition with their neighbours over the way, and he could have granted reciprocity in these articles with perfect safety and in the interests of the manufacturing classes. The hon. gentleman is vainly striving to establish an industry in this country which is altogether in advance of the accumulation of capital here, and the general circumstances of the population.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Does the hon. gentleman happen to remember—I ask for information and because my own recollection is not clear—what is the price of the Scotch iron? I think there is not very much difference in the prices here and the prices in Scotland.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). There is some six or seven dollars a ton difference.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I am quite sure it is not so much as that.

Mr. MACDONELL (Algoma). The difference in reality to-day, taking the price at the city of Hamilton, or the city of Toronto, is \$2 a ton.

Mr. MULOCK. Between what two points? I did not understand the hon. gentleman.

Mr. MACDONELL (Algoma). Scotch or American iron—the difference is about the

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

same. The question that appears to be at issue between the two sides of the House is this: Whether there shall be no protective duty on pig iron, or whether the Government shall give that protection to the iron industry that all parts of the country feel at this time is absolutely necessary for our success and welfare. Now, Sir, if we look at the history of the iron industries of the various countries of the world that have become prosperous and influential and important through their production of iron, I think our hon. friends opposite cannot but agree with us on this side of the House that the iron industries of the Dominion of Canada should have that protection that is absolutely essential to make them what they should be, the producers of, as nearly as possible, the quantity of iron that our people consume. What is \$2 per ton bounty or \$4 per ton duty on pig iron, or what is a bounty on pig iron if we can succeed in establishing these industries that will employ labour, give a market for the produce of the farm, add materially to our national wealth and prosperity, and advance the interests of the whole country? When we think of the results to be achieved, the question of a duty or a bounty such as has been given, is seen to be a comparatively trifling one. Let us look at the history of the countries that I speak of. In Great Britain, during the days of protection, when the iron industries of that country attained that magnificence that they have held ever since, the import duty was from 130 to 140 shillings a ton. If our hon. friends who are always pleased to look to the other side of the line for an example of what we shall do, will examine the history of the United States, they will find that the duty on iron has been from 30 per cent ad valorem up to \$9 per ton, varying according to the desire of the people to afford protection to these industries. I do not wish to take up the time of the committee with a long explanation of these things. No doubt we shall have an opportunity of discussing the subject at greater length, and discussing it more intelligently. I can only say that I am glad to see the Government lay down the principle that the iron industries of the Dominion of Canada, in which every province of the Dominion is interested, the development of which will enable every province to add to its wealth, shall be encouraged. The Dominion of Canada consumes yearly about 600,000 tons of iron, of which we are obliged to import more than four-fifths in value, notwithstanding that we have the ore and the different kinds of ore that are necessary to mix together in order to make the very best quality of iron that can be made—stated by experts to be equal to the best Swedes iron—we have the coal in the east, and, in the west, illimitable forests of timber, suitable for the production of charcoal. When we take these things into considera-

tion, the opportunity that awaits us is manifest. If we made but one-half the quantity of iron consumed in the country, we should add at least \$20,000,000 to our national wealth. We should spend \$5,000,000 in wages that would go into circulation, helping not only the artisan actually engaged in the production of the material, but helping, also, the farmer and those engaged in cutting and hauling the wood, and giving such an impetus to business as would benefit all classes. But already the development of the iron industry is surprising. During last year we produced something over 55,900 tons of pig iron. But there is one thing that retards the development of this industry, and that must retard it so long as this unfavourable condition exists. Considering the uncertainty that has existed with regard to the encouragement to be given to the iron industry, considering the changes that might take place on account of commercial union or continental free trade, or unrestricted reciprocity, how can we expect that any capitalist will invest his money in this country to establish such an industry? Until the question of the iron duties and bounty is put upon such a basis, so that there can be no doubt whatever in the minds of capitalists, we cannot look for them to invest their money in this country. There is an immense field for capitalists if they would only come in, but with the uncertainty I have spoken of, there is no chance in the world, to my mind, that we are going to get capitalists to come in and engage in this industry, from the old country, or even from the United States, where they have a mint of money now invested in iron industries. I am sure that if our friends on the opposite side of the House went to their constituents and consulted them on this matter, they would receive but one answer. The reason is that for every ton of pig iron produced in the country, the quantity of labour involved in that production is so great that a greater amount of money paid is for labour, and goes into general circulation, than perhaps in connection with any other article manufactured in Canada. So I feel that instead of lowering the duties, or the bounty, on this material, the Government should increase it. Now, one word with regard to scrap iron, the article now under discussion. Scrap iron has undoubtedly been brought in by the rolling mills people. Why? Because up to this time we have not produced, for the reasons I have mentioned, the iron that is necessary to be used in the rolling mills; consequently, their rolls, as I understand, were made for that purpose. But every ton of scrap iron that came into this country and did not pay one dollar to the national wealth of the country, dispossessed just that much pig iron that should have been manufactured in this country and have gone into general consumption.

Mr. CASEY. The hon. Minister must be aware that in increasing the price of the raw

material out of which other classes of iron are made, he must increase the cost of the production of these articles. If he has taken off protection from the finished articles made out of scrap or pig, such as rolled bars, he must, of course, do so at the expense of the manufacturer of these articles. It happens that upon this tariff becoming known, the rolling mills in the city of Hamilton were compelled to call upon their workmen to take reduced wages, and a strike of several hundred men occurred in consequence, the owners giving the change in the tariff as the reason for having to reduce the wages. The strike, I believe, has been settled since, the men having accepted the reduced wages—so far as I have seen in the papers. It certainly appears strange that a Government which professes so strong a desire to help the labouring man, should in this case have reduced his profit to that extent. But the hon. Minister was mistaken in saying that the amount of scrap iron imported was inconsiderable.

Mr. FOSTER. I said it probably would be, after this duty was imposed.

Mr. CASEY. I think the Minister is probably right in that assumption, it will probably prove to be a prohibitory duty. But the quantity of wrought scrap imported last year was 15,000 tons, about half the amount of pig iron produced in the country. Although my hon. friend from Algoma (Mr. Macdonell) stated our production last year was over 50,000 tons, I find that bounty was paid on only 30,500 tons of pig iron produced in Canada during the fiscal year ending last June, and I prefer to take that estimate of the quantity. Now I find that the ad valorem effects of the old duty on wrought and cast iron, lumping them together, amounted, in round numbers, to a taxation of 16 per cent; that was at the rate of \$2 per ton. The \$3 per ton rate will amount to 25 per cent, and the \$4 per ton rate will amount to 33 per cent. Now, Mr. Chairman, fancy a Minister who says that he wishes to allow raw material to come in free of duty, or at low rates, for the purpose of manufacture, taxing the raw material to the extent of 33 per cent. He tells us, of course, that his object is to encourage the pig iron industry. All I wish to say about that now is that in the year in which Sir Charles Tupper made the changes in the iron duties which were intended to encourage that trade, and when he made the prophecies which he then made, the production of pig iron was 39,800 tons, on which bounty was paid, whereas, during the last fiscal year it was only 30,500 tons. So that Sir Charles Tupper's attempt to increase the amount of pig iron made in the country resulted in a diminution of over 8,000 tons in the amount produced, with the additional cost to the country of a great many thousand dollars by the increased duty and the increased bounty which he then imposed. My hon. friend the Minister of

Marine thinks this duty on pig iron won't increase the price. We must quote to him his master in this connection; undoubtedly the Finance Minister is his master in dealing with a question of this kind. He says:

Another objection which has been made to the National Policy and to the protective principle in it, is, that the cost of many manufactured goods has been enhanced to the consumer on account of the rates imposed. Now, Sir, I grant that argument at once to a certain extent.

Then he goes on to say that in the initial years of a protective policy this would be the case:

I say that in the initial years of a National Policy with a protective principle in it, will have the effect of enhancing the cost of goods, and that at the first the cost of goods will be very closely up to this measure of the protection which was given. If it does not have that effect, why should it ever be adopted at all, and what is the good of it?

The very answer made to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries by the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills). What is the use of a protective tax on these articles if it does not raise the price? That is what is wanted. There is no use pretending that prices will be reduced by increasing the tax on the imported article. The Minister of Marine says that before the last manufactory, the Ferrona, was started in Pictou County the price of pig iron in Toronto was \$22 per ton, and now it is down to \$15.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. A little over.

Mr. CASEY. During what length of time?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Recently.

Mr. CASEY. How long a time between the two prices?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I think a couple of years.

Mr. CASEY. In a number of years we reduced the product of pig iron, and the prices also fell in spite of the protective duties. If

that be the case, it must be that the price of iron has fallen tremendously all over the world, and that the price in Canada has been compelled to fall in sympathy, notwithstanding the protection afforded both by duty and bounty. The hon. gentleman cannot claim that any advantage arises either from the new companies or from the duties, because these have not increased the product of pig iron, which is the only way that prices can be reduced.

Mr. MACDONELL (Algoma). Where did the hon. gentleman get his figures in regard to the product of pig iron?

Mr. CASEY. Out of the Auditor General's Report, from the statement showing the amount paid out for bonus.

Mr. MACDONELL (Algoma). The hon. gentleman's figures are inaccurate. The figures I quoted were from a statement as to the mineral productions of Canada.

Mr. CASEY. That statement does not cover the same period.

Mr. MACDONELL (Algoma). The statement from which I quoted shows an output of 75,000 odd tons for the year.

Mr. CASEY. That is not for the fiscal year.

Mr. MACDONELL (Algoma). It is for the full year; it is stated that was the product of the year 1893.

Mr. CASEY. That return was not for the fiscal year, in the first place. In the second place, it is admitted that those returns are not invariably accurate, whereas the returns for the amount paid for bounty are accurate, as a man is not likely to produce a ton of pig iron and not claim bounty.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. It will be of importance to the committee in considering the whole question that they should be furnished with an accurate statement of what the furnaces are doing. The returns of the officers of the different companies for the current year, 1893, show the following:—

| Company. | Situation of Furnace. | Quantity of Pig Iron manufactured. | Value at Furnace. | Total Ore charged. | Quantity of Fluxing Material. | Quantity of Fuel charged. | Number of Persons employed. |
|---|------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | | Tons. | \$ | Tons. | Tons. | Tons. | |
| Londonderry Iron Co. (Ltd.).... | Londonderry, N.S.... | 23,474 | 275,366 | 56,390 | 13,500 | 34,484 | 400 |
| New Glasgow Iron, Coal and Railway Co. (Ltd.) | Ferrona, N.S. | 22,500 | 270,000 | 44,856 | 12,890 | 30,846 | 480 |
| Canada Iron Furnace Co. (Ltd.).. | Radnor Forges, Que. | 7,422 | 185,575 | 16,700 | 1,680 | 750,000 | 600 |
| Pictou Charcoal Iron Co. (Ltd.)... | Bridgeville, N.S. | *498 | not given | 853 | 124 | 68,220 | 100 |

*It should be stated that this company only resumed operations towards the end of the year, and the furnace was only in blast for a few months.

Mr. CASEY.

I desire to add, as my remarks in reply to the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills), touching the extraordinary results as regards prices go, may have been misunderstood, that I did not mean at the time to state that the effect of the duty was to reduce the price, or would reduce the price, but I remarked that the result had been, no matter what the cause, an enormous reduction in a very short time since the erection of the last iron furnace in Ferrona. I mentioned that, according to my information, there had been within a short time a drop from \$22 to about \$15 in Toronto for the same class of pig iron.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I have looked at the 'Economist,' and I find the price of Scotch pig iron was 42 shillings 10 pence, or \$10.50 a ton, which is \$4.50 less than here.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I am glad the hon. gentleman has mentioned that price, for it is about the price at which it is selling in Nova Scotia. I have found the authority on which I based my statement. In the 'Mining Review,' a journal given to investigation of prices and mining matters, it is stated no later than March this year, as follows:—

It is satisfactory to know that pig iron can now be produced and sold in Nova Scotia—

Not in Toronto, where I gave the price at \$15.

—at prices quite as low as the same grades of Scotch iron are sold in the centre of the Scotch iron trade, Glasgow.

That is a very extraordinary and gratifying statement.

Mr. MULOCK. I should like to ask the hon. Minister of Marine, and also the hon. member for Algoma (Mr. Macdonell), whether I understood them correctly. I understood the hon. member for Algoma to give certain prices, and to state that the price of pig iron in Toronto is not more than \$2 per ton greater than Scotch manufactured iron at the same point?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I said nothing of that kind.

Mr. MULOCK. I am sorry the hon. member is not in his seat, for I think he is in error on that point. The hon. Minister has mentioned that in Nova Scotia pig iron is now produced at about the same price as Scotch pig iron in Glasgow. A short time ago, since the duty was under consideration, a delegation of iron men came to Ottawa, and I was informed by one of the largest iron users in Canada that it is possible to lay down pig iron from Alabama in Toronto at \$5.50 per ton cheaper than Nova Scotia pig iron could be sold there. I asked if the cause of that difference was cheapness of production?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. It was due to demoralization, I think.

Mr. MULOCK. He told me that pig iron was produced in Alabama at over \$2 per ton less than in Nova Scotia, and that the rest of the difference was made up in freights which were against Toronto. He was a practical man who gave me the information. No doubt the hon. Minister has heard the same statement.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Hear, hear.

Mr. MULOCK. It was not an individual statement, but it was the statement of the trade, and I suppose the Minister of Finance had that communication made to him in connection with the deputation that came to Ottawa to press that pig iron be placed on the free list. If that information is correct, the hon. Minister is quite incorrect in his figures that pig iron is now produced in Nova Scotia as cheap as elsewhere.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I was careful to specify only the price in Scotland. I did not refer to a market that is demoralized; I did not refer to the United States where many of the iron furnaces are stopped altogether, and where there exists a very serious and extraordinary condition of affairs. The 'Globe' the other day summed up the situation very well in the reference it made to the condition of the United States market. It said:

The prices for all descriptions of iron and steel are away below any prices ever dreamed of. There is apparently no room for further reduction in prices without going below the cost of manufacture.

No doubt if we wished to destroy our iron industry here, we could get cheaper iron, probably from the United States. It would, however, in my opinion be cheap only for a very short period, and the only point of my reference was that the reduction here, without creating any extraordinary disturbance in Canada, had been such that we could compare favourably with an old established industry which is not demoralized, and that is the iron industry of Glasgow.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) If the hon. gentleman is correct in his figures, he desires to leave the impression on the House that pig iron is now produced and sold in the province of Nova Scotia for the same price as pig iron is bought in England and Scotland.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. In Glasgow.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) So that if any one imported from Glasgow he would have to pay in addition to the cost price, the freight and duty.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Yes.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Then how is it that we imported from Great Britain last year 31,308 tons of pig iron, which were valued at \$346,000, and on which we paid a duty of \$135,250?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman will see that a great deal of the answer would be based on the fact that the furnaces were not running at that time. The furnace to which I referred had just been started, and they had not got well on their feet. I wish to be thoroughly frank with the hon. gentleman. It may be said: if Scotch pig iron is so low, and you can make the article in Nova Scotia at the present moment at something like the same cost as they do in Scotland, what do you want with protection? The answer is, that this comes out in ballast, and it can be put on the Canadian market at the present time for a mere song as regards the freight. The difficulty with the iron trade in Canada was the transport to the markets, but its price of course fluctuates greatly. Nevertheless, the point was fairly made, that we had reached in March that condition of affairs where the protection was absolutely essential to the Canadian manufacturer in connection with the extraordinary small charge for the transport of the Scotch pig to the market here.

Mr. LAURIER. The only point made by the hon. gentleman is simply this: That in the opinion of some man, at a certain time, pig iron in Nova Scotia would sell at about the same price as it sold in Glasgow. The hon. gentleman will not go to the length of saying that that is the normal rule.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. No; I am not able to.

Mr. LAURIER. Then if it be the exception what is the value of the point?

Mr. McMILLAN. The Minister told us that the farmers of the country did not complain of the high duties placed on iron and of the high duties they were paying on their implements. He does not know the feeling of the farmers or he would not make such a statement in this House. I know the feelings of the farmer, and I know that their grumblings are long and loud, and justly so. I heard the same statement from one of the gentlemen in connection with the iron exhibit in the corridor of the House at the commencement of the session, that they manufacture pig iron in Canada as cheaply as they can in my native country, Scotland. If that is the case, why impose a duty of \$4 a ton and give a bounty? It is time, in view of that condition of things, to relieve the people of the heavy burthens placed upon them in this matter. I hold that the Government cannot defend their position with regard in this matter. Iron in Scotland is about \$10 a ton, or something under, and if it can be produced for \$10 a ton in Canada, why is the duty \$4 a ton and the bounty of \$2-\$3 a ton upon an article that is only worth \$10? I hold that the Government should reduce the duty on pig iron, even if they retain the bounty. I do not believe in either the bounty or the duty, but let them retain the bounty

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

for a time if they will, in order that the pig iron manufacturers might have the advantage for a certain length of time.

Mr. CASEY. I did not understand the Minister of Marine distinctly as to whether the figures which he gave were the prices at which iron was sold by the manufacturers, or whether they represented the cost of production.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. If the hon. gentleman will come over to my seat, I will tell him all about it. It is not interesting to the public at the present moment.

Mr. CASEY. Oh, no. I want the information publicly, as it is a matter in which the public are interested.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. It would be a waste of time to repeat statements over and over again. I will very gladly discuss it with the hon. gentleman, if he wants the information, and the committee can proceed with its business.

Mr. CASEY. I want the information openly. The Minister did not make it clear whether he gave the cost of production or the selling price. The hon. gentleman says that it does not interest anybody to know which he meant. I do not suppose it would, as far as his own personal opinion on the matter goes, but as he professes to speak from authoritative figures, it is interesting to know all about it.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I think the hon. gentleman will have to ask some one to move the adjournment of the House.

Mr. CASEY. I do not think so. The hon. Minister says he will give the information privately in his seat.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Or outside.

Mr. CASEY. That will not do. I want the statement made publicly in the House. I want the Minister to make his statement clear with regard to this.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I have stated it twice.

Mr. CASEY. The Minister has not. The figures he gave were, 23,474 tons, valued at \$275,000. He has not stated whether that is the cost of production, or whether they are ready to sell it for that.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. That is what they charge at the furnace.

Mr. CASEY. We have that part of the information at last, but we do not know what the cost of production is, and what profit they make. The manufacturer has \$2 a ton bounty, and if he sells at \$12 a ton he is getting \$14 for it, but we do not know how much it costs him. Perhaps one of the members from the city of Halifax (Mr. Stairs) could tell us exactly what the cost of production is at the Ferrona works. I am told

that pig iron can be produced in certain parts of the western states at \$4 or \$5 a ton, and, from the account Sir Charles Tupper gave us of the special conveniences for producing iron in the county of Picton, I think it could be produced there as cheaply as anywhere. He told us that the flux, and the ore, and the coal, were together in one valley, and that the pig iron could be loaded right into the ships from the smelting works. Now, Sir, if they cannot produce it as cheaply there as elsewhere, I would like to know where the other place is. There is certainly one gentleman in the House who could tell us approximately what it costs to produce it. Above this bounty there is the duty of \$4 per ton; but in spite of all that the price of iron abroad is so low that we have been importing the quantities quoted by my hon. friend from Queen's. The Minister did not quote the quantity imported from the United States, which was 25,000 tons, valued at \$331,000. It is absurd and ridiculous to talk of these people furnishing iron cheaper than, or as cheap as it can be purchased abroad. They do not do it; they would get no benefit from the duty if they did, and the duty is for their special benefit. The hon. Minister of Marine said that he did not refer to the American market for Alabama iron, because that market was thoroughly demoralized, a great many of the furnaces were closed, the prices were all gone to pieces, and a most extraordinary state of things prevailed. We have the hon. member for Algoma (Mr. Macdonell) telling us how much higher the protective taxes are in the United States than in Canada. If it is the case that still more highly protected manufacturers go to pieces occasionally, it would not seem that a protective system was of much use even for the manufacturer. Whatever the cause of the disorganization of the market there may be, I do not know; the main point is that in spite of the one or two instances that the Minister quoted, however correctly he may be informed in regard to these, he himself admits that as a rule iron is not sold as cheaply here as in other countries, and, as we make a very small quantity compared with what we import, the maker obtains the whole benefit of the \$4 duty, as well as the \$2 bounty, all of which the consumer has to pay.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I wish to call the attention of the hon. Minister of Finance to the important statement made by his own colleague, the hon. Minister of Marine. However much he may be disposed to dispute statements made on this side of the House, he will certainly accept those made by his fellow Minister. The hon. gentleman will see, therefore, that we have now reached that stage in this business where the Government has done all that he thinks they ought to do. They have developed the industry sufficiently. The process of the development is complete, so complete that iron

is produced in this country at as low a price, if not a shade lower, than the price in England. The obtaining of revenue is a subordinate and indifferent point; the main point is the development of the industry, and that, it is alleged, has been reached and completed, and therefore there is no further reason for the continuance of these iron duties. Last year we paid \$226,816 on pig iron, and some \$23,000 on charcoal iron. In addition to that the hon. gentleman has paid \$93,800 in bounties. Now that the policy has yielded its fruits, that the system has been developed, I want to know how you can justify taking \$350,000 out of the people's pockets for further gratuities to this already developed industry. Why continue the duties? I would like to get an answer?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman is always ingenious. While he has tried to knock my head and the head of the Minister of Finance together, I can return the compliment by knocking his head with that of the hon. member for North York.

Mr. MULOCK. Our heads are very hard; we can stand it.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I have no doubt of it, and they have stood the operation well. I refer to the hon. member for North York, because he explained quite clearly what the hon. member for Queen's did not catch from me; that is, while I referred to the one market of Glasgow, the hon. member for North York pointed out that our industries still had to meet the lower prices of the iron of Alabama. The hon. gentleman will see, therefore, that if we undertake to throw down the bars it is not the Scotch pig that would meet us.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). But the Alabama factories are closed.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Some are left, and they are dangerous.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) And demoralized. Those which are open are hardly sufficient to supply the home market, so there is very little danger of an overflow into this country.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I do not speak as an expert; but I would like to refer to the condition of the Pittsburg market, as reported in the Toronto 'Globe.' The hon. gentleman must know why I turn to his friends for information in this respect. No doubt he knows the prominence which the 'Globe' is giving to the policy that Sir Oliver Mowat has entered upon for the development of the mineral resources of Ontario. He is going, as far as is possible in a Local Legislature, to take that industry under his wing, and the 'Globe' shows that he has reason for assisting it in some form. In this connection it says:

Prices quoted at Pittsburg show a falling off in proportion to the decline in the output. This was shown by the following figures from the 'Engineering and Mining Journal' of 3rd February, 1892, 1893 and 1894:—

| | 1892 | | 1893. | | 1894. | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------|-------------|---------|---------|-------------|---------|----|-------------|----|
| | \$ cts. | \$ cts. | \$ cts. | \$ cts. | \$ cts. | \$ cts. | | | |
| Bessemer pig, per ton | 15 | 25 to 15 | 60 | 13 | 20 to 13 | 40 | 10 | 60 to 10 | 75 |
| Gray forge pig | 13 | 30 to 13 | 50 | 12 | 25 to | | 9 | 85 to | |
| Steel billets and slabs | 24 | 50 to 25 | 40 | 21 | 50 to 21 | 75 | 15 | 85 to 16 | 00 |
| Steel rails | 30 | 00 to | | 28 | 00 to 28 | 50 | 24 | 00 to ... | |

It would be impossible to prevent the causes which led to such results from affecting the mining industry of Canada, but the relief from royalties and the lessening of prices will tend to minimize the depression.

The Ontario Government jump into the gap as far as they can; but we were here in advance with another remedy, and I only hope that the hon. gentleman will see, from the extraordinary competition now to be met in the country to the south of us, that we should not remove the protection that has already done so much good, and has been attended with a reduction in prices.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman has very cleverly avoided answering the question I put. He has stated that we can purchase iron in Nova Scotia as cheaply, if not more cheaply, than in Glasgow. Why, then, does he wish to continue a policy which gives a direct bonus to the Londonderry Iron Company of \$49,906, and to the New Glasgow Iron and Coal Company of \$25,871? Is not that a pure gratuity? If, as he says, pig iron can be purchased as cheaply in Nova Scotia as in Glasgow—and the House is bound to accept his statement, for the nonce, at any rate—how can he justify giving a bounty of \$2 per ton on every ton that these companies produce? That is the point for the committee.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I speak of the price of Scotch pig in Glasgow, and not as sold in Canada.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Then there is less reason for it, because if you import from Glasgow, they would have the protection of the extra freight and insurance crossing the Atlantic. The Scotch pig, when landed in Nova Scotia, must, perforce, if the hon. gentleman's statement be correct, cost more than the pig iron produced by the Londonderry Iron Company and the New Glasgow Iron Company.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. In the same market, for market consumption, Scotch has the advantage in freight—an extraordinary advantage.

Mr. CHESLEY. I have been waiting with some patience to make a few observations

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER.

on the resolution now before the House, and now that the friendly spar between the hon. member for Pictou (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper) and the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) is over, I shall ask the indulgence of the House while I briefly discuss the subject. The question is whether a duty of \$2 per ton shall be added to that already in existence on scrap iron, and the discussion, instead of being on the propriety of doing that, has turned on the question of the development of pig iron in this country. A certain policy was adopted by the Government some years ago, with the view of developing iron mines and the production of pig iron from our own ores. That policy was established in two ways—by duty and by a bounty. I find, on examining the returns, that, during the past two or three years, the increase in the production of pig iron in this country has been over 100 per cent, and in that way it will be seen that some development of our iron mines and the making of pig iron has taken place. I perhaps might say that no industry, no avocation, followed by the people of this country, is deserving of more attention and consideration at the hands of Parliament than the iron industry. If it be true that we have all the ores experts say we have, and all the different qualities of iron, all that is required, for the thorough development of these ores and the making of pig iron, from which all other irons are produced, is technical knowledge and the investment of capital and time. This industry is entirely different from a great many others. You invest your capital in a cotton mill, and buy your raw cotton, and once the mill is started you can make your product. But in the production of iron from the ores the process is much slower. It requires much longer time and a very considerable amount of capital to change the ores into the merchantable commodity. However, the Government adopted a policy of a duty and a bounty, and the result has been that within the last two or three years the output of pig iron in this country has increased a little over 100 per cent, which shows that this policy has induced capitalists to invest their money in the iron mines of the Dominion. But when you have succeeded in pro-

ducing your pig iron, you are only on the threshold of supplying iron for general consumption. The next move is to turn this pig iron into what is known as puddled bar. From these bars is made what is known as merchant bar iron and iron for other purposes, which goes into general use throughout the country. It has been said that the reason this has not followed the production of pig iron is that the raw material can be had cheaply from outside—notably scrap—and that the rolling mills have been fitted up, for the purpose of utilizing this scrap, with a special class of machinery, from which they make bar iron, and that, therefore, the industry of producing puddled bars has not been entered into. I think that that statement is entirely inaccurate, because any man who knows anything about the manufacture of iron must certainly know that in all countries, wherever the manufacture of iron has attained a large degree of development, it has only been attained by a judicious mixture of the various grades of pig iron produced from the different ores, to bring about a certain result or to produce a certain quality of iron suitable for general consumption. And I say that in Canada, with all the pig iron that has been made, no such result has yet been obtained. There has not been made, and, I venture to say, there will not be made, for some time, puddled bar from the pig iron produced in Canada. I do not mean to say that the ores are not good enough in quality for that purpose, but there is no single ore from any particular mine from which you can make puddled bar suitable for iron that enters into general use. You must mix the different grades of ores, containing different qualities, together, and in this way you will produce a certain quality of iron, suitable for merchant bar. That has not been done as yet. I think I can see, in the adjustment of the tariff, so far as the scrap iron business is concerned, an effort perhaps on the part of parties who may be very largely interested in iron mines and the making of pig iron, to compel the rolling mill people to erect puddling furnaces and make from this pig iron puddled bars for their raw material. If the different grades of pig iron suitable for that purpose were made in this country, there could not be so much fault found with the idea. But they are not made yet, and will not be made for some time. Therefore, scrap iron has entered largely, if not wholly, into the manufacture of merchant bar iron, and will continue to do so for some time to come. Last year there was imported in this country wrought scrap to the amount of 45,226 tons, and wrought steel scrap, or steel cuttings, to the amount of 4,450 tons. This was used as raw material in the rolling mills, and from that a very fair and suitable merchant bar iron has been made, and the country has been fairly well supplied with

it. These mills have worked up a prosperous and successful business, so far as I know, wherever they are located. If the duty on scrap iron is increased and the duty on puddled bar from abroad remains as it is, the only thing I can see that will follow will be, until such time as you produce puddled bar in this country from your own ores, to increase the cost of bar iron made from this scrap. That will surely follow, at all events for a time. We all know that Great Britain and the United States, greatly as their iron industries have been developed, not only import, but export ores. They import and export pig iron simply because each country possesses different qualities and grades of ores, and to produce certain results you must have a mixture of the various grades. Great Britain imports very large quantities of iron ore from Spain, notwithstanding the great variety she has at home. And in the Wilson Bill, it was determined that ores should come into the United States free, because they are required to produce a proper mixture for the making of certain classes and grades of iron. That will apply to all countries, and Canada is no exception. Then the question arises, who is to erect these puddling furnaces to make these puddled bars; shall it be the men producing the pig iron, or shall this be imposed upon the rolling mill men? In that connection, I will read a short extract from a pamphlet by Mr. George E. Drummond on that point:

Unfortunately the Dominion Government made one mistake, viz., the admission of wrought scrap iron, as the raw material for the manufacture of bar iron, at a less rate of duty than puddled bars, blooms and billets, with which it came into competition.

The admission of scrap iron at a low rate of duty has resulted in two evils. First, it has retarded the progress of the manufacture of pig iron from Canadian ores, inasmuch as the ironmasters cannot afford to produce puddled bars or steel billets at competitive prices with cheap wrought scrap. Secondly, it has caused the Canadian Rolling Mill proprietors to make investments in special plant for the manipulation of scrap, and brought about a condition of affairs in the rolling mill business that will be greatly disturbed by any sudden change in the tariff with regard to the admission of wrought scrap.

Then he goes on to show how this may be remedied. He says:

This may be done in several ways, for instance, by naming a definite date, say within from three to five years, when wrought scrap, the present raw material for Canadian bar iron, shall be placed at the same rate of duty as puddled bars or steel bars with which it comes into competition, and that in the meantime a sufficient bounty be granted, either to the rolling mill companies on such iron and steel as they may produce from the products of Canadian blast furnaces or to the blast furnace companies direct, as an inducement to them to produce steel billets and puddled bars, so

that they may shortly be in a position to supply the mills (at a reasonable living profit to themselves) with all the raw material necessary for the manufacture of bars and other finished iron.

So you see, this gentleman, who has said some very good things on this subject and has given us a great deal of information on the iron industry, sees the very difficulty I am trying to point out—that is, that before this pig iron can reach the consumer in the form of merchant bar, a certain other process must take place which is not only expensive, but takes time, and requires a large investment of capital. Mr. Chairman, I might say that last year the production of pig iron in this country was about 47,000 tons, at least that is the amount on which the bounty was paid. Mr. Drummond shows in his report that the total production was about 60,000 tons. I presume he makes up his statement to the end of the calendar year, while the other figures are made up to the end of the fiscal year, the 30th June. The total consumption of the products of iron in Canada was 600,000 tons. We are thus very far from supplying ourselves with all the iron and products of iron that are consumed in this country. The rolling mills last year turned out, in the products of iron, about 80,000 tons. That quantity was almost, if not quite all, produced from scrap iron. The iron foundries turned out about 80,000 tons of castings—these would be for stoves, agricultural implements, and other heavy castings. The quantity of pig iron manufactured in the country was, as I stated, about 47,000 tons. The imports of charcoal pig iron amounted to 5,944 tons, and of pig iron other than charcoal iron, 56,703 tons. In addition, 729 tons of cast scrap iron were imported, making a total of 110,324 tons of pig iron consumed in the country during the past year. On this point, I will read another short paragraph from Mr. Drummond's pamphlet which bears and goes to strengthen what I have said :

Within the past two years Nova Scotia has made great progress in the erection of modern plants and improved appliances. She must continue on this course, for the time is past when iron can be successfully produced without improved appliances both in construction and modern methods of operation. The blast furnace must meet the consumer's wants, in quality of iron and technical knowledge, and administrative ability must be joined together in Nova Scotia just as in the United States to secure the increased output and high quality of iron which the times demand.

I think that Mr. Drummond is entirely right on that point. But, apart from all this, Mr. Chairman, I may say that, in my humble judgment, the increase of the duty on scrap iron at the present time is a mistake. I think that if the duty had been left as it was, \$2 per ton, with a lowering of the duty on the bar iron produced from the scrap, from \$13 to \$10 per ton, as provided for by the revised tariff, perhaps it would have been

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more satisfactory. But if it is expected by the Government that by the increase of \$2 per ton on scrap iron, an influence will be brought to bear that will induce capitalists or the rolling mills to go into the puddling of iron, I think they are entirely mistaken—that is an industry that it will take years to establish satisfactorily. It has been stated that these rolling mills have been fitted up with a peculiar class of machinery for the manipulation of scrap iron. That is not correct; the same rolls, the same machinery will roll the puddled bars into merchant iron as are used in the rolling of scrap bar into merchant iron. This scrap iron is first put into bars of the same shape and size as the puddled bars made from pig, and in that shape both scrap bar and puddled bar would enter the heating furnace. So there is nothing in that statement whatever. Then there is another item in the tariff concerning which I wish to say a few words. I refer to the second item in this schedule :

Iron or steel being pieces, punchings, or clippings of boiler plate or other plates, sheets or bars of iron or steel, whether the same have had the ragged or cropped end or edges sheared off or not, and crops from iron and steel rails having both ends sawn or sheared off, the same not having been in actual use and being fit for re-rolling or re-manufacture only, four dollars per ton.

That duty is increased. Now, I wish to explain to the House what all that means; I think it is well that hon. members should have the information. In Great Britain, where iron ship-building is, of course, a great industry, there is much waste in the sheets used in the construction of these vessels. From these sheets, pieces are frequently cut, known as clippings. These are in different sizes and shapes, and they are utilized by putting them into the shears and trimming them up into squares of whatever size the several clippings will make. They are very good material, being of new steel. These clippings have been sold in our provinces in very large quantities to the rolling mills as scrap, and they are a cheap and good raw material. They are simply thrown into the heating furnace, and, with one heat, passed through the rolls and made into sheets of beautiful steel nail plate.

Mr. CHARLTON. At what price per ton are these clippings bought?

Mr. CHESLEY. They are bought at the price of scrap, or, perhaps, at a slight advance.

Mr. CHARLTON. What is the price of scrap?

Mr. CHESLEY. From \$10 to \$14 per ton. Large quantities of these clippings thus trimmed have been brought in by our rolling mill men, and, as I say, made into plate from which nails are made. It is proposed to put a duty of \$4 per ton on these clippings, which, I think, is another mistake.

As I said before, you will have to continue the use of this class of raw material for a long time to come. We cannot hope to reach the point of development where puddled bars would enter as a raw material into manufacture for all these purposes, this scrap iron and scrap steel will continue to be used by the rolling mills, and the only effect will be to increase the cost to the consumer of the articles produced. While I am in sympathy with the policy of the Government in developing the iron mines, I think when they come to connect the two things, when they try to get from the pig iron puddled bars, and when they try to put those puddled bars into general use, there is a gap that they cannot bridge over as easily as they think by legislation. It requires some time and a large capital, and a better understanding of the whole subject ought to be had before the attempt is made. It is well known—at all events I know it, and all others engaged in the iron business, know it—that notwithstanding the large increase in the production of pig iron, there has been no attempt yet to make puddled bars from it. The producers of pig iron do not want to make puddled bars from it. Their policy would be to sell their pig iron to the rolling mill men, and for the rolling mill men to erect puddling furnaces and produce puddled bars as their raw material. I may further state that none of the ores of the Londonderry mines, or those in Pictou County, N.S., will produce merchant bar iron alone; they must be mixed with some other grades of pig iron. There is too much phosphorus in the Londonderry iron. This renders it very valuable for stove castings or any other like castings where you wish a metal to run freely, but not for other purposes. When you come to the Ferrona ore of Pictou County, you have a different grade of iron entirely. To make the matter clear, the Londonderry iron is thin, more like water; the other is more like molasses when it melts and runs. That is the difference between the two irons. Neither of them alone, as any man of experience knows, will make puddled bars suitable for the making of merchant iron. So that whoever may make an attempt to produce puddled bars from pig iron must not only use the pig iron produced at either one or other of those mines, or perhaps both, but he must also import other pig iron to mix with the Canadian product before a satisfactory result can be obtained. I think that is about the way the matter stands in Canada to-day. I do not think any increased duty should be placed on the raw material that the rolling mills use in this country. These rolling mills have grown up as successful industries, and I am proud of the fact that to-day we are able to supply nearly all the wants of this country in what is known as merchant bar iron; I am proud of that fact as a result of the tariff policy inaugurated some years ago. But I regret that any steps should be taken to-day to cripple that industry for the pur-

pose of helping some other interest. That is where I think a mistake has been made. Where the Government got the information on which they were acting, is more than I can understand, because if they had got correct information with reference to this matter, the story would have been about as I have told it. I well remember that about 25 years ago, in the city of St. John, it was attempted to import pig iron and to make puddled bars, and from them to make merchant iron. The attempt was a complete failure. The men who put their capital into the business lost everything. The works were idle for many years, and finally were sold to pay the ground rent under the buildings. A new company, at the head of which was the late James Harris, bought the property for a mere trifle, and at once commenced the manufacture of iron from scrap, and from that date to the present they have gone on successfully, and increased the output over 100 per cent. Last year these works were running right and day, making all the bar iron and nail plate they could turn out and finding a ready market for everything they made. The same thing applies to the Hamilton mills, to the Montreal mills, and others. Now, if these people are to be met with a duty of this character—of course one man will be in the same position as another—the inevitable result must follow, that they must all pay more for their raw material in consequence of this additional duty, and the price of iron must be increased to the consumer. Now, I feel there is no necessity for that. I would very much sooner offer a bounty to people who are producing this pig iron, as an inducement to produce puddled bars, than to do as the Government propose. It is true the Government have taken the duty off puddled bars, or, in other words, have reduced it from \$9 to \$5 a ton. With puddled bars at \$5 a ton and scrap iron at \$4, it is easy to see which material will be used by the rolling mill men. Where there is a difference in price on the other side of about \$4 to \$6 a ton between the cost of scrap iron and the cost of puddled bars; therefore, scrap iron will continue to be used here, and puddled bars will not be made. I thought it well to make these few explanations in reference to this matter, because I have some knowledge of the practical side of this question, having had a good deal to do with it in my lifetime. I think if the Government had left the duty as it was on scrap, it would have been entirely satisfactory to the people, as I think the duty and bounty on pig iron are satisfactory to the country at large. I believe the great bulk of the people are satisfied with the present development of the iron industry, and the way our own rolling mills are supplying their wants. I may further add that bar iron has been produced almost as cheaply for the last year or two in Canada as you could buy it anywhere else; therefore, under these circumstances, I think it is impolitic, not to say unwise, on the part

of the Government to do anything that will interfere with the success and prosperity of these rolling mills. They employ a very large number of men, they consume all the scrap the country produces, besides making large importations. They are successful, let them remain successful, and try some other way of producing puddled bars from pig iron, adopt some other means of bringing about the end you have in view. I feel that under all the circumstances I ought to say at least this much. The people in my constituency are much interested in this question, we have two large rolling mills there, which employ a large number of men, and circulate a great deal of money. There has been some feeling and a good deal of talk in reference to this matter, and that is my justification for making these observations.

Mr. McMULLEN. The House is unquestionably indebted to the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat (Mr. Chesley) for the valuable information he has given us, and I earnestly hope the Finance Minister will see his way clear to meet, in some way, the suggestions of the hon. gentleman, who is evidently possessed of a good deal of personal experience in regard to the production of iron. Now, I find the production of pig iron, from the inception of the bounty system down to the present time, has been as follows:—

| | No. of tons claimed upon. | Amount of duty paid. |
|--------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1883-84..... | 29,388·16 | \$44,089 91 |
| 1884-85..... | 25,769·13 | 38,654 91 |
| 1885-86..... | 26,179·19 | 39,259 56 |
| 1886-87..... | 39,717·00 | 59,576 00 |
| 1887-88..... | 22,209·00 | 33,314 00 |
| 1888-89..... | 24,822·00 | 37,333 00 |
| 1889-90..... | 24,373·00 | 25,697 00 |
| 1890-91..... | 20,153·00 | 20,153 00 |
| 1891-92..... | 30,289·00 | 30,294 00 |
| 1892-93..... | 35,268·00 | 67,590 00 |

In addition, during the period from 30th June, 1892, to 4th March, 1893, 47,155 tons were produced, on which a bounty was paid of \$94,201. So that from the inception of the bounty system down to the present time there has been produced 325,322 tons, on which has been paid \$490,045, or we have paid about \$500,000 in bounty for the purpose of placing this industry on its feet. We have now over 11 years' experience. I quite agree with the remarks offered by the hon. gentleman who preceded me, to the effect that if we are going to develop the iron industry we should do it by bounty and not by duty. Some hon. gentlemen opposite, notably the Minister of Marine, have pointed to the action of the Ontario Government in granting a bounty of \$1 per ton on iron production. If this industry is to be encouraged, let it be fostered by a bounty; I do not believe in placing the onus on men who are obliged to use the iron, if its production is one of national necessity. I admit that it is desirable we should produce iron in this country, and viewed from

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that standpoint I commend the course taken by the Ontario Government. If it be a necessity, let its development be at the expense of every one, and not merely at the expense of those who use iron. If hon. gentlemen opposite are disposed to continue the system which has been in force in the past, I prefer they should reverse the order of proceedings. It would be in line with their policy to make the bounty \$4 and the duty \$2, and at the same time we would be giving iron to consumers at less price. I think the statement of the Minister of Marine with respect to prices of iron in Glasgow is erroneous.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The low price at Glasgow is largely due, if not wholly, to the very bounty which the hon. gentleman commends.

Mr. McMULLEN. It is quite clear that the hon. Minister of Marine rather gave himself away in the statement he made, and is now showing his facility to extricate himself from a corner.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The mistake I made was in the use of the word "produce." If I had said at the price at which pig iron was sold at New Glasgow or Ferrona, I would have been correct. I used the word "produce," and it was erroneous to say that it was "produced" at the same cost. I am much obliged to the hon. gentleman for allowing me to make this explanation.

Mr. McMULLEN. I merely considered it to be my duty to point out that this industry has cost the country \$500,000, and it does not appear now to be in a better condition than before. We produced more pig iron in Canada some years ago than we do now; production reached its highest point in 1886-1887, when the output was 39,717 tons.

Mr. CHARLTON. I am quite convinced that the position taken by the hon. member for St. John (Mr. Chesley) with regard to this subject is the correct one, and that the Minister of Finance has sacrificed one interest to benefit another. I observe by the Wilson Bill that scrap iron and steel are dutiable at the rate of 10 per cent, which, according to the figures given by the hon. member for St. John (Mr. Chesley), namely, \$10 per ton, would be about \$1 per ton, as compared with the present duty of \$3 per ton on scrap iron in Canada, to be increased to \$4 per ton under the tariff now proposed by the hon. Finance Minister after the first of June next. Consequently, our duty will be about three or four times as high as the duty proposed by the Wilson Bill of the United States.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. What is the duty on pig iron?

Mr. CHARLTON. It varies from 25 to 35 per cent. So that the duty proposed on scrap is relatively twice as high as that

imposed on other grades of iron. No doubt in the United States, with the vast development of that industry there, they have placed a duty on scrap iron and steel at a point more in consonance with the interests of the trade than the Finance Minister has done, and I am convinced a mistake has been made here, and that this duty is relatively too high. It would be absurd to sacrifice the rolling mill interest here for the blast furnace interest, and the latter has received consideration at the hands of the Government that the rolling mill interest has not obtained, because it has received, besides the protection of the customs duty, an addition in the shape of bounty. While adverting to this matter I desire to say that from the best information I was able to obtain when chairman of the Mining Commission of Ontario, there is no point in America where iron can be produced cheaper than in Nova Scotia. I visited Birmingham, Ala., in company with the secretary of that commission. We found that at Birmingham they were producing iron from a low grade of ore, an ore running 30 to 40 per cent of iron, at a cost of from \$6.50 to \$7.25 per ton at that time—1889. Being brought into contact with iron men and men experienced in the business, I ascertained that it was the opinion of iron producers familiar with the locality that iron could be produced more cheaply in Nova Scotia, at New Glasgow, than at Birmingham.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. You did not visit New Glasgow ?

Mr. CHARLTON. No ; but I obtained the opinions of men competent to judge, and I found that the opinion prevailed that while iron could be produced at Birmingham, Ala., at from \$6.50 to \$7.25 per ton, yet with the same appliances and with a similar investment of capital it could be produced at New Glasgow at a lower cost.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. They did not propose to invest.

Mr. CHARLTON. No, they did not propose to invest. It is an unfortunate thing that the condition of affairs in this country does not seem to invite investment.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. But others did.

Mr. CHARLTON. As chairman of that commission I ascertained that charcoal iron could be produced in this country at a lower price than it could be imported for. We had before us Mr. Massey of Toronto, who informed us that charcoal iron at \$4 a ton more than pig iron, would be used by himself and by a majority of founders for strong castings ; that he would use 2,000 tons per annum in his own business at \$4 per ton higher than imported Scotch pig. We had estimates furnished and data given as to the cost of the manufacture of charcoal iron in Ontario. The Madoc furnace had been producing charcoal iron at \$12 per ton, and the

details of the cost were as follows : Cost of ore \$3 per ton, cost of fuel \$3 per ton, flux 30 cents per ton, labour \$3.10 per ton, wear and tear \$1 per ton, and general expenses \$1.60. We had the report of Mr. John Birkenbine of Philadelphia, who is considered the best authority on iron matters in the United States, as to the cost of producing charcoal iron in the townships of Darling and Levant, and its estimated cost was \$12.85. Mr. Birkenbine's estimate went into details as to cost of plant, cost of mineral lands, cost of developing mines, and all the expenses connected with the investment and creation of the plant. We had an estimate of cost of producing charcoal iron made by Mr. J. C. Pusey, a practical iron worker in the township of Snowdon, and his estimate was \$13.80. We had an estimate that at the Haliburton Imperial Mines it cost \$9.08 per ton ; another giving an estimated cost in another locality of \$11.46, and another giving the estimated cost of producing charcoal iron at \$11.92. These are undoubtedly figures that would approximate very closely to the actual cost of the production of charcoal iron. The best authorities believe that iron can be produced at New Glasgow cheaper than at any other point in America. Under these circumstances, having pursued the policy of bonusing iron establishments for many years, it strikes me that the policy is not an efficient one. We want a change in our trade relations ; we want the introduction of more energy and more capital, we want to adopt a policy that will give the country general growth and that will bring into it the infusion of new ideas and the infusion of new energies. This bonusing policy pursued by the Government is to a great degree inoperative. At all events, in connection with the item under consideration, the policy adopted by the Government, judging by the course taken by the United States, is one which is likely to prove injurious to the rolling mills, and the duty imposed is too high. Either the Government here is wrong or the framers of the Wilson Bill are wrong, because the conditions of the trade in the two countries are relatively much the same, and the United States would not be likely to adopt a policy injurious to the iron-producing interest.

Mr. MACLEAN (York). I would like to point out, for the information of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Charlton), and for the information of the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies), that while iron may be produced in Nova Scotia at a very low rate, we in Ontario desire to see iron produced in our own province. I would specially point out to the hon. gentleman for Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), that the very commission that he was appointed a member of is now bearing fruit, and that the Government of Ontario, which sent him to make this inquiry, have now adopted an iron policy and have become protectionists.

Mr. McMULLEN. No, no.

Mr. MACLEAN (York). Yes. They have come to believe in the doctrine that it is essential to national greatness to have an N.P.; a policy that will give us iron production in this country. No country has ever become great, no country has ever become a leader among the nations of the earth, that had not an iron industry of its own, and that did not try to build up an iron industry of its own. We are now trying to do that in Canada, and the Reformers of this country who have always opposed protection have come at last to the view that they in Ontario will try to create an iron industry in this province, and for that purpose they employed the gentleman who has just addressed the House (Mr. Charlton), and they are now about to act upon his suggestion. Another thing I wish to point out is this: that the greatest mistake ever made in this country was, when we were building the great Canadian Pacific Railway, that we neglected to provide that every rail which entered into the construction of that road should have been rolled in this country and made from Canadian iron.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Has the hon. gentleman calculated how many millions of dollars more that would cost, above what it did cost?

Mr. MACLEAN (York). Even if it did cost more, this country would be just that many millions of dollars better off.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) There would be a charge on the North-west and on the transportation trade for all time to come.

Mr. MACLEAN (York). I deny that. I say that before the Canadian Pacific Railway was built, we should have provided that that road should be built entirely of Canadian iron. I hope in future that in the case of all roads bonused out of the Federal Treasury it will be made a condition of the bonus that they will employ Canadian iron and Canadian rolled rails in their construction. There is another thing I wish to point out in connection with the iron policy of Ontario—and I wish to point it out especially to the member for Huron (Mr. McMillan), who says that the farmers do not wish an iron policy in this country. It is the best thing that could happen the farmers of this country to have an iron policy, and the farmers of Ontario believe in an iron policy, and they believe in it because it will give them the best home market that they possibly could have, for there is no home market equal to that that is made by a mining population. We in Ontario hope to see an iron policy there, and we are prepared to support this Government in maintaining an iron policy. I wish to repeat the hope that I expressed before: that it will be a condition of all bonuses granted to railways in future that they shall be built of Canadian iron rolled in Canadian mills.

Mr. MACLEAN (York).

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). You are defending the Ontario Government now. They have converted you

Mr. MACLEAN (York). We have converted the Ontario Government, and at a time when they are in the throes of a great struggle the Ontario Government has reached out its hand for this policy of protection, and it is the only hope they have of saving their lives in the electoral struggle that is about to take place.

Mr. MULOCK. I have been waiting for some time to come back to the point at which this discussion diverged. There is a controversy between some members here as to whether the Government's policy had sufficiently developed the industry; but here we have this fact staring us in the face; we have a tariff now which is in some respects more onerous than ever upon the consumers of iron. I do not myself give my own opinion or knowledge as to what price iron can be produced for in Canada or elsewhere. What I stated was: that large users of iron, men engaged in the manufacture of machinery and implements of various kinds, whose raw material is iron, had waited upon the Administration after their proposed tariff had been given to the public, and, as I understand, asked the Government to reduce the duty upon iron, and in some cases to have it made free. But, instead of reducing the duty on this article, the Government has raised it. I now come back to where the discussion was left off, and I ask the Minister of Finance, why he does not apply his policy to iron, which is the raw material of these manufacturers? I understand his policy to be, to admit the raw material free. Is not iron in various forms the raw material of manufacturers of implements of different kinds? If that is his policy, how comes it that he does not apply it to the case of iron? It is idle to say that the imposition of this duty is not going to enhance the cost to the consumers of iron goods. Now, I ask the Minister of Finance what the effect is going to be upon the manufacture of agricultural implements, which subject has been so ably dealt with by the hon. member for St. John. The agricultural implement manufacturers have called upon the Government to make certain changes in the duties upon their raw material, in the shape of iron of various kinds. I ask the Minister, if he is free to give me an answer, if that is not the case? Have not the manufacturers of agricultural implements, and the users of iron for the manufacture of various necessities of life, asked the Government for a reduction of the duties on iron?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MULOCK. I thought so; and the reason assigned was that it was necessary for them to get their raw material cheaper. But the Government turned a deaf ear to them.

In some cases, I admit, the duties have been lowered ; but the hon. member for St. John cited a case in which the Government turned a deaf ear to the application that was made. The result is that one of the most widely used manufactures of iron is made dearer to the consumer.

Mr. FOSTER. How is it made dearer ?

Mr. MULOCK. By increasing the duty on scrap and leaving the duty on pig iron at \$4 a ton.

Mr. FOSTER. It is made no greater.

Mr. MULOCK. Is not \$4 a ton something ? The change is going to cause a larger importation of pig iron or make scrap more expensive.

Mr. FOSTER. Not at all.

Mr. MULOCK. The hon. gentleman must see it. The hon. member for St. John has stated that it is necessary to import pig iron to produce certain grades of iron.

Mr. FOSTER. Not necessarily.

Mr. MULOCK. The hon. member for St. John said that we do not produce certain grades of iron without using imported pig.

Mr. FOSTER. He did not say we could not.

Mr. MULOCK. He said we do not, though ; and he said that at the present time scrap forms a valuable mixture in the production of certain grades of iron.

Mr. FOSTER. Mixture ? What for ?

Mr. MULOCK. Puddled bar. That is what he stated—and that, as you are now making this scrap more expensive, it will be necessary, in his judgment, to import more pig.

Mr. FOSTER. It is only steel scrap that is used to make billets, and that is cheaper than it was before.

Mr. MULOCK. I am repeating what the hon. member for St. John has said. He says that scrap is melted up in St. John for the manufacture of cut nails, and that the increased duty will make them dearer.

Mr. FOSTER. Cut nails are made cheaper. The duty on them is reduced nearly one-half.

Mr. MULOCK. I am not speaking of the nails. I am speaking of the scrap that enters into their manufacture. The maintenance of these duties and their increase in certain places increases the cost of the manufactured article to the consumer.

Mr. FOSTER. How ?

Mr. MULOCK. I would like to ask the Minister why he does not apply his policy generally ? If he is in favour of cheap raw materials, why does he maintain these high rates on raw materials ?

Mr. FOSTER. We have reduced them.

Mr. MULOCK. You have not reduced them all ; you have increased some and reduced others to a trifling extent. To say nothing of the freight, there is a duty of \$10 a ton on bar iron—that much additional charge to the consumer on all classes of goods into which bar iron enters.

Mr. FOSTER. It was \$13 before.

Mr. MULOCK. Why should it be \$10 ? To-day you are posing as the farmer's friend ; but your tariff shows you to be the farmer's enemy. What is going to be the effect of your iron policy upon agricultural implements ? Your whole policy is a mass of inconsistencies.

Mr. FOSTER. What would be your policy with regard to implements ?

Mr. MULOCK. I am not making a policy ; I am trying to point out the absurdities and inconsistencies of the Government's policy, and the disasters that must flow from it. They have announced the making of raw materials cheap to the manufacturer as the foundation of their policy ; but they have not carried out that policy with reference to the iron duties. Since they undertook to tinker with these iron duties, they have paralyzed the iron industries of the country. What have become of the prophecies of Sir Charles Tupper, made in this House in 1887, when he told us of the great natural advantages that Canada had for the building up of a great iron industry if she would only adopt the excessive scale of duties which he proposed ? Ever since that policy was introduced, the consumers of iron goods have been great sufferers ; and because the Minister is able to point to trifling reductions in one or two points, he thinks he has done all that the condition of the country warrants. Now, that the hon. member for Algoma is in the House, I would ask him if I correctly understood him to say that Canadian pig iron was as cheap within \$2 a ton in Toronto, as Scotch or American iron ? Was that what he wished the House to understand ?

Mr. MACDONELL (Algoma). Go on.

Mr. MULOCK. I understood the hon. gentleman to make that statement, and if so, I would reply both to him and to the hon. Minister of Finance by saying that I do not profess to give any evidence myself on the point, nor do I think that the evidence I did give had reference to a demoralized state of the trade. I understand that pig iron of the very best kind is produced in Alabama at \$2 a ton less than in Canada—not at demoralized prices, but at normal prices. Then, owing to railway freight, we are handicapped to the extent of \$3.50 per ton, say at Toronto a leading centre, where iron is required, so that pig iron would cost in Toronto, under your tariff, \$5.50 per ton more than it can be laid down for, even brought up from the east. Now, the effect of it is this : The American farmers, owing to cheaper raw materials, will get their agri-

cultural implements cheaper, and you are handicapping our Canadian farmers in their competition with the Americans, because if you make the raw material which enters into the manufacture of their iron goods dearer, you will make it more expensive for them to carry on their industry, and in this way this Government, which pretends to have introduced a farmer's tariff, are imposing a tariff directly antagonistic to the interests of the farmers.

Item agreed to.

Iron or steel, being pieces, punching, or clippings of boiler plate or other plates, sheets or bars of iron or steel, whether the same have had the ragged or cropped ends or edges sheared off or not, and crops from iron or steel rails having both ends sawn or sheared off, the same not having been in actual use and being fit for re-rolling or re-manufacture only (39 per cent) four dollars per ton.

Mr. FOSTER. This is the other form of steel scrap. I think the hon. member for St. John (Mr. Chesley) was in error in the matter of the steel scrap. In the old tariff, the duty was 30 per cent. The average price of that which came in was \$15.90 per ton, so that the duty of 30 per cent amounted to \$4.80. The duty now is \$4. It may be that steel scrap sometimes came in under the preceding section at \$2 a ton, but if so it slipped in where it had no place.

Mr. CHESLEY. What is called steel scrap in the item before the House was simply imported as scrap iron always. It is nothing but scrap anyway.

Mr. FOSTER. It should not have been.

Mr. CHESLEY. It is the leavings from the sheets where boilers are made and vessels are built. These are the cuttings and ends of sheets brought into the country as scrap and rolled into nail sheets. It was brought in at first without any trimming, but finally the people on the other side, interested in the trade, commenced clipping—what they called clipping or trimming these pieces; and these came in as scrap steel. It was used for the manufacture of nail sheets. From these sheets cut nails were made. The same remark applies to your steel rails which you have in this item. There have been thousands of tons of old steel rails rolled this very past season in St. John into steel sheets or nail plate. I know of a contract which the Harris people had for three thousand tons of steel sheets made from old steel rails, and these steel rails are their raw material. There is any number of these rails in the country at present on railway lines, but after a time, when the rails have to be renewed, there will be a great quantity of this cheap raw material in the country. The rolling mill owners went to considerable expense and trouble to get the necessary machinery for converting these old rails into sheet and nail plate at one heat. After going to all this expenditure and trouble, you are going to prevent them bringing in this material unless they pay a duty of \$4 per ton.

Mr. MULOCK.

Mr. FOSTER. Wrought iron or steel sheet or plate cuttings or clippings as got at the rolling mills or shipyards, fit only for rolling, and to be used for such purposes, had to pay 30 per cent. That was steel scrap and was the item under which it came in. If any steel clippings came in at \$2 the importer got the advantage to that amount.

Mr. CHESLEY. All I have to say is that these people were importing the article as scrap, and it is nothing but scrap.

Item agreed to.

Iron in pigs, iron kentledge and scrap iron, (\$4 per ton); ferro-silicon and spiegeleisen (\$2 per ton), four dollars per ton; ferro-manganese (\$2 per ton), 10 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. Allow me to make it 5 per cent instead of 10 per cent on ferro-manganese.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. The hon. Minister of Finance has had representations made to him with regard to the steel or iron used in the manufacture of windmills. Is it the intention of the Government to make any change in the direction asked for? What they ask for particularly is that the material not manufactured in Canada be allowed in free for the manufacture of windmills. They also complain that the duty on the raw material is too high, higher than the duty on the manufactured articles allowed into the country. So that the Americans or other producers of these windmills can export into this country at a lower rate of duty than the duty on the material which is used by our own manufacturers. They ask in order that they may be enabled to compete with outside manufacturers to have the raw material brought into Canada admitted free. Is it the intention of the Government to grant any relief?

Mr. FOSTER. I can hardly tell what it will be until we come to the free list.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. If the item of steel and iron is passed, and no attention paid to their representations, we can hardly expect a change.

Mr. FOSTER. An item in the free list would quickly take it out of that.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I do not understand the reply. I ask the hon. gentleman frankly, in the interest of those parties, who have given him full information with regard to their business, whether he intends to do anything to encourage their industry? The duty on the raw material used in the manufacture of the article is higher than that on the finished product.

Mr. WALLACE. It is not higher.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I beg the hon. gentleman's pardon, it is higher.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman will understand that I could not say to him, on representations made by friends of his, whe-

ther I am going to put it on the free list or not. We will have to wait till we come to the free list, and if there are any other items to be put on at that time, they will be put on together, on the revision.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I simply asked whether it was the intention to give any relief in regard to that industry? I did not mean to ask for any information I should not receive.

Mr. FOSTER. I could not say at present.

Mr. CASEY. It has been the contention that nobody is unduly favoured by this tax on pig iron. Now, the amount of iron imported last year in the shape of scrap, common pig and charcoal pig, was 78,847 tons, which, at \$4 a ton duty, would yield \$315,388. Our blast furnaces, according to the Minister of Marine, made 55,000 tons. In addition to that, we gave \$110,000 bounty, of which, seeing that we imported such a very large surplus of iron, they must have had the full advantage; they must have had the full advantage of the \$4 per ton duty, and so they got \$220,000 increased price on that point; in other words, we paid in duties \$313,000, and gave a bonus and protection to the blast furnaces, of \$330,000, in all, \$643,000 in round numbers, to encourage the production of pig iron in Canada. Now, the Minister says that 55,000 tons were produced by this encouragement. I think it was less, but take it at his figure. The country paid out \$643,000 to secure the production of 55,000 tons of pig iron, or about \$11.50 for every ton produced by the blast furnaces. Can any one say that that is a reasonable state of things? The hon. Minister has taken the line all along of saying as little as possible. He cannot deny these figures, he cannot assert that the encouragement of the production of pig iron, at the rate of \$11.50 per ton, at the expense of the consumer, is reasonable, defensible, or proper. We were not led to anticipate any such result as this when these duties were first proposed by Sir Charles Tupper. He told us that the imposition of these duties would lead to vastly increased production in the country, and to a reduction in price. I should notice, however, that in producing these 55,000 tons of pig iron, about a thousand men were employed, as near as I caught the figures given by the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper). Now, Sir Charles Tupper estimated that in the production of pig iron, as encouraged by his duties, 20,000 men would be employed in a very short time, making with their families, an addition of 80,000 or 100,000 to the population of the country. We see that the estimates then made of the great progress of this trade, were falsified, as I believe the anticipations entertained by the Ministers now with regard to this trade in the future, will be falsified. But, apart from the question of the amount of the product, I must call the attention of the House to the promises made concerning the production

of charcoal iron, not only in Nova Scotia, which seems to be the only place where iron is produced now, but throughout Quebec and Ontario. Sir Charles Tupper pointed out the advantages of charcoal iron in these words:

The experiments recently made by some of the great lines of railway in the United States have shown, as the result of scientific analysis, that the mode of making the life of a rail infinitely greater than it is, is to have incorporated in the rail a large portion of charcoal iron, and under this recent discovery, there is a field for the development of charcoal iron, that will go far to make it one of the leading industries of Canada. There is at present, as you know, in Ontario, running through a large number of counties and townships, a most valuable deposit of iron ore. A railway has been built to Central Ontario, over 100 miles long, to carry this ore to Weller's Bay, to be shipped across the lake to Charlotte, Oswego, and other points on the American side. Well, from Oswego and Charlotte on the American side to the anthracite coal field is only 150 miles, and I say that, under a policy which will give iron the protection we give to everything else in Canada, under the National Policy, you will have the ships that convey the ore to Oswego or to Charlotte, or to any of those places from Kingston, Cobourg and Weller's Bay, bringing back the anthracite coal, and you will have the establishment of blast furnaces at Cobourg, Kingston and Weller's Bay, that will give the iron industry of Ontario the same position it occupied years ago.

Admitting by that last sentence that the iron industry had fallen off. Now, this is a beautiful example of the humbug of all the promises made on behalf of the National Policy, and of this latest excrescence upon it, Sir Charles Tupper promised wonderful things, and not one of them has come to pass. No blast furnaces have been started in Ontario, whether by anthracite coal or charcoal. No vessel brings coal from Oswego or Weller's Bay to the consumers of Canadian ore; even the export of ore itself has been stopped. The people of Cobourg, Kingston, Weller's Bay, Belleville, and other points in Ontario must realize how they were humbugged before the elections of 1887, by the promises made by Sir Charles Tupper. Then he went on to point out that he was going to take the duty off anthracite coal, and he referred again to Weller's Bay, Kingston, and Cobourg, and to these cargoes of coal they were to bring across:

There is nothing to prevent it but one thing, and that is the duty upon the anthracite coal; and what I propose to ask this House to do, in adopting the policy of vitalizing this great industry of Canada, is to take the duty off anthracite coal and make it free. The moment that is done we shall have blast furnaces at Cobourg, Weller's Bay and Kingston, at all events, served by anthracite coal, making that description of anthracite iron which is so highly valued by gentlemen connected with foundries.

Now, there is no such thing as anthracite iron made in Canada to this day, although

it was promised to us at that time to induce us to impose these heavy burdens upon ourselves to secure it. In regard to charcoal iron, he urged the same thing in very strong terms. He proposed to encourage the production of this iron by a heavy duty and pointed out that, as a result, we would all be engaged in this manufacture in a short time. As a matter of fact what is the state of things to-day? Not a single ton of charcoal iron is made in Canada to-day. Plenty of charcoal is made in Canada in the western peninsula of Ontario; but it is exported to the United States and used to smelt iron taken from American mines.

Mr. CHESLEY. I beg to correct the hon. gentleman's statement. They are making charcoal iron in Quebec now very successfully. They made over 7,000 tons last year.

Mr. CASEY. I accept the hon. gentleman's statement, as he seems to be well informed upon these subjects. But we have had no official statement to show that this manufacture is going on, and I was not aware of the fact. But I know well that in Ontario, of which I am more particularly speaking, there is none made, and that our charcoal is being exported to Detroit to smelt iron on the other side of the line, instead of bringing the ore over to be smelted here with our charcoal.

Committee rose, and it being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

House resolved itself into Committee on Bill (No. 21) to incorporate the St. Clair and Erie Ship Canal Company.

(In the Committee.)

On section 10, subsection (a),

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Mr. Chairman, I object to the clause on the ground of jurisdiction. The first part of the clause I do not object to, because it is simply a limitation of the franchise the House is giving to the company, and we have power to grant franchises on whatever conditions we think expedient in the public interest. But we go beyond that and beyond the proper function of the House in the second part of the clause. We should simply provide that the parties whose property is drained shall not be in a worse position, shall not incur larger expense than would have been the case if the canal had not been constructed, and that any additional cost necessary in order to secure the drainage of the land shall fall upon the canal company and not upon the proprietors of the land. You may provide, if you see proper, that in case of any dispute arising it shall be settled by the ordinary tribunals. I do not think we have power to provide that, because one

Mr. CASEY.

party to a dispute is a company incorporated by this House, the other parties to the dispute shall be dragged before a tribunal specially constituted. We may limit the franchises granted to a company, we may state what their responsibilities shall be to other parties; but when you come to the remedy which they shall be entitled to under the provisions of the Act, that remedy is fixed by our constitution. The judicial determination of that question will rest with the ordinary tribunals, or, if there was to be a special tribunal created for such cases at all, the special tribunal would be one created by the province for the trial of such question. The jurisdiction would be with the province and not with us. Therefore, I do not think we ought to go so far as this clause—I do not think we have the power to do so. The moment we create this company it becomes an artificial person. Then its relations to the other members of the company would be, to the extent of its franchises and limitations, exactly the same as those of any other person natural or artificial. That rule was laid down in the Parsons case; it has been laid down by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and it has been repeated in other cases. By the course here proposed you will simply create litigation both for the parties and for the company, and I would suggest to the hon. gentleman that—as he does not want to put the parties in a worse position than if the canal had not been constructed—instead of that second part of the amendment, the Bill should simply declare that the parties whose lands may require to be drained shall not be in a more unfavourable position than if the canal had not been constructed and that any expense beyond what they would have incurred had the canal not been built shall fall upon the canal company. Give them the assurance that they are to be in no worse position, so far as the drainage of their own land is concerned. You may declare, also, if you like, that any disputes shall be tried by such tribunals as are competent to try such cases in the province of Ontario. I supposed, from what the Minister of Justice said when he asked the Bill to stand in the absence of the hon. gentleman who had charge of it, that the hon. Minister intended looking into the matter. I am sure the House wishes he were here to give his opinion upon the subject.

Mr. TISDALE. I am obliged to the hon. gentleman for the moderate and kindly way in which he has discussed this matter. Undoubtedly the hon. gentleman only desires to make this Bill accord with what he believes to be fair and legal. We always agree on that point. But, even if I were inclined to agree with the hon. gentleman's opinion—and I am bound to say I differ from it—there is this difficulty in the way: When this Bill first came up at the meeting of the Railway Committee, there was a delegation representing the townships affected. The

reason why they were here was that the drainage was especially mentioned. I believe that the drainage about which they were concerned and with regard to which they desired the committee to take great care is not the drainage of individual farms; it is the system of drainage provided by the municipalities which have spent a quarter of a million dollars or more on such works. The representatives of these townships are very properly anxious that the interests of the townships in respect of this drainage system should be in no way injured. The Railway Committee took the view that it was well to have a special clause inserted in the Bill instead of leaving these questions to be decided under the general provisions of the Railway Act, which had been suggested and drafted as part of the Bill in the first place. At the suggestion of the committee, the consideration of the Bill was postponed for one meeting and I met the representatives of the townships in company with the hon. members from the ridings affected, Messrs. McGregor, Allan and Campbell, and we agreed on these clauses that have been mentioned. I am therefore pledged in good faith—always subject, of course, to the decision of the House and the committee—that this clause shall be carried out. The reason why these gentlemen were willing, and not only willing, but anxious to have the clause put in this way, was that they wanted to be sure of a tribunal that would dispose of the matter so that they would not be carried from court to court, by the lawyers as they said, and never know when they were through. So far as the representatives of those important interests which the Bill aims to protect are concerned, this is their express desire. As one of the projectors of the canal company I may say that the company prefers the same provision, in order that we may know, when we have these disputes, the tribunal to which we must appeal. If it is not in the power of Parliament to do this, whatever our desire may be will be comparatively a minor consideration. I mention that fact because I think it leads up to this proposition: that unless it is very clear that Parliament has no jurisdiction, the committee should agree with me that the clause should be passed in the form proposed, which is satisfactory to the parties representing the interests involved on both sides. I have very excellent authority for the position I occupy in the decisions of the Privy Council on questions arising under the British North America Act, and I think I will be able to call the hon. gentleman's attention to one or two decisions, particularly a very recent one, in which the opinions of the Privy Council have been very unmistakably expressed. Before referring to these cases I shall express my own opinion, given from some knowledge of the working of the legislation to which I have referred, and it is that it would be most undesirable to curtail

the power which this Parliament has heretofore exercised, and which in my opinion it undoubtedly possesses. I believe where we can lawfully create a corporation or an entity, by whatever name you may be pleased to call it, the Dominion Parliament, under the British North America Act is entitled to vest it and those who have to deal and come in contact with all such powers, authorities and attributes as will enable a settlement to be arrived at of disputes between them, which are incident to its working, construction and existence. I say this is directly incident to construction and existence, and I will show why. The hon. gentleman cannot gainsay, because he admits the first clause of the amendment to be a proper one, that we should declare in what way and by what tribunal the present drainage shall be dealt with.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). So far as the tribunal is concerned, I object to it. My point with respect to it is, that it is a limitation on the franchise of the company as to the extent of their responsibility.

Mr. TISDALE. Does the hon. gentleman also question that if we cannot agree between ourselves, or if anybody is not satisfied with the way we take care of the drainage, it is not proper, even as to that, that the Railway Committee of the Privy Council should decide it?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). With respect to the question of drainage, it being under the control of the local jurisdiction, anything we do is subject to the sovereign authority of the Local Legislatures, as this question is within their sole jurisdiction.

Mr. TISDALE. The hon. gentleman has weakened his contention by what he has just stated. If there is any doubt as to the future there is certainly no doubt as to the present, and it is that we shall see how the present drainage shall be dealt with and disputes in regard to it settled. That is the form and enlargement of the drainage.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Suppose the hon. gentleman's contention were correct, we could go so far as to say that the canal company should have no responsibility, and release it from responsibility by such a declaration. That would follow from the hon. gentleman's contention.

Mr. TISDALE. I think we can burden the creature we create with any responsibility. To resume my contention, and on that branch it applies to both, I call the hon. gentleman's attention to this fact, that the amendment to which he objects is precisely, in every way, in principle, form and effect, the spirit and principle on which our general Railway Act is founded, and, therefore, if the hon. gentleman's contention is correct, our general Railway Act is unconstitutional, on this as well as on other points. The Railway Act provides that this shall be done by the gen-

eral Railway Act 'in praesenti' and 'in futuro.' What we are asking this House to enact is chiefly drawn and considered on that line, that if this proposition is not constitutional the general Railway Act under which so many millions of dollars have been expended for railway construction is unconstitutional. This is a very strong point I submit for the consideration of this committee. The first authority from the Privy Council I quote is the case of Cushing and Dupuy. The principle involved was this: As regards bankruptcy and insolvency, certain legislation was passed by the Dominion and certain legislation by the province of Ontario. If the Dominion legislation could not interfere with civil rights and the rights of property in Ontario, the Dominion legislation was bad. That question came up expressly, and it was held by the Privy Council that Dominion legislation must override the legislation of the provinces, although the court expressly stated that although a Provincial Legislature might pass a law incident to the carrying out of a bankrupt or insolvency Act, nevertheless if it interfered or was in any way contrary to the Act of the Dominion, the Dominion Act must prevail. It seems to me that that is the same principle involved. I will quote shortly what their Lordships said on that question:

It was contended for the appellant that the provisions of the Insolvency Act interfered with property and civil rights, and was therefore ultra vires. This objection was very faintly urged but it was strongly contended that the Parliament of Canada could not take away the right of appeal to the Queen from final judgments from the Court of Queen's Bench, which, it was said, was part of the procedure in civil matters exclusively assigned to the legislature of the province. The answer to these objections is obvious. It would be impossible to advance a step in the construction of a scheme for the administration of insolvent estates without interfering with and modifying some of the ordinary rights of property and other civil rights, nor without providing some mode of special procedure for the vesting, realization and distribution of the estate and the settlement of the liabilities of the insolvent. Procedure must necessarily form an essential part of any law dealing with insolvency. It is therefore to be presumed, indeed it is a necessary implication, that the Imperial statute in assigning to the Dominion Parliament subjects of bankruptcy and insolvency, intended to confer on it legislative power to interfere with property, civil rights and procedure within the provinces, so far as a general law relating to these subjects might affect them. Their Lordships, therefore, think that the Parliament would not infringe the exclusive powers given to the Provincial Legislatures by enacting that the judgment of the Court of Queen's Bench in matters of insolvency should be final, and not subject to the appeal as of right to Her Majesty in Council allowed by Article 1178 of the Code of Civil Procedure.

Precisely the same principle was involved in that case as is involved now. Then there is the case of the Merchants Bank vs. Smith, report-

ed in our Supreme Court Reports, Vol. VIII., which case, however, was not carried to the Privy Council. There was a contention as to the ownership of property, which if the provincial law was to prevail, would not have allowed the property to be held by the bank, but if the Dominion law in regard to warehouse receipts and similar matters under the Banking Act was to prevail, then the bank could hold the property. Our Supreme Court enunciated the same principle, and gave judgment accordingly. Later than these cases and much more satisfactory, because the language is unmistakable and very general in its terms, is the case of Tennant vs. the Union Bank of Canada, a report of which appears in the advance issue of the Law Times Reports, No. 7, Vol. X., of 13th December, 1893. The Privy Council had not only a full board, but because of the importance of the case in relation to the constitutionality of this law, the court called in additional assistance at a subsequent stage, and gave a decision on the question, namely, whether the banking laws of the Dominion or the banking laws of the province of Ontario in relation to the passing of title to chattels was to prevail. The report says:

The case, which was one of great importance to the banking and commercial community in Canada, was argued before a board consisting of Lord Watson, Lord Hobhouse, Lord Morris, Lord Shand, and Sir Richard Couch, and afterwards before the same learned lords, together with the Lord Chancellor and Lord Macnaghten.

And what makes this still more important, notwithstanding the case of Cushing and Dupuy, and the Merchants' Bank and Smith, they expressly ordered and directed that the principle involved in those cases should be reargued, so that before so full a court they should give a decision which they hoped would be final. I shall read a portion of this, because I think it is important to settle this question which the House of Commons of Canada has long since settled, but which continually is being raised as an objection whenever one of these points seem to go a little further than some hon. gentlemen think they should:

Their Lordships, before dealing with those questions, thought it expedient to determine for themselves whether the provisions of the Bank Act, to which the appellant took exception, were competently enacted. The appellant's plea against the legislative power of the Dominion Parliament was accordingly made the subject of further argument, and the point being one of general importance, their Lordships had the advantage of being assisted in the hearing and consideration of it by the Lord Chancellor and Lord Macnaghten. The question turned upon the construction of two clauses in the British North America Act, 1867. Section 91 gave the Parliament of Canada power to make laws in relation to all matters not coming within the classes of subjects by the Act exclusively assigned to the legislatures of the provinces, and also exclusive legislative authority in relation to certain enumer-

Mr. TISDALE.

ated subjects, the 15th of which was "banking, incorporation of banks, and the issue of paper money." Section 92 assigned to each Provincial Legislature the exclusive right to make laws in relation to the classes of subjects therein enumerated; and the 14th of the enumerated classes was "property and civil rights in the province." Statutory regulations, with respect to the form and legal effect in Ontario of warehouse receipts and other negotiable documents, which passed the property of goods without delivery, unquestionably related to property and civil rights in that province; and the objection taken by the appellant to the provisions of the Bank Act would be unanswerable, if it could be shown, that by the Act of 1867, the Parliament of Canada was absolutely debarred from the trenching to any extent upon the matters assigned to the Provincial Legislature by section 92. But section 91 expressly declared that "notwithstanding anything in this Act" the exclusive legislative authority of the Parliament of Canada should extend to all matters coming within the enumerated classes, which plainly indicated that the legislation of that Parliament, so long as it strictly related to those matters, was to be paramount authority. To refuse effect to the declaration would render nugatory some of the legislative powers specially assigned to the Canadian Parliament. For example, among the enumerated classes of subjects, in section 91, were "patents of invention and discovery and copyright." It would be practically impossible for the Dominion Parliament to legislate upon either of these subjects without affecting the property and civil rights of individuals in the provinces. That was not the first occasion on which the legislative limits laid down by sections 91 and 92 had been considered by that board. In *Cushing v. Dupuy* [5 Ap. Ca. 409] their Lordships had before them the very same question of statutory construction which had been raised in this appeal.

I read that part of the case because I think it very satisfactory to find that in cases where we have this implied authority, this Parliament is paramount in authority as to the provinces. I repeat, therefore, it is very satisfactory to have it so expressly stated in this case which the Privy Council ordered to be reargued, that where we have this authority it shall be paramount to the authority of the provinces.

And it appeared to their lordships that the plenary authority given to the Parliament of Canada by section 91 (15) to legislate in relation to banking transactions, was sufficient to sustain the provisions of the Bank Act which the appellant impugned. On those grounds their lordships had come to the conclusion that the judgments appealed from ought to be affirmed and they would humbly advise Her Majesty to that effect. The appellant must bear the costs of this appeal.

I submit that after those cases we ought to consider it hereafter as pretty well settled. That is the latest case, a case which expressly cited with approval both of the other cases, argued not only before a full Board of the Privy Council, but they called in the Lord Chancellor, and the other learned lord mentioned, so as to give their decision the

most distinctive weight possible, and also expressing, as they did, that it was a case of such vast importance to our commerce and banking interests that it was well to have such a decision. If there has been any doubt heretofore about our exceeding our authority, there should be no question hereafter, in my opinion, that we should bother our heads any more about it.

Mr. WELDON. The question raised on this section of the Bill by the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) is one of very great importance; that is, primarily, the status of a corporation created by this Parliament that goes into one of the provinces of Canada to carry on its business. The view taken by the hon. member for Bothwell in this respect, I very largely share. It seems to me that when a body is incorporated by this Parliament, it is a fair statement of the case to say: When that creature goes down to a province, it must there take the laws of that province as it finds them; just as you or I Mr. Chairman, going to do business in a particular province, must take the laws of that province as we find them. Take the strongest possible case, the case of an incorporated bank. We have a clause among the Federal powers which says that this Parliament may incorporate banks. I take it that if a bank goes to a city in one of our provinces to do business, it must there conform to the Statute of Frauds if it wishes to make contracts of a certain sort. If in a city there is a fire district, and a by-law providing that buildings within that range must be built of brick, I take it that banking corporations, erecting buildings in that city, within the fire district, must build them of brick. Generally, a corporation is as the member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) says, an artificial creature, with the same rights and duties as natural persons have who live and do business in any province. That would lead me to say: That if the question is as to what tribunal a corporation shall be brought into in case it is alleged to have invaded the rights of persons in a province; it would, of course, go before the ordinary tribunals of the province. If we create a corporation, and if, in the exercise of the franchises which we have undertaken to give it, it invades the rights of private persons or municipalities, it seems to me that these private persons or municipalities alleged to be injured, have a right to say: We will have that question tried out by the ordinary tribunals of the province. I listened carefully to the case of *Cushing and Dupuy* which my hon. friend (Mr. Tisdale) cited from the Privy Council judgments; also the case of *Smith and the Merchants' Bank*, decided in our Supreme Court of Canada, and the case in the *Law Times Reports* decided last December. These three cases all decided one thing. The thing that is very clearly laid down in the case of *Cushing and Dupuy*, is: That where the British North America Act gives our

Parliament certain legislative powers, the grant of power is effective, and they must have as incidental to that grant of power the right to interfere with civil procedure, or civil rights it may be, to the degree that the exercise of their substantive power is thereby made effective, and no further. The burden is thrown on those who defend any Federal interference with civil rights, or with property to show any such necessity. In the case of Cushing and Dupuy, the Lord Chancellor said: You cannot enact a substantive bankruptcy law, destroying preferences, and taking the honest debtor from under the harrow, and leave that law to an effective operation by calling in any existing civil procedure in any province. You have in this Parliament to make your own peculiar bankruptcy procedure. That is a statement we all assent to. In another case they say, auxiliary to a banking law is a section declaring that the assignment of warehouse receipts shall effect a valid transfer of property. That is all that is decided in the case of Smith and the Merchants' Bank: That that clause of the Banking Act which validates the assignment of a warehouse receipt, and makes it operate as a transfer of property, is a necessary part of a valid banking Act; although on the face of it implies an abridgement of the provincial power to legislate as to civil rights. The case which my hon. friend cites from the Privy Council lays down precisely the same rule in precisely the same way. It touches the same section of our Banking Act. They all go to affirm what I said when I began, namely, that the Federal power given in section 91 does not carry with it the right to interfere with civil procedure or property legislation beyond what is necessary to the valid enjoyment of this Federal power. The hon. gentleman has endeavoured to show that the effect of the franchise of the canal company carries with it the right to drag parties before the tribunal of the Privy Council. I think it is necessary to show that the Federal corporation cannot operate effectually unless there is the right to have its differences with any litigant redressed by the committee of the Privy Council. I do not think the hon. gentlemen have made out their case.^c To my mind it is not enough to say that the Railway Act in more parts than one assumes powers cognate with the one in dispute. I think there is more than one section of the Railway Act that is beyond the powers of this Parliament. My contention may be challenged by calling attention to section 101 of the British North America Act, which says:

The Parliament of Canada may, notwithstanding anything in this Act, from time to time, provide for the establishment of any additional courts for the better administration of the laws of Canada.

If this Bill were a substantive law to make the Railway Committee of the Privy Council a Federal court for dealing with all disputes

Mr. WELDON.

between railways and canals on the one hand and aggrieved parties on the other, I would like to argue that question; but that is not the question before us. After all the section which I am quoting contemplates that the law to be administered is a valid law of Canada. We incorporate the company, and I think we can clothe it with the powers that section 91 and the cognate sections involve; but I think it is an overstatement of Federal powers to say that we can go into the provinces and make Federal corporations there, independent of valid provincial laws.

Mr. TISDALE. I wish to say that I spoke of this principle to the Prime Minister before I brought the Bill up to-night, and he said that he had no doubt about the constitutional authority of the House to pass it. Hearing that there was some discussion on the matter, I took the Bill to him and asked him whether there was anything objectionable in it from a constitutional point of view, and he said there was not. He was quite satisfied that it was within our constitutional power.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I would be better satisfied if the hon. Minister of Justice were here to state his reasons for such an opinion. I entirely agree with the views expressed by the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon). I think he has conclusively answered the hon. gentleman who has charge of this Bill. In the case he has referred to, Cushing vs. the Queen, it will be seen that while the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council maintained that the legislation did not go beyond the power of the Parliament they did so for the reason that it was a necessary incident to the bankruptcy law, and that without such legislation the law could not exist. If it had been an ordinary corporation, and we had undertaken to create a special rule of procedure when the law already afforded adequate procedure, then the case of Cushing vs. the Queen would not apply, because we would have been going out of our way in so doing. The rule is that you are to look to the grant of the power to legislate on the subject of banking, and see what that implies. How are you to determine to what it applies? You are to look to the previous practice through a long series of years, to ascertain what it was intended to grant, and you will find that the issue of warehouse receipts and things of that kind fell within the class of powers which banks habitually possess. Therefore, the power to legislate on the subject of banks was embraced in these powers. Does that apply in this case? If the hon. member were to undertake by his Bill to provide for all cases of dispute between the canal company and forwarders, with regard to the ownership of freight and the liability of the company, or the amount the company would be entitled to charge, there being nothing of that sort specially set forth in the Act, and that we should create a tribunal to try these

cases, or make the Railway Committee of the Privy Council the tribunal, the hon. gentleman would see at once that his position was altogether indefensible. Under the British North America Act, while Parliament has power to create courts, it has not the power to give to an administrative body a judicial power. If you are to have a judicial proceeding for the purpose of settling the rights of parties, it must be before a judicial body, and the determination must be a judicial determination. But apart from that altogether, even under section 101 of the British North America Act, this Parliament may appoint a tribunal to try cases arising under this Act, but it cannot deprive the courts of the provinces of the powers they possess. There is nothing in the Act to enable this Parliament to make its jurisdiction exclusive. I cannot take away any power a provincial court possesses, and when the hon. gentleman proposes not simply to create a tribunal, but to refer to an administrative body the judicial determination of disputes that may arise, not between the company and some forwarder or other person who is doing business through the company, but between the company and an outside party who has no connection with the company, he might just as well say that all cases between a banking corporation and any person who may bring a suit against the bank or against whom the bank may bring a suit, shall be tried by the Railway Committee of the Privy Council. He might as well do the one thing as the other; we have just as much power to do the one as the other. I am not going to press the matter further. I have no desire to prevent the hon. gentleman getting his Bill through. I merely wish that the interests of the parties who are to be affected by the construction of this canal shall be adequately protected, and protected according to law, and I suggest that protection is not being afforded by this provision of the Bill, because it proposes to create a tribunal that will not have jurisdiction after it has been created. There is no more connection between those parties who are the proprietors of land or who may in future be proprietors and the canal company than there is between the canal company and a person in the remotest portion of Canada. There would be just as much propriety in saying that the canal company, in carrying freight for some person residing in Halifax, shall have the dispute decided by the Railway Committee of the Privy Council, as that this matter shall be so decided.

Mr. TISDALE. The hon. gentleman's argument would make it entirely beyond our power to create the arbitration clauses in the Railway Act. In this Bill there is no tribunal created. The hon. gentleman might as well say that the Railway Committee of the Privy Council could not have been made a tribunal to arrange the tolls and freights on the railway.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Not at all.

Mr. TISDALE. The same principle. If it was not for clause 101 there might have been some question. This is simply dealing with a very limited subject that is entirely incident to the exercise and the constitution of a court we create, just as much as giving the power, without appeal, mind you, to a court in regard to the arbitration clause for settling expropriation disputes.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Expropriation is a necessary incident to the very existence.

Mr. HAGGART. As to the first objection of the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills), that the Bill should contain a clause proving that, in all future drainages, existent rights shall not be prejudicially affected to a greater extent than if the canal had not been built, there is a good deal to be said in its favour. Parties owning rights, such as drainage rights and the right to a natural course to the river, should not be put in a worse position by the building of the canal than if it had not been built. Such a clause might be embodied in the Bill. but as to the legal objection with reference to the powers of the Dominion and the province traversing one another, surely we have a right to build a canal. The provincial Government have the right to build a ditch, but suppose we give the right to build a canal, which has the paramount authority. There can be no doubt that, under all the decisions, the paramount authority rests with the Dominion Parliament. We have the right to build the canal no matter how it may interfere with the ditch. It is an incident to our power that the canal may cut into the ditch, and it surely is an incident of it that we should provide for the making of the connections necessary for that ditch to enter into the canal. If we have the power, it is the power of eminent domain, and if we have the power of granting it to different companies surely we can provide as to the manner in which they shall exercise it. We have the authority to describe what tribunal shall exercise that power. That is what we have done always under the Railway Act. These cases have occurred again and again. It is embodied in the Railway Act. Surely in chartering a canal company, if the draining of the ditch with the canal is incident to the charter, we have the power of describing in what manner the right of eminent domain shall be exercised.

Mr. OUIMET. The Railway Committee of the Privy Council is a tribunal already in existence, and which has been created by a statute of this Parliament. If section 101 has any application it has in this case.

The Parliament of Canada may, notwithstanding anything in this Act, from time to time, provide for constitution, maintenance and organization of general courts of appeal for Canada and for the establishment of any additional court for the better administration of the laws.

The Railway Committee of the Privy Council is a tribunal created by the Railway Act of Canada, and has been given jurisdiction to hear and settle disputes arising under the operation of various provisions of the Act.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Does the hon. gentleman contend that the Railway Committee of the Privy Council is a court constituted under that section of the Act?

Mr. OUIMET. It is a court created by statute. Its jurisdiction has never been questioned. This Bill proposes to create a corporation with a general power of constructing, maintaining and operating a canal. The authority of this Parliament to enact legislation to that effect under section 94 of the British North America Act cannot be questioned. In the exercise of its powers certain difficulties and disputes must arise, the settlement of which must be devolved to some tribunal. The present Act provides that these disputes may be referred to the Railway Committee of the Privy Council. That is a mere extension of the jurisdiction of the latter; and, I should say, a very wise one.

Bill reported, and read the third time and passed.

IN COMMITTEE—THIRD READINGS.

Bill (No. 43) to amend an Act respecting the Ladies of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.—(Mr. LaRivière.)

Bill (No. 32) respecting the Niagara Grand Island Bridge Company.—(Mr. Ingram.)

Bill (No. 33) respecting the River St. Clair Bridge and Tunnel Company.—(Mr. Ingram.)

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

House again in Committee on Ways and Means.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Chairman, when you left the Chair at six o'clock I had been quoting from the prophecies indulged in by Sir Charles Tupper as to the prosperity of the iron industry, especially the pig iron industry under the tariff which he then proposed, and I will have to trouble the House with another quotation or two. After dealing with charcoal iron, Sir Charles Tupper said:

Well, Mr. Speaker, twenty years ago iron rails were made in Toronto and Hamilton and within the next twenty years we will make all our own rails.

He went on to say that the Government proposed to exempt steel rails from the tax and continued:

We propose that they shall come in free as they have done in the past, because we consider that should be made an exception. I do not hesitate to say that the adoption of this policy, in my judgment, will place Canada in a position where she

Mr. OUIMET.

will be able to provide her own rails, and that at no distant period, at as reasonable a rate as any country in the world. Why should we not do so? Show me any country possessing as many miles of railway as Canada does that does not manufacture its own rails? It cannot be done. There is no country in the world with 12,000 miles of railway in operation that does not manufacture the rails used there.

Now, Sir, in spite of that hopeful assurance, we do not make our own steel rails yet; I do not know that we are making any rails at all. If we are making any, they must be very few indeed. It is only where we have an almost prohibitive customs barrier against the importation of iron that we are making anything in the way of iron as raw material for manufacturers. We are not making rails, for there we have to enter into competition with the world. Sir Charles Tupper went on to refer to certain steel industries that looked promising, using words which I quoted at another time and which I need not now repeat. Then, Sir, after promising grand prosperity to Nova Scotia, Quebec and Ontario from the growth of the iron industry he asks:

And what more? Across the Rocky Mountains, need I tell you that in British Columbia you have one of the most magnificent deposits of iron ore on Texada Island—(30 miles long and 5 miles wide)—that is to be found in any place in the world, rich in the highest degree in iron, and that you have the Nanaimo coal field to furnish fuel to put blast furnaces in operation at an early day, lying within 30 miles of Texada Island. I say, that with the prospect of opening up trade with Australia, with China and Japan, although I am not a prophet nor the son of a prophet—

I notice that he did not deny the possibility of his being the father of a prophet—

I believe that at no distant day you will have in the province of British Columbia an iron industry built up which will compare favourably with that of any other industry in this country.

Now, Sir, we still have the iron ore at Texada Island; we still have the coal at Nanaimo—and that coal is being mined, but not being taken to Texada Island to smelt the iron ore—we have our attempt to open trade with Australia and China and Japan; but we have no smelting industry in British Columbia yet. I must skip a great deal, that is interesting in Sir Charles Tupper's speech and refer finally to his estimate of the addition that would be made to the population. I quoted a little while ago remarks which show that he expected twenty thousand men to be employed in making pig iron—which would mean an increase of 100,000 to the population. Now, seven years afterwards we have about a thousand men employed in this industry:

Now this estimate of an increased population of 100,000 souls does not take into account the manufacturer of castings and forgings, cutlery and edged tools, hardware, machinery and engines, or steel rails. Were we to manufacture these articles now

imported, and there is no reason why we should not steadily progress to that point—the population I have mentioned of 100,000 souls would be no less than trebled.

Let us see how the production has increased ; let us see how the employment for men has extended. Sir Charles Tupper states that our consumption of pig iron, leaving steel rails out of the question, was 250,000 tons in 1887. Last year, according to the statistics given in this House, we only used 133,000 tons of pig iron. Instead of the business increasing, instead of the consumption of pig iron increasing, it has decreased to the extent of 117,000 tons, if the figures given by Sir Charles Tupper in 1887 and by the Finance Minister now are correct. Now, Mr. Chairman, this is the last quotation with which I need trouble the House. I have gone into it at some length for the purpose of showing how fallacious were the promises by which we were induced to place these burdens upon our shoulders. The production of pig iron has averaged less since that time than before. We were promised a very large increase in population in connection with the making of this iron. It has not come to us ; we have not had that benefit. We have only employed one-twentieth of the men we were promised would be employed in that industry. We were promised that this would not be a heavy burden on the consumer. We find that it has been so heavy a burden that it has retarded very seriously the development of industries using pig iron. And, beyond all this, the ordinary consumers of iron, amongst whom the farmers, I think, hold the first place, who were promised a market for their productions in return for the burdens laid upon their shoulders, have been obliged to bear those burdens, but they had not had the additional market. The whole scheme is proven to be a failure, for we are not securing a home market for Canadian produce. For all these reasons, Sir, I cannot see that we are in any way justified in maintaining these heavy burdens upon the people. It is purely a tax for the benefit of four concerns mentioned by the Minister of Marine and Fisheries—Londonderry, Ferrona, Radnor Forges, and one other. For the benefit of those four institutions employing about a thousand men we are taxing the country in one shape or another to the extent of over \$600,000. It is, as I have said with regard to the tax on coal oil, one of those instances in which the most private negotiations and consultations between the Government and the parties interested should be laid before the House and the country, and it should be made clear to us for whose benefit these taxes have been imposed. It has been clearly shown that they are not imposed for the benefit of the country at large.

Item agreed to.

Type for printing, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. INNES. Some time ago representations were made to the Minister of Finance

with respect to lowering the duty on type, which is the raw material, as he well knows, of publishers not only of newspapers but also of books. I hold in my hand a letter received from the officers of the Printers, Publishers and Bookbinders' Association of the Dominion, which I think was brought to the attention of the Finance Minister some time ago, in which they represent that this industry employs 30,000 hands. It is a matter of very great importance to them to get their raw material at a lower figure than they are charged at the present time. At the last meeting of the Press Association a resolution also was passed to appoint a committee to wait on the Finance Minister to ask for a revision of the tariff on printers' supplies and a reduction of the duty on stereotype plates. I believe that that deputation waited on the Minister of Finance ; I do not know, of course, what answer he gave them, or whether he made any promises to them, but judging from the duties in the present tariff, he does not seem inclined to make any concession to this very important industry in the country.

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, yes ; several concessions have been made.

Mr. INNES. With respect to the stereotype plates, the press generally is united in regard to the very high rate put upon this class of material that is now largely used in the composition of newspapers. The other day I cut out of the Ottawa 'Citizen,' a paper that is friendly to and supports the present Administration, the following paragraph :

The Finance Minister has adopted the principle of replacing specific by ad valorem duties, and in this respect we think he has taken a wise departure. But the metamorphosis is not complete and there are still certain exceptions to the rule which call for reformation. One of these is the article of stereotyped plates, upon which exorbitant duties are levied to foster a Canadian monopoly. Publishers here who desire to avail themselves of the superior service furnished from Buffalo are compelled to pay \$1.95 duty upon goods whose price ranges from \$1.20 to \$2. Any industry which cannot stand without being protected to this extent ought to be allowed to go. In considering the tariff resolutions in detail in committee it is to be hoped that Mr. Foster will see that the principle which he has acknowledged and adopted as the basis of the changes he is making shall be consistently adhered to in dealing with this particular article.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I think that upon this one particular item there is a universal demand for a lower duty, and I believe that the Minister of Finance should make some concessions to the wishes of the publishers throughout the whole Dominion.

Item agreed to.

Barbed wire fencing of iron or steel, three-fourths of a cent per pound.

Mr. CHARLTON. I would ask the Minister of Finance if he cannot possibly make that

item free? He has not made many concessions to the agricultural interests of this country, and although he has made a reduction on the duty in this case, he would do a very gracious and proper thing if he put it on the free list. The prices of produce are very low, farmers are having hard times, the prospects ahead for them are not very favourable by any means, and no producing interest in this Dominion is more deserving the consideration of the Government than they. Farming forms the basis of all business and all prosperity, but it has not received at the hands of the Government the consideration it is entitled to. Very little concession has been made in the matter of coal oil, and if barbed wire were placed on the free list the farmers of the country will feel inclined, I am certain to thank the Government for having done them justice in this respect. I ask the Minister of Finance to transfer this item to the free list.

Mr. FOSTER. I would be very glad to transfer it to the free list if it could be done, but a reduction of one-half has been made, and putting it on the free list would be a little further advantage to the farmer, but at the same time, it would destroy the work of some eight or nine mills that are making barbed wire in Canada, and I think that when a reduction of one-half is made it is a very large reduction.

Mr. CHARLTON. We have the Minister of Finance and his fellow Ministers from time to time making concessions and passing Orders in Council for the purpose of relieving from various burthens the manufacturing industries of this country. We have had Orders in Council putting raw materials for manufacturers, time after time upon the free list; a list that would cover columns of articles that they have taken from the dutiable list and put upon the free list without consulting this House. When there is such a disposition shown by the Government to benefit the manufacturing industries of this country—which I do not say is improper at all—I think the Government are making an invidious distinction when they fail to remove burdens from the shoulders of the farmers as well. The farmers of this country are in straightened circumstances; the prices of all kinds of produce are very low, it is a difficult thing for them to make expenses and pay mortgage interest; they are not enjoying prosperity as the manufacturers are, and in view of the concessions that have been made by the Government to manufacturers; the farmers have a right to demand that something more shall be done for them than has been done in the arrangement of the duties under this tariff.

Mr. FOSTER. We have done a good deal for them.

Mr. CHARLTON. The farmers have no show here.

Item agreed to.

Mr. CHARLTON.

Sewing machines or parts thereof 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. INNES. I wish to bring to the attention of the Minister of Finance a disadvantage that the manufacturers of sewing machines in Canada are subjected to by the alteration of the duty on these articles. There are now only two sewing machine factories in the country, one of which is situated in the city of Guelph, where I reside, and the manufacturer there, Mr. Charles Raymond, makes the following statement:—

Mr. Chas. Raymond had estimated roughly that on each machine the new duty would deprive him of \$1.40 to \$1.50 of the former protection, while he would save only 5 cents a machine on his raw material. The old duty was \$3 a machine and 20 per cent; the new 30 per cent. Machines were now invoiced from the States at \$16; the old duty was \$6.20, the new \$4.80. Several of his attachments were not made in this country, he imported his needles, with a 30 per cent duty, and the Canadian iron was too hard for his work, so he had to bring in Scotch iron. For iron alone his machine cost him to make \$1 more than the Americans could do it for. He was not exporting; this drawback on iron alone put him out of competition with the Americans and Germans. Where the Standard Co. would turn out 500 or 1000 machines, he would turn out 100 or 200, and all his expenses of manufacture and sale had to be charged to his limited output, such as the Canadian market would justify. Under the Mackenzie tariff they had no iron duties, but some machines were brought in invoiced as low as \$4. This class of machine had gone out of use now. Mr. Raymond spoke very strongly against the exactious of the screw combines or Canadian Screw Co. At one time they had been content with a fair price, but another concern started, the two pooled their output, prices were jumped one third higher, but still a shade lower than the high duty and freight added to the American price. The Government should put the product of such combines on the free list to bring them to their senses.

Therefore in this respect alone, the sewing machine manufacturers in Canada are now placed at a much greater disadvantage under the amended tariff than they were under the old tariff.

Item agreed to.

Buckthorn and strip fencing of iron or steel, one-half of one cent per pound.

Mr. ROWAND. I would like to know from the Finance Minister why he has made a distinction between these three kinds of wire. This is a more ornamental wire than the other, but it is coming into use more generally every day, and I think the Minister might have made a reduction in the duty. The use of barbed wire is considered very cruel, and a good many people do not like to use it in lanes or around barnyards. There are other wires that are very nice and perhaps just as useful as the barbed wire, and I do not see why the Minister of Finance should not make a reduction on all fence wires.

Mr. FOSTER. This is more of an ornamental arrangement.

Mr. ROWAND. It is both ornamental and useful.

Mr. FOSTER. It is useful for gardens and around farm houses.

Mr. ROWAND. Yes, and in narrow lanes and barnyards, and some use it on their front fences, too.

Item agreed to.

Lead bars, block and sheets, 50 cents per 100 lbs.

Mr. BARNARD. I regret that the Government have not seen their way to increase the duty upon lead. I think the representatives of British Columbia during the last four or five years have several times brought the matter to the attention of the Government, because it is an industry that is thriving in British Columbia, and is one that deserves some encouragement. The production of the lead mines is very large there, and that industry, although in its infancy, produces as much lead in British Columbia as has been used throughout the Dominion. The quantity of lead that was imported into Canada last year and manufactured into different articles, amounted to 6,000 tons, and the province of British Columbia produced an amount equivalent to that. Very large lead works have been erected in the province of British Columbia, and a sum of about \$250,000 was invested on Kootenay Lake last year, by some American capitalists, in large smelting works which have been erected for treating lead ores, and turning out lead, with the expectation of finding a market in Canada. The American Government has imposed a duty of 1½ cents a pound upon the lead in the ore, which is equivalent to \$30 a ton; whereas the duty we are imposing on lead imported into Canada, amounts, on lead bars, blocks and sheets, to 60 cents per hundred pounds, which is about \$12 per ton; and on lead scrap, and old lead scrap and bar, 40 cents a hundred pounds, which is equivalent to \$8 a ton. I think the lead industry is entitled to as much encouragement as the iron industry. The iron industry is encouraged by duties ranging from 35 to nearly 60 per cent; whereas, if we take the average value of lead at 4 cents a pound, we are only protecting it to the extent of 12½ or 15 per cent. I regret that the Government have not seen fit to encourage this industry in British Columbia, and if they will look into the matter I think they will see that they would be warranted in doing so.

Mr. BOWERS. A great deal of this rough lead in bars is required by fishermen in the Maritime Provinces; and, as this tariff as amended, has raised the duty on a great many other things used by the fishermen and lumbermen in the Maritime Provinces, more especially in the shape of cordage and meat, I think the duty on lead is quite high enough.

Item agreed to.

Telephone and telegraph instruments; telegraph, telephone and electric light cables; electric and galvanic batteries, electric motors and apparatus, n.e.s., 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. After "motors," I want to add "generators, dynamos, sockets, and electric apparatus."

Item agreed to.

Corset clasps, spoon clasps or busks, blanks, busks, side steels and other corset steels, whether plain, japanned, lacquered, tinned or covered with paper or cloth; also back, bone or corset wires, covered with paper or cloth, cut to lengths and tipped with brass or tin, or untipped or in coils, 5 cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. McMULLEN. Why is there an ad valorem as well as a specific duty?

Mr. FOSTER. There is a special manufactory, and if my hon. friend will look at the old tariff, he will find there was a much higher duty. We have reduced the duty, but found it inadvisable to take off the whole of the specific with the ad valorem, and keep the industry.

Mr. LANGELIER. It appears to me that clasps and eyelets used in the manufacture of corsets, have to pay a duty, but when those articles are used in the manufacture of boots and shoes, they are put on the free list. They are raw materials for the manufacture of corsets as well as for the manufacture of boots and shoes. I have been asked to mention this matter to the Government by the member for St. Hyacinthe (Mr. Bernier) who told me the other day that there is a manufactory of corsets in his constituency, and they would like very much to have these articles put on the free list, because they are an important raw material in their industry.

Mr. WALLACE. Those used for corsets are made in this country, but those used in the manufacture of boots and shoes, are not.

Mr. LANGELIER. I think that eyelets and clasps for the manufacture of corsets should also be put on the free list. Where is there a manufacture of corset clasps for the protection of which this duty is imposed?

Mr. FOSTER. In Gananoque.

Mr. TAYLOR. While we are discussing the question of the free list, I want to make a suggestion to the Government. I see on the free list, shoe buttons, metal glove fasteners, eyelet hooks for boots and shoes, and lacings for boots. We have had in Gananoque for the last twelve years, an industry making these hooks and lacings, and they are on the free list. I hope the Minister of Finance will make note of that, and put them on the dutiable where they were last year.

Mr. LAURIER. That is an infant industry.

Mr. TAYLOR. It has been in existence for ten or twelve years, and supplying the trade.

Mr. LANGEIJER. If the duty is not completely abolished, I think it should be reduced. Heretofore, the duty has been 5 cents per pound, and 30 per cent ad valorem, and now it is proposed to keep the 5 cents per pound duty, and make it 20 per cent ad valorem. If protection is to be given to the infant industry at Gananoque, I think the same attention should be also paid to the much larger industry for which this is a raw material.

Item agreed to.

Coffins and caskets, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. CHARLTON. Could not my hon. friend the Finance Minister allow the dead to escape?

Mr. FOSTER. We are letting them off easy; we are reducing the duty.

Mr. McMULLEN. In case of a body coming into Canada in a coffin made in the United States, do you charge duty upon the coffin?

Mr. FOSTER. No it has not been done.

Mr. McMULLEN. Have there not been some cases in which duties have been demanded?

Mr. FOSTER. Some little delay did take place in one case, but the question was adjusted.

Mr. CHARLTON. Did they pay the duty?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Item agreed to.

Farm and freight wagons, carts, drays and similar vehicles, twenty-five per cent ad valorem.

Mr. CHARLTON. Could not my hon. friend reduce the duties on these wagons?

Mr. FOSTER. We have reduced them very largely.

Mr. CHARLTON. How much were they before?

Mr. FOSTER. They were charged a mixed duty, amounting to 56 or 70 per cent; it is now reduced to 25 per cent.

Mr. LANGEIJER. I would like to call the attention of the Government to some statements made to me last summer by a dealer in these carts and wagons. He told me there is a regular system at some of the custom-houses of putting a discretionary valuation on these articles. He mentioned, for instance, a certain firm in Ohio which advertised that they would send to anybody, on receipt of \$100, either three covered wagons or four uncovered wagons delivered at the address of the sender. I was surprised to notice the cheapness of these goods, and my friend told me they were good wagons. He told me he was not interested, that it made no difference to him whether he sold Canadian or American wagons. But when I asked him why he sold the Canadian buggies, which were so much dearer than these

Mr. TAYLOR.

others, he told me that he could not import these from Ohio, that he had tried it, but the customs placed the duty upon such a high valuation as to make the duty at 35 per cent prohibitive, and so he had to confine himself to selling the Canadian article. I think the attention of the Government should be called to that, so that they may see to it that no fancy valuations are put upon these articles.

Mr. WALLACE. The duty was not 35 per cent; it was \$10 specific and 20 per cent ad valorem. There could not be an arbitrary valuation.

Mr. CHARLTON. Was there no chance for an arbitrary valuation under that 20 per cent ad valorem?

Mr. WALLACE. But the larger portion of the duty was specific. Of course, if there was a higher valuation than the article was worth or than the market price in the United States, the importer had the right to appeal and produce his evidence. This he did not do.

Mr. CHARLTON. It is very well to tell men with small invoices and in dread of customs officials—

Mr. WALLACE. It costs nothing to appeal; and there need be no dread.

Mr. CHARLTON. It would seem that in many cases, where the invoice prices have not been high enough to satisfy the custom-house officers, those prices have been made higher.

Mr. WALLACE. There is no evidence of that.

Mr. CHARLTON. I believe this power of valuation has been abused by custom-house officers in the case of buggies, carriages, reapers, threshing machines, ploughs, and so on. I have heard of cases where I believe this was done. It is a very high-handed act, but the general impression among importers seems to be that there is very little use to appeal, because it is all part of a system to make the protective tariff more efficient. There should be some safeguard for importers. Of course, there may be cases where the attempt is made to defraud the customs by means of undervaluation, and I would not think of facilitating operations of that kind. But if there is a disposition to the arbitrary use of the power which now rests in the hands of the customs officer to raise the valuation of an article, then it becomes at once a dangerous power, and the liability to abuse soon causes that abuse to be an accomplished fact.

Mr. FOSTER. The importer can appeal and get justice.

Mr. LAURIER. Surely the Minister of Finance and the Controller must have seen the letter of Mr. Mills, of the firm of Lyman & Co., published only a few days ago, stat-

ing that in such a case it is impossible to get justice?

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Mills has made a number of misstatements in his letter. Moreover, all the complaints that he himself has preferred to the department have been carefully considered, and, I think, satisfactorily adjusted.

Mr. LAURIER. Not satisfactorily to him.

Mr. WALLACE. His demand is that there shall be established a board of customs, and such a board already exists.

Mr. LAURIER. But he says it is a dead letter.

Mr. WALLACE. It is not a dead letter. We consult daily the members of our Board of Customs, and get the opinions of our most competent appraisers on every difficult case that comes up. And, as soon as this tariff is through, the members of the Board of Customs and the most experienced of the appraisers will be called to meet here and give their opinions on matters in dispute.

Mr. LAURIER. The hon. gentlemen take issue with the statement of the member for Quebec Centre (Mr. Langelier), that injustice arises, and declare that there is a remedy. I quote the opinion of a man who has to deal with the Customs Department, and who says that he never receives satisfaction. Now, the Controller of Customs says that this gentleman did receive justice. That is a question between the Controller and Mr. Mills. Perhaps, when the matter is discussed more in detail later on, we may be able to consider this point more fully. I only wished to show that there are occasions, in the opinion of those who deal with the Customs Department, when justice cannot be had.

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Mills has not cited one case of injustice or wrong-doing, and the statements that he makes are entirely incorrect; they are the statements of a man knowing nothing of the law or how it is administered. If he had any specific grievances and would mention them, that would be a ground to work upon.

Mr. LANGELIER. I have a case that came under my personal knowledge. This did not happen during the incumbency of the present Controller of Customs, but two years ago. In Quebec there is a very important firm of leather manufacturers, whose establishments are in the constituency of my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition. I do not give their name, but they are a firm of the highest standing. One day, two years ago, there entered their office a gentleman who called himself a special officer of the Customs Department. He gave his name as Mr. Belton, from Toronto. There was nothing to show that he was an officer of the customs, he was completely unknown in Quebec, and he might as well have come from

China as from Toronto. He said to these gentlemen: You are using a machine in your factory which has been undervalued in the custom-house. They gave him all the facts. They said: We have received it from a firm of manufacturers in the United States, and here is a catalogue giving all the prices at which they could deliver the machines at our factory at Quebec. We sent them the money, and they sent us the machine and a man to run it for a month. The machine had been in use for two years, and these men were pounced upon by that gentleman, who asked them to pay \$500, or else have the machine confiscated. They then sent for me to find out whether such a thing could be done, and that is the way I happened to become acquainted with the circumstances. When Mr. Belton saw that they were reluctant to pay the fine, he said: You have got another machine which has been in use for five years, and which was brought in exactly the same way, and the price you paid is not the price for which it is sold at the place of manufacture. They replied: We do not know at how much it is sold for, all we know is from the catalogue which we received, and upon which we sent our order, and upon which we got two machines. Well, eventually, in order to get rid of that man—because he could have seriously interfered with their business—they paid one-half the fine; and the head of the establishment said to me: See what a country we are living in. The Government talk about encouraging manufactures, and this is the way manufactures are being encouraged. We are fined because we cannot be sorcerers, because a man would require to be a sorcerer to know at how much that machine was sold, unless by the catalogue. Up to the present time that firm does not know the price upon which the customs duties should be charged, they have to take the arbitrary price fixed by that customs officer. He has made a special or fanciful valuation. The law says that the valuation is the market value at the place where the article is manufactured. But how can a man in this country know the market value of an article manufactured in a foreign country except by the catalogue? In this case, because those men did not know the market value in the country of manufacture otherwise than by the catalogue, they were fined a large amount. It is easy to say that they might have applied to the Board of Customs, but in the meantime their works would have been stopped.

Item agreed to.

Railway cars, sleighs, cutters, wheel-barrows and hand carts, 30 per cent.

Mr. CHARLTON. Is not that rather high on all those articles, except railway cars?

Mr. TAYLOR. Every town in the country is making them.

Mr. CHARLTON. Perhaps we could build them a little cheaper. We have the material and the labour.

Mr. FOSTER. Competition keeps that down.

Item agreed to.

Pianofortes, 35 per cent.

Parts of pianofortes, 25 per cent.

Mr. CHARLTON. Why are the parts made 25 per cent and the whole instrument complete 35 per cent?

Mr. FOSTER. The parts are less than the whole. The parts are imported to be put up by the manufacturer.

Mr. CHARLTON. What parts are imported?

Mr. FOSTER. Tongues, the speaking parts.

Mr. CHARLTON. I suppose my hon. friend has made himself acquainted with the details of this business. We require information as to what parts are imported, for what parts we are dependent upon foreign manufacturers?

Mr. WALLACE. The framework and the outside parts are always made here.

Item agreed to.

Musical instruments of all kinds, n.e.s., 25 per cent.

Mr. LANGEЛИER. I do not know of any manufactory of musical instruments used by brass bands.

Mr. WALLACE. Whaley, Royce & Co., of Toronto, manufacture all kinds of brass instruments used by bands.

Item agreed to.

All sugar above No. 16 Dutch Standard in colour, and all refined sugar and molasses, n.o.p., 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¢. per pound.

Mr. CHARLTON. We profess to have free sugar. This duty of 64-100ths of a cent, as a protection to refined sugar, is too high. It places a vast sum of money in the pockets of the refiners unnecessarily. In the United States, after a long quarrel about this matter between the sugar refiners and the Finance Committee, they finally settled upon 4-10ths of a cent per pound, and have reduced it since to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ th of a cent, which was considered sufficient protection to the refiners.

Mr. FOSTER. The latest is 40 per cent.

Mr. CHARLTON. As I understand it, the difference between raw and refined sugar is 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ th of a cent per pound. When the discussion took place in this House two years ago the utmost claimed was 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ths cents of a pound in favour of the American refiner on the cost of refining sugar, and it was necessary to have a protection of about 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ths of a cent per pound. That statement was clearly set forth, and from the best information we could obtain the refiners of Canada, owing to certain natural disadvantages in regard to freight and so forth, were placed at a disadvantage equivalent to 2-10ths of a cent per pound as compared with their American competitors, and a protection of 3-10ths of a cent per pound was ample to protect them against any com-

Mr. CHARLTON.

petition. With that protection they would be unable to put in their pockets a very large sum after selling in the market at prices at which they will be obliged to sell in order to control the market, but the protection was then made 8-10ths of a cent per pound for their benefit; with this duty of 64-100ths of a cent, the refiners will be able to make, in addition to a fair profit, such a profit as their American competitors would have to be satisfied with, 3-10ths of a cent on every pound refined. The law will place the refiner in a position to make a profit of at least 3-10ths of a cent per pound, besides the legitimate profit on which he should conduct his business. We have played into the hands of the refiners long enough. Under the old arrangement of 8-10ths of a cent, the refiners were obtaining from the country from \$1,500,000 to \$2,000,000 more than the profits to which they were entitled. They were making enormous fortunes, and under this arrangement they will make \$1,200,000 to \$1,500,000 at least, besides a fair profit. It is an outrageous proposition to take from the pockets of the consumers of sugar such an enormous sum of money and place it in the pockets of those who are of course friendly to the Government, and no doubt do handsomely by the Government, but in the interests of the people we have no business to so adjust the tariff as to enable the refiners to charge 3-10ths or 4-10ths of a cent more for sugar than the price at which they are able to sell sugar and make a living profit. If the Government should place the duty at 4-10ths of a cent, this would afford the refiner ample protection, and even then he would be receiving at least 1-10th of a cent more for his sugar than he should obtain. I must protest against this arrangement, knowing as I do from the discussions in the United States and from the data we obtained from the old Depression Committee of 1876 that this duty is that much too high, and I trust the Government will arrange the matter on a different basis, and content themselves with giving the refiner such a measure of protection as that to which they are entitled, and nothing more. I do not think they are entitled to any protection, and that the farmers and consumers should obtain sugar at cost price, but if the Government intend to secure the refining of sugar in Canada it is surely not necessary to hand over to the refiners \$1,500,000 more than is necessary for that business.

Mr. McMULLEN. I think it is well that I should emphasize the remarks of my hon. friend, who in a clear manner has pointed out the injury which must follow the operation of the tariff as framed. The consumption of sugar for the year before last was about 350,000,000 pounds; last year it was 250,000,000 pounds. Taking the rate of 64-100 of a cent per pound the tariff will give the refiners a clear profit over and above imported sugar of \$1,500,000. Take that rate on all refined sugar in this country,

and it is apparent that \$1,600,000 is paid to the refiners for refining the sugar used here. A small quantity will no doubt be brought in under No. 16 Dutch standard, which may be used in place of refined sugar, but I have no doubt that \$1,500,000 will be received by the refiners from sugar under the operation of this tariff. I do not think it necessary that they should be granted this protection and continued this advantage. Sugar refiners have been making enormous fortunes; they have been able to retire and live in England or Scotland, purchase mansions and live like lords, after spending a few years in this country in the business of refining sugar. When we find men like Senator Drummond, receiving a larger salary than the Governor General, this amount being paid on account of his salary as managing director of the Redpath Sugar Refinery of Montreal, it is apparent that sugar refining is not an infant industry. The very fact that a sugar refinery in Montreal is able to pay its managing director \$60,000 a year is clear and positive proof that the industry is not starving and is not lacking in protection. If that has been the experience of sugar refiners in the past, it is not right that this system should be continued to their advantage. We should cut down their profits to a fine point, just sufficient to enable them to retain our market, but when it is proposed to hand out of the pockets of the consumers of sugar \$1,500,000 dollars a year, simply and solely for the purpose of inducing the refiners to continue their business and enable them to amass enormous fortunes it is time we called a halt.

Mr. WELDON. If the hon. gentleman had been well acquainted with the real nature of the operations of the great change that has been made in the sugar duties, he would not have spoken so injudiciously as he has done to-night. The people of the Lower Provinces, who are well acquainted with West India sugars, and who in old days imported a great many of them, approve highly of the change made, by which sugars up to and including No. 16 Dutch standard are admitted duty free. I remember in old days buying sugar for my own household, a beautiful sugar which came in and which will come in on the free list, a sugar which grades No. 16, and is one of the strongest and best sugars that can be put on the market. Our Lower Province people, who are familiar with the West India trade, are without exception congratulating the Government on the very great change they have made, so that the poor man has no possible grievance on this matter of sugar. There are no advantages given to the sugar refiners that will impress him in the slightest degree. Most of us would think life very tolerable if he could have the clear, bright, strong, sweet sugar which comes in up to and including No. 16. For my own part I heartily congratulate the Government on what they are giving us.

Mr. McMULLEN. I do not grumble at placing sugars up to No. 16 on the free list. It is a proper step, but I complain of the duty of 64-100ths on refined sugar.

Mr. WELDON. That is paid for by the rich.

Mr. McMULLEN. The hon. gentleman does not mean to say that the people will use nothing but brown sugar up to No. 16 Dutch standard. Those accustomed to use refined sugar in their tea and coffee will not easily discard it, even although brown sugar is placed on the free list. No doubt brown sugar will be used more than in the past, and the action of the Government is a step in the right direction. If the hon. gentleman thought I was finding fault with it, he was mistaken. My complaint is that under the tariff we will give the sugar refiners at least \$1,500,000 profit more than they would obtain if their products were brought into competition with the sugars of the United States on a fair basis.

Mr. BARNARD. The hon. gentleman who has just addressed the committee will no doubt be astonished to learn the fact that the reduction in duties on sugars has compelled the Vancouver refinery to close its doors. It is thus evident that the profits derived are not so great as is generally supposed. The company were doing a very fair business during two or three years, but the present reduction has caused them to close their doors.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The Government, no doubt, have taken a step in the right direction in including No. 15 and No. 16 Dutch standard in the free list; but when the hon. gentleman (Mr. Barnard) says that a sugar refinery closed because it was unable to make a profit on its undertaking, all I can say is that it was closed because of an existing and stronger refinery within the country which was able to crowd it out.

Mr. BARNARD. No, no.

Mr. FOSTER. Quite the reverse; it was the Hong Kong sugar that closed it up.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The process of refining is simply a process of washing. There is no manufacturing industry in this country that requires so small an expenditure of labour and of money to produce the refined article as in the case of sugar refining. It is simply very little more than a washer-woman's business.

Mr. FOSTER. You were never through one, I am afraid.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Some years ago I studied the process of refining from the production of sugar in its crude state until it is converted into the refined article, and I am satisfied there is no industry in the world that needs less protection. In the city of Vancouver the raw sugar must have come from the same country as the refined

sugar—the East Indies—and if the refinery closed there, it was simply because the people preferred sugar No. 16 in the raw state to refined sugar.

Mr. FOSTER. It is refined sugar.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The process of refining is very cheap, and an industry of that sort requires no very great protection. What I rose specially to make inquiries about is: What are we to understand by "refined sugars?" Does it imply that refined sugar below 16 Dutch standard would be taxed?

Mr. FOSTER. Certainly, all refined sugar.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Does the hon. gentleman count West India sugar that is dried on the centrifugal wheel as refined sugar? If so, this whole thing is an illusion. If that is the meaning of this, then the whole contention of the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) is upon a mistaken view or construction of these words. If sugars dried on the centrifugal wheel are to be counted refined sugars, then this paragraph will exclude all sugars over 14 Dutch standard.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Sixteen Dutch standard.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I say that centrifugal sugars, which are almost the only sugars above 14 Dutch standard, will be excluded under this provision, if counted as refined sugars. They go through no refining process except the process exercised upon them by centrifugal force. They are sometimes clarified by water being dropped into the wire basket in which the sugar is contained until they are nearly as white as loaf sugar, and sometimes an aniline dye is dropped on them, which reduces the colour, with the object of bringing them down to the particular colour of Dutch standard. If these sugars are to be counted refined sugars, then this provision will not alter the tariff to any appreciable degree.

Mr. FOSTER. It gives the advantage of two degrees.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Not if you include centrifugal sugars as refined. Does the hon. gentleman say that they are to be counted as refined? If he does, then this paragraph will mislead the public as it is misleading the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon).

Mr. STAIRS. I do not see how the Minister of Finance, of whom the question was asked by the hon. member for Bothwell, could count centrifugal sugars as refined sugars, for the simple reason that they are not refined sugars. They never were treated as refined under the old tariff, and there is no change in the wording now. The only change is that the limit is raised from 14 to 16 Dutch standard, so as to allow sugar of a brighter colour to come in.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I would rather have that answer from the Minister of Finance.

Mr. LAURIER. Is that the answer of the Government?

Mr. FOSTER. It is a very good answer.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Does the Minister of Finance accept it?

Mr. FOSTER. Do not press me.

Mr. CHARLTON. Does the Government expect to realize any revenue from this duty?

Mr. FOSTER. Not very much.

Mr. CHARLTON. How much revenue did we get last year?

Mr. FOSTER. About \$80,000 last year.

Mr. CHARLTON. That shows that this is a very effective protection. I repeat that the duty is one-half higher than is necessary to secure the manufacture of this sugar in the country, and that the Minister of Finance is giving the refining industry an undue advantage. The truth of that assertion is borne out by the action of the United States Government, which placed the duty on refined sugar at about one-half the amount this Government has placed on the same article.

Mr. McMULLEN. Will the grades of West Indies sugar come in under this list, as proposed by the gentlemen who came from the West Indies last year?

Mr. FOSTER. Of course.

Item agreed to.

Syrup of all kinds, the product of the sugar cane or beet-root, n.e.s., and all imitations thereof or substitutes therefor, 1½c. per pound.

Mr. FOSTER. After "syrups" add "and molasses," and after "kinds" add "n.o.p."

Mr. CHARLTON. How much does this amount to per gallon? What is the weight of an imperial gallon?

Mr. DALY. Thirteen and three-quarter pounds.

Mr. CHARLTON. That is about 7 cents a gallon. I see that in the American tariff molasses under 56 degrees polariscope test is charged 2 cents a gallon.

Mr. KENNY. What about the duty on sugar?

Mr. CHARLTON. The duty on refined sugar is about half what it is here.

Mr. FOSTER. Ours is only 1½ cents per pound up to 60. We are more liberal than they are.

Mr. KENNY. The hon. member for North Norfolk has told the committee that the duty on sugar in the United States under the proposed tariff is less than we impose under this tariff.

Mr. CHARLTON. No. I said that the difference between 16 Dutch standard and refined sugar is less. Under the Wilson Bill there is a duty on brown sugar and a duty on refined sugar, but the difference between the two is less than it is here. The protection given to our refiners is greater—is in fact enough to enable them to put three-tenths of a cent a pound in their pocket above what is necessary to protect them.

Mr. KENNY. The Canadian duty is 64-100ths of a cent per pound, and the hon. gentleman knows that it costs about 60-100ths of a cent to manufacture raw sugar into refined.

Mr. CHARLTON. No.

Mr. KENNY. If the hon. gentleman has faithfully read the discussion that has taken place in the United States Congress, he will have discovered that. If he has noticed the report of the Finance Committee of the Senate he will find that the duty on sugar is to be 40 per cent on raw sugar and one-eighth of a cent additional on refined, which would make the duty, estimating crystals at about 3 cents a pound, over 15 $\frac{1}{8}$ ths of a cent on refined sugar.

Mr. CHARLTON. I am very happy that the hon. member for Halifax has so clearly borne out the statement I made. I stated that the difference between refined sugar and raw sugar is $\frac{1}{8}$ th of a cent a pound in the United States, whereas the difference here is 64-100ths of a cent a pound. The difference in the United States is sufficient to afford the refiner protection, and if it is sufficient there it ought to be sufficient in Canada. The refiner in Canada is enabled by the Government to put into his pocket from 30-100ths of a cent to 35-100ths of a cent per pound above what is necessary to hold this market; and this explains how it is that Mr. Drummond receives \$60,000 a year.

Mr. FOSTER. Does he?

Mr. CHARLTON. It is reported that he does. It explains why a sugar refiner can live in his Chiselhurst palace in Europe like a prince. The wealth of these refiners is made at the expense of the people of this country and by the connivance of this Government who are affording them vastly more protection than they require; and that is what we protest against.

Mr. McMULLEN. Is there an increase in the duty on molasses or syrup?

Mr. FOSTER. There is an increase in molasses of a kind that is not included in "a" and "b" below; that is a molasses that would not be and ought not to be edible.

Mr. HASLAM. In regard to the contention of the hon. member for North Norfolk that this protection all goes into the pockets of the refiners, I may say that in the quar-

ter ending the 31st of March, there was 894,000 pounds of refined sugar imported from China into Vancouver; that was under the old tariff.

Mr. CHARLTON. You had the Canadian Pacific Railway rates to contend with against getting sugar from anywhere else.

Mr. BOWERS. Has not the duty on syrups been raised?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes. Syrups before was 8-10ths of a cent per pound; now they are 5-10ths of a cent.

Mr. BOWERS. I think there is a mistake here; that 8-10ths of a cent must be wrong. I think it was about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents a gallon before. I am informed by importers in St. John that the duty is now equal to 7 cents or 8 cents a gallon, which excludes syrups from New York of a better quality than are made in Canada, and which they were selling for 30 cents a gallon, but which they cannot now sell for less than 36 cents or 37 cents.

Mr. FOSTER. Then they have been importing syrups that had no saccharine matter.

Mr. BOWERS. I have been selling the same syrups myself and they brought 5 cents a gallon more than any syrups that we could buy from any Canadian manufacturer.

Item agreed to.

Committee rose and reported progress.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 10.55 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, 7th May, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

LABOUR DAY.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 106) to amend the law relating to holidays. He said: The object of the Bill is to establish as a holiday Labour Day, the first Monday in September of each year.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

Mr. FRECHETTE. (Translation.) Before the Orders of the Day are called, Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of this

House to an editorial published in 'L'Electeur,' of Quebec, in connection with the speech of the hon. the First Minister on the school question. Here is what is stated in that editorial, addressed from Ottawa, under date April 29th last :

The political world here is much more disturbed than people are led to believe. Indeed your correspondents describe in your columns what is going on on the stage, but they do not tell you what is said in the green-room behind the curtain.

And yet it is not devoid of interest. You were told of the recent debate on the school question. You were told of the speech delivered by Sir John at Thursday's sitting.

Here are some recent particulars which will enable your public to form a more correct opinion.

Lieut.-Governor Chapleau was in the Speaker's gallery.

When Sir John, in the course of his speech, stated that neither he nor the government had ever promised anything to Monseigneur Taché, Mr. Chapleau was unable to conceal his indignation.

Coming down from the gallery, he loudly said to two members, friends of his, whom he met, that Thompson's speech was a disgrace, and that never had he heard any one lie with such impudence.

This talk was soon whispered in every Conservative circle and made a great impression.

I myself, subsequently heard Dupont, from Bagot, say to Fréchette, from Megantic, that that speech would kill Sir John in the province of Quebec.

Fréchette answered that such was not his opinion. This speech, he said, is calculated to enormously promote Sir John's interest among the English speaking people. As for the French people, they will swallow any humiliation.

Sir John also made another important statement. To humiliate Messrs. Ouimet and Angers, he stated that he wished distinctly to assert that his colleagues had been unanimous in refusing to disallow the school Ordinances of the North-west.

That speech will be translated and profusely distributed in the province of Quebec.

In my opinion it is wasting money.

Dupont is wrong and Fréchette is right. The French people will swallow anything.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to emphatically deny the charge contained in the lines I have just read. The words gratuitously ascribed to me have but one object, that of injuring me among my electors in the county of Megantic. That supposed conversation never took place, neither with the member for Bagot nor any one else, and, consequently, there is not a shadow of truth in that editorial, as far as I am concerned.

IN COMMITTEE—THIRD READINGS.

Bill (No. 39) respecting the St. Lawrence and Adirondack Railway Company.—(Mr. Baker.)

Bill (No. 40) to incorporate the Elgin and Havelock Railway Company.—(Mr. Hazen.)

Bill (No. 41) to amend the Acts respecting the Clifton Suspension Bridge Company.—(Mr. Coatsworth.)

Mr. FRECHETTE.

Bill (No. 22) respecting the Winnipeg and Hudson Bay Railway Company, and to change the name thereof to The Winnipeg Great Northern Railway Company.—(Mr. Ross, Lisgar.)

Bill (No. 48) respecting the Montreal and Ottawa Railway Company.—(Mr. Baker.)

Bill (No. 47) to revive and amend the Act to incorporate the Brandon and South-western Railway Company.—(Mr. Davin.)

Bill (No. 50) to authorize the purchase of the Yarmouth and Annapolis Railway by the Windsor and Annapolis Railway Company (Limited), and to change the name of the latter company to The Dominion Atlantic Railway Company.—(Mr. Kenny.)

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (No. 99) respecting the St. Lawrence Insurance Company.—(Mr. White, Cardwell.)

Bill (No. 100) to incorporate the French River Boom Company (Limited).—(Mr. Maclean, York.)

Bill (No. 103) to amend the Acts relating to the Moncton and Prince Edward Island Railway and Ferry Company.—(Mr. McInerney.)

COAL IMPORTS BY G. T. R.

Mr. McDUGALD asked, How many tons of bituminous coal have been imported into Canada by the Grand Trunk Railway during the years ending 30th June, 1891, 1892 and 1893, and what amount of duty has been paid thereon during each of such years?

Mr. WALLACE. It is impossible to say. The official records do not show separately the imports by any private firm or corporation.

LIGHTHOUSE AT EASTERN HARBOUR.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) asked, Is it the intention of the Government to have a lighthouse constructed at Eastern Harbour, Inverness county, C.B., during the present year? Had Dr. Cameron, M.P. for Inverness, the authority of the Government, prior to the late provincial elections in Nova Scotia, to promise that such lighthouse would be constructed? If so, when was he so authorized?

Sir CHARLES HERBERT TUPPER. The subject of the construction of a lighthouse at this point is being considered by the officers of my department. Touching the last part of the question of the hon. gentleman, I have to say, Mr. Speaker, that, after the late provincial general election, a letter dated 23rd March, was received, through the hon. member for Inverness (Mr. Cameron), from Mr. Patrick Cormier, of Grand Etang, inclosing a petition for the construction of a lighthouse on the eastern end of Cheticamp Island. The hon. mem-

ber for Inverness had no authority to promise that the lighthouse would be constructed, and, it is almost unnecessary to add, that he informed me that he made no such promise.

REPAIRS AT BROAD COVE, C. B.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) asked, When and why was John McLeod, Esq., removed or dismissed from the position of inspector over the repairs of the Broad Cove Marsh pier, Cape Breton? Who was appointed in his stead?

Mr. OULMET. Mr. John McLeod was not dismissed from the position of foreman of the repairs of the Broad Cove Marsh pier, Cape Breton, but his employment ceased on the 31st October, 1892, when the amount authorized for expenditure in 1892-93 was exhausted. Mr. H. McDonald, who in the meantime had been appointed wharfinger, was, at the suggestion of the chief engineer, placed in charge of the repairs for which an appropriation of \$300 was made by Parliament for expenditure during 1893-94.

LOADING VESSELS AT MONTREAL.

Mr. LEPINE asked, Whether it is the intention of the Government to appoint, this year, competent persons to act as inspectors of appliances used in the loading and unloading of vessels in the port of Montreal?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. It is the intention of the Government to appoint competent persons this year to act as inspectors.

SHIPPING MASTER AT MONTREAL.

Mr. SUTHERLAND (for Mr. Casey) asked, Have the Government received any communication, directly or indirectly, from the Montreal Board of Trade, or from any person or persons on their behalf, except the copy of a resolution, the receipt of which was acknowledged by the Minister of Marine and Fisheries on 2nd May, regarding the appointment of Mr. Vanasse as shipping master at Montreal? If so, what was the nature of such communications?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. A telegram was received on the 18th ultimo from the Board of Trade and others, stating that they could not believe that the recommendation of the Board of Trade, shipping interests and local representatives, was passed over.

BRIDGE OVER THE OTTAWA.

Mr. DEVLIN asked, Have the Government received any application for aid towards the construction of a railway and general traffic bridge over the Ottawa River, connecting Hull with Nepean Point, Ottawa? If so,

is it the intention of the Government to assist the project?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It appears no such application has been received.

MAIL SERVICE IN THE COUNTY OF OTTAWA.

Mr. DEVLIN asked, Have the Government, during the last year, taken any steps, and if so, what steps towards improving the mail service between Ripon, St. André Avelin and Papineauville, in the county of Ottawa? Have the Government received petitions for the establishment of a post office at or near Maloney's, in the township of Low, Ottawa County; and, if so, is it the intention of the Government to take any action in the matter?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. No steps have been taken during the last year to improve the mail service between Ripon and St. André Avelin. The question of giving Papineauville post office a separate service to the railway station is under consideration.

WEIGHTS OF CHEESE.

Mr. TAYLOR asked, Whether it is the intention of the Government to have some person appointed at Montreal to act as referee in case of disputes arising between buyers and sellers as to the weight of cheese having been sold either at the factory or elsewhere subject to weight at Montreal?

Mr. DALY. It is the intention to appoint the Inspector of Weights and Measures at Montreal to act as referee in matters of dispute respecting the weights of cheese.

THE SCHOOL QUESTION IN THE N.W.T. AND MANITOBA.

Mr. DEVLIN moved for:

Copy of the last petition of the Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of Canada, having reference to the Ordinances passed in 1882, by the Legislature of the North-west Territories, and also of the School Acts of 1890, of the province of Manitoba.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. There has been no petition received, and, therefore, the hon. gentleman had better allow the motion to stand.

Motion allowed to stand.

IMMIGRATION WORK.

Mr. MARTIN moved for:

Return showing the names of all persons appointed to act as what are known as return-men, in connection with immigration work, the period during which each worked, the amount of money paid to each, the names of the settlers brought to

Canada, by each return-man, and the places in which such settlers were located.

He said: Some time ago the Department of the Interior, or, I fancy, at that time it was the Department of Agriculture, or at all events, it was the Department of Immigration, adopted the system of sending immigration agents to the old country in the shape of men who had come to Canada as immigrants, and who either had, or were supposed to have succeeded in the Dominion. In a general way, perhaps, the principle may have been to some extent a sound one, but, as a matter of fact, I believe it has been made use of for the purpose of furnishing certain persons with holidays at the public expense. At all events, in those cases of which I have personal knowledge, I have never known an instance of an immigrant being brought out to Canada by any of those return-men, and it seems to me it would be advisable in the interest of the country, to know what, if any, benefit resulted to Canada from this policy. At the same time, it would be desirable to know how much it cost to send over those agents, and further particulars as to what they have done. For that reason I make the motion.

Mr. DALY. I have no objection to the motion passing, Mr. Speaker. I may say in answer to the hon. gentleman's remarks as to men going home to the old country for the purpose of having a holiday, that there is no possibility of that occurring under the arrangement that at present exists between the Government and the Canadian Pacific Railway and the steamship companies in reference to the class of men that are sent home. I have no doubt that in times past possibly some of the men who were so sent home may not have done the work that was expected of them; but when the return is brought down, the hon. gentleman will see that the men are now properly selected in every instance, and are selected by the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Government agents only from among men who, they were satisfied would be of benefit to the country and would bring out the proper kind of immigrants for the North-west.

Mr. MARTIN. In view of what the hon. gentleman has said, would he allow me to add to the motion: "Also a statement as to what arrangements are now made with regard to these returned men?"

Mr. DALY. Yes, I have no objection.

Motion, as amended, agreed to.

NORTH-WEST SETTLERS FROM THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. MARTIN moved for:

Return showing the number of settlers brought into the Yorkton and Saltcoats district from Dakota, and into the Calgary district from Chicago, and showing in each case the nationality of such

Mr. MARTIN.

settlers, the cost of obtaining them, and the number that still remain and the occupations those remaining are engaged in.

He said: Some time ago a great deal was said with regard to immigration from North and South Dakota and special effort was made to obtain a very considerable number of settlers from those states. The immigrants were men who had gone to Dakota, and who failed there. They were brought to Manitoba, notably during one spring, in special trains. The trains were covered with streamers announcing that these people had abandoned the United States and had determined to reside in Canada, and the newspapers, especially the Government organs, took up the matter and made a great deal of it indeed. I am not exactly aware just how far the Government went in this matter; but, at any rate these immigrants were practically without any means whatever. It was necessary not only to bring them, and their families, and their effects from Dakota, but I believe in most instances arrangements were made, practically through the Government, by which money was advanced to enable them to leave Dakota and come to Manitoba. They were settled on the Manitoba and Northwestern Railway in the northern part of Eastern Assiniboia, in the country adjoining Saltcoats and Yorkton. I believe considerably more than one-half of these immigrants brought to this portion of the North-west at such great expense to the Government have already left, and I may say that I believe the only reason the balance of them do not leave is because they are unable to raise enough money to get out of the country. They are probably waiting for the Government of some other country to make the same arrangements with them as this Government did to bring them from Dakota. I may say also that the loan company through which the advances were made to these settlers to enable them to come to the North-west from Dakota finds itself in very serious financial difficulties with regard to the transaction they have entered into at the instance of the Government. This loan company has, I believe, invested something like \$70,000 in this. Under a provision in the Dominion Lands Act, mortgages were given to the loan company upon their homesteads. The settlers have never become entitled to the homesteads as they did not complete the homestead duties, and of course the mortgages that the company has upon these homesteads are of no value to them. In addition to that, even if the title were issued—as I suppose the Government might feel inclined to go that far, considering that these advances were made, I understand at the instance of the Government largely—I fancy that the company will still be a heavy loser, because the portion of the country which was selected to place these immigrants in was not a suitable part for the purpose of following the business of agriculture. Not but that the country is good enough, but

these settlers have been unable to get water for the use of their cattle, and the district has been too dry for the successful growing of grain. I am in receipt of a letter from one of these settlers inclosing me a copy of a demand made upon either himself or some other settler by the loan company threatening to sell him out unless he pays up the arrears of principal and interest upon the loan. This settler writes to me that it is quite impossible for him to pay the interest, not to speak of the principal at all, and he thinks that something should be done in the way of relieving them from this mortgage which they have been induced to give. So far as I can learn the whole transaction has been a gigantic failure. It is most unfortunate that it should have been a failure for several reasons; more especially for the reason that such great publicity was given to the transaction, and that now we find that most of these people have left the country and that those who are remaining are practically of no use as settlers. It seems a very great mistake on the part of the Government to have gone into the matter so blindly. Surely if any one in Canada should understand and know the condition of the North-west generally, it is the Department of the Interior. The large sums of money that are annually spent by the department in connection with the North-west should enable them to know what portions of it are the best for bringing immigrants into it. Of course it would be a very great mistake to suppose that the failure of this particular settlement is any reproach to the North-west generally. There is no doubt that there are large tracts in the Territories which are very suitable for settlement; but that being so, it is all the worse for the credit of the immigration policy of the Government that they should have selected a district that has turned out to be quite unfit for settlement. Therefore, we have the great publicity that was given to this effort to provide homes in Canada for people who had gone to the United States and failed to make a living for themselves there; we have the very large expense to which the Government were put in bringing in those settlers from Dakota; and we have the unfortunate position of the loan company, which is an old country institution, and of course any losses that company may suffer will in the end affect the credit of the country in which their investment has been made. All these things reflect very seriously upon the department for dealing with such an important matter in so careless a way. I also refer in the motion to immigration operations at Calgary. It is reported that the Immigration Department, at a large expense, transported a considerable number of Jews from Chicago to Calgary, presumably for the purpose of their engaging in agriculture. But these Jews were not farmers, and never could be made farmers, and the expense of taking them there has been com-

pletely lost. They were not adapted to make settlers, and as a matter of fact they did not make settlers. They belonged to the class of Jews whose business is peddling or something of that kind; and it does seem to me rather a reflection upon the department that they should not have been able, with the aid of all the officers they have selected, presumably because they have some knowledge or ability to fit them for the work, to make a better selection of settlers. I am informed by the hon. Minister of the Interior that the work of his department, to which the work of immigration is now attached, speaks for itself. Well, I am inclined to agree with him in that. In these two instances to which I have alluded the work of the department does speak for itself, but I am very sorry that the sounds of that speaking are not such as to bring credit, either to the Dominion of Canada at large or to the particular department in question.

Mr. DALY. Mr. Speaker, there will be no difficulty in furnishing the information asked for by the hon. gentleman if he means by the word settlers those who have taken up homesteads. The department do not undertake to locate people unless they have taken up homesteads. I am at a loss to understand what object the hon. gentleman could have in making this motion unless it was to have a fling at the Government or the Department of the Interior. If the hon. gentleman had been specific in his statements, if he had specified from what part of Dakota these settlers had come, or into what particular portion of the North-west they had gone and when they had gone, I would possibly be able to answer such specific statements. From his remarks I can only gather generally that he meant a number of people who went into what is called the Sheho Lake district, near Yorkton, some three years ago. If the hon. gentleman refers to that settlement, which is the only one I can reconcile with his statements, I may say that if he had looked at page 7 of the report of the Department of the Interior, he would have found full information in reference to that settlement. My recollection of the coming of those people into Manitoba is that it cost the Government but very little money. I believe they were induced to come as a result of their having sent delegations of their neighbours into the North-west to spy out the land. Those delegations went to the North-west through the instrumentality of the then Government agent, Mr. Webster, since deceased. He conducted them through Manitoba and the North-west, and they themselves selected the particular portion of the country in which the people subsequently settled; so that the Government were not responsible in any way for the settlement of those people in that particular portion of the country. The delegation went back and reported to their people very favourably about the country. They said that they had

selected lands in the Sheho Lake district, which they regarded as a good farming district, and the best part of the country for their people to settle in. Then, it appears that the question of means was raised. Those people were heavily mortgaged in Dakota, and were unable to secure the necessary means for their transportation. The Manitoba North-western Railway Company was directly interested in the district where they were to settle, because their railway when extended would run directly through it; and some of the officers of that company were associated in a loan company known as the Canada Settlers' Loan Company, and any advances made to the settlers were made by that company and not by the Government. The Government were not instrumental in having the advances made, did not ask the company to make those advances, and are not responsible in any way for their having been made. They were made by the Canada Settlers' Loan Company after it had sent agents into Dakota to investigate the affairs of those people. The company paid off certain obligations of the people in Dakota, and brought them into this country, taking the usual lien, which the Dominion Lands Act provides for people advancing money, on the homesteads of the settlers; and I have no doubt that they will realize every dollar that they advanced to them. The officers of the Canada Settlers' Loan Company were men who were thoroughly conversant with the tract of country in which those people settled and the circumstances of the people. They made the advances with their eyes open; and if the company loses the money, they will have to blame their Canadian agents and no one else. The Government are not to blame in the slightest degree. Now, I will read from the report of the Dominion Lands agent with reference to those settlers. He says:

A number of farmers from Dakota, also, have settled around Lake Sheho, in townships 29, ranges 7, 8 and 9; townships 30, ranges 9, 10 and 11; townships 31, ranges 9 and 10; and township 32, range 10, all west of the 2nd meridian. Inspections recently made by officials of the department show the condition of the settlement to be most satisfactory. The people are described as being in comfortable circumstances, the well-built houses, stables, granaries, fences, &c., having the appearance of a settlement of ten rather than barely two years' standing. The crops this year have been excellent in quality, and excepting certain losses sustained during the winter of 1892-93, the result of inexperience, when many cattle die from lack of sufficient fodder, their enterprise has been most satisfactory. This want of hay in some instances was due to the settlers putting up too small a quantity for their actual requirements, and in others to the destruction of some of their stacks by a prairie fire.

The Sheho Lake settlement is composed chiefly of Canadians who emigrated to the States and found it impossible to make a living there, poor crops and heavy taxation proving ruinous. They

Mr. DALY,

were assisted to return to this country by the Canada Settlers' Homestead Company, and the following figures will show their present standing:

In the settlement there are 67 families containing 275 souls. They own 914 head of stock and have 813 acres under cultivation. The crops this year have been remarkably good, and the people are well satisfied and contented, and it is only a question of a little time before their prosperity is assured. The only cause for complaint that they have now is the absence of railway communication, and if the line were extended from its present terminus at Yorkton it would be of great service to the community and to the future settlement of the country. Here, as elsewhere, wheat cannot be raised to advantage when the market is so far distant; and until this is remedied the area cultivated will remain limited. They are a highly respectable class of men and likely to succeed in their new homes.

Now, these are the people to whom the hon. gentleman refers as being in such a condition that they were likely soon to leave the country, and he says some of them have left already. I think the report I have read is a sufficient answer to his statement. Then the Commissioner adds:

There is another settlement of farmers from Dakota in the Stony Creek district, townships 43, 44 and 45, ranges 18, 19, 20 and 21, west of the 2nd meridian, east of Prince Albert, where there are some 300,000 acres of exceptionally fine land, with mellow loamy soil, well watered and within easy reach of excellent timber, which, to supply the settlers' needs, is converted into lumber at a saw-mill, established on the creek. At the present moment there are 17 families, representing 68 souls, having 54 horses, 81 head of horned stock, with effects valued at over \$13,000. They are all comfortably settled, but feel keenly the lack of railroad extension. The continuation of the Manitoba and North-western Railway will complete the settlement of this district which, at present, is at a standstill. The opportunities for wheat-raising are exceptionally good, but are neglected for want of a market. Besides the Dakota, there are some fifty other settlers from Ontario and Manitoba who have located here, attracted by the richness of the soil and vegetation.

These are extracts from the report of the Commissioner of Dominion Lands, dealing with the only people to which the hon. gentleman refers, if I have rightly seized his remarks. And I regret exceedingly that the hon. gentleman should have seen fit to give out to the world, through his utterances in this House, that any class in that country are in the condition he describes. It would be well for the hon. gentleman to secure better information on subjects of this kind before undertaking to deal with them. Now, as to the Jews, of whom he speaks as having come from Chicago to Calgary, he has also indulged in exaggeration. It appears that the attention of the Canadian Pacific Railway's agent in Chicago was called to the fact by the Rev. T. D. Phillips, late of Ottawa, and for some time residing in Chicago, that there were a number of people, consist-

ing of Germans, Hungarians and Poles, who were in his parish in Chicago, and who were desirous of emigrating to the North-west or to portions of the Western States where they could go upon farms. The information given to the Canadian Pacific Railway was that these people were farmers, that they had been accustomed to farming in the old country, and that some of them had done farming in the States since they came out, and also that they were possessed of money, ranging from \$300 to \$600 each. Upon these representations of the Rev. Mr. Phillips, the Canadian Pacific Railway agent notified the Government agent, Captain Holmes, of these people's desire, and I will read from Mr. Holmes's report what he says concerning them. It is on page 150 of the report of the Department of the Interior :

Letters having been received from Rev. Mr. Phillips, in Chicago, representing some 70 families in Chicago, and from parties in Idaho, Washington and Oregon, I was instructed by the department to visit these places and make arrangements for representatives of these people to visit the North-west.

In Chicago I saw the Rev. Mr. Phillips, and met several of the people about whom he had corresponded. They made arrangements for a mass meeting on the following Sunday evening at Rochester Hall, where I met some 700 people and explained the requirements for homesteading. I found them a mixed lot, consisting of Germans, Poles and Hungarians principally, with about 25 per cent Jews among them, the remainder being Lutherans, Roman Catholics and other persuasions. They selected four of their number to go to the Calgary district and select land, and asked to have an agent familiar with the country sent with them. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company kindly furnished transportation for the party over their lines, the delegates paying for their own transportation to the boundary and return.

As a result of this expedition some twenty heads of families left Chicago in the month of June and took up homesteads on the line of the Calgary and Edmonton Railroad. They took with them sums of money averaging about \$500 per family. Some of them have since sent for their families, and all have been self-supporting.

Now, it appears, as stated here, that 25 per cent of the people whom Captain Holmes met were Jews, and that amongst the delegates was one Jew. It appears that this man did most of the talking, and because he was a Jew and did most of the talking, the press opposed to the Government of that country, naturally concluded that all the rest of the people were Jews. But Captain Holmes' report speaks for itself. He says that these twenty families went there, that they are as good subjects as it is necessary for us to get into that country.

Mr. MARTIN. I have taken pains to see that my information in this matter is strictly accurate, and I challenge the report the hon. gentleman has read as being entirely inaccurate with regard to the settlers in Yorkton and Saltcoats who came from Dakota.

In support of my statement I beg to read a letter from one of these settlers themselves, showing their condition ; and I fancy the country will take more stock in what the settlers themselves say than in the reports of officials, who, of course, have to depend for their position on making out a case as to the success of their efforts. This is the letter :

LAKE VIEW,
SALTCOATS, ASSA., April 10th, 1894.

The Hon. JOS. MARTIN,
House of Commons, Ottawa.

DEAR SIR,—As secretary of settlers who have taken up land under land companies in this district, I beg your earnest and earliest attention to the following requests, and to inclosures, the latter I will ask you to return to me when you have done with them in the House. Petition is sent to Earl Aberdeen. The prayer of petitioners was that they be granted their patents where duties were fulfilled ; that legislation be given preventing land companies taking mortgages on the homestead ; that inasmuch as that not one settler could pay either interest or principal, that the Government should pay off said liens, and so retain the 50 per cent of said settlers that are left—50 per cent are gone and the rest have no alternative but to go if nothing is done by the Government, as an inclosed letter received by me (and every other settler has received a similar one or a worse one) will prove the truth of above statement.

The letter is signed by Frederic Kirkham, secretary for the petitioners. I had all this information, quite independent from the letter of this man. I know myself the condition of these settlers after they went up there. They were obliged to come down to the neighbourhood of Portage la Prairie, where I then lived, in order to get sufficient money by working for farmers, to keep them going a short time. And I know that fully 50 per cent have long since left the country. I have been informed, and I believe that the only reason the other 50 per cent did not leave was because they had not enough money to get out of the country. Yet, in the face of all that, the officials of the hon. gentleman's department represent them as happy and contented settlers. I leave the country to judge between these two accounts the real state of affairs.

Mr. DALY. What is proved by the letter the hon. gentleman has read? Simply that these people have failed to meet their obligations, and that they now want the Government to pay for the lands they got through the Canada Settlers' Company advancing the money to take them from the misery they were in in Dakota and place them on the land. I think the report of the officers of my department can be taken as against the letter the hon. gentleman has read. He started out by—

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman has exhausted his right to speak.

Mr. DALY. But the hon. member for Winnipeg has raised a new question and I think I have the right to answer it. I am confining myself to the statement the hon. gentleman has just read. He endeavours to fasten upon the Government the blame for these people not having been successful, for their having selected lands on which they could not make a living. The Government had nothing to do with them going to that country except taking their delegates there. These people selected the land, and advised their friends to come on; they were brought there by the Canada Settlers' Company, with whom arrangements were made, and the Government had nothing to do with it, good, bad or indifferent. The letter read by the hon. gentleman goes to show that the people are not successful. As against that we have the report which I have read, made not by any ordinary officer of the Government, but by the Commissioner of Dominion Lands, and published in the official records of the country. I ask that that report be taken as against this letter from a man who wants to be relieved of his obligation.

Mr. MARTIN. Of course this report was not made from Mr. Smith's own inspection.

Mr. MARA. I would move to add after the word "Chicago," "The states of Oregon, Washington and Idaho." I had an opportunity last year and the year before of conversing with the settlers from the states mentioned, and I was gratified to learn that they were well pleased with their new home and were advising their friends in those states to take up land near Calgary. The statements made to me by these people were in striking contrast with the tenor of the remarks made by the hon. member for Winnipeg.

Mr. DALY. There is no objection to the amendment.

Mr. MARTIN. I have no objection to the amendment being made, and I would draw the attention of the hon. member for Yale (Mr. Mara) to the fact that I said nothing whatever with regard to the condition of the settlers at Calgary, except the cases I mentioned in which I charged the Government with having brought certain persons from Chicago who are not fit to become settlers and did not become settlers, being Jew peddlers. So far as concerns the settlements the hon. gentleman refers to, my information agrees with his that there has been a very satisfactory immigration into the country between Calgary and Edmonton from the states mentioned by the hon. gentleman.

Mr. DALY. Why did not you say that before?

Mr. MARTIN. It was not at all pertinent to the question I placed before the House.

Mr. DALY.

Mr. MARA. Mr. Speaker, I referred to what would be understood from the tenor of the hon. gentleman's remarks.

Motion, as amended, agreed to.

RETURNS ORDERED.

Return showing: 1. How much timber has been disposed of in townships 1, 2, 3 and 4, in ranges 14, 15, 16 and 17 east of 1st meridian, and also on the Whitemouth River. 2. To whom said timber has been disposed of. 3. In what way said timber has been disposed of. 4. Prices realized for same. 5. Copies of all advertisements in connection with same, with names of newspapers in which same appeared and dates of insertion. 6. How much timber still remains undisposed of in said townships.—(Mr. Martin.)

Copies of all letters, proposals, cablegrams, and correspondence since the 1st January, 1890, between the Government and any member thereof and any person, firm or company in relation to establishing a fast Atlantic steamship line between Canada and Great Britain, and also a line between Canada and France, and in relation to the subsidies for such services asked for or proposed to be given by the Government, and any draft or completed contracts for such steamship service.—(Mr. Mulock.)

Return showing the amounts paid for legal services and costs in each department of the public service during the fiscal year from 1873-74 to 1878-79, inclusive; also to whom the several amounts were paid, and for what services.—(Mr. Taylor.)

Copies of all calls for tenders, tenders received, contracts made, correspondence, telegrams, letters and papers relative to the public work (wharf or breakwater) at Grand Etang, Cape Breton; together with a statement of all moneys advanced or paid on such contract, with dates of payment.—(Mr. Davies, P. E. I.)

Correspondence with the Railway Department relative to the steam ferry established across the Strait of Canso, between Port Mulgrave and Hawkesbury, also between Port Mulgrave and Hastings, from the time the Eastern Extension Railway was operated by said Railway Department up to the present time.—(Mr. Cameron.)

Correspondence with the Railway Department relative to charges made against G. C. Lawrence, ticket agent at Port Hastings, Inverness County, N.S., and also of the evidence furnished to substantiate these charges since he was employed as ticket agent up to the present time.—(Mr. Cameron.)

Receipts and expenditures chargeable to Consolidated Fund from 1st July, 1893, to 1st May, 1894, and also for same period from 1st July, 1892, to 1st May, 1893.—(Sir Richard Cartwright.)

Statement of all sums of money in the hands of the Government held as security for the performance of contracts completed, the name of each contractor who deposited the money, date of each such deposit, and amount of interest accrued on each deposit.—(Mr. Lister.)

Correspondence between J. B. Wright, M.D., V.S., and the Government, or any member,

department or officer of the Government, and of all correspondence between the Grand Trunk Railway and the Government, or any member, department or officer of the Government, and of all correspondence between Mr. A. Brush and the Government, or any member, department or officer of the Government, and of all correspondence between the Imperial authorities, or any one on their behalf, and the Government of Canada, or any member, department or officer thereof, from, and including, the year 1882 until, and including, the year 1891, regarding the inspection of cattle passing through Canada from the United States.—(Mr. Mulock.)

Order in Council authorizing the sale of lot 16, concession 12, township of Luther, in the county of Wellington, for \$800 to John McNab and John Gallagher.—(Mr. McMullen.)

Return showing the kind of manufactured goods or articles exported being the product of Canadian factories, upon which a rebate of duty was granted, the value and kind of material in each, the name or names of owners, the name and location of each factory, the net amount of rebate allowed on each article exported, and the several countries to which the exported manufactured goods or articles were shipped; the gross amount or value of goods or articles exported upon which a rebate was allowed, and the rebate of duty made, for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1893.—(Mr. McMullen.)

ADULTERATION OF TEAS.

Mr. STAIRS moved :

That in view of the increased importations of adulterated teas into Canada, owing to their importation into England and the United States being prohibited, the provisions of the Act respecting the adulteration of food, drugs, &c., are insufficient and it is consequently necessary to provide for the immediate inspection of all teas proposed to be entered for consumption in Canada, and the destruction or exportation of all found to be adulterated.

He said: I would like to give a few words of explanation. The question of the importation of adulterated tea into Canada is one which has been attracting considerable attention within the last few years. As is well known to all, the great English-speaking peoples are the great tea-consuming people—that is, the people of the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada consume a great deal more tea, proportionately, than any other people, with the exception, of course, of the people of China, and more, I presume, than those of all other countries in the world combined. This being the fact, and particularly as it is well known that such a large quantity of tea is used in Canada, it becomes important, in the interests of the people of Canada, and especially in the interests of the women of Canada—who, I think it may be assumed, are the large consumers of tea—that the teas used in this country should be pure. It is well known, Mr. Speaker, that of late years the adulteration of teas has been ex-

tensively practised, particularly in China, adulteration of such a character that it need only be referred to in order to show how injurious it must be to those who consume these adulterated teas. As I have already said, most of this adulteration is practised in China, not, as is sometimes supposed, in London and New York. One of the methods of adulteration followed—and I will be very brief upon this whole subject—affects such teas as are largely imported into the lower provinces, mostly black teas. Exhausted leaves, that is, tea that has been used and from which the useful properties have been drawn, are spread upon a floor and mixed with iron filings. They are then sprinkled freely with water, the effect of which is to cause the leaves to resume their original dark colour, so that they look as if they had never been drawn. After this process, the leaves are dried in the usual way and packed for exportation. There are other methods of adulteration practised, as, for instance, the admixture of the stems and leaves of other plants than the tea plant. Green teas are adulterated in a somewhat different manner. In this case the exhausted leaves are “faced,” as it is called, with a mixture of pounded rice, gypsum and Prussian blue, this being done to restore the leaves to their original colour. These facts are so well known to large importers of and dealers in teas and others acquainted with the business that it is not necessary for me to emphasize them. Nor does it need to be emphasized that it must be injurious to the public health for people to be in the habit of using such teas, and that it is desirable that the importation of such teas should be prohibited. Several references have been made to the adulteration of tea in New York papers of a somewhat late date, showing that these teas are being sent into Canada. Now, it being admitted that the adulteration is prejudicial to health, it being admitted that adulteration is largely practised, and that not only does the tea so adulterated contain substances which are prejudicial to the health of those who use it, but also that the active principle of tea, the principle for which tea is used, is entirely taken out of it in the case of these exhausted leaves, it becomes our duty to look into the means which should be taken to prevent such adulteration. The Parliament of Canada have admitted, when it passed the Adulteration of Foods Act, that the public health should be protected by legislation, that efforts should be made to keep out of consumption all articles which are injurious to health. I think the object aimed at has hardly been attained in the case of tea. It must be admitted that it is better to keep an article from going into consumption, to keep it from being scattered throughout the country and from getting into the retail shops, than to attempt to stop the sale of it by the officers of the Inland Revenue Department, after it is scattered throughout the country.

Now, there is another important reason why it behooves the people of Canada to look closely into this question, and to take some steps to prohibit the importation of these adulterated teas, namely, that for some years past, both in England and in the United States, very stringent legislation has been adopted prohibiting the entry for home consumption of all adulterated teas. The effect, of course, of these acts has been to cause a larger proportion of prohibited or adulterated tea to be brought into Canada than would have been the case had England and the United States not passed such Acts, because the market for these cheaper teas being closed in both those countries they naturally find their way into Canada. Now, to make clear to the House how I think this subject ought to be treated, I will briefly refer to the English and the American Acts. The English Act is chapter 63 of 38 and 39 Victoria, 1875, the Act respecting the sale of food and drugs, and as showing that the adulteration of tea needs to be dealt with in a somewhat different way from the adulteration of other articles, a special provision was made in the Act concerning the adulteration of tea. I think the general tenor of the Act is very much the same as that of the Canadian Act respecting the adulteration and sale of food and drugs. But section 30 of this Act is a special one, providing for the adulteration of teas. In order not to take up too much of the time of the House, I will read only one or two extracts from the special provision :

From and after the first day of January, 1876, all tea imported as merchandise into and landed at any port in Great Britain or Ireland, shall be subject to examination by persons to be appointed by the Commissioners of Customs.

Then a provision is made as to some details, and how these are to be administered. It goes on :

And if upon such analysis the same shall be found to be mixed with other substances or exhausted tea, the same shall not be delivered unless with the sanction of said commissioners, and on such terms and conditions as they shall see fit to direct, either for home consumption, or for use as ship's stores, or for exportation.

Then there is a further and more stringent provision :

But if on such inspection and analysis it shall appear that such tea is, in the opinion of the analyst, unfit for human food, the same shall be forfeited and destroyed, or otherwise disposed of in such manner as the commissioners may direct.

Section 31 of this Act explains what the term "exhausted tea" shall mean. In accordance with this Act a large number of regulations were made providing for the administration of the Act. They are very full, one of which, as it is of some interest, I will read. It is section 61 of the General Order 127, of 1892, which, I may explain, is

Mr. STAIRS.

a consolidation of previous general orders. It provides :

Should the surveyors have any reason to suspect that a particular tea is not genuine, or that it is exhausted, or mixed with exhausted tea, or that it is mixed, stained, coloured or powdered with any ingredient or material, or otherwise damaged in any way so as to injure its proper quality, they are to forward samples from each suspected bed to the analyst at the laboratory,—

Where it may be analyzed. Then other sections go on to say what shall be done with it. Now, I understand that this Act is very strictly administered in England, so strictly that no tea that is injurious to public health can go into consumption. Now, I will turn for a moment to the legislation which has been adopted in the United States. The first Act of which I have any knowledge, referring to the adulteration of teas in the United States, was passed on 31st March, 1883. It was amended, but not to any great extent, I think, on 2nd March, 1893. Its provisions are very strict, indeed I may almost say more strict than those of the English Act. I will read one or two extracts from it :

That from and after the passage of this Act it shall be unlawful for any person or persons or corporations to import or bring into the United States any merchandise for sale as tea adulterated with spurious leaf or with exhausted leaves, or which contains so great an admixture of chemicals or other deleterious substances as to make it unfit for use.

The rest of the Act refers to details regarding its administration ; but there is one section which would require to be incorporated in any legislation which this Parliament might see fit to enact. In section 2 it is provided that :

On making entry at the custom-house of all tea, or merchandise described as tea, imported into the United States, the importer or consignee shall give a bond to the collector of the port that such merchandise shall not be removed from warehouse until released by the custom-house authorities, who shall examine it with reference to its purity and fitness for consumption.

There is no provision of that kind in the English Act, owing, probably, to the fact that there being a duty on tea in England, it is put in bond, while tea being free in the United States, unless there had been some provision, it would be entirely under the control of the importer. There has been a very large number of regulations made from time to time by the Treasury Department at Washington in order to carry that Act into effect. I think, although my remarks have been brief, I have said enough to show to this House and the Government that it is desirable some steps should be taken to prevent the importation of adulterated tea into Canada. I submit that Parliament has already, by the passage of the Act respecting the adulteration of

food and drugs adopted the principles that substances injurious to the public health should not be allowed to go into consumption. I submit further that it must be more desirable to prevent adulterated tea entering into consumption by the prohibiting it at the port of entry, rather than to attempt to deal with it afterwards when it has become distributed throughout the country, because it would be impossible, in the case of an article entering into such general consumption as tea for the officers of the Inland Revenue to follow it up—at all events, so far as the Act stands at present it has been found impossible for the Inland Revenue officers to deal with it. I submit, therefore, that it is desirable to prohibit the importation of adulterated tea absolutely, and provide proper officers for its inspection and analysis. I believe that the expense will not be large, and, as an outcome of this legislation, it might be desirable in the future to deal with other adulterated substances in the same way.

Mr. WALLACE. In answer to the remarks offered by the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Stairs), I may say that the Government, and particularly the Department of Customs, have been giving a good deal of attention to the subject-matter now under consideration of the House. We have had this subject called to our attention during the past year, and instructions have been given to the appraisers at the various ports, especially to the grocery experts who are well acquainted with teas and are excellent judges of it, not to permit any tea to be brought into this country of the class to which the hon. gentleman has referred. All teas that are adulterated with mineral or other deleterious substances have been prohibited. It was stated that large quantities of such teas had come to the United States, but by their laws, were prohibited from being entered for consumption in that country. So soon as we ascertained that fact, instructions were issued to our own officers that if teas which had been prohibited in the United States came to Canada they must be closely watched, and the fact reported to the department. I may say further, that under the new tariff now before the House, ample provision is made in the direction suggested in the hon. gentleman's motion. It is provided that teas which are not permitted to be entered for consumption in the country to which they are sent, shall not be permitted entry in Canada. For instance, if a cargo of tea comes to Great Britain it is examined there under customs supervision. One portion of the cargo may be pronounced fit for use, and another portion pronounced unfit. Under our new tariff, only such teas will be allowed entry into Canada as have passed inspection in Great Britain, having passed the customs experts there had been admitted as proper quality for home consumption. In that case, they are permitted to be entered

here free of duty. In the United States, they have a still more rigid inspection than in Great Britain. Under those circumstances, we have a guarantee under our own law that none of those adulterated teas could be imported from Great Britain or the United States free of duty, unless they have passed the critical examination of British customs officers, who are experts in examining teas, and the same remark applies to the system prevailing in the United States. So, if any teas are brought in that have not passed that examination, they can only be entered after they have paid 10 per cent duty, and our officers at the ports of Toronto, Montreal, Halifax, St. John, and Quebec, are expert examiners of tea, which is, in fact, one of their particular qualifications, and so there need be no general apprehension that any adulterated tea or any teas manufactured from exhausted leaves will find entry into Canada. So far as the most careful and rigid inquiry has gone, we are pretty safe in saying that no adulterated or injurious teas have as yet found a foothold in Canada. I move the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. STAIRS. I think the Controller of Customs is mistaken in holding that the Government have power under the present law to prevent the importation of adulterated teas. They have, no doubt, the power to stop their sale after the teas have gone into consumption, but they have no power, on an entry of adulterated tea being offered at any Canadian port, to refuse the entry. Even the provision of the new tariff, to which the hon. Controller refers, does not prohibit the admission of adulterated teas. If the tea is not of such a character as will be allowed in the United Kingdom, and it should, nevertheless, be landed here, the department could only deal with it by levying a duty of 10 per cent. What I desire specially to point out is that under the provisions of the Act respecting the adulteration of food, as administered by the Inland Revenue Department, the machinery is complicated, and it cannot be put in force instantly, so as to deal with a special importation. Besides, the provision of the new tariff is defective, even if it should operate as the Controller has indicated, in regard to all importations of tea from China or the country of production for it has no effect on tea brought from China and entered for consumption in Canada. As adulteration of teas is practically carried out altogether in China, some provision is required whereby teas can be inspected and their importation prohibited.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville.) One word with respect to the subject-matter now before the House. The hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Stairs) has said that the Adulteration of Food Act did not work successfully in the case of adulterated teas imported into this country. But it must be borne in mind that the Act was

never intended to apply to such a case. There is only one way in which the case can be met, if it is thought desirable or necessary by Parliament, to meet it, and that is to appoint tea tasters, men who are experts in the work. The Inland Revenue Department of which I am Controller, will furnish analyses, if it is provided with samples of food; but no officer has any right whatever to go aboard ship or enter a customs-house and select samples. All we can do is to make analyses of samples presented to us.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I do not think that the observations addressed to the House by the hon. Controller of Customs at all meet the statement made by the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Stairs), who declared that there are adulterated teas coming into Canada and that this adulteration takes place in China.

Mr. WALLACE. I did not understand the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Stairs) to say that they were coming into Canada.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). But the hon. member for Halifax pointed out that there is no machinery to prevent them from coming into Canada, and the Controller of Customs did not undertake to show that he was mistaken in that particular. The Controller did not show that there is at present any effective machinery to prevent adulterated teas being landed in Canada.

Mr. WALLACE. We could hand them over to the Department of Inland Revenue.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). But there is no prohibition on them, and the hon. gentleman knows that that would be a very ineffective way to prevent such teas entering into consumption here. The statement of the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Stairs) is entitled to very much more consideration than the Government seem to have given it, and it is hardly treating the very serious statement of the hon. gentleman with the importance it deserves, that the Controller of Customs should move the adjournment of the debate. The hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Stairs) has pointed out that there is likely to be adulterated tea imported here from China free of duty, and it must largely enter into home consumption before the attention of the Controller of Inland Revenue could be called to it. That statement being made it is the duty of the Government to provide a more efficient remedy than exists at the present moment. The Controller of Inland Revenue has informed the House that he has no power to act unless a sample of the adulterated article is sent to him for inspection. Then, he reports upon it, but he has no power to send a competent officer on board a ship to see whether the tea that is about to be landed is adulterated or not. It seems to me that so far from the debate being adjourned the subject requires further consideration, and that the Government ought to show, if they can, that under

the law as it now stands the public health can be adequately protected.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

PROHIBITION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Mr. FLINT moved :

That it is expedient that as speedily as possible this Parliament should enact a law to prohibit the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors in Canada, except for medicinal, manufacturing and sacramental purposes.

He said: Mr. Speaker, I will not disguise from you that I approach the discussion of this resolution with a great deal of diffidence and with considerable anxiety. I desire, in presenting the case which is suggested by the terms of this resolution, that I should do so in such a manner as to attract support to it, and not to antagonize any possible source of opposition. The subject is one so broad, it touches so many points of interest to many classes of the people of this Dominion that it arouses, probably, more public interest than any other individual question which has come before this Parliament for consideration. At the outset of my observations I desire to state that the form of the resolution has been dictated by the fact that it represents the mature judgment and carefully arranged views of the prohibition party, so-called, of the Dominion of Canada; a party which comprises gentlemen upon both sides of politics, a party which includes men, and women also. I may add, representing every class and every creed in this broad Dominion. I desire that I may have the privilege to suggest such a line of discussion that political feeling may be avoided, and that the question may be discussed upon the broad platform, in which the interests of the community as a whole may be considered, rather than any narrow interests of any class or any particular party. Attention has already been called, and very naturally so, in the public press, to the peculiar wording of the resolution which I ask the House to adopt. It has been pointed out that there is a vagueness in the term: "That it is expedient that as speedily as possible this Parliament should enact a prohibitory law." Other resolutions that have been laid upon the Table of the House in other days, and that have been discussed and passed upon here, have stated in more explicit terms the desire of their supporters that Parliament should act upon the subject immediately, or at a definite time; and it may have appeared to many who are earnest and devoted in their desire to see a prohibitory liquor law enacted at once, that there has been a stepping away from that standpoint in the form of this resolution. But it will be recollected that at the beginning of the session, a large and influential delegation of the prohibition leaders from, I believe, all the provinces of the Do-

Mr. Wood (Brockville).

minion were assembled at the Capital for the purpose of interviewing the right hon. Prime Minister and his colleagues upon this great and important question. It will be remembered that in the able presentation of that case to the Prime Minister and to those of his colleagues who met these gentlemen upon that occasion, all the main and essential points of the prohibitory agitation were sketched, and a desire expressed by them that the Government of the country, as such, should take hold of the great problem connected with the prohibition of intoxicating liquors in Canada and act upon it as a Government question. It will be remembered also that the right hon. gentleman at the head of the Ministry, in very moderate terms indeed, pointed out some practical difficulties, why, even if the Government were so disposed, even if the Government were convinced that the position taken by the delegation was absolutely the correct position in the interests of the Dominion, there were practical difficulties in the way of the immediate acting upon those convictions. Practical difficulties were pointed out which convinced large numbers of hon. gentlemen favouring prohibition, who at the same time support the right hon. Premier in his political policy. They were convinced that upon that point at any rate, the Premier had taken a very strong stand. Many of these gentlemen, agreeing with him that it would be impracticable even if it were desirable, that the Government should forthwith frame a prohibitory liquor law, declined, in the conference which ensued, to commit themselves in opposition to the Premier's position. Many others, while thinking that the Premier's position was not sound, yet deemed it advisable, in the face of the fact that so prominent and able a leader of the dominant political party had taken that stand, that the phraseology of the resolution should be somewhat changed in order to meet the views of the Premier's supporters. Therefore I desire it to be understood, and I believe the supporters of the resolution generally desire it to be understood, that the expression "as speedily as possible" has reference to practical difficulties only—not to any doubt as to the ripeness of public opinion or as to the expediency and ability of the Dominion Government, if so disposed, to enforce and carry out, with proper support, any prohibitory law which Parliament may deem it advisable to enact; but only to such practical difficulties as would necessarily arise in the framing of a Bill at the present session of Parliament. I think the strongest advocate of prohibition present would be willing to give the framers of a prohibitory liquor law ample time in which to carefully consider all the outlines and details of such a measure; but we are strongly of opinion that the time is near when such a measure should be enacted, that public opinion is prepared to support it, and that it may be practically carried out with

the support of public opinion behind it. Having said this much as to the phraseology of the resolution, I would advert to the peculiar character of the legislation which it asks for. There are, outside of the House, considerations of a very deep and important character which it is unnecessary and which it would be perhaps inadvisable to allude to here. There are moral and religious feelings aroused which it would be improper and inappropriate to discuss in Parliament. In my opinion the subject should be discussed in this House purely from a utilitarian and economic standpoint, and those other considerations which are of great weight and importance in sustaining such legislation, and which have sustained the agitation so far, should be left to operate in their own way to support the Government in the administration of the law after it is enacted. Public opinion has travelled far and fast since the inception of the history of prohibitory legislation in this country. In fact, from the very beginning of our history the liquor traffic has been treated in an exceptional manner. Let us go back as far as we may in the history of the country, and we find that from the very outset the peculiar effects of the use of intoxicating liquors have demanded at the hands of legislators peculiar treatment. Not as bearing peculiarly upon the question of prohibition, but as a historical incident showing the exceptional character of the evil with which prohibitionists at the present time are trying to deal, and with which the champions and friends of law and order generally have always, since we have had legislative institutions, attempted to deal, I would call your attention to the fact that at the very first meeting of one of the very first legislatures of the provinces, that of Nova Scotia, in 1758, the first Act passed by that Legislature was one referring to the importation of rum and distilled liquors, and, although I am not acquainted with the terms of the legislation, there can be no doubt, from the subsequent history of the dealings of legislatures with license Acts, and other liquor laws, that the object was of a restrictive character. In 1758 the fourth chapter of the Acts of the first Parliament of the province of Nova Scotia was an Act to prohibit the creation of distillery houses or the setting up of stills within the town of Halifax or within a quarter of a mile of the pickets of the said town. Later in the same sitting of the Legislature, drunkenness was among the evils or offences classed as crimes, and it was punished very severely as a crime against the community. From that time to the present the most rigid license laws have followed one after another in the Legislature of the province of Nova Scotia, as well as in the Legislatures of the other provinces now forming this great Dominion. As another historical fact of no little interest, throwing as it does a light on the early history of legislative attempts to restrict the evils of the liquor

traffic, I may refer to an Act passed in 1792, in the first session of the Parliament of Upper Canada, held at Niagara, in which, dealing with the subject of licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors, it was enacted that no licenses should be granted for retailing spirituous liquors in any jail. The inference, of course, would be that previous to the enactment of that law criminals or other prisoners confined in jail were allowed to purchase and use intoxicating liquors. The evils were so apparent that at the very first session of the first Parliament of Upper Canada, an absolute prohibition in this particular was decreed under the most severe penalties. And later, in 1793, legislation for restricting the sale of intoxicating liquors generally in the old province of Upper Canada was undertaken. I am aware that none of this legislation was of a prohibitory character; but it was of an exceptional character, passed many years before public opinion had induced or forced the Legislature to deal in the same manner with other articles which are now placed under the ban of the law. The very discussion which has just closed, referring to adulterated teas, and to the desirability, agreed upon on both sides of the House, of this Parliament enacting, if necessary, very stringent legislation prohibiting the importation into this country of adulterated teas, as well as the Acts on the Statute-book prohibiting the importation of adulterated articles of consumption of other kinds, show that the principle of prohibiting that which is deemed to be injurious to the public health or to the public interest is a well settled principle of our constitutional law. The history of the prohibitory agitation, so-called, in which the friends of good order and of temperance, in which the opponents of the use of intoxicating or spirituous liquors in any degree whatever, are engaged, is of great interest, and shows to what an extent the public mind as well as the feelings and actions of the leading public men of the Dominion have been operated upon since Confederation. Almost at the outset of confederation, there arose, in every province of the Dominion, an agitation to induce this Parliament to enact a prohibitory liquor law. Up to 1873, however, this agitation had not culminated in any very remarkable public exhibition. But in that year, I find that a strong effort was made in the House of Commons and the Senate to enact a complete prohibitory law. In 1873 a special committee of the Senate was appointed, owing to the flood of petitions which were pouring in upon the Senate and the House of Commons, to consider the whole subject. That committee reported, among other things, as follows:—

The committee consider the time has arrived when the earnest attention of the Government and of the Legislature should be given to this important subject, with a view of discovering and applying the best remedy for the gigantic evil that affects so seriously the peace and prosperity of the Dominion.

Mr. FLINT.

In that year 993 petitions, signed by 40,000 petitioners, were presented in the Senate. Nothing in particular came by way of legislation in reply to this earnest movement, so in the following year, the friends of the prohibitory cause again aroused themselves and made another effort to induce Parliament to accede to their views. I will, however, go back to the year 1873, before continuing my remarks regarding the year 1874, to show how strongly the committees appointed by this House viewed the necessity for some such enactment as I have described. The first report of the special committee appointed by this House concluded as follows:—

Further examination reveals the fact that a considerable portion of the respectability, the influence, the intellect and the wealth of the Dominion, has united in this protest against the evils of intemperance. Bishops, the clergy generally, judges, legislators, magistrates, public writers and very many of our merchants and manufacturers have given their names and their support to the furtherance of this good cause.

In that year 460,000 petitioners were represented in their demand upon Parliament to enact a prohibitory liquor law. The committee, at a later period of the session, added to their report a lengthy series of calculations and statements, and the conclusions to which they had arrived, from further examination of the evidence brought before them, are stated in their second report. The result of their most careful deliberations, based upon the facts to which they have had access, may be briefly summarized as follows:—

- First. That the traffic was an unmitigated evil.
- Secondly. That the petitions showed conclusively that the people of the Dominion are very strongly impressed with the enormity of the evils alluded to, and that in view of this strong and energetic demand, some action is necessary.
- Third. From the answers given by sheriffs, 114 of whom have voluntarily given evidence, your committee find that four-fifths of the crime in the province of Ontario is directly or indirectly connected with the manufacture, sale or consumption of intoxicating liquors.
- Fourth. In Ontario and Quebec out of 28,289 commitments to the jails for the three previous years, 21,336 were for drunkenness or for crime perpetrated under the influence of drink.
- Fifth. That the testimony of medical men is almost unanimous, that intoxicating liquor is not necessary as a beverage, and your committee find, from a careful investigation of the testimony, that a prohibitory liquor law may be enforced, that it is completely workable, and that the results would go to diminish crime, to diminish the expense of administering local affairs, to increase industry and promote general happiness and content.

The year 1874 was a year of considerable agitation in this House and throughout the country on this subject. Strong resolutions were introduced, lengthy debates were carried on, considerable feeling was evoked—so much so that it appeared to be almost

the unanimous conviction of the House that the evils of the traffic in intoxicating liquor had not been exaggerated. In the minds of many, however, there was this difficulty, that possibly public opinion was not strong enough to support the carrying out of reasonable prohibitory legislation. I was pleased to see that you yourself, Mr. Speaker, in 1874, moved in the direction of prohibition. Your resolution was as follows :—

That the traffic in intoxicating liquors is an evil for which the laws of this country provide no adequate remedy, and that it is desirable to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor except for medicinal and manufacturing purposes.

Although this resolution received considerable support, yet, in the prevailing temper of the House of Commons as a whole, it was not assumed that it could be adopted, and it was consequently, after some discussion, withdrawn. But the result of the whole discussion, and of the strong agitation prevailing out of doors, induced the Government to consent to the adoption of a resolution looking in that direction, by the House of Commons, and the appointment of a commission to inquire into and report on this whole subject. The commission was appointed, and the matter of course stood over, pending the production of its report. In 1875, the report was brought before Parliament. The commissioners proved conclusively,—as conclusively as it was possible for intelligent men, having regard to the facts which came under their observation, to prove anything with regard to the economic results of any evil—that the liquor traffic and crime were inseparable, that restriction of the evil was followed by decrease of crime, that prohibitory legislation was practical and workable, that the principle had already been recognized by successive Parliaments in dealing with this as well as other subjects. That the principle had already been recognized by successive Parliaments, and that it was advisable, having these results in view, that Parliament should take some action looking in that direction. After a long discussion in this House, participated in by many gentlemen who were then and have since been distinguished as practical statesmen, the House, in Committee of the Whole, accepted this resolution :

That the most effectual remedy for the evils of intemperance would be to prohibit the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicating liquors.

It is only fair to add that the report of the committee of the whole House was not accepted by the House itself. But the Senate committee, appointed to consider the same subject, reported as follows :—

That, in view of these facts and considerations, it appears just and expedient that the prayer of the petitioners should be granted. And that the time has now arrived when the attention of the Government should be given to this important question with a view to the introduction of a Bill

to prohibit the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicating liquors, except for mechanical and medicinal purposes, throughout the Dominion at the earliest date compatible with the public interests.

Here we have the House and the Senate conceding the magnitude of the evil shown by the petitioners, and conceding that the probable results of favourable action in the line of the prayer of the petition would be highly advantageous to the interests of the country as a whole. Even some who had strongly opposed the adoption of any stringent resolution at that time frankly admitted that prohibition in itself, if it could be enforced, would be a great advantage to every interest in the state. I find that Mr. Thompson, of Cariboo, who distinguished himself by his persistent opposition to granting the prayer of the petition and to the principal resolution then before the House, admitted that he would be quite prepared to support a prohibitory liquor law if he thought it could be carried into effect. The present Minister of Trade and Commerce, in the same session, was so strongly convinced that no other remedy existed for the great evils that had been sketched by the report of this commission, and had been adverted to during the course of debate, that he was moved to introduce an amendment to the main resolution then before the House in which he stated that it was the emphatic duty of the Government of the day to take up this question as an Administration, and to risk its power and influence upon the carrying into effect of so necessary a law. He stated that ever since he had had the honour of occupying a seat in Parliament the Table had every year been groaning with petitions in favour of prohibition, and he saw no other means out of the difficulties in which the liquor traffic had involved the people of this country but vigorous action upon the subject by the Administration. Later, in the year 1877, during another lengthy and able debate, in which this great subject was viewed in all its bearings, both as to the evils of the traffic and the difficulties of providing a remedy and as to the necessity that some remedies should be devised, a resolution was introduced by the present hon. Governor of the province of Manitoba (Mr. Schultz), and supported by him in a very vigorous manner. He made the following remarks :—

While it was true that he did not belong to any temperance organization, yet he would always remember with pleasure that the North-west Council, of which he had the honour to be a member, had passed early in its existence, the first prohibitory liquor law in Canada, and that the result had been that in over one-half of the Dominion, the manufacture and sale of liquors had been prohibited, and, with effects so good, that he would like to see the experiment tried in the other half.

Here we have the views of a practical man,

one whose sincerity none could doubt, and who spoke of the question as the result of experience and who moved that the Government should take the matter up and bring it strongly and persistently before Parliament, and embody the principle, if possible, in a law. After that we were involved in the discussions and debates relative to the Scott Act, to the Liquor License Law, known as the McCarthy Act, and to the legislation in connection therewith. I will not occupy the time of the House with the discussion of these matters, but I can say that a reperusal of those discussions will be found replete with interest and information. The time when that legislation could be effectual, however, has in a large degree passed away, and those who support it have now gone further, and are pressing upon Parliament and the Government to prohibit entirely the importation, sale and manufacture of intoxicating liquors except for purposes which are mentioned in the resolution now before the House. In 1884 the present Finance Minister, after a speech of great ability, in which he seems to have brought to a focus the opinions of the wisest and greatest men of the English-speaking race, a speech in which almost every phase of this question was touched upon with earnestness and force, again appealed to Parliament to do something to remedy the evils of the liquor traffic. He proposed a resolution substantially similar to that which is now before you. But Parliament 10 years ago seemed to be of opinion that possibly such legislation would not be supported by the people of the country. We had not, at that time, had the advantage of the popular votes which have since informed Parliament of the wishes and views of the people generally, and his resolution was adopted with a rider providing that popular support should first be guaranteed to so drastic a measure. The resolution to which Parliament committed itself, after a debate of almost unexampled earnestness and remarkable ability, was in the following terms, the main motion having been moved by Mr. Foster and the rider by the late Hon. Thos. White :—

That the most effectual remedy for the evils complained of is to be found in the enactment and enforcement of a law prohibiting the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes. And this House is prepared, so soon as public opinion will sufficiently sustain stringent measures, to promote such legislation as far as the same is within the competency of Parliament.

I do not advert any further to what was said during that discussion than to quote one or two of the observations of the eloquent mover of the resolution. The hon. gentleman referred, as I have referred, to what every hon. gentleman must have observed, the very strong feeling in the country generally that Parliament should do something to stop the disorder and the loss caused by the traffic in intoxicating liquors. He

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also said that he felt he was within the mark when he stated that the evils resulting from the liquor traffic in the Dominion had done more to retard the prosperity of the country and sow germs of disorder and discontent than any other evils with which this country has been afflicted. Now, that was a strong statement, coming from one who, since that date, has risen high in the councils of the state, and who stands high in the confidence of hon. gentlemen opposite as a practical administrator; those are the words of one who has had long experience in the study and the discussion of all questions connected with the liquor traffic, as well as with those other questions which are connected with the economics of that trade. In the same debate, that hon. gentleman, in defending the grounds upon which such a resolution could fairly be adopted, used this language—and I will call the attention of the House to it, because this seems to afford a basis upon which we can all agree in dealing with this subject. He said :

We legislate to keep up the distillery, to keep up the brewery, to keep up the liquor shops of our country, which employ altogether some 11,000 or 12,000 persons. Now, there is another class in this country, and that is the 4,500,000, or over, who do not make and sell liquor. The legislation we have at present is in favour of the 11,000, but it is against the best interests of the 4,500,000. By the legislation now proposed, the good of the greater number is sought, and if it is admitted that the good of the greatest number ought to prevail, then the interest of the smaller number ought to go down.

It is, Sir, upon this line, and I was almost going to say upon this line only, that we can base legislation of the character now before us for reconsideration. I have always felt the force of the objection made to me by one who partakes of intoxicating liquors in moderation, that it is a strong step for the majority to take to deprive him of the pleasure or benefit which he may derive, or think he derives, from the use of this liquor in the manner which he deems best. But it seems to me that if we are to admit that plea to be sound in principle, then there goes by the board at one stroke almost all the legislation which this or any other country has enacted for the benefit of the vast majority of the people. It is none the less true in politics than in the everyday affairs of life, that that which is for the benefit of the greatest number must be considered rather than that which gratifies the smaller number. I admit that the evils that are to be overcome must be great in order to justify the legislator in resorting to that policy.

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

Mr. FLINT. Mr. Speaker, when you left the Chair, I was adverting to the right and

duty of Parliament to legislate in the interests of the mass of the community, even at the sacrifice of the personal feelings and interests of the few. And on this ground, that the safety of the people as a whole is the supreme law, a principle as old as society, coeval with the origin of jurisprudence, and practised without interruption in every free country since the institution of government. There is the implied assent of every individual that his personal welfare should, in case of need, give way to that of the community, and that his liberty even shall be limited by the requirements of the safety of the state. As a great writer puts it:

From the very nature of the social compact in which all municipal law is founded result those laws which, in certain cases, authorize the infliction of penalties, the privation of liberty, and even the destruction of life, with a view to the future prevention of crime and insuring the safety, and well-being of the public.

This principle derives its origin from absolute necessity, and that being so, the only question that naturally arises would be as to the proper time for its exercise by way of legislation. I contend that since this question of the prohibition of the liquor traffic was first brought before the public and Parliament, the whole burden of proof as to the weight and character of the evil caused by intemperance and by the traffic in spirituous liquors, has been shifted from the shoulders of those who ask for this legislation, to the other side; and that, taking into consideration the enormous literature on the subject, taking into consideration the vast mass of official reports that accumulate in our archives and libraries, and adding to that the express statements of statesmen, and men of letters, and men of observation, and the resolutions of Parliament itself, we are no longer called upon to expend our time in dwelling upon that phase of the question. It is to be taken for granted that the evils are of a serious and overwhelming character, and that some remedy must be provided if the state is properly to protect itself. I contend it is now fairly left to those who object to the form of remedy we propose, to point out where these evils have been exaggerated, or to point out in what direction a better remedy may be proposed. Before you left the Chair, I had touched upon the parliamentary history of the efforts made in the direction at which this resolution aims, and I had sketched roughly and hastily an outline of what had been done in Parliament up to 1884. After that period there were more resolutions presented, which, owing to various circumstances with which we are familiar, were either disposed of by some side wind or did not reach a conclusive vote; but in 1889 a resolution was adopted by this House strongly endorsing the position taken by us at the present time,

with a proviso added that Parliament should wait until public opinion was ripe for this action. In other words, Parliament objected to immediate action and demanded that evidence should be given when public opinion was ripe for legislation in the matter. By way, however, of emphasizing the point to which I have alluded, namely, the character and mass of evils to which I am referring, and as a mere specimen of the evidence which can be produced in abundance, and which indeed has already been presented to Parliament in large quantities, I will quote briefly from a report presented to the British Parliament as long ago as 1834. That report was founded on an elaborate examination by a committee of able men, who summoned witnesses from every portion of the three kingdoms, and inquired into the whole of this great subject. It concludes:

The consequences of the vice of intoxication are so many and so fearful that it is difficult to enumerate them all in their melancholy details—and to pursue them would require a volume. Consequences to national welfare: 1. Destruction of grain—converted to poison. 2. Medical authorities uniform in their testimony that ardent spirits are poisonous to the human constitution. 3. Loss of productive labour—at least 1 day in 6 throughout the Kingdom. 4. Extensive loss of property at sea and on land. 5. Spread of crime. 6. Retardation of improvement. 7. The mere pecuniary loss to the nation from the several causes already mentioned may be fully estimated at little less than £50,000,000 sterling per annum.

That was sixty years ago, and that loss to the mother country has gone on accumulating and increasing from that time to the present. The human imagination is fairly staggered at an attempt to contemplate the ruin and devastation these figures necessarily represent. At the close of the report of the commission appointed under the auspices of this Parliament in 1874, we find the subject of right, duty, and power of Parliament to deal with the matter alluded to, and as a few of the quotations in this report are similar in their tenor and terms to an enormous mass that has already been stated in previous debates in this House, and as these quotations fairly reflect the opinions of the greatest jurists at the present time, I will quote some of them. Judge McLean, of the Supreme Court of the United States, in a judicial decision bearing on the right of the state to prohibit, for its own safety, made this statement:

If the foreign article (spirits for instance) be injurious to the health or morals of the people of the state community a state may in the exercise of that great and conservative police power which lies at the foundation of its prosperity prohibit the sale of it.

Although that refers to a state of the American union, the principle of law laid down

applies to any sovereign state to which the question may be applicable. Justice Grier, in the same case, laid down as sound a principle of jurisprudence, the following :—

If the loss of revenue should accrue to the United States from a diminished consumption of ardent spirits, she will be a gainer a thousand fold in the health, wealth and happiness of her people.

I think I need not strengthen these points by further quotations, because, as I said before, the principle lies at the foundation of all our criminal and preventive legislation. It has been admitted on every occasion by this Parliament when legislation has been attempted, and although it has been objected, and strongly objected, that we cannot make men sober by Act of Parliament, yet Parliament has always acted upon the proposition and upon the principle that it was its duty to prevent any evil which interfered with the general prosperity of the mass of individuals of which the state is composed. While it may be true that we cannot make men sober by any Act of Parliament, yet it is equally true that by Act of Parliament we can remove from the way of those who are tempted and liable to be otherwise than sober the means of temptation and the means of self misery and self ruin which they bring on themselves. We cannot make men rich by Act of Parliament, and yet Parliament has acted for many years on the proposition that it was its duty to so legislate as to place the means of getting rich within the reach of a large class of the community. The whole substratum of the so-called National Policy has been based on this idea, and a large measure of the attacks which have been made upon the details, and even the principle of that policy, has been because the effect of the legislation proposed by the Administration has been to make certain classes of the community rich at the expense of the vast majority, a few rich at the expense of the many. So it is too late in the day to raise the objection to the principle, while perhaps, on matters of details, as to whether the time has arrived to apply it rigidly or not, may be possibly open to discussion. As bearing on this point, it will be only fair to lay before this House, as well as I can from the statistics within my reach, some idea of the greatness of the difficulty in the way of establishing prohibition in this country. It has been objected to the movement which we are endeavouring to carry out that the effect of this legislation will be a reduction in the revenue, the confiscation of property, the banishing of thousands of people from their homes, the lessening of trade, the spoliation of vested interests. Appeals have been made against this action on the ground that great danger and great injury will be caused to certain classes of the community. If we have no compensating advantages to point to in favour of the whole community, then much of this claim must be accepted.

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We are called upon to point out the existence of the evil, and as bearing upon that the extent of the benefit that would be derived from abolishing it. I find from the Trade and Navigation Returns that of the imported manufactures, the total first cost of liquors imported into this country is as follows :—

IMPORTS, 1893.

| | Gallons. | Value. | Duty. |
|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | | \$ | \$ |
| Spirits..... | 937,387 | 1,053,962 | 2,030,808 |
| Wines..... | 457,761 | 375,426 | 260,072 |
| Ales, beer, & porter..... | 329,453 | 175,147 | 68,948 |
| Totals..... | 1,724,801 | 1,604,135 | 2,359,828 |

HOME MANUFACTURE, 1893.

| | Gallons. | Estimated Value. | Revenue. |
|-----------------------|------------|------------------|-----------|
| | | \$ | \$ |
| Spirits..... | 2,731,896 | 2,731,896 | 4,139,306 |
| Malt liquor.... | 17,175,356 | 8,387,678 | 1,001,655 |
| Total..... | 19,907,252 | 11,319,574 | 5,140,961 |
| Add imports. | 1,724,801 | 1,164,135 | 2,359,828 |
| Grand total..... | 21,632,053 | 12,923,709 | 7,500,789 |
| Total first cost..... | | 20,424,498 | |

I have estimated the value of these spirits to the best of my ability, and from inquiries I have made, at \$1 per gallon, which gives the total wholesale cost at \$20,424,498. While I submit this statement with diffidence, I may say that I submit it as agreeing with the statements of such eminent financiers as Sir Leonard Tilley and the present Finance Minister, as well as one or two other distinguished gentlemen who have discussed this question. I think it would be only fair to increase that first cost by 100 per cent, which would represent the actual cost to the consumers of intoxicants in the Dominion at \$40,000,000. In order to show that these figures are not unreasonable I undertook to estimate in another way as to how much the people of the Dominion were paying directly for spirituous and intoxicating liquors, and I found that of spirits, wines and liquors, there were imported and manufactured in Canada according to the following table :—

| | Gallons. | Per gallon | Value. |
|------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | | \$ | \$ |
| Imported spirits.... | 909,402 | 6 00 | 5,456,412 |
| do wines..... | 485,746 | 5 00 | 2,428,730 |
| do malt liquor | 329,653 | 3 00 | 988,959 |
| Total..... | 1,724,801 | | 8,874,102 |
| Entered for consumption..... | 2,731,896 | 5 00 | 13,659,480 |
| Malt liquor..... | 16,964,211 | 60 | 10,178,266 |
| Total..... | | | 32,711,848 |

I have taken still another method to ascertain the amount that the people of Canada are annually paying for intoxicating liquor, and that is shown by the following table :—

| | Gallons. | Value. | Duty. |
|---|------------|------------------------|-----------|
| | | \$ | \$ |
| Imported..... | 1,724,811 | 1,604,135 | 2,359,828 |
| Manufactured spirits..... | 2,731,896 | 2,731,896 | 4,139,306 |
| Malt liquor..... | 17,175,356 | 5,152,606 | 1,001,655 |
| Total duty..... | 21,631,063 | 9,488,537 7,500,789 | 7,500,789 |
| First cost, total..... | | 16,989,426 | |
| Ultimate cost to consumer, adding 100 per cent..... | | 16,989,426 | |
| Grand total cost to consumer..... | | 32,978,852 | |

So I think taking all those estimates together it would be only reasonable to conclude that the consumers of the Dominion are paying as a first cost at the time of consumption, about from \$35,000,000 to \$40,000,000 per annum for the cause of the evils to which I have referred. This is much larger than the annual customs revenue; it is larger I believe than the whole revenue paid to the Dominion. And now the question arises: What advantages are claimed to any class or to the community from the machinery, and from the persons employed in manipulating the machinery, which causes this expense to the country, and which produces these evils to the individuals who consume it. I find from the returns that we have 162 breweries, 8 distilleries and 5 maltsters' establishments in the Dominion, which employ machinery to the value of \$1,469,000; that the number of employees is 2,243; that the capital invested in breweries is \$8,309,644; that the capital invested in distilleries is \$7,054,000 or a total amount of capital, in breweries and distilleries in the Dominion of

\$15,363,664. The total amount of wages paid in breweries and distilleries is as follows:— In breweries, \$891,381 per annum; in distilleries, \$178,950, or a total of \$1,070,331 per annum. I found it very difficult to make the figures of the output agree with those in the Inland Revenue returns, but I presume there were difficulties in my way of making this estimate. However, the output as given by the statistical authorities is as follows:— Breweries, \$5,717,873; distilleries, \$2,199,600; total, \$7,916,473. The total number of employees in breweries are 1,840, and in distilleries, 403, making 2,243. Adding to this the estimate made by the Hon. Mr. Foster in his speech in 1884, the 12,000 persons engaged in this trade other than the manufacture, we would have in the neighbourhood of 14,000 or 15,000 persons altogether concerned in the production and sale of spirits and liquors manufactured and imported in the Dominion of Canada. The question is: Whether the interests and benefits of these 14,000 or 15,000 persons are to be paramount to the interests of the rest of our population who go to make up the five millions odd in Canada? The question is: Whether the \$15,000,000 of capital now employed in breweries or distilleries are to prevail over the \$353,836,817 of capital employed in the other industries of the country which are adversely affected by the prevalence and increase of the evils caused by the liquor traffic. The question is whether the interests of ten or twelve thousand employees, including the bar-tenders and all others concerned in handling this product, are to be preferred to the interests of the 367,865 employees in the other factories of the country. The question is as to the ratio of loss to gain which would be occasioned to the one hundred millions of wages paid out in the other manufacturing interests of the country; the effect it would have on the production of the \$256,000,000 worth per annum of manufactured materials; the effect it would have upon increasing the product represented by other manufactured goods to the value of over \$475,000,000; the ratio which the complete wiping out of this capital, if it were to be wiped out, and the change of occupation of these ten or twelve thousand employees, would bear to our export of natural products, amounting in 1893 to about \$119,000,000. I contend, Sir, that large as the figures of the liquor manufacturing and sale business seem when treated by themselves, they sink into utter insignificance as compared with the general interests of the country as represented by its productions and its exportations of raw material and by its products of manufactured goods, against which no such charge can be laid as is laid against the manufactured products of the industries we are discussing. At the same time, I am not prepared to admit that prohibition would necessarily destroy all the capital which is invested in breweries and distilleries. No doubt to a certain degree it would be im-

paired. The buildings could be used for other purposes, some of the machinery could be disposed of for other purposes, and all the employees' would in a short time find remunerative employment in occupations that would benefit and not in any degree injure the state. But, say our objectors, you are striking down a great source of revenue; you are impairing the credit of the country; how are you going to replace the \$7,500,000 of revenue now paid into the Dominion by those who produce this manufactured product? I am willing to admit, as I think all candid men must admit, supposing the prohibition of the liquor traffic to come into effect, that at first the loss of revenue would be appreciated and would be of some importance—that there would be a temporary sacrifice. This could easily be made up in many ways. But I differ entirely from those who claim that the advocates of a prohibitory liquor law who are willing to admit that this revenue would be struck out, are obliged by any rule of honour or discussion, to point out in detail the methods by which that revenue could be made up. I think no parliamentary leader of experience has ever laid down the rule that it is the duty of those who criticise the means of raising the revenues for carrying on the Government of the country, to lay down in detail the methods they would adopt for making up the revenues in case the policy of the Government should change. It is sufficient for our purpose to show, as I believe we can abundantly show, that there are many ways in which the revenues could be made up—that the general prosperity of the state would be so enhanced, that industry would be so relieved from unfair and unjust taxation, that other products on which a reasonable amount of taxation could justly be levied would be consumed by the people to such an extent, as to make up and counterbalance in time the loss of revenue. I think I am justified in stating, from what has come under my own observation, and from the tone and temper of the great prohibitory party of the Dominion—now represented, as we claim, by the majority of the electors—that they are willing to bear any reasonable sacrifice that may be necessary in order to make up the deficiency in the revenue until the natural course of events would bring about those circumstances which would necessarily come in a few years after the adoption of the policy, and until the revenue could be supplemented fully from other sources. This is not a new question. It has been discussed by some of the most eminent men of the day, men whose names are familiar to this Parliament, men whose names are household words the world over. If, as Mr. Gladstone has said, the curse of the liquor traffic has caused more loss than war, pestilence or famine, then it would not be too much to ask of the patriotic people of any country to put up with any sort of taxation whatever that could protect them

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from such dangers and calamities. In 1884, in this House, Sir S. L. Tilley—I think he was Finance Minister at the time—in the course of the debate on prohibition, made this observation :

Of course the Finance Minister would naturally look to the matter of revenue, but that in my opinion is but a feather in the scale when compared with the beneficial effects that would follow the practical working of prohibition. I would vote for it most cheerfully, and, as Finance Minister, prepare ways and means to make up any deficiency that would arise if we were in a position to say that if such a law were enacted it would be sustained.

I think it would be superfluous for me to add a word to what has been so strongly stated by a practical statesman who had the confidence of this Parliament. At an earlier period, speaking in the mother country, the same distinguished financier made the following remarks bearing on this point :—

It has been my misfortune or fortune, having been a great many years in the Government of my native province of New Brunswick and in the Government of the Dominion to hold the post of Finance Minister in all these Governments, and I have never heard but one opinion about the revenue question, namely, that it is of quite secondary importance, though it is, I admit, a more difficult matter with you.

The revenue we obtain the Dominion of Canada is probably 5 or 6 million of dollars a year and it cost the people \$20,000,000 in providing it for us. No Finance Minister would remain long in office who would, in this day, propose a scheme for raising a revenue of \$5,000,000 that would cost \$2,000,000 to collect.

Upon the same subject we have the opinion of an English financier and statesman whom no one would ever accuse of impracticability or of fanatical sensationalism, the late Lord Idlesleigh, then Sir Stafford Northcote, who, speaking as Chancellor of the Exchequer upon the Budget, observed :

If the reduction the revenue derived from spirits be due to a material and considerable change in the habits of the people, and increasing habit of temperance and abstinence from the use of ardent spirits, I intend to say that the amount of wealth such a change would bring to the nation, would utterly throw into the shade the amount of revenue that is now derived from the spirit duty; and we should not only see with satisfaction a diminution of the revenue from such a cause, but we should find in various ways that the exchequer would not suffer from the losses which it might sustain in that direction.

Now, although Sir Stafford Northcote alluded to the diminution of the revenue caused by the change in the habits of the people, yet precisely the same result must accrue if the change in the habits of the people were caused by legislation. Mr. Gladstone, in reply to the prayer of a deputation, said :

Gentlemen, you need not give yourselves any trouble on the score of revenue. That question need never stand in the way of reform. Besides, with a sober population, not wasting their earnings, I shall know where to obtain a revenue.

These are not statements of unreasoning fanatics, or of gentlemen unversed in practical politics. They are the calm and deliberate statements of experienced statesmen, men in whom the world has grown accustomed to place confidence, and whose words should always have weight in this Parliament when subjects of that character are discussed. There was an extraordinary opportunity for observing the effect on the national welfare of the diminution in the use of intoxicating spirits, in the case of Ireland, during the great campaign waged in that country by Father Matthew, from 1839 to 1845. We are all aware that at the beginning of that temperance agitation, Ireland was in a very distressed condition, owing to the evils of the use of strong drink. Though, naturally rich, and quite prosperous in some other respects, yet so great was the disorder, wretchedness, and misery caused by the abuse of spirituous and malt liquors in Ireland, that many of her best friends almost gave up, in despair as to the future. So moved was Father Matthew that he started out on the crusade, famous in the history of moral and social reform, and made a world-wide reputation through his persuasive powers over the Irish people. I quote from the History of Ireland, by Sullivan, the well-known author, the following remarks:—

Five millions of people took Father Matthew's pledge. The annual consumption of spirits fell from 11,595,536 gallons in 1837, to 6,485,443 gallons in 1841.

Adverting to the state of the country, at the close of that period, Mr. Sullivan says:

The fame of his labours and his success filled the city. Every street, every lane and alley, every large workshop had its story of the marvellous change from misery and want to comfort and happiness wrought in some particular case by "joining Father Matthew." * * * * It may be estimated that in 1845 the temperance movement had attained to its topmost height in Ireland. What had it to show for itself? What were its visible fruits by this time? It is no exaggeration to say it had effected an astonishing transformation. It could not bring to Ireland that prosperity and wealth which flows from increased production or multiplied resources. The condition of the bulk of the population was at best, as the world soon afterwards came to know, terribly precarious. But, subject to this reservation, it may be said that never had a people made within the same space of time such strides from hardship to comparative comfort, from improvidence to thrift, from the crimes of inebriate passion to the ordered habits of sobriety and industry. I speak of what I saw. The temperance movement had not, I repeat, removed the deep-lying political causes of lust, poverty and crime, but it brought to the humblest some amelioration of his lot; it banished from thousands of homes afflictions that politics could neither create nor cure; it visibly diffused the feeling of self-respect and the virtue of self-reliance

among the people. * * * * To this purpose came testimony from every side. The magistracy and police told of crime greatly diminished. The clergy told of churches better filled with sincere and earnest worshippers. Traders rejoiced to find how vast was the increase in popular expenditure in articles of food and clothing or of home and personal comfort. There is official evidence in abundance on this point. As early as 1840, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in a public letter said: "To the benefit which the temperance pledge has conferred upon Ireland, in the improved habits of the people and in the diminution of outrage, His Excellency bears grateful testimony."

Like declarations might be cited from executive officials throughout the later years up to 1845.

The police returns for the period are equally striking; but so many circumstances have to be weighed and calculated in considering the fluctuations in "criminal statistics" in Ireland, that, as a general rule, I lay but little stress upon what they show.

Still it is rather convincing to find that the annual committals to prison in the seven years 1839 to 1845, with a rapidly increasing population, show a steady decrease from 12,000 to 7,000; that the capital sentences in each year declined gradually from 66 to 14; and that the penal convictions sank from 900 in 1839 to 500 in 1845.

The whisky trade was for the time annihilated.

This shows what an almost immediate effect prohibition would bring about. While upon that subject, I will quote another author, Porter's "Progress of the Nation," showing the effects in Ireland of this voluntary prohibition, in a very short time. The amount of distilled liquors in 1838 was 12,296,342 gallons, and the revenue £1,434,573. In 1841, the amount fell to 6,485,000 gallons, and the revenue had decreased to £864,726. And yet the deposits in the savings banks had increased from £2,048,469 in 1838 to £2,302,302 in 1841, and £2,921,581 in 1845. In other words, the increase in seven years of the deposits in the savings banks in Ireland, during which the whisky revenue fell off so enormously, was over \$4,365,000 of our Canadian money. Crime decreased from 26,392 cases in 1839, to 16,696 in 1845. The revenue, which our friends who object to prohibition are so timid about, increased from £1,691,515 on customs in 1839, to £2,030,159 in 1841, showing that during these years, the customs revenue increased nearly £340,000, and the excise revenue remained about the same. At the end of 1845 the customs revenue had increased to £2,126,149, and excise had fallen to £1,147,900. In other words, while crime decreased and while the revenue from whisky decreased, the general prosperity of the country was so markedly increased, that it affected the deposits in the savings banks by nearly a million pounds, and it affected crime to such a degree that the percentage of falling off was over 50 per cent. I have no doubt that, were the figures accessible, many more in the same line could be adduced; but I found an embarrassment in the fact that the statements of Irish revenue were so confused with those of English

revenue that it was difficult to arrive at an exact result. Having dealt with the revenue question, it would only be proper to advert to the results which would follow the practical adoption of a prohibitory liquor law. We have been told that there would be a great loss to the country owing to the loss of capital now invested in the manufacture of intoxicating liquors, and to the throwing out of employment of the people engaged in the various branches of this traffic. But, unfortunately for those who make this claim, the facts of history are against them; did time permit, we could occupy the attention of this House from now until a reasonable date for prorogation with quotations showing the direct contrary. That prohibition does not decrease the prosperity of a country I think is evident from the statistics which can be gathered from the records of the State of Maine. That State is well known to have carried out, as effectually, perhaps, as it could be carried out, a prohibitory liquor law; and we might possibly expect that there, if anywhere would be seen any evils arising from the operation of such drastic restriction. In the first place, no public man in the State of Maine, in the present temper of the public mind, would propose such a thing as going back upon prohibition as it now exists there. That small state, with a population of 661,000 people, and having by no means the resources I will not say of the Dominion, but even of the Maritime Provinces, has to-day deposited in the savings banks, \$50,277,000, being \$10,000,000 more than the deposit in the savings banks of the whole Dominion, with its population of over five millions of souls. The savings banks' deposits in other States which have prohibitory laws also largely exceed proportionally those in the Dominion of Canada. There are several States of the Union that have adopted prohibition, among them Kansas, which, from 1880 to 1890, increased in population by 43 per cent; Iowa, 18 per cent; South Dakota, 234 per cent; North Dakota, 395 per cent; Maine did not increase appreciably in population, but increased greatly in wealth; New Hampshire increased about 8 per cent; and in Vermont there was scarcely any increase. And yet, in all these cases, the increase of wealth was most marked. The following table shows the increase in wealth in the prohibition States between 1880 and 1890, according to the census of the United States:—

| | 1880. | 1890. | Per cent. |
|------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|
| | \$ | \$ | |
| Kansas..... | 160,570,761 | 348,459,942 | 117 |
| Iowa..... | 398,671,251 | 530,695,141 | 33 |
| Maine..... | 235,978,716 | 309,129,101 | 31 |
| Vermont..... | 86,806,775 | 171,263,543 | 98 |
| New Hampshire.. | 164,755,181 | 252,722,016 | 53 |
| North Dakota.... | 8,786,572 | 78,885,142 | 875 |
| South Dakota.... | 11,534,058 | 131,592,587 | 1090 |

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I am not quoting these valuations to show that its vast increase in wealth was caused by the enactment of a prohibitory liquor law, but to show that prohibition did not operate in any way to decrease the prosperity and growth in wealth of those states that were endeavouring to carry it out. The State of Iowa, with a population of a little less than two millions, has over \$26,000,000 on deposit in its savings banks. Vermont, with a population of 332,286, has over \$24,000,000 in its savings banks; and in New Hampshire, with 376,530 of a population, the deposits in the savings banks amount to \$74,377,279. I will not occupy your time further with quotations upon this line. Those I have given, and many others that I might give, show conclusively that, whatever effect prohibition may have, it has not the effect in any way of diminishing the prosperity of a country. On the contrary, there can be no doubt that, as it diminishes crime, and the cost of caring for criminals, as it diminishes vice and wretchedness, it must add to the productive power of a country's industry. So, if prohibition caused the State to do without the revenue from the sale of intoxicating liquors, it adds to the wealth of the State the money that would otherwise be expended in a ten-fold ratio in connection with the evils which the liquor traffic produces. We have the testimony of the most distinguished observers in these several States which we have the right to accept as proving the result of the prohibitory enactment. In Vermont, Attorney-General Plumley says:

Every year shows improvement in the enforcement of the law, and the decrease of intemperance and crime.

Such statements show not only that the law is not a dead letter, but that it is in force, and that men who are responsible for the enforcement of the law, and who represent the State in high positions regard the enforcement as satisfactory and believe that the good results are equally perceptible. The President of the State Agricultural Society of Vermont, says:

Prohibition is the best law for Vermont, as shown by the almost entire absence of intemperance and crime.

Let us turn now to the State of Iowa, where also prohibition is in force with some beneficial results. We find that no less an authority than United States Senator Wilson, a gentleman whose reputation extends beyond the boundaries of his own State and who is looked upon as an authority, says:

In every desirable aspect of the case prohibition has been beneficial to Iowa. As respects business, value of property, moral and educational conditions, diminution of crime and criminal expenses and domestic phases of society—Iowa stands at the head of the list.

Chaplain Williams, of the Iowa State penitentiary, says:

The business of making criminals fell off remarkably upon the passage of the prohibitory law.

Governor Larabee says :

I think more than half of the jails are empty. Expenses of criminal courts have decreased. Tramps are very scarce in Iowa. Probably 3,000 of their recruiting stations have been closed. The families of labouring men now receive the savings that used to go to the saloons.

Kansas is another State in the neighbouring Republic which has tried prohibition. After much agitation, public opinion was crystallized into law, and to-day Kansas may fairly be said to be a strong prohibitory State. The fact that the law is violated here and there, the fact that men can procure, by devious ways, an illegal means of satisfying their depraved appetites, is no proof that prohibition cannot be, and is not, reasonably well enforced. It is admitted on all sides that many laws which are recognized as wise and judicious, and which no statesman would dare to suggest should be repealed, are not well enforced in all parts of the country ; they are occasionally violated, and because they are occasionally violated, we insist all the more strongly that those whose duty it is to attend to the administration of justice should see that these laws are as rigidly enforced as the circumstances of the case will admit. We have found that Governor Humphrey, of Kansas, uses this language :

The records of courts and of prisons, from the city calaboose to the penitentiaries, show a diminution of crime, bearing the most incontestible evidence of the efficiency of the law.

The late Senator J. J. Ingalls says :

Kansas has abolished the saloon. A drunkard is a phenomenon. The bar-keeper has joined the troubador, the crusader and the mound-builder. The brewery, the distillery and the bonded warehouse are known only to the archæologist.

The late respected Senator Plumb, of Kansas, says :

There has been a great diminution in the consumption of liquors, and in the consequent drunkenness and crime, in the State of Kansas, as the result of the exclusion of the saloon.

Congressman Kelly, Kansas, says :

No law ever passed has added so much to the comfort and happiness of the people as the prohibitory law in Kansas.

Chief Justice Horton, Kansas, says :

Under the law of Kansas the open saloon has been banished utterly from its limits.

Governor Martin, of Kansas, says:

There is no longer any controversy in Kansas concerning the results and beneficence of the temperance laws. Fully nine-tenths of the drinking and drunkenness has been abolished.

Rev. D. Kelly, United States Pension Agent, at Topeka, Kansas in 1880, compiled a

statement of the paupers and criminals of the 106 counties of Kansas. This list showed forty-four counties without a pauper, and thirty-seven without a criminal in jail. I can quote an enormous mass of testimony of an official character, given by the Governors of Maine in their official addresses to the State Legislature, extending from 1871 down to the present year, but it would be unfair to occupy your time with reading these addresses. I can only direct the attention of those who are interested in the inquiry, to the original sources of this information, the official reports of the State of Maine. Almost without exception, every chief Executive of that State has given his testimony in the strongest and most unmistakable manner, as to the beneficial results of prohibition in the State, as to its complete practicability, and as to the fact that after an experience in prohibition extending over forty years, public opinion is stronger to-day than it ever was in maintaining the law. No public man, expecting to continue to represent the intelligent people of that wealthy and prosperous community, would retain his public position for an hour if he undertook to oppose the continuance of that law. I think it only fair to quote a few words from that distinguished prohibitionist venerated throughout the world for his services in behalf of the cause of temperance, Neal Dow, still living at the age of ninety years, who, looking back upon a triumphal record in connection with this great reform, says :

There were no people in the Union who consumed more strong liquors in proportion to numbers than those of Maine had done. There were many distilleries in the State ; grog shops were everywhere, there was no hamlet so small and retired that the drink fiend did not find it and establish a drunkard factory there. The result of this wonderful resolution (1851) was immediate and plainly seen throughout the State. All decent men everywhere employed in the liquor traffic abandoned it at once. The diminution of the liquor trade was so sudden and so great that within six months the jails in the counties of Penobscot, Kennebec, Franklin, Oxford and York were empty. The jail in the most populous county, Cumberland, had for years been badly overcrowded but within six months it had only 5 inmates, three of them were rumsellers. The House of correction for Cumberland County was entirely empty. The immediate decrease of the number of paupers in our workhouse was like that of the occupants of our jails. The law was well enforced generally throughout the State. In Portland, before the law, there were many poor, ragged and barefooted children begging cold victuals from door to door. Within six months after the enactment of the law all that disappeared from our streets and not a fragment of it remains at this day. It is within the fact to say that less than 1-20th of the quantity of liquors formerly sold in the State is now smuggled in and sold in violation of the law.

The quantity of liquor now sold in Portland is not 1-100th part so great as it was formerly, the

city being twice larger now than it was when the law was enacted. Formerly liquor equal to the entire valuation of the State were sold in every period of 20 years as they are now sold in the nation to the value of all its property in every period of 35 years. Maine was formerly the poorest State in the Union; now it is one of the most prosperous. We save and have been saving more than 20 million dollars annually, which but for prohibition would be wasted in drink.

This testimony, which could be amply corroborated, if time permitted, by other quotations, amply vindicates the position we take that not only would the law be beneficial, but that it could be practically worked, with one condition, and that is that the people generally favoured it. So strong has this conviction been that public men have been induced, in many provinces of the Dominion, to ask the question formally of the people by means of a plebiscite, whether they are of opinion that it is desirable to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquor. The figures have been given in the public press from time to time, but I think no argument on this subject would be complete unless they were repeated here. The province of Manitoba was the first to lead off in ascertaining the wishes of the people in regard to prohibition. A vote was taken, I believe, in 1892, resulting in favour of prohibition. The vote stood, 18,637 for; and 7,115 against; a majority of 11,522 in favour of a prohibitory liquor law in the province of Manitoba. In this connection we have an appeal to this Parliament from the Legislature of Manitoba, based upon the results of this plebiscite, which I feel it my duty to read to the House:

Whereas by an Act of the Legislature of the province of Manitoba, assented to on the 20th April, 1892, entitled "An Act to enable the electors of Manitoba to register their votes upon the advisability of the introduction of a law totally prohibiting the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage into or in the province of Manitoba," it was provided that at the then next ensuing general election of members of the Legislative Assembly, an opportunity should be given the electors of the province of Manitoba to record their opinions upon the advisability of the introduction of a law prohibiting the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors in the province of Manitoba by marking ballot papers either "For Prohibition" or "Against Prohibition" and depositing such ballot papers in the ballot boxes at the time of such general election.

And whereas, afterwards, in accordance with the provisions of the said last mentioned Act, on the 23rd day of July, 1892, the day on which such general election was held, a majority of the electors of Manitoba went under the provisions of the said Act and recorded their opinions upon the question in said Act set forth, and the result of said vote according to the ballot papers marked and deposited was as follows:—

For prohibition, 18,137.

Against prohibition, 7,115.

Thereby demonstrating that an overwhelming majority of the electors of this province who then

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voted are in favour of the total prohibition of the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage into or in the province of Manitoba;

And whereas the liquor traffic and its results, is an evil that entails upon the people of this province an incalculable amount of loss and suffering, and is productive of vice, disease and crime to a greater extent than any other cause;

And whereas it is deemed to be the duty of this house to place upon record its strong condemnation of a traffic demoralizing in its tendency and calculated to retard and hamper the moral and material welfare of the province;

And whereas it appears that full legislative power in respect of the premises rests in the Parliament of Canada; and whereas this legislature agrees to supplement, if necessary, any effective prohibitory liquor law passed by the Dominion Parliament by appropriate legislation.

Petitioners therefore pray, that your honourable body shall, with all convenient speed, enact a law prohibiting the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor as a beverage into or in the province of Manitoba.

So we have here in the most formal manner possible the appeal of the electors and Legislature of Manitoba to enact a prohibitory liquor law, and pledging the faith and honour of the people to support such supplementary legislation as may be necessary in the premises. Prince Edward Island was also appealed to, and I hold in my hand the result of the vote in that fine province. The vote was as follows:—For, 10,616; against, 3,390; total majority, 7,226; or, in Prince County an average of $3\frac{1}{4}$ to 1; in Queen's, $2\frac{3}{4}$ to 1; in Kings', $3\frac{2}{3}$ to 1. The great, wealthy, fine province of Ontario has also spoken on this question, and the figures are significant of the wish and desire of a majority of the people. The statistics are so familiar to members of the House that I will not read them in detail; but suffice it to say that the total vote for was as follows:—In the counties, 154,009 for, and 21,923 against; in the cities, 30,136 voted for, and 21,923 against; in the districts, 8,342 voted for and 4,968 against; total for 192,497, against 110,757, leaving a majority of 81,730, deducting 10,203 as being the votes of women, still leaves a majority of 71,527. But it is only fair to assume that although I have deducted the votes of women, they represent a very strong power and a highly cultivated public opinion, an influence which will be of the greatest value in sustaining the law if we ever succeed in having it placed on the Statute-Book. While I admit that a law can only be sustained by strong public sentiment, it is greatly fostered by that class of the community. I come next to my own fair province, Nova Scotia, and I am glad to say that at the plebiscite taken at the last provincial elections, it gave a majority of 31,400 in favour of prohibition, the figures being 43,750 in favour and 12,350 against. We thus find that the people have spoken as plainly as possible on this question. They have complied as far as possible with the request of

this Parliament to show that they would support any legislation looking to the prohibition of the liquor traffic. They have answered the question as to whether public opinion is ripe for the necessary legislation, and whether the people are willing to give effect to these views. Looking over this whole subject, I think, taking into consideration the nature of the resolution, I hold that Parliament should stamp with its approval the appeal that is made, that as speedily as possible we should enact a prohibitory law, with exceptions in favour of the use of alcoholic liquors for medicinal, manufacturing and sacramental purposes. Sir, I have made no attempt to press upon your attention all the considerations that might be urged in favour of prohibitory legislation. Any attempt to exhaust the argument would exhaust the patience of my hearers as well. In the time I had placed at my disposal I have touched upon a few only of the more obvious objections and answers daily arising in the discussions upon this great subject, the vast literature of which covers not only the ground I have just traversed, but takes into its consideration almost the whole field of political, social, and moral economy. I have shown, I trust, that Parliament has the power as well as the duty thrown upon it of dealing with the liquor traffic on the lines laid down in the resolution I have presented. It has been shown that a prohibitory law can be efficiently carried into operation, and that its effects when fairly worked are favourable to every proper interest of the state. It has been abundantly shown, not only in what I have just urged but in the whole tenor of the former debates in this House that the traffic in alcoholic liquors is the cause of the greatest evils which afflict society. From the opinions of statesmen and jurists, from the expressions of the views of the most sagacious and competent observers in all countries; from the official reports of associations especially devoted to inquiry in this branch of social reform, and from the results of investigations made at the expense of, and under the sanction of the state itself, and even from the formal resolutions of this Parliament of Canada, the conclusion has been irresistibly forced upon a large majority of the best people of Canada, that the wisdom and practical statesmanship of the present day have no profounder problem with which to grapple than the one to which your attention is now invited. The liquor habit, it has been demonstrated, is an enemy to personal health and mental vigour, to the peace and happiness of the home and to the industrial interests of every community in proportion as it has gained a foothold. The traffic, as it is now carried on, under the sanction and with the protection of the state is the fruitful source of drunkenness and crime and, because of its demoralizing tendencies in every direction in which its influence is exerted it has become the enemy and oppressor of the state

itself. It is hostile to industry, to purity in political and social life, and to that good citizenship which is the salvation and ought to be the pride of sound government. It wastes the resources of the vast majority of those whose means are used to sustain it, it throws extra burdens of taxation and the responsibility for good government upon the shoulders of the sober, industrious, and thrifty, and flings upon the care and charity of society the innocent victims of the ravages of intemperance. But, say objectors, there is a public compensation. Look at the revenue derived from the traffic; look at the thousands employed in the manufacture and sale of liquors; look at the capital engaged in the liquor business, and the wages paid in carrying it on, and say if you would deprive society and the state of the advantages of these resources and expenditure! These are the compensations for disorder, for poverty, vice, crime, public loss, and embarrassment, for personal and domestic suffering indescribable and for a burden of taxation, a wasteful and reckless extravagance and expenditure far exceeding in amount and capability of injury all the fancied and imaginary benefits claimed for the liquor traffic. Sir, there is no comparison between the assumed gain and the certain loss. The state gathers a few millions, while individuals who might otherwise support the state's great enterprises squander five times the amount. While we put into our treasury some seven millions of gold annually we witness without dismay an annual waste of thirty-five of forty millions expended in alcoholic liquors and with it the ruin of thousands of homes, the wreck of almost measureless resources, which would otherwise go to strengthen a genuine prosperity. Sweep away the traffic by an adequate law of prohibition. Refuse it the sanction of the Government and Legislature and the revenue from it will scarcely be missed in the general buoyancy of the national income derived from other sources. We have the assurances of statesmen of the highest eminence, some of whom are yet in the practical administration of affairs, that the immediate and certain benefits which must accrue will far outweigh in value and importance, the loss to the revenues of the country. The revenue depreciation will be slight and temporary; the public gain will be permanent and vast. The growth in the general revenues will more than counterbalance the depreciation from special sources, while the great individual and domestic, not to mention the moral, benefits will forever remain to upbuild and strengthen every true national interest. Industry will be promoted, because relieved of unjust and unfair burdens of taxation, political life will be purified and ennobled, because relieved of the degrading and unhealthful influence of the saloon and grog-shop, and social happiness will be promoted by the rapid disappearance of those vices which always accompany drunkenness. In the improved habits of the

classes yet degraded by the curse of alcoholism, in the reduction of pauperism and crime, in the better enforcement of our laws, in the enhanced rewards of thrift and industry, in the advantage of capital and labour transferred to better fields of competition, in the increased values of property, in the prosperity of thousands, whose lives are now productive of only wastefulness and loss, and the wider diffusion of comfort and happiness throughout every portion of our Dominion we will have our reward for the enacting of a prohibitory liquor law. No prohibitionist claims that such an enactment would furnish a panacea for all the evils that afflict society. Others would remain to tax the wisdom and industry of successive Parliaments. The abuses of century old habits and laws are not removed in a day or a year. There must be periods of anxiety and of struggle, as in the history of every reform which has blest humanity. New light, new laws and better conditions must ever make their way by warfare against ignorance, selfishness, and corruption. But the result, if the majority is constant and patient, need not be doubted. Supported by constitutional majorities whose will in this free country makes and unmakes Administrations, and whose determination decides policies and the character of laws, the prohibition of the liquor traffic, that fountain of wrong and damage, will ultimately take its place among the most revered and most loyally sustained of our public statutes. I trust, Sir, that this Parliament will not neglect the cry which comes from every province of the Dominion to give them this legislation as soon as practicable. I trust that the Government may be able to give us the assurance of their loyal support. The circumstances are propitious for dealing with the question at an early day, and the desire is : that the Government will as speedily as possible, having regard only and solely to the difficulties of arranging the details, bring this matter before the consideration of Parliament. I hope, Sir, that the Government of this country, or that the framers of this resolution, can rely upon sympathy from every hon. gentleman upon both sides of this House without regard to party. I should deplore this ever being made a party question. I believe it should rise above and beyond party politics, and I earnestly trust that all good men representing the wishes of the people will combine to place upon our Statute-book a law which will be necessarily productive of the good results which I have endeavoured to sketch.

Mr. ROOME. Mr. Speaker, in rising to second this resolution, which has been moved by the hon. member for Yarmouth (Mr. Flint), I now do so with a good deal of diffidence. If it was not that the hon. gentleman had gone into the subject so fully, I would feel my inability to place it before you clothed in such language as to make the subject impressive. But, Sir, he has

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placed it before you in all its phases. He has traced temperance legislation back to the time we got constitutional government in Canada. He has pointed out the different laws which have been placed upon the Statute-book, and the effect such legislation has had upon the country. He has not only traced the temperance legislation in Canada, but he has traced kindred legislation in other countries as well. He has made many references to legislation that has been enacted in the United States, as they have now total prohibition in several of the states across the border, and he has shown to the House the good effects that prohibition has had in these states. I, therefore, feel that the hon. gentleman has given valuable information to the House on this subject, valid reasons why we should have prohibition in Canada, and that he has placed them before the House with such ability and eloquence which a subject like this demands. I would say but very little on this subject, were it not that I do believe that the time has come when this House should be making preparation to pass an Act at an early date by which total prohibition may be placed upon our statutes ; an enactment which will satisfy the great majority of self-thinking people of Canada to-day. We, as temperance people do not expect that such legislation shall be brought forward during this session, as the Bill to raise the ways and means for carrying on the affairs of the country during the coming year has already been submitted to the House after careful consideration. We believe, however, that we may justly call upon the Government at no distant time to bring forward such legislation, and to place before the House for its approval that which will meet the wishes, not only of the electors of Canada, but of the great majority of the people. There has been hardly a session since Confederation that this subject has not been brought before this House. As the hon. member for Yarmouth (Mr. Flint) has pointed out, in the year 1873, owing to the large number of petitions which had been sent from the people throughout the length and breadth of Canada, to the House of Commons and the Senate, both Houses were moved at the time to appoint a joint committee to investigate what would be the best means of lessening the evils of intemperance. It was shown then that no remedy could be effectual save the total prohibition of the traffic. Again, in 1874, prohibition was advocated in Parliament, and in 1875, a resolution was moved in this House by my predecessor, an hon. gentleman who represented the county which I have now the honour to represent, and who to-day is Minister of Education in the province of Ontario. He then moved :

That this House is prepared to bring about prohibition as soon as public opinion will sufficiently sustain stringent measures to promote such legislation as far as the same is within the competency of the Parliament of Canada.

That motion was carried by a large majority. Then again, in the year 1884, a resolution was proposed proclaiming for total prohibition, by the Hon. Mr. Foster, now our talented Finance Minister. He went into the subject even more fully than the hon. member for Yarmouth (Mr. Flint) has done to-night. He dwelt on it from every phase and with an eloquence and ability which few men in this country are capable of. He pointed out that prohibition was the only means whereby the traffic could be stopped, but even with his eloquence and great ability he was not able at that time to convince this House that the time had arrived when prohibition should be made the law of the land. At that time the late Hon. Thomas White, moved an amendment to that resolution, adding to it the words of the resolution of Mr. Ross, in 1875, and that amended resolution was carried by a large majority. The only question then with the members of the House appeared to be: whether the time had arrived for prohibition or not. When the Hon. Mr. Ross moved the resolution now nineteen years ago, there seemed to be a doubt as to whether this Parliament or the Local Legislatures had the power to bring about total prohibition. It was promised by the Government of the day then that the question would be submitted to the courts and the decision arrived at an early date, so that we may justly exclaim that in this matter, "the mills of the gods grind slowly." That promise was given nineteen years ago, but the question is still before the courts, and we have not yet had a decision as to whether it is within the competency of this Parliament or the Local Legislatures to bring about total prohibition. Last week the question was discussed in the Supreme Court by our able Solicitor General, and by able Councillors from the different provinces, so that in a very short time I trust we will be able to know whether the Federal or the Provincial Parliaments are competent to deal with this question. If this Parliament decides to-night that the time has not come when total prohibition should be enacted, no doubt the temperance people will turn their attention again to this Parliament with renewed efforts if it is decided that the power is vested in their hands. If the decision is otherwise, they will no doubt turn to the Local Legislatures and strive to impress upon them that the time has come when the wishes of the people should be carried out. In 1887, the first year that I had the honour of a seat in this House, Mr. Jamieson, now Judge Jamieson, brought forward a resolution similar to the present one, except that it asked for immediate prohibition. It was a resolution framed by the Dominion Alliance, the great temperance organization of Canada, which is doing untold good for our people; but, as in the cases of the former resolutions, an amendment was moved by the hon. member for Brockville (Mr. Wood) almost in similar terms to that of the previous year, that the time had

not yet arrived when the people were prepared to carry out and enforce such a law, and that amendment was carried by a large majority. The question came before this House in 1891 by a similar motion; and that time it was shelved by the appointment of a Royal commission to inquire into the working of prohibition in other countries, and whether it would work well in the Dominion of Canada: but I am sorry to say that the report of that commission has not yet been laid upon the Table. We expected that it would be presented early in the session, and we could then form our opinions upon the subject. But as that report has not yet been laid before the House, we see no other way of proceeding than to bring forward the present motion on the present occasion and have it discussed and voted upon; and, believing as I do that the time has come for taking steps towards the enactment of total prohibition. In 1873, when this question first came before the House hon. members were pretty evenly divided in opinion as to whether, then, the time had come for prohibition; but since 1873 the attentive student of Canadian history must have noticed the rapid progress that the temperance sentiment has made in Canada. The opponents of prohibition some twenty years ago looked upon that measure as an idle fad, a mere sentiment, advocated and kept glowing by what they termed temperance cranks. But the men and women who then advocated the measure have continued their work, kept up the agitation, until to-day, on looking around them on every side, they must feel proud to see that the temperance sentiment which they have so long advocated has come to stay,—a sentiment which the statesmen and public men of the country cannot well ignore when they find the people of both political parties uniting together to insist on prohibitory legislation, not only in this House, but in the Local Legislatures and the municipalities as well. They ask for such laws as will drive the monster intemperance from this country—that evil which has caused more misery and suffering, sorrow as well as crime, than has ever been caused by war, famine or pestilence; and the sooner that monster is driven from among us the better it will be for our country. The question of controlling the liquor traffic having been discussed so many times in this House since Confederation, and on every occasion it was decided that total prohibition was the only sure remedy for the control of intemperance. Now, Sir, the difficulties in the way of the realization of total prohibition may be classed under four heads. First, the desire for intoxicants. The desire for stimulants exists to a large extent among the people of Canada as well as among the people of other countries. In fact, it exists among all nations, whether civilized or uncivilized; for we find amongst those nations to whom distillation is unknown a system of intoxication produced from the steeping and drinking of the juice of hashish and

other herbs. So that we have that desire for stimulants or intoxicants to contend against, whether that is a natural or an acquired or an artificial taste. I am not going to discuss, more than to say, that that appetite has been lessened among our people very much in the past twenty years, and the only remedy for curing the disease is to remove the cause, to remove the temptation, to place alcoholic liquors beyond their reach; and that can only be done effectively by bringing about total prohibition. The second difficulty is the force of social custom or habits of drinking, when it is looked upon as a show of hospitality and genial friendship, when we gather around the festive board and partake of liquor to produce cheer and merriment, but which in many cases leads to habitual drunkenness. Now, I have stated that the desire can only be cured by total prohibition, so the power of habit has to be controlled in the same way, although the church and the schools, as well as the press and force of example, have done much to lessen them both. The third difficulty to overcome is the moneyed interests, and this is one of the greatest difficulties we have to meet. The manufacturer, the wholesale man and the retail man, each employs labour, each expects a profit; and, as we often hear it expressed, the love of money is at the root of all evil, so it is in this case, and that interest has to be fought before total prohibition can be an accomplished fact. But, Sir, would it not be better if it cannot be done otherwise, to do as the British Government did with slavery—partially recompense those engaged in the traffic for their losses. Let not the money consideration for a moment deprive thousands from enjoying the pleasure of home and happiness. Let not the few be as tortures to the many. Now, the fourth difficulty in the way of total prohibition is the adjustment of the revenue. As you are aware, we raise by excise and customs five or six millions a year, that goes into the Federal treasury, to assist in carrying on the affairs of state. It is one-fourth as much as we raise from customs duties. It cannot be denied but it would cause the Finance Minister some trouble to rearrange the fiscal policy to meet the loss; but, Sir, I believe the majority of the people of Canada would be willing to raise their share. As Sir Leonard Tilley said when speaking to the amendment to the motion of Mr. Foster in 1884, when he was Finance Minister:—

I am prepared to vote for the principle, and to say that when the time comes when it will be desirable to have put in operation, I will be prepared to support a prohibitory measure, not deterred by any question of its effects upon the revenue.

He said the matter of revenue, in his judgment, was but a feather in the scale, when compared to the beneficial effects that would follow the practical working of prohibition. "I would vote cheerfully for it" he said.

Mr. ROOME.

"and as Finance Minister prepare ways and means to make up any such deficiency that would arise if we were in a position to say that if such a law were enacted it would be sustained"; and our present Finance Minister used somewhat similar language in 1891. So that, as far as this House is concerned, that need not be a serious difficulty to overcome; and, as I have pointed out, the Local Administration need not suffer, as a penny saved is a penny gained. Now, I look upon the five or six millions which is derived from the liquor traffic as the dearest tax we can collect from the people of Canada, because the collection of that tax costs the people of Canada thirty or thirty-five millions; and, therefore, as representatives of the people, we cannot approve of that tax. We believe in taxing the rich as much as we can, and letting the poor escape; but this is not only a tax on the poor, but it is a tax collected at the expense of sorrowing wives and mothers and of children hungering for bread. Therefore, I hold that this money should be raised in some other way as soon as possible. While the Royal commission was at Windsor, Mr. Walker, the head of the firm of Walker & Son, Walkerville, the great liquor manufacturers of western Ontario, appeared before them and said that they were in partnership with the Government, and that in the division of profits the Government got the largest share. In the same manner I presume the sellers of liquor can claim partnership with the Local Administration, as they divide with them their profits for the privilege of selling; and the municipalities come in in the same way. So that the municipal bodies, Local Legislatures and the House of Commons must all be partners, receiving a share of the gains from the nefarious traffic. Now, I for one am ready to dissolve partnership with the traffic, and I am sure that there are thousands upon thousands who feel the same as I do. They would feel it a grievance that they should, for a moment, be considered as partners in the liquor traffic. As regards the Dominion, it may be said that the deficit could be easily made up by a rearrangement of the fiscal policy, without our people feeling the burden very much. But as regards the provinces, the Local Legislatures have not the same means as the Dominion Parliament of supplying the deficiency. They cannot make any changes in the tariff. Still they could effect a saving, which would make up for the loss caused by the abolition of license fees. They could reduce the expenditure on their prisons or jails. The amount received from licenses in Ontario by the Local Government reaches \$300,000, and by the municipalities \$275,000, making in all from \$550,000 to \$600,000, out of which they pay \$75,000 for license inspectors and commissioners. But still they could make up for this loss by reduced expenditure on the different institutions they are now obliged to keep up. For instance, the total commitments in the province of Ontario, during last

year, to the county jail amounted to 9,001, to the Central Prison, 935; to Kingston Penitentiary, 702; and to other prisons and reformatories, 234, making nearly 11,000; and Sir Oliver Mowat, Premier of Ontario, has stated on several occasions his firm belief that three-fourths of all the crime and misery in our country might be laid to the door of drink. So that three-fourths of the 11,000, or 8,000, can be attributed to intemperance. Then the cost of keeping up our common jails and reformatories and prisons, being upwards of \$1,000,000 a year, could be reduced by three-fourths, and there would be a saving to the people of Ontario, according to the opinion of Sir Oliver Mowat, of some \$750,000 to \$800,000. Therefore, while we realize from that fund some \$600,000, we can make a saving to the revenue of upwards of \$150,000 to \$200,000, and I presume the same remarks would apply to all the other provinces. On many occasions, it has been decided, and that has been stated often in this House, that the only way to prevent intemperance is by total prohibition. I have pointed out what I consider to be the whole difficulty, and I ask can it be overcome in any way? My opinion is that there is but one way, and that is by a strong preponderance of public sentiment in favour of prohibition. Have we got that public sentiment in its favour? The only criterion we can apply is the plebiscite taken in the various provinces. Manitoba, by a vote of two to one, expressed herself ripe for total prohibition. In Ontario total prohibition was carried by over two to one. In Prince Edward Island, the little island down by the sea, the vote in its favour was three to one. In Nova Scotia, it was carried by over four to one; and in New Brunswick, by the unanimous vote of the Legislature. Therefore in four provinces prohibition has been carried by an overwhelming majority, and in the fifth it has been carried by a decided vote of the people's representatives. In those five provinces, the people have declared that they are ready for total prohibition. In the county of West Middlesex, which I have the honour to represent, the majority in favour of prohibition was three to one; and I would be derelict to my duty, as a representative of the people, if I did not attempt to carry out their wishes. I feel bound therefore to lend my aid to this cause in order to have such a measure placed on our Statute-books. The time has come when we should impress on the Government the necessity of taking steps in that direction. It may be denied, by some very strongly, that public sentiment is not yet sufficiently ripe. Well, Mr. Speaker, we have no way of proving or testing public sentiment except in the way we took by a plebiscite. A second plebiscite would be out of the question. If the temperance people are true to themselves and their country, they will, in the coming contest, send back men here pledged to support prohibition on every occasion on the

floor of Parliament, both in the Dominion and Local Legislatures, and who will continue to support this resolution until the Government will be forced to carry out their wishes. And it would be a grand thing for Canadians if we could point out that Canada was the first nation to have total prohibition. It would be a grand thing if Canada were to assume the proud position of leading the cause of temperance in the civilized world. As there are many others who wish to speak on this subject, I will not detain the House any longer. I trust every one who is present will vote for the resolution.

Mr. CRAIG. I am sure I need to make no apology for taking the time of this House in discussing such an important question as the question of prohibition. I think we must all admit that it is one of the live questions of the day. It touches all parts of the community, rich and poor, old and young, men and women. All are interested. I am sure we must all be pleased with the great advance in the temperance sentiment that has taken place in recent years. I can remember myself, not many years ago, when the drinking custom was very common in this country, and when drink would be found in places where it is never thought of to-day. We must all give the advocates of the temperance cause credit for this great improvement in the habits of society. There are many earnest men who have laboured in the cause of temperance, and who have been even called cranks on account of the part they have taken, and yet I am sure they can look back with great pleasure on what they have done in this work. And I am sure I would not be doing justice to the women who have worked so hard in this cause—the members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union—if I did not pay them a tribute too. Whatever we may think on this question, we must all admit that these women deserve great credit for the part they have taken. We must admit, too, that women are particularly interested in this work. They are the great sufferers from drink, through their husbands and sons. Many women are looking forward to the time when a prohibitory law will be in force, and the temptation which now assails their husbands will be removed, and when, instead of living in misery and penury and having to go out and work themselves to make a living for themselves and children, their husbands will bring home the money they now spend in strong drink. This is not only a live question, but a most difficult one. Politicians especially find that to be the case. But apart from politics altogether, the question is most difficult. I need not allude to the question of revenue as that matter has been fully discussed. It is the question of revenue which is most difficult of solution, and which politicians are afraid to face. When we think of the enormous amount received as part of the revenue through the Excise Department, and

think of that portion of our national income being wiped out at one stroke we are almost afraid, on that account alone, to pass this measure. But I think if that was the only difficulty it might be overcome. However, when we commence to consider this question there are other difficulties which stare us in the face, and which are brought forward by those who are opposed, and I take it for granted, conscientiously opposed, to a prohibitory law. While I am in favour of a prohibitory law, and would like to see such a law enforced in this country, I have sympathy for those who are not in favour of it. I am not one of those who on this question condemn every man who does not think as they do. I know there are many men who are just as conscientious as I am, perhaps more so, and who are opposed to prohibition because of the difficulties which stand in the way of enforcement of the law, and I must admit that it is a very great difficulty indeed. One of the reasons why this law would be very difficult to enforce, we are told, is the great extent of the boundary between this country and the United States. There is no doubt that if such a law was passed great inducements would be held out to smugglers, and that smuggling would be carried on to a great extent. Another difficulty is that a great many people think there is nothing wrong in drinking in itself. There is a law against stealing, and we all know that it is wrong to steal. If there was law against drinking and against selling liquor, a great many people could not be made to think that there was anything wrong in the traffic, in the selling of the liquor or in drinking it, they would only see that the law declared it wrong, and so these people would be unwilling to go into the witness box or to endeavour to have the law enforced. That would make great difficulty in carrying the law into practical effect. We are told that the Scott Act was not enforced in many of the counties in which it was passed. In some places it was not a benefit to the community. I have heard temperance men declare themselves of that opinion. But they tell us that it will be far easier to enforce a prohibitory liquor law affecting the whole country than the Scott Act, which was confined to a small section, and I believe there is something in that argument. Another argument against a prohibitory law is that it is not enforced in the states in which it is the law. I do not pretend to be able to judge of that myself, not knowing the facts. While some declare that it is not enforced in certain states, like Iowa or Maine, there are those who declare that it is well enforced. Therefore I am bound to consider that an open question. Still, even if it is not strictly enforced, as we think it should be, the prohibitory liquor law diminishes drinking and removes from the path of those who are in the habit of drinking a great many temptations. With regard to enforcement, while there may be difficulties, I do not think

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enforcement would be impossible here, especially if the people of the country were at the back of the law, and I hold that it is no use to put the law on the Statute-book unless we have the great majority of the people in favour of it. One effect certainly would be to make drinking not at all the respectable thing that it is to-day. If men wished to drink they would have to do it in out-of-the-way places, and young men would not be so likely to be carried away by the temptations of drink as now in the fine saloons attractively furnished on every hand. Under a prohibitory law liquor would be had only in places where respectable young men would not like to be found. No doubt liquor would still be sold. I have often heard it said that if a man wanted a drink in Portland or many other places in the state of Maine, he could get it. No doubt he could; but he would have to go to some secret out-of-the-way place; he could not walk into the saloon as people do in the cities of Canada to-day, no prohibitory law being in force. I go further, and say this: even if the law were not enforced in the United States I believe it would be enforced in this country. This country is filled with law-abiding people, and I believe a prohibitory law would be enforced here. We are told that prohibition would not prohibit. No law absolutely prohibits. There is no law that is not broken sometimes. We find our penitentiaries and our jails full of people. Those people are there for breaking the law, and the fact that they are there proves that the laws do not prohibit. But the laws restrain, and, moreover, they punish the evil-doers and the law-breakers. No doubt the same would be true of a prohibitory liquor law. There is a very important question connected with this proposal of a prohibitory law—the question of compensation. There are some very strong temperance men—and I mean by that those who are connected with temperance societies and who take an active part in the work of temperance reform, and are seeking to bring about a prohibitory law—who do not believe in compensation. I merely wish to say that, if the time does come when this Parliament shall be asked to pass a prohibitory law, the question of compensation will have to be considered. I do not know what view Parliament will take of it; but if businesses are to be wiped out—especially businesses which are yielding a very large revenue to the Government and the people of this country—and wiped out by a law passed by this Parliament, it seems to me it would be only fair that some compensation should be given to the men engaged in this business. I am only expressing my individual opinions on this question, but I believe that many who are in favour of a prohibitory law will agree with me. I have received many letters, as no doubt other members of the House have, from those who favour prohibition, asking me to oppose the ratification of the French treaty, because it would stand in the way

of the passing of a prohibitory liquor law. I have replied that we have been told by the Premier that this treaty can be terminated at any time on giving 12 months notice, and, further, that if there are clauses which would prevent a prohibitory law being passed within a reasonable time, the necessary provision will be made so that the friends of prohibition need not be afraid on that account. Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to detain you further. Until I came to the House to-night I did not intend to speak upon this question. I speak principally to show my sentiments on this question. I wish to say that I will vote for this resolution, in the first place, to show what side I am on. For myself, I am a total abstainer, always and in every place. I have no sympathy with men who take the last cent from a man for drink. I admit that there are many respectable tavern-keepers all over the country, men who sell liquor, but at the same time I know there are men who will take the last cent a man has got, money that ought to go to support his family, and who will sell to a man when he is drunk already. I must say that when I see cases of that kind they have made me feel more like voting for prohibition than any argument that could be addressed to me. So I say that I rise here principally to show what side I stand on. I stand on the side of temperance, I am not on the side of liquor, I want to have that distinctly understood, not only here, but by my constituents. In the next place, I vote for this resolution because I believe that if a prohibitory law could be enforced it would be a great boon to this country. We all of us know what prohibition has done in individual cases. We have seen men who have been brought down as low as a man can be brought through drink, and these men have been reformed by abstaining from drink. I know cases of that kind myself. Men have become respectable citizens and have resumed their former places in society. Why? Just because they have practiced prohibition in their own cases, just because they have adopted a law of prohibition for themselves. It has changed their whole nature, and made them different men altogether. I want temptation taken away from these men. When they go out I do not wish to see them exposed to places inviting them to resume their old habits again, and once more to fall. Besides, I want these temptations taken away from our young men. We must admit that a great many of our young men are tempted by these drinking places, and I think we must all admit, that if there were not so many of these attractive drinking places, fewer of our young men would be led into these habits. There is another reason why I will vote for this resolution, and that is because my constituency voted in favour of prohibition at the recent plebiscite. My constituency gave a large vote in favour of a prohibitory law, and I would

not be representing them properly on this question in this House unless I voted for this resolution. Now, it is a disputed question whether the time has come for the passing of a prohibitory law. I am not prepared to say whether it has or not. For myself, I have sometimes had a little doubt whether the time has arrived, but I am able to vote for this resolution because it says "as speedily as possible," that is, when this House thinks the time has come, they are requested to pass a prohibitory law. I am prepared to vote for that. But I want to say that whether the time has come or not, to pass a prohibitory law for the whole country, there is one thing this Parliament can do, and it is a matter on which I have sometimes thought I ought to speak, but as I was a comparatively young member of this House, I did not care to do so. But while I am speaking on this resolution I will take this opportunity to say that there is one thing I think this House can do, and which we should do as an example to the country, and that is, we might abolish intoxicating liquor from the restaurant of this House. I think that would be a step in the right direction. I think both sides of the House could get on very well without intoxicating liquor in the restaurant. Whether we think the time has already come or not to enact prohibition for the whole country, I think we would all be prepared to vote that the time has come when we might abolish intoxicating liquor from the precincts of this House. In conclusion, I repeat, that I stand on the side of prohibition because I think it the right side, and in response to the earnest wishes of thousands of men, some of them drunkards, many of them our best citizens, and also, thousands of women, who know the evils of this great curse, I am prepared to record my vote for prohibition, whenever the question comes before this House. I have not come to this decision without considerable thought. I have given the question a great deal of consideration. I know there are difficulties standing in the way, grave difficulties, many more than I have time to mention here, difficulties which, no doubt, other members of this House have thought of. I respect those who consciously differ from me on this question, but for myself, I am prepared always to vote on the side of prohibition.

Mr. CHRISTIE. As this is a question in which I have always taken a lively interest, I do not wish to give a silent vote upon it. I am pleased to see that the hon. member for Yarmouth (Mr. Flint) has introduced a resolution affirming the principles of immediate prohibition. I wish it had been a little more definite. I do not know how others may feel in reference to this matter, but I feel that the time has come now to pass a prohibitory law. I am fully convinced that if this principle was crystallized into the law of the land, it would con-

tribute very largely to the prosperity and well-being of the whole Dominion; indeed, I think it hardly possible to over-estimate the amount of good which would result from the adoption and enforcement of prohibition. It would be unquestionably the great reform of this age. It will be remembered that a similar resolution was introduced to this House in 1891. Unfortunately, that resolution was side-tracked; all further action in this House was suspended, the way was completely blocked by the appointment of the Royal Commission. Now, I do not wish to say a single word disrespectful of that commission, I will simply say that to my mind it was wholly unnecessary, and, therefore, it was a useless waste of time, labour and money. But I rejoice now to see that temperance men on both sides of this House have resolved to wait no longer, but to press forward and force this question upon the attention of the Government, and force it to an issue. I think that no good reason can be alleged for further delay. We all know the traffic in strong drink is fraught with sad and terrible evils. That requires no proof, it is admitted by all. We know, too, that the system of licensing which has been followed for ages, has signally failed to correct or remedy these evils. We have tried high license and low license, we have endeavoured to restrict the traffic in every possible way, and still the result has been unsatisfactory. Temperance men have long since been forced to the conclusion that the only real remedy is prohibition. For some time the only question has been whether the country was ripe for its adoption and enforcement. Now, upon this point, I think the country has spoken out clearly and distinctly. There can be no good reason for delaying action on that ground. Wherever we look we see a strong sentiment in favour of temperance reform. Hon. members of this House will recall how in 1891 this Table was flooded with petitions in favour of prohibition from every part of the Dominion, and from every religious denomination in the country. Since then the provinces have spoken more emphatically still by their votes at the polls. No less than five provinces out of the seven have affirmed this principle by overwhelming majorities: in Ontario, if I recollect rightly, by a majority of about 82,000, in Nova Scotia by a majority of about 30,000 or 40,000, in Prince Edward Island by a majority of 7,000, in Manitoba by a majority of 11,000 or 12,000, and in New Brunswick by the unanimous vote of the Legislature. These five provinces gave a majority of between 140,000 and 150,000 in favour of the principle of prohibition. What more could they do? I may be told that my own province has not yet spoken. That is true, but I think I can fairly say a strong temperance sentiment prevails there. Temperance reformers have been at work there as elsewhere, and I hope and trust, although I do

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not venture to predict, that when the day of trial comes the grand old province of Quebec will be found in line with the other provinces of the Dominion and in favour of this great moral reform. In view of these facts, in view of the fact that the country has desired and demanded prohibition, I trust the action of this House will be such as to inspire the people with confidence and hope that at least in the near future their request will be granted. Not only so, but I trust the action of the House will be such as to induce this Government to take up this question, to reconsider the whole question more fully and more favourably than they have yet done. When the prohibition delegates waited on the Government lately they were told very courteously and very frankly, but very clearly, that nothing could be done at present, and that no promise could be held out as to the future. That was very discouraging to say the least; and not only so, but the proposition to reduce the duty on beer and to admit wines from foreign countries free of duty, seemed to point emphatically in a direction opposed to the wishes of the temperance people. We know that the whole army of temperance reformers, both men and women, throughout the Dominion are strongly opposed to seeing the Dominion flooded with either wine or beer. I venture to express the hope that we will all consider this question as one outside of party interests and that we will rise above our own personal interest, and be inspired by a sincere desire to promote the best interests of the whole Dominion, and that this great reform will soon be carried to a practical result, for I contend it will contribute very largely to make our Dominion brighter, happier and better than it is to-day.

Mr. COATSWORTH. I do not think we shall have very much difficulty in supporting the resolution moved. It strikes me there is a good deal of milk and water in it—mostly water, says an hon. friend—and it does not go very far in favouring the principle of prohibition, for it says “as speedily as possible Parliament shall pass a prohibitory law.” However, I suppose it is moved by the hon. gentleman with the idea that it is a step in the right direction, and on the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread; and I presume on that principle the House will pass it, for no harm can be done by passing a resolution of this kind. It is also rather a significant fact that in view of the large interests involved, there is so little interest taken in the debate. One would naturally suppose that when interests of such consequence to the country were being discussed, interests involving not only the capital investment of a large number of our citizens, but also involving a large amount of revenue, and involving also what is regarded to be one of the greatest moral questions before the peo-

ple at the present time, that the seats in this Parliament would be filled with anxious members who are desirous of legislating on this question, instead of hon. members seeking light elsewhere, where probably they may get light of a different kind. But it is an indication, I think, that the movement has not passed through the stage when the leaders of the great parties on both sides can take hold of it and make it a question of practical politics. For my part, I shall be glad to see the time arrive when that can be done, or, if it be not made a party question, when we can all unite and decide what is best to be done in regard to this great subject. I must say I hold rather an anomalous position in this matter myself, because I think I represent the largest liquor interests in any constituency in Canada. I have in my constituency the largest distillery, four of the largest brewers, and nearly all the wholesale liquor dealers in Toronto, besides many others interested in the traffic, and I take it as a tribute of confidence that they should send me to this House, knowing that I have been all my life—no credit to myself, because I was brought up to it—a prohibitionist. They sent me here knowing my views and what action I was likely to take, and that I would act as I propose to act, support the question by all legitimate means. At the same time, I feel that the support given me by those parties has thrown upon me a responsibility in regard to their interests, to be satisfied that no sacrifice is made of any interests involved in this matter, and that what is right must be done to all who are concerned in it. We have heard a great deal in the House, not only to-day, but on previous occasions, as to the difficulties that stand in our way in dealing with this question. We have the very strong sentiment that prevails with respect to the evils arising from over-indulgence in strong drink. They have been graphically depicted on numerous occasions, and so it is almost superfluous to carry on the debate on that line, because it is undoubtedly felt by all who have studied the question, and even by those who have given the question little or no study, that strong drink has ravaged our country to a certain extent, and repressive measures have been adopted already, and there is a feeling that still further measures of repression should be adopted. At the same time, we have reason to congratulate ourselves, especially when we hear the expressions of older members, who can look back twenty or thirty years, and tell us of the advance of temperance sentiment here, and we would be lacking in duty if we did not recognize that and congratulate ourselves on the general advance made, I cannot say in spite of the want of legislation, because that would not be expressing it correctly, but in consequence of the advancement in the sentiment of the community irrespective of the legislation which has taken place from time to time. The country has reason

to be congratulated that the time has come when a man may drink or not, just as he pleases, and whether he drinks or not no stigma or discredit is placed on him so long as he does not indulge to excess. In looking at what might be termed the affirmative side of the resolution, in addition to the advance of public opinion in favour of the repression of strong drink, we have also to recognize the very strong sentiment expressed by the people of the provinces in favour of prohibition. We would be failing in our duty as legislators if we did not recognize the large vote which has been given in the various plebiscites, and the advances which have been made in the direction of prohibition. We find that even among our temperance societies, in years past some of them were limited in their pledge to certain classes or certain quantities of liquor, but now they have advanced in their sentiments so that they are all moving in the direction of total prohibition. We cannot overlook that sentiment. No man who is in public life and who looks to the suffrages of the people to keep him in public life can afford to overlook what is the sentiment of the majority of people in his constituency. I quite appreciate the position of my hon. friend from East Durham (Mr. Craig), who says that he advocates this question because he believes that he is representing the views and feelings and desires of the larger portion of his constituency. I think we are bound to recognize that. We are sent here as servants of the people; we are sent here to carry out the will of the people, and although I do not think we would be always justified in surrendering our private judgment of what is best for the people simply because the people might demand a certain thing, yet there are cases in which the majority should rule. We all know that sometimes a wave of popular opinion will sweep in a certain direction which ought not to be gratified, and that at times public men have to stem the current of public opinion for a time in order to set the people aright, where they are inclined to go wrong. But, when we find a prevailing and permanent sentiment in the country in favour of prohibition, a sentiment which has been growing for a number of years, it is not for us to close our eyes or shut our ears to the demands of the people. We must listen to these demands, and when we believe that the time has come that we are bound in duty to pass a prohibitory law, then it is for us to take such measures in the interests of the people and in the interests of the country as to bring about that legislation which is so persistently and universally desired. Now, Sir, we have to consider the other side of the question, and in doing so we find there are many interests involved which it is impossible to overlook. While we may be inclined to legislate at the command of the majority, at the same time I do not think we are bound, without the strongest reasons, to legislate in any

direction which will infringe upon the rights and vested interests of a large proportion of the population. When we consider the amount of capital invested, and the number of persons who are engaged in the manufacture and sale of liquor, we are bound I think to consider their interests. I do not know that I could go so far as my hon. friend from East Durham (Mr. Craig) as to compensation, but if the question should arise as to whether the manufacturers should be compensated for the amount of capital they have invested, it is possible that I would be prepared to go as far as he does. I will say this at the present time: that whatever legislation we may embark in on this subject we ought to be careful that such legislation will not so interfere with the capital invested by our citizens as to practically work a great injustice to a large proportion of them. Then we have to consider the question of revenue which has so often been touched upon, and there is no doubt that this is a very important question, especially for us on this side of the House. I do not know that my hon. friends opposite have such a great interest at stake in that at the present time, although they look forward to it in the future and possibly at some very distant date from now, they may have to deal with the revenue of this country. There is no doubt, so far as the revenue is concerned, that if we make up our minds, irrespective of the revenue, that this law should be passed, I think that we are in duty bound to the country and to our constituents to make such provision in the way of revenue as will enable us to carry out this law. Those who have considered the question and who possibly may be a little too sanguine in their expectations as to what will be the fiscal result from the passage of a prohibitory law, claim that this capital which is now invested in the manufacture and sale of liquor will be invested in other directions, and that the commerce flowing from that capital will result in as much revenue to the country as is derived from the manufacture and sale of liquor at the present time. That argument to a certain extent is undoubtedly correct. It is impossible for us to say exactly how far it may be correct, but yet I feel that, if the only question remaining for us to decide were the question of revenue, it would be our duty to pass a prohibitory law and to look for the necessary revenue from other sources. Then again, Sir, there is a very large class of the people who are not believers in prohibition; a large proportion who consider that it is an interference with the liberty of the subject, and we are bound to respect the opinions of these, because as my hon. friend from East Durham (Mr. Craig) said, there are very many people who are just as conscientious, and possibly some of them more so than we are ourselves on this subject, who are inclined to think that the passage of the prohibitory law would be

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such an infringement of the rights and privileges of the people as to make it unconstitutional, at any rate in the practical sense. Many of them believe that we have no right so to interfere with the liberties of the people as to prevent them from taking their wine or beer as the case may be. There are, also, a great many, Sir, who are moderately addicted to the use of liquor and who would look forward with a certain amount of anxiety to the time when they would be deprived of a glass of wine or a glass of beer at their meals. Many of these gentlemen, and possibly ladies too, would consider this a very great infringement upon their rights should we pass a measure the practical effect of which would be to deny them this luxury, if luxury it be. There are some persons who consider alcoholic drink a necessity, although I presume that in cases where it was really a medicinal necessity the law would not affect its use. We have to consider all these things, but the great basis on which we are able to place prohibition, as stated by my hon. friend from East Durham (Mr. Craig), is to point to the terrible evils which are brought about by the drink traffic. We have to stop these evils in some way. We have been restricting and restricting until we have found that restrictions have not enough practical effect. Therefore, looking at the subject from what might be termed the logical point of view, in order to properly repress the evils, in order to remove the temptations from the way of our young men, in order to make it discreditable and disgraceful to drink, in order that in future we may be spared the army of drunkards we have at the present time, I feel for my own part that it is our duty to pass such a measure of prohibition as would result in the removal of the evil. I do not consider we are interfering with people's rights when we are taking away from a great number of our population this temptation which will drag them down to ruin and degradation. I consider that we are simply fulfilling the duties for which we are sent here when we take such measures in the interests of the community as we believe will best serve the people of the country at large. Up to the present time, ever since we have begun to legislate—I should not say we, because many of us were not born when legislation began on this matter—but from the time our Legislatures and Parliaments have been dealing with this subject, the policy has been restriction rather than prohibition, and the restriction has been carried on with two objects. In the first place, there has been the desire to check the evils of intemperance, and as far as possible to hem in the traffic, so that there would not be so much temptation in the way of our young men and in the way of those who unfortunately have fallen victims to the habit; and the other object, as I understand, has been to derive a revenue from the traffic. Now, if the traffic is as discreditable as it has been painted, if its abuses

are as great as is claimed, then it is not proper that we should continue it simply for the purpose of revenue. If we think that the traffic ought to be prohibited apart from the question of revenue, then we ought to be prepared to pass a prohibitory law. We have passed, not only in the Dominion, but in several of the provinces, what may be called partial prohibitory laws—laws that went beyond the mere province of restriction, because the restriction has been usually confined to what might be termed the license law; we have had the Dunkin Act and the Scott Act, and now we have what is called a local option law, all of which are prohibitory in their nature. Now, these laws have undoubtedly had a good effect—and I think we ought to recognize the beneficial effect the license laws have had upon the country; we ought to recognize the beneficial influence of all the legislation on this subject, because each law that has been passed, whether or not it has achieved the objects its promoters intended, has been a step in the right direction. But those laws have been found insufficient to cope with the evils with which we are face to face. We had in Toronto during the past year a convention of prohibitionists, which I had the honour of attending as a delegate, and that convention sent a deputation to the Local Government to ask them what they were willing to do on this very important subject. I was not a member of the deputation. Some hon. gentlemen to-night have spoken of what this Parliament might have done or might do or might promise in regard to the subject under discussion. I would just like to say this—and I do it without any wish to introduce any political feeling into the debate, because nothing is further from my desire. But I did feel, at the time that deputation waited on the Local Government, that the opportunity of the Local Government at that time was a very great one, and if they had been prepared to rise to the responsibility that was imposed upon them by the sentiment and the vote of the people of the province, the delegation would not have been sent away with an answer containing so many “ifs,” so much vagueness and uncertainty as the one they received. There is no doubt one of the greatest evils we have to contend with on this question is the saloon. I doubt if there are many men in this country to-day who will stand up and support the interests of the saloons. I think the time has come when, whatever other action we may take on this subject, we ought to abolish the saloon. The time has come when open drinking in the saloons ought to be done away with. Now, I believe, and it was generally believed, that the Government of Ontario had it within their power at that time to say to the delegation of prohibitionists who waited upon them: “We do not consider that we have the power to pass a prohibitory measure; we are not satisfied as to that, and we are not prepared to take the responsibility until the

Privy Council will say that we have the power to pass such a law; but we can close the saloons; we can refuse to grant licenses, and we are prepared to go that length with you, to show our good feeling in the matter.” In that way a great deal would have been accomplished, for we all have to recognize the fact that the saloon to a great extent lies at the root of the evil, and that if we abolished the saloons we would take one of the greatest steps possible in the direction of prohibition. Now, in my view we cannot reasonably expect this Government to deal with the question until the Prohibition Commission has reported. It would be simply folly on the part of the Government to issue a commission and send commissioners throughout the length and breadth of our land and through the adjoining country to take evidence on every phase of this question, and then, before that commission had reported, to pass a prohibitory law. It would require the very strongest expression of feeling and opinion on the part of the people of this country to justify the Government in taking such action, and I do not think that the warmest supporters of prohibition expected that, until after the commission had reported, the Government ought to take hold of the question and legislate upon it.

An hon. MEMBER. Oh, yes.

Mr. COATSWORTH. The Opposition may do it. I do not think they have shown much sign of it yet. Therefore, whatever may be our views on the question, if we regard the legislation which has taken place up to the present time as being in the right direction, we shall not have to strain our consciences very much to support such a mild resolution as we have before us to-night. As to the question whether prohibition can prohibit, that has become, I was going to say a world-wide question; certainly it has become a Dominion-wide question, and there are many things to be said on both sides. But I feel that we must bring ourselves to this point upon that question, that unless there is a moral sentiment in the country which will support the Government in carrying out the law, it will never be carried out. So that what the Government have to consider—and in that respect a very grave responsibility rests upon them—when asked the question: will prohibition prohibit, is whether the people of this country will support them in carrying out such a law. I do not quite go with the hon. member for East Durham (Mr. Craig) in saying that such a law could be enforced just as other laws are, because most other laws deal more directly with the rights of subjects as between each other. A man can hardly commit a crime except against a fellow-subject; no man can do a wrong but it reflects on a fellow-subject, and the law is in favour of punishing and prohibiting all crimes and wrongs, as far as practicable, and in favour of the enforcement of one man's rights as against another, as far

as practicable. But I think the question of prohibition is a larger question. It is not so much a question of enforcing the rights of one citizen as against another. It is because we all recognize that the evils of the liquor traffic are so vast that we should legislate against it, and one of the first questions we have to settle is, will the sentiment of the people back us up in the enforcement of such a law? And if we are bound to answer that question in the negative, if we are compelled to rely upon Provincial Governments, in many cases antagonistic to the Government of the Dominion, whichever way the Government of the Dominion may be, we shall find very grave difficulties in our way. I should very much regret to find that the time had come when this subject was made a political one, so that either one party or the other staked its existence on the prohibition question. But I do think that prohibition is backed up by the moral sense of the community. Speaking for my own province, we are fairly entitled to say that, in view of the very large majority (about 80,000) in favour of prohibition at the recent election, the sentiment in Ontario has declared itself. We are justified in saying that the sentiment of the people of Ontario has reached that point where, if this Government will take the responsibility of passing a prohibitory law, the people of Ontario will rise in support of the Government, and go as far as the Government are determined to go in the enforcement of a prohibitory law. We may fairly pass the resolution before us to-night. It does not mean a great deal. Some of our hon. friends think it is a declaration of our views on prohibition, but it does not seem to me to go as far as that. Still, however far it may go, it is, to a certain extent at least, the expression of our feelings; it is an expression of what we think is in the interest of our country, and I trust the resolution will pass.

Mr. DUPONT. (Translation.) Mr. Speaker, as pointed out by the hon. member who has just taken his seat, the resolution now before us is but an expression of a simple opinion. I think, however, that the feelings of some of the hon. members who spoke in favour of this resolution are wrong, and that they do not represent the opinion of the majority of the people of Canada. The resolution now before us states that it is expedient that the importation and manufacture of intoxicating liquors should be prohibited. I know of no country where the Government could prohibit the importation and manufacture of intoxicating liquors. If nowhere they succeeded in preventing such importation and manufacture, I think it would be unwise on the part of the Government to try and establish by legislation such an order of things. Moreover, take the more civilized nations of the world—take France, for instance, which is a densely populated country, where most people have a liking for grape-wine and

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where its cultivation is ever considered one of the most important industries of the country—take France, I say, and you will find that there people daily and freely use wine or such other liquors as beneficent as wine. There, indeed, wine is considered as a nutritive element, as a beverage absolutely necessary to the health of the people. The same can be said of several other countries where wine is in great use. In France, you meet no more drunkards than elsewhere, that is to say, drunkenness is not larger there than in other countries, and those who went to France, those who visited the leading cities of that country, and Europe generally, where wine is in great use, state they did not notice a larger number of drunkards there than elsewhere where they never use wine. To prohibit the manufacture and importation of intoxicating liquors is to accustom the people to those unwholesome drinks which ruin the health and to defeat the object of the very people who would like to see the whole population subjected to a system of compulsory temperance. I can see no necessity for having this resolution passed now, the more so as a commission was appointed with the sanction of this House to hold an investigation with respect to this very question of prohibition and we have not yet its report. That commission entered upon its labours several years ago and has steadily proceeded on them ever since; it has already visited almost all the provinces of the Dominion, and even various states of the neighbouring country, to ascertain the kind of results prohibition has given in the states where such a measure was taken. I think that before expressing an opinion here, before the House should express its sentiments, it had better wait for the report of the commission, since it deemed it proper to appoint it and gave it authority to collect information on that question. I think we should wait for the report of the commissioners entrusted with the holding of that investigation before we should decide ourselves. Besides, I think that that report will support the opinion of those who believe that prohibition established by legislation would be an unjust, or, to say the least, an unwise measure, which would not have the result expected by the very persons who propose it. By the way, I can also refer, Mr. Speaker, to my own experience. I went on a visit to the state of Maine, where there is a prohibitory law, and there I found that there was more drunkenness, even a great deal more, than in the province of Quebec, where the sale, importation and manufacture of liquors were never prohibited. I found that in the state of Maine, the alcoholic liquors people were supplied with were real poison, which ruined the health of those who used them. To show you that prohibition can hardly be practically carried out, here is a fact for your information in this respect. I hap-

pened to be one day at a watering-place on the Atlantic when there came a regiment of soldiers of the Secession war. These old soldiers were on a pleasure trip. Although there was not to be found a single large hotel in the locality, all these gallant soldiers were intoxicated in the evening, so much so that a good many of them could not take the boat to go back home. Here is the result of a prohibitory law. You accustom the people to drink alcoholic liquors which poison their blood to such an extent that once they drink it, they cannot dispense with it after using it for a certain time, and that that unfortunate habit drives them to the ruining of their health and ending of their life in a mad-house. I am at a loss to understand the fierceness of the prohibitionists against the product of the vine, since scientists contend, I think, that wine is necessary to health, not only to help sick people to recover a perfect health and to invigorate those who are affected with certain diseases, but even that wine is quite necessary as a tonic for the preservation of health. To adopt this resolution now would seem to me too soon, to say the least. The hon. members who supported it in their speeches would like this House to pass a law prohibiting the importation and manufacture of wines. By such a legislation we would succeed in depriving the people of a beverage necessary to their health, necessary even from a medical and religious standpoint, necessary at least to preserve among our people that pleasant mirth and natural gaiety of which we are so fond, and in inculcating into them a taste for strong adulterated liquors. For you must not lose sight of the fact that wine drinkers are not alcohol drinkers. And in France, the country I referred to a moment ago, there are almost no alcoholized individuals. There people drink wine, use it freely, and yet you see there fewer drunkards than anywhere else. They say the same thing can be said of Italy and Spain, where there are by far fewer alcoholized individuals than in cold countries, where people do not use wine, but drink unwholesome alcoholic liquors, I think, Mr. Speaker, that the best means to bring about temperance is to have associations which will preach moderation and teach the people to use reasonably, but not misuse, the product of the vine. Instead of prohibiting the importation or manufacture of wines in a country, encourage, on the contrary, the manufacture and importation of good wines, induce the people to use these wines instead of drinking alcoholic liquors, and you will far better succeed in reaching the end you have in view. It is through temperance associations and the use of good wines that you will deter the people from the habit of using alcoholic liquors and thereby succeed in establishing temperance and improving public health. The prohibition of alcoholic liquors will never succeed in moralizing

a people; it is through education, through the use of beneficial liquors, that that end will be reached. Besides, Mr. Speaker, when considering this question, we must not only consider the revenue; if we had only to deal with that portion of revenue, we could take no notice of it. But I feel satisfied that the establishment of prohibition as understood by my hon. friends who spoke before me, would be a very unfortunate measure for the people, and would drive them, almost as a matter of course, to make use of alcoholic liquors clandestinely manufactured and which always are, as we all know, very unwholesome products. If I had not that conviction I would be willing, with my hon. friends who propose this resolution, to give it the support of my vote. But I feel perfectly satisfied that by prohibiting the importation of wine, as well as by prohibiting the manufacture of beer or any other liquor, not only would not the desired end be reached, but we would favour, as in the state of Maine, the establishment of unlawful distilleries and the manufacture of impure alcohols which are real poisons ruinous to public health. Those who have a passion for alcoholic liquors would be tempted to use these unwholesome liquors, and it would follow that, because we undertook to prohibit to our people the use of all beverages containing alcohol, we would have a class of drunkards, that is to say, of individuals poisoned by those adulterated alcoholic liquors. Those people would be more obnoxious to the community than are now those who use other liquors. If you were to prohibit everything which men misuse, we would have likewise to prohibit bread, and almost any food, for, as stated by a learned economist, a learned physician, more men are killed by good living than by sword. That remark did not apply to an excess of alcoholic liquors, but to the misuse, by some individuals, of the food intended for the preservation of man's life. Because some persons are making a bad use of alcoholic liquors, it does not follow that alcohol need not be used in the manufacture of medicines and sometimes ordered as a tonic by the physician. So that those who would prohibit not only alcoholic liquors, but any other liquor, only mean to say, in my opinion, that they do not wish for temperance. It is a sure way to prevent it from being established on a solid basis. Temperance can only be brought about by our trying and inculcating it with dignity, that is to say, by persuading the people that it is dishonouring and humiliating for a human being to misuse not only alcohol, but any other thing, to an extent injurious to health. I think that when that will be done we will have established a temperance system worth a good deal more than the one now urged. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I hope that the House will not be willing to accept the resolution now before us, however harmless and immaterial it may be. As apparently suggested by the

preceding speaker, if that resolution expresses an opinion, I consider that opinion as a wrong one. I consider that even for the prohibitionists, we must wait for the report of the Commission, which cannot be long delayed now, in order that we might know the conclusions to which the commissioners came. In the province of Quebec, where there is no Scott Act, and, therefore, no compulsory temperance, I think that in the rural districts, as well as in the cities, there is less drunkenness than in the cities of the United States which I visited, and which are under prohibition. If this is a fact, if, as found by me, the Commission should find that total prohibition, instead of causing temperance to prevail in the countries where it was to establish it compulsorily and permanently, had quite a different result, I hope that, in the face of a report in that direction, the hon. members of this House who are prohibitionists will side with the Commission, and say with us that total prohibition is not a means to cause temperance to prevail among the people, but that, to have it established, it is preferable to persuade them through the work of temperance associations, and by inculcating into them principles of abstinence, by showing them what degradation there is in the excessive use of alcoholic liquors. In my opinion, when we will have thus educated the people, we will have done more for the cause of temperance than can ever be done by all the prohibitions in the world. In every county where prohibition was tried, it resulted in a real failure. Not only have they not inculcated temperance, but they succeeded in increasing the number of the places where alcoholic and other unwholesome liquors were manufactured, which poison the people. That was the net result of prohibition. But, on the other hand, in the counties where less fanaticism and a more practical turn of mind were shown—and I cannot conceive that our Anglo-Saxon compatriots, who usually are reputed practical men, should be relentless in their efforts to force here such a system, when it is shown by experience that it was a failure everywhere—I cannot conceive, I say, that in view of those facts, which western members ought to know since they take an interest in the cause of temperance with such devotedness and zeal, they should not find, as we do, that prohibition never was a means to make a people sober. If prohibition cannot be brought about by any legislative action, we ought to try to bring it about by way of education. In my opinion, it is through education that we will make the people sober. It is through it that we will succeed in inducing men to reform, to have good morals and to misuse nothing. Never will men be made virtuous by way of any legislative action. It is by preaching morality that we will succeed in establishing temperance permanently and making of our people a respected and moral

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people. It is by suasion that we will come to that. I hope that my hon. colleagues in this House will ponder before adopting such a resolution as this, and that they will say with me that we must first wait for the report of the commission, which will enable us to discuss that question of prohibition, which we cannot do before that.

Mr. MACLEAN. If we were to pass the resolution now before the House, we should abolish, as has been suggested by one of the hon. gentlemen who spoke before me, immediately, the bar of this House, or else be self-convicted of hypocrisy. But there are other questions which could well attract our attention, and in which reform could be effected to much better purpose. There is too much attention paid in this country to-day to moral reform by way of legislation. Moral reform is not to be effected so much by legislation as by suasion, influence and example. If prohibitionists wish to confer a real benefit on their fellow-citizens, there are questions, such as public health, which they could take up, and in which they could hope to have some practical success. The hon. gentleman who seconded this resolution is a doctor by profession, and if he would examine the records of his profession, he would find that the public health rather than public morals is the thing which requires public attention. More people suffer by consumption, there is more misery brought about by typhoid fever and insanity, and these are things which could be greatly relieved, and which this Legislature ought to attempt to remove. There is plenty of scope for any one desirous to do something substantial for the people in the matter of adulteration of drink and food. Public health would be considerably improved if hon. gentlemen would devote their attention to securing for the people good spirits, beer and claret, rather than trying to accomplish an impossibility. Men are born to drink; those who speak the English tongue have been drinking for generations. They are a spirit-drinking people, and will continue to be such, and will never be reformed by mere attempts at legislation. We may introduce a prohibitory liquor law, but what will be the result? The consumption of drugs, opium and all such deleterious things will come into use and find more victims than whisky and spirits find to-day. Another thing I would like to say is that hon. gentlemen who support prohibition have not faced the question of compensation. They stand up here and revile the liquor traffic, and I join with them in so reviling it, but they have not told the House how the money raised from that traffic can be otherwise made up. A very large portion of the revenue is paid by the men who drink, and yet these men who furnish this great portion of the revenue are constantly abused and reviled, although nobody comes forward to show how that loss is to be made up. We

are making great progress in this country in the reform of our drinking habits, I venture to say that a great improvement has been effected. People are drinking less, not because of the law, but because of the force of example. It has come to be recognized more and more that the country has no use for the whisky-head. It has gone forth that the whisky-head and the saloon must go. But the saloons must go in the way of regulation of the traffic; and if any honest reform is to be made in the drinking custom of the country, it will have to be effected by much stricter license laws than are now in force. There is where the field for reform lies, and where our friends the prohibitionists ought to place all the pressure they can. Another thing which ought to be done, if we wish to remove intemperance, is to devote a portion of the revenue raised from the liquor traffic to the maintenance of inebriate asylums. Many men are the victims of intemperance, who, if they could have been placed in a proper inebriate asylum for two or three days, would have been cured from the drink habit altogether. In this way a substantial reform could be effected. Moral reform in the way of temperance must come rather from example and moral suasion and not from legislation, and in this direction a great improvement could be effected by more stringent license laws which would minimize the traffic. There is the key-note for the prohibitionists: Minimize the traffic down to the lowest point. Another means is to abolish the saloons. I am ready to support any measure to that end any day, but to prevent the entire traffic is impossible. You must have a public sentiment behind a law before you can enforce it, and there is no public sentiment which will support a prohibitory law. I need only point to the failure of the Scott Act throughout Canada; to the Maine laws in the United States, and to the prohibitory laws in the western states, to show that public opinion is not in favour of enforcing a law to prohibit the liquor traffic. Another thing, as I have pointed out before, is to devote greater portions of the revenue now raised by provincial taxation to the reformation of inebriates. If we should pass this resolution, it would be incumbent upon us to-morrow to pass a resolution abolishing the saloon down stairs, unless we wish to appear before the country as hypocrites, and I have a great contempt for hypocrites. We will stultify ourselves and stand before the country as men who could vote in this House in favour of prohibition, but who do not practice it themselves.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. The lengthy debate on this question indicates the importance which hon. gentlemen attach to it. The House is a very empty House, and I would move the adjournment of this debate. I believe that certain other members are

anxious to take part in the discussion of this important question.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 11.30 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, 8th May, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) In the Public Accounts Committee this morning, there was a desire expressed by myself to examine the Auditor General with respect to certain correspondence contained in his report relating to public expenditure, which correspondence had taken place between the Auditor General and the different departments of the public service; and it was suggested by some members of the committee that, as this correspondence had not been referred to the committee, they could not adjudicate upon it, and therefore the committee could not take cognizance of it. In order that the Auditor might be examined with respect to this correspondence and the several matters in which objections were overruled by the Treasury Board, I would move that the correspondence, together with the accounts, be referred to the Public Accounts Committee. The accounts themselves are the only matters which are brought before the committee on which they could examine; and it is obvious to every one that one of the most important duties of the committee should be to examine carefully the differences of opinion, which arise from time to time, between the Auditor and the Treasury Board. In order if possible to lay down certain rules for the guidance of that officer. I would move:

That all correspondence between the Auditor General and the several departments of the public service, relating to public expenditure, as contained in the Auditor General's Report of Public Accounts for the past financial year, be referred to the Public Accounts Committee.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I understand the purport of this to be that all the particulars mentioned in the Auditor General's Report, and not only those connected with the accounts for the past year, should be opened up and sent to the committee in order that

the Auditor may be examined upon them. Much of the correspondence in the Auditor General's report relates to the accounts for the present year, and there is no precedent for referring these to the Public Accounts Committee.

Mr. SPEAKER This motion will require notice.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) If the hon. gentleman thinks that notice should be given, I shall have to let the motion stand over, but the hon. gentleman will see the necessity for referring these matters to the Public Accounts Committee. This correspondence, which takes place from time to time, and some of which relates to expenditure not directly within the year, is published in the report for the year. Next year, when we have the accounts for the year, we will not have the correspondence immediately before us, as it is in the preceding year's report. It is expedient, when there are differences of opinion between the Auditor General and the heads of departments, that, at the earliest moment, these differences should be considered by the Public Accounts Committee, and their judgment passed upon them. It seems to me now is the proper time to do that. I should be surprised at any objection on the part of the Government. It is customary to refer to the Public Accounts Committee matters other than those contained in the public accounts of the year, but special reference must be made. And in the matter I am bringing up, we are without jurisdiction unless we obtain such reference.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I see the reason of the hon. gentleman's motion, but the objection which he finds in his way is not the fault of the Government, but the fault, I distinctly think, of the Auditor General in confusing the accounts of the two years. We find, all through this report, a number of accounts stated which belong to the accounts of this year, and which ought to be only in the accounts for this year to be laid upon the Table with the Auditor General's report next session. If the Auditor General thinks proper to publish his correspondence a year in advance, he puts this House to great inconvenience in investigating the accounts. But that is the point where the matter ought to be corrected.

Mr. LAURIER. I would call attention to this consideration, that the objection the First Minister raises as to the manner in which the Auditor General's report is made up would be a proper subject for investigation by the Committee on Public Accounts, so that we would have a decision of the committee to guide the Auditor General in the future.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. Premier does not require me to give a notice which will not be reached for a fortnight?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It is entirely a new departure which the Auditor General is seeking to introduce, and which the House, by this resolution, will be asked to affirm.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) It is quite customary to refer special matters to the committee, and the inconvenience of allowing them to remain over for nearly two years, after these expenditures had been made, before they can be inquired into, is so obvious that the necessity for examination is evident. I differ entirely from the right hon. Premier with respect to the propriety of the Auditor General publishing this correspondence. I venture to assert he is strictly within his rights and is doing public service by calling public attention to it at the earliest possible moment. At the same time it is a matter which, the hon. gentleman will see, should be referred to the committee and investigated.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The notice will have to go upon the paper for the present, and we will consider the matter further. It is a very important departure from the usual practice, and I understand the committee have abundant work already laid out for them.

Mr. SPEAKER. The motion is out of order.

PRINTING COMMITTEE.

Mr. BERGIN moved that the second report of the Committee of both Houses on the Printing of Parliament be concurred in.

Mr. FOSTER. I notice that this report is a somewhat important one from a financial point of view. It calls for the printing of a very large edition of the Experimental Farm and Dairy report, involving, as I am informed, some \$80,000 or \$90,000 of expense, and I think it requires very careful consideration. Our finances are not in such a condition as to warrant us in undertaking any but absolutely necessary expenditure, and this seems to be a pretty large expense in the printing of the reports of one department. I would suggest that the report be allowed to stand over until we have time to find out accurately about what this will cost.

Mr. CHARLTON. While the matter is standing over, Mr. Speaker, I would remind my hon. friend that these reports have been of very great service to the farming community. As they have been issued for a couple of years, I should deprecate their discontinuance on account of the expense incurred.

Mr. SPROULE. One reason why the motion was made so early was because the matter is in type at the present time, and copies can be struck off at once if ordered by the House, and thus members might distribute these reports before the close of the session. It is much more convenient for members to distribute these books here than

when at home. This motion is for the same number of reports as were struck off last year, or perhaps not quite so many, and the number issued last year was not found to be more than sufficient for the wants of the various representatives of the rural constituencies.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Has the chairman ascertained what the cost will be?

Mr. SPROULE. I do not recollect the figures. The amount was given last year before the House closed, when a similar resolution passed the House referring to the same report.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I thought that was only the Dairy report.

Mr. SPROULE. No—both reports.

Motion withdrawn.

CHEESE INSPECTION.

Mr. McMILLAN (Huron). Before the Orders of the Day are called, Mr. Speaker, I would like to make a few remarks with respect to an answer given to a question by the hon. member for South Leeds (Mr. Taylor) regarding the appointment of an inspector at Montreal to settle any difficulties with regard to the quality or weight of cheese for shipment. Let me say that when the Bill was passed some years ago, I was opposed to any system of inspection that would take the goods out of the hands of the farmers or the factories. Not long ago there was a meeting at Lansdowne, where a number of cheese-makers met, and this question came up to be discussed. I was invited to be present, and the question of the appointment of an inspector at Montreal was fully discussed. The meeting dispersed without coming to any conclusion other than this: that they would enter into an arrangement to sell cheese subject to inspection at the factory or at the railway station before leaving for Montreal.

Mr. SPEAKER. May I ask if the hon. gentleman intends to move a motion?

Mr. McMILLAN (Huron). I have a letter I want to lay before the Government with respect to this matter, and it requires a little explanation.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. If the hon. gentleman would be good enough to send us the letter we should be glad to consider it.

Mr. SPEAKER. I have on previous occasions pointed out the inconvenience that would arise if subjects were brought up on the Orders of the Day being called which would give rise to discussion. Of course, by courtesy of the House, questions may be asked and the Ministers may answer, but if a matter is brought in which is likely to cause discussion, the practice will be inconvenient.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. In order that the hon. gentleman may have an opportunity to bring forward the question he is desirous of discussing, I may suggest that, by forbearing to move now, he may mention the matter on going into Committee of Ways and Means in a few moments. He will then have his opportunity for discussion and the rules of the House will be complied with.

NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES ACT.

House resolved itself into committee on Bill (No. 5) further to amend the North-west Territories Act.—(Mr. Daly.)

(In the Committee.)

On section 4,

Mr. LAURIER. Will the hon. gentleman kindly explain what parts of the Act these refer to, and what are the duties here prescribed?

Mr. DALY. The section provides that:

Section 67 of the said Act is hereby repealed and the following substituted therefor:—

67. Paragraphs (a), (b) and (h) of section 2, subsection 1 of section 20—

and others hereby incorporated with this Act, and shall be read to form a part thereof. It also incorporates sections—

Mr. LAURIER. I have not the Act under my eye; I would ask the hon. gentleman what duties this prescribes?

Mr. DALY. Paragraph (a) of subsection 2 reads:

The expression "election" means an election of a member to serve in the House of Commons.

Paragraph (b) provides:

The expression "electoral district" means any place in Canada entitled to return a member to the House of Commons.

Paragraph (h) provides:

The expression "personal expenses," as used in this Act with respect to the expenditure of any candidate in relation to the election at which he is a candidate, include the reasonable travelling expenses of such candidate and the reasonable expenses of his living at hotels or elsewhere, for the purpose of and in relation to such an election.

Subsection 1 of section 20 reads:

No qualification in real estate shall be required of any candidate for a seat in the House of Commons of Canada, but such candidate shall be either a natural born subject of the Queen—

And so on. Paragraphs (b) (c) and (d) of section 30 relate to the furnishing of each deputy returning officer with a copy of the list of voters for the polling district for which he is appointed; (c) refers to the delivery to the deputy returning officer of the ballot box; (d) to furnishing each deputy

returning officer with a sufficient number of ballot papers. Section 31 :

Whenever the returning officer fails to furnish to the deputy returning officer for any polling district, the ballot box within the time prescribed by this Act, such deputy returning officer shall cause one to be made.

Section 33, the poll clerk is to act as deputy returning officer in certain cases and appoint a poll clerk under him. Section 34 provides where the poll shall be held. Sections 35 to 40 have relation to the hours of polling, who may be present in the polling station, agents to be authorized in writing, who may act as agents for candidates, oath of secrecy, opening the poll, showing and locking ballot box, and calling voters. Subsections 1 and 2 of section 45 provides regulations for voting and conduct of electors and deputy returning officer, and the oath to be taken by voter if required. Subsection 3 provides that the deputy returning officer is to instruct an elector how to mark and poll his ballot. Sections 46 to 49 provide the mode of voting and marking ballots, despatch to be used in marking the ballot, and quitting the polling station, the penalty for carrying away ballot paper, and voters unable to mark their voting papers, and the oath of voter in such case. Subsection 2 of section 49 provides for an interpreter to be sworn in certain cases ; subsection 3, deputy to enter reasons for marking ballot by him. Section 51 :

The poll clerk shall enter in the poll book to be kept by him aforesaid, opposite the name of each elector voting, the word "voted" as soon as his ballot paper has been deposited in the ballot box.

Section 52 :

No voter who has refused to take the oath of qualification as aforesaid, when requested so to do, shall receive a ballot paper or be admitted to vote.

Section 53, voting more than once in same electoral district forbidden. Section 54 :

If a person representing himself to be the particular elector named on the list of voters, applies for a ballot paper after another person has voted as such elector, the applicant upon taking the oath in the form Y, in the first schedule of this Act, and otherwise establishing his identity, shall be entitled to receive a ballot paper.

Subsection 1 of section 56 provides :

Immediately after the close of the poll, the deputy returning officer shall, in the presence of the poll clerk and the candidates or their agents—and if the candidates and their agents or any of them are absent, then in the presence of such, if any, of them as are present, and of at least three electors—open the ballot box and proceed to count the number of votes given for each candidate ; and in doing so he shall reject all ballot papers which have not been supplied by the deputy returning officer, all those by which votes have been given for more candidates than are to be elected, and all those upon which there is any writing or mark by which the voter could be identified, other than the num-

Mr. DALY.

bering by the deputy returning officer in the cases hereinbefore provided for.

Subsection 2 provides as to the duty of the deputy returning officer after counting the votes. Section 57 :

The deputy returning officer shall take a note of every objection made by any candidate or his agent, or any elector present, to any ballot paper found in the ballot box—

And so on. Section 58, statement, &c., to be inclosed in ballot box by returning officer. We incorporate the whole up to section 120, inclusive. Then we go on to section 125.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) What are the sections you omit ?

Mr. DALY. The sections omitted are 121 to 124. One hundred and twenty-one relates to fees for services and disbursements to officers mentioned ; and the Governor in Council may make a new tariff, and revise and amend it.

The fees and expenses in the second schedule of this Act mentioned, and no others, shall be allowed to the several officers therein mentioned, respectively, for their services and disbursements at any election : provided always, that if it appears to the Governor in Council that the provisions made in this section are inadequate or insufficient for the purposes for which they are intended—

And so on. The Governor in Council may make a tariff of fees. The reason this is not included is because it is provided for by the present Representation Act.

Mr. LAURIER. I understand there is a special provision in the North-west Territories Act with regard to that, which the hon. gentleman retains. What is it ?

Mr. DALY. Section 66 :

Inasmuch as in view of the extension of the electoral franchise to the North-west Territories, as by this Act provided, and the specific provisions in that behalf herein enacted, and of the remoteness of certain portions of the said Territories, it may appear that allowances for fees and disbursements similar to those provided by section 121 of "The Dominion Elections Act," will be inadequate or insufficient for a fair and just but economical remuneration for the services performed, the Governor in Council may make a tariff of fees, costs and expenses based, as nearly as may be on the tariff of fees, costs and expenses in the said section set forth, to be paid and allowed to returning officers and other persons employed at or in respect to elections under this Act, and may, from time to time, revise and amend such tariff :

2. A copy of every such tariff, and of every amendment thereof, shall be laid before the House of Commons at the then next session thereof.

Mr. LAURIER. At first blush I do not see much difference between the section as applied to the North-west Territories, and the general Act. Why not incorporate the section which applies to the general Act as well, and make it uniform in that respect ?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The general Act is in the alternative—either the fees, or such other fees as the Governor in Council may fix.

Mr. DALY. There seems to be very little difference between the provisions. Section 121 of the general Act provides that a copy of the tariff and amendments shall be laid before the House, but I presume in drafting the Bill it was thought better to leave the present North-west Territories Representation Act as it is. No good purpose can be attained by amending the Bill by either striking out or adding to section 121.

Mr. LAURIER. On the contrary, a good purpose is served by making the law uniform in all parts of the country. Really, the difference is so minute, it would be better to have the Act incorporated in toto.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I think the provision requiring the expenses to be laid before Parliament is a very wholesome regulation. I notice in one election in the North-west Territories the expenses are in the neighbourhood of \$1,000, and the personal fees of the returning officer, something like \$300. Has the hon. gentleman a statement of expenses for a Dominion election in the North-west ?

Mr. DALY. No, I have not. You will find them in the Auditor General's Report for 1892-93. I think. I know the Auditor General had a considerable amount of trouble in reference to that. Section 126 provides for the mode of giving notices. Section 127, a candidate may act as his own agent. Section 128, mistakes of form only not to avoid elections. Section 129, provisions requiring the presence of agents ; 130, administration of oaths ; 131, contracts or promises :

Every executory, contract, or promise, or undertaking, in any way referring to, arising out of, or depending upon, any election under this Act, even for the payment of lawful expenses, or the doing of some lawful act, shall be void in law.

Those are all the sections that are mentioned.

Mr. MARTIN. The effect of this clause is to incorporate the ballot provisions of the Dominion Elections Act with regard to the North-west representation. That is all right. But with regard to the voters' lists the Bill proposes to leave that as it is. I would draw the attention of the House to the fact that it is a most peculiar system and that it will require some amendment before it can be worked. The clauses referring to the voters' lists are sections 28 and following sections of the North-west Territories Representation Act. Section 28 says :

The Governor General may appoint enumerators to make lists of the electors in the electoral district ; and if such appointments have not been made, the returning officer, conjointly with any two justices of the peace, or with one justice of the peace and a notary public, or with any one of them resident in or near the electoral district and two

electors of such district, neither of the number being a candidate, shall appoint under their hand a competent and reliable person to be enumerator for any one or more polling divisions of such district ; and the returning officer shall see that no polling division is omitted to be included in some one of such appointments.

That seems a most extraordinary provision. Under it the Governor General might appoint a dozen enumerators for the one district, and in case the Governor General does not appoint enumerators, the returning officer, along with a couple of justices of the peace, appoints the enumerator for each polling division. Then section 29 provides :

Each such enumerator, immediately after the nomination day, if a poll is granted, shall carefully compile a list of the persons qualified as electors to vote at the election then pending, for the polling division, or each of the polling divisions for which he has been appointed ; and he shall make three plainly written copies of the same, with the names of the voters alphabetically arranged, giving the occupation and residence of each voter, in the form K in the schedule to this Act.

Section 30 reads :

Each enumerator shall complete, date at his place of residence and sign the copies of the voters' list or lists as aforesaid, eight days before the polling day ; two of the said copies for each polling division he shall forthwith post up in two of the most public places within such polling division, and the other he shall retain for revision.

I draw the attention of the hon. Minister to that provision. I fancy the reason it has got into that shape is that in the older days when this Act was first passed, they did not have their nomination only a week before. The hon. gentleman will see that the enumerator does not go to work until after the nomination day, and then he must have his list ready eight days before the election, a thing which is impossible.

Mr. DALY. Is it ?

Mr. MARTIN. It is.

Mr. DALY. I do not see anything impossible about it. If the hon. gentleman will look at section 26 he will see that it reads as follows :—

Whenever a poll has been granted it shall be held on the same day of the week as the nomination, in the fourth week thereafter, and shall be opened at the hour of nine of the clock in the forenoon and kept open until five of the clock in the afternoon of the said day ; and the votes at the several polling stations shall be given between the said hours of that day, and by open voting.

There is nothing impossible about that.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Over a district, how large ?

Mr. DALY. They have always been able to do it before, even when the railway facilities were not such as they are now.

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know if it is smart of the hon. gentleman to be so particularly smart with me in this matter. Allow me in the same tone to refer him to section 6 of the Act, which provides :

Provided always, that in case of a general election the day so fixed shall be the same as that fixed for the nomination of candidates and the other electoral districts of Canada.

Mr. DALY. Well, what about that ?

Mr. MARTIN. Well.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. That refers to the nomination.

Mr. DALY. The polling day is four weeks after the nomination.

Mr. MARTIN. I see. I understood that the law had been made the same in all respects in general elections, and if it has not, it should be. There is no reason why an election in the Territories should be three weeks after the other parts of Canada. Of course, if the election is to be four weeks after nomination, the comments I have made do not apply, although, as I say, it is a most extraordinary provision for making a voters' list. There is nobody charged really with making out this list. There is no time within which the enumerators are to commence, for all they have to do is to have the list ready eight days before the election. There is no notice and no opportunity for anybody to get his name upon the list. The Government can make a list with only five names upon it, and there is no possibility of any one objecting. It seems to me the most autocratic and ridiculous provision that was ever in a statute.

Mr. SPROULE. It is very much on a par with the Manitoba Registration Act.

Mr. MARTIN. The Manitoba Registration Act gives the fullest and freest right of appeal to both sides. The lists are published a long time before, and everything is very complete in that Act. Here is a provision in this Act which is altogether absurd. The returning officer who may be a partisan, we will suppose, appoints a different person in each polling division. That person need not show his list to any one, but can make it out as he sees fit. A man may be entitled to vote, but he has no opportunity in any way, shape or manner of getting his name upon the list. It does seem to me that there should be some opportunity of scrutinizing the enumerator's work, and of giving the voters an opportunity of getting on the list if they are entitled to it.

Mr. LAURIER. I would remind my hon. friend from Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) that there are a good many other places besides the North-west Territories where the preparation of the voters' lists does not work satisfactorily. I do not believe that there is any part of Canada where it works sat-

Mr. DALY.

isfactorily, and indeed we have been told by the Prime Minister only lately that the Government intend to introduce a measure with regard to that Act during the present session, and so the discussion may, perhaps, come up more properly at that time. There is no doubt a great deal of force in everything that has been said by my hon. friend from Winnipeg (Mr. Martin), and when the time comes we will discuss that subject. I would like to call the attention of the Minister of the Interior to this : I may be astray, but I do not notice that he has introduced into this Bill any provision for a recount. The hon. gentleman knows that the system of having a recount is an indispensable accessory to the system of the ballot, and I suppose it is through an oversight that it has been omitted from the Bill.

Mr. DALY. In reference to what the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) has said about the voters' lists, I may say that the provision of the Act in that regard has been found to work very satisfactorily in the elections that have taken place in the North-west Territories.

Mr. LAURIER. Satisfactory to one side.

Mr. DALY. There has been no objection to it by either side. I was there in the general elections of 1887, and I never heard any objection taken to it upon the platform either by a Reformer or a Conservative. More than that, I have taken occasion to consult the representatives of the North-west Territories in the matter, and they prefer that the provisions of the present Act should remain in force, particularly in view of the fact, as the hon. the leader of the Opposition stated, that the right hon. the Prime Minister some time ago announced that there was a possibility of an amendment to the Franchise Act. It does not seem well at the present moment to extend the provisions of the Franchise Act to the North-west Territories, when we have the provisions of the North-west Territories Representation Act, which has proved to be satisfactory. More particularly will that be satisfactory now in view of the fact that the country possesses railway communication, which was not the case at the time when the Act was introduced nine years ago, and hon. members from the North-west will be able to speak more particularly with respect to the working of the system by which the lists have been prepared than I am able to do from personal experience, and they will be able to state to the House whether it is satisfactory or not.

Mr. DAVIN. It is the opinion of hon. members from the North-west—for we had a conference on the matter—that Parliament cannot very well in the present condition of the country improve on the method of arranging for a list of voters. It worked well in 1887 and in 1891. The hon. leader of the Opposition has asked : Worked well for whom ? I think if the hon. gentleman

will consult any of his Reform friends in the North-west they will tell him that it worked with equal justice to both sides. I do not think it would be advisable in the present state of the history of the North-west to adopt the system which prevails throughout the rest of Canada.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I agree with my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition that if we are to have a Bill from the Government dealing with the preparation of the voters' lists this will not be an opportune time for the discussion of the subject; but as the Minister of the Interior has said it is the deliberate intention of the Government to continue the existing system, then I think we cannot altogether pass over unnoticed the observations made by the Minister himself and the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin). The hon. member says it has worked satisfactorily. But for whom has it worked satisfactorily? What guarantee have the people that their names will be placed on the lists as a matter of right?

Mr. DAVIN. Permit me to offer a word, for I should have made this explanation in the course of my remarks. If a man's name is not on the voters' list, all he has to do is to walk up to the polling booth, make oath that he is a householder and has been a resident for a certain time, and he votes, whether his name is on the list or not.

Committee rose and reported progress.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF— WEIGHING OF CHEESE.

Mr. FOSTER moved that the House again resolve itself into Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. McMILLAN. Before you leave the Chair, Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to the announcement made yesterday that the Government intended to appoint an inspector at Montreal to decide disputes about the weight of cheese. Now, the cheese industry is a very important one in this country, especially in the province of Ontario, and in that province the inspection of cheese has been conducted in different localities by voluntary cheese boards; and the rules and regulations of one of these cheese boards I hold in my hand, and will read:

The payment of the sum of \$1 to the secretary constitutes an individual membership for the current year, and 25 cents a hundred cows or fractional part thereof for factories manufacturing cheese or butter.

The price for single admission to the board with all its rights and privileges, except voting, for one day, shall be 50 cents.

Members only are entitled to all the privileges of the salesroom.

There shall be a board of arbitration constituted for the purpose of hearing, adjusting and settling all differences which may arise from time to time

between the buyers and sellers, and as it is an expressed understanding and agreement by and between such and all members thereof that such settlement by such arbitration committee shall be final and adhered to. The board of arbitration shall be chosen and constituted as follows:—In case of difference between two parties or interests, the said parties or interests shall each choose one member of the board and the members thus chosen shall select a third, and these three shall constitute the board of arbitration and have appropriate jurisdiction.

All bargains between members, made at the salesroom or elsewhere, verbally or otherwise, shall be considered binding and to be lived up to and carried out by each of the parties thereto, and a failure of either party to perform his or their part shall be considered sufficient cause for the expulsion from the said Board of Trade and salesroom of the party so failing to perform.

It is hereby understood and agreed that all goods, so far as weights and quality are concerned, shall be tested on delivery and shall be final unless a written agreement as to the weights and quality be made between the buyer and seller.

This is a very simple method of settling all disputes, a method that has worked very well in the province of Ontario for the last twenty years, and one under which our cheese industry has attained its present position, second to that of no other industry in the province. Last January, while holding meetings of farmers' institutes I attended one at Lansdowne, at which this question of the appointment of a cheese inspector was discussed; and the farmers there came to the conclusion that they would enter into an arrangement to sell all their cheese subject to inspection at the factory or the station before it went out of the hands of the maker or seller. At a meeting which I held at Kingston, the same question was brought up. It was not introduced by me; but after that meeting, a letter was forwarded to me by a gentleman of Kingston on the subject, which I have now in my possession. I was under the impression at the time the Inspection Act was amended in 1892 that it would not be in the interests of the cheese-makers or creameries or farmers to have to sell their butter or cheese subject to inspection at Montreal, and in several cases my fears have been realized. I was told, when in the neighbourhood of Brockville last year, that one gentleman purchased a large quantity of cheese, \$60,000 or \$70,000 worth, to be inspected at Montreal, and that three weeks afterwards he failed, and returned with an offer of 25 cents on the dollar. In another case, a gentleman who was a patron of a factory from which a quantity of cheese was sold, told me that, knowing that it was to be weighed at Montreal, he went to the shed where the cheese was lying, and he was astonished to find a man and two or three boys actively at work weighing the cheese. Once or twice he saw a cheese that weighed seventy-four pounds put into a box marked seventy-five pounds; and a cheese

weighing seventy-three pounds put into a box marked seventy-four pounds. The latter cheeses were put aside, and when the inspector came round they were careful to select for his inspection those below the weight, so that every cheese in the lot was reduced one pound below the weight marked on the box. Another man stated that he had sold cheese to an agent, and a few days after it left he was notified that it was off flavour, and was not in good condition, and he had to suffer a reduction in price in consequence. He went to Montreal and called at the chief office of the buyer for whom the agent was acting, and asked him what was wrong with the cheese. The principal of the firm said there was nothing wrong with the cheese, that it was in a vessel crossing the ocean. The salesman said nothing more, but went on to the street at once and met the agent. The agent asked what had brought him there. "Why," he said, "it was your letter." "What, have you been to the office?" asked the agent; "I hope to God you have not given me away;" and the agent offered him a hundred dollars not to read the letter to the head of the firm. That is a sample of the dishonesty to which our farmers are subjected, when their butter and cheese are sold subject to inspection at Montreal. Such proceedings as this will destroy the confidence of the farmers in the conduct of salesmen, when the cheese is sold subject to inspection at any place except where the factory is situated, and will injure this industry, which should be fostered by the Government in every possible way. If the Government are going to do anything, they should change the Inspection Act, so that all cheese would be sold subject to inspection at the factory or the railway station. The following letter has been received by me in connection with this matter:—

KINGSTON, Jan. 30, 1894.

Mr. JOHN McMILLAN, M.P.,
Seaforth, Ont.

DEAR SIR,—In reference to the appointment of a Government inspector of cheese and butter, I am requested by a number of cheese manufacturers in this section to request you to use your influence against said appointment. The cheese industry of this section has greatly improved the last few years both in quality and quantity under our present system of doing business. We sell for cash; weights and qualities inspected at the local station here. Then if you do not like the way the buyer inspects or weighs your cheese, you may either leave the case to arbitration or sell to another. There is never any trouble. I have been secretary of the Kingston and Frontenac Cheese Board since it was first established here and know nearly everything that happens between buyer and seller, and I know that there never was a case that was referred to arbitration, or there never was a case in court or one cent of law cost has never been incurred: the cheese buyer and seller have always settled any difference between themselves. There has never been an unkind word between buyer and seller at

Mr. McMILLAN.

our cheese board since it was first established to this day. But two of our cheese men this season thought they could do a little better by sending their cheese to Montreal: they lost between \$4,000 and \$5,000. There was another case when a man sent his cheese to Montreal for inspection, he sent the weights of his cheese to Montreal, but through a mistake the cheese was not shipped, yet he got a return from Montreal that his cheese was soft and was cut $\frac{1}{2}$ cent, though his cheese was at the station here and they had never seen them. There was one factory in this country that sold their cheese subject to inspection at Montreal; he said he was selling for $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ of a cent more than we were every time, but when I settled with my patrons in the fall, I was able to pay \$1.80 more than he paid. There is a large amount of money and capital invested in the cheese industry here, which we think would be nearly all lost if a Government inspector is appointed at Montreal, for of course, if they once get our cheese there, they can pay us what they like, and none but a wealthy company that can ship their cheese to Liverpool could engage in the business, and the cheese industry would be taken out of the hands of the farmers. In conclusion, I may say that I never heard a cheese manufacturer in this section say they wanted the Government to appoint an inspector.

After the Bill was passed two years ago, the Western Dairymen's Association passed a resolution declaring that no cheese should be sold subject to inspection at Montreal or elsewhere than at the factory or railway station. Let me say, as one who has had a good deal of experience in cheese factories for the last twenty years, that the system laid down in the rules and regulations of the cheese boards is one that has worked well, and with which the farmers are perfectly satisfied. Neither the cheese boards nor the dairymen's associations have asked that an inspector be appointed, and I am convinced his appointment will lead a great many cheese factories to believe that the inspection is to take place at Montreal, and create a feeling of non-confidence which will be very apt to spread. While I believe that the Government are anxious to place the matter on as sound a footing as possible, it is their duty to pay strict attention to what the board of Kingston and Frontenac, through their secretary, has said, and with this explanation I will place the letter and the rules and regulations of the board in the hands of the First Minister.

Mr. TAYLOR. Before I say anything I would like to know who is the writer of the letter the hon. gentleman has just read.

Mr. McMILLAN. The letter is signed by Thomas Keenan, secretary of the Kingston and Frontenac Cheese Board.

Mr. TAYLOR. And a buyer of cheese. I may say that I attended the meeting of the Farmers' Institute at Lansdowne, to which my hon. friend has just referred; and I do not agree in the statement he makes that the cheese men there came to the conclusion

that they would adopt the same system which was adopted in the west, and to which the hon. gentleman referred, namely, that the purchasers of cheese should sell subject to inspection and weight at the factory. They said, if that could be brought about here in eastern Ontario, it would be no doubt the best thing for the cheese producers, but as yet they had been unable to bring about such a state of affairs. At the Cheese Board at Brockville, where about 150 to 200 different factories are represented, the number of cheeses at each factory offered for sale is registered on a board and is bought subject to weight at Montreal. At the meeting at Lansdowne, after the matter was discussed, a committee was appointed to hold further inquiry and representative men were to be invited to meet them. The result was that a deputation of farmers came here to Ottawa and waited upon the Minister of Agriculture, and urged him to name a referee at Montreal. The report which had been received from Professor Robertson stated that this grievance did exist in the eastern part of Ontario and throughout Quebec generally, that the cheese was sold and shipped to Montreal, and then, after being weighed at the factory by the cheese-maker, the boxes were found one or two pounds short when they arrived at Montreal. What the deputation asked of the Minister of Agriculture was, not to appoint an inspector, but a referee or umpire—some man, who was perhaps an official in some department at Montreal, such as the inspector of weights and measures, for instance, or some other competent person. So that in case cheese shipped to Montreal from any factory, with a bill of weights accompanying it, did not correspond, on arrival, with the bill of weights, then the referee would be called in to test whether the factory weights, as marked on the boxes, were correct or not. The Minister of Agriculture, in reply to the deputation which came from the Brockville Board during this session, agreed to do this, and I think negotiations are going on now towards having such a person named. Some Government officer at Montreal might be appointed, in whom the public will have confidence, to decide disputes as to weights that may arise between seller and buyer. Then I know that the people of the eastern part of Ontario, where they have been in the habit of selling, and will continue to sell, in that way (by the board subject to weight at Montreal) will approve the action of the Government if such an officer is appointed at Montreal. Such an appointment cannot in any way discourage the production of cheese. There is nothing said in reference to inspection as to quality—that is a matter to be dealt with later on should the necessities of the case demand it. There is a grievance all through eastern Ontario and in Quebec because the producers or sellers, if the market happens to drop, are nipped a pound or two on each box of cheese: and it is for the purpose of

getting over that difficulty that the farmers, the chief producers, are asking that a referee be appointed who will be independent of both seller and buyer, and who will come forward and say whether a shipment of cheese contains the weights marked on the boxes. If the Government appoint, as I hope they will, such a referee, their action will be acceptable to the producers of cheese, whether it is acceptable to the buyers or not. And it is the producers that we are most largely interested in.

Mr. SPROULE. In consultation with some of the cheese men in my section of the country, I found that the cheese producers universally regarded this step as one in the right direction. But when you talk to the buyers, they appear to be against it: and it is not to be wondered at that they are against it, because they will occasionally resort to these means to get themselves out of a difficulty and improve the situation for themselves where they buy at outside figures in a falling market. I know that, although cheese in our country are not, as a rule, sold on the board, as in eastern and western Ontario, they are sometimes sold subject to weight and inspection at Montreal. As a rule they are sold subject to weight and inspection at the cheese factory where they are shipped. In some instances that came under my notice the reports made from Montreal were not satisfactory to the manufacturers of cheese. There was a good deal of dissatisfaction on account of cutting down weights, when the patrons or the factory men thought they were entitled to larger weights than they got. If an appointment of this kind is made—and I understand it is practically made, or about to be made—the producers of cheese would look upon it with favour, but the buyers would not. The verdict of the buyers is not always a good criterion to judge by, because they are apt to be in favour of what injures to their own benefit. Some years ago, at the Dominion Dairy Association, the proposal was brought forward by myself to have a system adopted whereby cheese would be stamped or labelled, and every buyer at the association objected to it and said it would be detrimental to the trade. I find now they have come round to regard it as one of the requirements of the situation. I believe the same will be the case in reference to this arbitrator appointed, or to be appointed, by the Government. If the appointee was an expert in cheese, it would be better. I notice the person appointed is to be the inspector of weights and measures at Montreal. If the quality was to be inspected, he would be useless, but if the question to be decided is that of weight alone, he would be all right.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I would like to ask the Government whether, in considering this appointment, any communications have been had with the various dairymen's associations throughout the country, especially those

where the cheese industry is largest? I understand that in the Dairymen's Association of western Ontario—and I may say that the members and officers of that association are among the oldest and most experienced cheese producers and shippers in the Dominion—this matter was considered, and it was decided that such an appointment was not necessary, that it would create dissatisfaction and trouble to adopt an inspection at any point—Montreal as proposed at that time. As these men have the greatest experience in the trade and are the most deeply interested, one would suppose that some communication must have been had with them with regard to this matter. I cannot understand how this appointment would be to the benefit of the producers rather than of the buyers—from my business experience, I should think the contrary would be the case. I have not heard of any dissatisfaction existing among the chief producers or factory men. In our part of the country the cheese are purchased subject to weight and inspection at the factory, and, under that system, I cannot understand how the producer or manufacturer could have any difficulty. If they are not satisfied with the treatment accorded them by the buyer or the representative the buyer sends, they can refuse to carry out the bargain.

Mr. SPROULE. In many cases they are not bought that way, but are bought subject to weight elsewhere—say Guelph.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I can understand how difficulties might arise in adopting a system of selling subject to inspection either as to quality or weight at any other point than the factory. The hon. gentleman can see that the system proposed might give rise to difficulty and trouble, and while I have not had the opportunity of communicating with the officers of the association or with the large producers in my section of the country, yet, speaking from memory, I am inclined to think that they discussed the question and decided that the appointment proposed would lead to dissatisfaction. I would like, therefore, to know from the Government, if, before they proceeded in this matter, the different associations were communicated with, and, if so, whether they favoured the proposal?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. There seems to be some misapprehension on the subject. The associations have not been communicated with, nor is it the intention of the Government to communicate with them, and for this reason: It is not the intention of the Government to do anything about this matter. I understand the complaint of the hon. member for South Huron (Mr. McMillan) is based on the belief that the Government intend to appoint an inspector, involving a change in the system by which the dairymen have been accustomed to sell according to weights agreed upon at the factory or the railway station, or wherever

Mr. SUTHERLAND.

they pleased. There is no intention to take any such action. The seller and buyer will make their bargain according to weight or anything else at any place they like. All that has been decided upon, all that has been done, according to the answer that was given in the House yesterday, is this: that if buyer and seller should make a bargain dependent upon weighing at Montreal, we consent that our officer shall act as referee. But it is entirely at the option of the seller.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. The hon. gentleman will see that no one would understand from the answer given that this was the action intended. His explanation puts an entirely different face upon the matter.

Mr. DALY. The answer was:

It is the intention to appoint the inspector of weights and measures at Montreal to act as referee in matters of dispute respecting the weights of cheese.

Mr. SCRIVER. I was pleased to hear what has fallen from the hon. the Premier with regard to this matter. I may say that during the past year, especially, a great many disputes have taken place in regard to the weighing of cheese in Montreal. In the part of the country I represent we have no boards, as they have in eastern Ontario. The buyers go into the country and make their purchases from the different factories; the cheese are shipped to Montreal, and the buyers there, under some arbitrary system which they have adopted, have the cheese weighed. I understand the system pursued is something like this: that four or five cheese are selected from a lot of 100 or more boxes; they are weighed, and in case there is what they call an even beam, a pound is deducted for the weight of the box. The result of this is a loss to the producer of a larger percentage than should be exacted, and consequently there have been a good many disputes, and a good deal of heart-burning. I think it would meet the desire and reasonable wishes of the makers of cheese in our part of the country if some official connected with the Government, some one who would have no personal interest in the matter, were appointed to see that perfect justice was meted out to both parties, and thus prevent disputes.

Motion agreed to, and House again resolved itself into Committee on Ways and Means.

(In the Committee.)

Provided that on all iron or steel bars, rods, strips, or steel sheets of whatever shape, and on all iron or steel bars of irregular shape or section, cold rolled, cold hammered or polished in any way in addition to the ordinary process of hot rolling or hammering, there shall be paid one-sixth of one cent per pound in addition to the rates imposed on the said materials.

Mr. LAURIER. This is going back to the old duty?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes. Owing to the extra work upon these articles, 5 per cent is scarcely an adequate protection.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) What is the difference between the proposed and the new duty?

Mr. FOSTER. The 5 per cent would not give more than $\frac{1}{8}$ th of a cent per pound. One-sixth of a cent per pound was not at all a prohibitory duty under the old tariff, because it came in even with that.

Mr. McMILLAN. What particular classes of finished iron come in under this item?

Mr. FOSTER. All iron or steel bars, or the like of that, which are finished.

Mr. McMILLAN. Will it apply to polished mouldboards?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Item agreed to.

Forgings of iron and steel of whatever shape or size, or in whatever stage of manufacture, n.e.s., 35 per cent ad valorem, but not less than \$15 per ton.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) You eliminate from this resolution rolled or hammered bars or iron or steel not less than 4 inches in diameter—why?

Mr. FOSTER. Because in bringing in a bar of iron or a bar of steel you can go up to 4 inches with it, and the duty will be \$10 a ton; but if it goes above 4 inches, 35 per cent might be more than \$10 a ton. Under this provision the effect will be that all bars of iron or steel of 4 inches or more come in at the rate of \$10.

Mr. CASEY. The Minister has not explained why there should be different classes of duty on these articles.

Mr. FOSTER. By striking that out I am assimilating the duty on bars of iron or steel, making them uniformly \$10 a ton, instead of the larger amount.

Mr. CASEY. But you say this is to be not less than \$15 per ton.

Mr. FOSTER. This is for the forgings, iron and steel.

Item agreed to.

Rolled iron or steel angles, channels, structural shapes and special sections, weighing less than thirty-five pounds per lineal yard, n.e.s., 35 per cent ad valorem, but not less than \$10 per ton.

Mr. CASEY. It is quite a puzzle to any person not up in the technicalities of the trade to understand why there should be so many different classes and different duties on each.

Mr. FOSTER. There are different classes of iron.

Mr. CASEY. Is this a lower duty, because the process of making is simpler or easier?

Mr. FOSTER. It is a lower duty; it is not to be less than \$10 a ton.

Mr. CASEY. The item we just passed is not to be less than \$15 per ton. This is a lower duty than that—what is the reason of the lower duty?

Mr. FOSTER. These articles run into almost an infinite variety of shapes, sizes, and the like of that. There is a difference between a forging and these small channels.

Mr. CASEY. The forgings are evidently made to apply to things of all sorts and shapes, irregular shapes, and sections, and so on. Is it because forgings of iron and steel included in the present item are more simple and more easily manufactured?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, the other are the more costly kind.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Is it not a fact that the forgings of iron and steel cost only about \$20 or \$25 a ton, and that the tax will amount to 60 per cent instead of 35 per cent, taking average values? Perhaps the hon. Minister will state the average values during the last six months.

Mr. FOSTER. Forgings of iron range from 3 cents to 7 cents per pound, and some of them, I think, even higher; the unit of value of the importations last year was about $4\frac{1}{4}$ cents per pound. The average of rolled iron, channel, structural shapes is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound. The duty is not to be less than \$10 per ton, or 35 per cent.

Mr. CASEY. The committee might have expected to have had a schedule submitted showing the usual price of these articles, in order that hon. members might be able to form an idea of the amount ad valorem really represented by the specific duties. Once the hon. gentleman departs from the honest and straightforward path of ad valorem duties he loses himself. I do not suppose the Finance Minister is in the least degree capable of telling the committee the amount the specific duties would reach on the various classes in this schedule. It is quite certain that when a number of items are grouped together the specific duty on the whole must impose a varying percentage, and must be very high in some instances and very low in others. That, in fact, is the object of the specific duty—it is to cover the enormous taxation imposed on the cheaper articles under the form of so much per pound or per ton. The argument used in favour of specific duties is that they are to prevent undervaluation; but the real reason is to place prohibitive duties on certain lines of goods without letting the public know it. This specific duty is the pet of the combine. In conversing with a member of one of the combines the other day, he complained of the change made in the duty on the article he produced, in that while formerly it was

specific now it was 35 per cent ad valorem. I replied that 35 per cent was enough protection for any established industry. The reply I received was : We do not care about the percentages, what we want is the specifics ; what we want to do is to exclude the cheaper class of articles such as we produce ; we want it to be a prohibitive duty, and that can only be done by means of a specific duty ; if the Government impose a tax of \$1 a dozen on certain articles, worth only the same amount, it may exclude foreign competition, but if the duty is only 35 per cent, it will not prevent competition from outsiders, and what we want to do is to avoid competition entirely. That was an honest statement as to why the manufacturer wanted specific duties. The rest of the schedule now under consideration of the committee is so crowded in technicalities that, to use a popular phrase, no fellow can understand it. I do not believe the "fellow" who submitted the proposition is any better off than other members.

Mr. FOSTER. Not much, but still he knew that charcoal iron was made in this country.

Mr. CASEY. I give the hon. Minister credit for having found that out during the progress of this discussion, but it was not he who in the first instance gave the information to the House. These items have been evidently arranged by the parties interested. They have waited on the Minister and have shown him how the item should be arranged. Another delegation has followed and submitted clashing requests and demands, and the Minister had to get the parties together and reconcile their demands as far as possible. While home a few days ago I overheard a discussion about the weather among a group of farmers. One of them said it would be queer weather if each farmer had the making of his own weather. I think the making of a tariff is something like making the weather. It may be truly said that if the weather were submitted to those interested we would have very queer weather, for all those interested would differ. In making out the tariff, it has been intrusted to those interested, and the result is that we have a queer tariff.

Item agreed to.

Iron bridges and structural iron work, 30 per cent ad valorem, but not less than 1 cent per pound.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Why does the Finance Minister insert that limitation, "not less than 1 cent per pound" ?

Mr. FOSTER. Because of the excessively low prices prevailing for bridge work at the present time, especially in Belgium and the United States. On some parts of bridge works, just 30 per cent would be so low a tariff that they could not compete, although under normal prices 30 per cent is quite sufficient protection.

Mr. CASEY.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). You were afraid the people would have an opportunity of getting cheap bridges.

Mr. FOSTER. They might get a temporary advantage because of abnormally low prices, but in the end they would get no advantage.

Mr. CASEY. I suppose the hon. gentleman is afraid that if the bridges are too low the first flood would carry them away.

Mr. FOSTER. I am afraid you might get drowned.

Item agreed to.

Railway fish plates and tie plates, \$10 per ton.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Why is the specific duty returned here again?

Mr. FOSTER. This is exactly the same duty as on the bar iron, and you cannot complain if you put on the fish plate, which is made from the bar iron, the same duty.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) And the resolution the hon. gentleman came to, of applying an ad valorem duty, has vanished, and he has gone back to specific duties.

Item agreed to.

Wire nails, 1 cent per pound.

Mr. CASEY. This duty is raised one-quarter of a cent over the first duty proposed ; why is that ?

Mr. FOSTER. The difficulties in the way of adjusting the tariff as regards iron nails and wire were very great. The former duty of 1½ cents a pound on wire nails was a very respectable duty, and the object was to reduce it just as far as it possibly could be done without destroying the industry of making wire nails in this country. I thought we could possibly accomplish that by reducing the duty upon the sizes of wire used in manufacturing nails to 15 per cent, and then reducing the nails to three-quarters per cent. We find, that in the present condition of things in the United States wire nails are abnormally low, costing in fact less than the iron rods from which the wire is drawn and out of which the nail is made, the industry could not live here. In looking over the matter this fact came out: that if we excepted from the wire drawing the numbers that were used for the making of these nails and barbed wire, it would be taking some 60 or 70 per cent of the entire production of the wire drawing establishments from them ; and the duty upon wire is only 25 per cent, which is not at all an extravagant duty. I found that would not work, and the only fair way is to give a reduction of half a cent a pound on the wire nails and leave the wire itself at 25 per cent. That makes a very considerable reduction in the cost of the nails.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). A very considerable increase, you mean.

Mr. FOSTER. I am looking at it from the other point of view. It does not destroy the industry of wire drawing, which is an important one.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I could well see how one or two changes might be made in the tariff which the hon. gentleman submitted, but here we have over a hundred changes. He has been collecting duty on these nails. I suppose, according to the proposed tariff.

Mr. FOSTER. Subject to amendment always.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). How does the hon. gentleman propose to deal with all those who have been paying the lesser duties and making sales on that basis?

Mr. FOSTER. In the way it always has been done since we have been making tariffs in this country. When the resolutions are brought down they go into force, although they are not law. All entries from that time until the resolutions become law are made subject to amendment, and a man who imports has got to make his own calculations and exercise his own discretion and judgment.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) How is he to ascertain the changeable moods of the Minister of Finance?

Mr. FOSTER. He just takes the general principle that all mankind are subject to changes.

Mr. LAURIER. But the hon. gentleman may amend his own amendments.

Mr. FOSTER. I will promise not to change this.

Mr. CASEY. What is the ad valorem equivalent of 1 cent per pound on wire nails?

Mr. FOSTER. The price of wire nails is from \$1.50 upwards.

Mr. CASEY. Then it is 66 per cent, and why does the Minister put 66 per cent on wire nails, and only 30 per cent on some other articles?

Mr. FOSTER. Just for the reason that I have given.

Mr. CASEY. That they were too cheap before?

Mr. FOSTER. That under the present conditions it would not be possible otherwise for our wire nail manufacturers to conduct their business.

Mr. LAURIER. And therefore the people have to be taxed accordingly.

Mr. FOSTER. A light tax is put upon the people, but they have all the benefits of the industry in this country.

Mr. CASEY. Sixty-six per cent is not a light tax. Of course it is not a very large

item of consumption, but the tax on it is a good type of the taxes on other articles that enter into larger consumption. The Minister says that this industry could not live with three-quarters of a cent per pound protection, which would be 50 per cent on the price of wire nails as stated by him, and he has to give it 66 per cent to keep it alive. Does he imagine that the maintenance of an industry that cannot live with 50 per cent protection is of such benefit to the country as to justify him in taxing every buyer of wire nails 66 per cent on the cost? Can he tell us what size this industry has attained in Canada, how much capital is invested in it, and how many men it employs?

Mr. FOSTER. There are eight or ten factories, employing a large number of men.

Mr. CASEY. A hundred apiece?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know exactly the number they do employ.

Mr. CASEY. It is almost impossible to discuss this matter seriously when we come down to the statement that the existence of eight or ten factories, employing a number of men that the Minister has no idea of, justifies him in imposing a tax of 66 per cent upon an article in favour of an industry which could not live with 50 per cent protection. It is amusing in a way, but it is a sign of the complete rottenness of the whole system.

Mr. McMULLEN. Can the hon. gentleman say about what was the output of the factories last year?

Mr. FOSTER. The capital invested is about \$339,600 and the annual wages paid about \$123,650—that is, for wire drawing, and the manufacture of wire nails. I have not at my hand a statement of the quantity turned out.

Mr. McMULLEN. It would be well if the committee were placed in possession of that information, because wire nails are used very largely and are generally taking the place of cut nails; and the statement of the Minister that this duty will increase the price 66 per cent is a very serious matter to people engaged in building who want to get these nails as cheaply as possible.

Mr. CASEY. It seems very strange that in all these cases it is the interest of the producers that is considered and not the interests of the consumers, though the consumers are to the producers as many thousands to one. It is understood to be one of the objects of good government to secure the greatest good for the greatest number; but the hon. Minister's object seems to be to take special care of the minority, to secure the greatest good for the smallest number, in fact, to put the duty where it will do most good in the technical sense of the phrase, not to the greatest number, but

where the most political capital can be made out of it. The trades come and ask him for assistance on the very ground of their insignificance—on the very ground that they are small and trifling trades, and cannot produce goods as cheap or as good as those of foreign producers, and they therefore claim that he should compel the Canadian consumer to use their wares. I saw a very amusing instance of this in a *Petrolea* paper which has been mailed to all of us, which says that the oil producers there have been working to exclude American oil, not so much to increase the price as to force Canadians to use Canadian oil, in order that they might overcome the prejudice that they have in their minds and their noses against Canadian oil. This method used to be followed by our mothers in the days when we had a strong prejudice against castor oil, both in our minds and in our noses. It is certainly a truly drastic method of overcoming prejudice and compelling customers to buy what they do not want. Wire nails of Canadian manufacture cannot be made as cheaply as the imported nails, but the hon. Minister thinks it is better that Canadians should pay twice as much for Canadian nails as they would for the imported. He knows what is good for them, and forces them to buy the Canadian article at no matter what increased cost.

Item agreed to.

Shoe tacks, one-half ounce to four ounces, 1 cent per thousand.

Cut tacks, brads or sprigs, not exceeding sixteen ounces to the thousand, $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents per thousand; exceeding sixteen ounces to the thousand, $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) This is an increase of $\frac{1}{2}$ a cent a thousand on cut tacks?

Mr. FOSTER No, it is a reduction.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman's original proposition was 1 cent per thousand on cut tacks, not exceeding 16 ounces to the thousand. Now he is making it $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents.

Mr. FOSTER. The old duty was 2 cents per pound and the present proposition is to make shoe tacks 1 cent per thousand, and the second grade $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents per thousand, and the other $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound, instead of 2 cents per thousand and per pound respectively. My hon. friend will see that it is a decided reduction in the duties as they were.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The corrected revise of the first revise, which was about the third proposition the hon. gentleman made, contained a resolution taxing cut tacks, brads and sprigs, not exceeding 16 ounces to the thousand, 1 cent a thousand. By the revise of the revise, he makes it $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents, or an increase of 50 per cent. What is the reason for the change?

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman does not give me credit for taking shoe tacks out and making them less than before.

Mr. CASEY.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). It is the other tacks that are taken out and increased $\frac{1}{2}$ a cent.

Mr. FOSTER. What I proposed to do was to put the shoe tacks at the 1 cent per thousand, but I find that shoe tacks are defined by the weights I have given—one-half ounce to four ounces. We took out all the shoe tacks that are used, and it was not the intention at first to put other than shoe tacks at the low rate.

Mr. CASEY. Then when the first proposal was made, the hon. gentleman did not understand the classification.

Mr. FOSTER. I did not understand all about tacks.

Mr. CASEY. We should like to have the price of tacks as in the case of wire nails.

Mr. FOSTER. The average price of all the tacks—shoe tacks and others—last year's importations, was about 5 cents per pound.

Mr. CASEY. What is the selling price of Canadian tacks?

Mr. FOSTER. They retail about 5 cents per package.

Mr. CASEY. That will be about 25 per cent and the others higher in proportion. At $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound it would be $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Do we make cut tacks in this country?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, in Hamilton.

Item agreed to.

Brass and copper nails, rivets and burrs, and manufactures of brass or copper, n.e.s., 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Here you have 5 per cent of increase.

Mr. FOSTER. Five per cent decrease from the old duty.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) An increase from your first proposition.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, the decrease was too much.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman made a good resolution and then went back on it.

Mr. FOSTER. This is probably the best.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman took credit for reductions in the tariff, and now he is bringing in amendments which restore the tariff to what it was.

Mr. FOSTER. I shall take credit for the tariff as finally passed.

Item agreed to.

Lead pipe and lead shot, four-tenths of a cent per pound and 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I would like the hon. gentleman to explain this item. I have had some telegrams from people interested, and

I cannot understand the change as it is proposed. It is altogether different from the resolutions in the corrected copy, which read :

Lead, bars, blocks and sheets, 60 cents per hundred pounds.

Lead, old, scrap and pig, 40 cents per one hundred pounds.

Lead, manufactures of, n.e.s., 40 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. The old tariff had four items, if I remember rightly.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) But, as proposed in the corrected copy, it has three.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, it is not proposed to make any change in lead, bars, blocks, and sheets; in lead, old, scrap, and pig, or in lead, manufactures of, n.e.s. Lead pipe and lead shot were reduced to 30 per cent. But the raw material which goes into the making of them was charged four-tenths of a cent a pound.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) What will be the duty now ?

Mr. FOSTER. The actual protection will be 25 per cent.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) And four-tenths of a cent per pound.

Mr. FOSTER. No. Suppose you import a pound of scrap lead to be made up into lead pipe or shot. On that scrap lead there is a duty of four-tenths of a cent. When made up into pipe or shot, there is a gross protection of four-tenths of a cent, and 25 per cent ad valorem. But your raw material has already cost you four-tenths of a cent duty, so the net protection is 25 per cent.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Then the tariff will contain four resolutions ?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Item agreed to.

Enamelled iron or steel ware, including granite or agate ware, 35 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. That is an increase of 5 per cent. The tariff on these goods was 30 per cent. This was an industry for the commencement of which preparations had been made. A very large establishment has been built in Toronto, and there is another establishment in Montreal and they have been, for the last year or two, experimenting on the enamelled ware. They have just finished their experiments, and are ready to go into the manufacture of the goods. In fact, they have already manufactured a considerable quantity, which they have in stock, but have not yet put upon the market. We have, therefore, decided to keep the same protection as in the old tariff.

Mr. LAURIER. And, notwithstanding that the facts were as the hon. gentleman has stated, he proposed to decrease their protection 5 per cent. And now he goes back on that.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; simply because I do not think they could keep the industry in operation, notwithstanding all the capital they have invested, without it.

Mr. CASEY. And, therefore, every farmer's wife who puts up preserves has to help to pay for these experiments. These people tell us that they did not know how to make granite ware, and they wanted a year or two to experiment. Now they are allowed to charge 35 per cent more for their inferior products than the foreign product can be bought for. They are thus bonused to enable them to learn their trade, and, when they think they have learned it, they are allowed to go on taxing us to the extent of one-third the value of the article.

Mr. McMULLEN. What quantity of this ware was imported last year ?

Mr. FOSTER. The whole importation under this item last year was about \$197,000. That included, also, stamped tinware, japanned ware, and galvanized iron ware, very little of which is imported, nearly all being manufactured in the country.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) As to this lead duty, do I understand that the duties remain the same as before, with the exception of this one change of lead pipe and lead shot, four-tenths of a cent per pound, and 25 per cent ad valorem ?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Item agreed to.

Chrome steel, 15 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. Chrome steel came in before under the general steel duty at a high rate. It is a steel not made in this country, and is used almost exclusively for the making of safes. We have reduced it to 15 per cent.

Item agreed to.

Copper wire, 15 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. CASEY. Why is this change made ?

Mr. FOSTER. The 15 per cent protection remains unchanged, as I think it should. We have made no change in the raw material; they had the copper rods and ingots scrap copper, and so on, free. Wire is drawn from copper rods, and there is no change made in copper rods, which are still admitted free.

Mr. CASEY. Why did you put it down to 10 per cent in the first place, and now raise it to 15 ?

Mr. FOSTER. We raised it to 15 to keep it right.

Item agreed to.

Wire cloth, n.e.s., 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). This is a change from what the hon. gentleman proposed.

Mr. FOSTER. It was not enumerated, and it was thought best to enumerate it so that

it would be clear. This is wire cloth of steel wire.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). It is a new article, then?

Mr. FOSTER. It is defined here.

Item agreed to.

Cases for jewels, watches, silverware, plated ware, cutlery and other like articles, 5 cents each and 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. CASEY. Is there a factory for these things in Canada?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; a large one in Toronto.

Mr. CASEY. What does the 5 cents apiece amount to?

Mr. FOSTER. On some of the little things it would be very high, and on others it would be a very small addition to the duty.

Mr. CASEY. Is the specific duty intended to exclude all the cheaper cases of this kind?

Mr. FOSTER. Specific duties will have the effect of excluding the cheapest cases coming from the continent, and especially from Germany. As these are used exclusively by jewelers, and as the jewelry establishments consider it convenient for them to have the manufacture in this country rather than abroad, they do not object.

Mr. CASEY. It is rather to please the jewelers than the makers of these boxes?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, that is chiefly the reason.

Item agreed to.

Wood pulp, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. That was the old duty. It was placed on the free list, and I propose to put it back at the duty it was before, and to add a reciprocity clause with it. If we left it on the free list it would leave us in this position, that whilst our pulp cannot, commercially, go to the United States on account of the high duty, whilst they have the full benefit of our pulp wood resources to draw upon, they do not give us reciprocity in the finished article. We propose to keep the duty upon wood pulp, and add a reciprocity clause afterwards, so that when it is made free by the United States, we will make it free.

Mr. LAURIER. Then you propose to leave this on the standard offer of reciprocity?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. LAURIER. I may mention in this connection that I noticed some days ago Sir Henry Tyler stated that the Prime Minister had renewed the promise that if coal was put upon the free list by the Americans, it would be put upon the Canadian free list. Did the First Minister notice that statement?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I did observe the statement, and I have since ascertained that

Mr. FOSTER.

Sir Henry Tyler was misreported. There was no such promise.

Item agreed to.

Emery wheels, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. Emery wheels were put upon the free list by mistake, owing to defective information. During our investigations, the information came to us that no emery wheels were made in this country, and so they were put upon the free list. But we found out since that there are two factories of emery wheels which are making an excellent article; and the people who use emery wheels much prefer to have them made here, where they can deal with responsible parties, than to go abroad for them. They are not always sure of their quality when purchased abroad. I may also add that emery wheels are peculiarly dangerous to the workmen if they split and fly off.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). It is worthy of note that everybody wants to buy emery wheels that are made in Canada, and in order to give them the privilege, they are precluded from buying any brought in from outside. The hon. gentleman has shown how much reality there is in the statement, by what he proposes to do with reference to it.

Mr. FOSTER. There is no doubt that the purchasers of emery wheels prefer to have them made here.

Item agreed to.

Axles, springs and parts thereof, axle bars and axle blanks of iron and steel, n.e.s., 1 per cent and 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. That is instead of the 35 per cent. The old duty was 1 cent per pound and 30 per cent. These are chiefly the smaller axle springs, and the like of that, for carriages.

Mr. CASEY. What is about the average price of these things?

Mr. FOSTER. Eight and one-half cents a pound was the average value of last year's importation. We import about 50,000 pounds.

Item agreed to.

Wrought iron or steel tubing, threaded and couples or not, not over two inches in diameter, 15 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. Minister of Finance is aware that in the Maritime Provinces there has recently been a new method of drying fish discovered which promises to cause a revolution in that important industry, and if it turns out as successfully as it promises to do it will work a remarkable change in that branch of commerce. A gentleman by the name of Mr. Whitman, of Annapolis, has patented an invention for the artificial drying of fish, which seems to meet with pretty general approval. I notice in the report of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries for last year that a lengthy description of Mr. Whitman's process is in-

sented, and that invention involves the use of the very large quantity of wrought iron tubing. I will read a short extract from the description of Mr. Whitman's invention as contained in the Minister's report :

The wet salted fish are taken from the ketch, and washed, after which surface water and pickle is pressed out of the fish by steam press or otherwise. After having been in press for a few hours, the fish are ready to be spread on the wire "flakes" or trays that are placed in rows that are nine inches apart; the rows of flakes or trays being contained in compartments that are traversed by pipes in which steam or hot water is permitted to circulate. The maximum temperature which the steam, or hot water on the pipes can impart to the compartments is about 95 Fahrenheit.

The hon. gentleman knows that the old way of drying fish was to take advantage of the warm weather and sun to put the fish on flakes by hand, and when they have been exposed for a certain time to the sun to withdraw them, and when wet weather occurred the people have to wait for the sunshine, and sometimes a long period is occupied in drying the fish properly. Mr. Whitman has patented this invention, under which fish can be artificially dried in a very few hours. I had the pleasure of going through Mr. Whitman's establishment last summer, and certainly the fish dried under his process made a very remarkable showing. I heard from several parties who had visited establishments that the results of this drying process were excellent. If Mr. Whitman can successfully dry fish which hitherto have had to be dried by hand in the sun, and the drying of which was dependent on the state of the weather, it will work a revolution in that branch of industry; but he finds the duties upon wrought iron pipe used by him in his invention are so onerous he will not be able to use it in this country. He contends, moreover, that the manufacturers of wrought iron pipe in Montreal have taken advantage of the duty to raise the price on it to such an extent as to preclude him from manufacturing his invention in Canada. I will read the letter he sent me, which will explain the matter more lucidly than I can do. It is dated April 4th, and is as follows :—

I beg to call your attention to the extensive duty on wrought iron pipe equivalent to 2 cents per lineal foot of inch pipe. Before the protection tariff (under the present glorious ? National Policy), the Montreal Rolling Mills were manufacturing 1-inch wrought iron pipe and selling at 3½ cents per foot, and now under tariff nursing they have worked prices up to 5½ cents. As a great favour, I got 30,000 feet of this pipe from the Montreal Rolling Mills last year for my fish-drying establishment at Halifax at 5½ cents per foot. The 1-inch wrought iron pipe referred to in the clipping from the 'Morning Chronicle' inclosed, cost me f. o. b. steamer at Boston 5½ cents per foot, and will pay a duty at St. Johns, Nfld., of 25 per cent, costing 4 cents per foot at St. Johns against 5½

cents per foot at Halifax, or about 30 per cent in favour of St. Johns. I can put up my fish dryers on the coast of Maine at 50 per cent, or 55 per cent less cost than in any part of the Dominion; and my operations will in consequence be largely confined to Newfoundland, the coast of Maine on the Atlantic, and Alaska, U. S., on the Pacific coast, being actually driven from my native country to operate abroad an industry that would largely develop one of the most important natural resources of our country.

The clipping from the Halifax 'Chronicle' annexed to the letter reads as follows :—

The steamer 'Portia' takes the apparatus (pipes and fittings, water heater and exhaust fan, &c.) for a fish dryer of Whitman's patent process, the first of a number of these dryers to be erected and operated at St. Johns and the outports of Newfoundland. Owing to the difference in duty on the wrought iron pipe fittings, water heater, exhauster and wire netting, these fish dryers can be put up in Newfoundland at 30 per cent less cost than in the Dominion. The duty on wrought iron pipe, the largest item in these fish-drying machines, is almost prohibitory and gives the Montreal manufacturer a big pull on the Maritime Provinces.

When I received that letter I wrote Mr. Whitman in reply, and I subsequently received from him the following communication :—

I notice you will endeavour to get a reduction made in the duty on wrought iron pipe when the House goes into committee on tariff resolution. I inclose a bill of wrought iron pipe purchased in Boston last month, 24th March, at 3½ cents per pound, f.o.b., shipped at Boston, from the well-known and expensive manufacturers of wrought iron pipe, the Walworth Manufacturing Company. This is the same size, 1 inch, and as good, or actually better pipe, quality, as the Montreal Rolling Mills demand and get 5½ cents per foot for in large lots. What prevents the Montreal Rolling Mills from manufacturing profitably wrought iron pipe at prices for which it can be manufactured in the New England States? Is labour higher, money dearer, or does the iron from which this pipe is manufactured cost more in Montreal than in the manufacturing towns of New England? These are pertinent queries, and I should like to know what answer Minister Foster or this industry has to make. Why should an industry, such for example as my fish-drying place, for which I ask no Government protection, be taxed 40 per cent or 60 per cent to pay into the pockets of the Montreal Rolling Mills or any other concern. I also inclose the E. F. Sturvenant Company's bill of \$86.26 for exhaust fans. On this I pay at St. Johns, Nfld., a duty of 10 per cent, which on three fans I imported from Boston for my Halifax and Annapolis fish dryers I had to pay a duty of 30 per cent. These fans are not manufactured in the Dominion to my knowledge.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. All that was under the old tariff.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) A precious small change has been made by the present tariff.

Now, the bill which he annexed from the Walworth Manufacturing Company read: "4,035 feet of pipe, 1-inch, at 3 2-10th cents per pound; \$129.14." The gentleman whose correspondence I am reading calculated that the duty on the wrought iron pipe was equivalent to 2 cents per lineal foot on 1-inch pipe. If the statements which he has made are correct, and I think they will hardly be questioned, I would submit to the Finance Minister that he should make in this tariff a provision similar to the provision he has made where welded iron or steel tubing is imported exclusively for artesian wells and petroleum pipe lines. In such cases he allows them to come in, under regulations to be made by the Governor in Council, at a small rate of duty. It does seem to me that in an industry such as Mr. Whitman is trying to establish, taking into account the enormous quantity of 1-inch pipe he is obliged to use, that the hon. Finance Minister should make provision that the duty should not be charged as it is now charged in the tariff proposition he submits to the House; in other words, that when Mr. Whitman uses the iron pipe in this drying process of his, it ought to come in under special regulations and at a largely reduced rate. It does seem outrageous that this gentleman should be compelled to pay 5½ cents when he says it can be imported for 3½ cents. I submit these facts to the hon. Finance Minister. The hon. gentleman himself states that there is no justice in allowing one manufacturing establishment to be mulcted in order to benefit another; and the Montreal Rolling Mills should not be allowed to take advantage of the tariff in order to compel this gentleman to pay such an enormously high price compared with what he otherwise could import his material for. He says: "Before the protective tariff they sold wrought iron pipe at 3 2-10th cents per foot pound, but now they are charging 5½ cents."

Mr. McINERNEY. What is the total of the invoice of Mr. Whitman for the 4,035 feet of pipe?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) \$129.14 was the total of the Walworth invoice, but that is a small matter, and the total quantity which this gentleman consumes is very large. One lot which he brought from the Montreal Rolling Mills of 30,000 feet he got as a special favour at 5½ cents per foot; and as he says himself: with the high price which these Canadian manufacturers are enabled to charge him he is actually prohibited from constructing this improved method of drying fish in this country at all, and he is driven to manufacture them in the Island of Newfoundland, in the neighbouring state of Maine, and in Alaska. I do not think that any one would justify a continuance of that state of affairs, and I think Mr. Whitman has made out a very good case for the attention of the hon. Finance Minister.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

Mr. McINERNEY. According to the Walworth invoice there would be a pound of pipe to the foot.

Mr. MILLS (Annapolis). I may say that I have before called the attention of the Finance Minister to this matter. Mr. Whitman is a native of my town, and although he is neither a personal nor political friend of mine, yet I recognize and have recognized the importance of his industry, he has consulted me with reference to it, and has also written me with reference to this very matter which the hon. member from Prince Edward Island (Mr. Davies) has laid before the House this afternoon. If the Minister of Finance could see his way clear to make some concession in the manner that has been suggested by the hon. member from Prince Edward Island (Mr. Davies), it would be encouraging a live industry in the Maritime Provinces. But I do not think that allowing the duty to remain as it is—I believe in giving the correct facts in reference to these matters—will drive that industry away from the Maritime Provinces or from any portion of them, because it is a well-established industry. It is going to do a good work and it is doing a good work. Mr. Whitman has erected a manufactory at Annapolis, and one at Halifax, and another in Newfoundland, and his industry no doubt will make a great revolution in the process of fish drying. I cannot see why he should be compelled to pay any more extravagant price for his tubing than what would be justifiable. I agree entirely in the main with what the hon. member from Prince Edward Island (Mr. Davies) has stated.

Committee rose, and it being six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

House again in Committee on Ways and Means.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I hope the hon. Finance Minister does not propose to pass this item without giving some answer to the statements I have made. I do not suppose he wants to favour one manufacturer at the expense of another, or to sacrifice the interests of all those who use steam tubing for the benefit of a few manufacturers in Montreal. I trust at all events that he will give to those on whose behalf I have spoken, and to the arguments I have presented, the courtesy of an answer.

Mr. FOSTER. I am not objecting to giving an answer; but the hon. member for North Brant (Mr. Paterson) was on his feet.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). I do not wish to divert attention from the subject brought up by the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies). I rise to speak with reference to the way

in which this duty on tubing affects other manufacturers. I have a letter from a manufacturer to whom this tubing is a raw material, in which he states that the specific duty of six-tenths of a cent per pound and the ad valorem duty of 30 per cent in the old tariff together are equivalent to an ad valorem duty of 60 per cent, while the finished article is admitted into the country at a duty of 30 per cent. So that he is not only left without protection, but he is legislated against to the extent of 30 per cent. As an instance, he states that he is tendering on a small job in Windsor, and that he could save \$40 by having the work done in Detroit instead of Windsor, and bringing into this country the manufactured article and paying the duty on it.

Mr. FOSTER. What is he making?

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Coils for heating purposes. I cannot exactly tell what the duty on that article is under the proposed tariff.

Mr. FOSTER. I suppose it would come in as a manufacture not specially enumerated or provided for, composed wholly or in part of iron or steel, at 27½ per cent?

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). According to this man's statement, the duty on his raw material is 60 per cent, while this tariff gives him only 27½ per cent on the finished article. As I understand, we are discussing this tariff on the principle that the Minister has laid down and the House adopted, that it is designed to help the manufacturer. Criticising it from that standpoint, while not committing myself to the principle, it seems to me that it should not discriminate against one manufacturer and in favour of another. This information having been given to me, I simply mention it, having promised to do so.

Mr. FOSTER. Have you an idea of the cost of that man's finished product, and the cost of the raw material that goes into it in the shape of these pipes?

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). In this letter he says:

The tariff has been framed for the benefit of two small concerns in Montreal that make a little pipe two inches in diameter and under. I do not think these establishments make 10 per cent of the small pipe used in Canada. Again, while the Government are trying to foster a pipe-making industry in Montreal, they are driving out of the country the coil-making industry. These coils are brought into Canada cheaper than they can be made here by the difference of 30 per cent ad valorem on pipe. I understand that there are some changes to be made in the tariff soon, and if you can so present this matter to the Government as to see that the American manufacturers of coil pipes will have no advantage over the Canadian manufacturers, you will do good service to the coil makers.

This letter was written to me before the tariff changes were made at all, pointing out

the difficulties, and expressing the hope that they would be remedied. The writer says further:

For instance, I am now tendering for a heater and fan for a factory in Windsor, and have to pay \$40 more duty for the pipe that is in it by having it shipped to Windsor as pipe than I should have to pay if I made the heater in Detroit and shipped to Windsor.

From this the Minister can have some idea of what the cost of the article would be.

Mr. FOSTER. Will the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) kindly give me the date of the letter and the transaction mentioned in the letter?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The first letter I got was dated April 14th.

Mr. FOSTER. What is the date of the transaction of which you quoted the invoice?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I would like to inquire of the Finance Minister whether, under this heading, will come in such pipes as are commonly used for distributing gas?

Mr. FOSTER. They must come in under the item we are now considering.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Gas pipes would not be wrought iron, but cast iron.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I am rather inclined to think that the small pipes, which ramify throughout houses, would come under this item.

Mr. FOSTER. I think so too.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I would also like to know what the supposed value of these pipes is per pound?

Mr. FOSTER. About 2½ to 2¾ cents a pound.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. So that, practically speaking, the duty you propose amounts to 55 per cent—one-half cent per pound on a value of 2½ cents a pound, and 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. The average price was pretty nearly 3 cents per pound.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. If you have a duty of one-half cent specific and 30 per cent ad valorem, it would range about 50 per cent, which is an enormous duty to put on articles such as gas pipes in particular, not to speak of the other articles to which my hon. friend has alluded. What is the number of hands employed in these factories which the hon. gentleman particularly wants to protect? Can the Controller of Inland Revenue tell?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). Some hundreds.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That is very vague.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton—I am quite within the mark when I say some hundreds.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What is the amount of revenue derived from this?

Mr. FOSTER. There was an importation of nearly 6,000,000 pounds.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Yielding about how much revenue?

Mr. FOSTER. About \$80,000 under the old tariff.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The date of the invoice is 24th March, 1894, and 3 2-10ths cents per foot was the price.

Mr. FOSTER. What was the date of the alleged price in Montreal?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Five and three-quarter cents all along. But, he says, that last year, as a special favour, he got, on a purchase of 30,000 feet of pipe which he purchased for his Halifax factory, a special allowance of 5½ cents per foot.

Mr. MILLS (Annapolis). I understand that piping is sold now for 4¼ cents. I have got that information since six o'clock.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) This gentleman seems to be thoroughly well up in the matter, and he pledges himself that the Montreal Rolling Mills demand, and now get, 5¾ cents per foot, in large lots, and they gave him, as a special favour, on a purchase of 30,000 feet of this piping last year, 5½ cents per foot.

Mr. MILLS (Annapolis). I have learned since six o'clock, on good authority, that it is selling for 4¼ cents.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I give the hon. gentleman my authority, and I do not see what possible motive my informant could have for misrepresenting.

Mr. FOSTER. There is some misapprehension somewhere. I find that the price quoted in Boston in March, 1894, was 3 3-10ths cents, and I do not see how it could be possible to quote 5¾ cents, when you take even the old duty and add it to the price in Boston. Take 3 2-10ths cents and add to that six-tenths of a cent, or at present five-tenths of a cent of duty, and the ad valorem as well, it certainly would not bring it to 5¾ cents.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Including the freight, it would bring it beyond that.

Mr. FOSTER. The freight has to be paid in every case. It would bring it to 4¾ cents.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The duty is equivalent to 2 cents per lineal foot.

Mr. FOSTER. What we propose is five-tenths of a cent and 30 per cent. That would make the duty \$1.50. Add 3 2-10ths to that, and you have 4¾ cents.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) You added six-tenths before.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, you would have to add one-tenth to that.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) This latter is calculated on the old tariff. The date of the letter is 14th April, and the invoice is dated in March.

Mr. FOSTER. What they sell that kind of pipe for now in Montreal is 4 1-5th cents per foot. There is a discrepancy somewhere, due to the fact of his having an incorrect idea of what the pipe cost there.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Does not the hon. gentleman think it would be fair that, as between two manufacturing establishments, if you must charge a duty on pipe at about the rate you suggest, you should make an allowance for pipe imported for the purpose of entering into the production of this fish-drying establishment? The development of our fisheries is just as important, and I venture to say much more important, than the development of this iron industry in Montreal, as it affects everybody in the Maritime Provinces and elsewhere, too. And, if the hopes of the inventor of this new fish drying process are at all realized, the benefits to be conferred upon the country by its means are enormous, and it does seem to me the hon. gentleman might fairly consider that. Let the question stand over if the hon. gentleman is not satisfied about the prices and the facts; let it stand so that he may see if he cannot allow pipe imported and used for this special purpose to come in at special rates.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not see that Mr. Whittman should claim that the pipe which he uses in his fish-drying establishment should be imported at special rates any more than the man who is engaged in making coils or radiators should ask it.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Do you not do it for others?

Mr. FOSTER. Not in many instances.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I read here that lap-welded iron and steel tubing not more than one and a quarter to two inches inclusive in diameter for use exclusively in artesian wells, petroleum pipe lines and petroleum refineries is to be admitted at a special rate.

Mr. FOSTER. That is a pipe not made here.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) But I am pointing out a case in which the hon. gentleman has made special regulation with respect to importations of pipe for special industries. Why not make a similar regulation for this industry? I am sure not a man who comes from the Maritime Provinces but will endorse what I say. The hon. gentleman himself knows that this is an industry which deserves at his hands every encouragement.

If this new method of drying fish is successful, as Mr. Whitman claims, and if it can be generally used it would be of incalculable benefit to the whole people.

Mr. FOSTER. And of large benefit to Mr. Whitman.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) On what possible ground or reason can these Montreal people—who seem to be preferred to all the rest of the community—ask to be given an advantage at the expense of an incubus put upon Mr. Whitman, and refuse to allow him some equivalent for the advantage given to them? Why should he be compelled to buy from them at a higher price than he can purchase elsewhere, when he is engaged in the manufacturing business just as they are, or be driven to Alaska, or Maine, or Newfoundland.

Mr. FOSTER. He imported a very large quantity of pipe and went into this operation when the duty was higher than it is now.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I beg the hon. gentleman's pardon. The 30,000 feet which he purchased were got from the Montreal men and he got it at a special rate of 5½. He can't go on doing that forever.

Mr. FOSTER. He can get it now for less—4 2-10ths.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) You say he can; he says he cannot. But he can get it in Boston, according to this invoice, at 3 2-10ths.

Mr. CURRAN. What is the date of that invoice?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) It is dated 24th March.

Mr. CURRAN. Of course prices have gone down since then.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) But this is less than two months ago; there can't be much change since then.

Mr. CURRAN. Everything is at slaughter prices in the United States just now.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) He gives the prices he gave a year ago. Here is a point the hon. gentleman cannot get over. Mr. Whitman, in his letter, says that before this Montreal industry was protected to the extent it is, they were glad to sell him a pipe and did sell it at 3½ cents; but they have forced it up to 5½.

Mr. FOSTER. Their prices have been going down.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) So you say; but here is the fact given by Mr. Whitman. They have forced up the price; and if it is true, as he says, that the result must be to drive him out of the country, it is a very serious business.

Mr. McINERNEY. Does this gentleman sell these fish dryers to the fishermen, or

does he put them up and work them as a monopoly?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) He put one up at Halifax as an experiment and he has one at Annapolis. I went through the one at Annapolis. I am not an expert in the fish business, but I have some general knowledge of it from having lived in a fishing country. It seemed to me that everything in that establishment was working most admirably, and the large quantity of fish which he had dried seemed to be as good as the sun-dried article. I was in hopes that the hon. member for Bonaventure (Mr. Fauvel) would have been present when this matter came up for discussion. He is thoroughly acquainted with the business and knows the practical working of this new process, and I had hoped to have the benefit of his endorsement. I can tell my hon. friend from Kent, N.B. (Mr. McInerney) that Mr. Whitman put up one fish-drying plant in Halifax very largely as an experiment, to show the Halifax fish dealers what he could do, and I understand that he has erected some in Newfoundland and Maine, and in Alaska.

Mr. McINERNEY. I have been credibly informed that he does not sell these machines, but puts them up and works them himself and that he has a monopoly of this method of fish drying. It is no great measure of protection to the fishermen for this gentleman to get his material free while the fishermen are taxed in other respects. This gentleman is protected by this country through his patent right, and, if this machine of his is as great benefit as he thinks he will reap sufficient profit from it outside of any benefit he might have by having these articles come in free. The fishermen, as a rule, do not use this dry-fishing machine. They dry the fish in the old way, and I believe that is the best way. I have heard it stated that this experiment is not a success, that this artificial mode of drying fish by means of heat run through pipes by the medium of steam or hot water, is not a good method, and that fish dried in that way do not keep. If the machine is a monopoly this gentleman should not be considered specially at all.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Hear, hear.

Mr. McINERNEY. I am glad the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) agrees with me in that.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I observe that the hon. gentleman desires to obtain the monopoly for the manufacturers of Montreal. On what other possible ground can he justify the Government's action in this case? He says he hears this process is not a success. I can only say that I was through the establishment myself and saw a great many thousand quintals turned out which seemed to me to be most excellent product. The Minister of Marine and Fisheries has embodied in his report for last year a very elaborate

description of the process, to that extent giving his official endorsement.

Mr. FOSTER. Why was not complaint made about the duty on the raw material then? Mr. Whitman then said that the only difficulty was the scarcity of fish.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) What was the use of his complaining then? Now he has got an opportunity of making his complaint effective and he puts it before the hon. gentleman. If the hon. gentleman does not choose to yield, I cannot compel him to do so, but those who have listened to this debate before dinner and since must have come to the conclusion that, even accepting the principle upon which the tariff is based, as stated by the hon. member for South Brant (Mr. Paterson), this application should be favourably considered.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). One thing is pretty clear—this business does not come within the class referred to by the hon. Finance Minister when he speaks of his policy as one of development, for if it did, he would be disposed to give it favourable consideration. As it is, he is not disposed to treat it with any consideration whatever, and I was amused at the observation made by the hon. gentleman from Kent, N.B., when he said that this was a business that would not help the fisherman, and why? Because the benefits were confined to the inventor. I wonder what industry the hon. gentleman has supported and favoured and fostered during the whole of this session that is not of the same character. There are thousands of people in this country buying cotton every year. In what way does the protection of the cotton industry help these individuals in their business any more than this invention helps the fisherman? Will the hon. gentleman tell us what advantage the great body of consumers receive from these industries that have been fostered and favoured during the present session? It seems pretty clear from what the member for Queen's, P.E.I., has said that this process of drying fish secures the curing of the fish in proper time, no matter what may be the condition of the weather, and therefore the fish are not likely to be spoiled, a condition of things that often happens, in the case of those who are dependent solely upon wind and sun for the purpose of properly curing their fish. The hon. member forgets that if this is a superior method—and if it is not superior to the ordinary way of drying fish, it would derive no advantage—if this is a superior method and you drive it from the country, the Canadian fish will be less favourably received in the markets of the world; and will command a price less than that which is cured by the best modern methods. Consequently the hon. gentleman is striking a blow at the whole fishing industry of the Maritime Provinces by the course he is adopting in this matter. The

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

hon. gentleman professes to favour the fishermen. He favours the continuance of a bounty to fishermen, but when it is proposed to enable them to cure their fish properly, with absolute certainty against loss and destruction, and to put it upon the markets of the world in a first-class condition, that opportunity is to be denied them, and the industry of drying fish is to be driven to a neighbouring province, and to a neighbouring state. It is pretty clear that the hon. gentleman is a ward of an institution stronger than the fishermen of the Maritime Provinces.

Mr. McINERNEY. The hon. member for Queen's, P.E.I., (Mr. Davies) will not drive me into a corner by trying to make out that I am in favour of a Montreal manufactory as against the fishermen of the Maritime Provinces. It is of little or no consequence to me where this tubing is made, and it should be of little or no consequence to any fair-minded man in this House, or the country. I think it is about time the sectional cry was abandoned in Canada, when a man from the Maritime Provinces stands up and denounces any particular duty because it injures or affects a particular industry in one section or another of this country. So far as the hon. gentleman from Bothwell (Mr. Mills) is concerned, I am pleased that for once I have been a source of amusement for him, because on several occasions he has been a source of great amusement to me. Now, I fail to understand the position these gentlemen take on this question. They would seek to put themselves before the country as friends of the fishermen, after having for some time put themselves before the country as the friends of the farmer. They are friends of the fishermen to this extent, that because a gentleman—whether a Canadian or not, I do not know—has had a machine patented in this country for drying fish, they seek to give him a particular line of protection, and argue that this is not a monopoly, although none of the fishermen of the coast use the particular machine that they wish to protect. I call that an unfair protection, a protection quite different from the protection that I advocate and support, because it is a protection to one individual for a machine that he has patented in this country, but that is not in general use by the fishermen of the country; on the contrary, they are prevented from using it by this man under his patent right, and he will only set it up on a particular line of coast where he can get a monopoly of drying all the fish that are brought ashore there. I say that is an improper protection, but it is a protection that hon. gentlemen opposite seek to advance and support.

Mr. BOWERS. The hon. member for Kent (Mr. McInerney) says that this Whitman process of drying fish is not a success. I say it is a perfect success. To my own personal knowledge loads of fish have been taken from our place to the Whitman factory in Ann-

apolis to be dried, and fish have come by the thousands of quintals from New York to be dried, and are sent to Brazil and the West Indies, where they bring a larger price than fish dried in the sun. All the water is extracted from them in the short space of twenty-four hours, and that is a great point, because we have a great deal of wet weather on our coast when fish cannot be dried by the sun, and immense numbers are spoiled. On the other hand, when the weather is very hot, they burn. Now, I cannot see why this factory should not have a little fair play as well as some of the other manufacturers in the Dominion. There is another thing. If the Minister will lower the duty to about half what it is now, the revenue will be greatly increased; whereas the present duty will keep out most of the piping coming in from the American market.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). This tubing is a raw material for a great many different lines of manufacture in the country, and consequently affects a great deal more than the article hon. gentlemen are speaking of. I think the Minister of Interior stated that it was made in Hamilton and some other places. I am not aware that it is made any where but in Montreal, although I may be wrong. However, no one takes objection because the factories are in Montreal, but the question is this: If you have 60 per cent duty upon this article—which I am told it amounts to—in order to keep that industry alive, and if it be a fact, as is reported, that they do not make over 10 per cent of the pipe that is used, you will see that they will then take advantage of the full duty. This is not a case of over-production, where competition will bring down the prices, because they are not making enough to supply the market. Now, I speak subject to correction, but I think there can be no doubt that several times the number of men are engaged in industries of which this tubing is a raw material. Now, if this amounts to a 60 per cent duty, is it wisdom to maintain such a rate of duty upon that which is a raw material for industries employing vastly more hands than are engaged in this manufacture, especially in view of the further fact that it is represented that they do not make over one-tenth of what is wanted in the country, showing that the duty will be taken advantage of? I would like to ask the Minister if he knows what the ad valorem duty is equal to by his tariff of 5-10ths of a cent per pound and 30 per cent ad valorem, on pipe under two inches in size. Is it a fact that the duty amounts to something like 60 per cent?

Mr. WALLACE. I think hon. gentlemen opposite are hardly discussing this matter fairly, because they generally go on the assumption that the price in Canada is 5½ cents per pound, while the Finance Minister has quoted it at 4·2 cents, and the hon. member for Queen's, P.E.I. (Mr. Davies) has

quoted New York pipe at 3·2. If you add to that 30 per cent duty the ½ cent per pound, and that 3·2, you get exactly 15½ per cent; and 30 and 15½ make exactly 45½ per cent, and not 60 per cent, as was stated by the hon. member for Brant.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Has the hon. gentleman got the English prices as well, because I am informed they are a great deal less?

Mr. WALLACE. No; I am proceeding on the statement made by the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) as to the lowest price at which inch-tubing can be purchased. Any larger size than inch would bear a duty of less than 45 per cent, and so in proportion according to size. The usual size sold is less than 1 inch, and on that the duty will be 45 per cent. Then there is the fact that the price to-day being 4½ cents, any one engaged in the manufacture is not called upon to pay more than 1 cent in excess of the price in the United States, and I assume that the price is as low in the United States as it is in Great Britain, because we know that to-day in many branches of the iron trade American prices are lower than those in Great Britain, Germany or Belgium. For 1-inch pipe the price is 1½ cents per foot, and the manufactured article made from it is two or three times that price. So that the fear entertained by the hon. member for South Brant (Mr. Paterson) that the manufactured article would not be produced here but in another country is unlikely to happen, because our manufacturers will be able to import the raw material and afterwards turn out the manufactured article complete, employing Canadian workmen.

Item agreed to.

Other wrought iron pipes or tubes $\frac{1}{8}$ cents per pound and 30 per cent.

Mr. McMULLEN. Does the hon. Minister of Finance consider that this duty will be equal to 45 per cent?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That, of course, will depend on the size of the pipe. Pipe of a small diameter will be very much less than 45 per cent. In the case of the small pipe, and which the hon. gentleman says is included, the duty is much more likely to be 60 per cent than 45 per cent. The estimate of 45 per cent may be perfectly correct as regards the larger pipe, and I believe the figures given by the hon. member for Brant (Mr. Paterson) will be found to be perfectly correct.

Mr. WALLACE. All the pipe used for radiators is much larger than 1 inch.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. But there are a great many other purposes for which piping is used, and the worst of the whole system is that on the small piping of comparatively little value the ad valorem duty

runs the price up to a very high figure. Forty-five per cent is an exorbitant duty, but when it reaches 50 per cent or 60 per cent it becomes simply outrageous.

Mr. McMULLEN. Does the hon. gentleman expect to obtain a larger revenue from this article during the coming year?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Item agreed to.

Wrought iron or steel nuts and washers, iron or steel rivets, bolts with or without threads, nuts and bolts and hinge blanks, "T" and strap hinges; 1 cent per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. McMULLEN. This is a very high duty on strap hinges, and there are a great many of them used in the country.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What does it amount to translated into ad valorem?

Mr. FOSTER. The average price was 5 cents per pound on last year's importation.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). That would be 45 per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That would not represent by any manner of means the extreme duty levied upon it. That is an article in which there is a very great variety in the prices.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). At a very low price it would be 70 per cent on strap hinges.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think it would go that far.

Mr. WALLACE. This would represent the very lowest price. There was another item in the old tariff at 12¼ cents. The average price on this is 5 cents, so this is the lowest price per pound.

Mr. McMULLEN. Are these hinges manufactured in this country?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; at Brockville and several other places.

Mr. TAYLOR. The largest factory in Canada is run by Messrs. Cowan & Britton, of Gananoque. They manufacture exclusively "T" and strap hinges.

Item agreed to.

Cotton batts, batting and sheet wadding, dyed or not, 22½ per cent ad valorem.

Mr. EDGAR. Perhaps the Minister of Finance will tell us whether he is going to make any important changes in the cotton tariff, now that he has come to this section?

Mr. FOSTER. We will see as we go along.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That is not a proper way to treat the House.

Mr. EDGAR. The statement should be made now. We will not go along so fast if he thinks that is the best way to treat the Opposition.

Mr. FOSTER. Then we will go slower.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT.

Mr. EDGAR. What change does the Minister propose to make in this item?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not propose to make any change.

Mr. EDGAR. Will the hon. gentleman be good enough to tell the House a little more about that item? For instance, I see that in the former tariff those that were not bleached, dyed or coloured had a duty of 2 cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem. Will the hon. gentleman give us an idea of how much that duty amounted to ad valorem?

Mr. WALLACE. Twenty-five and a half per cent.

Mr. EDGAR. Then I see that the rest of that item is made up of bleached, dyed or coloured, 3 cents per pound and 15 per cent. It was a different duty, and that is all included in one now. What would the previous duty amount to?

Mr. WALLACE. Twenty-four and one-half per cent, including, of course, the warps, which were in the same item.

Mr. FOSTER. That is a reduction on the whole.

Item agreed to.

Cotton warps and cotton yarns, dyed or undyed, n.e.s., 25 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. That also is a reduction.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I think the hon. gentleman, when introducing an item involving a number of changes, ought in all conscience to give the House a statement of why he proposes to make these changes, and what the effect of them is.

Mr. EDGAR. Perhaps I will have to cross-examine the hon. gentleman and help him out a little.

Mr. FOSTER. That will be the easiest way.

Mr. EDGAR. I see that this includes "under No. 40, not bleached, dyed or coloured, 2 cents per pound, and 15 per cent, and "bleached, dyed or coloured, 3 cents per pound, and 15 per cent." What did these amount to, ad valorem?

Mr. FOSTER. Twenty-five and one-half per cent in the case of the first, and 24½ per cent in the case of the other.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What was the value of the importations under No. 40?

Mr. FOSTER. Nineteen thousand pounds, a very small importation.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What was that valued at per pound?

Mr. FOSTER. Twenty-four and one-quarter cents. On the bleached, dyed or coloured, the ad valorem equivalent on

what was imported was 30 per cent, 51,000 pounds being imported. Of No. 60, and finer, almost nothing was imported. The duty was 15 per cent.

Mr. EDGAR. It is 25 per cent now. How much was imported on beams?

Mr. FOSTER. Only 163 yards. It was an old-fashioned way.

Mr. EDGAR. I suppose that was practically prohibitive.

Mr. WALLACE. It was not prohibitive at all, because the duty amounted to only 17 per cent.

Mr. EDGAR. On the whole, there is a considerable increase in the duty.

Mr. FOSTER. Taking the importations, you may say there is, but the importations were so small that it is difficult to form any opinion from them.

Mr. EDGAR. The duties were high enough before to keep the goods out.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What were the total importations?

Mr. FOSTER. About 114,000 pounds, valued at \$26,000.

Item agreed to.

Gray, unbleached cotton fabrics 22½ per cent.

Mr. McMULLEN. How much of these were imported last year?

Mr. FOSTER. In the old tariff, bleached and unbleached went together, and of the two, 1,500,000 yards were imported, and the average rate of duty was 25 per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. At what do you put the value of the unbleached gray cotton?

Mr. WALLACE. The two are not separated. The average value of the importations was 10¼ cents per pound, showing that only the more expensive kinds came in.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. If I am not mistaken, so far from requiring protection on these goods, I understood that the trade was supplying these goods to the Chinese; and a great deal of very proper exultation was displayed by some members of the House over the fact that our cotton manufacturers were able to compete in the Chinese market with the products of the English and the United States mills. If that be the case, what do you want with this protection at all? If they are able to undersell English and American goods in the Chinese markets, our own people ought to get the benefit.

Mr. FOSTER. It is a fact that the mills have sent certain grades to the Chinese markets. That has been done successfully by running entirely upon that line of goods, by the mill at Quebec, the Montmorency mill.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Then, what do you want protection on this article for?

Mr. FOSTER. But in manufacturing for a country like this it is impossible to run a mill on one article.

Mr. McMULLEN. This is an important item, affecting a large class of people, and there ought to be a larger reduction. When our mills are able to send goods to China to compete against English and American goods, I do not think it is necessary to subject our people to this duty in order to give the cotton manufacturers protection. They have their raw material free, wages are just as low in Canada as in the United States, rents as low, and living as cheap, and I do not see why they cannot produce as cheaply as the manufacturers on the other side. I would like to know why it is necessary to keep up this protection.

Mr. WALLACE. It is only a short time ago that hon. gentlemen opposite were complaining that on goods of this character the poor men were paying 40 or 50 per cent, and when we reduced the duty to 22½ per cent, they are not yet satisfied.

Mr. EDGAR. I think the hon. gentleman will find it rather difficult to find where it was claimed that on this item the duty was 40 or 50 per cent. There are some items of the tariff on which the duty was 60 per cent, or higher, but this was not one of the items the hon. gentleman was talking about.

Mr. WALLACE. That is one of the items.

Mr. EDGAR. Perhaps the hon. gentleman will say when that claim was made and by whom?

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. gentleman is not the only one who made the statements on this subject.

Mr. EDGAR. With his usual politeness and delicacy of expression, the hon. gentleman can scarcely avoid insinuating that whoever is addressing the House in a matter in which he is concerned, is mistaken. The other day he was good enough to say that I was deliberately misleading the House in the discussion of this very item of cottons. I would like to ask the hon. gentleman's attention to this point. On a certain occasion, I mentioned the fact that there were three kinds of sewing cotton imported into this country. That one kind came in—

Mr. FOSTER. That is old history.

Mr. EDGAR. Not what I am going to say, but it may be unpleasant possibly for the Controller. One kind came in at the unchanged duty; another kind came in at a slightly increased duty, and another, which had been imported at 20 per cent, was now raised to 25 per cent, and the Controller positively denied that that was the case.

He denied that sewing cotton thread had ever been imported as low as 20 per cent, and he was good enough to refer to page 43 of the Public Accounts in support of his statement. He was right as regards page 43, but he was not ingenuous enough to suggest to the House to turn over to page 44, where I find that there are two items of importation of sewing cotton thread on which the duty was only 20 per cent. Cotton manufactures, sewing cotton thread, n.e.s., were imported to the extent of \$9,308, and the duty paid was \$1,861, which is exactly 20 per cent. So that if there was no authority for the subordinate customs-house officers of the hon. gentleman taking 20 per cent on sewing cotton thread, he should have looked to it before. Then, the next item is "all other cotton threads, n.e.s., \$6,602, duty paid, \$1,320," which is also exactly 20 per cent. This shows that the hon. gentleman allows his subordinates to introduce cotton threads at 20 per cent, although he denied it the other day and charged me with deliberately deceiving the House. The hon. gentleman, by his changes in the tariff to-day, is proposing to raise the duty on that thread $32\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, because under the tariff now, as he will see a little further down, he puts other manufactured cottons, n.e.s., at $32\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. I hope when we come to that, he will take it out of that item and put it back to 20 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. I think the hon. gentleman ought to allow me to cross-examine him for a moment, because I think the impression he tried to make is that, putting gray cottons here at $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent is going a very small way in the matter of reduction. What does the hon. gentleman consider a fair range of prices for gray cottons? Would he consider 4 to 6 cents a yard the proper thing?

Mr. McMULLEN. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. Suppose you take gray cotton at 4 cents. The old duty on that was 1 cent a yard and 15 per cent ad valorem. On cotton at 4 cents a yard the duty would be 40 per cent ad valorem, that is six-tenths of a cent, and 1 cent per yard, making 16-10ths cents, and if you divide that by the four, you get the equivalent ad valorem, which is 40 per cent. Now it is $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. If you take the 3-cent cotton, its equivalent ad valorem was 48 per cent, and now it is $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Take the 6-cent cotton, and the equivalent ad valorem would be about 30 per cent, whereas now the duty is $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Take the whole range, and comparing the old duty with the present, you will see that $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent is a very large reduction.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Will the hon. gentleman inform the House of the quantity of cotton imported at that range? It is not contained in the Trade and Navigation Returns.

Mr. EDGAR.

Mr. FOSTER. Under an ad valorem ranging from 65 to 30 per cent very little was imported. When you put it down to $22\frac{1}{2}$, it is a very great reduction.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Even so, in the case of those coarser articles, the duty may still, at $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, be very nearly practically prohibitive, and I expect it is. If it is possible at all, by any honest means, for these manufacturers to export a large quantity of these gray unbleached cottons to China and compete with the American and English mills and undersell them, as they must do—if that is done in any honest fashion, there is no doubt it matters very little, in the case of cotton, whether you put the duty at 40 per cent or 50 or 30 per cent or $22\frac{1}{2}$, it is equally prohibitive all through. The point I call the Minister's attention to is this, and he has not answered it, that if it is possible for our people to manufacture these gray unbleached cottons and sell them in other countries, in competition with American and English mills, there is no occasion to protect them at all, and our people ought to be allowed to buy these cottons at reasonable prices—such prices as the manufacturers can make them at, because if they can undersell English and American manufacturers in China, they can undersell them here, and there is no need to protect them at all.

Mr. EDGAR. Might I ask the Minister of Finance to give me the items of importation of last year of these goods, on which he calculates the former duty at 40 per cent, which is now reduced to $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent?

Mr. FOSTER. The bleached and unbleached are altogether in the return. They are not separate. You cannot get them in the Trade and Navigation Returns.

Mr. EDGAR. As far as I could get them and make out the duty, I thought it was about 24 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. Without coming down to any guess-work or supposition at all, but to the real range of prices, supposing the invoice prices of gray cottons runs from 4 to 6 or 8 cents, you just calculate the two rates of duty, and you see the reduction is very large compared with the former rate. Now, with reference to some of our mills running wholly on goods for the eastern market, there is one mill in Quebec that runs entirely on those goods—does not make a yard of cloth for the Canadian market. It has access to the whole market of the east, and it runs upon this special line and uses the whole force of the mill upon those lines. But, in a small market of four or five millions of people, that is impossible. If a mill were to run a specialty, they would soon overstock the market. Moreover, the class of cottons sent to the east is the cheapest to make.

Mr. CHARLTON. What grade is it?

Mr. FOSTER. Gray cotton.

Mr. EDGAR. The hon. Minister talks as if some particular mill in Quebec were the only one exporting. I find that in the record of the exports of last year, there was a small amount, \$14,000 or \$15,000 from Ontario, \$185,000 from Quebec, \$134,000 from Nova Scotia, and so on. This shows that there was not one mill in particular manufacturing for export. But suppose there was. They manufactured here for the foreign market, \$383,000 worth of cotton goods. They competed with the whole world, with Great Britain and the United States, without any protection whatever. Of the amount of export, \$244,000 went to China, and these goods were supplied in competition with the world. But they require on this common line of goods, 22½ per cent protection here. The hon. Minister thinks they are able to meet foreign competition in China, because they have one mill running on a single line. Will the hon. gentleman give us an estimate of the output of the mills in Canada, for the Canadian market.

Mr. KENNY. If it would not be out of order, while the hon. Minister of Finance is looking for the figures, I would like to say a few words. The hon. gentleman has spoken of the exports of manufactured cotton from Canada to China. I know from my own personal experience in connection with a cotton mill some years ago, that we did export cotton goods to China, but we only did so in order to keep the mill going, and I am of the opinion that the goods which were exported from Canada to China during the past twelve months were exported under similar conditions, and I am very much afraid, with the result of a loss to the shippers. The object in manufacturing these goods for China was, as has been explained in part by the Finance Minister, because there was over-production in Canada for our own domestic market, and these goods were manufactured for the Chinese market in order to keep the hands together and to keep them employed; for hon. gentlemen who have been connected with any manufacturing enterprise will recognize the extreme difficulty which would have been involved in gathering the hands together if the mills had been closed down. Rather than resort to that course, the goods of these mills were shipped to China, and, in many cases, I am afraid, at a loss. It must be borne in mind also that these goods do not come into competition with English goods in the Chinese market. There is a marked difference between the unbleached cotton goods manufactured in the United States and Canada, and those manufactured in England. The goods which are manufactured in the United States and Canada are made of a purer cotton, they are not filled with clay as the English goods are. There are millions of yards of unbleached cotton goods shipped from England to China, but they

stand in a different position from American and Canadian goods. In dealing with this duty of 22½ per cent on unbleached cottons, hon. gentlemen opposite must not forget that it is only 5 per cent more than the rate of duty which prevailed when they were administering the affairs of the country; and they, I am sure, know from their own practical experience that the 17½ per cent would have yielded more revenue than the 22½ per cent does to-day, because cottons are relatively so much cheaper.

Mr. EDGAR. The hon. gentleman who has just spoken must not try to impress us with the idea that the tariff is only 22½ per cent on cotton goods. That is the rate of duty on this particular item. We have already passed an item of 25 per cent, and there are other items, which the hon. Minister does not show any signs of reducing, of 30 per cent, and 32½ per cent. Perhaps the hon. Finance Minister is able now to give us his estimate of the output of the Canadian mills for consumption in Canada?

Mr. FOSTER. Eight or nine millions.

Mr. EDGAR. I think the hon. gentleman's estimate must be exceedingly moderate, or the profits of the cotton mills are much less than we imagine.

Mr. FOSTER. Probably the latter.

Mr. EDGAR. Last year the hon. member for Cornwall (Mr. Bergin) made an elaborate speech on this question. He stated that he was provided with material for the speech by the proprietors of the cotton mills. He quoted figures to show that the actual cost to the mills of producing the cotton was just about the figure stated by the hon. Finance Minister, as the whole output for Canadian consumption. Surely nobody will contend that the companies could go on paying profits of ten and twenty per cent, as they have been doing, unless they are able to sell their cotton for more than it cost them. The output must have been considerably over ten millions of dollars. The cotton mills, we are told, are able to make \$383,000 for the foreign market, chiefly because they run their mills on these lines particularly; but when they are making eight or nine million dollars worth of cotton goods for the people of the Dominion, they cannot afford to make them cheaply and cannot afford to run their mills on special lines.

Mr. FOSTER. They did make them cheaply.

Mr. EDGAR. Then what did they want this protection for? That is what I cannot understand. If the goods are made cheaply, why do they require this protection of 20 and 30 and 32½ per cent? We cannot accept that explanation. And it must be perfectly clear that the cotton mill owners are not the kind of men that will run their mills at a loss just to give employment to the people. They shut them up. They have shut up

over and over again in this country when they thought they were manufacturing at a loss. I am sure the hon. member for Halifax will have to find some other theory than that it was out of philanthropy that these mill-owners manufactured goods to send to China so very much cheaper than they can manufacture goods to supply Canadians.

Mr. McMULLEN. As the Finance Minister and the senior member for Halifax (Mr. Kenny) are a little out of line on this question, perhaps they had better get together and adjust their differences.

Mr. FOSTER. We will pass this item and then get together.

Mr. McMULLEN. The Finance Minister says there is one mill especially that applies itself entirely to the production of cotton for the Chinese market, and that it does not manufacture a pound for the home market; but the senior member for Halifax says that where cotton is manufactured for the Chinese market it is done at a loss, and only for the purpose of keeping the hands employed.

Mr. KENNY. I expressed my individual opinion.

Mr. McMULLEN. The hon. gentleman must admit that he was mistaken in the face of the statement made by the Finance Minister. They will have to get together and settle their difference.

Mr. FOSTER. Nobody sees a difference but you.

Mr. McMULLEN. The Finance Minister sees it.

Mr. FOSTER. No, I do not.

Mr. McMULLEN. Yes, he has stated to the House that there is one mill in Canada that manufactured exclusively gray cotton for the Chinese market, and that it does nothing else.

Mr. FOSTER. I did not say whether they were getting rich. They may do it out of philanthropy for the Chinese.

Mr. McMULLEN. The hon. member for Halifax says that they are doing it at a great loss, and to keep their hands at work. Now, either that is the case, or there is a combination amongst the cotton mills, and they assign to that particular mill a special article to produce for the Chinese market, saying: We will make up your loss to you because we cannot all manufacture for the Canadian market. Suppose you manufacture for the Chinese market, and we will divide the profits among us.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. How does the hon. gentleman arrive at the estimate of eight or nine millions as the production of the cotton mills of Canada?

Mr. FOSTER. That is the statement of their output made by the census.

Mr. EDGAR.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I do not find that statement in the two volumes. The original bulletins vary so much from these volumes that it is a matter of great difficulty to trace the amount which ought to be debited to those cotton mills. What does the hon. gentleman suppose to be the relative value of the finished article and the raw product on the average—or perhaps the hon. member for Halifax can tell me that?

Mr. KENNY. I read a telegram the other day which I had received from Mr. A. F. Gault in reference to a statement which was made by my hon. friend from West Ontario (Mr. Edgar); and speaking from memory, I think that telegram, which is to be found in the 'Hansard,' put the output of the cotton mills of Canada last year at nine millions.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Can the hon. gentleman tell me about what proportion the raw material bears to the finished product? Does the cotton that goes into the manufacture represent 25 per cent or 30 per cent, or what proportion?

Mr. WALLACE. About 40 per cent. Raw cotton is worth about 8 cents a pound, and the gray cotton is worth about 20 cents. There would not be as large a proportion in the finer qualities of cotton, but in the gray cotton we are speaking of, it is about 40 per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What I want to get at is about the average value.

Mr. WALLACE. According to the returns of last year there were 4,900,000 pounds of cotton waste, and 36,500,000 pounds of cotton wool, that is to say, about 41,000,000 pounds, which, at 8 cents per pound, would be about \$3,250,000. The value of the manufactured product being about \$8,500,000, that would be about 37½ per cent of the manufactured article.

Mr. McNEILL. My hon. friend, the member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), put the figures at \$8,400,000 as the output of the mills, and I think you will find by the Trade and Navigation Returns that the total value of cotton imported is about \$3,200,000, which would be, roughly, about what my hon. friend has said.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The Minister of Finance has made a statement of considerable importance. He has told us that a cotton mill in the city of Quebec has manufactured for the Chinese market so successfully because it was engaged in producing one line of goods, whereas the other mills are producing several kinds of goods for the limited market of Canada. Now, if the hon. gentleman is right with regard to his first statement, there is no reason why the cotton goods manufactured in Canada should be confined to the market of Canada. If the mill in Quebec is capable of manufacturing for christendom and for the countries outside, simply because it is confining itself to

one line of goods, that is just a reason why the hon. gentleman should not undertake to keep up the mills engaged in the manufacture of a variety of goods by a very high protective tariff. If they were thrown upon their own resources, according to the hon. gentleman's statement, they would be compelled to confine themselves to the production of one kind of goods, and if they did that, they would produce them much more cheaply, and the Canadian people would get the benefit of the cheaper production.

Mr. FOSTER. My hon. friend might not like to clothe himself and his family with the same kind of products that are sent to China.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman will see that it is not because they are producing gray cotton, but because they are producing only one kind of cotton.

Mr. FOSTER. That is what they are doing.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Is the hon. gentleman so unacquainted with the manufacture of cotton, with the progress of efficiency in this particular branch of industry, as not to know that the same argument applies to bleached cotton, and to the finer varieties of bleached cotton as well as to gray cotton?

Mr. EDGAR. There can be no doubt that this tariff averages 25 per cent on cotton goods. If there are only nine millions of an output in this country and if the manufacturers come up as closely as they can to the price that the duty will warrant, then we pay 25 per cent on the output from the mills, and we are paying to the cotton mills every year \$2,250,000.

Mr. FOSTER. That is a very easy calculation.

Mr. EDGAR. Supposing you take off 5 per cent and bring it down to 20 per cent, there would be \$1,300,000, and I do not think the Finance Minister can persuade himself or anybody else, that the manufacturers, if you have a duty of 20 per cent on cotton coming into the country, will charge their customers one cent less than 20 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. Why not call it 21 per cent? You are following imaginative data.

Mr. EDGAR. My hon. friend's figures are here. Nobody can doubt that the tax collected from the people of Canada by the cotton mills to-day, is \$2,000,000 a year. And they at the same time are selling to China and Japan and other countries goods on which no taxes are collected whatever.

Mr. FOSTER. And in how much variety?

Mr. EDGAR. I want the Finance Minister to tell me if the manufacturers are selling \$1 worth of the same goods to the Canadian people at the same prices as they are selling in China? If the hon. gentleman will tell us how much cotton goods are being sold

to the Canadian people at the same prices as they are being sold in China, then there may be some force in the theory of the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Kenny) that this is being done in order to keep the mills going. If we go further and look at the enormous capital stock of both companies we will see the Finance Minister is bolstering them up and enabling them to pay enormous dividends on watered stock by this tariff. The hon. Minister will not, I think, persuade the people that he is making any very serious reduction, while the stocks of the companies are higher to-day than when he introduced his tariff. It will be no use telling us that they have issued new price lists and are making some reductions. We know that they issued a new price list on the 6th April, and that they have issued another price list on certain lines, making some reductions in prices; but we know they can recall their price list, because the system of the tariff and of the combination of the mills enables them to do as they like in this country. They can recall the new price list to-morrow if they choose, or when Parliament is prorogued and everything is snug and comfortable—they can withdraw it then if it is not giving sufficient returns in the shape of profit. So long, therefore, as the tariff is kept at its present figure and there is a combination in the cotton trade in Canada, which is known to the Government, those hon. gentlemen will be blamed for bolstering up the combination. Hon. gentlemen will remember the statement made by the First Minister a couple of years ago when his attention was called to the existence of a cotton combine, that if such were proved to exist the Government would so arrange the duties as to suppress it. It is not too late yet; but the country will never believe that with an average duty of 25 per cent on cotton goods anything will be done to prevent the cotton combine securing large profits.

Mr. ROSAMOND. The hon. gentleman appears to understand a good deal about the cotton trade, but he does not understand it altogether. In the first place, referring to the Quebec mill, I may say that that mill was built specially for manufacturing cotton goods for the Chinese market. I take it for granted that there is not another mill in Canada, or perhaps in the world, that was established originally for that purpose. That mill, therefore, can afford to make gray cottons cheaper for the Chinese market than any mill in Canada; it can afford to make gray goods cheaper in Canada for the Chinese market than any other mill, and if any other mill undertakes to manufacture goods for the Chinese market, it must produce them at a loss, or certainly at no profit whatever. There is no doubt whatever that some of our mills have at times been obliged to manufacture for the Chinese market, simply because at the moment they could not find anything else to do, and as the hon.

member for Halifax (Mr. Kenny) said, they did so in order to keep the hands together and the machinery employed. Every manufacturer is aware that it is much better to keep a mill running, even at a small loss, than to cease operations, and unless he is suffering a heavy loss he will always endeavour to keep the mill running if at all possible. One word with respect to the duty. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Edgar) says the cotton combine has made large or excessive profits. Perhaps they have made large profits, but the action of the Government in reducing the duties by one-half must offset that argument altogether.

Mr. EDGAR. Will the hon. gentleman tell me, as he appears to be conversant with the Quebec mill, how much cotton is sold by that mill in Canada at the same prices as it is sold to China?

Mr. ROSAMOND. I do not think they sell one yard, because the goods are made for the Chinese market, and not for the Canadian market. They are not suitable for the Canadian market, and there is no demand for them in this country.

Mr. EDGAR. Of what kind are they?

Mr. ROSAMOND. Gray cottons.

Mr. EDGAR. Do not Canadians use gray cottons?

Mr. ROSAMOND. Not of the same kind.

Mr. EDGAR. Will the hon. gentleman explain?

Mr. ROSAMOND. If the hon. gentleman will get samples of both kinds he will soon see they are not the same kind.

Mr. FOSTER. No doubt I could procure at the mills a sufficient quantity to clothe the hon. gentleman.

Mr. EDGAR. Then I would be the first Canadian furnished with these goods at Chinese prices?

Mr. McNEILL. As the cotton industry, which has been attacked so vigorously, is one of very great intrinsic value to the people of this country, and as it would appear to be, in the opinion of hon. gentlemen opposite, specially vulnerable to attack as a protected manufacture, the committee may be able to obtain much valuable or interesting information by discussing the question somewhat further. With the permission of the committee I should like in all humbleness to say a word or two as to why this industry should not be attacked so violently as it is often attacked by hon. gentlemen opposite. We have heard a great deal about cotton combines and cotton lords and immense duties and colossal profits, profits arising out of the fact that the whole of the high duties we hear about is passed into the pockets of the cotton lords. The result has been that a very strong feeling has been aroused in the minds of the

Mr. ROSAMOND.

people in opposition to those engaged in the cotton industry. It has been thought that they have been employing the protection which has been extended to them for the purpose of selfishly and unduly enriching themselves at the cost of the people. I am not here for a moment to say that manufacturers have not used protection in many cases in such a way as I have referred to, that they have not used protection unduly to enhance the price of goods in this country, and I confess that so far as this particular industry is concerned, I have myself shared, in some degree at all events, the prejudice which the public shared in connection with it, but since I have heard the discussion on the floor of this House, where the accuser and accused are face to face, where the discussion is regulated by the rules of fair debate, I confess I have felt inclined very materially to modify my views on the subject. Now, one reason which had induced me to modify my views on the subject was the statement made by my hon. friend from North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy). That is a statement which I think will have very great weight in the country, because it is very well known that the hon. gentleman is now a very strong opponent of the National Policy. The statement of the hon. member from North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) to which I refer was this: That it is not true that the amount of duty placed upon the cotton goods is put into the pockets of the manufacturers, but that, on the contrary, the whole of that duty is paid out in wages to our own people. I think, Mr. Chairman, that that is a statement, coming from the source from which it did come, which will be of very great benefit in the way of removing misconceptions which have been inculcated by the newspaper organs, and by the statements of hon. gentlemen opposite in regard to this matter. It was not only that my hon. friend (Mr. McCarthy) made that statement; it was not only that he made that statement in express terms, but there is also the fact that he entered into a deliberate and careful calculation to prove the truth of what he said, and he stated that he took the average duty imposed upon cotton goods at 35 per cent. The hon. gentleman further said: That 35 per cent upon the whole output of cotton, which he took at about eight and a half million dollars, amounted in round numbers to \$2,190,000 and some odd dollars. He took the wages at \$2,100,000 and some odd dollars, so that you see they are very nearly, though not quite, balanced. But the claim is that the figure that he took of \$2,100,000 as wages is incorrect, and that the amount of wages paid is really \$2,400,000. I do not want to press that any further than simply to bring it to this point: that the wages paid is exactly equal to—it is really more than, but I will put it as exactly equal—to the amount of the duty which is im-

posed upon these goods. That is upon the basis of his calculation, which is: that the goods in Canada are enhanced exactly to the amount of the duty, for he says that we paid the full amount of \$2,200,000 more than we would pay if we got these goods from England. Now, Mr. Chairman, I just wish to say before passing on, that I hope after that statement made by my hon. friend (Mr. McCarthy) we will hear no more of the allegation that the whole of the duty goes into the pockets of the cotton lords. Now, I want to call the attention of the House to this fact: that my hon. friend the member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) is utterly mistaken in saying that our cotton goods are enhanced in price to the extent of 35 per cent over and above what we could purchase these goods for in the English market. I have brought some samples of English and cotton goods with me.

Mr. LAURIER. And Chinese also?

Mr. McNEILL. No, I have no Chinese. Before dealing with this matter I might just say that the hon. gentleman (Mr. McCarthy) mentioned six lines of cotton goods which he himself selected. If we may judge from the manner in which he dealt with the iron industry of the United States, I think we may conclude that these lines of cotton were as good as he could find to prove his contention. Let us see how he dealt with the iron industry of the United States, and then we can come to a conclusion as to whether it was not likely he selected the lines that would best prove his own case. He wished to convey to this House the idea that the iron industry of the United States under protection had not in any degree thriven in proportion to that industry in the mother country which enjoys the great privilege of free imports and shackled exports. How did he proceed to prove his contention? Did he take the growth of these two industries in the two countries and compare that growth with the last ten years? Did he even tell the tale of the exports of iron and steel goods in England and in the United States? Did he tell this House that ten years ago, the export of iron and steel from the mother country was £32,600,000 sterling, and that ten years afterwards it had fallen to £22,500,000 sterling, a decrease of over 30 per cent. Did he tell the House that during the same period the exports of iron and steel from the United States show, during the first year of that ten-year period, \$17,330,000, and in the last year of the period, \$28,800,000; that is to say, that in place of there being a reduction and a falling away to the extent of 30 per cent, as was the case in England, there was an increase of far more than 50 per cent in the United States. The hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) did not tell us that. Did he tell this House that in the edge tool line of the iron and

steel industry, the United States was successfully competing with the mother country herself in her own market? Did he tell this House that, which is a patent and a notorious fact? Did he tell the House that handsaws could be purchased in the United States cheaper and better to-day than they can be purchased in England, and yet mirabili dictu there is 40 per cent duty on these handsaws in the United States and still they incontinentally and perversely sell themselves—notwithstanding that 40 per cent duty, which, according to the contention of hon. gentlemen opposite, should make these saws 40 per cent dearer—they sell themselves cheaper than the English handsaw does. Did my hon. friend (Mr. McCarthy) tell this House that out of the one hundred and twelve lines of iron and steel manufactures enumerated in our Trade and Navigation Returns, the United States successfully competes in eighty-one, and the mother country, England, in only thirty-one of these? No, Mr. Chairman, my hon. friend did not tell the House that. That was not the line of argument that he adopted to prove to this House that the iron industry of the United States was not as prosperous under protection as the iron industry of the mother country is under free trade. He pursued a very different method indeed. Out of these 112 lines of iron goods enumerated in our Trade and Navigation Returns he selected one line, steel rails, which he said were dearer in the United States than in England. None of these facts that I have referred to mattered at all; but because steel rails happened to be dearer in the United States than in England, therefore the iron industry of the United States, my hon. friend contended, could not for a moment compete with the iron industry of the mother country. Now, judging from the skilful manner in which my hon. friend selected his witness, and put that witness into the box, I think I am justified in saying that the witnesses he has now called with regard to cotton goods are the best he can produce in support of his contention. I have endeavoured as well as I could to get hold of these witnesses of my hon. friend, because I have felt pretty sure that if I could get hold of some of them we might succeed in getting some further information from them. I have succeeded in obtaining two out of the six. I was not able to obtain as many as I wished, because the particular lines of English goods which the hon. gentleman selected are not much sold in this country. But I have two of those lines here, and I will deal with them. The first witness my hon. friend called was the line of Oxford shirting. He stated that as good Oxford shirting as the Canadian article, which is sold at 7¼ cents a yard, is sold in England for 5 cents, from which he argued that we paid 45 per cent more for our Oxford shirting than we would have done had we got it from England. I have

here a sample of English Oxford shirting at 5½ cents, and a sample of Canadian Oxford shirting at 7 cents, the difference between the two being not 45 per cent, but 21½ per cent. If this Canadian shirting at 7 cents is as good as the English at 5½ cents what becomes of my hon. friend's contention that there is a difference of 45 per cent in value between them? The difference in price is only 21½ per cent. But I say that this Canadian shirting at 7 cents is not only as good as the English shirting at 5½ cents, I say it is far better, and I have no doubt that there is on the other side of the House some hon. member who knows something of this class of goods, and I am perfectly willing to leave it to him to say whether this Canadian shirting at 7 cents is not far better than the English at 5½ cents. How much better is it? I may say that I have had a piece of each washed, so that hon. gentlemen may see the difference. This English shirting is largely composed of China clay; it is a composition of cotton and clay, and when it is washed a great part of it disappears. The Canadian shirting, on being washed, shows no perceptible difference as to substance; it is just as good in substance after washing as before. Now, how much better is it than the English shirting at 5½ cents? It is vastly better. It is not only not made up of clay and cotton, it is not only pure cotton, but it is dyed in a different way. It is indigo-dyed cotton, while the English is aniline-dyed, and I am told that the difference in the cost in that respect alone is 4 cents per pound of cotton goods. But leaving that aside for a moment, without considering the colour at all, I ask what is the difference in the value of these two classes of goods? I have taken some trouble to find that out. I wished to be quite sure that I was going to say nothing in this House that I could not substantiate. In the first place, I saw the invoice of the English goods. I took the trouble to go round to houses in this city that are supplied with Canadian goods, and I saw the invoices of them, so that there is no mistake as to the figures I am giving being correct. I went to two gentlemen in this city who have been engaged in this business for very many years. One of them was connected with one of the largest establishments in London, in St. Paul's Churchyard, in 1856, before he came to Canada to take up the industry here, so that he has had a pretty large experience. I asked him whether these goods were of equal value, or if there was any difference in value between them, which was the better of the two. He said the Canadian goods were much the better of the two. I asked him what difference in price he would put between them. He said at least ¼ of a cent a yard. I was not satisfied with that. I went to another gentleman who is engaged in the wholesale trade in this city; I have no objection to mention his name—Mr. Garland. I showed these goods to him, and he, without know-

Mr. McNEILL.

ing at all what the other person had said, told me that there was a great difference in value between them, in his opinion at least ¼ of a cent a yard. So that these two authorities entirely agreed that there was at least ¼ of a cent a yard difference in value in favour of the Canadian goods. Now, if you add that ¼ of a cent to the price of the English goods, in order to get value for value, you have the English goods raised from 5½ to 6¼ cents. Now, you have to add to that something more, because, supposing we take away all protection and supposing the hon. member for North Simcoe had the opportunity of bringing in goods from England without paying any duty, he would still have to add, at the very least, 5 per cent, for freight and insurance and exchange, &c., which I understand is a very low estimate. The result is that in place of their being a difference of 45 per cent, there is not quite 8 per cent difference in cost between the English and Canadian goods. I ask, then, what becomes of the contention of my hon. friend from North Simcoe, that on this line of goods there is a difference of 45 per cent in favour of the English article?

Mr. EDGAR. What is the protection required for?

Mr. McNEILL. I desire to be perfectly courteous to my hon. friend, but if he will kindly ask the question when I have done speaking, I will be only too glad to tell him, or, if he is very anxious, I will tell him now. The reason we put a duty of 30 per cent on these goods is the very same reason that induces the people of the United States to put a duty of 40 per cent on their saws. It is the very same reason that induces every country that is governed by practical statesmen, and has adopted the policy of protection, to put a heavy duty on certain imports. And that reason is to secure at least their own market for themselves, and prevent the slaughtering in it of imported goods. It is in order that we may not suffer again from what we experienced before, and which, though it may be a source of merriment to hon. gentlemen opposite now, was not a source of merriment to the country at the time. I refer to the slaughtering of foreign goods in our market. That is the reason why a duty is put upon these goods to the extent I have mentioned. I may say further that at present there is a very serious risk that we may be very injuriously affected in this very matter of cottons by the condition of trade, in the United States, because there is a very great likelihood of a slaughter taking place, and it is essential that our industries should be protected to the extent, at all events, of securing our own market for them. But I would ask my hon. friend, if it be incontestably true, as it must be, unless it is supposed that everything I say is utterly unreliable—and I have taken special precautions to obtain correct information—if it be true that these goods only cost us 8 per

cent more than similar goods laid down from England, without any duty at all, who is hurt by the duty? The manufacturer is protected—who is hurt? So much for the Oxford shirting.

Mr. LAURIER. Are they all clay or cotton?

Mr. McNEILL. I will hand them over to the hon. gentleman, and he can judge for himself. I could find no difference in the Canadian goods in substance, after washing, as compared with the goods before washing.

Mr. LAURIER. They are all equally good.

Mr. McNEILL. There does not seem to be any adulteration whatever, whereas the other goods are adulterated very largely.

Mr. LAURIER. They treat us as we do the Chinese.

Mr. McNEILL. I think we have had the Chinese market pretty thoroughly discussed. I think we have been told by a gentleman who seems to be very well informed on the subject, that the goods manufactured for the Chinese market are not such goods as are sold here.

Mr. LAURIER. Apparently, from the hon. gentleman's argument, the English people treat us as we treat the Chinese.

Mr. McNEILL. I really do not know whether our manufacturers load their goods for China with clay or not. I should think that it would be very much wiser for them not to do so, because their goods having come into competition with the English goods, loaded with clay, they would be very much more likely to succeed if they sent in the unadulterated material. I will proceed to deal with another line of goods to which my hon. friend referred—flannellettes. My hon. friend said that English flannellettes at 6 cents are as good as Canadian flannellettes at 8 cents.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman is comparing English with Canadian and not American goods?

Mr. McNEILL. I am comparing the goods the hon. gentleman dwelt upon, and I am dealing with his argument.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) You have not got American samples there?

Mr. McNEILL. I am dealing exclusively with the class of goods to which the hon. member for North Simcoe referred.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman said that the Americans were cutting out the English in their own market, but evidently the Canadians have not come to that point yet.

Mr. McNEILL. I have not made any statement of the kind with regard to American cottons, for, so far, but it is true that to some extent, American goods are. I know I shall never get my hon. friend to take a practical

view of anything. I was saying, when my hon. friend interrupted me, that the hon. member for Simcoe stated that English flannellettes at 6 cents were as good as Canadian flannellettes at 8 cents. Now, I have got an English flannellette here at $5\frac{1}{8}$ cents, which is the best I could do, and I have got a Canadian flannellette at $5\frac{3}{4}$ cents. And to shorten the discussion, I will just say that the same assertion which I made with regard to the Oxford shirting holds good in this case. I say that this Canadian flannellette at $5\frac{3}{4}$ cents is far better than the English at $5\frac{1}{8}$ cents. The difference in price, as hon. gentlemen will see, is nothing like what my hon. friend said it was. But I took this also to the gentleman to whom I referred last, Mr. Garland, and I asked him which of these was the better class of goods. He examined them, and said at once that the Canadian unquestionably was much the better.

Mr. LAURIER. We should export them to England, and send the English people good goods.

Mr. McNEILL. This is $5\frac{3}{4}$ cents per yard.

Mr. LAURIER. But it is better.

Mr. McNEILL. It is better. I asked how much better, and he said he would give half a cent per yard more.

Mr. LAURIER. Let us export them to England.

Mr. McNEILL. I am glad my hon. friend recognizes that our industry is progressing so fast. This, then, is the difference in value between these goods—a difference of simply one-eighth of a cent in value. According to this expert who examined both, the Canadian goods at $5\frac{3}{4}$ cents was worth $\frac{1}{2}$ cent more than the English goods at $5\frac{1}{8}$ cents; that is to say, you must add $\frac{4}{8}$ ths of a cent to the English goods, which brings up the English goods to $5\frac{5}{8}$ ths as against $5\frac{6}{8}$ ths, which is the actual price of the Canadian goods. And that does not take into account the cost of transportation. If you take into account the cost of transportation, then, so far as this line of goods is concerned, the Canadian goods are actually cheaper than the English. Now, I want to ask again what becomes of my hon. friend's contention, which was that we paid 33 per cent more for our flannellettes in Canada than we could get them for in England or than we could import them for from England. It has melted into thin air. Now Mr. Chairman, this Canadian line of goods is, as I have said, cheaper than—or, at all events, as cheap, let us put it no further than that—as the English goods. Take the average, for my hon. friend struck an average between the goods he mentioned—take the average between the flannellettes and the Oxford shirting. One is no dearer than the English, and the other is 8 per cent dearer. So you find the average is 4 per

cent dearer, this is 4 per cent only as against the Canadian goods, instead of 35 per cent, as my hon. friend declared the difference in price to be. Now, I have taken my hon. friend's own lines of goods; I have taken his own witnesses, and I have the right to assume that no better witnesses for his contention could be found than those he himself selected, and, so far from proving his contention, these witnesses of his own make utterly ridiculous the statement he made on the floor of this House. Now, that brings us face to face—well, very close, indeed—to my hon. friend's main contention and fundamental argument against the whole National Policy, and that argument was this—that we are paying for it more than it is worth. Now, he made the statement that we paid the whole amount of the duty, 35 per cent, and that it amounted, in round numbers, to \$2,200,000. Taking the figures I have given you, it amounts, not to \$2,200,000, but to \$340,000. Now, in order to save that \$340,000 to the consumer of cottons in Canada, my hon. friend condemns his constituents and mine to the use of this cotton clay compost. And not only so, for he did not intend to relieve the consumers of cotton of all taxation; he intended that they should pay 17½ per cent. But, under this policy, in place of paying 17½ per cent, they are only paying 4 per cent. But, Mr. Chairman, even if my hon. friend desired to save the \$340,000 for the revenue, I want to know what he intended to do with the rest of the money. While he argued that the consumer should pay 17½ per cent to the revenue rather than pay 4 per cent to the workingmen of this country, I want to know what his position was with regard to the eight million dollars and more that are left. If you subtract \$340,000 from \$8,500,000 you have more than \$8,000,000 left. Now, what was my hon. friend's proposal with regard to this \$8,000,000, as compared with which the \$340,000 was a very small matter? His proposal was that we should send that \$8,000,000 bodily out of this country to buy English or foreign goods. Now, a certain amount of it does go out of this country—about one-third the value of the goods—which is spent for the raw material. But the difference between the price of the raw material and the price of the manufactured goods, the bulk of it at least, is simply wealth produced in this country by the labour, energy and skill and enterprise of the people of Canada. But my hon. friend did not consider that at all. He said we got nothing in return for the extra price we paid. We have about five millions of dollars as an increase to the wealth of this country, besides giving employment to our people. Why, Sir, the sum that goes to our people as wages—\$2,000,000, not a small sum in itself, but small in comparison with the eight or nine millions of dollars—is still here, it is still circulating in this country, buying flour and beef and other products of the farm.

Mr. McNEILL.

buying shoes and clothes and other goods. And I want to call the attention of the House for a moment to the fact that my hon. friend excluded the bakers and butchers and shoemakers and tailors from the benefits of the National Policy. But these also are getting their profit from the National Policy and increased in number by it. That brings me now—and I am sure I am very much obliged to the committee for the great patience with which they have heard me—to what is a still greater error of my hon. friend, to what I conceive to be the essential error of his position, the idea that only the men employed within the walls of protected industries are benefited by the National Policy. That is a very large question. I say that the effects of such an industry as this are far-reaching; it is almost impossible to say how far they extend in benefit to the industries of this country. I need not elaborate that idea; I will confine myself to quoting one sentence from a little work which I have in my hand. I have quoted this expression in this House before, but it is quite evident, Mr. Chairman, that it requires to be quoted again. This work is by Professor William Smart, Professor of Political Economy of Dundee and Glasgow, and a strong free trader. In reference to this particular matter, as to the effect of an industry upon the surrounding population, I would call attention to what he says. He is writing of the sugar industry. I do not say that this may not be an extreme case, but, at all events, it illustrates the point I wish to make. He says:

Along with the sugar industry go, a good many subsidiary trades, such as coopers, engineers and the large amount of shipping formerly necessary. Greenock, for instance, a town of 70,000 inhabitants, and with a municipal debt of £2,000,000, has only about 2,000 men directly employed within the walls of the sugar houses, yet almost the entire population is dependent upon the prosperity of sugar.

Now, I think if any statement can be imagined which ought to enlighten hon. gentlemen opposite with regard to the narrowness of the views they take on this subject, it is the statement which I have read. This is a statement made by a professor of political economy, who is a strong free trader, and if it was necessary, I could read a passage from the book to show what a strong free trader he is.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Read the passage. I dare say it would be better instruction than the one you read.

Mr. McNEILL. I will read the passage if my hon. friend wishes:

It is perhaps not out of place to ask: What is our national policy? The battle of free trade was fought out in the days of our fathers. The younger generation have accepted the name of it, without much attempting to grasp the great arguments that Cobden and Bright and Villiers made

familiar from every platform. Of late there has been a slight reaction against it. But the reactionists have proved so weak in debate, and so evidently partisan in interest, that they have served only to settle us more firmly in our conviction, that nothing can be said for protection that was not said forty years ago and confuted then.

Does that satisfy my hon. friend? Is that sufficient proof that this is a free trade author? I would just say that I hope when any hon. gentlemen discuss this question in the future, they will remember the dictum of the gentleman whose utterances they have so rapturously applauded at this moment, and that they will not consider that the only men benefited by a protective policy are the men employed within the factories. The farmer as well as every one else is benefited. Now, I think this cotton industry is one of which we in Canada ought to be proud. It is an industry in which some thirteen million dollars are invested, an industry that turned out last year nearly nine million dollars worth of goods. It is an industry that employs 9,000 of our working people, and these have to be supplied by our farmers. The wages that are paid, as I have stated, are claimed to be \$2,400,000, and the amount of energy that has been displayed in prosecuting this industry, is extraordinary. The great coloured cotton spinning mill at Magog, which, I understand, unfortunately, has paid no dividend so far, and whose capital stock is in the market at some 30 or 35 per cent of a discount—which does not look very much like enormous profits—I understand this mill turns out 3,650 different patterns of printed goods. I am informed there is no other single mill in the world that turns out anything like the same number of patterns. It was stated here the other day, I think by the hon. member for Wellington (Mr. McMullen) that this mill was dead, or he fancied so. Well, it is very much alive, I am glad to say. Four years ago it turned out 190,000 pieces of goods. The year subsequent to that it turned out 275,000 pieces of goods, and this year it is expected to turn out 400,000 pieces of goods. So that does not look very much like inanition. I must say that I think the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), and the hon. gentlemen opposite with whom he is acting in this matter, are utterly mistaken in the proposal they make. It seems to me it would be a fatuous policy, and that it would be a very shabby policy to desert this industry and to turn the people who are employed in it again adrift. It seems to me that the true and statesmanlike policy is to support and maintain an industry which does so much for this country, which employs so many of our people, which produces directly and indirectly so much capital, and which directly and indirectly encourages industry in this country to so great an extent.

Mr. McMULLEN. I must say that for a number of years I have not listened to an

hon. gentleman on that side who has made a stronger free trade speech than my hon. friend who has just sat down. He has proved most clearly to this committee, from the quotations he has made and the samples he has produced to the House, that Canada can produce in the cotton line goods as valuable as England or any other country. Now, if that is the case, why should there be protection at all? I regret that the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) was not present to realize how completely he has been snowed under to-night. How he would have felt the power of the argument presented by the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill) in criticising the speech he made to this House a few days ago. I must express my surprise that the hon. member for North Bruce, who has ever been ready and willing to stand up for the honour and dignity of England, should to-night have turned his back upon her. He produced samples made in England to this House, and said: This is China clay, it is not cotton. He decried his own country. The man who has ever been ready to stand up for the honesty, the uprightness, and the integrity of England, has told us to-night that she manufactures cotton out of clay and sends it to Canada to be sold as cotton. I suppose the hon. gentleman thinks that he has settled the whole question to-night. Protection, he says, has accomplished a great deal for Canada, and his argument would go to show that we do not want any more protection. Our cotton mills can compete with creation, and when they can compete with England with a very little duty, why should they have any more protection? That is just what we have been contending for on this side of the House, the people of this country for many years have been paying an enormous amount of money presumedly to keep the cotton mills agoing so that they could make money, but we find out by the hon. gentleman's argument to-night that they have been protected too long, and the best thing we can do now is to strike off the shackles and allow the people to buy where they can please themselves best, and if they chose to buy English clay imported as cotton, let them have the opportunity of doing so.

Item agreed to.

White or bleached cotton fabrics, n.e.s., 25 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. This is a reduction. Cotton denims, drillings, bed-ticking and so on, average 31½ per cent.

Mr. EDGAR. That may be so, but the hon. gentleman cannot point out in the Trade and Navigation Returns anything to substantiate that. I would like to know where he gets these figures, because he cannot get them from the imports.

Mr. FOSTER. I thought it was the next item that had been called. It has already

been explained that the two are in one item in the returns.

Mr. EDGAR. How much does the hon. gentleman say the duty was on bleached sheetings, ducks, &c. ?

Mr. FOSTER. They are altogether in the item. It is impossible to give anything but an average on bleached and unbleached.

Mr. EDGAR. I see from the Trade and Navigation Returns that the average is 24½ per cent, so the duty proposed is not a decrease.

Mr. FOSTER. That took in unbleached as well as bleached, it embraced ducks, drill sheetings, &c. It is very clear that this is a very great deduction.

Mr. FLINT. Has the Government concluded to accede to the prayer of the petition of a certain cotton manufacturer in Nova Scotia, who asks that the cotton duck used for belting and hose be removed from the free list and be given some duty, in order to give the manufacturer the same measure of protection as is enjoyed by other manufacturers in the cotton industry ?

Mr. FOSTER. I can hardly tell the hon. gentleman until we come to the free list, and then I shall be happy to give the information.

Item agreed to.

Cotton fabrics, printed, dyed or coloured, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. The cotton duck, checked and striped shirtings, cottonades and Kentucky jeans and goods of like description were 31½ per cent on an average. The gingham, plaids, cotton or cotton flannels were 34½ per cent. By placing the duty at 30 per cent, we have made a decided reduction.

Mr. EDGAR. On page 45 of the Trade and Navigation Returns I find that on coloured cotton fabrics, woyen in whole or in part, ducks, &c., the duty on the importation was at the rate of 24½ per cent. Now it appears to have been increased to 30 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. No; it is 2 cents per yard, or 15 per cent. The hon. gentleman can easily calculate it.

Mr. EDGAR. I have calculated the duty on importations, and I make the rate 24½ per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. That is for cotton bleached and unbleached.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. gentleman is quoting an item that does not belong to cottons, but includes cotton and a number of other fabrics, such as "jute yarn, or part jute and part cotton." It is not fair to compare this as being cotton goods, which it is not.

Mr. FOSTER.

Mr. EDGAR. The item includes coloured cotton.

Mr. WALLACE. Only cotton mixed with other fabrics.

Mr. EDGAR. This includes coloured cottons and cotton fabrics. It is true that the whole of the item is not cotton fabrics, but it includes coloured cotton fabrics.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman is looking at the wrong place. If he will turn to page 40 he will find the cotton goods. These goods to which the hon. gentleman has been referring are really woollen or a mixture of cotton with other fabrics.

Mr. EDGAR. There are cotton goods on page 40 as well as on page 45.

Mr. FOSTER. They come under a different item entirely.

Mr. EDGAR. I know it. I am only referring to the coloured cotton fabrics.

Mr. McMULLEN. What change will the duty make in the revenue ?

Mr. FOSTER. If any change occurs, we will obtain a larger revenue, because the amount of protection has been greatly lowered.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I understand it has been lowered from 31½ per cent to 30 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. I have regard to the hon. gentleman's own argument with respect to this point, that if you take a range of prices you will find that on very many the old duties will be much higher.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Then I will ask the hon. Minister what quantities were imported of the lower grades, and what of the higher ? In bringing down these items containing twenty or thirty different descriptions of cotton fabrics, it is quite impossible, unless the hon. gentleman has made a careful calculation, which if he has he can give to the House, to tell from these vague general statements anything about the matter. There may be \$10,000 worth or \$100,000 worth of the inferior goods imported. What are the amounts according to the hon. gentleman's calculations ?

Mr. FOSTER. Unfortunately our returns do not separate them.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It is groping pretty much in the dark. All we can tell is the average amount is so much, 31½ per cent, and it is now proposed to reduce it to 30 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; but we know also that there is a large margin of prices, and that they run from 6 and 7 cents up.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Surely the hon. gentleman in making his calculation as to what the tariff would yield or the loss that would be sustained must have

had before him some competition more or less accurate—we do not expect minute accuracy—as to the total amount of coloured cotton goods imported, or that were imported, and how they would be affected by the duty. There should be some means in his department to ascertain the gross amount. But what does the hon. gentleman suppose to be the gross amount of coloured fabrics imported?

Mr. FOSTER. About 3,000,000 yards, or a little over.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That is an enormous proportion when the total amount was only \$4,000,000 last year.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; but this is the largest proportion.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Am I to understand that by cotton fabrics at 30 per cent, 75 per cent of the imports are covered?

Mr. FOSTER. I am giving the hon. gentleman the quantity, not the value. I mean 3,000,000 yards, the value of which was \$380,000.

Mr. McMULLEN. Can the Minister of Finance give us any idea of what the output of the Magog mills was for the last year?

Mr. FOSTER. A little over \$1,000,000 worth.

Mr. McMULLEN. Then we imported apparently \$1,749,000 worth, which gives \$2,749,000 used in Canada. The Magog people had some \$300,000 of protection for manufacturing that million dollars worth of goods. They had 30 per cent on what they manufacture, and they sell their cottons up to the prices at which you can import them.

Mr. FOSTER. Make your calculation correct, and put it down at 32½ per cent.

Mr. McMULLEN. That is a bonus of \$325,000 to the Magog mills. How many hands do they employ?

Mr. FOSTER. They have about 1,200 hands.

Mr. WALLACE. They make the cloth in other factories in the Dominion, and you can put 1,200 more hands for that.

Mr. McMULLEN. If there is anything at all upon which a very decided reduction should be made it is on printed cottons, because everybody knows that the poorer classes of this country buy very largely of cheap prints. In my humble opinion the action cannot be justified of trying to establish a cotton printing institution in this country, because it is well known that with a limited market of less than 5,000,000 of people, you cannot change the pattern sufficiently often to keep up with the fashions issued in England and France, where the most stylish prints in the world are pro-

duced. The fact is that in order to change their rollers so as to make new and stylish patterns they have to go to great expense, while in England and France they run off an enormous amount of cotton on the same die. It is a piece of gross folly and an indefensible imposition on the poorer classes of our people to impose a duty of 30 per cent on printed cottons for the purpose of keeping the Magog mills running. For any legitimate industry there might be some reasonable excuse for protection, but in this case there is no excuse whatever. It is on a par with our trying to manufacture all kinds of earthenware and chinaware here when we have to bring the clay and sand from the United States in American bottoms, and land it on the banks of the Richelieu to try and produce crockery to compete with the Staffordshire ware. That is running protection into the ground.

Item agreed to.

Collars of cotton, xylonite, xyolite or celluloid, twenty-four cents per dozen and twenty-five per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I would like to know what the hon. gentleman computes that to be ad valorem on the inferior qualities?

Mr. FOSTER. The average on last year's importations was 52 per cent on the collars, and 56 per cent on the cuffs. Of course the duties were higher.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That was the average, but that is not exactly what I asked. I asked what information the hon. gentleman had as to the duty on the separate grades. I know that in the trade this duty is regarded as an enormous and improper duty, amounting to 80 or 100 per cent on a good many of the grades imported.

Mr. EDGAR. I have ascertained from members of the trade that they have bought in England a great many of the cheaper class of collars for a shilling sterling a dozen, that is 24 cents a dozen. That is 100 per cent of duty on the specific part, and in addition to that the hon. gentleman is levying 25 per cent, so that on that class of collar the duty would be 125 per cent. That is a reason why I think the Government should put an ad valorem and not a specific duty on this article. I should think an ad valorem duty away down would suit the case better.

Mr. FOSTER. An ad valorem duty away down would destroy the industry in this country.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What does that industry amount to? Where is it situated, and how many men does it employ? I should like to know what industry is worth taxing the people of Canada 125 per cent for, and I should like to know what return these manufacturers are going to make to us for subjecting our people to such a tax?

Mr. FOSTER. It may be possible to buy collars for a shilling a dozen, but I am inclined to think that collars sold at that price do not return much to those who make them, after the material is paid for. It seems to me that that is not the kind of industry in a foreign country for which we ought to sacrifice a fair and legitimate industry in this country. The hon. gentleman asks how many people this industry employs. I suppose he knew before he asked that it is a widely extended industry. I find that it employs directly about 5,000 hands.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. In making collars ?

Mr. FOSTER. In making collars and cuffs and shirts.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Where is that statement to be verified ?

Mr. FOSTER. You can find it in the census returns under the industries.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Name the industries, if you please.

Mr. FOSTER. They pay out about \$1,000,000 in wages.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I am not inquiring about the shirts ; we will come to them in due time. I am inquiring about these collars.

Mr. FOSTER. Collars and shirts are made together ; they are not separate branches of industry. They employ a very large number of people and in a very excellent way, that is, outside the factory. For instance, in Quebec, where that industry is largely carried on, most of it is done in the farmers' homes, the work being given out to the wives and daughters of farmers and brought in when finished. If my hon. friend will inquire in the vicinity of Montreal he will find that a very large employment is given there, with very excellent effects, that otherwise would not have been given, and at a fairly remunerative wage. I think it is not to be suggested here that because the grade of collar my hon. friend refers to he says he can get at a shilling a dozen, therefore, our people are paying a duty of 100 or 125 per cent. That is not true at all ; because, in the first place, the materials are widely different, and, in the second place, there is no combine, no approach to a combine, no possibility of a combine, among the shirt and collar manufacturers of this country. They are all competing with each other, and their goods are sold at a very low price. Collars of very good quality are sold at from 60 cents a dozen upwards ; and, when you take into account the price of the material and a fair wage for making them, that is very cheap indeed. On the continent of Europe there is no branch of the work which is done at a rate of pay nearer to starvation wages than the making of shirts and collars, and it is to protect a legitimate industry in our

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT.

own country against that kind of labour that this duty is put on. Not that our people take advantage of the whole duty, and do not produce an article of fair value from good material.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The advantage does not go to the labourer at all.

Mr. FOSTER. The advantage does go to the labourer. The manufacturer gets a fair return for his work, but not a large return, because the competition keeps down the prices and the profits ; but it is just, in a comparison with that kind of labour on the continent, in Germany and in England, that we may come to the conclusion that labour here does get the advantage, and that it should be protected from competition with that class of labour. It is simply a question whether, to suit a mere whim, a mere idea with reference to free trade, we should destroy an industry of this kind and throw 5,000 of our people out of work, in order to have collars of a very cheap and very poor kind—they must be as poor as they are cheap—at the rate of 24 cents a dozen. Hon. gentlemen will find, if they inquire in the stores in our cities and country places, that collars and shirts and cuffs are sold very low indeed, and I do not think that the protection, under those circumstances, is an undue one, considering the interest which is being subserved. No doubt English collars are imported, no doubt something is paid for style, but I do not think the poorer classes are discriminated against in these duties while a very large employment is given in our own country. The amount of cotton consumed in the making of these collars and cuffs is very large, and this also helps to keep up our cotton milling industry and thus furnishes additional employment.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The statement which the hon. gentleman behind me made as to the price at which collars may be purchased in England is correct. I have correspondence in my hand from a large importer in the Maritime Provinces. He says that ladies collars can be bought in England at a shilling a dozen, and that the duty imposed on these, computing the specific and ad valorem, is exactly 120 per cent. That surely is protection beyond reason. To prove the correctness of his statement, the importer sent me samples of collars which he imported at these prices. And the hon. gentleman can see that they are not of the class he imagines at all. Here is one that cost 11 pence sterling per dozen. Value for duty 22 cents, 30 per cent ad valorem, 6·60, specific duty 24 cents per dozen—the whole duty 36·60, or 140 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. Did he tell you how much he sells those for ?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) What does that matter ? We are asking how much duty the hon. gentleman is putting upon them, and

whether collars of this character can be purchased at the price my hon. friend behind me said they could.

Mr. FOSTER. No doubt they can.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) This proves beyond doubt that they can be purchased at the price you said and a shade less. They cost 11 pence per dozen, and the duty is 140 per cent, and the character and style of the collars may be seen from the samples produced here. No sane man can justify such an enormous and absurd duty as that upon an article of this kind.

Mr. TAYLOR. He can buy them at 30 cents a dozen.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) If you can make them cheaper than they can be imported at, we do not want a duty on them.

Mr. TAYLOR. Most certainly you do, to keep them out.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) We are arguing against the imposition of an absurd and unreasonable duty which nothing can justify. Now, he sends another sample, which seems to be a very good collar. It costs 14 pence per dozen sterling, and the whole duty amounts to 115 per cent. What possible justification can the hon. gentleman advance for placing these exorbitant duties on a collar costing 14 pence per dozen?

Mr. CURRAN. Does he give the wages paid to the seamstresses?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Will the hon. gentleman tell me what prices are paid to the seamstresses in some of the cities of Canada? He does not know, but I have been told by some who do know, that you pay them sweating prices.

Mr. CURRAN. The hon. gentleman asserts that, but cannot prove it.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) When the hon. gentleman asks me the prices paid seamstresses at home, has he any evidence?

Mr. CURRAN. The evidence of the price per dozen.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) You have no evidence, but they produce them cheaper than you do.

Mr. HASLAM. I believe I have evidence on that point, from an importer of English goods. He compared the prices paid here with those paid in the sweating shops of London to the exiled Jews from Russia and Germany and other continental countries, who were bound to exist in London the best way they could, and he told me that the prices paid in Canada—

Mr. LAURIER. No sweating shops in Canada.

Mr. HASLAM. No, and I hope the Opposition will never get low enough to wish for them. The wages paid in Great Britain

for the very class of goods exhibited here are positively a disgrace to any country claiming to be a nation.

Mr. LANDERKIN. And the old flag.

Mr. HASLAM. Yes, or any other flag; but the flag, I am proud to say, is not responsible for the actions of a great many people who claim protection.

Mr. LANDERKIN. I am glad to hear that.

Mr. FOSTER. That lets you out.

Mr. LANDERKIN. But not you.

Mr. HASLAM. I hope that Canadian politicians will never degrade themselves to the extent of asking the poorer classes of people in Canada to work for the wages paid by some of the manufacturers in Great Britain. There is certainly over 400 per cent difference between the wages paid to the poorer classes for the same line of goods in Great Britain and Canada.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) How will the hon. gentleman reconcile that statement with the statement made by the hon. member for Leeds (Mr Taylor), who said that we make them as cheaply in this country as in England?

Mr. HASLAM. The hon. gentleman spoke only of the goods the articles were manufactured from. I am talking of the work done on the articles. I am talking of the made-up articles. He did not mention collars or cuffs at all.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Yes, that was the subject I was talking about.

Mr. HASLAM. I did not hear the hon. gentleman mention it. I know whereof I speak in this instance.

Mr. INGRAM. I have been trying to ascertain whether the manufacture of celluloid goods covers other articles than collars and cuffs. I know that a large class of other goods are made in celluloid, but whether this factory makes them or not I am not prepared to say. If they do, the people of this country would make a great saving on goods handled by different dealers. Ivory is growing scarce and celluloid goods are taking the place of those formerly made of ivory. Saddlers handle a number of these goods. Take, for instance, martingale rings. A large number are manufactured, and they are extensively used in this country. The ivory rings are very dear, and, by the use of celluloid, a great saving can be effected. I believe also that druggists handle a certain class of celluloid goods that take the place of ivory.

Mr. EDGAR. The hon. member for Vancouver Island (Mr. Haslam) expresses his fear of the competition of exiled Jews in London making these collars. In the city of Toronto, when the employees of the sweaters tried to get an increase of wages, their employers sent to New York and im-

ported exiled Jews by the dozen to Toronto to keep down wages there.

Mr. WALLACE. What firm was that?

Mr. EDGAR. I can learn the name of the firm and give it to the hon. gentleman, for I saw it stated in the papers when I was in Toronto before the session opened.

An hon. MEMBER. What paper was it?

Mr. EDGAR. I think it was the 'World.' The Finance Minister asked my hon. friend from Prince Edward Island (Mr. Davies) what the importer sold these collars at. I can tell him this: that when the Government puts on a duty of 120 per cent and upwards, the importer sells the goods at more than 100 per cent additional to the people of the country. He has to add his profits and his interest and charges not only on the cost of the imported goods, but also on the duty he pays to the Government. So, the higher the duty, the higher the price, but always in proportion to the duty.

Mr. HASLAM. I am obliged to the hon. member for West Ontario (Mr. Edgar) for bearing out my statements. He has proven that we have to go to another country in order to bring in labour to reduce wages.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) But there is no protection for labour in this country.

Mr. COCHRANE. You objected to it when it was proposed.

Mr. COATSWORTH. It is not proper for the hon. gentleman (Mr. Edgar) to make the statements he has made. I saw the same accounts that he saw. The hon. gentleman did not give the names because he could not give them. He has simply made a statement based upon a newspaper report which may or may not be true. I do not say anything about the newspaper—

Mr. LANDERKIN. Thin ice.

Mr. COATSWORTH. The hon. gentleman has gone on thinner ice, and has gone through it too. The hon. gentleman has made a statement based upon a report in an evening newspaper. I am surprised to hear the hon. gentleman making such statements about the city of Toronto without having satisfied himself whether they are true.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. One thing is perfectly clear—the hon. gentleman is perfectly willing to inflict a duty of 125 per cent and over upon the people of this country, for the possible benefit of a small number of persons who are carrying on this industry of collar making. Whether his information as to those engaged in shirt making, which is a larger branch of industry, be true or not, I cannot say. The census figures, I am sorry to say, are so very badly arranged that it is a matter of extreme difficulty to test the accuracy of the information supplied to the hon. gentleman by interested parties; and I doubt very much indeed whether, in

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a great many of these statements he has made, he has any better authority than the very vague allegations made by persons whose interest it is to maintain these enormous duties. The hon. gentleman and his friends are willing to pile up duties of 125 per cent and over in order to develop some petty little industry at the expense of the great bulk of the people of this country, to whom they can give no protection, who have to sell in the markets of the world and accept the prices given them as the result of competition in those markets. These taxes, although they do not amount to much per head, when put together go very far to justify the statement made by the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), who I am sorry to see is not here to vindicate his own cause, but who, I have no doubt, will vindicate it on proper occasion. The practical result of these taxes is that the people of Canada are being taxed to the tune of sixty or seventy millions, by far the larger part of which is exacted in taxes scattered over a number of small articles, and a comparatively small proportion of which goes into the treasury. These things all go to show that the Government take no notice of facts no matter how clearly put before them. They have been saying that our tariff is only one of 30 or 35 per cent, or, as one of them put it, a tariff of 20 per cent. But when you come to analyse it, you find just such cases as my hon. friend has given. There is not the smallest shadow of an excuse for a tax ranging to 100 or 135 per cent. It is well that the people of Canada should understand that so far as the great mass of the producers of this country are concerned, the Government are utterly indifferent what burthens they lay upon their shoulders.

Mr. WALLACE. I think the hon. gentleman is needlessly indignant. The real fact with regard to these collars is that the importations average 4s. 6d. per dozen, not 11d. or 12d., because these women's collars that are shown here are practically not imported at all. We do not need to import them, because they are made and sold here by people who are paid good wages for making them at 3 cents apiece.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Then why tax them 125 per cent?

Mr. WALLACE. We do not want to tax them for the protection of those engaged in making cheap collars, but we do put a duty on the class of collars that are worn by hon. gentlemen of this House, and by the farmers and workingmen of this country as well. The average cost price is 4s. 6d. per dozen, or \$1.08, that is the average price at which these collars have been imported. Those that the hon. gentleman showed here do not require to be imported.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) They are imported, those are a sample of collars actually imported.

Mr. WALLACE. They cannot be imported, because the duty on them would be 30 cents a dozen, and they can be bought here for 36 cents a dozen, and nobody would be fool enough to import them. But the tariff does protect the women of Canada who make cheap collars, from the cheapest paid labour in the world, and I think the working women in Canada who are making these shirts, collars and cuffs, are entitled to a large measure of protection. Ninety per cent of those who are making these collars are women, and the Government are prepared to give them the necessary protection they require, so that they may be employed in this country at fair wages. This duty will shut out the products of the pauper labour of Europe.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It would be more to the purpose to protect these people by reducing the duties on the necessities which they consume, and that can be done by going back to those half-dozen items we have passed, all of which pay a high duty.

Mr. EDGAR. The hon. member for East Toronto (Mr. Coatsworth) got very indignant about my reference to some exiled Jews being brought to Toronto and put at sweating work. That was not in one paper alone, but in all the Toronto papers at the time. There is a discussion now going on in the city council as to what they are going to do with the colonies of Jews in that city who are coming into competition with the labour of Toronto. The Controller of Customs was very anxious for me to tell him the name of a firm whose work was done by exiled Jews. I may tell him that it was sub-contractors for this clothing and work of that kind, who got into a squabble with their employees and refused to pay them living wages, and imported these Jews. The sub-contractors were at work for a wholesale clothing firm, Lailey, Watson & Co. This firm did not employ these Jews themselves, but it was the sub-contractors, the regular sweaters all over town, who did that. The working people of Toronto are discovering that this 50 and 100 per cent protection goes into the pockets of the manufacturers, and that it does not keep out this imported Jewish labour.

Mr. COATSWORTH. The objection that I made to the statement of the hon. gentleman, he has not removed. I read those articles as well as he did, and I am surprised that he, a lawyer, should stand up before this committee and make the statements he has made to-night, from the article that appeared in that paper. I have this to say, that the alleged investigations—because I can hardly call them more than alleged investigations—were made by one newspaper, and so far as they appeared in other newspapers they were simply copies of, or extracts from, the articles in the first

paper. I read the paper myself almost every night while these things were being published, and I must say that I am surprised that any gentleman, without some investigation on his own part, should take these newspaper reports, which may or may not have been got up for the purpose of selling the paper, and without satisfying himself as to the truth of the reports, should have inflicted them upon this House with all the assurance of one who is telling what he knows to be a true statement. Now, my hon. friend has mentioned the name of one firm, but he takes particular care not to say that he cannot mention the names of the persons who were referred to in these reports. It is very well to say that some firm standing high up, through a series of sub-contractors, has this work done in the way he mentions; but there is no evidence. My hon. friend has mentioned the name of to show that that kind of thing exists in Toronto; and I can assure this House that if it does exist to any extent we will soon find means to stamp it out.

Item agreed to.

Committee rose and reported progress.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 11.55 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, 9th May, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

CARAQUET RAILWAY.

Mr. MULOCK asked, What were the gross receipts and expenditures of the Caraque Railway for the fiscal years 1891, 1892 and 1893?

Mr. HAGGART. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1891, the gross earnings were \$17,819.16; and the gross operating expenses, \$19,514.49. For 1892, the gross earnings were \$18,899.77, and the gross operating expenses, \$21,080.29. For 1893, the gross earnings were \$20,069.66, and the gross operating expenses, \$22,095.18.

MOUNTED POLICEMAN GILPIN BROWN.

Mr. McMULLEN asked, When was Gilpin Brown appointed a member of the North-west Mounted Police? What is his position in the corps? What service has he seen to fit him for the position he fills? If any officer of the kind was wanted, why was it not

filled by promotion in place of a new appointment? Is Mr. Brown a Canadian by birth? If not, how long has he been in Canada?

Mr. IVES. He was appointed on the 8th February, 1894. His position is that of inspector. He was an officer in the 92nd Gordon Highlanders from 1874 to 1884, and had served with distinction through the Afghan war of 1878-80, the Boer war of 1891, and the Egyptian war of 1892. He had also served with the Canadian forces during the North-west rebellion in 1885. He is not a Canadian by birth. He has resided in Canada since 1885. He was appointed because of his eminent fitness and qualifications for the position.

THE NATIONAL PARK.

Mr. MARTIN asked, 1. Have any lots been sold in the National Park town site? If so, how many, and at what price? 2. What were the receipts from the National Park in 1893? 3. How much money was expended on the National Park in 1893?

Mr. DALY. 1. No lots have been sold. 2. The receipts in 1893 were \$3,025.50. 3. The amount expended on the park in 1893, exclusive of salary of superintendent, was \$4,456.80.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS IN THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES.

Mr. McMULLEN asked, What is the number and location of the several industrial schools in Manitoba and the North-west Territories, and the average number of pupils attending each during the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1893?

Mr. DALY. There were seven industrial schools in operation in Manitoba and the North-west Territories during the fiscal year ended 30th June, 1893:—St. Boniface, at St. Boniface, Man., with an average attendance of 77. Rupert's Land, at St. Paul's, Middlechurch, Man., with an average attendance of 53. Washakada Home, at Elkhorn, Man., with an average attendance of 56. Battleford, at Battleford, Treaty 6, N.W.T., with an average attendance of 95. Qu'Appelle, at Fort Qu'Appelle, Treaty 4, N.W.T., with an average attendance of 158. Regina, at Regina, N.W.T., with an average attendance of 85. St. Joseph's, at High River, near Calgary, N.W.T., with an average attendance of 68. In addition to which the following boarding schools, at most of which one or more industries are taught, were also in operation during that year:—Portage la Prairie, at Portage la Prairie, Man., Treaty 2, with an average attendance of 15. Water Hen River, at Water Hen River, Treaty 2, Man., with an average attendance of 7. Birtle, at Birtle Agency, Treaty 4, N.W.T., with an average attendance of 13. Blackfoot, on Blackfoot Reserve, Treaty 7, N.W.T.; average attend-

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ance of 22. Blood, on Blood Reserve, Treaty 7, N.W.T.; average attendance of 14. Crowstand, near Pelly (south end of Coté's Reserve), Fort Pelly Agency, Treaty 4, N.W.T.; average attendance, 19. Emmanuel College, at Prince Albert, Treaty 6, N.W.T.; average attendance, 19. File Hills, at Little Black Bear's, File Hills Agency, Treaty 4, N.W.T.; average attendance, 12. Gordon, at Geo. Gordon's, Touchwood Hills Agency, Treaty 4; average attendance, 13. Lac la Biche, at Lac la Biche, Saddle Lake Agency, Treaty 6; average attendance, 18. Lakesend, near Muscowpetung Reserve, Treaty 4; average attendance, 4. Muscowequan's, at Muscowequan's, Touchwood Hills Agency, Treaty 4; average attendance, 14. Muskeg Lake, at Petaquaquey's, Carlton Agency, Treaty 6; average attendance, 3. McDougall Orphanage, on Stoney Reserve, Sarcee Agency, Treaty 7; average attendance, 36. Piegan, on Piegan Reserve, Piegan Agency, Treaty 7; average attendance, 6. Round Lake, at Round Lake, Crooked Lakes Agency, Treaty 4; average attendance, 13. Sarcee, on Sarcee Reserve, Sarcee Agency, Treaty 7; average attendance, 7. Standing Buffalo, Standing Buffalo, Muscowpetung's Agency, Treaty 4; average attendance, 6. Stoney Plains, at Enoch la Potac, Edmonton Agency, Treaty 6; average attendance, 7. St. Albert Orphanage, at St. Albert, Edmonton Agency, Treaty 6; average attendance, 50. Vermillion (Irene Training), in Athabasca District, outside treaty limits; average attendance, 14.

BRIBERY AND DISFRANCHISEMENT.

Mr. WELDON moved that the House resolve itself into committee on Bill (No. 6) to disfranchise voters who have taken bribes.

Motion agreed to, and House resolved itself into committee.

(In the Committee.)

On section 2,

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) Mr. Chairman, before this section is passed, I would like to state my views as regards the provisions embodied in this Bill. As is now well known, penal proceedings can only be instituted in a direct way, that is to say, the facts must be explained, the charges stated clearly which the incriminated party will have to meet—in short, everything must be stated directly and plainly. Well, what is this Bill enacting? It states that, whenever twenty-five voters shall lay a complaint on their mere suspecting that bribery has been practised, that they have reason to believe that bribery prevailed at an election, these twenty-five voters shall apply to the judge of the Superior Court of the district in which the electoral district is included, and the judge shall make a fishing inquiry into cases of bribery. Make an inquiry!—but into what? against whom? It is not known, Mr. Chairman, at least it is not

stated in the Bill. However strange it may seem, such inquiry will have to be made upon mere suppositions. If this Bill is passed, it will not be necessary that definite facts should be stated in the petition for the opening of the inquiry. What will the parties arraigned have to do? How will they dispute the evidence given against them? What power will they have to protect themselves? For, let it be observed, the judge despatches the case as quickly as he can. Now, the inquiry once begun, those incriminated parties who would wish to contest the case will be told it is too late for them to object to the inquiry; that they should have done that before the opening of the proceedings. But how will they know that such proceedings are to take place? It is stated nowhere in the Bill. That attempt at legislation, Mr. Chairman, is the result of the endeavours made last year by the hon. promoter of this Bill. It will be remembered that, at the last session, he introduced a Bill to make these inquiries in a wholesale way. But the Bill was drawn up in such a way that it could not reach its third reading, and was killed after its second reading. True, they substituted for it a little baby, but the child was born not likely to live, and now we know not where he is. This year, the hon. member comes again with a new Bill, which does not seem to me to be more acceptable, with another child, whom I consider no more capable of living. I am in favour of any measure that tends to prevent or do away with bribery at election times. Last year, it was stated in some newspapers and elsewhere that I was opposed to that principle. I deny that emphatically. I am in favour of any measure, and any legislation which will have for its object to make elections as pure as possible; to see that not a single dollar should be spent. I am the more for the putting down of bribery as I have no money to spend for such purposes. At the next election I may possibly not be returned by acclamation, as I was at the last, and should I have an opponent, I would, of course, be the most happy man living, should there be a law to prevent any bribery, or any attempt at bribery. Therefore, I am in principle in favour of any measure tending to prevent electoral bribery, and if I am not in favour of the Bill now before us, it is because I think it will not fill the object for which it was drawn up. It is wanting in two things: first, it does not punish the more guilty parties. Should it be passed, you could not punish the bribe-givers, or, rather, those who do the real wrong, those who practise bribery on a large scale. But you will punish, you will reach, innocent men, or a poor man who will have received fifty cents to provide bread for his wife and children, while you leave alone the man who did all the wrong. That poor man, who does not know the law, who would have simply accepted, as a gift rather than as a bribe, that trifling sum of fifty cents, would be

uselessly dragged before that court of inquiry. I cannot see the opportunity of this Bill, as such electoral laws as we now have to provide for all the cases mentioned in this Bill. But, Mr. Chairman, who will pay the costs of the inquiry that is to be made whenever twenty-five voters petition for it? I will make myself right at once with respect to various sections of this Bill, for I do not intend to take the floor at every moment, and this is why I will pass on from section 2, now under consideration, to the other sections. Who, I repeat, will pay the costs? When an election is over, does any one fancy that there is a man to be found, scrupulous and desirous of the public good to such an extent as to look for and have such a petition for inquiry signed by twenty-five voters? Does any one believe that many people will be found who will be impelled by such a desire to purify the political atmosphere and be willing to make a deposit of five hundred dollars, which they will lose without any profit or benefit accruing to any one? You will not often find people so well disposed as to spend such a sum solely in the interest of the public good. I think, Mr. Chairman, it is going a little too far. I think that never will a man be found who would be willing to spend five cents under such conditions, and, consequently, such legislation would have no practical results. Let no one be mistaken with respect to that deposit of five hundred dollars; the man who will ever make it will never see a single dollar of it come back to him. But what will be the effect of this Bill? I suppose the judge will grant the inquiry, and he could not do otherwise, once a petition for it has been filed before him. The judge will go to the place and there begin the inquiry. He will bring along with him a clerk, bailiffs, short-hand writers—for the Bill authorizes the use of short-hand writers—in short, the judge will go there with all his kitchen utensils. Under such conditions, I can assure you that the five hundred dollars will not last long. When they will be expended, will the inquiry be stopped? And if it is not stopped, if it is not suspended, who will pay the additional costs incurred? I presume that there being no money, the judge will stop the inquiry. Then what result will you have obtained? It may often happen that the evidence received should incriminate nobody and that no one could be disqualified. What, then, will all your efforts have come to? But I go further. Under this Bill, there is no direct disqualification, for the voter who will have taken a bribe will be simply put on a list. By what proceedings will that result be reached? But I think I had better wait till the committee reaches the section relating to this point, as I will then move an amendment. The two Bills which were brought before this House last year never came to completion, and I think the present one has no more chance than its predeces-

sors. The means suggested are the same, and they are not of the kind to necessarily do away with bribery at elections. Even though you could succeed in disqualifying three or four voters, it would not prevent bribery to be practised. This Bill, in my opinion, is apparently designed to favour rather than suppress bribery at elections. With such a law, the candidate or his friends could freely practise bribery to their satisfaction, carry the election, and once they had carried it, rest after their success and say laughingly to the victims of their bribery: Deposit five hundred dollars, which you will never see again, and try to make an inquiry. I say, therefore, that this Bill is useless, that it will not reach the object for which it is proposed, and, moreover, that it will be the cause of useless persecutions against good and honest citizens. It is not acceptable, and, as stated by me at the last session, it is a real court of inquisition which they wish to establish in Canada, inquisition which caused such an evil in other countries and was so much denounced. Why should they wish to establish such a court in our country? I say again that the first Bill came to an end because it was not born likely to live, and I think the present one is in no way stronger than the two others, the birth and death of which we witnessed in so short a time last year.

Mr. DUPONT. (Translation.) Mr. Chairman, I think this Bill is not such a law as is desired by this Parliament, and, in my opinion, such a law incorporated in our statutes would be a real disgrace to this Parliament. Its net result would be to provide for lawyers a very good source of income; but, as regards electoral purity, it will be quite ineffectual. The fact is no fees are determined for those who will be called upon to carry out this law. We do not know what fees will be allowed the lawyers, judges and clerks who will be called upon to make the inquiries mentioned in this Bill. So that a wealthy candidate or voter, by depositing \$500, will compel his political opponent to spend as much, and so on till the returned candidate, to prevent his election being voided by proceedings and bills of costs—and we know that lawyers are clever people when it comes to making a bill of costs—be compelled by his own friends to resign his seat in order to avoid ruinous proceedings and expenses. Indeed, with a deposit of \$500, very likely one could compel his political opponents to spend a thousand, and that, as stated by the hon. member for L'Assomption (Mr. Jeannotte), without being able to ascertain a single case of bribery. But under this Bill a voter could be summoned who, although quite innocent, would be unable to defend himself, would be dragged before the court and obliged to retain a counsel, which would cost him some hundred dollars; because a great many witnesses would be summoned to give evidence against him; that voter

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would have to make a counter-inquiry. And when the \$500 deposit would be exhausted, or nearly so, nothing in this Bill gives the court any right, or even any authority, to compel the plaintiff to deposit another \$500 or cover the costs of the victim brought before the court. With such a law, you could go round a large electoral district, disturbing everybody during the valuable time of field labour, disquiet the whole country and embarrass the administration of justice. You would discredit the judges by mixing them with politics. They are already often enough charged with partiality in the trial of controverted elections. Drag the magistrates all over the rural districts, put them in direct contact with voters, and you will unquestionably bring down upon them a charge of partiality; you will remove the confidence the people ought to have in them. Assuming this Bill to have some opportunity, and supposing the people should be willing to use it, you will deter the magistracy from its true duty, which is the administration of justice. Cases are already too long pending before the courts; they will be still more, especially in the city of Montreal. Lawyers will reap an abundant harvest; but the electorate will suffer proportionally. And besides, you will not improve public morality by means of this Bill, for you will summon before the courts a great many individuals who, in order to save a relative or a friend, will perjure themselves. You will invite, in a manner, those who would be exposed, to perjure themselves by calling upon them, ever and anon, to take an oath about matters of such importance. If you cannot now reach the bribe-taker and bribe-giver through our controverted elections law, you had better, in my opinion, amend it. There are enough jurists in this House that they might find out a means whereby the law respecting controverted elections could be made efficient, and whenever a voter will be convicted of bribery, let the Controverted Elections Act enact that he will be disqualified. Why embody in our statutes a new way of making inquiries? Why drag the magistrates through rural counties, far distant, and leave judicial affairs in suspense by compelling them to make futile inquiries which can only end in discrediting them and can have no other result but lowering them in the minds of the people? I would have several other observations to make in respect to the first section, but I hope the common sense of the House will reject this Bill. In my opinion, the Government ought not to countenance such a Bill. On the contrary, they ought to dissuade the electorate from making inquiries of that kind. It is a new abuse of the oath, and one which will invite the voters, in such inquiries, to declare against their political opponents, at the very moment when electoral passions exercise such influence among people who are not quite enlightened. It ought to be admitted that the statements under oath of those who

acknowledge having received money at elections are to be dreaded. We ought, therefore, to give them no opportunity for perjuring themselves. We should not either give, I will not say the opportunity, but the advantage, as concerns the moneyed men, to grind down the people, or, as concerns the legal profession, to raise exorbitant fees.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) Before the committee divides on this section, I would like to ask a question from the Government. I would like to know whether the Government are willing to pay the expenses which will be incurred after the deposit will be exhausted? If they are willing to incur these costs, let them say so; otherwise it would be perfectly useless to pass this Bill. If they have money for that, so much the better.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. This is a very bad year to have such a question put to us, and in the absence of the Finance Minister, it will be only safe for me to say, No.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). It seems to me that in order that this Act may be made workable and efficient, it should be provided that this duty should be undertaken as if it was a special request from Parliament. The former statute that was in force was a statute in which Parliament took the initiative. The hon. gentleman who has introduced this Bill has endeavoured to get rid of the delay incident thereto, and it seems to me that in order that the Bill may be made efficient and workable its enforcement should be undertaken at the public expense, and not at the expense of the people of particular constituencies. I think that will be clear if we look at some of the provisions of the Bill. Take, for instance, section 16. It is exceedingly doubtful, no matter how corrupt a constituency may be, unless there should be some very wealthy people in it, that this Bill, important as it is, would be anything more than a dead letter. In order that the hon. gentleman's object may be attained and the Bill made efficient, the expense of all proceedings should be charged against the public revenue, and not against the people in any particular locality. We are all interested in having elections conducted properly, in having pure elections and in discountenancing bribery; it is not a matter that concerns the people of one constituency alone, but the well-being of the whole country, and that being so, the work should be undertaken at the public expense.

Mr. WELDON. Some of the criticisms made by the hon. member for Bagot (Mr. Dupont) I think merit an answer, because they were very clearly and strongly pressed. Exception was taken by him to the inadequacy of the provision in the Bill for carrying on the proceedings. I think that discussion will be more germane to section 16, and therefore I will not deal with it

until we reach that section, if we may. The hon. gentleman complains of the expense which may be incurred by the voter whose vote is challenged. That is an incident of the Bill, and cannot be prevented. The guarantee that \$500 will be put up by the parties who proceed to attack corrupted votes is a pretty good guarantee that this Bill will not be used as an instrument of revenge, and will only be used by men of public spirit who feel that they have been scandalized by a particularly outrageous election in a particular county, and who will try and disfranchise for a term of years the electors who have taken bribes. I do not think in practice any very great danger will befall innocent men. The hon. gentleman also complains that the Bill would discredit the judges by drawing them further into political controversy. If I rightly apprehend the operation of the Bill it will not have any such effect. We may not shut our eyes to the fact that bribery is common in many constituencies, and is practised largely by the friends of both parties. That this bill will have any considerable political effect as regards the fortunes of either party seems to be unlikely. To be sure, in a county where the people feel strongly enough on the subject to put up \$500, where the people feel that the last election was outrageously corrupt, that the mind of the country was not expressed in the election, we will put up the money and place on the black list as many of the bribe-takers as we can find the names of. If bribers were prosecuted by both sides, and I have already intimated that bribery is very largely practised by the friends of both parties, one party will attack and the other party will make a counter attack, and both will put out their full strength, so that not one party alone will suffer, but the bribe-takers on both sides will be struck at. The inquiry will not take on a political complexion in any case, and therefore the idea that the judges will be dragged into a political controversy is not well founded. The hon. gentleman put a very fair question when he asked: Why put this measure on the statute-book when we already have laws on the subject? That question was fairly asked, and it should be fairly answered. We have made two attempts since confederation to deal with this question. One was in the Act for the Trial of Controverted Elections, and I leave it to the judgment of the House whether with our 20 years' experience of that Act it has had the effect of at all diminishing or cutting down bribery. Every one knows that the Act has not struck at the guilty party; it has struck at the elected member, and punished him, and yet it is within our remembrance that in many cases the member has acted in perfect good faith, and has endeavoured to prevent bribery in his own county, but nevertheless bribery has gone on behind his back and without his knowledge. What fairness is there in attacking his seat under that Act, of putting him to

the fatigue and expense of an election, when he is not the guilty party? I have the concurrence of the House when I say that after 20 years' experience of the operation of that law it has not had the effect of diminishing bribery; it has not done that part of its work. We have had another law to which the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) has referred, introduced into Parliament by the Hon. Mr. Blake, which proposed to make up a black list of those who had taken bribes, but which contemplated entirely different treatment of the bribe-takers from that set forth in the present Bill. He proposed to treat the parties as criminals, and hand them over to the Attorney General of the different provinces for punishment. The public mind does not look with that degree of abhorrence on bribery that would justify the Blake Act. The Act never worked well; it was only tried once or twice, and it was never enforced successfully, because bribery in the public mind is not an offence of such a character as would justify a criminal indictment. I propose to deal in a much milder way with this offence, not to treat the parties as criminals, but as children, who, as they did not sufficiently value the franchise, would be deprived of it, not for ever, but for a term of seven years. So my answer to the hon. member who put this question is that we have made two attempts to deal with this question, one by means of the election petition, which in my judgment has proved a perfect failure for that purpose, although it may have other good effects, but so far as preventing bribery goes it has been an outright failure; and the second was the Act introduced by the Hon. Mr. Blake, which altogether exaggerated the degree of public antipathy felt towards the offence of bribery. That hon. gentleman viewed the offence as a crime, and treated it as such. But we at the present day do not think it is a crime, and the present Bill does not treat it as a crime. There is no degradation, fine or imprisonment provided, and the Bill simply takes from the voters the sacred trust which they have failed properly to exercise. The suggestion by the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) that the Administration should take hold of this Bill and make it a Government measure, and have the cost under it paid out of the public treasury, I heartily endorse. I appreciate the difficulty to which the hon. gentleman referred. I know that unless there was a strong feeling of indignation it will be found difficult to induce men to put up the \$500 necessary to set the machine in motion. I believe that in some countries persons will be found with public spirit enough to enforce this Act, and diminish bribery at elections. I refer again to a most reassuring piece of history, enacted in the city of Montreal, where ten times as much money as is named in the 16th clause of this Bill was subscribed by some persons in that city who had nothing but public spirit to impel them. These gen-

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lemen said: Fraud and personation are going on in these municipal elections, and in future we propose to put an end to that; and we will spend money to stop that fraud. They did subscribe the money, and what was a great deal more than money, they put their own public spirit and enthusiasm into the thing, with the result, as I am informed, that in the last municipal elections in Montreal, personation was almost unknown in some of the wards in which, in previous elections, it had been a scandal and a disgrace to the city. I believe that there is public spirit in the country. I believe that if the public find they have an instrument in their hands which they can work to put down bribery and corruption, they will avail themselves of it. If I did not believe there was that public spirit in the country, I would agree with some hon. gentlemen in this House that it was a waste of time to discuss this Bill. I am perfectly confident that, in some counties, people will put up \$500 in an election, not in every election, perhaps, but in an election where the consensus of opinion is that the corruption was scandalous and outrageous. That being so, I think I have answered the objections of my hon. friend.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) The hon. member referred to what happened in Montreal. As he is coming from a remote province, he does not quite know the real facts. I feel compelled to contradict him, for his statement is not correct, although he might have made it in good faith. When he states that in Montreal there is much bribery at elections, he is mistaken. True, a few persons formed an organization for the purpose of purifying the electoral atmosphere, but at the last municipal elections there were neither more nor less bribery than before, and the hon. member was therefore quite mistaken. The election went on as last year; there was no difference whatever. True, there were some telegraphs, as we call them, but that happens as well in the rural districts as in the cities.

Mr. LAURIER. (Translation.) In St. Mary's Ward, for instance.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) In St. Mary's Ward, yes; but there were some, too, in St. James's Ward. The electoral business in Montreal is managed as honestly as in any other part of the country; there is no more bribery there than elsewhere. It might happen that faults were made, but when it is remembered that the majorities of the members of the City Council ranged from two hundred to fourteen hundred votes, it is plain that the result was not due to bribery. The Citizens' Committee made no more wonders than usual, and almost every old alderman running was returned again.

Mr. DAVIN. If the hopes of my hon. friend (Mr. Weldon), who has charge of this Bill, are realized, it cannot fail to do good. If the opinion respecting it of my hon. friend

from Bothwell (Mr. Mills), and others, should be realized, then all that would happen would be that the Bill would be a dead letter. However, it would always remain available in case there were a certain number of public-spirited citizens in a constituency who were willing to make an example of those who sell one of the most sacred trusts that can be committed to any one.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). My hon. friend is not representing accurately what I stated. I did not say that the Bill would be of no value. On the contrary, I think it will be of value; but I say it would be much more efficient if the Government were to provide for the payment of the expenses out of the public treasury.

Mr. DAVIN. I beg my hon. friend's pardon. I understood him to say that clause 16 did not make sufficient provision for implementing the fund. However, I think the measure is good, and I will support it. This is the way I look at it: It will either be a dead letter or it will do good, and if it remains a dead letter it can do no harm.

Mr. AMYOT. (Translation.) Mr. Chairman, I think that seldom has the attention of Parliament been called to such an extraordinary measure and one which in practical operation would be as much arbitrary as the one now before us. It is intended that a whole country be exposed to the vengeance of an individual wounded by his having lost an election in which he was interested. It is proposed to make an inquiry whenever a certain number of individuals will choose to state that they have reason to believe that bribery prevailed at an election. A great many voters will be dragged before that court of inquiry and will be put face to face with what? A mere affidavit in which it is vaguely stated that extensive bribing prevailed. The whole proceedings required to obtain such an inquiry are to be confined to the filing of such an affidavit and the making of a deposit of five hundred dollars put at the disposal of the judges appointed to conduct the inquiry. Assuming there are no guilty parties in fact, fifty accused, perhaps more will yet be compelled to be there, to have their counsel, their witnesses, to leave their residence, the voters being at the extreme ends of the county having to go to the centre of the same, or those living at the centre having to go to the extreme ends of the county. These witnesses, these accused persons might have to remain there for ten or fifteen days or more, to neglect consequently their business, to suffer losses and damages of every kind, in order to follow the proceedings of such inquiry and to protect themselves against what might possibly be alleged against him. Or, again, it might happen that after all these delays, all these damages suffered, all these losses sustained, the court should be obliged to pronounce that the charges made against them are false. But, Mr. Chairman, where is the person or

persons who will be responsible for the damages incurred and the expenses made? I very particularly call the attention of the hon. promoter of this Bill (Mr. Weldon) to what I am now saying, for he is an earnest lawyer, and I feel satisfied that he would not put his name to a law which, no doubt, would be the cause of much tyranny and arbitrariness. If, after the inquiry, the judge should decide that such and such incriminated persons are not guilty, all these expenses would have been incurred, you would have caused all these damages amounting possibly to a thousand and even two thousand dollars, or perhaps more, expenses and damages which will be paid by whom? By the Government? By the county? No, for it does not bind itself to that. The petitioners themselves will have no responsibility. Then nobody will be responsible? And this is the law you wish to incorporate in our statutes and under which five voters will have a right to cause an inquiry to be made.

An hon. MEMBER. (Translation.) It is not five, it is twenty-five.

Mr. AMYOT. (Translation.) The Bill says five. I am referring to the Bill as amended by the Select Committee which had charge of this Bill.

Mr. WELDON. Mr. Chairman has said twenty-five electors.

Mr. AMYOT. (Translation.) Well, let us say twenty-five, even though it be thirty or fifty voters, it does not matter. Nobody is responsible, and in whatever light you view the question, there is no more guarantee one way or the other. The voters accused will be left nothing whatever, and they will be sure losers by the system established by such a legislation. The deposit will be applied to the payment of travelling expenses, to the payment of the bailiffs, of the shorthand writing, in short of all the expenses of the court and of those acting under its authority. There will be nothing left to indemnify those who will have suffered an unjust prosecution. How could they protect themselves against such individuals? It is not stated in the Bill. I very much doubt, Mr. Chairman, that an action for damages could be taken against the petitioners, for it would require a formal evidence of their want of good faith. It would have to be shown that they acted through positive malice and in an evident bad faith, which would be very difficult. We are all in favour of measures having for their object to repress and even to prevent any attempt to bribe the electorate of this country. We are all anxious that the voters should decide openly, honestly, sincerely and freely with respect to public affairs, that the popular will should make itself known without any impediment, without any obstacle. That is what we all of us want, but, as so well stated, a moment ago, by the hon. member for Bagot (Mr. Dupont), does this Bill provide the means to reach a desira-

ble result? I think, for my part, that it would have a result quite contrary to that desired by its father. If you should put this Bill into our Statutes, if you should incorporate in our Statute-book a legislation which will appear unworkable in every respect and which will become obsolete, you will have caused this result: that in future bribery, instead of being decreased, will be practised on a much larger scale than in the past. What ought to be done, therefore—for we admit that there is still bribery in Canada at election times, less than twenty-five or thirty years ago, less than in other countries—what ought to be done—and I call the attention of the promoter of this Bill to this point—should be to amend our Dominion Elections Act. Thus section 84 of that Act reads as follows:—

(a.) Every person who, directly or indirectly, by himself or by any other person on his behalf, gives, lends or agrees to give or lends, or offers or promises any money or valuable consideration, or promises to procure, or to endeavour to procure, any money or valuable consideration, to or for any voter, or to or for any person on behalf of any voter, or to or for any person, in order to induce any voter to vote, or refrain from voting, or corruptly does any such act on account of such voter having voted or refrained from voting at any election.

(b.) Every person who, directly or indirectly, by himself, or by any person on his behalf, gives or procures, or agrees to give or procure, or offers or promises any office, place or employment, or promises to procure or to endeavour to procure any office, place or employment, to or for any voter, or to or for any other person in order to induce such voter to vote, or refrain from voting, or corruptly does any such act as aforesaid, on account of any voter having voted or refrained from voting at any election.

Why not add: "and every voter who will receive money or allow himself to be bribed will also be guilty of bribery." We will see further on what guarantee this would give to the public as well as to every individual. I always wondered why, in this electoral law, we declare guilty the one who gives and not the one who receives. What is the reason of such a distinction? My hon. friend from Albert (Mr. Weldon) evidently shares my opinion, since he would have a special law passed to punish the bribe-taker. And he adds: We want a black list to be made out and the names inserted thereon of all the black sheep who allowed themselves to be bribed. This is all very well; but, in my opinion, the machinery which he wishes to be adopted would not be workable. The electoral law, such as it is, will be the proper machinery if he adds therein the offence of taking bribes. He can now refer to subsection (b) of section 84, which I have just read and which provides for the case where a candidate or his agent promises some office or employment to a voter. Why not enact that any person who will ask for any

employment by pledging his vote to obtain it will be guilty of bribery and be liable to be punished accordingly? Subsection (c) refers to the giving of money to have some one returned. Usually one gives money to another party; one does not give money to one's self. To give money there must be two parties, the one who gives and the one who receives. Why should the one who receives not be held guilty the same as the one who gives? What is the reason of this distinction? Now, subsection (d) states:

(d.) Every person who, upon or in consequence of any such gift, loan, offer, promise, procurement or agreement, procures or engages, or promises or endeavours to procure the return of any person to serve in the House of Commons, or the vote of any voter at any election.

Why not, here again, add that any person who will connive at such actions will be jointly and severally responsible before the civil and criminal courts for the consequences of his action. Subsection (e) further states:

(e.) Every person who advances or pays, or causes to be paid, any money to or to the use of any other person, with the intent that such money or any part thereof shall be expended in bribery or corrupt practices at any election, or who knowingly pays or causes to be paid, any money to any person in discharge or repayment of any money wholly or in part expended in bribery or corrupt practices at any election.

Why not state that the bribee will be as guilty as the briber? I can see no reason why, and it must be due to a defective original wording. I see no reason why the general election law did not provide for the punishment of the offences of persons allowing themselves to be bribed. Should there be an earnest law to prevent people from allowing themselves to be bribed, the candidates and their agents would be less liable to tempt them, the danger would be less and the snares less numerous. When the voter comes and receives five, ten or twenty dollars; or when he goes out and secretly takes a glass of whisky; or when some one goes to fetch him and drive him to the poll; if he could say within himself: I may be put on the black list, the dishonouring list, fined two hundred or five hundred dollars, or condemned to pay all the expenses of the candidate, he would not so easily expose himself to be bribed. Were the law formal and positive, were the proceedings to reach the punishment simple, it would be the best protection against the candidate and his agents; it would be the surest restraint against the demoralization which they still complain of in certain localities. Section 85 states:

The following persons are also guilty of bribery, and shall be punishable accordingly:—

(a.) Every voter who, before or during any election, directly or indirectly, himself or by any other person on his behalf, receives, agrees or contracts for any money, gift, loan or valuable consideration,

office, place or employment, for himself or any other person, for voting or agreeing to vote, or for refraining or agreeing to refrain for voting at any election.

(b.) Every person who, after any election, directly or indirectly, himself or by any other person on his behalf, receive any money or valuable consideration for having voted or refrained from voting, or for having induced any other person to vote or refrain from voting at any election :

And every person so offending is guilty of a misdemeanour, and shall also forfeit the sum of two hundred dollars to any person who sues for the same, with costs.

Why such a distinction? There should be a more explicit section providing for the punishment of the voters who receive money or promises. Why not enact that the voter bribed, either by money or by any other consideration given him for his vote, will be punished the same as the party who plays the part of the briber? Why should the voter who is unwilling to go and vote without being led to the poll in a carriage paid for contrary to law, not be punished? Why should there be a special law close to the electoral law to state what should be stated in that very electoral law. I hope that the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) will explain to the committee why he proposed a new system of repression in this case, and why he does not try to attain his object by moving an amendment to the electoral law itself? Once an election is over, if the candidate who practised bribery happens to have a majority of the votes given, his opponents have at their disposal the Controverted Elections Act, which by its wise provisions protects all the interests at stake. He must not lose sight of the fact that under the system provided for in this Bill, the whole strength of parties will be made to bear. As one party is as powerful as the other, what would be the result? Under the Controverted Elections Act the case is laid before an ordinary court, but previous to that, the petitioner has to deposit a sum of a thousand dollars. You have more: Under that law, the petitioner remains responsible for the costs beyond his deposit of a thousand dollars. Not so with this Bill, for it merely states that it will be sufficient for the twenty-five voters to deposit five hundred dollars—that is to say, a contribution of twenty dollars for each—and to file an affidavit, in order to obtain that an inquiry be made, and this statement goes no further than this: namely, that they have good reason to believe that extensive bribery prevailed at the said election. Can you tell me, you, Mr. Chairman, who have had such a large experience, whether, ever since this country exists, there were an election in which the opponents of the returned candidate did not claim that the victory was due solely to the corrupt practices of the successful candidate and his friends? It is even stated beforehand by the newspapers, and editorials are published in which it is stated

that if such and such an election be carried by such a candidate, it will be due to a bribery without any precedent in the annals of the past. Therefore, it is perfectly sure and certain that should this Bill pass, you will find twenty-five voters willing to spend twenty dollars each to have an inquiry against the victorious party. Why? Merely in order that a judge of the Superior Court may go in such and such a county and open the most extraordinary inquiry ever witnessed. And at whose expense will such proceedings be carried on? Who will pay the expenses of the staff accompanying the judge? But suppose that obstacle should not stop the judge and he should go in the electoral district where the affidavit requires him to go, what will he do? Will he be satisfied with saying: I will summon ten or twelve witnesses to ascertain the doings, the exploits and deeds, during the last election, of ten other persons, voters in that division? But that is not all: He will be asked to summon a whole parish, or even all the voters of a county. Or rather, he could summon one-half of the population to give evidence against the other half. A party will always find twenty-five friendly voters ready to spend twenty dollars in that way. In opening the proceedings of the court, the judge, I suppose, will say to the twenty-five petitioners: Give me the list of the persons you suspect of having taken bribes at the last election. They will then take the electoral list checked on the eve of the polling day, and if it is the Liberals who petition for the inquiry, they will give the names of all the Conservatives who voted as those of parties having taken bribes. If, on the contrary, it is the Conservatives who petition, they will give the names of the Liberals who voted as those of parties having allowed themselves to be bribed. Provided with this document, the judge sets to work, the short-hand writers likewise. The lawyers and the whole staff of the court enter resolutely in the discharge of their duties, and then the contest begins. All the voters, of one or the other party, are brought before the court of inquiry. They even summon the women, the servants, in short, everybody. No doubt, under such conditions, your deposit of five hundred dollars will soon be exhausted. If the evidence is somewhat elaborate, the mere short-hand writing will absorb more than that amount, and that, in a very short time. When there will be nothing left of the deposit, who will repay to all those citizens, whom you will have disturbed, the losses and expenses which you caused them to incur in order to gratify the revenge of the defeated candidate or his friends? And to think that we, earnest and wise law-makers, would pass such a law, that we would put into the hands of those who are only anxious to take vengeance of a defeat such a means to practise the most invidious persecution, the most abominable tyranny! By such a legislation, we would disquiet the country, and cause

peaceful and honest citizens, who are quite willing to be left to their own business, to incur expenses and sustain losses for which the law provides no means to indemnify them. To provide for the case where a voter thinks his neighbour was bribed, you can pass a clear and positive law in order that such a corrupt voter might be brought before a court and punished. That one deserves to be punished, and you will not find us willing to protect him in any way. But when it is proposed to give to twenty-five voters such powerful means as this, to allow them to trouble the country for the mere sake of gratifying their vengeance, their spite, I take no part in that, and I think the House ought to reject such a proposition. There is in the Revised Statute I now hold before me a provision to which I call the attention of the hon. promoter of this Bill. When an election is controverted, the judge hears the witnesses, all the witnesses, and he is then perfectly informed as to all the electoral doings, and he makes a report to the Legislature. Here is an earnest guarantee. The persons guilty, or supposed to be guilty of corrupt practices are mentioned in that report. Under that report proceedings may be taken, and then the incriminated parties receive notice of such proceedings, and they have the guarantee that nothing will be done against their liberty, hastily or inconsiderately. The machinery provided by Parliament is put in motion. That is what is contained in chapter 10 of the Revised Statutes of Canada. It is a wise and logical provision. Let the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) refer to chapter 10 of the Revised Statutes and he will find the law I refer to. He will find that the report of the judge who investigates the petition in a controverted election case is but the initial stage of the proceedings, and that Parliament must interfere in order that measures be taken to further continue the investigation upon the corrupt practices pointed out by the judge :

Whenever the House of Commons, by address, represents to the Governor General that a judge in his report on the trial of an election petition under "The Dominion Controverted Election Act" states that corrupt practices have, or that there is reason to believe that corrupt practices have extensively prevailed at the election, or that he is of opinion that the inquiry into the circumstances of the election has been rendered incomplete by the action of any of the parties to the petition, and that further inquiry as to whether corrupt practices have extensively prevailed is desirable,—or whenever the House of Commons by address represents to the Governor General that a petition has been, within sixty days after the publication in the 'Canada Gazette' of the receipt of the return to a writ of election, by the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery (if Parliament is sitting at the expiration of the period of sixty days, or, if Parliament is not then sitting, within fourteen days after the then next meeting of Parliament) presented to the House of Commons, signed by any twenty-five or more electors of the district, stating that no peti-

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tion charging the existence of corrupt practices has been presented under 'The Dominion Controverted Election Act' and that corrupt practices have, extensively prevailed at the election, and having annexed thereto a solemn declaration under the statute in that behalf, signed by the petitioners, stating that they are such electors, and that the allegations of the petition are true to the best of their knowledge, and belief,—and when the House of Commons, by such address, prays the Governor General to cause inquiry to be made under this Act by one or more judges of the Supreme Court of Canada, or by one or more judges competent under 'The Dominion Controverted Elections Act,' to try an election petition in the province within which the district in question is situate, or by one or more persons named in such address,—such persons being county court judges, or being barristers-at-law or advocates of not less than seven years standing, and not holding any office or place of profit under the Crown,—the Governor General may appoint one or more of such judges or such person or persons, as the case may be, to be a commissioner or commissioners for the purpose of making inquiry into the existence of such corrupt practices; and if any of the commissioners so appointed die, resign or become incapable to act, the surviving or continuing commissioners or commissioner may act in such inquiry as if they or he had been solely appointed to be commissioners of a commissioner for the purpose of such inquiry; and all the provisions of this Act concerning the commissioners appointed to make any such inquiry, shall be taken to apply to such surviving or continuing commissioners or commissioner, and in case a sole commissioner is originally appointed, then to such sole commissioner.

Thus the Legislature, in its wisdom, has already provided for the case. Now twenty-five voters may, by petition, apply to Parliament, if the election is not controverted or if it is controverted, ask for a report of the judge, stating whether there was extensive bribery. Parliament, in its discretion, may at once require such an inquiry. Would my hon. friend, the member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) tell us why this remedy is no good, in what respect this law is wrong and inadequate? I particularly call his attention to this; no doubt he understands me. We have now the machinery he asks for, and a far better one than the one he proposes. We have a machinery which gives us a guarantee of the free and well-informed expression of the will of the Legislature. Is there a government in this the age where the liberty of the press disseminates with such rapidity the notions of the true and just; is there a government which, in the face of a petition signed by twenty-five voters, or a report of the judge, would withhold the appointment of the commissioner provided for by the Act? I say no. I say that whatever party that happened to be in power would hasten to comply with the demand and grant the inquiry. I think no inquiry was ever asked for, and therefore none was refused. If we were proceeding

under chapter 10 of the Statutes of Canada. twenty-five voters would look at it twice before applying to Parliament under the responsibility of their signatures; they would only take action when the facts on which they would rely would be such as to call for a serious consideration and put into motion the machinery provided by law. When the commissioners are appointed under this chapter 10, they are sworn, and they appoint secretaries, copying clerks, messengers and all the officers deemed necessary by the Minister of Justice. Now, Mr. Chairman, the objection raised by the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) is answered, that is to say, the officers are appointed by the Minister of Justice and paid by the Parliament of Canada. We have, therefore, in this a machinery perfectly workable. The love of justice is a nice thing, but should one be actuated by it as much as the promoter of this Bill, the difficulty will present itself when the \$500 will be exhausted. However much they may love justice, very few people will be willing to take out of their pockets five hundred additional dollars to allow the proceedings of this court to be continued, and should money be wanting, the court will stop its proceedings. We would have lost our time, and caused to be lost the time of those who would have been accused, may be very unjustly. While under the law I have quoted, the machinery is established and is put in motion by money taken out of the Federal revenue. That law also provides for the proceedings of the commissioners, for the adjournment of sittings. The duties of the commissioners are stated therein. Reference to previous elections is allowed. A report is made to the Governor General, which is brought before Parliament. The commissioners are given powers to summon and swear witnesses. It provides also for what will be done in case witnesses should be interested, and for the punishment of uncomplying witnesses. It equally provides for the remuneration of witnesses, the payment of the necessary expenses of the commissioners and their protection. It also provides for the case when the report of the commissioners states that some one was guilty of corrupt practices. Thus this law, long and exhaustively discussed, when it was originally passed, is now part of our Revised Statutes, after having been revised by the law officers and the judges appointed to consolidate the statutes. Well, why should not that law be put into operation? The object of my hon. friend from Albert (Mr. Weldon) is commendable; we are all willing to admit that he is anxious for the country's welfare—for electoral purity. We are anxious for the same, just as he is. But, no doubt, he wishes to gain his purposes. To succeed in this, two things are necessary. First, a law which would state that the bribe-taker is as guilty as the bribe-giver; and, in the second place, when an election is not controverted, then we should apply chapter

10 I have quoted, and request an inquiry. Not an 'ex parte' inquiry, offering no protection and at the mere request of twenty-five voters—who can always be found, even though there may be no proper case—but at the request of Parliament, when twenty-five voters will set forth before it facts which will warrant it making the necessary expenses to put in operation the law enacted in chapter 10 of the Revised Statutes of Canada. My object is certainly not, Mr. Chairman, to oppose the principle of the Bill introduced by the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon). I congratulate him, on the contrary, upon having introduced his Bill again this year. I congratulate him upon his tenacity. But light comes out of the clashing of opinions, and I think the time has come to amend the present law so as to state that the bribe-taker is as guilty as the bribe-giver, and that both may be put on the black, dishonouring list. We will have to amend that law as soon as possible, and we will then be able to more easily apply chapter 10 of the Revised Statutes, which I have just quoted. I move that section 2 be amended by striking off after the word "stating" in the fifth line, all the words up to the word "prevailed" in the seventh line, and substituting therefor the following words: "in detail the cases of bribery that took place."

Mr. DUPONT. (Translation.) We are not yet at section 2: we are only on section 1.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Denison). Section 1 has been carried. The discussion is now on section 2.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) The section, as worded, states that it will be sufficient for the petitioners to state that they have reason to believe that bribery prevailed. By my amendment, I want the petitioners to give an adequate indication of the cases of bribery they allege to have taken place. That is my object, and I think that, by such an amendment, a great many cases of evident persecution will be removed and a great many citizens prevented from being brought before the court through the jealousy of those who will arraign them before it. Let us compel the petitioners to give particulars, to give the names of those who received money, and by so doing we will save much useless expenses and prevent many people from being troubled without any necessity. For instance, let them be compelled to say: There is such and such an act of bribery done by so and so; we submit them to the court. I will add a few words to the observations made by the hon. member for Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot). I do not intend to repeat what he stated; he stated it too well for my taking such a liberty, but I think he did not complete his remarks on one point. I suppose the inquiry is opened. The deposit of \$500 is exhausted. I think the court, in such a case, will be utterly unable to continue its proceedings, for want of money. In the case of an interruption of such proceedings, all the parties wrongly accused by false wit-

nesses will have no opportunity to defend themselves. I would like to know whether the judge, in such a case, will be empowered to make a report? If not, those parties, injured in their honour, as they will appear guilty of corrupt practices, will publicly lie under such grave charges without any opportunity being given them to disprove by contradictory evidence these very charges. We heard before now of innocent people accused, and even sentenced, upon false evidence. It is also stated that the evidence will be taken down in short-hand writing. Well, I can assure you, Mr. Chairman, that the court will not have been sitting two days when the \$500 deposit will be expended to pay for the mere stenography. Lawyers know what a cost stenography is. Very often the costs of stenography amount to \$500. And should this Bill pass into law and be carried out, the inquiry would not only last two days, but even a year, or at least six months. You can see that the \$500 would soon be eaten up and that such a law would only be a dead letter. Under it, it would be impossible to prevent, or even discover, any case of bribery. There are counties where there are over five thousand voters. It might very well happen that there five hundred voters should be accused. Those five hundred accused persons will defend themselves, for it seems to me each one of them will have a right to be heard, to cross-examine the witnesses, in order to show that their allegations are false. The hon. member for Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot) referred to the costs which such a court will entail. And he was right, for those costs will be enormous. What will be left of the deposit after the court will have sat a day or two, even supposing that the judge and clerk be paid by the Government, and the audience chamber supplied and heated by the Government? I say that within two or three days the \$500 will be taken for the payment of the sole stenographers. Here is an illustration which shows that I am not exaggerating. Recently, I had a case in the Superior Court in Montreal. We began to take the evidence at 10 a.m., and closed at 4 p.m. Well, the cost of stenography amounted to \$253 for my witnesses only. The costs of the witnesses on the other side were no less than \$150. With a prospect of such costs, I ask how we could pass such a Bill without providing for the payment of all expenses to be incurred? The lawyers will also have to be paid. When people complain that law costs are high, it is not the lawyers who receive the largest pay; it is the stenographers. Were I counsel or legal adviser in a case raised under this law, I would advise my clients to protract the examination of witnesses, so as to at once exhaust the deposit and thereby prevent any evidence. Those who will have been unjustly accused, an honest man, for instance, who will be charged with having received a dollar or two for his vote, will be at the mercy of any perjurer. False witnesses will be

brought who will swear to that effect, but that honest man will not be able to defend himself by showing that he is the victim of a perjurer, for the court seeing that the deposit is exhausted will decline to continue its proceedings. Notwithstanding the statement of some hon. members that people will be found liberal enough to take money out of their pockets for the mere purpose of purifying the political atmosphere, I think that not a single individual will be found to do that. For want of funds, innocent people will lie under charges without having any opportunity to disprove them, to redeem their exposed honour and put themselves before the public in the position of respectable men and men of integrity. Therefore, it is asking for an unreasonable thing, it is asking for a thing which no man capable of reasoning can wish for or desire. I wonder why the promoter of this Bill wishes the evidence to be taken down in stenography when he states further on that there will be no appeal. If there is to be no appeal, there is no necessity for taking down the evidence in stenography. It seems to me this is a means devised to prevent such a court from ever existing, or if it ever exists, it will only exist for a day or two. But I contend that you have no right to suppress the appeal. If this legislation should be passed, the proceedings under it will be of the nature of actions 'qui tam.' Now, this Parliament cannot prevent an appeal. The use of stenography, should the appeal, against all probability, be suppressed, will therefore be for the mere sake of keeping a record which will serve to dishonour a man convicted, through false witnesses, of corrupt practices. His family will be dishonoured and his children may be told later on, thanks to such a record kept by means of the stenography: Your father committed such and such an act of bribery and was visited with such and such a punishment for that. If that is the object, I can only condemn it with all my might. Let it be stated at least that an appeal will lie. I know of no court which will not allow an appeal in such a case. Here is a man deemed honest and upright up to the age of fifty years who might be deprived of his liberty, deprived of his franchise, liberty and franchise which are so dear to a citizen as the right to trade or to exercise any industry. Well, that man will be deprived of his liberty; his name will be stricken off the list of voters, and why? because he will be told: You have done a reprehensible action. That man unjustly condemned will have no right to apply to a court for his protection. But there is more than that: Under this Bill, it is not the judge who conducts the inquiry who will pass sentence, who will decide. He will merely make a report of the inquiry to the Secretary of State and the latter will write to the revising officer: Strike off such and such a name from the list. Well, Mr. Chairman, I am of the opinion that nothing but the judgment of a court can prevent a voter from being

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placed on the list of voters. Section 13 provides that the judge who conducts the inquiry will pass no sentence, but make his report to the Secretary of State, and the latter, without any authorization, writes to the revising officer: Strike off such and such a man from the list of voters. Under what right can he do that? Such a provision appears to me to be preposterous, if I may be allowed to use the word.

Mr. WELDON. I rise to a point of order. The hon. gentleman is not discussing the clause of the Bill that is before the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Denison). I hope the hon. gentleman will confine his discussion to the clause before the committee.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. I am sorry the hon. gentleman does not like what I am saying. If he will read section 13 in French he will understand that I am at the Bill. (Translation.) Mr. Chairman, I was stating that section 13 contained an extraordinary provision. There are other sections as astonishing as that one; I will refer to them later on. Section 13 is so extraordinary that I am not surprised at the promoter of the Bill requesting my being called to order, because what I state does not suit him. I could say it in English, but he understands French and can follow the observations I have to make. I therefore come back to that section 13, and I say that all the judge will have to do will be to conduct the inquiry and point out the cases of bribery; he will deliver no judgment, but merely make a report to the Secretary of State. Now, I ask again on what authority will the latter remove from the list of voters the names of such persons? He has not such a right. Nothing but a court can do that. It will not be the judge who conducts the inquiry who will be the judge, it will be the Secretary of State, who will not know what happened and will not take the trouble to read a voluminous evidence, who will be called upon to state that such and such a name be stricken off the list, and that without any appeal. The persons whose names will thus be removed will have no right to appeal from the decision of the Secretary of State.

Mr. WELDON. I would like your ruling, Mr. Chairman. The hon. member is discussing the 19th section of the Bill, while the section before the House is the second.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. Section No. 2 explains the others.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Denison). If the hon. member refers to the other sections by way of illustration, that is allowable, but otherwise he should confine himself to the section before the committee.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. My amendment is an amendment to section 2, but in order to explain it I must refer to the other sec-

tions to prove that the amendment is good and should be adopted. (Translation.) I see that the promoter of this Bill does not like to have his Bill discussed. When we have before us a new and arbitrary law, I think we have a right to discuss it in full. Should this Bill pass, in foreign countries Canada would be reported as such a corrupt country that we have to go back to the old laws of the Inquisition. It is painful even to have to discuss such a Bill. What my amendment aims at, is that the twenty-five voters, or one of them, should have to give the particulars of the cases of bribery they know of or which they believe to have taken place, in order that if I should be accused, I should know the charge. Let us take the particular case of a parish in my county—because it is above all the county where there is no bribery—the judge goes into the parish of Mascouche, where there are 450 voters. We receive notice that the judge will arrive on the 15th June in the village to make an inquiry with respect to an election held in the month of April. I have no reason to know whether I will be accused, my neighbour likewise. How could we meet the charge? The judge will not come too early in the morning, so that his arrival will only be known in the evening. He will be accompanied by his clerk, his lackey, his crier, all his people; and should there be English-speaking people who do not understand French, it will be necessary to have an English crier, as well as an English stenographer; perhaps might we dispense with the English crier; the petition will have to be read. If the petitioners should not be there, will he proceed? Section 2 of the Bill does not state that the petitioners will have to be there, they are no longer petitioners. The moment the inquiry is ordered, the judge takes upon himself to make it. But suppose there are five petitioners present; the court is opened and no one proceeds; the judge will ask them: Gentlemen, what have you to say? And they will answer, every one of them: I have nothing to say, my neighbour requested me to sign this petition and I have signed it. It will often happen that the most interested party will not be there, because he will be looked at with scorn and as a persecutor of honest people. But I suppose that the interested party should be there; he addresses the judge and says: I declare that I was told by Peter, John and James that Messrs. So-and-So received money for their votes. He gives the names and addresses. But the judge has no time to summon these witnesses; he adjourns the court for a fortnight, and goes back home. Who will pay those expenses? Will they be taken out of the five hundred dollars? He comes back after a fortnight, begins the inquiry, and finds nothing. After two days of inquiry, will the petitioners stop there? Surely no, they are bent on persecuting twenty-five or thirty persons; they will continue. Of

the voters of Mascouche, there are at least twenty-five who live in Montreal. These people will be summoned to be examined. The Bill provides that their travelling expenses shall be paid before they leave Montreal. They go to the place and are examined. They may possibly not be ready to answer, or not be ready to make a counter-evidence, for they had no intimation that they would be summoned before a court of inquiry. They had no intimation that they would be brought as criminals are, before an ordinary court. But there is something even more serious than this. Will the charges be made public before the judge opens the court? If they are, people could prepare themselves to meet them. But nothing whatever empowers the judge to make them known to any one. He has no right to do it, for he has no power to that effect. Even though he would be willing to do it, he could not, since he himself is not aware of the names of the incriminated parties. As I have been a candidate, and as I might still be one, it might very well happen that my opponents would merely try to ruin me, and this Bill would be a terrible instrument in the hands of the opponents of any candidate. The twenty-five voters whom I mentioned a moment ago will be summoned to answer to what? They do not know. It might very well happen that there should be no evidence against any of them. They will not even know what is the matter, for there is no reason why they should know it. Why compel them to thus go from Montreal to a neighbouring county? When one is summoned before a court, he is told why; he is told: You are to appear for such and such a cause, on such and such a day, at such and such an hour. The writ of summons must be properly specified, in order that one may know what he is about. A party summoned before a mere police court must be given the reason for such summons. No court, no judge, can pass sentence, if there is no formal and direct indictment filed. Before a criminal court, for instance, the indictment must be specified. The reasons must be stated why any individual is dragged before such criminal court. And even should the accused be the most miserable wretch, he cannot be sentenced unless he is put on trial. If you summon a party before a civil court in a trifling suit for one dollar, you must file a declaration and an account of the amount due. Here it is not a dollar that is at stake, but the liberty of a citizen, the interest at stake is much more momentous than an account of twenty-five cents. It is the liberty of an individual, the honour of families which they try to persecute. Cases in which you can leave on the memory of a citizen a stain which will reflect on his children, on his own family, and every safeguard is neglected.

Mr. WELDON. I must ask for a ruling on the relevancy of this discussion. The

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hon. gentleman is ranging over sections 7, 8, 9 and 10, discussing the procedure under the Bill at great length. I must ask you to rule, otherwise the hon. gentleman may go ransacking over the whole field of politics.

Mr. AMYOT. Before you rule, Mr. Chairman, I may inform my hon. friend that he is altogether astray as to the fact. The hon. member for L'Assomption (Mr. Jeannotte) has never been so much at the point as he is now.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. I am still at the second section. If I could speak in English, I would convince the promoter of the Bill that I am not past half of the second section.

Mr. WELDON. The hon. member is not dealing frankly with the House. He knows that he was not dealing with the second section and the amendment moved to the second section.

Mr. AMYOT. On the point of order, I beg to remind the hon. gentleman that he has not only questioned the propriety of what my hon. friend has said in French, but what I have said in English. I told him most distinctly that the hon. member for L'Assomption was never so much at the point as when he was interrupted by the question of order. He was defending his amendment. He said that details should be given of the act of corruption. If a man sues another for a debt of 25 cents, he is bound to give all the details, while if the honour of a citizen is at stake, you do not ask for an affidavit giving any detail. That is what the hon. member is explaining, and I am sorry the hon. mover of the Bill does not want him to explain it, and when I took the trouble of standing up and telling him in English that he was speaking to the point he might have done me the compliment of taking my word for it.

Mr. WELDON. I do the hon. member the compliment of taking his word so far as it applies to the statement of the hon. member for L'Assomption at the last stage; but generally he was not dealing with the second section. I think that after we have found it our duty three times to ask for the ruling of the Chair, it is only fair that the hon. member should keep himself to the section before the committee.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. Even if the ruling were three, or four, or five times against me, and I was in order, I would continue to speak. (Translation.) I was stating, Mr. Chairman, when I was interrupted by the question of order, that in a miserable suit for 25 cents, the account claimed must be filed and the demand made in a specific way. In a mere case before a police court, the accused person must be made known and informed of the kind and very words of the indictment. Take a small case in which they have to deal with a man who insults a passer-by, the accused person must be informed of what he is charged, be-

fore being brought before the court. The indictment must be specified, and include every particular. It must be served at least twenty-four hours beforehand. Here there is no such formalities. Indeed, I wonder how a man of the position of the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) can bring such a Bill before this House. Any individual fined twenty-five cents may appeal from such a sentence to a higher court; he can even go up to the Court of Queen's Bench. Here, there is no appeal whatever. If this Bill is to pass, the defendant ought to have at least before him a detailed indictment and he should also be granted an appeal. If the charge is not particularized, how will you lodge an appeal before a higher court to obtain a redress against a decision unjustly condemning the voter put on trial, a decision which may throw a stain upon his honour and deprive him of his political liberty. This legislation is without any of its kind, it is contrary to natural law; it is without any precedent, and never was such a law seen either in the civil or criminal law. It is contrary to natural law. Any reasonable legislation must be founded on natural law, and natural law wants you to deal with others as you would like to be dealt with by others. If such is the case, I will ask the hon. member for Albert whether he had in mind this immutable principle: Do not do unto others what you would not like others to do unto you. If this Bill is not founded on natural law, I say it is but an instrument of persecution put into the hands of those who seek to injure their fellow-creatures. I now come to my amendment. It is very short and it is more important than the rest of the Bill. It includes in a line about the whole object of our wishes, that is to say, the greatest purity at elections. Purity above all, as it existed in olden times in the Garden of Eden, without no more bad intentions than when Adam chose his wife. I am opposed to bribery in principle and by interest, because I think that a parliament elected without any cabal, without any clandestine practices, is the only one that can make perfect laws. I am also opposed to bribery, because, should I intend to be a candidate, which might happen, I want to be returned without spending a single dollar, and because I wish that others should be dealt with as I would like myself to be dealt with. I am anxious that the Liberals who are now in this House should come back here, and that honest citizens be not exposed to tyrannical prosecutions which are often the result of conflicting political opinions. It is, however, what would happen if we should pass this Bill. As stated a moment ago by the hon. member for Bellechasse, political passions agitate the people. During the fifteen days immediately following an election, how many neighbours are there who smile to each other? They hardly can meet on the way without coming

to blows. Relatives themselves are sulky with each other for weeks and months. Well, with a law such as this, in a parish where both parties are about equally divided, the relations and friends are divided, not a word passes between brothers, and I will go further and say—although I can be told that I have no personal experience as to that, but I have it by others—that sometimes husband and wife are divided. I say it is a preposterous law; it will place into the hands of an ill-humoured person a sharp instrument which will do harm to himself and to others. I again come to my amendment. I forgot speaking of the last part of it. I say that a particularized statement of the acts of bribery extensively practised at an election ought to be furnished. I mean to say that a few solitary acts of bribery should not be sufficient to warrant the opening of such an inquiry, in order that any one who signs the petition should know that he must give an affidavit in connection with such obvious facts that he is justifiable, that he has reason to believe that bribery was practised. Otherwise, with a mere intention of injuring or annoying a neighbour, one would give an affidavit and any one doing this would, in such a case, be liable to an action for damages. One has no right to ruin the name and character of a neighbour without a probable cause. That is held by all our courts. In moving this amendment, I, therefore, wish to protect the honest voter; and if the person who did the petitioning does not show that he was right in doing it, he will be liable to an action for damages. I even think that the amendment should have gone further. Section 2 states: twenty-five qualified electors; but the Bill goes further, for all the sections are connected together, and section 11 states that the mere presentation of the petition shall be a 'prima facie' evidence.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. (Translation.) I must remind the hon. member that he has no right to discuss any other section than the one under discussion; if the hon. gentleman intended to discuss the general provisions of the Bill, he ought to have done that before the second reading was allowed.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) I am not discussing section 11; I only refer to it because it is closely connected with section 2 and in order to come to my amendment. It is to show that the amendment is reasonable and founded on common sense. I was saying that twenty-five voters qualified as such draw up a petition which, under this Bill, is evidence by itself. I think I have a right to oppose such a provision. Of the twenty-five voters who signed the petition, I suppose two or three should die in the interval between its presentation to the judge and the opening of the inquiry. I will have no right to cause the proceedings to be stopped, no right to complain of it because it is evidence by itself! Who will replace these two or three dead petitioners? It is stated no-

where. In a civil suit, when the plaintiff dies, all the proceedings are stopped; here it is the contrary. This legislation, I must repeat, is contrary to common sense, contrary to civil law, contrary to natural law, and lastly, contrary to criminal law. What is left to warrant us in inserting such a law in our statutes, law which would have us passed for men not knowing what they did. It is not that I fear that such an inquiry should be made in my county, Mr. Chairman. I oppose this legislation because I think it is unjust and unreasonable and also because, in my opinion, it would be unworkable. My opposition has for its object to prevent the adoption of an impossible and tyrannical law. Should such a law be made known across the Atlantic, what would they think of us? Should it, for instance, go to France, what would they say there? They would surely say: Here is Canada going back to five centuries ago. We, Frenchmen, have suppressed every law against the liberty of the citizen, we have established and proclaimed the great principle of equality and fraternity; and here they are in Canada, a country peopled with our descendants, going back to the trammels of olden times deprived of the lights of civilization. Who knows whether that will not prevent us from having the proposed treaty of commerce between France and Canada, for it might happen that Frenchmen, seeing we are such retrogressive people, would not have it any more. In making such an opposition to this Bill, I have but one object in view, that is the good of my fellow countrymen, the good of my country. I wish to protect the good name of Canada in foreign countries, for there they might think that we are a corrupt people to the core. The carrying out of this Bill would set families at variance and cause too large expenses for those who would defend themselves. Wishing for the good of my country, of my fellow citizens, I say that Parliament ought not to pass such a Bill. Had the promoter of this Bill taken counsel of uninterested parties, had he taken counsel of people free from political dependence of members who were returned by acclamation, for instance, he would have been told that his Bill was ill-starred. It is born not likely to live. After recess, I hope the hon. member will ponder, and that this Bill will no more come before this House. Let my hon. friend take counsel of the very people of this city and they will all tell him that the country wants no such legislation, that it will only be an instrument put into the hands of political opponents to ruin those whom they would strike at in their desire for revenge. To pass this Bill would be to put a dangerous weapon in the hands of people who would use it to gratify their hatred. It seems to me that I only claim a very reasonable thing, that which is included in my amendment. Besides, have we not enough guarantee in the Controverted Elections Act? Are not the

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provisions of that Act calculated to prevent bribery and punish it? In protested election trials held in Montreal, one voter of Soulanges County and two voters of another county were disqualified for seven years, and we had not such a legislation to persecute Messrs. So and So. At Montreal, one voter was disqualified, and what happened next? The Court of Appeal, composed of five judges, held that the liberty of a citizen was too valuable to be forfeited in this way, the condemned man was given back his franchise, he was cleared of the disgrace they wanted to inflict upon him, and he now enjoys as formerly his rights as a citizen and a voter. I, therefore, say that under the present law, we have almost all the means required to prevent bribery. But there is still something wanting in the present law, and which the hon. promoter of this Bill might have provided for. The hon. member for Bellechasse suggested several changes. We might still be more definite and enact that any candidate who, by himself or his agents, shall canvass the voters from door to door, will be considered as practising bribery and liable to the penalty imposed by the Statutes. By preventing canvassing from door to door, we would do away with any bribery. It is not at public meetings of voters, when we boast of the great services rendered to the country, when we boast of the good we were unable to do, the good measure we proposed, of the bad ones we prevented; it is not then that bribery is practised, and the voters know we are not going before them to slight ourselves. They now read the papers and are well informed as to politics. In parishes where formerly a single paper was received, they now receive ten, and even more. In the county of L'Assomption, a single parish now receives weekly 50 copies of newspapers. So that the voters are now aware of the good we do them or which we intend to do them. In moving this amendment—and the hon. promoter of this Bill knows it well, since he smiles at me—I wish to protect the honour of families and the liberty of the citizen. When I say the honour of families, I might as well say that I protect the honour of a parish, the honour of a county, of a province, of the whole Dominion. I wish to deprive the evil-doers of the means of tarnishing the reputation of an honest man, of a respectable family. Let us try to protect ourselves as much as possible. Let the outside parties ruin themselves if they like; but let us protect ourselves. Bribery, in my opinion, is less than it was 20 years ago. The supporters of this Bill appear to me to be like the people who ask for the prohibition of intoxicating liquors in the interest of temperance. Everyone must admit that nine-tenths of the people drink less now than formerly. Yet there are hon. members of this House who would have it believed in foreign countries that we are a lot of drunkards. I am op-

posed to any law that tends to lessen the good name of Canada in foreign countries. We must have laws that tend to show them, on the contrary, that we are a country inhabited by sober, honest, intelligent and law-abiding people.

Committee rose, and it being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (No. 73) respecting the Atlantic and Lake Superior Railway Company.—(Mr. Bergin.)

Bill (No. 101) to incorporate the Alberta Southern Railway Company.—(Mr. Davis.)

RELIEF OF CAROLINE JANE DOWNEY.

Mr. COATSWORTH moved second reading of (Bill No. 105) for the relief of Caroline Jane Downey—(from the Senate).

House divided :

YEAS :

Messieurs

Allan,
Bain (Wentworth),
Baker,
Beith,
Bennett,
Borden,
Boston,
Bowers,
Boyd,
Brown,
Burnham,
Calvin,
Campbell,
Carpenter,
Carscallen,
Casey,
Christie,
Coatsworth,
Colter,
Corby,
Craig,
Davies,
Davis,
Dawson,
Denison,
Dyer,
Edgar,
Featherston,
Ferguson (Renfrew),
Flint,
Fraser,
Gibson,
Grant (Sir James),
Haggart,
Hazen,
Hodgins,
Kaulbach,
Landerkin,

Livingston,
Macdonell (Algoma),
McAlister,
McCarthy,
McDonald (Assiniboia),
McDougald (Pictou),
McMullen,
Madill,
Martin,
Masson,
Metcalf,
Miller,
Moncrieff,
Montague,
Mulock,
Northrup,
O'Brien,
Paterson (Brant),
Pridham,
Rider,
Roome,
Rosamond,
Rowand,
Ryckman,
Sauborn,
Scriver,
Semple,
Smith (Ontario),
Somerville,
Sproule,
Stevenson,
Sutherland,
Taylor,
Tyrwhitt,
Weldon,
White (Cardwell),
White (Shelburne),
Wilson.—76.

NAYS :

Messieurs

Adams,
Amyot,
Bain (Soulanges),
Béchar,de,
Belley,
Bernier,
Bourassa,
Bruneau,
Carroll,
Costigan,
Dugas,
Dupont,

Guay,
Harwood,
Jeannotte,
Langevin (Sir Hector),
Laurier,
Lavergne,
Leduc,
Legris,
Lippé,
Mignault,
Monet,
Rinfret,

Fréchette,
Frémont,
Godbout,
Grandbois,

Thompson (Sir John),
Turcotte,
Vaillancourt.—31.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the second time.

BRIBERY AND DISFRANCHISEMENT.

House again resolved itself into Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) When you left the Chair, Mr. Chairman, I was saying that we ought to try and make laws that had for their object to show to the foreign countries that we were a land inhabited by honest, sober, intelligent and law-abiding citizens. I consider Parliament as a great family. Just as in a good family, the wrong that may be done, the divisions that may exist, are held secret so as to conceal the uneasiness of father, mother and children. So it is with the great Canadian family. Should there be bribery, our national interest, in the mind of those who have some patriotism—and I think we all of us have some—would lead us not to enrich our statutes with laws which, in the eyes of strangers, would be calculated to make it believe that we are not a people of goods morals. Proceeding from that principle, I can now come directly to my amendment. But before coming to it I will again refer to the petition. Section 2 of the Bill reads as follows :—

Whenever, within sixty days after the day on which an election is held under The Dominion Elections Act, a petition in the form or to the effect of Schedule A to this Act has been presented to the court, signed by five or more voters of an electoral district (the postal address of each voter signing the same being added to his name) stating that bribery has extensively prevailed at the election, and having annexed thereto an affidavit or affidavits in the form or to the effect set out in Schedule B to this Act, sworn by all the petitioners, stating that they are such voters, and that the allegations of the petition are true, to the best of their knowledge and belief, the court shall within thirty days assign one of its judges for the purpose of making inquiry under this Act.

This section, in the French version of the Bill, only requires the petition to be signed by five voters, but the promoter of the Bill says it is twenty-five. I stated before recess that such a petition should only be warranted by an extensive bribery. It was in order to protect those who would be dragged before the court of inquiry. I also stated that should the complainants not give a sufficient and reasonable cause for such an information, the parties summoned would have an action for damages against them. In the case of all such petitions, the complainant is carefully requested to particularize the cases of bribery upon which the inquiry will have to bear. In municipal affairs, I myself had occasion to ask for inquiries, and each time I was required to mention particular cases of boodling,

because an inquiry could not be granted upon general cases. Before the legislatures, such inquiries are never granted unless special cases are furnished. Under this Bill, the twenty-five voters, who will petition for an inquiry will not be bound to this formality sanctioned till now by justice and jurisprudence. I would like to be given a single instance where an inquiry was granted in a manner proposed by this Bill. These twenty-five voters will give an affidavit which means nothing. It would be just as well not to give any. They will give an affidavit stating that they have reason to believe that the election was carried through bribery. After an election, the defeated party always complains of bribery. The most irrefragable election is said to have been carried by bribery. It often happens that we are not satisfied as to such a fact, but we intend to cheer up the defeated party. And they would have the House to authorize the making of an inquiry without any case of bribery being specified. Under the Bill introduced last year the complaint had to be laid before the Governor General in Council. I would rather have that, inasmuch as the Governor General in Council would better see whether there is reason to grant an inquiry. But this new Bill is imperative; the judge will be bound to make the inquiry. Provided that petition be made within sixty days, and the money deposited, he will not be allowed to ascertain whether there are sufficient reasons to decline or grant it. Where will this deposit be made? Will it be into the hands of the judge? Will it be into the hands of the opposite party? Who will have the care of the \$500, which the petitioners are bound to deposit? We do not know. Very likely the petitioners will never make any deposit whatever. I have some further observations to make with respect to another question, but one which is connected with section 2. I suppose the case of a protest in which the disqualification of the successful candidate will even be asked for. The successful candidate will have to meet this protest, and to follow the inquiry made under this Bill. Thus he will have two cases on hand. And it is known before hand that the protest of an election is ruinous for any and each party. Now, what will happen? It is shown by experience. How many cases of bribery were found in any protest? Hardly ten, in an average. If ten proven cases of bribery form the average why have it believed that people only carry their elections through bribery? If, in such cases of protested elections, with the co-operation of skilful lawyers, they could only come to an average of ten proven cases in each case, how is it that, after being for such a long time in our statutes a special law punishing such cases, we should not have come to a different result? It is because bribery is not as general as they say. Then, how is it that they should now come with a Bill tending to have it believed that

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extensive bribery at elections prevails in this country, that a great many voters are corrupt? The mere introduction of this Bill is almost an insult thrown at the electorate. Had protested elections revealed the fact that there was extensive bribery, that it was enormously practiced, so to say, I would be willing to admit with the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) that he was perhaps justifiable in coming here with such a Bill. But the contrary is true, and it cannot be denied that elections are now carried on with less bribery than ever. Some few cases may sometimes happen, yet no one ever thought of introducing such a legislation as this on account of these few cases. The Blake law, which has now been in our statute for several years, and which provides, to a certain extent, for the cases aimed at by this Bill, was never put into practice; it has not yet been used. Whoever presented a petition asking for an inquiry under that Blake law, in order to find out cases of bribery? Now, I say that the Bill now proposed will not be more dangerous, will not be more prejudicial to the bribe-givers and bribe-takers. If it should only be to fill our statutes that they wish such a Bill to be passed, it is not worth devoting so much time on it. We are earnest law-makers, and we must see to the prosperity of the country. Now, in order to reach that end we must be very careful about the laws we pass. If we should pass a law to improve the people, and it should have quite a different result, we would be guilty to a large extent. Now, this Bill will have for its result to make people less good in future than they were in the past, for it will deprive parties of the harmony and peace they need to be happy, by perpetrating political enmities. If this law is likely to cause more harm than good, it seems to me we ought not to pass it. When, last year, I opposed a similar Bill, I stated: You will not reach the end desired by every voter, by all people, because it is unworkable. The House sided with me. I think the Bill of last year, compared with this Bill, was the better of the two. This Bill is modelled on the one rejected by this House; it is grafted on a dying one, and it cannot, in my opinion, have more life and vigour for all that. It should not be passed by this House, composed, as it is, of intelligent men. The expenses thrown on those who, indicted before this court of inquiry, will have to defend themselves, must be taken into consideration. In order to show that they were right in asking for such an inquiry, the petitioners will address themselves to people who cannot afford to make such expenses. They will do their utmost to cause to be convicted of an offence, the voter unable, through want of means, to prove his innocence. The first party who will be summoned before the court will be the voter. Appearing before the judge he will be compelled to state his own turpitude

in a penal action. The accused party has a right to be heard in his defence, but here he will be compelled to state the offences he committed, to state what he received. How will you get out of it if the indicted party should be unwilling to state that he was bribed? An unknown man will come and say that such a voter was bribed, and this voter will have but his own evidence to prove his innocence. The former individual, perhaps a perjurer, will be known to no one, neither to the judge nor to any other. What will the judge do? They cannot discredit his evidence, for he is unknown. They cannot say he perjured himself; he is unknown. They brought him from foreign parts just because he is unknown to all. We know that that frequently happens in protested elections. What will the judge do, then? But let it not be forgotten that the judge only conducts the inquiry; he has no right to decide. That is the marvel of this Bill. The officer presiding over the court has no right to decide. What will he do?

An hon. MEMBER. (Translation.) The inquiry.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) Yes, he will make the inquiry, and send a list of the incriminated parties to the Secretary of State. Has the Secretary of State any right to decide? None whatever. What could he do? Nothing. We know it is contrary to the constitution; a Minister cannot decide in judicial matters. It is the judge who ought to decide whether the indicted parties are guilty or not. Suppose I am summoned before the commissioner and charged with having sold my vote for two dollars. The Government in power happens to be Liberal, and it is the Secretary of State of that Government who, practically, will decide my case, he who is interested in having me thrown out in order that a Liberal candidate be returned in my stead. And we will be told that there are no party politics, no party spirit. But has the Secretary of State any right to interfere? He is, however, interested in deciding that twenty-five Conservatives should be stricken off the list, as the majority is but twenty-five in that particular county. If I quote this fact, it is to show the absurdity of the Bill. It is really astonishing that a professor of law in a university should be the author of such a Bill. I referred before recess to the question, momentous in my opinion, of the good name of the Canadian people in foreign countries. Has an Englishman in England ever thought of introducing such a Bill? We know, however, what their expenses amount to at election times there. If they do wrong, they do not state it in a statute to be cast all over the world. Are the people better in the United States than here? Have they such laws in their statutes? No; they protect themselves. Hear the Americans speaking of themselves: they set up as the most intelligent and purest people in the whole

world. Do they ever speak of bribery? Never. And the French people; go and tell them that they are a corrupt people. They will tell you that they carry on their elections with the greatest possible purity. I am too much devoted to our national honour to be willing to pass such a Bill. We have laws of our own relating to the carrying on and protesting of our elections. They are such as to enable us to say to the outside world that we are business men, but that, should anything wrong happen, we have the means to remedy it, just as we have laws to protect ourselves against thieves. They do not mean that we are thieves, but only that we can protect honest people against dishonest people. I do not intend to detain the House any longer.

Mr. RINFRET. (Translation.) Would the hon. member be kind enough to explain his amendment, before taking his seat?

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) It is to that I wish to come. My amendment is very short; it has for its object to protect the families, parishes and counties. I will not be told that the investigation of cases of bribery is not as serious a matter as the protest of an election. In protested election cases there must be a bill of particulars. The particulars of each case must be given as well as the names of the bribers. We are not allowed by the court to get out of that. Well, I would also have a bill of particulars in such inquiries. The question is not whether Messrs. So and So received 25 cents for their vote; it is a question as to the good name of a whole electoral division, which selected a man whom it trusted, since it gave him a majority. The question is whether honest voters are liable to be disqualified. When so much care is taken in controverted election cases to prove the cases of bribery, to show that an election ought to be voided, when so much care is taken to ascertain whether the candidates should be disqualified, how is it that so little care is taken in this case? Why not require particulars? Why empower twenty-five voters to merely say: 'The election, in our opinion, was carried by bribery, and make that sufficient for the making of an inquiry, without the least particular being given, without the judge being put in a position to know what the evidence will be about, without giving him any means whatever to find out the least case of bribery. How is it that a professor of law could frame such a Bill? As I stated before recess, when an election is over, the defeated voters think they only lost it through bribery. No judge, no magistrate, would proceed for five minutes on an information laid up in such general and vague words. The indicted party may say: What am I charged with, why do you bring me before this court? Why an inquiry against me? What reasons have you, why do you summon me here? Tell it to me and I will be ready to meet your charge. In this Bill, every notion of justice acknow-

ledged elsewhere has been set aside. Since Canada makes her own laws, never was such a Bill proposed. Never were honest citizens indicted like criminals before a court with less unceremoniousness. I cannot conceive how a professor of law can teach such principles in the chair of a university. It is a subversion of all the notions of right and justice. Never to my knowledge—it is true I am not very old and others are much older than I am—never have I seen such a proposition. When there is no precedent for such a measure, when no court of justice would enforce such a law, should Parliament persist in passing it. I must ask: What have we come to? Are we such disgraced people that we should be treated with less consideration than thieves, for thieves are told at least why they are arrested and brought before the court. Voters are treated like slaves. A slave is whipped by his master without being told why. As the story goes, a master was once whipping his slave. "Why do you whip me, asked the slave, since I have done no wrong." "True, you have done no wrong, but it is in case you should do some." This Bill reminds me of that story; they wish it to be passed, in case there should be some bribery. And it is to reasonable and intelligent people that they apply for such a law. Poor or rich, we are friends of liberty. I love liberty, I do not want to be interfered with in the exercise of my rights. I hate an excess of liberty to the same extent to which I love liberty. I love liberty, and that is why I dislike the Bill now before this House. Not very many years ago, our ancestors shed their blood in order to conquer that liberty which we now enjoy. To come back to my amendment, and I intend not to be long, I would have drawn it otherwise had I had more time. Some members stated it was not in accordance with section 2. I should think it is not, for it is not in a few minutes that one can draw up such an amendment. My object was to communicate to this House the suggestion I am now defending. Although this amendment does not quite agree with section 2, it, however, explains so well what I aim at that a change of one or two words will be sufficient to make the section read better than now. The amendment means that the twenty-five voters who will sign the petition will know what they are signing. With the Bill as it is, a dissatisfied voter, or one willing to avenge himself, could go to Messrs. So and So and ask them to sign his paper. These good fellows will say: But why should we sign? Oh, sign it, sign it anyhow. Generally they will address themselves to people who cannot read or can hardly sign their name. They will read to each of them a few phrases of the petition here and there, and the trick will be played. These people, acting with good faith, will not be very particular, they will sign, and the individual bent on revenging himself upon some one will never be known, the

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judge who will go and make the inquiry will never know who set up the whole thing. He will summon Peter, who will be told: You signed this petition. What have you to say? And Peter will answer: I know nothing about it, it is John who made me sign; he assured me it was all right. John, who is a good, unsuspecting Canadian, will appear in his turn before the judge. The judge will ask him: What do you complain of? Nothing, will he answer. But why have you signed the petition, then? Oh! it was some one from the neighbouring parish who came and saw me about that and told me it was all very well. Then the judge, who intended to begin his inquiry, will at once say: There is no complaint. But the English and French stenographers, desirous of making some money, will say: Postpone the inquiry for eight days, and something will turn up then. The judge, who would not have the reputation of a man not knowing how to conduct an inquiry, will adjourn the court. In the meantime, the other signers will be called upon, and at last one will be found who has a case of bribery. He will come and say to the court: I think Peter must have received \$1 from Louis for his vote. He will be asked if he witnessed the thing. He will say: No; but he will add that Peter very likely did not vote without receiving \$1, as some one went to see him at night time, and if he did not receive it himself, then it must be his wife. Will the judge summon Peter's wife? Under civil law, a wife cannot give evidence against her husband. Under criminal law she can give evidence if she be willing, and her husband be willing. Of course she will be unwilling. Then the judge will again adjourn in order to hear counsel on that point of law, and during all that time the returned candidate will have to be there with his counsel, for the voter summoned before the court will say to the candidate: Protect me, I voted for you. Who will pay the expenses which all this will entail? I think it would be better should the petitioners make no deposit, but give security for costs, as the losing party would then pay the costs. As I stated a moment ago, the \$500 will be expended before three witnesses should have given their evidence. And then, will the Commissioner continue the inquiry? If not, this Bill, which tends to purify the political atmosphere, will cause a net loss of \$500, besides the expenses incurred by the indicted parties to defend themselves. Therefore, my amendment is perfectly reasonable, and it ought to be incorporated in section 2. When the other sections will come up for discussion, we may be allowed to say what we think of them. My amendment has for its object to give to section 2 some taint of the jurisprudence established in this country. It will not yet appear as it should, but it will be a beginning. It has also for its object to remind these twenty-five voters

that they should not lodge any information without some reasonable motives, as they are liable to actions for damages. And of what use will have been all those expenses which will not have reached the desired end? They will not serve to purify the political atmosphere, but merely to allow lawyers to make some money, which is not bad after all. The particular result of this Bill would be to allow an evil-doer to prosecute his neighbours. There are such men in every province of the Dominion. Should this Bill pass, we would legalize the wrong which such wicked people are bent on doing, while the object of laws are to make people better. We would give to these gallows-birds the means of dragging their fellow-citizens through mire, of ruining their reputation and the honour of families. Ask a stranger who going round your place, sets your barn on fire, his reason for so acting, he could not tell it to you, he does not know you. Yet he caused you damages to the extent of thousands of dollars, for the mere sake of doing a wrong. We have no law to protect such a man. Turn this section as you will, view it in whatever light you will, you cannot but admit that it is useless and injurious to the good of the community. This Bill will not prevent bribery; on the contrary, it will afford means to practise it freely. Last year it was stated—you will find it in 'Hansard'—that the bribe-giver is a gentleman, an intelligent man. Why not put on an equal footing the names of the bribe-giver and bribe-taker? No, as you see, one is a gentleman, an intelligent man. If the bribe-giver is the more intelligent of the two, I say he is also the more guilty and ought to be the more punished; it is he who deserves the full reprobation, the full punishment, the full rigour of the law, inasmuch as he is more intelligent than the others and consequently the greatest culprit. I will now come to my amendment and these will be very conclusive words. This amendment is of the utmost importance since it tends to protect the honest man, the honest citizen against the party who would injure him, since it declares to the honest man, desirous of avenging himself and injuring his fellow-citizen in that very good reason, that he cannot do it with impunity. Oh! I do not believe, Mr. Chairman, that such a man will be guided by motives of electoral purity. Very often he will try to avenge himself by persecuting his neighbour because he had with the latter some little trouble about a water-course or a delapidated fence. He will say to him: You are going to repay me the dollars you caused me to spend, and he will get up this plot against this unsuspecting neighbour. I want to protect the peaceful citizen, devoted to, and desirous of the good of his country, against the attacks of the hateful, vindictive man, of the dishonest man who will seek to unjustly persecute him. I hope my amendment will be concurred in,

which would much improve section 2. The other sections will also have to be amended, when their turn will come. With these amendments the Bill will not yet be perfect, but it will be more admissible should it ever mature. In this way, its evil effects will be minimized as much as possible; it will not be a weapon in the hands of persecutors; it will no more be a legal reason for a dishonest man to gratify his bad inclinations. I would like to offer some further remarks on my amendment, but I am aware that other members wish to take the floor, and I will make room for them, resuming further observations later on.

Mr. SPROULE. The amendment proposed by the hon. gentleman is not very clear from the reading of it at the Table, and I do not know whether it has been made more so now. At any rate, it has this merit, it is a little more definite in requiring particulars to be given of the cases of men who are alleged to have been bribed. It seems to me that the Bill is a very bad one, if it ever comes into operation, and if this clause could be amended in any direction so as to improve it, it is very important that it should be. Whatever there may be in the amendment proposed by the hon. gentleman, I think it is an improvement upon the clause as it now exists. When political excitement runs high during, and after an election, when the contest is a close one, we find, from past experience, that it generally results in a demand for a recount. After that recount has taken place, the next thing, after a lapse of thirty days, will probably be a protest; and it is quite as easy to get twenty-five electors to swear that they believe there has been corruption, as it is to get the requisite affidavits made for the purpose of a protest. Then the Bill says:

Whenever, within 60 days after the day on which an election is held under the Dominion Elections Act, a petition in the form or to the effect set out in schedule A to this Act, has been presented to the court, signed by twenty-five or more voters of an electoral district—

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This will be filed with the same court that tries the petition, and there has probably been a protest entered at the same time. After this is filed, or within thirty days after, one of the judges shall be assigned to the duty of commencing this fishing inquiry. He shall do that upon his appointment, or within a reasonable time thereafter, and he shall continue it from time to time until he has gone over the whole riding, and conducted that inquiry to his own satisfaction. Usually, an election petition remains for several months before the trial comes on, and, in the meantime, this fishing inquiry will be kept up. The member who is elected, or it may be the defeated candidate, in the interest of himself and his friends, will necessarily be obliged to look after the interest of his constituents, and when that fishing inquiry commences before the judge, he will

be obliged to employ counsel to go around and see that no injustice is done to the electors who have supported him, and, in the case of the defeated candidate to the electors who have supported him. But the main trouble will be that this fishing inquiry will only bring out evidence that will afterwards be used in court for the purpose of sustaining a petition, and that the petition, which is tried afterwards, will be very likely based upon these cases. When a request is made to the court that the party shall file a bill of particulars, the probability is that this fishing inquiry which has been going on in the meantime, will have discovered a number of cases, and these will be filed with the bill of particulars. From first to last it seems this Bill will cause a very heavy expense to the successful candidate, and sometimes to the defeated candidate. We know what it is when we are obliged to go into court and employ counsel to defend a case. The experience of the past has taught us that if you employ a prominent lawyer it will cost you from \$25 to \$100 a day. The judge will have power to hold the court in any part of the riding he may choose, he may move from place to place where he thinks he can find additional evidence, he may adjourn the court, and, during all this time you are obliged to keep counsel to look after the interest of yourself and your friends. Suppose this court sat ten days, and that you were paying counsel \$100 a day, as is frequently the case, that would mean a thousand dollars, not to speak of all the other expenses, and the loss of time that may be involved in following this examination. This would be an expense that no candidate would like to incur if he could possibly avoid it. Then, in addition there is the expense that must be incurred afterwards in the trial of the election petition, when it comes before the court. Now, if this Bill becomes law, you will subject the candidate to the double expense, and sometimes the treble expense, of a recount, afterwards the expense of a protest, and then the expense of this fishing expedition; and altogether it will amount to a sum that very few candidates in the country will be able to bear; it will amount to an expense that will drive a great many men out of public life who are to-day representatives of the people. For these reasons, I think the Bill is very objectionable. The amendment proposed by the hon. member for L'Assomption (Mr. Jeannotte), compelling the party to give more particulars with regard to bribery cases, surrounds the Bill with a few more safeguards that might, perhaps, prevent the fishing investigation from being started. That is all the good it will do. But I think every clause in the Bill is equally objectionable with the one now under consideration, and, for my part, I feel not only like opposing this clause, but every other clause in the Bill. I think we have enough courts in the country now. We have more law than

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is in the interest of the people, or in the interest of their pockets. This Bill really proposes to establish another court, and it gives another opportunity for draining the exhausted exchequer, in many instances, of the candidate, or his opponent, who have already been put to more expense than they can well bear.

Mr. BELLEY. (Translation.) Mr. Chairman, I do not approve of all the observations made by the hon. member for L'Assomption (Mr. Jeannotte) in connection with this Bill. Some I disapprove and some I approve of. I cannot support what he said as to the principle of the Bill. I think that principle should be sanctioned by this House. In the face of an extensive bribery, it is our duty to look for some means to punish not only those who give bribes, but also those who take them, and the latter, in my opinion, are the most guilty. The hon. member for L'Assomption and several other members, I think, said in support of their remarks, if I am not mistaken: We are opposed to this Bill in itself, because it aims at punishing only the bribe-taker; the bribe-giver should be punished the same as the bribe-taker. I think we have a law which punishes both the bribe-taker and the bribe-giver. The hon. member for L'Assomption (Mr. Jeannotte) mentioned certain cases which happened in Montreal. Among others, I think he referred to the case of Mr. McShane, who was disqualified for bribery practiced at an election held in the county of Laprairie. Mr. McShane had been disqualified for having given a bribe to a voter. That shows that we have a law which strikes at the bribe-giver, for voters were also deprived of their franchise for having accepted a fraudulent consideration. If I well understood the speakers who preceded me, the members who stated they were opposed to this Bill were mistaken on this point. I now state that I am in favour of the amendment moved by the member for L'Assomption (Mr. Jeannotte), as it tends to improve this Bill and to better bring out its principle. According as a legislative provision is properly or improperly carried out, a thing good in itself may be made good or bad, as the case may be. This Bill is just in its object and is founded on a just principle, but through a bad wording it might become a real instrument of persecution. If it should be adopted such as it is, there would be some reason to fear an organized persecution on account of its defective wording, and it is the duty of this House to prevent such a persecution to ever take place. I feel quite satisfied that the hon. promoter of this Bill wants no persecution whatever. Proceeding from that principle, I think we improve this Bill by amending it. If it should be passed without any changes, we would then pass a law contrary to all principles of right, contrary to the practice followed in any court. I take it for granted that any person ac-

cused must be so accused by a formal Act, that is to say that any indictment must be well and duly drawn up. We are dealing here with proceedings identical to those followed in police courts, in cases before the Circuit Court, the Superior Court, in a word, before any court as well as before the magistrates themselves. To put that practise aside is, in my opinion, to set up arbitrariness as a system. Consequently the petition asking for the appointment of a court of inquiry ought to be perfectly worded and the same principles applied as are applied in controverted elections. Each and every case and fact must be specified. Why should the same thing not be done in these cases? It is the same principle that is in question. We are anxious to do justice to every one, we want the party who sells his vote to be punished. Not only do we propose that those who committed such acts as are prohibited by law should be reached, and that the member returned through such corrupt means should be equally punished, but we are also anxious that there should be no organized persecution. We want the twenty-five voters who will petition for the inquiry to be earnest in the action they take. To reach that end we must take the required means. Now, the only means is the amendment of the member for L'Assomption. But that very means is not, in my opinion, sufficient, and I think the petitioners ought to be fully examined before the judge who will require them to state upon what ground they base their belief in the fruitfulness of the facts set forth in the indictment. Thus we enact that the petitioners will have to give an affidavit stating that upon their soul they believe the alleged facts to be true. Well, such an affidavit may be given by any voter. It will always be given by insolvent people, and generally by men of nothing, whose evidence would not be received before the courts of justice in ordinary cases. The Controverted Elections Act was amended by an Act passed in 1892. A proviso was added to it which compels the petitioner to give an affidavit stating that he believes upon his soul that the facts alleged in the petition are true. I was one of the first members whose election was protested under this new Act. I have found out that people were allowed to give that affidavit who were at an ease under oath. In the petition presented against me, there were enumerated every conceivable case of bribery provided for by the statute. Thus they alleged that I had bought two hundred voters in different parts of my county, which has the extent of a province. Both the petitioners, two men of nothing, swore that the facts alleged in the petition were true. Was it not really extravagant to allege that I had bought two hundred voters of different parishes in a county of such an extent? These two men perjured themselves most shamefully; they made a statement which they knew to be false. What happened in my case will hap-

pen in any controverted election. I would rather see the whole section 2 disappear from the Bill, should my amendment not be concurred in, for it is a useless affidavit and one which will be prejudicial to the very people who come and swear to things they know to be false and perjure themselves. I think that before proceeding any further, the judge should say to the petitioners: You swore that extensive bribery prevailed at the election; well, we will first examine you in order to know upon what facts you base your swearing that you conscientiously believe that such and such an act of bribery were practiced. We will also request the interested parties to come and cross-examine you. I will not go to the length of saying that the petitioners should give a full evidence before the court; but I would like to have at least what is required before a judge, if not a full evidence, at least a secondary one, showing that there is a case. The hon. member for Albert should accept my amendment. It is just. I ask that the petitioners be subjected to a cross-examination and that the judge, after such an examination, and after taking knowledge of the circumstances of the case, should be allowed to decide whether there is any presumption of bribery, or, in other words, whether there is any case at all. And then he could order the inquiry. What I ask for is reasonable and will prevent many injustices towards the voters. It will throw light on all such petitions. The amendment I proposed should be incorporated, not only in this Bill, but also in the Controverted Elections Act. It has already been contended, in a couple of controverted election cases, that the petitioners could be cross-examined before any other witness being examined. The point was raised, I think, in the district of Montreal. The court held the contrary; but the judge stated it would be extremely just that powers to that effect should be granted. It is the proceeding followed in civil cases, in cases of *capias* and attachment before judgment. The witnesses are heard, and they generally come and say: We know nothing of that personally; we heard it said by such and such a person. In election cases it will be the same thing, and I think the cross-examination of those persons would put a stop to such vexatious prosecutions. A man will come and say that his neighbour sold his vote for \$1; another will come and say something to the same effect. Even though ten persons would come and make such a statement, could it be said for all that that extensive bribery prevailed at an election? Under the Controverted Elections Act it must now be shown that the acts of bribery had the effect of changing the result of the election. Under these circumstances, I think the court should have the right to ascertain the reasons which led the petitioners to ask for an inquiry. But, should the judge feel satisfied that there is a case, that is to say, that he has reason to believe that bribery prevailed, he will have to make an

inquiry. For this reason, I think the committee ought to accept the proposed amendment. At all events, I reserve my right to move the amendment I have here, should the one now discussed be rejected.

Amendment negatived.

Mr. BELLEY. (Translation.) I move in amendment that after the words "one of its judges," in the twenty-first line, the following words be added:—"for the purpose of examining and cross-examining the said petitioners as to all the facts upon which they base their said knowledge and belief;" and, after the last words of said section, the following words:—"if, after such evidence, the judge should presume that such bribery prevailed; at the hearing of said petitioners, any voter may, either by himself or by counsel, examine or cross-examine the said petitioners as to the facts relating to their affidavit and upon which they base their knowledge and belief."

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) What has become of my amendment?

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Denison). Your amendment has been declared lost.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) Mr. Chairman, I wish to say a few words in connection with the amendment now before you. I read that amendment in French. It goes to say that the judge to whom the petition was addressed will have to give public notice to the twenty-five signers that on such a day, and at such an hour, they will have to appear before him in order to show upon what they base their belief as to the facts contained in the affidavit they have given. The judge will examine them and see whether their reasons are sufficient to proceed to the inquiry. If he should feel satisfied that their reasons are trifling, he will go no further. It is a means to save large expenses. Possibly, if my amendment had been drawn up in English, it might have rallied more members than it did, for our good friends the English members are often apt to say: We do not understand, therefore, we will not vote on the proposition. I even think that the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon), had he understood the meaning of my amendment, would have voted for it and against his own Bill. The hon. member may possibly happen to be in the case provided for by my amendment. He will then be forced, in order to protect his voters, to use the means we now offer him. We must protect ourselves against such signers of petitions, who sign for the mere sake of being agreeable to others, without having a clear idea of the import of their action. I, therefore, think this amendment should be agreed to. As the Chairman does not understand French, I might say this more by the way: The question was not put on my amendment and they hastened to declare it lost, but they will lose nothing by waiting. It will come

Mr. BELLEY.

back again at the third reading of the Bill.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. I desire to offer some further remarks.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Denison). I have declared the amendment lost.

Mr. AMYOT. I submit, of course, to the ruling of the Chair, but this is the second clause that has been carried without our full knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Denison). The clause is not carried.

Mr. AMYOT. The first clause was declared carried without our knowing it, and the amendment has now been declared lost. We are here to decide yea or nay on this question.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Denison). I put the motion quite clearly.

Mr. AMYOT. It was put very abruptly. There was absolutely no time to call for yeas and nays.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Denison). If any member had asked for yeas and nays I would have called for them, but no one asked for them. Now we have another amendment before the Chair.

Mr. AMYOT. You will not facilitate the passage of the Bill in that way, for it is rather too sharp. We shall have some voting on the Bill. We do not want to embarrass the Bill, but we have our convictions on this matter. We have all the same object in view, but have perhaps different ways of attaining it, and I hope the Chair will not interfere.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. AMYOT. If I am out of order, I am ready to withdraw the statement. But we have a right to secure the necessary time to ask for the yeas and nays.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Denison). I think I pointed out clearly before that the motion was put and declared lost, and the hon. member for Chicoutimi (Mr. Belley) moved another amendment. There was plenty of time allowed if hon. members had cared to ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. AMYOT. I had drawn a similar amendment to that moved by the hon. member for Chicoutimi (Mr. Belley), but in somewhat different terms, namely: "provided the court be satisfied by the affidavits produced that extensive bribery had been practiced." I think we must adopt some mode of protecting the public against twenty-five or any number of electors who might come and swear they believed that there had been extensive corruption practiced. During the heat of an election it is easy to find almost any number of electors, even up to 100 or 200, who will come forward and swear that there has been extensive corruption practiced on the other

side. We must have some power to check these applications, and some officer should be authorized to look a little more into the facts of the case. When the petitions are presented to the judge, he should be at liberty to say to the petitioners: Give some facts, details and circumstances which lead you to believe there has been extensive corruption. If there has been extensive corruption, surely it is easy to say that it occurred in a certain parish among certain people, and that it was by drinking, or by bribery, or by giving money; also that it was in certain quarters, and for a certain set of electors. The judge in his discretion will exact the amount of information necessary to satisfy him that corruption has existed to a very great extent. This protection is undoubtedly necessary even to ensure the working of the Bill. If we impose upon the judge the obligation of proceeding as soon as he receives the petition and affidavits in general terms without inquiring into the law details, the law will not be executed. I am sure we will not find any judges disposed to go into it, while if we instruct the judge to be satisfied that there was corruption he will go into details, and if he sees that there was a *prima facie* case he will proceed with the enquête. I believe that the spirit of the amendment, although the terms I do not understand exactly, should be adopted.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) The petition in a controverted election requesting authority to protest the same is not brought up in the way mentioned in section 2 of this Bill. Should it only state: The petitioner has reason to believe that bribery prevailed, it would be dismissed at once. The petitioner is bound to state that the candidate tempted or bought votes. He is bound to specify all the facts and to give the names. Then his affidavit states that he has reason to believe that such facts are true. (In English.) The protest in an election is not the same as the petition mentioned in section 2. The protest must contain special cases, charging that the candidate elected has been guilty of corruption, either by buying votes, or by treating electors, or making promises, whether by himself or his agents. If the petitioner were to present a petition of the same kind as that mentioned in section 2, saying that he believed in his conscience that corrupt practices had been committed by the candidate or his agent, that petition would not stand two minutes in a court of justice, it would be dismissed at once. But he must mention facts, and after that petition has been lodged in court he must furnish particulars, and even mention the places where the corruption has taken place. But in section 2, there is no mention of any such requirements, there is no charge upon which a party can go and be examined. It only says that he must declare in his petition that he believes corrupt practices have been committed. (Translation.) I say that under such conditions, with the petition as

brought forth, any conceivable injustice may be committed. Moreover, in the bill of particulars, the petitioner is bound to give each and every fact upon which he intended to base his inquiry for the voiding of the election; while under this Bill, he is not bound to give a single case of bribery; he has only to state that he believes that bribery prevailed. I repeat that that will cause interminable injustice.

Amendment negatived: yeas, 35; nays, 45.

Mr. AMYOT. I move that the following words be added at the end of section 2:—

Provided the court be satisfied by the affidavits produced that such extensive bribery has been practised.

Amendment agreed to: yeas, 40; nays, 36.

Mr. BERGIN. I move that the following words be added at the end of the section as amended:—

The petitioners having given first full particulars of the said extensive briberies in their affidavits attached to the said petition.

I have very great sympathy with the hon. gentleman who promotes this Bill, not only because of his attainments as a lawyer, but also because of his standing in this House. I sympathize with him very strongly in this: that he has once before failed to carry this Bill, and that, if he fails again to-night he will be obliged to drop the measure, and it is evident, from the force with which he presses it, that this will be, I shall not say a source of humiliation, but a source of very great regret to him. Strong, however, as my sympathy is with him, I cannot give my consent to a Bill which I feel must prove unworkable if adopted by this House—unworkable in more ways than one—and which, if it should in any of its parts become workable, would be a source of very great danger to this country, and be very likely to bring about an increase of that fraud and bribery and corruption in connection with elections which the hon. gentleman himself wishes to do away with. The hon. gentleman in this section asks that we should do away with bribery upon the strength of affidavits referred to in the section. Now, I contend that if we adopt this section we shall open the door to a vast amount of perjury, bribery and corruption, such as we have never had before in this country. In the first place, this section suggests perjury. In the heat of an election we know that men's passions are aroused; we know how, in the event of defeat, the desire for vengeance is aroused; we know how almost every man on the defeated side is ready to declare—a great number even upon oath—that the election was carried by bribery and corruption, and there is no difficulty whatever in obtaining any sum of money for the purpose of filing a petition. In the ordinary case, the petition must be supported by \$1,000 deposit. How much

more easy will it be to acquire \$500 for such a purpose after an election? True, the section calls for a number of men to join in making the affidavit, and provides that they shall make it within 60 days. It does not provide that it shall be made on the sixtieth day, but that it shall be made within 60 days. In the first few days there will be no difficulty in getting twenty-five heated, excited men to subscribe to a petition stating that they are satisfied that bribery has been practiced extensively during the election. What is the penalty for making a false affidavit? None whatever. They swear, according to this section, at a time when the whole or, at all events, one-half of the county is bound to be convinced that the election was carried by bribery and corruption, and they swear to the best of their knowledge. It is on an affidavit made at such a time, when people are under the influence of passion, that we are asked to start out a fishing commission, at the head of which, forsooth, we are to place one of the judges of the land, who is to continue fishing, at his own good will and pleasure, until he is satisfied he has probed everything to the bottom, in the endeavour to find out something that will enable him to say that bribery has extensively prevailed. And although the judge may not find, in his search, that bribery has prevailed, he will probably discover that some unfortunate fellow took a glass of whisky in a tavern near the polling booth, or that some one gave a voter, whom perhaps he had driven 30 or 40 miles, a meal somewhere in the neighbourhood of the poll. Some petty thing like this might be discovered, even after a contestation had taken place, and the election declared pure by the judge, upon which the case could be reopened, and the candidate perhaps disqualified for the act of an agent, of whom he knew nothing. What other evils are likely to flow from the enactment of this Bill? Innocent men, men of good character, whom no honest man in the community would believe guilty of an act of bribery or corruption, will be kept, perhaps days and weeks, at the place where the trial is to be held, kept at his own expense, and there will be no redress. He may be obliged to stay there several days, and will not be paid for his attendance, because the petty sum of \$500 will not be sufficient to conduct the investigation in a large county, where it is said bribery has extensively prevailed. Again, this clause of the Bill is deficient in this: that it does not provide for the punishment of the briber. Why punish the poor ignorant man who, perhaps, tempted by want at the moment, takes a couple of dollars for his vote, and let the intelligent, educated and wealthy man who tempts him go scot free? I ask this House, in all sincerity, whether they think that a Bill, framed upon such lines, can be productive of any good. As I have said, it opens the door to perjury. Men, heated by passion, will swear without much

Mr. BERGIN.

difficulty, without, in fact, thinking of the effect of their affidavit, that bribery has extensively prevailed. They are not called upon to give any particulars. They swear, in a general way, to the best of their knowledge and belief, that bribery has extensively prevailed; but if they are obliged to add to these affidavits full particulars, showing the men whom they have reason to believe have been bribed, every one of them will refuse to take the oath. We are opening the door to perjury and corruption, and I think that, if we pass this section at all, we must pass it with the addition that all the petitioners shall add to the affidavit the full particulars of the cases where the extensive bribery has prevailed. Although my hon. friend this afternoon, when addressing the committee, addressed himself generally to the provisions of the Act, he afterwards objected to my hon. friend from L'Assomption (Mr. Jeannotte) going outside of section 2 of this Bill. Therefore, I perhaps ought not, without permission of the House, to go out of this section for the present, but shall reserve what I have to say upon the other sections of the Act. For I think every section requires to be recast, and I shall be obliged to make some twenty-one speeches instead of one. I beg to move, therefore, that the following words be added to the section:—

The petitioners having first given full particulars of such extensive bribery in their affidavit.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I would like to say just a word or two upon this amendment. I feel the more called upon to speak in view of the action of the committee on previous amendments. It seems to me that the committee may be led astray from the purpose and objects of this Bill by the consideration of amendments which are plausible in themselves, which seem to guard against perjury and against inquisitorial investigation. But these amendments are aimed at the principle of the Bill. It will be impossible to engraft upon the Bill, without destroying it, those amendments which combine the two purposes of providing for an investigation, and, at the same time surrounding the preliminary steps with precautions which cannot be observed. We cannot, without, in effect, destroying the privilege of petitioning, provide that petitioners who declare that they have reason to believe that corruption has prevailed during an election, shall give particulars at the outset of the investigation. Under our system of controverted elections particulars must be given so as to prevent the investigation from taking too wide a range, but to say that these particulars shall be given in the first instance would be to say that the petitioner shall show his case in advance. It is sufficient that he says by affidavit that he believes the allegations to be correct, and that they can be proved, and if the charge is denied, then, within a reasonable time, particulars are given

so that the defendant may have reasonable notice of what he is charged with. But to insist on all this at the outset of the examination, and to insist upon the cross-examination of the parties who allege on their information and belief, to insist that they shall give evidence themselves for the purpose of proving the bribery is to begin at the very outset to prove the petition, so that practically you take away the right of the petitioners who are informed and believe that corruption has existed from the means of going on with the trial at all. It seems to me we should be putting the cart before the horse completely if we insisted on the trial taking place at first.

Mr. BERGIN. I think the hon. Minister of Justice might employ such an argument in an ordinary case. But when the Bill does not provide that at any time after the petition has been presented particulars shall be given, or anything of that kind, I think the argument does not hold good. But perhaps the Minister of Justice may suggest to my hon. friend (Mr. Weldon) behind me, who is promoting the Bill, that he make that provision before the third reading. I am sure that the hon. Minister of Justice must see that such an affidavit, or petitions, founded upon such an affidavit, can and will be made without sufficient thought, in the heat of an election, or immediately after an election, when men's blood is up. I think he will see this further, that if this petition is acted upon immediately or within a very few days after the election, an inquisitorial investigation will go on during which may be developed material upon which a petition will be granted against a successful candidate whose election, under the present circumstances, would not be attacked at all. I think the hon. gentleman will agree also that after a protest has been entered—for a protest can be entered at the end of thirty days and abandoned afterwards for want of evidence by the petitioners—if they find that the disclosures do not take place within thirty days, which would justify them in going on, they may continue it for some time afterwards, and, perhaps after the contestation has been entered upon and the successful candidate has been declared by the court to have been properly elected, and that no corruption prevailed, something might turn out in the course of this inquisitorial investigation which would justify the reopening of the case and perhaps the unseating of the candidate who had already been declared pure. And, if the bribery was of the character described in the first section, as the Minister of Justice will see under the Consolidated Statutes, it would be proper for the judge to report that bribery had extensively prevailed, and this in a case where the trial judge had declared the election was pure, yet, upon the report of this inquisitorial judge, Parliament would be called upon afterwards to disfranchise the whole constituency. These are the principal objections to this section.

Mr. DUPONT. (Translation.) If the hon. the First Minister wishes to induce us to pass this Bill, he ought to offer to us as models other laws than the Controverted Elections Act, such as it is, which is based on no principle whatever. It is the most arbitrary law I know of. In my opinion, the members of the legal profession—and there are many in this House—should hasten to amend it, instead of asking this House to pass a new law. We are now again asked to pass a new law, which is based on no principle of justice. Therefore, I think that if the hon. Minister of Justice wishes to induce the House to pass the Bill of the hon. member for Albert, he ought to propose as a model another law than the Controverted Elections Act now in force.

Mr. AMYOT. The position taken by the Minister of Justice, to my mind, is equivalent to this declaration—that after every general election we should have an inquisition of all the elections held so as to find out any possible case of corruption. But in practice, it would be limited to those cases where there are parties able to deposit the money necessary. I am not ready to admit that principle.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I did not go so far as that; and perhaps the hon. gentleman would be good enough to allow me to say just a word in reply to my hon. friends who have spoken before him. I do not at all object, but on the contrary, would think it quite fair to have particulars given and inquiry restricted to those particulars. But I think we provide for that at the wrong stage, if we insist upon it at the outset of the investigation, on the filing of the petition.

Mr. AMYOT. If we admit that we should have an inquisition in one county, we admit that there may be an inquisition in every county. If it is sufficient, in order to open this investigation, to have the petition of twenty-five people, who, it may be in the heat of a contest, will declare that according to their knowledge and belief there has been general corruption, without anything to satisfy the judge that their statement is true, we admit virtually that there may be a general inquisition in every part of Canada. I am not ready to go so far as that; I think we must protect the public in some way. We must at least give to the judge some prima facie case which will justify him in his wisdom to granting the enquête. We should begin by amending our electoral law and declaring that those who are corrupt are equally guilty with those who corrupt others. I could never understand why we limited the penalty of the law to those who corrupt, whilst we do nothing to protect those who want to be corrupted.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). How do you get any evidence?

Mr. AMYOT. We do not conduct these elections in the woods, nor in the dark, we conduct them in daylight, we generally know the people who vote, and we generally have means of judging what they are doing. Here again the hon. member for Bothwell would admit the principle of the inquisition. I say the principle of the Bill is not correct in itself; you must have a *prima facie* case before you disturb the community at large. I think the committee was perfectly right in adopting the amendment which provides that the judge must first be satisfied that corruption has taken place. But I say we should amend our electoral law in such a way as to punish a man who has accepted a bribe; and, in the second place, we might amend chapter 10 of the Revised Statutes so as to give more facility for making an investigation, then we would have all needful guarantees that no frivolous investigation would be entered into.

Mr. WELDON. I would be lacking in courtesy to my hon. friend from Cornwall and Stormont (Mr. Bergin) if I were not to acknowledge, before the committee rises, the pleasant words which he has applied to me. But they remind me somewhat of the old pagan priest who, when leading an animal to sacrifice, put a garland of flowers around his neck, and then raised the axe and knocked out his brains. I did not appreciate so much the hon. gentleman's words when he went on with his argument. The hon. member has evidently not read the Bill; at least he has not gone beyond the second section of it. He criticised the 15th section, complaining that we would take a man's vote away who had merely drunk a glass of whisky at an election. He will see, on further study of the Bill, that no such offences are dealt with. He says that \$500 would be too small an amount on which to commence an enquête. That is an open question that we can deal with when we reach that section. He complained of a great number of features which I assure the hon. member are already in the Revised Statutes in the plainest words, and have been on the books for eighteen years. Evidently his criticisms do not express the mind of Parliament, for they might as well be directed against the Act we already have. If I correctly understood the amendment first moved by the hon. member for L'Assomption, and voted on, it is identical with the amendment before the House, and if so, I take the point that the present amendment is out of order.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Denison). It is the same as the first amendment, and, therefore, I shall have to rule it out of order.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I move that the committee rise and report progress.

Motion agreed to, and committee rose and reported progress.

Mr. AMYOT.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 11 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, 10th May, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

MINISTERIAL INQUIRIES RE TARIFF.

Mr. LAVERGNE asked, What places did the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Agriculture, the Controller of Inland Revenue and the Controller of Customs visit, since last session of Parliament, for the purpose of inquiring into the expediency of altering the tariff of customs and in view of the proposed legislation in that behalf during this session:—

1. In the province of Nova Scotia;
2. In the province of New Brunswick;
3. In the province of Prince Edward Island;
4. In the province of Manitoba;
5. In the province of British Columbia;
6. In the North-west Territories?

Mr. FOSTER. The Minister of Agriculture has visited the following places:—Halifax and New Glasgow, in Nova Scotia; St. John, N.B.; Charlottetown, P.E.I.; Winnipeg, Boissevain, Melita, Brandon, Neepawa and Portage la Prairie, in Manitoba; Vancouver, Victoria, Nanaimo and New Westminster, B.C.; Indian Head, Regina, Prince Albert and Calgary, N.W.T. All these places I have also visited, and several others which are not mentioned here, but concerning which I gave answers, I think, more than a week ago.

DOCK AT HILTON.

Mr. SUTHERLAND (for Mr. Lister) asked,

1. Did the Government, before the construction of the dock at Hilton, acquire the title to the land upon which it is built? If not, has it since acquired the title?
2. If not, in whom does the title now stand?
3. Has the Government demanded a conveyance of the said dock and appurtenances?
4. If so, what answer has been given to such demand?
5. Has the Government any agreement or writing which will entitle it to compel a conveyance of the property?
6. Has a wharfinger been appointed to take charge of the dock?
7. If so, what is the name of such person?
8. When was he appointed and what is his salary?
9. Has a return been made to the Government of the amount of wharfage fees collected?
10. If so, when and by whom was such return made?
11. Is the

Government aware that Mr. Bowker, of Hilton, has been collecting dockage fees? 12. Has Mr. Bowker, or any other person or persons, authority to collect fees for the use of the dock?

Mr. OUMET. The answers to the above questions are all in the negative. The Department of Marine and Fisheries have informed the Department of Public Works that they have charge of no wharf at Hilton. The Hilton wharf was private property, but strong representations were made to the department by a petition of 27th December, 1884, that owing to difficulty of navigation by night in the River Ste. Marie, steamers going to Sault Ste. Marie had to lay over night at Hilton; that the wharf at that place was too limited in extent to afford sufficient shelter to those boats, and that the anchorage was not good, the water in the vicinity being deep and rocks dangerous; and further, that private owners were not in position and did not need to extend the wharf for their business, especially as they did not charge anything for vessels lying at the dock. These are the reasons why the Government constructed the extension applied for, and did not ask for a transfer of the balance of the property.

CATHEDRAL CHURCH IN NICOLET.

Mr. LEDUC asked, Whether petitions have been laid before the Government, or any member of the Government, praying for the disallowance of a certain Act passed by the Legislature of Quebec, at its last session, giving to the town and parish of Nicolet power to vote a grant of eight thousand dollars each, in order to aid in the construction of a cathedral church in the town of Nicolet? Has there been correspondence in relation to this matter with the Government or any of its members?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No petitions on that subject have been received, and there has been no correspondence.

BREWERY AT NEUSTADT.

Mr. LANDERKIN asked, What revenue was derived from the brewery at Neustadt during each and every year from 1886 to 1893? What was the officer's salary, and what were the total expenses connected therewith in every year of the same period?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville):

| Year. | Revenue. | Salary. |
|---------------|------------|---------|
| 1886-87 | \$1,024 00 | \$720 |
| 1887-88 | 1,100 00 | 750 |
| 1888-89 | 842 30 | 750 |
| 1889-90 | 946 65 | 750 |
| 1890-91 | 999 62 | 750 |
| 1891-92 | 2,231 00 | 750 |
| 1892-93 | 2,596 00 | 750 |

There were no expenses in any of these years. The officer supervising this brewery likewise supervised the malt house and

brewery at Carlsruhe and the malt house at Neustadt.

BREWERY AT CARLSRUHE.

Mr. LANDERKIN asked, What revenue was derived from the Carlsruhe brewery during each and every year from 1886 to 1893? What was the officer's salary, and what were the total expenses connected therewith in every year of the same period?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). The revenue from this brewery in 1891-92 was \$2,018, and the expenses \$100.50. In 1892-93 the revenue was \$1,638.16, and expenses \$90.30. This brewery was surveyed by the officer from Neustadt, whose salary is shown in answer to previous question.

STANDARD FOR BARRELS.

Mr. LANDERKIN asked, Is there, under the Act, a standard for barrels, half-barrels, quarter-barrels, or the eighth of a barrel? If so, what number of gallons do each contain? If there is no standard, is it the intention of the Government to enact one?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). There is not, under the Act, a standard for barrels, half-barrels, quarter-barrels, or the eighth of a barrel. The standard measure of weights under the Weights and Measures Act is the gallon, it being a measure capable of containing ten pounds of distilled water at 62 degrees Fahrenheit. It is not the intention of the Government to enact any other standard.

OAKVILLE PIER AND LIGHTHOUSE.

Mr. GIBSON asked, When was the pier at Oakville rebuilt? How much did it cost? How much did the town of Oakville subscribe? Are the Government aware that the pier is partially destroyed and the lighthouse in danger of being washed away? Do the Government intend rebuilding it? If so, when? Has the town of Oakville petitioned the Government for the rebuilding of the pier?

Mr. OUMET. The work was constructed from May to 15th October, 1887. The cost of reconstruction was \$14,280. The amount of contribution by municipal authorities was \$8,000. The Government is aware that the upper end of the pier has settled, but the lighthouse has been moved further back on the pier and is in no danger of being washed away. A petition from the Harbour Committee of Oakville, praying for repairs to the pier in Oakville harbour, has been transmitted to the Public Works Department through Mr. D. Henderson, M.P., on 11th April last, and is now under consideration.

WATER POWER PRIVILEGES AT CHAUDIERE FALL.

Mr. CASEY asked, Who are the lessees or users of the water power privileges at

and around the Chaudière Fall? What are the respective rentals or dues with which they are charged? How much, if any, is each of them in arrears up to the end of last fiscal year? How are their respective rights defined? Have they the right to encroach by permanent building on the Fall itself? Are all the practically workable privileges at the Fall taken up, or controlled by private parties?

Mr. OUIMET. The agreement of lease of 19th of November, 1889, gives as the lessees, Messrs. Perley & Pattee, J. R. Booth, R. Blackburn, J. & T. M. McKay, M. Petrie, A. H. Baldwin, Bank of Montreal, Milton Merrill, Bronsons & Weston Lumber Co. An annual rental of \$100 for each lot is paid for 15 lots on Chaudière Island, and 10 lots on Victoria Island. Mr. J. R. Booth, the only lessee who was in arrears at the end of the last fiscal year, made the required payment on 5th October, 1893. All the other lessees had paid up. In the agreement dated 19th November, 1889, can be found the conditions under which the lease was made. The quantity of water to be used in connection with each lot is to be sufficient to produce a force equal to 150 horse-power, but no mention is made of permanent buildings. Certain reservations are made to permit of the extension of the Ottawa City water service; for the timber slide for the use of the surplus power; for the expropriation of the interest of any of the lessees, and for all other public uses and purposes as may be authorized by the Parliament of Canada; but it would appear as if all the workable privileges were at present controlled under the leases above referred to.

THE EXCHANGE BANK.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to inquire from the Finance Minister, or the Minister of Justice, what steps have been taken with respect to the claim of certain parties, arising out of the Exchange Bank indebtedness? The Minister of Finance some time ago stated that the matter had been referred to the Department of Justice, and I suppose it will be by this time in shape.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. An opinion has been referred on the subject, but I think it has not been transmitted to the Finance Department, but will be to-morrow.

INQUIRY FOR RETURNS.

Mr. McMILLAN. When may I expect to obtain the return containing a statement of the quantity of butter manufactured at Elgin and Woodstock creameries? This return was granted on 13th March, but has not been brought down yet.

Mr. FOSTER. I will make inquiry from the Minister of Agriculture, and will see about it.

Mr. CASEY.

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES UNDER OATH.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved second reading of Bill (No. 90) to provide for the examination of witnesses on oath by the Senate and House of Commons.

Motion agreed to, Bill read the second time, and House resolved itself into Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I observe that in clause 4 the Bill provides that any person examined who wilfully gives false evidence shall be liable to the penalties for perjury. I think the wording should be, guilty of perjury and liable to the penalties therefor.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It is a transcript of the English Act.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Section 6 does not appear to enable the chairman of the committee to administer the oath. The oath may be administered by the Speaker of the Senate or the Speaker of the House of Commons, or by such person or persons as may from time to time be appointed for the purpose, or by any standing order or other orders of the Senate or House of Commons. I suppose the chairman for the time being of the committee should be specially authorized to administer the oath.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. By section 3 the committee can administer the oath, and the chairman of the committee will be the person to administer it for the committee.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) There are two authorities who may administer the oath: first, the Senate and House of Commons, and second, the committees of either House, and by section 6 it is provided that the Speaker of the Senate or the House of Commons, or such persons as may be authorized, may administer the oath. The draughtsman evidently conceived that it was necessary to give some person authority to administer the oath. Section 6 provides that as representing the Senate and the House of Commons the Speaker of either body shall have power to administer the oath, and in regard to the committees, if it is necessary to administer an oath it is proper to designate the person who shall administer it.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I do not know the reason for that provision, except it may be to cover a case in which another person is appointed by the House of Commons or the Senate. The clause is an exact transcript of the English Act.

Bill reported, and read the third time and passed.

WAYS AND MEANS—PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

Mr. FOSTER moved that the House again resolve itself into Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. DAVIES (P.F.I.) Mr. Speaker, I brought to the attention of the Prime Minister and the House the other day a question of some importance respecting the functions and powers of the Public Accounts Committee. Desiring in that committee to examine the Auditor General with reference to certain claims on which he had reported in his general report for 1892-93, I was stopped by the committee, it appearing to them that the subject-matters of those claims had not been referred to the Public Accounts Committee in the same way that the Auditor General's Report had been referred, and the committee held, following a precedent, I believe, that I could not examine the Auditor on these matters. I brought the subject up in the House, thinking that as a matter of course the resolution I proposed would be acceded to, and that the correspondence would be referred to the Public Accounts Committee, in order that any question between the Auditor and the departments of the public service might be passed upon by the committee. It seemed to me that that was one of the functions of the committee. It has always seemed to me that if there is an officer in the public service whose duties, powers, and privileges should be guarded by the House with the greatest possible jealousy, that officer is the Auditor General. He is, and ought to be, absolutely independent of party, and, exercising as he does very important and independent functions, he should have the moral support of both sides of the House; and it would require, I should imagine, a very extreme case to justify the parties in the House, divided as they are by political predilections and feeling, dividing as to the right of the Auditor General's functions. We should be as a unit in regard to that; it is one of the safeguards of the House, the country, and both political parties have held that there shall be an effective and proper supervision from an independent source over the public expenditures. Not that I had any special cause to imagine anything very wrong about the particular cases in question, but the Auditor General for the time being having differed from the Treasury Board as to the legality of these expenditures, which amounted to a very large sum of money, I thought it was proper to examine him as to the grounds on which he came to that decision, and that the Committee on Public Accounts should calmly and coolly discuss the question—the ground which the Auditor took, the grounds on which he was overruled by the Treasury Board—and then express its opinion as to who was right and who was wrong. Because this is a matter, not simply of the particular case brought to our attention by the Auditor, but of principle—a most important principle. Here we have a large sum of money, amounting to some hundred thousand dollars, which the Auditor General says has been, in his opinion, illegally expended; the Treasury Board overrules; the money is paid; the

Auditor General submits his report upon the matter to Parliament; and the Prime Minister in his remarks to the House the other day rather intimated that he was of opinion that the Auditor had gone somewhat beyond his duties in making this report. It is very important that we should ascertain whether that is the case or not. I ventured at the time to challenge the correctness of the hon. gentleman's opinion, and I think that I was right and the Auditor General was right, and that the hon. gentleman was wrong; because I find in the Act defining the duties and power of the Auditor General that it is expressly provided in the 32nd section that in these cases the Auditor General shall make a special report to Parliament within three days after Parliament meets; it is also provided that no cheque of the Finance Minister, unless certified by the Auditor General, shall be paid. Then follows a list of exceptions; then, a provision for the case of accidents happening during the recess, providing means by which the Government may use moneys; and then, the following provision:—

If the Auditor General has refused to certify that a cheque of the Minister of Finance and Receiver General may issue, on the ground that the money is not justly due, or that it is excess of the authority granted by Council, or for any reason other than that there is no parliamentary authority, then upon a report of the case prepared by the Auditor General and the Deputy Minister of Finance and Receiver General, the Treasury Board shall be the judge of the sufficiency of the Auditor General's objections, and may sustain him or order the issue of the cheque in its discretion.

Then the question is between the Treasury Board and the Auditor. What follows? Sub-section 2 reads:

The Auditor General shall in all such cases prepare a statement of all such legal opinions, reports of Council, special warrants and cheques issued without his certificate, and of all expenditure incurred in consequence thereof, which he shall deliver to the Minister of Finance and Receiver General, to be by him presented to Parliament not later than the third day of the session thereof then next ensuing.

So that it appears that the Treasury Board are a court of appeal, as it were, from the Auditor General, and may overrule his objection, but that, when such a contingency happens and the Auditor General's objection is overruled, the Auditor shall present to the House of Commons, not later than the third day of the session, a full report, with legal opinions, reports of Councils, &c., on which the difference of opinion has arisen. The Prime Minister spoke possibly without reference to this section; I do not know whether he looked at it or not; but it seemed to me then, and it seems more clearly to me now, that the Auditor General was strictly within his rights, and that if he had not presented that report, either binding it up

with his annual report or presenting it by itself, he would not have obeyed the express command of the statute. I therefore submit to the hon. Prime Minister, who told me that I had better give notice of my motion, that this is hardly a case in which he is justified in insisting on notice being given before such a formal motion is made. What are the facts? We have before us all the papers; I do not require to move to bring them down; but the Committee of Public Accounts cannot examine them because a formal motion to refer them has not been made. I moved to refer the papers to that committee, which I considered merely a matter of form, and Mr. Speaker ruled that technically notice should be given of all motions, and that it is only by general consent that motions, even of the most formal character, can be made without notice. I want to point out to the Prime Minister that if that rule is insisted upon strictly, public business will be almost entirely stopped. The Order paper contains I do not know how many notices of motion, and if I have to give notice of my motion, it will not be reached for weeks. In the case of every report made to the House by a standing committee, before the chairman can move that it be adopted he must give notice. So that if the rule is strictly followed it will be almost impossible for public business to go on. I do not want to controvert your ruling, Mr. Speaker; but I would submit to the Prime Minister whether this is not an occasion on which general consent might be given. The papers are before the House; we want them discussed by the Public Accounts Committee; and the motion I made was that they should be referred to that committee. The hon. gentleman said he would consider the matter, and if he desires that I should do so, I shall make a formal motion any time it suits the convenience of the House; but if he is not of that opinion, I shall have to challenge his conclusion, because I deem the matter of the highest importance. If the hon. gentleman still clings to his decision, he will not only throw a great obstacle to the discussion of public business, but, in this particular case, will prevent the matter being reached for many weeks to come, if it be reached at all. If that rule is insisted upon, it will go far to prevent the discussion of public business altogether. I submit to the Prime Minister that, having considered the matter since the other day, he will intimate his willingness to withdraw the formal objection he made and let me make a motion without the usual notice.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It is precisely because I thought it was an important matter that I suggested to the hon. gentleman that he had better give notice; and when he expressed his opinion that it was an urgent matter, I said I would consider whether we would debate his proposition soon or insist on his motion going on the Order Paper. I am glad he has brought the matter up to-day, without

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

making any formal motion, because some understanding of what the point at issue between us can be better arrived at in this way. I took exception to the conduct of the Auditor General the other day, and I insist, if possible, with more force to-day, on the opinion that I think the Auditor has gone far beyond his duty, and is putting the House to considerable inconvenience, in the investigation of accounts, by confusing the accounts of two or three years. The Auditor General puts into the hands of the Finance Minister a book purporting to be his report upon the accounts of the financial year, which ended on the 30th June, 1893; but when we come to examine the book, we find that it contains a multitude of items which relate only to the accounts of 1894, which accounts will be laid on the Table of the House next session and referred to the committee for investigation, as a part of the accounts of the current year. I had not reference so much to the correspondence itself as to the way in which the items of these accounts are grouped in the Auditor General's Report of the accounts of last year. The effect of that is, that we shall be investigating, session after session, the accounts of the current year mixed up with the accounts of the past year, and these accounts for a year in advance will be referred again and again to the Public Accounts Committee, as regards every item, confused with the current year's expenditure included in the Auditor General's Report. The items for this year in that report will appear inevitably in his report of next year, and I can conceive no reason why the Auditor General should insist upon doing that, unless it be to make a book of a most inconvenient and expensive size. Now, as regards the particular case of difference of opinion between the Auditor General and the Treasury Board, in respect of which the former has been overruled, I had in view the section to which the hon. gentleman has referred, and which I do not think justifies the Auditor in laying the correspondence before the House in that way. On the contrary, it is provided in the Audit Act, by the section the hon. gentleman has just read, that it is the Finance Minister who has to lay these documents on the Table of the House, and I presume he has done so. But let me call the hon. gentleman's attention to this, and if he will be good enough to reflect upon it, he will find, I think, that the principle I contend for is right, and that is that it is not properly a charge upon the Committee on Public Accounts to investigate those matters in which the Auditor General is overruled by the Treasury Board, in the way he proposes. I grant that it will be the duty of the committee, in regard to those claims as well as any others, to exercise its power of discrimination and of examination, as to any facts that they may desire to bring out. But I do object to its being supposed that the Committee on Public Accounts, by the reference of correspondence of this kind, is

to be charged with the duty of trying the Government—and that is what it will have to do if it is to decide between the Auditor General on the one side and the Treasury Board on the other. Let me call the hon. gentleman's attention to this fact that, time and again, in numbers of cases on record, the British Government, in the British House of Commons, has distinctly declined to submit to a trial by a committee of the House as regards its conduct or administration as an Administration. The documents which indicate a difference of opinion between the Auditor General and the Treasury Board are to be laid upon the Table of the House by the Finance Minister. Now, granting that the committee make an investigation as to what the nature of these payments was and all that. I do object to the committee undertaking to decide between the Auditor General and the Government, and the hon. gentleman will see the inconvenience of that course. In the first place, the Government is responsible to the House and is charged with the duty of giving the House the reasons and the justification for its action in each particular case. If the committee undertake simply to hear the evidence of the Auditor General, they will decide on hearing one side only, otherwise it will be incumbent on all the members of the Government to appear before the Committee on Public Accounts, as a tribunal to decide whether the Auditor General or the Government was right, before the committee report their conclusion on that question, as the hon. gentleman intimates they should, to the House. As regards the investigation which the committee may desire to make into the items of the accounts or any matter in respect of which the committee can fairly exercise its functions, without undertaking to assume to themselves altogether the duty of trying the Government on this question—if the hon. gentleman will indicate any set of papers or correspondence which he desires to refer to the committee for the purpose of examination into the details or otherwise, within the limits of the committee's ordinary duties, if the hon. gentleman will make a motion with regard to any particular set of correspondence, we will either agree that the motion shall be adopted at once or I will name an early date at which the House will take the matter into consideration. But the reason why I resist any general resolution on the subject, affirming the practice of sending all these references to the Committee on Public Accounts to pass upon as between the Auditor General and the Government, and adopting the principle that the accounts of this year shall be examined by the committee to which the accounts of last year are referred—the reason why I insist on a motion of that kind taking the usual course and ample notice being given of it, is that we are asked to adopt the practice the Auditor General has been introducing in his book, and which I hope he will depart

from, on considering the objections to it, and I think the House should hesitate before adopting a practice that is somewhat inconvenient.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. There are two entirely separate questions raised by the Minister of Justice. One, in which I presume we would all agree, is this, that, with a certain exception which I will presently state, we do not propose to use the Committee on Public Accounts for the purpose of examining items in the current year. But to that there is a very important exception, and I think it is precisely one of the grounds on which the same "hard pan" cases should be investigated by the Committee on Public Accounts. As I understand it, all these expenditures were made under the provisions of the Audit Act, which give the Government power, without the authority of Parliament, under certain conditions, to expend public moneys.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I think so.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. There was a vote for this expenditure. The Auditor's objection is that it was not sufficiently debated in Parliament. That is all.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I understood not.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; there was an appropriation.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) There is not a specific appropriation for this purpose.

Mr. FOSTER. No money was paid without an appropriation.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I do not think they were voted in detail.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. They were voted in a lump sum.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. As I understand, these cheques were issued under the authority of clause 32 of the Audit Act.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. By Governor General's warrant?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I think so.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) By Order in Council.

Mr. FOSTER. There was an appropriation made, and these were paid from that appropriation, as these others are made by Order in Council.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) And the Auditor General objects to the mode of payment as being illegal for the reasons specified in his letter of 18th September. The Treasury Board overruled the objection on the ground that Parliament had every opportunity to investigate the purpose for which the vote was taken.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The first subsection of this provides for the case of the Auditor General reporting that there is no parliamentary authority for the expenditure, and the Government in the exercise of their discretion overriding his decision. The hon. gentleman, I presume, will not contend that in a case where the Government on their own motion issue cheques for any purpose, these are not properly to be discussed by the Committee on Public Accounts.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No; and the practice, as I remember, is always to refer them to the committee.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The practice was introduced within the last few years on my own motion. It had not been the practice up to that time; but the reasons for it were so obvious that no objection was made, and, I suppose, it has become the custom. My own recollection of it was that these sums were included in the Governor General's warrants.

Mr. FOSTER. Not a cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Of course I accept the hon. gentleman's statement on that point. I myself admit that it would not be convenient—and I was not prepared to advise—that the House should investigate, or rather that the Committee on Public Accounts should be charged to investigate any cases other than those I have described having reference to the expenditure of the current year. If cause should arise, I presume the proper course would be to refer it to a special committee, unless by mutual consent we chose that the Committee on Public Accounts, as being an actual court of audit for this purpose. But the other side of the hon. gentleman's contention is more important. The hon. gentleman seems to think it would be very inexpedient that, when a dispute arises between the Auditor General and the Treasury Board—in other words, the Government of the day—as to a particular payment, the Public Accounts Committee should consider that question. Now, Sir, I must take issue with him. It appears to me that that is a very important part of the duties naturally devolving upon the Committee on Public Accounts. The Auditor General is supposed to be a functionary appointed to see to it that all our expenditures are properly vouched for, and the Committee on Public Accounts has been held to be a committee appointed for inquisitorial and investigating purposes, and with the special duty of seeing that our expenditures are properly made in accordance with parliamentary authority, and in accordance with law. Where there is a difference of opinion between the Government and the Auditor General, so far from hindering public business, it seems to me it should conduce to the proper performance of the public business that this question should be threshed out in the Public Ac-

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

counts Committee, which is supposed to be conversant with these matters. I can state, though I have not had the pleasure of seeing the Prime Minister there, that two-thirds of the members of the Government are usually present, and are very active members of the committee. There is not the slightest danger of injustice being done to the Government in the Committee on Public Accounts.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. But I would like to be there.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. We should be delighted to have you there. I will say that I believe we would have got on much better if the hon. gentleman had been there.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I have not the privilege of being a member of the committee.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. We will put you on by unanimous consent. I thought the hon. gentleman was already a member, but, if not, he has ample means of rectifying that unfortunate omission. Apart from that, it does appear to me that on the very ground stated by the hon. gentleman—of facilitating the public business—and on the ground of the special constitution of the committee, where differences of opinion do arise between the Auditor General and the Government of the day as to whether payments should or should not be made, that would be an extremely convenient and extremely appropriate tribunal to investigate such matters. I do not pretend to say that, in many of these cases, the Treasury Board may not be perfectly correct in the decisions they have arrived at; I have never examined the cases in detail. But I submit that it would be better that these questions be discussed in the Public Accounts Committee rather than brought up for discussion on the floor of Parliament, which is the only other place where we could discuss them. But in Parliament they would not be likely to receive the same attention as in the committee; it would not be possible to investigate the causes which led to the decision of the Treasury Board or the objection of the Auditor General with anything like the fullness that it is desirable these matters should be investigated. I am inclined to think that it would be in the interests of the Government that this should be done. I think the Minister of Justice must see that the functions exercised by the Auditor General are valuable to the Government of the day. They enable the Government to keep a much tighter grip upon the public expenditure than they otherwise could. The Auditor General is a very useful buffer on many occasions between the Government and supporters or departments that might be inclined rather to exceed the legitimate limits of their authority for purposes of special expenditure. Further, if we are to maintain the office of the Auditor General in the

form in which the statute declares and designs, I do not see how we can do it without having some discussion, either in this committee or before some similar body, where there are disputes between the Auditor General and the Government of the day. The Auditor General is intended to be an independent officer. Now, if he has no kind of appeal from any decision made by the Treasury Board, the usefulness and independence of his office will be in a great measure destroyed. I think it is of the essence of the functions of the Auditor General that when he raises an objection of this kind, the matter should be discussed and a decision arrived at, which might govern him in future, saving the Government and saving us a good deal of trouble in discussing these matters, which are often of a technical and somewhat complicated character. I think the Minister will find that, in the long run, time will be saved, and that it is properly pertinent to the functions of the Public Accounts Committee that these questions should be discussed there. I do not say that a decision should be given, if the hon. gentleman objects to it. It would be quite sufficient if the committee should report to the House the conclusion they have arrived at, and the House could then take such action as it pleased. We do not ask that the committee should censure the Government in any case, but the committee should, at any rate, hear both sides—the reasons for the objections of the Auditor General and the grounds upon which the Government set aside his objection.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Mr. Speaker, I think that the hon. Prime Minister was hardly justified in the complaint he made against the Auditor General, nor did he seem to me successfully to defend that statement in the observations he just now addressed to the House. This House is paramount in matters of public expenditure; it is the guardian and trustee of a public interest in that particular. The Auditor General is not an officer of the Crown or of the Government; he is an officer of this House; he is responsible to this House. He has dissented from the practice the Government seek to establish and the course they propose to adopt in this particular case. The Treasury Board overrule the judgment of the Auditor General, and the Auditor General made a report, as I understand it, to the Minister of Finance. Now the hon. Prime Minister complains that that report which the Auditor General made to the Finance Minister is embraced in the Auditor General's report submitted to this House. The law provides that it shall be laid on the Table of the House within three days of the opening of the session, by the Minister of Finance. In the papers submitted to this House, I did not find this report of the Auditor General to the Minister of Finance anywhere except in the Auditor General's Report. Practically, I suppose, we may re-

gard this report as coming from the Minister of Finance. If the Minister of Finance says that it does not come from him, that he has not laid it upon the Table of the House along with the Auditor General's Report, then the Minister of Finance has been negligent of his duty, he has disregarded the statute, and the only information we have is through the Auditor General, an officer of this House. I do not think it makes any practical difference to the House whether this report of the Auditor General is bound up with the Public Accounts or with the Auditor General's Report: the important fact is that the House should be put in possession of it within the period named in the statute, that is, within the first three days of the session. Now, the Treasury Board has a right to overrule the power of the Auditor General in this particular matter, but the final decision of this question is with the House. If there was nothing to be inquired into in regard to this matter, then the House might, upon a resolution, determine it without a reference to the Committee on Public Accounts. But there is a question of convenience and propriety which the Committee on Public Accounts have always been in the habit of considering; they determine nothing, but after inquiry has been made they report to this House, and the practice has always been for the House to delay its action upon a question of this sort in dispute until that report has been received. Now, the Prime Minister, as I understand, is not willing that this matter should go to the Committee on Public Accounts at all. I do not see any impropriety in that under the circumstances. He says that it does not belong to the year which the committee have to inquire into, but that it belongs to the current year, that it is for the year 1893, and not the current year the accounts of which the Committee on Public Accounts has before it at the present time. But what is the reason of having the Auditor General, when a question of difference arises with regard to public expenditure, stating his reasons for the course which he adopts, and having those reasons communicated to the House, if it is not the intention of Parliament that the matter should be at once inquired into?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. By the House?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Certainly it is by the House, and the Committee of Public Accounts do not seriously intervene with the functions of the House in that particular. The hon. Minister will see that it is a matter of the first consequence to have this question determined. Now, Mr. Speaker, when we look at the letter of the Auditor General, the House will see how very serious and how very important this question of difference is. The Auditor General says:

SIR,—I have the honour to return your application No. 93 for payments against the Oxford and

New Glasgow and Cape Breton Railway appropriations as follows:—

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------|
| Cape Breton Railway : | |
| Isbester & Reid..... | \$142,264 69 |
| Daniel McGregor..... | 1,170 00 |
| Samuel C. Graham..... | 970 00 |
| McGregor, Kennedy & Graham | 2,340 00 |
| John McKeen & Co..... | 3,910 00 |
| Oxford and New Glasgow : | |
| Stewart & Jones..... | 38,055 37 |
| McDonald & O'Brien..... | 41,356 69 |

I regret to say that I do not see my way to passing the application, and beg to refer you to the Audit Act, section 38, subsection (a).

When work is performed under a contract the payments for the week are only such as the contract legally requires. Advances are made from time to time as the work progresses, on the prices given by the contract and on the quantities found by the Government engineer in charge of the work, and the final payment, if there is no difference of opinion between the contractor and the Government engineer, is made in the same way when the work has been completed.

If there is a difference between the contractor and the engineer the Exchequer Court settles the difference, the contract still governing.

In my view the Government cannot modify the contract after the work has been completed. The Government is a trustee for Parliament and the people, and is not justified in accepting less for its principals than it may legally obtain, or which is the same thing, is not justified in paying more for work than it is called upon under its contract to pay.

Now, Sir, I believe that is a sound rule, not merely in ordinary jurisprudence, but in parliamentary law. The Government have their authority from this House in matters of administration. It is the duty of the Government to carry out their contract obligations. If they wish to modify them, if they think there are extenuating circumstances which justify them in dealing more favourably with the contractor than the contracts will permit, it is their duty to come to this House and state those facts, and to get the authority of this House to do what they think ought to be done in that direction. Now, that has not been done, no such authority has been given, and no such authority has been sought for from this House; and it seems to me that the Auditor General is wholly in the right in the course which he adopted, and the Treasury Board are altogether wrong. That being so, it seems to me a matter of the first importance that this question should not stand over until the public accounts are inquired into next year, but that we should deal with it now, that the House should determine what rules are to govern, and whether a contract entered into seriously between the Government as trustees for the public, and a contractor, is one to which the Government are bound to give effect, and that they have not the discretionary power as proprietors which would enable them to set aside that contract

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

and to make such an arrangement as they might think proper. Before such power is exercised, they must come to their principals, they must ask the authority of their principals to vary that contract in the way which they think that equity requires it to be varied in the interest of the contractor. I say that has not been done, and it seems to me it was a fair matter for the committee to inquire into and to report to this House upon before finally determining the question. The rules which regulate the matter must be settled by this House, of whom the Auditor General is an officer, is a servant, and whom we are bound to protect in the discharge of his duties, and whose authority we are bound to uphold when we believe he is acting in the public interest and in accordance with the provisions of the law

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I think the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) has really made it tolerably clear that this question does not concern the Committee on Public Accounts at all. The hon. gentleman has mentioned the points that are at issue between the Treasury Board and the Auditor General. It is not contended that there is any other evidence to obtain or that any other information is required; it was not contended by the hon. gentleman who brought this subject before the House that there were further documents, because he knew, and knew only too well, that there is a certain method prescribed by the practice of the House by which to ascertain whether there is any further information, and have it brought down and laid on the Table. But the hon. gentleman showed clearly, and I have no doubt he will admit it, that the reason he thinks this subject should be inquired into is to ascertain whether the Treasury Board was right or the Auditor General was right, what the powers of the Government, for instance, are in connection with the defence or conduct of litigation in court, whether they have the power—I fancy he is ready to challenge it—to waive the statute of limitations, whether when those points are raised and issue made the Public Accounts Committee is to be constituted a court of appeal as between the Auditor General and the Government on these questions. The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) agrees with the Auditor General on the matters which have been disclosed. The whole question is this: Is the Public Accounts Committee the body, or is the House of Commons itself the body, which should settle these questions? According to the practice in England, there can be no doubt upon that question. According to our statute, to which reference has been made, I submit there should be no doubt here, because it is made a matter separate and distinct from the Auditor General's report of the expenditure for the fiscal year. It is referred to in a

special paragraph, which the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) himself read from the Audit Act to-day, as a matter to be reported upon by the Auditor General to the Finance Minister, and the Finance Minister is charged with the duty of laying these papers and those files on the Table of the House for the action of the House. It has not been suggested to-day that there is any particular reason why this subject should go to the Public Accounts Committee. Hon. gentlemen opposite are candid; they wish to discuss the matter with the Auditor General, they wish the Auditor General to support the opinion he has expressed, they wish to talk it over across the Table. There is no further information to be obtained, because the Auditor General is charged by the statute to place the whole of the information in the hands of the Finance Minister, in order that the Finance Minister may put that information into the hands, not of a committee of this House, but into the hands of Parliament and lay it on the Table of the House. The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills), therefore, seems to me to have made it very clear that the proper place for the discussion of the policy of the Government or the power of any Government as to how far it can use its discretion in case of litigation, rests with the House, and that here is where principles should be discussed and not before the auditing committee, where the main questions concerning it are whether the money paid out has been paid out to the parties who are charged with receiving it, and whether the amount has been paid out properly, and the vouchers are correct, but not to discuss the principles or powers of the Government, not questions as to whether the money has been carefully or injudiciously spent. These are questions that could be discussed here and are questions which certainly should be raised before Parliament, where, as the First Minister himself has said, the Government as a body appears, and where they are to meet the charge and state their views of the principle whenever it is under discussion and not at a table where a committee sits and where one or two members of the Government may be found. What assistance in this case could the committee give to the House? I have already put the question in another form, but I put it in that way to show how unreasonable is the position taken. I repeat, what assistance can a committee give the House? The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) needs no more information, because he has already told us the conclusion at which he has arrived, he has taken his position on the question and has founded it on the information that the Auditor General was bound to give. But why did the Auditor General, in what appears to be an irregular manner, incorporate it in his report, which he describes himself, in his own language, to be a report concerning, not

this expenditure which occurred and this question which arose in September, 1893, but in his report for the fiscal year 1892-93, with an introduction that his report is in relation to the fiscal year 1892-93? He has inserted in a most irregular manner, an opinion on the action of the Treasury Board, based on the report of the Minister of Justice, in a report for the fiscal year 1892-93, whereas this transaction relates to acts which occurred in the fiscal year 1893-94. All these subjects will come up in another form. They will come up now under the law by the reference which the Act contemplates. They will come up in the Auditor General's Report for 1893-94, and in that shape they will come before the Committee on Public Accounts. Why is it that the transaction in these two forms reaches Parliament? It seems to me for this reason: One is a question of principle, with which the House is concerned; the other is a question of audit, which concerns the Public Accounts Committee, for which purpose the committee was constituted.

Mr. LAURIER. No fault can be found with the Auditor General for having been the means of bringing this matter before the House, and if it does not come up in a proper way blame must attach to the Finance Minister for not having brought it before the House. The Auditor General has done nothing but his duty in bringing the matter before Parliament. The law specifically provides that whenever there is such conflict between the Auditor General and the Treasury Board, it shall be the duty of the Finance Minister to bring the matter before the House early after the summoning of Parliament. Let me read the law to this effect:

If the Auditor General has refused to certify that a cheque of the Minister of Finance and Receiver General may issue, on the ground that the money is not justly due, or that it is in excess of the authority granted by Council, or for any reason other than there is no parliamentary authority, then upon a report of the case prepared by the Auditor General and the Deputy of the Minister of Finance and Receiver General, the Treasury Board shall be the judge of the sufficiency of the Auditor General's objection, and may sustain him or order the issue of the cheque in its discretion.

All this has taken place. What follows?

The Auditor General shall in all cases prepare a statement of all such legal opinions, reports of Council, special warrants, and cheques issued without his certificate, and of all expenditure incurred in consequence thereof, which he shall deliver to the Minister of Finance and Receiver General, to be by him presented to Parliament not later than the third day of the session thereof then next ensuing.

All this took place, when? In September last. There can be no doubt that it was the

absolute duty of the Auditor General to see that the matter was brought before Parliament, and action in that direction was to be taken by the Finance Minister. It was his duty, not the duty of the Auditor General, to have brought the matter before the House, and if any fault is to be found with any one as to the manner in which it has been brought before Parliament, there is no possible excuse for the Finance Minister not having brought it up, and there can be no doubt whatever in the minds of any hon. member that both the letter and spirit of the law have been maintained. What is the object of the provision setting forth that the subject must be brought before Parliament? It is to enable Parliament to decide between the Auditor General and the Government as to which is right or wrong. I am not in a position at this moment to decide conclusively in regard to this matter and declare that the Auditor General was in the wrong, because there is a strong opinion in my mind at the present time that he was strictly in his right in refusing to certify to the cheques and expenditures in question. But I make no pretense in regard to giving an opinion on that point. I have said nothing, and I will not at this moment attempt to decide between the Treasury Board on the one hand and the Auditor General on the other. Let us assume that both parties acted within their own view of the subject; and if there is a difference of opinion between the Auditor General and the Government, that is a matter which has to be investigated by Parliament.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes.

Mr. LAURIER. The right hon. gentleman agrees to that. At this moment when we have not the Order in Council, when we have not the reference to the Exchequer Court, will any one pretend that Parliament, having none of these documents, is in a position to determine this question satisfactorily? I maintain there is not a member of this House who can pronounce upon this point unless he has all those documents before him. I do not deny that Parliament itself has to decide upon this matter; no one will pretend that any committee of this House can decide it. What are the committees of this House for? Simply for convenience, simply for doing in a more expeditious manner and in a manner more conducive to justice what could not be determined so well at the bar of this House. My hon. friend (Mr. Davies) insists that the matter should be referred to the Public Accounts Committee simply to obtain information, and in order to secure all the documents which would throw light upon this subject and without which it is impossible to come to any satisfactory conclusion. The hon. gentleman knows as well as I do, that committee, whether it be the Committee on Public Accounts or a special committee, will not pass finally upon this subject and cannot give an opinion which

Mr. LAURIER.

will be binding upon this House. Their only power is to investigate the matter and to report to the House. They can report the evidence with or without their own opinion if they like, and even if they report their own opinion, it would not be binding on the House, but it could be discussed before the House intelligently and satisfactorily with all the facts before it. At the present moment the House is not in a position to pass judgment between the Government and the Auditor General, because the House has not the documents in its possession. Of course we can move for the papers, but I would ask the right hon. Premier: Will that be more expeditious or satisfactory than to bring them before a committee of this House? I maintain that, as a matter of convenience, there is far more reason to have the question investigated before the committee than to have it in the first place brought before the House. The Prime Minister a moment ago said: He objected to be brought before a committee of the House. Nobody wishes to try him there, but we wish the matter to be investigated there and the information obtained. The Minister of Marine and Fisheries later on in the debate stated, that the object of the hon. gentleman was to bring the Auditor General before the committee so as to give his opinion. What harm can there be in that? The Auditor General is not an officer of this House: he is independent of every one; but he has views of his own and his position has to be maintained with due respect. If the Auditor General comes in conflict with the Treasury Board or with the Government, what objection can there be, in the name of common sense or justice, that that officer should be heard and have an opportunity to give his own views. There are six or seven members of the Government who are members of the Public Accounts Committee and they can give their own views there. They can be heard and the Auditor General can be heard, and will any one maintain that it would not be more conducive to justice that the Treasury Board should be heard and that the Auditor General should be heard, and that the House should then pass an opinion on the saying of the one and the saying of the other? It seems to me that for every consideration, reasons of convenience, reasons of common sense, this matter should be referred to the committee to be investigated in order to collect the evidence, and in order to ascertain the reasons of both parties, before the House is finally called upon to pass judgment upon it.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Perhaps I will be indulged to say a word or two more, as confusion seems to have arisen from some expressions of mine. The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills), I think, understood me as objecting to these documents being laid before the House because they relate to the accounts of 1894. That was not my contention. My contention was: that the

Auditor General was exceeding his duty in putting into the accounts, as he has in many places, items of expenditure for 1894. I thought I was careful to cede the contention that these papers were to be laid before the House within the first three days of the session; by whom is not material, only that I was anxious to show my hon. friend from Queen's (Mr. Davies) that it was not the statutory duty of the Auditor General, as he seemed to suppose.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) He has to do it through the channel of the Finance Minister; he has to do it all the same.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The material distinction I endeavoured to draw was this: while the accounts for the year in this book are sent to the committee for investigation, it is inconsistent with parliamentary practice, in a question where the Administration is upon trial, to send that reference to a committee to try the Government.

Mr. LAURIER. To get the facts.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Why, the hon. gentleman had the facts before him.

Mr. LAURIER. No.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The Auditor General in his report to the Treasury Board, and the Deputy Minister of Finance, have to give a full report of the facts, and that report of the facts and no other is the case upon which the Government acts and is to be tried. When the hon. leader of the Opposition states that the House has not the documents before it, I contend that the most convenient way to get the documents here to try the Government on the question is to move for the papers, and I contend also that the longest way around is to refer the matter to a committee, summon witnesses, and then get the papers. It would be most inconvenient to require the Executive to come before a committee of the House to justify the action which they have taken in this matter, or, in other words, as the hon. leader of the Opposition has stated: to hear both parties before the committee. If the committee were to hear but one party, obviously the investigation would not be a proper one, and if the committee were to hear both parties, it means that the Government is not to stand on trial before the House but to depend on a majority of the committee. That we distinctly refuse to do, and that we distinctly say is contrary to British principle, and that it would be a subversion of the rights of this House, as well as the practice of this House, to send the Government for trial to a committee. I do cocede and admit that in relation to those expenditures which are challenged by the Auditor General and in respect to which we have overruled him, we are from the report of the case placed upon our defence before the House, and ought to be prepared to

justify our course. I am prepared, so far as I am concerned, to justify it. I did not know until the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) spoke, what the expenditure was which was challenged to-day, but we are ready to answer, on reasonable notice, which will enable us to get our papers. I am not ready to appear before a committee under such circumstances as this, especially before a committee of which I am not a member.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) My idea was not to refer any matter to the Public Accounts Committee in order to determine whether the Government were right or were wrong, or to try them before that committee and get a verdict one way or the other. Here we find—and I instance the particular case to illustrate the general principle—on a particular point, a payment of a large sum of money with reference to which the Auditor General says to the Treasury Board: I do not think you are within the law. The Treasury Board, without giving reasons, overrule him and say: We are within the law. We asked that information be obtained on this point before a committee, in order that the House may be informed of the facts and come to a conclusion. The facts are not stated in the correspondence. The conclusions of the Auditor, on the one hand, and the conclusions of the Government on the other, are there; the reasoning by which they came to their conclusions, the facts upon which they based them, are not there. Then, what is the method of convenience of arriving at the facts? To call the Auditor before the bar of this House and have him examined, as we went through the farce of doing on one occasion? It cannot be done; the forms of the House will not permit it. It is more convenient to let the committee find the facts. The heads of the different departments come there; they have the papers brought from the offices; the Auditor comes there with his papers; and the committee, having ascertained the facts, reports them to the House. The House is then in a position to challenge the accuracy of the Treasury Board's decision. If we are told that in no case are the Public Accounts Committee to examine into anything except the expenditures of the particular year, it will be eighteen or twenty months before those expenditures can be examined into. The time to conduct such an examination is when the facts are familiar to everybody, when the public are interested in knowing why and for what any public moneys were paid, and not two years later, when public interest in the matter shall have largely passed away. The conclusion which the hon. gentleman is asking the House to come to is a very serious one if it amounts to this, that when a difference of opinion arises between the Auditor General and the Treasury Board, it must not be settled in the Committee on Public Accounts, but in this House, where the facts cannot

be got at. I submit to the hon. gentleman that he is not laying down a rule of reasonable convenience, or one that will work well, but one that will be the subject of constant discussions and recriminations. Surely the Public Accounts Committee should exist for the purpose of getting at such facts as these, and reporting them to the House whenever required.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. This much has been acquired by the discussion: the hon. gentleman has indicated the correspondence that he desires to examine. I understand that he disavows any intention that the committee shall deal with the right or wrong of the matter, but is willing that that shall be determined by the House. I understand that the reference he wishes to make to the committee shall be of a limited character; and therefore perhaps he will consider the suggestion I made that he should draft a resolution indicating what he desires the committee to inquire into, so that we may consider the matter.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The resolution I offered the other day was simply to refer all the correspondence. I had formed no opinion on the matter one way or the other, and I wanted to read over the evidence—to look at the contract and the reference to the judge on which the Auditor based his opinion. I had come to no conclusion, and I wanted to have the facts on which to found a conclusion. When I questioned the Auditor in the committee, I was told that I should not do that because the correspondence was not before the committee, and I moved to refer the correspondence, in order that the committee might have jurisdiction over the subject-matter. I think the hon. gentleman knows that I would not be disposed to press the jurisdiction of the committee beyond due bounds, or ask improper questions there.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Will the hon. gentleman indicate what resolution he proposes to move—what instruction he would like to give to the committee? Because it is evidently a limited one.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) It is to refer that correspondence to the committee. Will there be any objection to that?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. There is an objection, because that will be practically an instruction to the committee to report to the House whether the decision of the Treasury Board has been correct or not.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) It is not an instruction. I merely want the committee to ascertain what the facts are.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. You have the facts now.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I have not the facts. There is the contract; I have not

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

that. There is the reference to the Exchequer Court; I have not that. The Auditor says these do not justify the subsequent action of the Government. I do not know whether they do or not until I see them.

Mr. FRASER. If the Government would only permit the motion to be adopted of which I gave notice on April 18, asking for reports, papers and orders relating to the Hard Pan cases, and also the findings of the judge of the Exchequer Court respecting the said claims, the House would be in possession of all the papers.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. There is no objection to the passage of that.

Mr. CASEY. One claim has been made by the hon. Premier in connection with this proposed reference which I do not think we can pass over in silence, although I do not intend to enter into the merits of this particular controversy, as to which I am not very well informed. The hon. Premier claimed that to allow a reference of this matter to the committee was to put the Government on trial before the committee, and that, he said, they were firmly determined to refuse. Now, Mr. Speaker, we cannot forget that in almost every investigation before the Public Accounts Committee, the Government is on trial. It is for the purpose of inquiring into the conduct of the Government in connection with our finances that matters are referred to that committee. Further than that, Sir, we have had in recent years instances of the Government being actually on trial—individual Ministers being personally on trial before that committee in regard to actions for which they were held personally liable. In 1891 and 1892 we had members of the Government examined, and examined on oath, before that committee, as a result of which one member of the Government at least ceased his connection with it.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No Minister is exempt from investigation, but for an act by the Government as a whole the Government ought to answer to this House.

Mr. CASEY. I am glad to have the hon. gentleman's explanation; but the words he used certainly bore the interpretation I gave to them, that the Government refused to be put on trial before the committee. He says now that he is willing to have any Minister examined as to matters for which he is personally responsible, but that when the Government as a whole is responsible, the committee has nothing to do with it. I have always understood that the Government were responsible, as a whole, for their course, and for every act of every Minister, unless they chose to purge themselves by the removal of that Minister. I wonder how far the hon. gentleman would carry his theory. If the Government has been freed of its responsibility by the exclusion from

its ranks of the hon. member for Three Rivers (Sir Hector Langevin), then the First Minister may claim not to be responsible for that hon. gentleman's acts while Minister. If his dismissal or resignation from the Government, or whatever it was, be not taken to purge the Government from any stain that might rest upon it, as the result of the investigations, then the Government is still responsible. But it would almost seem as if the hon. Minister had drawn his line since those inquiries and revelations were made. It would seem as if he had determined to draw the line at the hon. member for Three Rivers, and had decided not to permit inquiry into the actions of the Government before the Public Accounts Committee to go any further. He speaks of the limitation of the inquiry. The hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) wishes merely to refer the correspondence, in a general way to the committee. That is exactly what is ordinarily done—referring correspondence on matters to the committee with no limitation as to the extent of the inquiry. It seems to me the committee ought to be the best judge as to how far they need inquire. The reference to the committee for purposes of inquiry does not give them any right to pronounce final sentence on the matters inquired into. The House has the final right of pronouncing sentence on every matter that comes before it. And I do not know why the First Minister should bring up the purely imaginary idea that it was intended, in this case, to give the committee the power of pronouncing final sentence as between the Government and the Auditor General. I have not heard anything in the discussion which warrants any such idea. It is a bugbear, brought up to frighten us from making the ordinary reference in a matter of this kind. It is quite clear, with regard to obtaining documents or evidence, that they are more easily obtained by the committee. There is no means of obtaining them by notice of motion this session, unless the Government undertake to lay them on the Table themselves. For these reasons, a general reference, permitting the committee to go into the matter as fully as possible is completely justified.

Motion agreed to; and House again resolved itself into Committee on Ways and Means.

(In the Committee.)

Velvets, velveteens and plush fabrics, n.e.s., 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. COATSWORTH. I have a communication from the Toronto Board of Trade asking that the item of velveteens should be put in dress goods at 25 per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The members of the Board of Trade are not in

favour of the Government, apparently, at present.

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, yes.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. They remonstrate inconveniently. The hon. gentleman cannot expect that Toronto will fare better than Montreal. How does this compare with the old duty?

Mr. FOSTER. On cotton velvets the old duty was 20 per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. While the hon. gentleman is looking into the matter more in detail, I may say that it does appear to me that there is a good deal in the complaint which was made by the Toronto Board of Trade with regard to the article of cotton velveteens, and similar fabrics. The hon. gentleman knows that these fabrics enter largely into general consumption, and he is proposing to increase the original duty by 50 per cent, though that duty was heavy enough before, in all conscience. The former duty was 20 per cent, and he proposes to raise that to 30 per cent. This is a very heavy increase, and it will fall upon a class whose burthens we ought not lightly to increase.

Mr. FOSTER. There may be something in the hon. gentleman's contention, looked at from one side; there is, however, another side to this question. In the rearrangement of duty, revenue has been lost, and something must be done to make up that loss. While the duties on articles of more wide distribution, and of greater necessity, have been lowered, I think I was perfectly justified in increasing this duty on articles which may fairly be classed as luxuries. Poor men have luxuries as well as rich, and I think that velvets and velveteens may fairly be classed under the head of luxuries. They certainly are not actual necessities of life; they are not used for common wear, but are the ornaments, or adornments, in other words, the luxuries of life, whether they be of the finer and dearer, or of the coarser and cheaper sorts. Again, there was this to be said, that there were difficulties of interpretation as between velvets and velveteens, and differences in the rates of duty charged. It tends to fairness and uniformity in the law to put them all under one classification. On these grounds, the duty was made 30 per cent. The hon. gentleman said I had not given much heed to the representations of the Board of Trade. I had an extended conference with the representatives of this board, and that of Montreal. They did me the justice to say that they got most of what they asked; and I do not think men are justified in complaining merely because they do not get all they ask. There are many men, and many public bodies in this country that must get along without having all they desire.

Mr. McMULLEN. The hon. gentleman evidently does not take note of the costumes

of those about him, or he would not have made the statement that the cotton velveteens are little worn.

Mr. FOSTER. I did not say they were not much worn; I said they were not articles of common and necessary wear.

Mr. McMULLEN. The hon. Minister is mistaken. There is no retailer of dry goods in this House but will admit that common cotton velveteens are very much worn, and by the poorer class of people. They are used for trimming in many cases, and also for making dresses. That depends, of course, upon what the styles are. If they were now, as they were a year ago, he would find many of the poorer classes wearing cotton velvet dresses. The hon. gentleman is not doing the poorer class justice, because, while he is virtually lowering the duty on silk velvets, he is actually adding 10 per cent to the cotton velvets. Now, if he wants to devise a duty that will fall equitably upon all classes, he should not increase the duty on the goods of the poor and take it off those of the rich. That is what he is doing by changing the duties upon those velvets. The hon. gentleman would surely not insinuate that the richer class use cotton velvets, for they certainly do not. These goods are largely used in making dresses and also in trimming cheap winter dresses for the children, and for women, and mainly by the poorer classes. While the hon. gentleman is readjusting his tariff, professedly in the interests of the consumer, he is putting a heavy duty upon these goods which are used mainly by those who can least afford to pay taxes.

Mr. CASEY. It is certainly news to learn that cotton velvets are a luxury. The hon. Minister says that when he has reduced the duties on so many articles of wide use—referring, no doubt, to his heavy reductions on coal oil and pig iron—he must retain some duties in order to raise the revenue, and he increases the tax on cotton velvets on the ground that they are a luxury. If he had added 10 per cent to the duty on silk velvets, there might be something in what he is contending; but cotton velvets are not a luxury, but are in common use by the class who are not rich. The hon. gentleman says he wants to impose this tax in order to help to make up the million and a half that, he says, will be lost by the reductions that he has made. I fear, Sir, that it is for the purpose of not receiving revenue that this tax has been increased. It is probably hoped by those who suggested this item to the Minister that the duty of 30 per cent on cotton velvets will exclude goods of foreign manufacture, and enable the cotton interest here to produce this article at increased cost to the consumer, but at a loss to the revenue of the country. If we were not accustomed to everything absurd in the way of argument, the statement that cotton velveteens are a luxury would startle us.

Mr. McMULLEN.

Mr. McMULLEN. Are any of these goods manufactured in this country?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No.

Mr. FOSTER. I understood the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) to say that I had reduced the duty on silk velvet. On what ground did he make that statement?

Mr. McMULLEN. I was referring to the item that followed. The hon. gentleman has kept the duty on silk velvet as it was, and has increased the duty on cotton velvet, and I understand there are no cotton velvets manufactured in this country.

Mr. FOSTER. No; this is simply for revenue purposes.

Mr. CASEY. It may be to achieve the same result as that achieved on agate iron ware—to enable some manufacturer to try experiments for a year or two to find out whether he can make these goods or not.

Item agreed to.

Webbing, elastic and non-elastic, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. COATSWORTH. I have been requested by the same body to ask that webbing, elastic and non-elastic, now at 20 per cent, and braids and fringes, and elastic, round and flat, now at 30 per cent, should be classified together at 25 per cent, in order to avoid confusion.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think that much confusion can arise with reference to these articles—elastic and non-elastic. Even a non-expert can judge the difference between them.

Mr. McMULLEN. At what percentage do these articles come in when not imported by corset and dress-stay makers for use in their own factories?

Mr. FOSTER. It depends on whether they are coloured or not. Most of them would come in under 30 per cent.

Item agreed to.

Laces, braids, fringes, embroideries, cords, elastic round or flat, tassels and bracelets; braids, chains or cords of hair; lace collars and all similar goods; handkerchiefs, lace, netts and netting of cotton, silk, linen or other material; table cloths and curtains, when made up, trimmed or untrimmed, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. CASEY. I see that table cloths hitherto have been variously taxed according to the material of which they were made. I see also that handkerchiefs will be increased 5 per cent by the change—

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. No doubt the hon. gentleman regards handkerchiefs as a luxury.

Mr. FOSTER. In times of influenza they are.

Mr. CASEY. What was the average tax on table cloths under the old duties? Has the hon. gentleman looked into that.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; he looked into it.

Mr. CASEY. Is this an increase or a decrease?

Mr. FOSTER. Parts will come under the old duties, a large proportion of which were specific and ad valorem. Probably on those the duty is lower.

Mr. CASEY. Taking table cloths altogether, is this a reduction or an increase?

Mr. FOSTER. I think it is about the same. Item agreed to.

Cotton, sewing thread in hanks or on tubes, black, bleached, or unbleached, three and six-cord, 15 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. I wish to amend that by leaving out "or on tubes." The object of that is to prevent what is practically spooled cotton thread from coming in at the duty under which unspooled is supposed to come in. It is put on tubes, and it can be used just as successfully as if it were on the spools.

Item agreed to.

Cotton, sewing thread and crochet cotton on spools or in balls, 25 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. Add "or on tubes."

Mr. EDGAR. Would the Minister of Finance explain what cotton thread came in this year at 20 per cent? A whole lot of cotton sewing thread came in at 20 per cent. That is just where the Controller and I had a little discussion. On page 44 of the Trade and Navigation Returns you will find two items, one of which, sewing cotton thread, n.e.s., came in at 20 per cent, and the other item, all other cotton thread, n.e.s., 20 per cent. I want to know if you propose to leave the same uncertainty in the tariff for the future that there has been in the past, and to allow sewing cotton thread to come in as n.e.s.

Mr. WALLACE. These two items the hon. gentleman refers to on page 44 are not 4 per cent of the total cotton that has been imported. The first item of \$9,300 refers to crochet cotton; it is not sewing cotton, but is used for another purpose. The sewing cotton is on page 43 of the Trade and Navigation Returns, and is in two items, the first one, \$324,000 on spools, on which the duty is 25 per cent; and the other one, \$219,000 in hanks, which were imported into this country, so as to spool them here. That is 12½ per cent, and that is covered by these two items. Under the change as proposed here, crochet cotton is put into the same list as other cottons, so that they may have the same rate of duty imposed on them as all other cottons. If they are in hanks, they come in at 12½ per cent; if in balls, as they usually are, they will pay 25 per cent just the same as sewing cotton.

Mr. EDGAR. That is an explanation as to how this is to be avoided in the future in the case of that one of the items.

Mr. WALLACE. Both.

Mr. EDGAR. They are not both crochet thread. The hon. gentleman explained as to one importation of \$9,000. There is another of \$6,000.

Mr. WALLACE. The other is a fancy knitting thread, and that will come in under this item, 12½ per cent if it is hanks, or 25 per cent if it is on spools or in balls.

Mr. EDGAR. Why did it not come in under this item last year?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not see why it should not, and I think the simplest way would be to add to that: "and all other cotton thread, n.e.s." We will do that, with the consent of the committee.

Mr. CASEY. It seems to me this amounts to a protection of 12½ per cent on the winding of this thread on spools. It comes in in hanks at 12½ per cent, but if it is on spools or balls, there is a duty of 25 per cent; that is to say, there would be a protection of 12½ per cent to an importer who simply spooled the cotton and resold it. Is not that a correct interpretation?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; but it is not so simple an operation as you think.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It does appear that my hon. friend's objection is well taken, and that we are protecting men in the industry of putting thread on spools, which cannot be described as a valuable infant industry by any conceivable twist of the hon. gentleman's mind. I should like to understand on what principle he proposes to reward men for simply winding thread, already manufactured, on spools—and I take it that is the practical result of this clause in his tariff.

Mr. WALLACE. There is a good deal more work than merely winding it on spools. In the first place, there is the making of the spools, or if they are imported, they have to pay duty. Besides that, there is the making of the pasteboard box, and the package in which they are placed; and a large amount of printing is done, and other necessary work.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Does the hon. gentleman mean the labels on the spools?

Mr. WALLACE. No; the boxes in which they are placed are printed on four sides.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I should really like to know a little more about this valuable industry. It is not the only case in which articles that are really manufactured abroad are brought in, and some favoured individual obtains protection of 100 per cent over the other duty (because 25 bears to 12 relatively a protection of 100 per cent), with-

out really giving any kind of equivalent by employing an adequate number of hands. A very large quantity of cotton sewing thread is necessarily consumed in this country, and unless the hon. gentleman has fuller information, this is a very queer item to ask the committee to pass. How many men are employed in this industry, first, in making spools, and next, in winding thread upon them, omitting for the present the question of printing?

Mr. WALLACE. The statement was made by a Toronto firm that they employ 30 or 40 hands, and there are six principal manufacturers who import this cotton into Canada. The very fact that out of \$540,000 or \$550,000, less than one-half, or \$219,000, was imported in hanks, and the manufacture completed here shows that importation is not very profitable, or the whole quantity would be imported in hanks and the cotton spooled in this country. At the present time we import 40 per cent of what we use. The other 60 per cent is brought in in spools, showing that winding on spools is not a very profitable industry.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. How many men does the Minister claim to be engaged winding thread on spools?

Mr. WALLACE. The winding of the thread is a very small part of the business. There is the making of the spools, the making of boxes and a great deal of printed paper is used in connection with the industry; but the duty on these branches is high, and therefore the work is being done here and protection given to the industry.

Mr. CASEY. The hon. Controller of Customs has frankly admitted that this is an infant industry. It is no doubt a very small infant, but the Government have a great many such infants to support. They all owe their existence to the Government, and its policy, and must be supported. The Controller has informed the committee that cotton thread of the value of \$219,000 was imported unwound. The protection to the parties who spool their thread, at 12½ per cent, would represent \$26,000. So the country has paid \$26,000 for having last year imported \$219,000 worth of thread unwound, which was afterward spooled, put in boxes, gummed, and so on. It cannot be imagined that the difference represented the cost to the manufacturer, and that it would not have been cheaper to have imported the thread already wound. The hon. Controller of Customs has declared that if it had been profitable all the thread would have been imported already wound. The manufacturers, however, claimed the right to wind the thread on their own spools, put their own brand on it and name; that is the reason why there was not a larger quantity imported.

Item agreed to.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT.

Cordage, n.e.s., 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. BOWERS. Does this apply to all hemp and manila cordage?

Mr. FOSTER. To sisal and manila cordage.

Mr. BOWERS. What was the hon. gentleman's intention in advancing the duty to 30 per cent?

Mr. FOSTER. We did not do it.

Mr. BOWERS. Taking the invoices of last year and the present duty of 30 per cent, there is an increase of 30 per cent. It appears that in the tariff submitted this year most of the advances have been made on articles used by the people of the Maritime Provinces, especially cordage. Why should the fishermen be called upon to pay an increase of 20 per cent on cordage, while western farmers have secured a decrease on binding twine used by them? Fishermen have pretty hard times under any circumstances, for they have to brave the storms of the ocean, and find it difficult often to earn a livelihood, and yet an advance on one article used by them is proposed equal to 20 per cent. It almost looks as if this duty had been given as a sop to the Consumers' Cordage Company for the 12½ per cent dropped off the duties last year on binding twine. Let the Finance Minister take into consideration whether it is not possible to reduce the duty somewhat. Take manila at a cost of 10 cents, the old duty would be 10 per cent ad valorem and 1¼ cents per pound, which would be equivalent to 2¼ cents, while that proposed by the new tariff would be 3 cents or 33⅓ per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. Is 10 cents the present price of manila?

Mr. BOWERS. It is a little below 10 cents at present. It is 8½ cents.

Mr. FOSTER. I understand it is about 7 cents.

Mr. BOWERS. That would be only on the larger sizes of cordage; the smaller sizes used for fishing are higher. Cordage, however, is exceptionally cheap just now, and taking an average of 10 years the price of manila would be 12 or 13 cents per pound. It appears as if the Finance Minister were endeavouring to force the fishermen of the Maritime Provinces to use our domestic cordage, and that is within half a cent or three-quarters of a cent of the price of imported American cordage. American cordage is worth very much more, and it is a hardship to seek to compel our fishermen to use cordage manufactured in the Dominion. Take 6 and 9-thread rope, which is used to an enormous extent for lobster nets and in trolling by our fishermen, especially the 6-thread, 100 pounds of it made in the Dominion would make a difference of 10 or 15 per cent in weight, according to size. I think the Finance Minister is press-

ing the people of the Maritime Provinces a little too severely.

Mr. FOSTER. I can only frame the tariff according to actual prices, and in framing the duty on this item we are endeavouring to accomplish two objects. One is to do away with the double duty, and make the duty a specific one, and the other is to lower the duty, if anything, on the article. At the present prices of sisal and manila on the New York market, if you make calculations on the basis of the old duty a little more than 30 per cent will be the rate. The hon. gentleman will not get very far in endeavouring to produce the impression amongst the fishermen that this Government is harassing them with respect to lines and twine. If the hon. gentleman will refer to the Trade and Navigation Returns he will find that the fishermen obtain the great bulk of the articles they use in the shape of twine entirely duty free. The Board of Marine for the upper lakes specially waited upon me with reference to this, under the impression that the 30 per cent tariff was higher than the old, but when I talked it over with them, and when we took the quotations, they found that at present prices, 30 per cent was a lower rate than the $1\frac{1}{4}$ cents and 10 per cent. However, I think, in order to avoid the double duty, and to keep just a straight ad valorem duty, and to make it beyond doubt that it is a less tax than before, if the committee will allow me, I intend to ask them to put that at $27\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Oh, make it 25 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. I cannot.

Mr. EDGAR. The Minister of Finance must be in error when he says that the duty was about 30 per cent before, because according to the importations of cordage of all kinds, n.e.s., at page 38 of the Trade and Navigation Returns, as I make it out, the duty paid on the total importations was slightly under 24 per cent. There are two items on that page, one is cordage cotton braids, which amounted to 30 per cent, but the item which we are considering now, at the old duty of $1\frac{1}{4}$ cents per pound, and 10 per cent, amounted to, as nearly as possible, 24 per cent. When the Minister has reduced the duty at all, he ought certainly reduce it to that figure. There are other considerations involved in this. The hon. Minister knows as well as the public knows, that cordage is in the hands of a great combine in this country. He knows that there is a Consumers' Cordage Company in Canada which has bought up all the mills. In binder twine, of course, there is some competition now, thanks to the Ontario Government, and the action of the farmers themselves.

Mr. SPROULE. What about Kingston ?

Mr. EDGAR. That combine, the Consumers' Cordage Company, was incorporated in

June, 1890, with a capital of \$1,000,000, quite enough, I am sure, to buy up a few industries in Canada. Then, in sixteen months, they increased their capital to \$3,000,000, which has all been issued, as paid up ; how it was issued, we do not exactly know, but there is stock increased by watering, or otherwise, from \$1,000,000 to \$3,000,000 in sixteen months, and they have an absolute monopoly of this article. Instead of reducing the duty below 24 per cent, which it was on the importation of last year, the Minister of Finance now suggests that he is doing a grand liberal thing to the consumers of cordage in this country by making it $27\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. He ought to have brought that duty down so as to prevent this \$3,000,000 combine controlling the trade of this country, a combine which has shut up several mills and thrown the workmen out on the streets, so as to make enormous profits to pay dividends on the \$3,000,000 capital.

Mr. FORBES. I am very glad that the Minister of Finance has seen fit, after a short discussion to reduce that duty from 30 per cent to $27\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. He must, however, bear in mind that this is still an increase over the old tariff of 15 per cent on certain grades, and a great deal more on others. Although I am not a dealer in those articles, I know it to be a fact that certain the Canadian factories sell the same to fishermen are sold at a higher rate to them than the Canadian factories sell the same to fishermen in other countries. These factories can export it and sell to foreign fishermen at a less price per pound than they sell to our own fishermen. If such is the case, I cannot see why the Minister of Finance should object to reduce this duty. His failure to do so indicates that he is endeavouring to make the fishermen pay a higher rate of duty upon certain essential articles to their business, because they are given an advantage in having, free of duty, other articles which they use. As the hon. gentleman (Mr. Edgar) has told us, although this cordage company is prosecuting its business by virtue of a statute, nevertheless, they are extorting illegitimate prices from the consumers. It is time for the Government to consider whether they have not sufficient notice given to them of this condition of affairs, to cause them to still further reduce this tax. It has been pointed out by the hon. member for Digby (Mr. Bowers) that this tax bears unjustly and unfairly upon our fishermen. They use a quality of rope and cordage which can be produced only at a higher price, so that this duty bears more heavily on that industry than on other industries using cordage. They use very large quantities of it, lobster men use it, shipbuilders use it, all kinds of fishermen use it, and it would be a wise and just thing for the Finance Minister to detect another error in the tariff so as to reduce this duty further. The time will not arrive between now and the next session of Parlia-

ment to make this needed reduction; but probably after the next session, when the new Government takes charge of affairs, we will be able to reduce the duty on this item. It is necessary for the fishermen who are now fitting out for the season's operations, as well as for those who will fit out next spring, that the Minister of Finance should now give them the advantage of a further reduction of the tax on these articles.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. gentleman has not any very great grievance to complain of on behalf of the fishermen, because the fishermen not only get their nets and seines free, but they get all their fishing lines and twines in connection with the fishing industry, absolutely free of duty. The imports during the past year of these articles alone, for the use of fishermen—I give the foreign price—was \$425,000, which, I am quite certain, is ample to equip all the fishermen in Canada with all the nets and seines and cordage they want. They have not to pay one farthing of duty on that.

Mr. BOWERS. Does the hon. gentleman say their cordage is free?

Mr. WALLACE. Twines and cords in connection with their fishing.

Mr. BOWERS. I will remember that. Will he allow us to import it free of duty?

Mr. WALLACE. I say that fishing lines and twines in connection with their fishing is free.

Mr. FORBES. Will the Controller point out where that is stated? Will he show me what item that is?

Mr. WALLACE. I can give the hon. gentleman samples that are distributed to every maritime port, of the various twines and cords that are admitted free, and some of them are of a very large size, indeed, because they are required for various kinds of fishing: in fact, twines of a larger grade.

Mr. CASEY. Does it include ropes for rigging fishing vessels?

Mr. WALLACE. It does not.

Mr. BOWERS. Or ropes for the nets?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, it does, and I can show the samples which are sent out to the collectors of the maritime ports, as kinds of cordage that are permitted to come in free. As I have already stated, \$425,000 worth were brought in free of duty last year, not a particle of duty was paid on it. The higher-priced cordages and twines that come in for the fishermen are free of duty.

Mr. BOWERS. Is there any kind of manila cordage that comes in free?

Mr. WALLACE. Certainly. It does not matter what the material is, if it is for use in the fisheries it comes in free of duty, whether it is cotton, manila or sisal. At the highest price at which these twines are

Mr. FORBES.

sold to-day, $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents a pound the duty in the old tariff amounts to 30 per cent. at 5 cents a pound it amounts to 35 per cent, and at 4 cents a pound to 41 per cent. We have reduced all these to $27\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Mr. McMULLEN. I am very glad to have the statement brought out that was made by the hon. Controller of Customs a moment ago, that \$425,000 worth of twine was brought into Canada for the fishermen last year, on which not a brass farthing of duty was paid, while the farmers have had to pay duty on all the twine they use, down to binding twine. I shall be in a position to use that statement with the farmers of this country. It is a very fishy tariff all through. My hon. friend here says that the fishermen have never been able to get the advantages that the Controller says they are entitled to, the tariff being understood in one way at one place and in another way in another place. It is for the fishermen in the east and in the west, while the farmers in the centre are made its victims. I would like to ask the hon. gentleman if it is not as necessary to cultivate the soil of this country as to fish in its waters. If so, why are not the farmers allowed to bring in free rope to make lines for tying their horses and cattle, for which purposes an enormous quantity is used? But the farmers have to bear the brunt of this beautiful tariff. They are not allowed to import \$425,000 worth of twine duty free. Yet, I have no doubt that the hon. gentleman will take the stump and tell them that the present tariff has been largely changed in the interests of the agricultural classes—that they have made great reductions in order to encourage them. But we have an admission now to the contrary, and I shall not forget it. I hope to have the opportunity of meeting the hon. gentleman on the stump some time and repeating his admission of to-day.

Mr. BOWERS. I think the hon. Controller must be mistaken in saying that there are certain kinds of manila cordage which are brought in free for use in the fisheries. I have been importing American cordage for the last ten or twelve years, and I have never yet imported any free. Last fall I imported two or three tons of American manila, a large part of which had from six to nine threads, the kind used in the fisheries, and the customs officer of my port would not allow me to enter it free. If there are some places where manila cordage is admitted free, I shall have to make application for \$200 or \$300 of drawback. The hon. Minister of Finance is putting the prices a little too low. The size I have imported costs 8 cents a pound, on which the new rate of duty will amount to 15 cents per 100 pounds more than old rates.

Mr. FOSTER. On the average it is much lower.

Mr. BOWERS. The hon. gentleman knows that probably in a year or so, as soon as

the combination in the United States stop fighting among themselves, cordage will take a jump of 2 or 3 cents per pound, and then the rate in the new tariff will be much higher than the rate of the old tariff.

Mr. FORBES. The hon. Controller of Customs made the statement that we imported \$425,000 worth of free cordage for the fishermen last year.

Mr. WALLACE. No; I said nets, seines, fishing lines and twines.

Mr. FORBES. We were discussing the item of cordage, which I imagine the Controller would know includes both large and small sizes.

Mr. WALLACE. I said fishing appliances.

Mr. FORBES. The hon. gentleman sought to justify this tax on the fishermen by stating that they had imported \$425,000 worth free last year. That is to say that because the fishermen get a certain amount of their raw material free, they must under this tariff submit to a vexatious tax on cordage in order to compensate the manufacturers for what the fishermen get in free. This is the natural conclusion. Otherwise he is attempting to deceive the committee and the House by saying that fishermen imported cordage free, and that I was entirely wrong in stating this was a tax on them. One of two things must then be the result of his own argument. Either he has backed down and withdrawn his statement or his statement was misleading. Fish-hooks, nets, seines, fishing lines, and twines come in free, but other cordage is taxed. That which comes in free is only a small quantity of the material used by the fishermen. All the other ropes and cordage are taxed. I asked the Finance Minister to justify, if he could, this increase under this tariff, and the only answer he gave is that the fishermen got certain articles in free.

Mr. TAYLOR. It would be well if hon. gentlemen opposite had before them a copy of the American tariff, so that they might see how the American people use their fishermen as compared with the way we use them. These hon. gentlemen are fond of eulogising everything done in the country to the south of us, but I do not hear them making any references to the new American tariff. I notice in the tariff that gill-netting, seines, &c., are increased from 25 to 40 per cent, while in Canada they come in free.

An hon. MEMBER. But they make all their own nets?

Mr. TAYLOR. They are protectionists. Then, according to the argument of hon. gentlemen opposite, their manufacturers must charge that 40 per cent in addition to the cost of the article. We spent about two hours of valuable time the other night discussing collars and cuffs, on which we placed a duty of 24 cents per dozen, and 30 per cent ad

valorem; but in the American tariff collars and cuffs, composed wholly or partly of linen, are taxed 50 cents per dozen and 30 per cent. If hon. gentlemen opposite would take a copy of the American tariff, they would find that there is not an item in that tariff on which the duty is less than it is in ours. On the contrary, in every instance it is 25 to 30 per cent more.

Mr. FORBES. We do not look to Washington.

Mr. TAYLOR. You do certainly when you think you can make an unfavourable comparison between our Government and the Government at Washington.

Committee rose, and it being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

House again resolved itself into Committee on Ways and Means.

(In the Committee.)

Cordage, n.e.s., 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. KAULBACH. I was rather surprised before six o'clock to hear hon. gentlemen opposite criticising the protection given to our fishermen, and also expressing themselves not very favourably with regard to the farmers. Now, the fishermen, I contend, do not receive benefits to too large an extent, because they have to encounter many risks and receive but a very meagre reward. The benefits they receive, are in lines, twine, nets, &c., which has free entry. With regard to cordage, hon. gentlemen think the Controller of Customs was slightly in error. With regard to the protection given the farmer, it should not be forgotten that they are very well protected. Were a reduction to be made in the tariff on many articles of farm produce, they would find the American products coming in and flooding the market. They would find the American products slaughtered in our market, which would have the result of causing our farmers to have a very insignificant living, or, perhaps, be crippled entirely. With regard to the item of cordage, I would ask that the duty be made 25 per cent instead of 27½. I think it would be no more than fair to make such a reduction. It will not amount to very much, while it will be more satisfactory to the fishermen, who use a very large quantity of that description of cordage. I refer particularly to the small cordage.

Mr. McINERNEY. I would like to support the demand of the hon. member for Lunenburg (Mr. Kaulbach). I think 25 per cent would be nearer the old duty than 30 per cent, and therefore I would ask that the duty be reduced to 25 per cent. The old duty of 1¼ cents a pound on the 5 cent rope is equivalent to 25 per cent, and adding the 10 per cent ad valorem, makes the total duty 35 per

cent. On the 10 cents rope, the duty of $1\frac{1}{4}$ cents a pound would amount to $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent ad valorem, and adding the 10 per cent ad valorem would make it $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Striking the difference between $22\frac{1}{2}$ and 35 per cent. I think 25 per cent would be the fairer duty. As the Finance Minister seems inclined to make a reduction, I would ask him to make the duty the square figure of 25 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. If hon. gentlemen do not agree with me, as I do not with them. I think it would be to their advantage to make it $27\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, instead of the old duty. There seems to be a latent fear that the object was to raise the duty on that twine. That was not the idea, but if hon. gentlemen would rather have it so, I am willing to put the duty as it was.

Mr. McINERNEY. I would prefer to have it as it was.

Mr. EDGAR. Does the hon. gentleman intend to consult us about that?

Mr. FOSTER. I spoke generally.

Mr. EDGAR. We have not agreed to that.

Mr. FLINT. I would like to ask the Finance Minister if he has conveniently at hand any statement of the amount of manila and sisal cordage that would come under this description consumed in Canada, of Canadian manufacture? I have been unable to ascertain the fact from any report to which I can gain access. Or can the Minister give any idea anywhere near the amount?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. FLINT. That is rather gratifying to me in this particular, that it shows that my failure to obtain the information was not due to my own fault, but to the fact that the information is not accessible. Although we have succeeded in obtaining, through the urgency of the hon. member for Digby (Mr. Bowers) a slight reduction, I think the feeling on the part of the Maritime members generally on both sides is that we have just tasted enough blood to give us a taste for a little more. Looking at the Trade and Navigation Returns, I find that the practical effect of the old tariff has been prohibitory, because although every one knows an enormous amount of cordage must be consumed by the various large interests of the Dominion, so effectually has the tariff thrown the trade into the hands of the home manufacturers, or the combine which now controls it, that only about \$59,000 worth of cordage of all kinds, n.e.s., were imported. I think we would not be stating the case unfairly if we said that \$500,000 would represent the rest of the cordage that this combine is able to force the consumers of the Dominion to use. The increase in the present tariff over the previous one, provided prices remain substantially the same as now, is about 19 per cent. I believe the

Mr. McINERNEY.

Finance Minister is relying almost entirely upon a notion he has that the price of cordage will remain as low as it is at the present time. Now, there are many reasons why this product is lower at the present time than it has been for some years before.

Mr. FOSTER. I propose to restore the old duty.

Mr. FLINT. We ought to go a great deal further than that. The Minister ought to reduce the tariff far below the old duty and take off the specific duty altogether, making it wholly an ad valorem duty. If the Minister would take off the $1\frac{1}{4}$ cents per pound, and make the ad valorem duty 10 per cent, I think that would be something like fair and honest treatment of the consumers of this commodity. This would afford ample incidental protection for the manufacturers of this product, and would probably yield even a larger revenue than the duty he proposes. If the difference between the import price, and the price of the goods here went into the Treasury, there would be less reason to complain, but, as this tariff is arranged, almost the whole of the difference goes into the pockets of a gigantic monopoly, and the people are forced to purchase about \$500,000 worth of home-made cordage, a large portion of which they could import more satisfactorily to themselves and of a great deal better quality than is now manufactured in Canada, while the Treasury would reap the advantage of increased revenue, and such protection would be afforded to the manufacturer as would be satisfactory to reasonable men. I do not base this claim, as some have done, upon the peculiar class interests of the fishermen, though they have a strong claim, a claim which has been recognized by the Government in many cases. The Controller of Customs, however, probably through ignorance of the exact state of the case, said that cordage for fishermen's use had been allowed for many years to enter free. If that is the case, then the orders of the department have not been properly transmitted to the various collectors of customs.

Mr. WALLACE. I quoted you the words of the Act.

Mr. FLINT. All I know is that I have been told seriously by persons handling this product that they have not been allowed to import it free. The item on page 304 of the Trade and Navigation Returns, quoted by the hon. gentleman, does not include this product at all. This item reads:

Nets and seines, and fishing lines and twines, not including threads and twines commonly used for sewing and manufacturing purposes.

This does not include cordage. Now, I hope that, if the collectors of customs have been in error in their interpretation of the statutes or Orders in Council, or if the Controller has

been in error in thinking that cordage was included in this item, the Government will see that that interpretation of the law is enforced in the future. As has been pointed out, the fishermen have to a large degree been relieved from the heavy import duties which have been paid by other classes of the community, owing to the fact that their occupation is peculiar, and that they are subject to vicissitudes and hardships, and losses, and risks that large portions of other consuming classes are not subject to. I think if the Minister would do away with the specific duty altogether, and give us a much lower ad valorem duty, and then add the interpretation which the Controller of Customs said was the rule, I think we could feel that something had been really accomplished of value to that portion of the consuming population.

Item agreed to.

Twine and cotton cordage of all kinds, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. COATSWORTH. Before this item is carried, I would like to say a word or two on behalf of the twine industry in Toronto. The duty on that and on several items under the general head of twine has been reduced from an average of 30 per cent to an average of 25 per cent. The industry that I refer to is called the Dovercourt Twine Company, and it carries on its business in the city of Toronto. They mentioned several items to me, and, as the statement they make in regard to the matter is short, I think I cannot do better than read it to the committee. The first is the item of cotton twine. They say :

Owing to the limited market we have been barely able with 30 per cent duty to hold our share of the trade. If reduced as proposed we will be shut out from the manufacture of fish lines, chalk lines, mason's lines, etc.

Then in the same item that you read there is cotton cordage, and on that they say :

Owing to the fact that a cheap grade of cotton rope made from the United States is flooding this market, made from a grade of cotton that cannot be bought here, we have had difficulty in competing, with the duty of 30 per cent. At the present rate we will be entirely shut out, as we have not made a profit of 5 per cent on cotton rope in the past.

Then the next item, following the same line, refers to jute, hemp and flaxed twine, which have been reduced to 25 per cent. They say :

We are engaged in the manufacture of over 100 different lines of twine, mostly of a high grade, and come into direct competition with imported twine. We import all our raw material in yarn, paying 20 per cent duty. We cannot get suitable stock here. We cannot bring it in raw and get it spun at a price equal to what we can import the yarn for. We have exhausted all means to do so and are compelled to import the yarn. We have to compete chiefly with German, Austrian and

British manufacturers who have practically an unlimited market, thereby reducing the cost of manufacture materially. With a duty of 30 per cent we have not been able to get a fair share of the business and that branch has not paid us one cent in profits in four years. With 25 per cent on manufactured twine and a duty of 20 per cent on all our raw material, it will be evident to you that we cannot possibly keep the business running. We have been handicapped by this duty on raw material from the beginning. If we were permitted to bring in the yarn free we could compete with any one and increase our trade ten fold. We therefore respectfully request that you will give this matter your earnest and careful consideration and place us in a position to compete with all outsiders. * * * * * We expend as much or more labour in the manufacture of twine (in wet and dry carding, sizing polishing, etc.) as do the manufacturers of the other lines mentioned. We therefore request that you will place on the free list all jute, flax and hemp yarns or mixtures thereof for use in the manufacture of twine.

There is one item more that they refer to, and that is hammocks, tennis and other netted goods, reduced to 30 per cent :

In these goods we have had a large share of the trade of the Dominion, but have found it difficult with 35 per cent duty to compete with American goods. The principal part of the cost of these goods is the labour expended which gives employment to a large number of men, women, girls and boys in the winter when other work is scarce, and as the goods are certainly articles of luxury there can be no great object in reducing the duty. If reduced we will have to discontinue the manufacture of all netted goods thereby discharging all the hands engaged in that branch of the business.

Mr. CHARLTON. How large an establishment is this, and how many hands are employed ?

Mr. COATSWORTH. I have been told they employ 100 men.

Mr. EDGAR. This is no doubt a very touching appeal that has been made to the Government, and I would suggest that if the Controller himself would take a hand in and support the hon. member for East Toronto (Mr. Coatsworth) on behalf of his own constituents it might have a good effect. It is hardly fair that the Controller should not stand up and advocate the cause of his constituents, because this factory is in West York, in the constituency of the Controller himself, but he has handed the matter over to the member for East Toronto.

Item agreed to.

Rope, when imported for the manufacture of twine for harvest binders, 10 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. CASEY. The hon. gentleman has affirmed that he wishes to take the tax off raw material wherever he can. Here is a raw material for a very important manufacture, the manufacture of binder twines. Why has he not seen his way to take this tax off ?

Mr. McMILLAN. As this is said to be a farmers' tariff, and as the Government have been in the habit of steadily allowing raw material to come in free for the benefit of the manufacturers, here is an opportunity for the Government to show their sincerity. The Minister of Agriculture last year admitted that the Government had been reducing the duty on raw material to the extent of \$113,000 for the benefit of the manufacturers of Canada. Now, why not take this 10 per cent off and reduce the duty altogether on binder twine? Since this is a farmers' tariff, why should a duty of 10 per cent be kept on the raw material for the manufacture of binder twine, and 12½ per cent on binder twine itself? If this is a farmers' tariff, let the Government prove it in this instance. In every instance where the duty has been reduced at the expense of the manufacturers, they have been heard. As a farmer, I ask the Government now to grant this slight request, and take the 10 per cent off this raw material, and give us binder twine free.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. member for Elgin (Mr. Casey) asked me why we did not take the duty off rove as a raw material and make the binder twine less. Now, the binder twine that is used has a duty of 12½ per cent, while hemp, jute, manila or sisal, used as a raw material, come in free. Rove is properly not a raw material, it is partially manufactured, and therefore is not allowed to come in free as a raw material. A smaller duty is placed upon it as being an article partially manufactured, and therefore is more serviceable for the making of the peculiar kind of binder twine which is made from rove, although not much binder twine is made from that. Binder twine is chiefly made from the fibre which comes in free, and is worked up here entirely.

Mr. CHARLTON. If rove is allowed free the admission would be an advantage to the manufactories of binder twine.

Mr. FOSTER. To a certain extent, it would.

Mr. CHARLTON. I think the Government ought to give a little more consideration to the manufacturers of binder twine than they are doing here. The Government in a dozen or more Orders in Council have placed upon the free list many articles like crucible steel, mohair cloth, tips, sides and a hundred other articles, and they would be moving exactly in the same direction if they were to place rove on the free list for the benefit of the manufacturers of binder twine. It is a large industry, it would benefit the farmers to some extent, and it would benefit the manufacturing industry to a considerable extent. It would be in the line of the Government policy in admitting raw material free.

Mr. CASEY.

Mr. CASEY. The Minister's explanation might be typical of many explanations in regard to these items. He says this is not in itself a raw material, but is partly manufactured. He will find that the finished article of one manufacture becomes in many cases the raw material of other manufactures. If he is going to promote manufacture by cheapening the cost of production he must admit that which is a raw material for the one manufacture at a very much decreased duty, or free, in order to promote the other manufacture. In regard to this particular item I think we may fairly ask on behalf of the consumers of binding twine that the duty should be removed in order that binding twine itself should be made cheaper.

Mr. WALLACE. The effect of having rove free and binding twine 12½ per cent would be that the manufacturers would bring in their rove free of duty, but the manufactured article would be no cheaper to the consumer.

Mr. CASEY. I fail to understand how the admission of rove free would knock out the manufacturers of binding twine.

Mr. WALLACE. The rove would be made in other countries, and Canadians would be deprived of that measure of employment.

Mr. CASEY. I am not discussing the making of rove, but of twine, and I think that the admission of rove would reduce the price of twine, and that is the object I and my agricultural friends are endeavouring to secure.

Twine for harvest binders of hemp, jute, manila or sisal, and of manila and sisal mixed, 12½ per cent.

Mr. CASEY. As the hon. member for Wellington is not present, I feel it my duty in the interest which we both desire to serve to refer to the fact that if it is allowable in the public interest to permit the free importation of lines and twines for fishing to the extent of \$425,000, as the Trade and Navigation Returns show, it is desirable in the public interest that twine intended for the use of farmers should also be admitted free. There is no reason why fishermen should be petted at the expense of the farming interest. The fishing industry is very important no doubt, but if it is thought proper to allow materials for fishing to come in free, it is obvious, especially in view of the fact that a precedent has been established, that it would also be good policy to admit free materials for the farming industry. The fishermen not only enjoy the privilege of obtaining their lines and twine duty free, but they also receive a bounty. The producers of pig iron receive a bounty in addition to high protection, and so on with many other industries, and the farmers alone are given no special consideration in regard to materials which they import. The farmers, together with the

lumbermen have a right to urge that some consideration should be extended to them as well as to the fishermen. It cannot be supposed that the privilege was extended to the fishermen for a sectional purpose. If that were so, we must all oppose such a regulation, but we are bound to assume that it was granted for the purpose of assisting an industry which is useful to the country at large, which had brought up a hardy race of sailors, and at the same time produced considerable wealth. The farming industry also produces a hardy race, well qualified to be soldiers, if not sailors, and fitted to fill any position in life. Moreover, the farming interests produces the greatest amount of wealth of any in the country. Under these circumstances we claim that a strong *prima facie* case is made out in behalf of extending a similar privilege to farmers. The Finance Minister and his two Controllers had the opportunity during the recess of ascertaining the farmers' views on the subject. There was a very unanimous demand, according to newspaper reports, for free binding twine and free coal oil. If the newspapers have misled us with respect to the interviews held, this is the fault of the Finance Minister and his colleagues, who omitted to provide a permanent official record of the interviews which they could lay before Parliament. If we can judge from the reports in the press, free binder twine was almost unanimously demanded, and the attempt made by the Controllers to argue against it was not successful. I must refer again with disapprobation to the fact that the Finance Minister has furnished no official report of those conferences, and has even refused to tell the House how much they cost, and yet we know they must have cost a large sum if conducted in a similar way to the Behring Sea arbitration. Nevertheless, the Finance Minister has refused to use the information he has obtained. This is a question of the greatest importance to the farmers, and the Finance Minister should explain why the farmers are treated differently to other classes in this respect.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Carried.

Mr. CASEY. Then the Finance Minister refuses to answer, and cries "Carried." No reason has been given why the farmer should be taxed, and the fishermen not taxed.

Mr. SEMPLE. I think that this item in the tariff should be reduced. It could hardly be expected to be made free when a duty remains on the raw material. The expectation of the people, however, was that binding twine would be put on the free list—that at all events was the expectation of farmers throughout the Dominion. When we see the Finance Minister speaking in favour of maintaining the duty for the benefit of 100 employees in manufactories, how much more necessary is it to do something to benefit 600,000 farmers scattered throughout the Dominion. The Government have not re-

duced this duty, but I still hope to see the duty, if not entirely removed, reduced.

Mr. CASEY. As the Finance Minister does not seem able to explain the item, perhaps the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Stairs), who usually seems exceedingly well posted on binding twine and cordage, will offer an explanation.

Item agreed to.

Damask, 25 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. I desire to change the item to damask of linen.

Mr. CHARLTON. Will that make any change in the other qualities of damask?

Mr. FOSTER. Damasks of silk and of cotton will go under their proper heads.

Item agreed to.

Sails for boats and ships, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. KAULBACH. Sails for boats and ships would mean cotton duck, which means a very important item in this tariff, as it interests nearly the whole of Canada, but more particularly the Maritime Provinces, where it is mainly used in their fleet of shipping. I observed some few days ago when the Budget was brought down, and the revision of the tariff submitted by the Minister of Finance, that our hon. friend the member for Yarmouth (Mr. Flint) was conspicuous for having singled out this item, and made the inquiry as to whether there was any change in the duty on this article. The thought naturally arose, as he is a free trader, and sent here by the people of Yarmouth, who have pronounced in that direction, that he desired to see that article have free entry, or placed in the free list, and I was congratulating myself that as the Yarmouth cotton duck factory was the only industry of the kind in Canada, and producing a good article of duck, excellent work, of which we have had practical proof, and which I understand is financially a success, that my hon. friend was throwing out a pointer in that direction, that is, to have it placed on the free list. I would like to know if my hon. friend was sincere at the time? I certainly consider that that industry is well protected and the tariff might be reduced on the article, as the patronage that industry is receiving is very great, so much so that at times they are unable to fill their orders. I sincerely wish that if not placed on the free list, which I do not expect to see, neither do I desire to "fix the Flint" of hon. gentlemen opposite, yet I consider that the hon. Minister of Finance will see that he has raised the duty on this article instead of diminishing, the duty having been 1 cent per square yard and 15 per cent ad valorem. Now it is 25 per cent. I do think 20 per cent would be amply sufficient. Of course, when it is compared with the American tariff there is a very great deal of difference. Under the McKinley Bill cotton cloth, not bleached, dyed, coloured, stained, painted or printed, exceeding 100

and not exceeding 150 threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, 3 cents per square yard; if bleached, 4 cents per square yard; if dyed, coloured, stained, painted or printed, 5 cents per square yard, and 40 per cent ad valorem. That would amount on the whole to a 60 per cent duty. The difference is very great, but at the same time as this industry apparently is meeting with great financial success, I think this item might be reduced, and I would suggest 20 per cent.

Mr. EDGAR. The hon. gentleman who has just spoken said he did not ask for our sympathy on this side of the House in this matter, but our sympathy flows out to him in spite of himself, and our sympathy is not so much for this particular item as for the extraordinarily queer position he has placed himself in on the cordage question. Why, Sir, he got up this evening, and he was backed by the hon. member for Kent (Mr. McInerney) in urging the Government that 27½ per cent was too high a duty, and he wanted the Finance Minister to reduce it. Well, the hon. Minister had before that told us that the duty that the cordage was paying under the old rate of 1¼ cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem was 35 or 40 per cent, and he showed that 27½ per cent was a great reduction, but at the earnest pressure of the hon. members for Lunenburg and Kent, the Finance Minister was persuaded to put it back at the old rate, which, as the Finance Minister told us was 35 or 40 per cent. The hon. member for Lunenburg (Mr. Kaulbach) has our strong sympathy for the peculiar position he has placed himself in to-night.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman (Mr. Kaulbach), by advocating a reduction of duty on this article, I suppose becomes converted to the view that the duty does increase the prices, and that the imposition of a duty does not make goods cheaper. That being so, the hon. gentleman ought to apply that rule to other articles in the tariff, besides the one which is now under consideration.

Mr. FOSTER. I want to call the attention of my hon. friend to the fact that the item under discussion is the finished articles of sails for ships when made, and the duty is 25 per cent. The duck out of which the sails are made has a duty of 22½ per cent. I know my hon. friend would not think that 2½ per cent even was too large a margin of protection. If we want to lower the duty on this article we must go back to "cotton duck" and have that somewhat reduced, but I would not like to do that in the absence of the hon. member for Yarmouth (Mr. Flint) who takes an interest in it, so that with the permission of the hon. gentleman I will leave that over for a little while.

Item agreed to.

Wool, viz.: Leicester, Cotswold, Lincolnshire, South Down, combing wools, or wools known as

Mr. KAULBACH.

lustre wools and other like combing wools, such as are grown in Canada, 3 cents per pound.

Mr. CHARLTON. I would inquire of the Government whether any wools of these kinds are imported into Canada, and whether we do not raise a supply of all these wools in excess of the requirements of the manufactures of the country. If this is the case, is not the placing of these wools on the dutiable list an attempt to convey to the farmers the idea that a benefit is being given to them when in fact no benefit is intended or can be given? If the Government wish to benefit the farmers by a duty on wool, let them impose a duty on the wools brought into the country. This duty is entirely deceptive and inoperative in its character, because it is a duty on articles which we do not import. I think, therefore, as a matter of common honesty we had better wipe this thing out entirely, and not leave the farmer under the impression that he is getting any protection on wool, when he is not. If the Government were to put a duty on Australian wool, or wool from the Argentine Republic, or any other kind imported into the country, they would be giving the farmer a benefit, because that would increase the demand for the wools our farmers produce. This duty, however, is put here evidently and purposely to mislead the farmers by giving them the idea that this paternal Government is giving them something when in reality it is giving them nothing. I would ask the Finance Minister how much wool of all grades we import into Canada, and whether we import a single pound of Leicester, Cotswold or South Down?

Mr. FOSTER. There is an importation of the kinds of wool mentioned here. Of course, the large importation is of the kinds we do not raise in this country.

Mr. CASEY. The kinds of wool mentioned here, were imported last year to the value of \$342, on which a duty of \$30.54 was collected. All the rest was free.

Mr. IVES. The hon. gentleman says there was only a small quantity of long wool imported; but how much can he say would have been imported if the duty of 3 cents a pound was not there? There is no doubt that combing wools are being used more largely every day in the manufactures of Canada. The worsted manufactures use them to a great extent, and the market is increasing every year for the kinds of wools mentioned in this item.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). There was imported last year 1,018 pounds of these wools on which there is a duty of 3 cents a pound.

Mr. FOSTER. That is quite a load.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). If the hon. gentleman thinks this is considerable, what does he think of 10,503,645 pounds that came in duty free?

Mr. FOSTER. I think that is considerably more.

Mr. PATERSON (Grant). There was \$342 worth on which a duty of \$30.54 was paid; but \$1,651,440 worth came in free of duty. The wool duty has operated as we said it would; for years there was not a cent of duty paid. Yet the Minister proposes to retain it in the new tariff. I would like to ask him whether, when he was consulting with the farmers upon this tariff, the subject of wool was discussed, and if so, what views he elicited from them in reference to it?

Mr. FOSTER. The subject of wool was discussed, and the view I elicited from the farmers was that they would like to have the duty retained, while some of them would not object to have a duty put on wool all the way through. That view, however, was greatly modified when we took up the other part of the discussion and considered that the vast quantity of the wool imported and used here was of a kind that would not be grown in this country, and that a duty on that would be a duty on a raw material which would add to the price of the fabrics the farmers consumed.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman knows that this duty on wool is not of the slightest value to the farmers.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know that.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Yes, I think I am safe in saying that the hon. gentleman knows that. I give him credit for the possession of common sense, and, therefore, I think the conclusion is irresistible that he knows what I say he does know. Now, it does not pay the Canadian farmer to undertake to produce merino sheep, and those varieties which produce the very fine-wool, and he therefore is obliged to depend largely on the varieties which produce long or combing wool. The hon. gentleman professes to protect those varieties. The only way he can protect the wool produced in Canada is by putting a duty on all wool, so as to compel our manufacturers to produce a larger quantity of cloth, as they did years ago, from these coarser varieties of wool. I do not say that that would be an advantage to the public at large, but it would be to the agricultural population, and this is of no advantage whatever to the agriculturists.

Mr. IVES. The hon. gentleman believes in agricultural protection.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). No, but I believe that if you are obliged to submit to the evil of protection, the incidental advantages that arise should be extended to the farmer, which would happen if you would exclude foreign wool so as to compel the Canadian manufacturers to purchase the kind produced in Canada, and purchase it at the market price, plus the duty. Let me

call the hon. gentleman's attention to this. The classes of South Down, Leicester, Cotswold, and Lincolnshire do not belong to that class of fine wools. How is the hon. gentleman to know whether the wool that is being imported is South Down or not? How is he to know whether a certain number of varieties of Cape or South American wool being imported are not South Down? The hon. gentleman cannot tell, and I fancy that if South Down wools are imported at all, they are not imported as paying a duty of 3 cents, but are imported free. The farmer would not be any the worse off whatever if the hon. gentleman were to put all these wools on the free list, because there is no appreciable import of these. That being the case, whether the duty be 3 cents or \$3 can make no possible difference to our agricultural population. The greater portion of the wools of the varieties we produce are shipped to the United States, and there converted into worsted yarn and carpet yarns, and they will go there. As long as the hon. gentleman admits the finer varieties of wool, the others will not be manufactured here to any extent, but must find a market in a foreign country where they will be manufactured. I do not say that we ought to impose a duty for the purpose of compelling the people to wear the harder and perhaps more enduring cloth and flannel goods produced from our wools; but as long as the hon. gentleman adopts the principle of protection, he is not dealing fairly with our agricultural population by pretending to protect them when the duty offers no protection whatever. The only way you can protect our farmer is by putting a tax that will exclude the imported productions from the Canadian market. Everybody knows that the wools which compete with ours are not the coarse wools brought from abroad. If the coarse wools could be favourably manufactured here, from the manufacturers' standpoint, they would purchase them. They do not purchase them, and the farmer must send them abroad to find a market. The Canadian wools are driven out of the Canadian market by the foreign wools brought in free of duty. If the hon. gentleman intends to let this remain as it is, it only goes to show that the farmers are not a disciplined, organized body, capable of over-awing the Government, as the Government are controlled by those who are more closely organized, and whose interests are consequently looked after in this tariff under pretense of protection to the farmer.

Mr. WALLACE. I think the hon. gentleman is in error, because this tariff is calculated to benefit the farmer as well as the other working classes in the community.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Put a duty on these wools.

Mr. WALLACE. What would be the effect if a duty were put on the fine wools, of which 10,000,000 pounds are imported? It would

be a tax on the people who consume the products of those wools.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). They would not come in, and you would manufacture goods out of your coarse wool.

Mr. WALLACE. We know that we cannot manufacture a fine quality of worsted goods, such as the hon. gentleman's coat is made of, out of our wools. The result would be that you would either compel the people to pay the tax on this fine wool, or wear a class of goods they do not want to wear.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). You are doing it all the time.

Mr. WALLACE. We are doing this. We are protecting the Canadian farmers.

Mr. CHARLTON. No, you are not.

Mr. WALLACE. All the goods made from the long wools, the combing wools, in Canada, are made out of wools produced by the Canadian farmer, and we have a surplus to export, in addition, of from 15,000,000 to 20,000,000 pounds.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). No.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes. The other day I saw a sample of material made in England from some wools obtained in foreign countries, which could be sold in Canada at 18 cents a pound. It is true it was a coarse wool, not quite as good as that made from Canadian wool, but for some purposes it might come into competition with it. Yarn sold at 18 cents means that wool would be purchased at 10 or 12 cents a pound. If we took this duty of 3 cents a pound off those wools, large quantities of those coarser, and I consider inferior wools to ours, would come in.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). They come in.

Mr. WALLACE. Not at all. The duty of 3 cents a pound on the wool, and the large protection on the yarn hitherto has kept those yarns and wools out of Canada. What would be the result if the suggestion of the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) were carried out and we put a duty on all kinds of wool that cannot be produced in Canada. He says it would compel the people to wear the coarser textures made from the Canadian wool. The people will wear the quality of goods that suits their pockets.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). If you let them.

Mr. WALLACE. We are letting them do it because we are permitting that wool to come in free. So that we are letting them do it.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). No.

Mr. WALLACE. How can the hon. gentleman say no? There is no duty on that wool, and a duty on an article we do not produce would have the effect of raising the

Mr. WALLACE.

price of that article. Take the United States. They charge 10 or 12 cents a pound duty on these coarse wools which Canada produces, and which we export to them largely. What is the effect? The effect is to raise the prices of articles manufactured from them, so that those woollen goods are a great deal cheaper in Canada to-day than in the United States, and we have a better article. Now, the effect of the duty, as placed here, is to give to the Canadian farmers 3 cents a pound protection on what they produce, and besides give our people a cheap manufactured article, made from those imported wools, such as fine flannels, tweeds and worsted cloths, and other goods.

Mr. CASEY. I did not expect the hon. gentleman to repeat the statement that this 3 cents per pound duty on kinds of wool which we do not import is any protection to the Canadian farmers. That is such utter nonsense that the hon. gentleman contradicted it in his own speech further on. He said that after supplying the Canadian market with Canadian wool—to what extent he cannot tell us, and I do not know—we have so many million pounds to send abroad. Well, Sir, if we have a surplus to send abroad what nonsense it is to talk of increasing the price of the home grown article by means of protection. It is only the price of articles of which we have not enough at home and of which we import a considerable quantity that can be increased in price by a protective duty. The hon. gentleman's statements have been incorrect from the beginning, as also have those of the President of the Council. They said there was a large consumption of Canadian wool by Canadian manufacturers. I would like to know how much that consumption is. I have never heard of a considerable Canadian market for wool. The price in Boston rules the price in Canada as far as I have learned, and I have had considerable experience in raising and selling wool, though I cannot say I have had much experience in pulling it over the eyes of other people, as the Government is doing. This is a tax put on for use on the stump. I can remember when and why it was put on. There was a strong feeling in this House and out of it that, if there was to be protection, the farmer ought to have his share, and that he ought to get a benefit on his wool where he could be protected. Responding to that agitation the Finance Minister of that day agreed to put a tax on the kinds of wool raised in Canada. It sounded so extremely fair. It was a good thing to go to the country with. The Government said: We do not want to increase the price of manufacturing woollen goods generally, but we will put a tax on the kind of wool you raise, so as to afford you protection. As a matter of fact, the wool raised by Canadian farmers is sent out of the country, except the small quantity used by local mills to make up a limited line for the consumption of the neighbours. If

\$1 a pound were imposed upon that kind of wool it would not increase the price at all, whereas if the Government imposed even one-tenth of a cent per pound on the wool we import it would raise the price of that wool by the amount of the duty, and would provide a certain and continuous addition to the revenue. The hon. Minister says he cannot reduce the duty on velveteens, because they are a great luxury, but must increase it because he wants a revenue. Here is a case where he could find considerable revenue by a very slight impost. Every cent per pound imposed upon imported wool would bring \$100,000 of revenue. And, as the woollen manufacturers are so highly protected, and as the hon. gentleman has refused raw material for so many of the manufacturers, I do not see why he should be such a stickler for free raw material in this case. The woollen manufacturer would not raise his prices; he might make a cent a pound less in his profits. Although the duty would not, I admit, give the farmer a larger price for the kind of wool he now raises, it would encourage him to grow the wools that are used by manufacturers. Like my hon. friend from Bothwell (Mr. Mills), I do not advocate the system of protection all round. I do not think that we can bring about a general benefit by means of protective taxes; but I point out that this duty shows the attitude of the Government towards the farmer. Where they can protect the manufacturer they do it, but where they can protect the farmer they leave him out in the cold, and insult him by putting on such make-believe protection as this.

An hon. MEMBER. Louder.

Mr. CASEY. Yes—loud enough to be heard all over this country. It is a gross insult to the intelligence of the average farmer to impose such taxes, and the average farmer is much more intelligent than the gentlemen who shout "louder" and "whoop'er up." My hon. friend from Bothwell said the farmers were not sufficiently organized to compel the Government to meet their wishes. But the farmers are organizing, and it is to that fact that we owe the amelioration of the tariff. The Government are afraid of the Patrons of Industry and of the Conservative farmers, who begin to see through the humbug of this farmer's protection, so the Government have been compelled to yield some points and reduce the farmers' burdens a little. To try to make a farmer believe that this tax on wool is any benefit to him is adding insult to the injury he suffers from the taxes he has to pay. The hon. President of the Council said we did not know how much more wool of these combing kinds would be imported if there was no duty upon them. He ought to know enough about woollen manufactures to know that, until fashion changes and there is a demand for goods made from long

combing wool in Canada, the duty will not have any effect whatever upon the consumption of wool. I find a grade mentioned here, "South Down combing." South Down is not a combing wool; it is a short staple wool, and this is only another evidence of the little knowledge with which this tariff is made up where farmers are concerned. So long as the manufacturers make fabrics of short wools, not combing wools, so long will they refuse to buy the Canadian wool product, and so long we must send it abroad. This is not a case of asking protection for the farmers. What my hon. friend beside me (Mr. Mills) and myself have said was the same thing—that there is an attempt to mislead the farmer by making him believe that there is a protection for him under this item, when, as a matter of fact, there is none.

Mr. McMILLAN (Huron). As a farmer I consider the statement made by the hon. member for Elgin (Mr. Casey) and the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) is quite correct. I cannot think the Controller of Customs is in earnest in stating that this duty has had the effect of increasing the price of the Canadian wool product 3 cents a pound. The province of Ontario alone exports 1,146,000 pounds of that wool into the foreign markets. I never heard a statement so misleading since I came into this House as that made by the President of the Council and the Controller of Customs tonight to mislead the farmers of this country. There is no benefit to the farmers from this duty, I am convinced of that from my experience of the last five years. If they keep this item in the tariff it will be a proof that they are determined to strive to humbug the farmers, and pull the wool over his eyes as they have done in the past. I am convinced that the farmers of Ontario are beginning to examine this tariff, and there is not an intelligent farmer or sheep-breeder who does not know perfectly well that his wool is not increased in price by any duty the Government could impose, so long as that wool is taken out of the country and manufactured in another country. We have over 10,000,000 pounds of wool brought into this country. I do not ask that a duty should be imposed upon that, but I do ask that the tariff should be placed upon a fair basis, so that the farmers can understand clearly what it is, and that the Government should not impose a duty upon an article that does not benefit them in any degree.

Mr. SPROULE. I have no doubt the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat and the hon. gentleman who spoke before him, know a good deal about wool, but there is a good deal they do not know yet. There are members of this House who remember the arguments that were advanced in 1879 when a duty was placed upon wool. It was contended then that it could do the farmer no good to place a duty upon short

wools that were not raised here, and therefore, the duty ought to be taken off so as to allow these short wools to be brought in to be manufactured.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). It was on that side of the House the argument was used.

Mr. SPROULE. It was on the other side of the House the argument was used. It was argued that that concession should be made to enable the manufacturers to turn out goods made from short wool as cheaply as possible, and when it was found that wool of that class could not be produced in Canada to meet the demand, the duty was taken off, but it was left upon long wools. Now, it is held to-day that to do any good to the farmer who raises long wool, you must put the duty on short wool, the very reverse of what was argued before. Now, because the duty is taken off it is claimed it can do the farmer no good to allow the duty to remain on long wool, but it would do him good if it was put on short wool, because it would induce the manufacturers of long wool to supply a class of goods that would take the place of short wool. There may be some reason in that, but to say that it does the farmer no good because you allow the duty to remain on long wool, is to say something that is not consistent with what most people believe. The hon. member for West Elgin (Mr. Casey) said that we export our wools, that we do not use them here, and the hon. member for Huron (Mr. McMillan) said the same. According to the Ontario Bureau of Statistics, there were 1,168,834 pounds of wool exported last year. Will any hon. gentleman tell me that we do not raise four or five times that quantity of wool in Ontario? What became of it if we did not use it here? Then, if that was used here, and if long wool could be brought into the country, as the Controller of Customs says, at about 15 cents a pound, and if that would not take the place of our wool, then I do not understand how it is possible for one thing to supplant another.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Our Down wools are not exported. South Down wools are manufactured here in the country.

Mr. SPROULE. Certainly they are, and our long wools are manufactured here also. Of what do we make our coarse carpets if not from long wool? Is not that the very line this policy is calculated to develop in the country? Let any one look at the development of that line since 1879, and he will see that our long wools are used extensively for that purpose. Notwithstanding the fact that we have a little more than supplied our own demand, it does not necessarily follow that it will not enhance the value of what we have by keeping that duty on. We know that a few years ago there was a duty on meats. We are often told, as we have been to-night by the hon.

Mr. SPROULE.

member for Elgin, that the price of wool is regulated by Boston. So they said the price of wheat and the price of meat were regulated by Liverpool. But when we had a duty on meat a few years ago, every man in our part of the country knows that he could send meat to the west to supply the local demand and sell it at one to two cents per pound more, live weight, than he could sell it in the Toronto market, where it was prepared for the British market. So with wool. We have a territory extending over 4,000 miles from east to west along the border of the United States, and were it not for that duty of 3 cents per pound, no doubt in many localities wool would be brought in here and used in Canada, but now it is kept out. The hon. member for Brant (Mr. Patterson) reminds us that there are certain classes of wool that we have no duty upon, and that over a million pounds of such wool were brought in. That shows that the duty has something to do with keeping out wool upon which a duty is placed.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I would ask the hon. gentleman if he can find in the Trade and Navigation Returns that during the fifteen years in which there was no duty on coarse wools, any coarse wool was imported into Canada?

Mr. SPROULE. I have not looked it up, but I can tell the hon. gentleman that for fourteen or fifteen years after the American war, we were largely supplying the Americans with wool and with sheep. At that time I lived over on the other side, and I paid \$85 for a common suit of tweed clothes, and we can understand that there would be no wool imported into Canada then. I paid \$25 for a pair of pants made out of wool. These prices were owing to the fact that so many men were taken from agricultural pursuits to fight in the war that the local demand for wool was not supplied, and it had to be imported, and for many years it was supplied by the Canadian farmer. There was no necessity for a duty on wool then, but as soon as they began to develop these lines and greatly multiply the number of sheep, then there arose a necessity for us to put a duty on wool to keep out American wool. Why, they send their sheep from Montana to the North-west to-day. Would they not also send their wool if it were not for this duty that keeps it out? I believe the Canadian farmers are too intelligent to be misled by the arguments the hon. gentlemen are using to endeavour to convince them that no benefit accrues by keeping this duty on wool. It does benefit them, notwithstanding the fact that they raise more wool than we consume here, and notwithstanding the additional fact that there is such a large demand for short wool brought into the country to be manufactured here into classes of goods that cannot be made out of the wools that we raise at home. The hon. member for West Elgin said that South

Down is not a combing wool. I do not think he read the item closely. Combing wools are mentioned in the item.

Mr. CASEY. It is not "South Down," and then a comma, and afterwards "combing wools," but it is "South Down combing wools," without a comma between.

Mr. SPROULE. It is clear that the comma is left out by accident, and not by design. We read immediately after "and other like combing wools." Now, we do not raise any short wool here, but the South Down and Shropshire belong to the short wool class, and their wools bring a better price than the long combing wools, because there is a greater demand for them than we can supply; but in the other lines where we supply more than the demand, they would be, in some instances, supplanted in our own market were it not for the duty. The duty is for the purpose of giving the market to the country that puts the duty on. We put a duty of 3 cents a pound upon butter to keep foreign butter out, and it does keep it out; and 3 cents a pound on wool keeps wool out in many instances where it would come in were it not for the duty, and to that extent the Canadian farmer benefits by this duty.

Mr. CHARLTON. The hon. member for South Grey (Mr. Sproule) is at fault in his historical reminiscences with regard to the attitude assumed by the different parties in this House on the wool duty. When my hon. friends opposite assumed the position of protectionists in 1876, from that time down to the end of the period that the Mackenzie Government were in power in this country, they rung the changes upon the necessity of imposing a duty upon all classes of wool, of not allowing a single class of wool to come into this market without paying a duty because the farmers of this country required protection in wool. But because the Mackenzie Government allowed classes of wool to come into this market free of duty that come in free to-day, they were denounced for permitting the importations of that class of wool. Now, the hon. gentleman tells us that we raise four times the quantity of these coarse combing wools in this country that we export. It does not matter whether we raise four times, or ten times, or twenty times, as many pounds as we export. The question is: Do we raise more than we consume? Do we export a surplus of the wools? If we do export a surplus of these wools, we require no protection, because we have more of these wools than we can use. He tells us that the duty prevents the United States from sending into this country the very class upon which the duty is imposed. We sold to the United States of these wools last year 1,167,000 pounds; the United States imported that quantity of wool upon which a duty is imposed in this country. I presume that the United States exported

none of that class of wool. If they were raising enough for their own consumption and had a surplus to export they would have bought none from us, and the fact that they bought over 1,000,000 pounds of the coarse wools of Canada is presumptive evidence that they raised an insufficient quantity for their own use, and exported none. So the duty is inoperative and useless so far as it may be intended to prevent the importation of American coarse wools into Canada, when the Americans have no coarse wool to export and are actually importers of that class to a large extent. The hon. gentleman's theory is a pretty broad one, but his argument with respect to the operation of the duty is a fallacious one. We raise of certain kinds of wool more than we consume, we export a large quantity, and the Government placed the duty on that class of wool with the intention of impressing on the farmers the belief that they are acting in their interests and are giving them a protective duty which is of some benefit to them. It is a perfectly fallacious idea. Last year we imported 10,500,000 pounds of wool that paid no duty. We exported 1,168,000 pounds of wool. We imported about nine pounds of wool for every one we exported. If there had been a duty on this great bulk of fine wool it would have fostered the use of the grade of wool we raise in this country. If we had reduced the volume of the imports of wool by 2,000,000 pounds, one-fifth of the importation, that would have placed the farmers in a position where, raising insufficient quantity of wool for home consumption, they would have been under no necessity of exporting 1,168,000 pounds. Then the farmers would have had a home demand for every pound they could raise, and even more wool than they raise. Even if the imported wool had been diminished by one-fifth by a duty, the farmers would have reaped advantage from the duty and would have had conferred on them the advantages of protective duty. If the Government desires to benefit the farmer, let them impose a duty on that class of wool which is imported into this country. By the imposition of that duty they would diminish the importation of those wools, and they would make it an object for the manufacturer to use a larger quantity of the grade that the farmer raises, by the imposition of that duty on the wool actually imported they would bring about a state of things when the farmers would have to increase their clip of wool in order to supply the home demand, and if the Government would adopt that policy they would give the farmer protection, whatever the effect might be on other interests; and if they do not adopt that policy, if they do not put a duty on wools imported and put a duty on grades not imported, but exported, from the country in large quantities, they are deceiving the farmer, they are professing to give protection when there is no protection, and the whole system is a transparent humbug adopt-

ed for the purpose of deceiving the farmer class.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. CHARLTON. I repeat that a protective duty on wool must be such a duty as the American Government imposes; it must be on all grades in order to make it an object for the manufacturers to use domestic wool. That has been the operation of the law in the United States; that is the reason why the Americans will import our coarse wool and pay a duty of 10 cents per pound, because there is a duty in the United States on all grades of wool: on Australian, Argentine, wool from the Cape, wools from every quarter of the world, there is no difference, and duties are imposed on all, and so the farmers receive an honest protection in the shape of duties on wool. But if the grades of wool wanted by the manufacturers of the United States had been admitted free of duty and if the Americans had imposed a duty on the grades raised and consumed in the country, the farmers would have received no benefit, and if the Government is to pursue an honest straightforward policy on this subject they will remove the duty now imposed on the kinds of wool which we import and in excess of the domestic demand, or if they wish to give the farmer protection they will impose a duty on that class of which we import 10,500,000 pounds. I repeat that by reducing the importation of wool to the extent of one-fifth only in amount, the manufacturers will absorb all the surplus of wool now raised in Canada, and make it necessary for the farmer to increase his clip of wool in order to meet the domestic demand.

Mr. SPROULE. The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) has advanced this argument again and again, that it is an utter fallacy that the imposition of a duty on any article of which we have a surplus to export cannot do good. Does not the hon. gentleman remember the imposition of a duty on pork, and will he say that it has conferred no benefit on the Canadian farmer? Will the hon. gentleman make such a statement, in view of the fact that the development in that line was three-quarters of a million dollars within a year and a half, after the duty was raised in 1890? Undoubtedly the change did good; and the farmers think so to-day. When the Controllers went through the country there was no article on which there was such general agreement as pork and beef, and yet during the last year we exported over and above all we used no less than 29,000,000 pounds of pork and the products of pork. But if the hon. gentleman's argument amounted to anything it would apply equally to pork and beef as to wool.

Mr. CHARLTON. Will the hon. gentleman tell the committee whether pork was higher in our markets than in those of the United States?

Mr. CHARLTON.

Mr. SPROULE. I do not care whether it was higher or lower. Will the hon. gentleman deny that the year before the imposition of the duty there were brought in 29,000,000 pounds of beef and pork to feed Canadians, and that next year we shut out 14,000,000 pounds? Does not this duty give the Canadian farmer the home market? It must do so, and no doubt it did give him an additional market as regards 14,000,000 pounds of meat without any cost for freight. I find that last year 2,640,000 sheep, averaging five pounds each, represented 13,000,000 pounds of wool. That product was in only one province of the Dominion; yet all the provinces exported 1,168,000 pounds of wool. Therefore, we must have consumed all the wool raised in other provinces except Ontario, and at least 12,000,000 pounds of the Ontario output. Has not the duty therefore given our farmers the home market? Certainly, and our wool is consumed here, and then we export 1,000,000 pounds over and above all we use at home. Is not the duty doing the farmer good? It is doing him good, and that is the opinion of the Canadian farmers themselves.

Mr. ROSAMOND. The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) still harps on his old idea that we should follow the American system, and have a duty on wool.

Mr. CHARLTON. No; I pointed out that if the Government want to give protection to the farmers they must adopt the American plan of imposing a duty on all classes.

Mr. ROSAMOND. I can make a better suggestion, and that is to increase the duty on woollen goods, and thus increase the consumption in this country of Canadian-grown wool. There is no question but that the consumption of Canadian wools has been largely increasing every year, and no doubt were the duty on woollen goods increased, the consumption would advance still more. It has been asserted that South Down wools were not combing wools. They are combing wools, and they are being combed every day in every worsted mill in the country. I do not desire to prolong the discussion, but as some hon. gentlemen seem to be very anxious to have the duty on wools removed, I make a suggestion to the Government and that is to give those hon. gentlemen their way and take off the duties on wool. All the gentlemen that I have heard speaking on the Opposition side of the House seem to be against the duty on wool. The Minister of Finance might accept their suggestions for once and take the duty off wool so that we might see how it would work.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I suppose the hon. gentleman (Mr. Rosamond), while he is a great advocate of protection so far as his own business is concerned, is equally a pronounced free trader with regard to the business of everybody else. If we had a duty of 5 or 10 cents a pound on all wool coming

into the country then the farmers would give up producing coarse wool and produce the kind the hon. gentleman requires. According to the argument he uses in favour of his own business, the farmer would produce him wool cheaper than he could import it. Is he willing to give the farmer 10 cents a pound on all wool of every variety that can be produced in this country? If he gives that protection the farmer will furnish him with fine qualities of wool. The hon. gentleman could then have an opportunity of applying to the business of the farmer that same policy which he insists upon having applied to his own. If the hon. gentleman were to do that, then he would show some confidence in his theory, because he would not be adopting the policy which he now advocates of free trade for everybody else's business but protection for his own.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). I would like to ask the Minister; but perhaps the member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule), who has given a good deal of consideration to this matter will inform me; How many pounds of the kinds of wool mentioned in the item under consideration were imported during the time there was no duty?

Mr. SPROULE. The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) asked that before, because he knew I had not the book here. Of course the reason why it would not be imported then was because there was such a demand in the United States that we were supplying it from Canada. It was much dearer in the United States than here and of course we would not import it.

Mr. ROSAMOND. The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) ought to know that fine wools cannot be grown in this country.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). No.

Mr. ROSAMOND. It has been tried time and again for the last twenty-five or thirty years to my certain knowledge and in every instance without success. There would be no use putting a duty on fine wools for the purpose of encouraging their growth here. It would only come back on the farmers, inasmuch as if there was a high duty on this wool it would increase the cost of manufactured goods so much that no benefit would be derived from it.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). There would be lots of wool.

Mr. ROSAMOND. My suggestion was taken from the arguments of the Opposition. They seemed to think that there was no necessity for a duty on wool, and I want them to test that in the eyes of the farmers by suggesting to the Finance Minister that he should take the duty off wool at their request. I wanted to see if they were honest and sincere in their statements and if they wanted to go to the country as being in favour of no duty on wool.

Mr. FOSTER. Having requested that some items of the tariff resolutions should stand.

Mr. MACLEAN (York). I wish to have some of these items stand.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). We will never get through the tariff at this rate.

Mr. CHARLTON. There is too much of this standing business.

Mr. MACLEAN (York). One reason why I wish these items to stand, is that I wish the House to pronounce on the question of specific duties. The specific duties have been taken off these items and I am going to contend for a return to specific duties.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). You are a specific duty man?

Mr. MACLEAN (York). I am a specific duty man and I will tell you why.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Never mind now until we come to the items.

Item agreed to.

Buttons of hoof, rubber, vulcanite or composition, 4 cents per gross and 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. CHARLTON. Here is a specific duty.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, we lowered that.

Mr. CHARLTON. We are always suspicious of these specific duties. What is the equivalent ad valorem duty of this?

Mr. WALLACE. About 30 per cent.

Mr. CHARLTON. Does it not run as high as 100 per cent in some instances?

Mr. WALLACE. Last year it was 34 per cent.

Mr. CHARLTON. Would the hon. Minister state positively that there are no instances where this duty would run as high as 100 per cent?

Mr. FOSTER. No, I would not state that.

Mr. CHARLTON. Would the Minister deny it?

Mr. FOSTER. The burden of proof is on you.

Item agreed to.

Buttons of pearl, vegetable ivory or horn, 8 cents per gross and 20 per cent.

Mr. CHARLTON. There are kinds of pearl buttons on which this duty will amount to 100 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. The duty will run from 20 per cent up.

Mr. CHARLTON. How high up? Will it go in any case up to 100 per cent?

Mr. FOSTER. I dare say there would be cases in which it would.

Mr. CHARLTON. Is that not scandalous?

Mr. WALLACE. I think the average price is as low as 50 cents a gross.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). And how high ?

Mr. WALLACE. As high as \$10. There are some kinds lower than 50 cents.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Yes, as low as 25 cents.

Mr. WALLACE. If so, I do not think they are of any use.

Item agreed to.

Fertilizers, compound or manufactured, 10 per cent.

Mr. CHARLTON. To what extent are fertilizers used in Canada, and to what extent are they imported ?

Mr. FOSTER. The use of them is increasing largely. It is pretty difficult to say how much fertilizer is used, because every barn-yard is a manufactory by itself ; \$21,000 of fertilizers were imported last year.

Mr. CHARLTON. Have we any manufacturing establishments ?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes ; in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario ; they are pretty well distributed.

Mr. CHARLTON. Do they really require protection ?

Mr. FOSTER. They had 20 per cent last year, and we are giving them only 10 per cent now.

Mr. CHARLTON. I think it would be as well to let the farmers have free fertilizers.

Mr. FOSTER. We do, in this way, that nearly all the components of fertilizers come in free of duty.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). That does not advantage the farmers.

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, yes ; the farmers, through agricultural societies and otherwise, are largely working up these materials for themselves.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). You are simply giving the manufacturer an advantage of 10 per cent in addition to his ordinary profits and freight.

Item agreed to.

Photographic dry plates, 30 per cent.

Mr. CHARLTON. Are these articles manufactured in this country ?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes. The old duty was 9 cents per square foot. This is a very large reduction.

Mr. CHARLTON. Have there been any representations from the photographic trade with regard to this duty ?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes ; that is why the reduction has been made.

Mr. CHARLTON. Are they satisfied with the present rate ?

Mr. FOSTER. I have not heard a word against it.

Item agreed to.

Mr. WALLACE.

Gun, rifle and pistol cartridges, cartridge cases of all kinds and materials, percussion caps and gun wads of all kinds, 30 per cent.

Mr. INGRAM. I would like to ask the Finance Minister why it is that cartridges for Peabody rifles have to pay duty ? I understand that these rifles are not manufactured in this country, but in the United States ; and, as a number of them are in use in this country, why should the cartridges for them not be admitted free of duty ?

Mr. FOSTER. We must have some revenue.

Item agreed to.

All goods not enumerated, as subject to duty, free of duty or prohibited, 20 per cent.

Mr. CHARLTON. What class of goods would be included in this ?

Mr. FOSTER. It is almost impossible to tell. It is a very long list. There are hundreds of items.

Mr. WALLACE. We have taken out the principal one, that is linen goods, \$1,250,000 or thereabouts, and enumerated it.

Mr. CHARLTON. What would be the balance in the aggregate, roughly speaking ?

Mr. WALLACE. There are two or three columns, several million dollars.

Item agreed to.

Mackerel, 1 cent per pound.

Mr. CHARLTON. Is this for fresh mackerel, or any kind of mackerel ?

Mr. FOSTER. Any kind.

Mr. CHARLTON. I imagine that the imposition of these fish duties is very injudicious. It has led to imposition of duties upon fish in the United States. We naturally would import almost nothing in this line, as we are a great fish-producing country, and seek markets for our fish abroad, and it strikes me these duties, which cannot yield much revenue, are mischievous in their consequence. I do not see the use of them. We do not import mackerel and require no protection.

Mr. WALLACE. We imported 20,000 pounds.

Mr. CHARLTON. That would be under exceptional circumstances, I imagine.

Item agreed to.

Herrings, pickled or salted, $\frac{1}{2}$ cent a pound.

Mr. CHARLTON. How much duty did we derive from that ?

Mr. WALLACE. We imported 62,000 pounds.

Mr. CHARLTON. That would give a very inconsiderable sum. Suppose the result would be that the United States imposed a duty of $\frac{1}{2}$ cent duty ?

Mr. FOSTER. They have their duties now.

Mr. CHARLTON. If we took that off and said to the Americans that we are moving in the line of tariff reform, we would be setting them an example.

Mr. FOSTER. It would be generous.

Mr. CHARLTON. It would be politic.

Mr. FOSTER. It would be generous, but not business.

Item agreed to.

Salmon, pickled or salted, 1 cent a pound.

Mr. CHARLTON. How much salmon did we import ?

Mr. WALLACE. About 1,000 pounds.

Mr. CHARLTON. We realized \$10 on it. That is a very important item of revenue.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). It is for development.

Mr. CHARLTON. I am thoroughly convinced that the fish duties are useless and mischievous. If we were to take the duties off, our chances for getting modifications of the American duties would be very greatly improved.

Mr. FOSTER. They would not do that for \$10.

Item agreed to.

All other fish, pickled or salted, in barrels, 1 cent a pound.

Mr. MACDONALD (King's). There is a fish imported by the fishermen in the Maritime Provinces from the United States, which is not caught anywhere else, the duty on which weighs heavily on the fishermen. It is used altogether as bait and is called porgees. While vessels prosecuting the sea fisheries can get a drawback on the fish imported for bait, the fishermen on the coast have to pay the duty. I hope the Government will see their way clear to remove that duty, which is really a hardship on the fishermen engaged in coast fishing.

Mr. FOSTER. We will consider that matter.

Item agreed to.

Foreign codfish, imported otherwise than in barrels or half-barrels, whether fresh, dried, salted or pickled, not especially enumerated or provided for by this Act, 50 cents per 100 pounds.

Mr. CHARLTON. Is there a large importation of that line ?

Mr. WALLACE. There is a large number of items here. The total would be perhaps \$40,000.

Item agreed to.

Oysters, shell, in bulk, 10 cents per gallon.

Mr. CHARLTON. Now, as to oysters, Mr. Chairman, mentioned in this and two or three succeeding items—I suppose we are almost entirely dependent on the United States for our supply—

Mr. FOSTER. No ; we get large quantities from Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick.

Mr. CHARLTON. Of good quality ?

Mr. FOSTER. First-rate.

Mr. CHARLTON. They do not reach us here.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, they do ; I discussed a barrel or two of them this winter.

Mr. CHARLTON. In the western part of the province, at least, we are almost entirely dependent upon the American supply from Chesapeake Bay and Delaware Bay. This is a tax upon a food product. I doubt very much whether these taxes are justifiable.

An hon. MEMBER. We use oysters here for parliamentary dinners.

Mr. CHARLTON. If you would confine the taxation to parliamentary dinners it would not be so bad.

Mr. WALLACE. This is only 8 or 9 per cent ; these oysters are entered at \$1.20 per gallon.

Item agreed to.

Oysters in the shell, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Oysters in the shell ought to come in free, and have the canning done here.

Mr. CHARLTON. This is an unjust discrimination. Oysters in bulk come in at about 8 per cent, while the oysters in the shell are taxed 25 per cent, a discrimination against oysters in the shell of about 17 per cent. It seems to me this ought to be reversed. The transportation lines receive more benefit from carrying oysters in the shell, and then there must be some labour employed in shelling the oysters. Then the Government could retain the shells for lime.

Mr. EDGAR. The Government must hope, by this duty, to encourage the manufacture of oyster shells.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Seriously, I think that oysters in the shell should be on the free list. They are a cheap article of food, and might be generally used.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Put the shells on the free list, and tax the oysters.

Item agreed to.

Packages containing oysters or other fish, not otherwise provided for, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. I wish to add another item which seems not to be provided for :

Fresh or dried fish, n.e.s., imported in barrels or half barrels, 1 cent per pound.

Item agreed to.

Articles for the use of the Governor General, free.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). I would suggest that this would be a good opportunity for the Minister to give the committee an idea of the articles put upon the free list that were not on before.

Mr. FOSTER. That would be a good deal of labour.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). It would prevent the asking of questions at each item.

Mr. FOSTER. We can go over the list, and I will mention wherever there has been a change.

Articles imported by and for the use of the Dominion Government or any of the departments thereof or for the Senate or House of Commons, including the following articles when imported by the said Government or through any of the departments thereof for the use of the Canadian militia:—military clothing, musical instruments for military bands, military stores and munitions of war.

Mr. INGRAM. I would like to ask again the question I put a short time ago. Take the cadet corps in my own town, for instance. They have bought their own clothing. They have been provided with Peabody rifles by the Department of Militia. When they want to engage in ball practice they must buy ammunition made in the United States. I would like to know whether the ammunition brought in by the corps will come in free of duty?

Mr. FOSTER. I will give that matter consideration.

Mr. SPROULE. I do not think curling stones should be on the free list, as they are articles of luxury and the people could well afford to pay a duty on them.

Mr. CASEY. I think diamonds unset are not necessities of life, any more than are granite curling stones. It is outrageous to allow unset diamonds to come in duty free. The Finance Minister will find a great many people who are taxed on the necessities of life will wish to know why unset diamonds, valued at thousands of dollars, are to be admitted free, while the necessities of life are heavily taxed.

Mr. FOSTER. This subject has been discussed in a great many deliberative bodies when making tariffs, and the consensus of opinion is that the duty on diamonds is inoperative, because they are so easily smuggled, and in fact it operates against the honest jeweller and importer because of the extreme facility with which they can be brought in. Besides, if a duty were imposed, it would produce but a small revenue.

Mr. CASEY. In the United States diamonds are taxed, although attempts are made to smuggle them. They are also taxed in free trade England.

Mr. WALLACE. They are not taxed in England.

Mr. AMYOT. If the hon. member will look at item 557 of the tariff 1890 of the United States he will see that diamonds and other precious stones are on the free list.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant).

Mr. KAULBACH. I think it is not desirable that eggs should be on the free list, as they have been taken from the free list in the United States and subject to a high duty.

Mr. FOSTER. The new tariff has not been passed yet.

Mr. McDONALD (Assiniboia). I consider that eggs should be made subject to a duty of 5 cents a dozen. The placing of eggs on the free list has ruined the industry in Manitoba and the North-west Territories, as our markets are now flooded from Minnesota and Washington State.

Mr. CASEY. This is a very different position of affairs from the time when hens were laying larger eggs under the influence of the National Policy, and the idea of placing eggs on the free list is not consistent with the idea of protecting the farmers' interests.

Mr. FOSTER. Allow the item to stand.

Flax fibre and flax tow.

Mr. CASEY. It is a strange method of protecting home industries to put this on the free list if the principle is to be carried out all around as Ministers have always pretended it would be. The flax industry is one of the most important in Ontario. I fancy there are a great many more men employed in producing flax fibre than in many of the industries that are heavily protected by the Government. I would like to know on what principle the Minister makes this free, while he protects other industries so largely?

Mr. WALLACE. Would the hon. gentleman suggest what duty he would propose to the House to put on?

Mr. CASEY. I would propose to the House that the Controller of Customs should take his seat, and that the Minister should answer my question. It is not my place or the Controller's to propose a duty. That belongs to the Finance Minister.

Mr. WALLACE. Would he suggest that a duty should be put on, or that it should remain free?

Mr. CASEY. I am asking the Minister of Finance for necessary explanations which the Controller of Customs cannot give. It is the duty of the Minister of Finance to explain his policy. This is a matter in which my constituents, as well as those in other counties, are deeply interested. I want to ask the Minister on what principle he puts this on the free list while he taxes other articles of a similar nature. If there is any principle underlying this different treatment of the different articles, I want to get at it.

Mr. SPROULE. There seems to be no necessity for a duty on it because there

were only thirty-eight pounds brought in, and it does not require a duty to keep it out.

Mr. CASEY. That is only the future Minister who has given the explanation, and not the present one.

Mr. SPROULE. It answers your purposes, no matter where it comes from.

Bananas, plantains, pineapples, &c.

Mr. BAIN (Wentworth). What is the difference between bananas and oranges?

Mr. FOSTER. Difference in size and shape.

Mr. BAIN (Wentworth). I suppose they all go the same road in the end, but you let bananas in free, and you tax oranges.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). This is a very peculiar proposition. There was a discussion on this matter before.

Mr. FOSTER. And a very able one.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I do not know that.

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, yes; the hon. gentleman (Mr. Mills) took part in it.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). But the Minister of Finance did not, and so it was only partly able. There should be some explanation as to why bananas should be free and oranges and lemons taxed. Is it because the bananas come from the West Indies, and oranges and lemons largely from the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. That is not the reason.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Then what reason is it? There is neither of them produced in this country, and the Minister is simply raising a revenue on what is becoming more and more a necessary of life. It seems to me that all these articles ought to be treated on the same principle, and they should all be subject to a very moderate duty, or what would best serve the people, they should all be on the free list.

Mr. FOSTER. The revenue would lose considerable.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Not so much as is lost by bananas.

Mr. FOSTER. When the taste for them gets well developed, we will get a revenue from them.

Hides and skins, raw, whether dry, salted, or pickled, and raw pelts, free.

Mr. CASEY. This compares very unfavourably with the high duty on tanned leather. The farmer is again put to a disadvantage. He has to compete with the extremely cheap hides of the pampas of South America in the sale of his raw hides, while he is compelled, on the other hand, to pay a very high duty on all articles made of leather which he buys. Of course, there

is no hope of getting this matter explained, as the Minister has evidently shut his mouth with the intention of not explaining anything, in the hope that thereby he will facilitate the hurrying through of these items; but, although he will not explain why he treats this farmers' product as something that needs no protection, while imposing high taxes on the leather which they have to buy, it is worth while calling the attention of the House and the country to the matter in this brief way, though I may have to do it another time at greater length.

Indian corn of the varieties known as "Southern white Dent Corn" or horse tooth ensilage corn, and "Western yellow Dent Corn" or horse tooth ensilage corn, when imported to be sown for soiling and ensilage, and for no other purpose, under regulations to be made by the Governor in Council, free.

Mr. CASEY. Of course, there can be no objection to putting these varieties of corn on the free list. But I want to know how you are to distinguish corn imported for the purpose of being sown for ensilage from corn imported for fattening cattle. Although my county produces a very large amount of corn, I would like to see all corn put on the free list. It would be the most important benefit that could be conferred upon the very large class of people who feed cattle for the English market; and, on the principle on which drawbacks are granted to people who import raw materials and export the manufactured product, it is certainly proper and right to ask that the raw material for producing fat cattle for export should be allowed to come in free. Our cattle trade with England is now in a very languishing condition, and the most that can be done by the Government to reinvigorate it is to cheapen the cost of fattening cattle in Canada, and we cannot fatten them profitably without importing corn from the United States. If there is anything more than a pretense of consideration for the farmer in the minds of the Government, they will show it by putting corn on the free list.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The item specifies corn sown for soiling and ensilage, and for no other purpose. Of course the Minister of Finance does not intend to exclude corn for planting, for which the farmers in the south-western portion of Ontario very frequently import southern varieties. When these are planted in this country a few years, they become harder, developing into flint corn, and so they have to import again in order to retain the soft varieties. The word planting ought to be inserted.

Mr. FOSTER. I have no objection to that.

Mr. CASEY. How do the Government distinguish between corn imported for that

purpose and corn imported for other purposes?

Mr FOSTER. Certain kinds of corn are only fitted or mostly fitted for ensilage and not for food purposes.

Committee rose and reported progress.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to ; and the House adjourned at 11.20 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, 11th May, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

THE HARD PAN CASES.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. There has been a desire evinced on the part of the House that hon. members should be placed in possession of the documents in relation to the Hard Pan cases. The hon. member for Guysborough (Mr. Fraser) has a motion on the paper respecting them, and, in his absence, if the House will permit me, I will move for :

Reports, papers and orders relating to the Hard Pan cases, and also the findings of the judge of the Exchequer Court respecting the said claims.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Will this order include the commission issued to the judge by Order in Council ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes.

Mr. MARTIN. And also the report of the engineer ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes, and all the papers.

Motion agreed to.

INQUIRIES FOR RETURNS.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). In reference to the Order of the House for a return of the correspondence relative to the Thousand Islands, I call the attention of the Minister of the Interior to the fact that there are papers that ought to have been included in that return that are not before the House, and amongst them a despatch from the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, of the 24th of April. I think that motion was carried in the House after the 24th of April, and, as all papers relating to that subject were moved for, I would like very much that they should all be brought down and printed together.

Mr. CASEY.

Mr. DALY. I stated to the hon. gentleman yesterday that I brought down to the House all the papers in the possession of the Department of Indian Affairs at the time the motion passed. The report he refers to was not received by the department until the 27th of April, long after the Order of the House was passed. I am powerless to have printed any papers I am not ordered by the House to bring down.

Mr. McMULLEN. When will the return with regard to the dues collected in the cul-lers' office in Montreal be brought down ?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). I have not been able to get the information asked for as yet. Let it stand for a few days.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

Mr. FOSTER moved that the House again resolve itself into Committee on Ways and Means.

Motion agreed to, and House again resolved itself into Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Free list—Iron or steel beams, sheets, plates, angles and knees for iron or composite ships or vessels.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. While I am not going to raise any objection to this being on the free list, this is a convenient time for inquiring of the Minister of Finance whether the Government have decided to give any consideration to the proposition of the manufacturers of agricultural implements, in the way of allowing them to obtain free any portion of the iron and steel which they use in the manufacture of these implements ?

Mr. FOSTER. No such decision has been arrived at yet.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Then, are we to understand that there is no redress for these parties, because it appears to me that a very grave injustice has been committed. I have no objection to the reduction of the duty on agricultural implements, and so far I am in accord with the policy of the Government on general principles that we ought to reduce the tariff generally ; but, as the Minister knows very well, a large quantity of the iron which enters into those articles is taxed at the rate of 40, 50, and 60 per cent, and in some cases even a higher rate of duty. It does appear to me that it is a grave injustice to refuse any concession to these persons. Now, if the Government have made up their minds that they will make no concession in that way, that they will tax the raw material of the agricultural implement makers at rates much more than double the tax of the finished article ; not only is it a departure from their own prin-

principles, as laid down on frequent occasions here, not only is it an absolute injustice to that class of manufacturers, but, of course, it injures the farmers also, because there is no doubt whatever that they would be greatly benefited by any reductions that would enable the manufacturers to produce those articles more cheaply; it will come in the end directly on the farmers. I want also to know whether the Government—and I think this is an occasion on which they ought to state to us frankly what they propose to do—if they will not make any concession now, do the Government intend, when Parliament has risen, or even now, to make any use of the powers which they hold, or are supposed to hold, for there may be a doubt on the matter, under the law which allows the Treasury Board to relax duty in certain cases? Do they propose to make use of that to abate the duty?

Mr. FOSTER. No decision has been come to with reference to that. The subject has not even been discussed.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. And is not intended to be acted upon?

Mr. FOSTER. At the present time there is no intention; that is as far as I can answer.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. This is a proper time to call the attention of the Minister to the matter I referred to a few days ago with reference to allowing sheets and angles to come in free for the manufacture of steel windmills. The hon. gentleman has in his possession a full statement of what is required. As I pointed out the other day, this class of sheets and angles is not manufactured in Canada at all. The manufacture of windmills is an important industry, giving employment to a large number of men, the windmills are being adopted almost universally in many sections, and, even from the point of view of the Government's own policy of protection, when this class of steel or iron is not manufactured in the country, but has to be imported, it seems to me that this material might be admitted free for that purpose, seeing that the same thing is done with regard to the manufacture of ships and other things. As I pointed out, the duty on the raw material is higher than the duty on the manufactured article. I simply bring the matter to the attention of the Government, hoping it will receive their consideration, for the request seems to me from every standpoint to be a reasonable one, which, if granted, would be for the benefit of the country without injuring the revenue.

Mr. FOSTER. After the hon. gentleman spoke the other night I looked up the papers in my possession, and the only request, so far as I remember, was with reference to pipes for derricks, used in the construction of windmills. What the hon. gentleman has stated to-day is new, and if he will send

me the representations he speaks of, I will take them up in connection with the other matter, as to which I have not yet decided.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I shall be very glad to send the hon. gentleman the representations.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I would like to know when the hon. gentleman means to decide, because it would be treating this House very unfairly to pass this tariff and afterwards reopen it for the purpose of taking up such questions.

Mr. FOSTER. The tariff is not yet settled. There are points in the main tariff to which we have yet to go back.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). They were settled, then unsettled, and they want settling again.

Mr. FOSTER. No. Before the tariff is finally disposed of, I think the hon. gentleman has a right to have a straight answer to that question, and I propose to give him one.

Iron or steel manufactures, which at the time of their importation are of a class or kind not manufactured in Canada, when imported for use in the construction of iron, steel, or composite ships or vessels, free.

Mr. CASEY. If this item were made general and not confined to materials used in the construction of ships, it would cover both windmills and agricultural implements. Undoubtedly the protection given to the manufacturers of agricultural implements has been reduced, and it may be said that in that way the farmer will obtain all the benefit he ought to ask for. I do not quite agree with that. Seeing that the protection on the finished machine has been reduced, while the duty on the raw material has been maintained, and in some points increased, it is natural to expect that the manufacturer, unwilling to bear the whole cost of the reduction in the price of his finished article, will try to pass off a somewhat inferior article on the farmers. In other words, he will try to recoup himself for the smaller difference that exists between the cost of the raw material and the cost of the finished article than formerly. I am very glad the duty on the finished article has been reduced, but I think the manufacturers of these implements, who are a large and influential and wealthy class in the country, are also deserving of consideration. Therefore, both on account of the farmers, and on account of the manufacturers of these implements, I would ask that even if all iron for use in the manufacture of agricultural implements be not admitted free, the kind of iron mentioned in this item, that which at the time of its importation is of a class or kind not manufactured in Canada, should be admitted free for the manufacture of agricultural implements. I have had occasion to oppose the claims of the manu-

facturers in many particulars, when I thought they were unduly favoured by the imposition of protective duties. This seems to me to be a case where an important manufacture should be assisted by the thoroughly wholesome method of admitting part of its raw material free, and if the articles are not manufactured in Canada, I do not see how anybody else could be injured by this exception being made.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think it is possible. Even if it were, it would not help the manufacturers of implements, because the kinds of iron they use are manufactured in this country.

Mr. CASEY. The Minister is perfectly sure that everything that is used—

Mr. FOSTER. I am not perfectly sure that everything they use is made in Canada, but all the kinds of iron they use is manufactured in Canada—pig iron, bar iron and steel as well.

Mr. CASEY. Are all sorts of rods and bars they use manufactured in Canada?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, rods and bars, and everything used in making binders.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Is it not true that a drawback is granted these manufacturers on implements they export?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, a slight drawback.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Then there must be some articles they use that pay a duty?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Then there must be some used by them that are not made in the country?

Mr. FOSTER. Some articles, but very few. The drawback is very slight, probably \$2 a machine.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). As the hon. Minister says, this would not be a great advantage to them, but there is this fact mentioned by the hon. member for South Oxford. They are burdened with a duty on raw material, and they would not receive a relief under this, as the burdens on the raw material still remain. Having made a cut of 15 per cent in the protection afforded them—a larger cut than that made on any other item—it seems hard that they should be left burdened with the excessive duties on the raw materials they use. I am not in a position to speak definitely, but have been told by those engaged in the industry that the duty on a good deal of the raw material they use would be equal to even 40 or 50 per cent, and I think they say on pig iron as much as 60 per cent. The Minister has told us that he does not propose to do injustice to any manufacturing industry for the sake of protecting another, and it seems to me this is a case which deserves some

Mr. CASEY.

consideration. The manufacture of our agricultural implements is a thing Canadians feel somewhat justly proud of—the position it has attained and the extent of the industry. And to treat it in a very exceptional way by leaving the burdens on their raw material while reducing the protection on the finished article, would seem, according to their representations, to leave them nothing at all in the way of protection. I suppose the hon. gentleman has had representations made to him on this matter, and would like him to say what protection really the manufacturers of agricultural implements enjoy. What is the difference between the duty on the raw material and the finished product?

Mr. FOSTER. I have no doubt the hon. gentleman perfectly knows.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). No, I am not thoroughly posted.

Mr. FOSTER. He seems to be perfectly well posted.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What is your view?

Mr. FOSTER. It is that the agricultural implement men have a fair protection under the rates as they are.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What do you call a fair protection?

Mr. FOSTER. The tariff gives them 20 per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Yes, on the finished article, but the duties may be 40, 50 or 60 per cent on the raw material which they are obliged to use. I doubt extremely whether, at this moment, in several of these articles, the agricultural implement maker receives any protection at all. And I feel no doubt whatever on another point, that if the agricultural implement makers had been, most of them, better supporters of the hon. gentleman and his friends than they have, they would have received very different treatment at the hands of the Government.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. In that case they would have been the major and not the minor thieves.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It is pretty clear how this tariff has been constructed. It has been devised to protect the interests of those who have aided the Government, on various occasions, in purse and person, and to injure those who have not contributed to keep the Government in place.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. After that misstatement, which we are so accustomed to, perhaps one of the friends of the implement manufacturers on that side will tell us what the articles are on which they pay any duty on their machines.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I will tell the hon. gentleman. On all the iron and the steel they employ of every description. On the angle iron, the rods they use, on every single article of iron and steel which goes into the production of agricultural implements. And if the Finance Minister does not know that, in his position, he ought to know, the greater part of the raw material used in the manufacture of most agricultural implements is iron and steel.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes, but not iron and steel on which duties are paid.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Yes, and on which exorbitant duties are paid.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Most certainly not.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Will the hon. gentleman name any single description of iron or steel which goes into the manufacture of agricultural implements on which no duty is exacted?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I have asked the hon. gentleman to state on what articles duty is paid which form part of the machine, and his answer is: Tell me the articles on which they do not pay a duty.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. All the iron and steel of every description which go into the manufacture of agricultural implements are heavily taxed, beginning with pig iron and going on to angle iron and rods.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The major part of the iron they use is produced in Canada.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Is the hon. gentleman still ignorant of the fact that the price of that is increased by every tax on the imported article?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I am not ignorant of the fact that that statement is made every quarter of an hour by the opposite side of the House, nor am I ignorant how little foundation there is for it.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). If the duty does not enhance the price, what is the object of it?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. We have had that chestnut very often discussed, and it was cracked long ago.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). What is the object of reducing the duty on agricultural implements from 35 to 20 per cent, if the duty were not taken advantage of? The hon. gentleman must be well convinced, in his own mind, that the duty on imported iron enhances the price of that made in this country. There are, in addition, certain articles which the manufacturers do import and which are not made in this country, and, as the Minister of Finance says, they are allowed, on their machines exported, a rebate of something like \$2 a machine to counteract the duty. But the hon. Minister

will not pretend to deny that the bar iron and pig iron and steel and the malleable irons and all these articles they use are not enhanced in price by the duty on the imports. I suppose the Finance Minister will be the first to tell us that if he were to reduce the duty on these, he would destroy the home industry, and that the home industry can only be maintained by giving it this advantage over the imported article. What we submit to the Minister is that, having reduced the duty on agricultural implements, which it is desirable should be done, he should not, on the other hand, do an injustice to these men by leaving them burdened with the same duties on the raw material as were charged before. He tries to get around that by saying the raw material they use is not imported, but it must be enhanced in price by the imposition of a duty, otherwise there would be no object in imposing it.

Mr. FOSTER. My hon. friend has taken his position, let us see what it amounts to. He will excuse me if I analyze it for a moment. I believe he is a free trader, and if his party came into power they would take off the duty on agricultural implements and on the articles which enter into their manufacture. Therefore, if my hon. friend is consistent as a free trader, he is bound not to give the manufacturer here, who is protected upon the finished article, more protection than offsets the amount of duty he has to pay upon what goes into its production, provided he gets those materials from abroad. There is no escape from that position. If my hon. friend will make the assertion and prove it, that if an agricultural implement maker imports everything from abroad, and pays the duty according to the present schedule, and then make his machine at a price corresponding to that of the machine made in the United States, and gets his protection of 20 per cent—if the hon. gentleman will make the statement and prove it, that, under these conditions the Canadian manufacturer is not in a better position than he would be if no duties were imposed, then I will give up the struggle. And until he does that, my hon. friend is inconsistent with himself, with the policy of his party, and with the free trade principle which he sometimes, on platforms at least declares for, whether in practice he urges it or not. Unless he can show that the manufacturer of agricultural implements to-day has not an offset to the duties he would pay upon everything that goes into the construction of a machine, even if he imports it and pays the duty, he is inconsistent, as I have stated. He cannot prove that. The manufacturer has an advantage, and the hon. gentleman knows it.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). The Minister, according to his own declaration, must be guided by the free trade principle in framing this tariff. I do not so understand it. I under-

stand that the hon. Minister has submitted a proposition based upon what he declares was necessary for the country, the protection of home manufactures. And, in criticising his proposal as I had occasion to say before, I judge it by this principle which he has laid down and which has been adopted by the House, though opposed on this side. We are now in committee perfecting this tariff according to the principle adopted by the House, but not adopted unanimously. The hon. Minister is not in a position to say that we on this side of the House, under these conditions, are bound to judge this tariff by the free trade principle. Applying the principle that he has laid down to the tariff that he has proposed, we ask the hon. gentleman: Why should you single out one particular industry to slaughter it, while other industries not employing one one-hundredth part of the same number of men are receiving protection of 100 per cent? We are criticising the tariff on the principle laid down by the hon. Minister himself, and the hon. Minister will please confine himself to that aspect of the case and state fairly—he himself claiming to know the facts and alleging that I know them, although I am not in that position—what amount of protection he is leaving to the agricultural implement manufacturer under this tariff as it is arranged. That is to say, what protection is there in the difference between the duty on the finished product and the addition to the price of the raw materials of which the implement is composed caused by the duties upon these raw materials? That is the standpoint from which this tariff is to be discussed, and that is the standpoint from which it is being discussed by the Opposition, although they deny the truth of the principle upon which this tariff is based.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman knows as well as I do that an agricultural implement of a certain kind—say a binder—would be valued at \$100. At 20 per cent duty, the protection to the home manufacturer of such an implement would be \$20—that is plain enough. I defy my hon. friend to say that, if everything that goes into the construction of that agricultural implement is imported from abroad and duty paid upon it, the total duty represented by that implement will be more than from \$6 to \$8.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. Finance Minister might have gone still further. What are the articles used in the construction of a binder? I am told that a binder weighs about 1,400 pounds. Of that, about 150 to 200 pounds are wood and canvas. The statement is made by the implement men that the iron used in the construction of a binder weighs 1,200 pounds—600 pounds pig iron, 300 pounds wrought iron and 300 pounds steel. The duty on 600 pounds of pig iron, if they had to import it—but they have not for they get it cheaper here—

Mr. PATERSON (Brant).

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). No, no.
Some hon. MEMBERS. No, no.

Mr. WALLACE. If they could not buy it cheaper here they would import it; the fact that they buy it here is sufficient proof that they get it cheaper. But suppose there were in this country no manufactures of pig iron or bar iron, or steel, and that the manufacturers of agricultural implements had to import all their raw material, what would be the result? The duty on 600 pounds of pig iron, at \$4 per ton, is \$1.20; the duty on 300 pounds of steel, at ½ cent per pound, is \$1.50; the duty on 300 pounds of wrought iron, at ½ cent per pound, is \$1.50, making a total on these articles of \$4.20. Say there were other items to be imported, and upon which they would have to pay duty—for instance, canvas, which, however, is made in this country—and counting the duty upon coal and other articles used in the manufacture, but which do not appear in the composition of the article itself—take all these duties and you cannot make up a total of more than about \$6. As the Finance Minister said, the price of the imported American binder, as fixed for the purpose of estimating the duty, is as follows:—For 100 binders in one shipment under one invoice, \$90; from 50 to 100 binders under one invoice, \$95, and under 50, \$100. These are the prices fixed and accepted as satisfactory by the American manufacturers, because they are based on the law which says that the price for duty shall be the price in the open market, and these are the prices for wholesale quantities charged by McCormick and other manufacturers in selling to dealers in these implements. As a matter of fact there has never been a shipment of 100 binders under one invoice, nor even one of 50 binders under one invoice, so that upon all implements the duty has been calculated upon a price of \$100. Now, 20 per cent on \$100 makes \$20 of protection, and I challenge the hon. gentleman to quote figures of all the materials entering into the manufacture of this implement, even supposing all were imported and duty paid upon them, to show that the total duty upon these materials would be more than one-third of the protection given the manufacturer of the finished article. The manufacturers have over \$13 clear protection on a binder, and, that, I think, is a pretty fair protection. The same proportion will apply to all other agricultural implements made in Canada by Canadian manufacturers.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. Controller of Customs, who has just addressed the committee, it seems to me, has taken a more rational view of the subject of protection in discussing this question than he did in discussing a number of others, in which the duty ran much higher, being up to 140 per cent in one case. It would seem that the hon. gentleman's view of the reason—

ableness of the amount of protection given depends upon some occult relation between the manufacturer and the hon. gentleman. We had him declaring a few evenings ago that 140 per cent was not an unreasonable protection in one instance, and now he says that 20 per cent in another case, even though many of the raw materials are subject to duty, is adequate protection. So, it is pretty clear the hon. gentleman's opinion of what would be reasonable is a variable quantity.

Mr. FOSTER. Something like your policy over there.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman has pointed out that the articles which are subject to these duties may be produced here and can be bought without paying duty, and that seems to have been the view taken by the hon. Prime Minister. Well, Sir, that seems to me a very extraordinary contention. The hon. gentleman says: Why, the manufacturer of agricultural implements may buy his pig iron, and his steel, and his other iron in Canada, and if he does so, he need not pay any duty at all. I wonder if it makes any difference to the manufacturer whether he is paying a tax to the Government or whether he is paying a tax to the party who produces his raw material. Why, it was shown to the House, I need not say when, that pig iron could be purchased in Scotland for \$10.50 a ton, when it was commanding here \$15 or \$16 a ton. Does not every hon. gentleman see that the manufacturer is as much burdened in consequence of the duty, although he may purchase a product found in this country, as if he purchased the same kind of product from abroad? Now, if I understand the contention of the hon. Minister of Finance, it amounts to this, that if a party were to manufacture here, from Canadian iron and steel, an agricultural implement, and were to send it abroad, he would get no remission of taxation in consequence of the extra price incurred on account of the tariff; but if he were to import the iron and steel and manufacture an implement from those imported articles, although it cost him no more than it would to manufacture it from articles produced in Canada, when he reshipped that implement, having paid a duty upon a portion of the raw material, he would be entitled to a remission.

Mr. FOSTER. No; he would not be entitled to a single cent of remission.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Why not?

Mr. FOSTER. Because, no remission is given in the way of drawbacks upon articles of a kind which are made in this country, and if he makes his implement from pig iron, or from bar iron, which are of a kind made in this country, he gets no drawback on what he imports.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Even for imported articles?

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman knows the law.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). It is important that we should know that fact, because everybody will understand then that the manufacturers of agricultural implements who, 15 years ago, were manufacturing these same implements for the German market, are to-day unable to enter into competition with foreign makers in consequence of the extra burdens that are imposed upon them.

Mr. FOSTER. They are selling more abroad to-day than in any other year in the history of their existence.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I think the hon. gentleman is mistaken.

Mr. FOSTER. I beg to say again that the agricultural implement men are selling more abroad to-day than at any previous time in their existence.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). As against the Americans the Canadian manufacturer may be on fair terms of competition, because the American manufacturer who sends his article to the European market is as heavily burdened as is the manufacturer of Canada, in consequence of the high duties that are imposed upon him. I would like to know whether that is giving the manufacturer of agricultural implements in Canada a fair opportunity. It is perfectly clear from the hon. gentleman's own statement that the Canadian manufacturer is burdened, at least to the extent of \$6 on implements directly upon the articles themselves, and with regard to the cost of labour and everything else that enters into the composition of the machine, his burdens are increased, and increased at least, to an amount double the duty paid upon the raw material that he actually uses. So it is clear that the hon. gentleman, far from fostering the industry so far as the foreign market is concerned, is imposing serious impediments in its way. But that is not all. The hon. gentleman is imposing an additional burden upon agriculturists. He promised to help the agriculturists, but if he makes it impossible for the Canadian manufacturer to make that machine at the lowest point at which the manufacture is possible, he is burdening every man in the country who is a purchaser of the article, and so the hon. gentleman is putting a burden upon the whole agricultural population of this country who are customers of those engaged in the manufacture of these agricultural implements. But I rose mainly to call the attention of the House to the extraordinary position taken by the Prime Minister. He declared that because an article is manufactured from native products there is therefore no burden falling upon the manufacturer. Why, he said: He don't pay duty. The fact is he does pay duty, but he does not pay it into the public

treasury, he pays it to the producer of the raw material which he employs. The hon. Minister of Finance admitted that. The Minister of Finance, in his Budget speech, admitted that with regard to a great number of those articles, and in the first instance with regard to them all, the increase in price was equal to the amount of duty. Well, that being so, every one of these articles is taxed, the price of every one of these articles is enhanced, and this enhancement of price is made more unjust for the reason that the public derive no advantage from it. The public have received nothing; the public treasury is in no way helped, but the parties who produce the article are seriously hindered by these arrangements. Every one will understand in how much better a position all these parties would be—the farmer who purchases the article, and the manufacturer who produces it—if it were not for the burdens that are imposed, and every hon. gentleman knows that not one dollar goes into the public treasury in consequence of these burdens, but they are tributes imposed upon one section of the population for the benefit of another section of the population.

Mr. DAVIN. I followed as closely as I could the argument of my hon. friend from Bothwell (Mr. Mills), and I also followed the argument of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), and it is quite clear to me now that the great Reform party, and especially the hon. member for South Oxford, are taking the manufacturing interests under their wing.

An hon. MEMBER. They always did.

Mr. DAVIN. Well, I must say, then, that their tones have greatly changed. It appears to me that the hon. member for South Oxford, in discussing this subject, is like an irascible but affectionate mother in regard to these manufacturers—that is, accepting the view that the Reform party have always taken them under their wings—and while the child is beaten in passion one day, it is fondled the next. I confess, Sir, it was touching to me to hear the tones of sweet endearment in which the hon. member for South Oxford spoke about the burdens that the manufacturers of implements had to bear, because it allowed me to get glimpses into the depths of tenderness of the hon. gentleman's nature, that I never had before. But now, applying myself to the argument of the hon. member for Bothwell, I will point out, if I may venture to hope that I can do that in regard to my hon. friend, the defect in his argument. I grant that there are cases where, if you impose a duty, you enhance the price—there must be such cases. There are other cases where if you impose a duty and develop the manufacture of an article in the country, the price, as we know, as for instance, in regard to this very item of agricultural implements, is lowered, because I have only to go back

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

some few years to show that the price of agricultural implements all over Canada, and especially in the North-west and Manitoba, were higher than they are to-day. There is a double fallacy running through the argument made against the protection of manufactures by many hon. members of this House. At one time I hear the question, when an industry that is protected is mentioned: How many men does it employ? Another item is brought up, and another manufacturing industry is before the House, and again the cry comes: How many does it employ? The reasoning there, and we have had it more elaborated, is this: Here you are protecting this industry for the sake of 100, 300, or 700 men; what are 700, what are 300, what are 100 men? Go over each industry in Canada and ascertain the number of men employed, and then ask what is that number of men compared with the 5,000,000? Here is the fallacy. Take an individual industry, and the number of men employed seems small; but make an aggregate of the number of men employed in all the protected industries of Canada, and there you have the true fraction, and the true relation, and you get at its proper importance. It is the old fallacy that Horace refers to about pulling hairs out of the tail of a donkey. Pull one hair out and it matters very little. Pull out another—what are a few hairs out of the tail of a donkey? But go on and pull out every hair, and I commend this task to the hon. member for Elgin (Mr. Casey) because he is a classical scholar, and I have no doubt he would feel he was engaged in an Horatian task, and it would be a most useful and profitable undertaking. The time will come when, with a little patience, and industry on the part of hon. gentlemen in regard to this matter every hair will be out of the tail of the donkey, and you will then have a bob-tailed donkey. Now, I come back again to the argument of my hon. friend. He said the statement made by the Controller was a very fair one. I must say that the statement made by the Controller was intelligent and enlightening to the House. I did not know some of the points made, and it was enlightening, I have no doubt to the hon. member for Grey (Mr. Landerkin), and I see a beam in that perspicuous orb that I never saw there before—so the Controller has done something towards enlightening my hon. friend.

Mr. LANDERKIN. The Controller enlightened you last session, also.

Mr. DAVIN. I am not sure that the hon. gentleman is quite right, but I am very glad to see that whether the Controller enlightened me or enlightened my hon. friend, his remarks should have made such a permanent impression on the hon. gentleman, that he was able sometimes to use them this year to eke out his efforts at stale pleasantries in this House. The argument of the Controller

is this : That if a duty is placed, say \$6, on an implement, it is not, under present conditions, paid by the farmer. I will state the argument as strongly as it can be stated against the position I am going to take, and I will include the argument of the member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) and the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills), because I want to call the attention of the committee to the fact that those hon. gentlemen, up to the present moment, devote a second or two to the farmer, but the main portion of their time to the injured manufacturer. And that emphasizes, if I may refer to the speech I made to this House before we went into committee, what I ventured to state then and what I reiterate now, that the Government have gone so far in the tariff as to really seriously embarrass hon. gentlemen opposite. The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) was so much occupied with the manufacturer that he actually forgot his usual accuracy. That hon. gentleman is one of the most accurate of men ; I am acquainted with no man who knows so much, and I never knew a man so confident that he knew everything. The hon. gentleman was anxious about the manufacturer, and whether he could compete in foreign markets with other manufacturers. He stated that our manufacturers of implements did not now send so many implements abroad. The hon. gentleman was at once contradicted by the Finance Minister, and it is notorious that, at the present moment, in the markets of the world our machinery manufacturers hold a high place. If the manufacturer was actually handicapped by the duty, the result would be that the farmer would pay the \$6. But what is contended by the Finance Minister and the Controller, and what I contend, too, is that with the moderate duty we have now—and if the duty had been reduced or entirely swept away I should have been glad of it—we shall be able to meet prices at which implements are sold across the line. But if you swept away protection on that and other industries, under which we have our goods and machinery made here, what you would do would be not merely to sacrifice 100, 200, or 700 men, or 7,000 men, who are, according to hon. gentlemen opposite, sucking the life-blood out of the farmer, but you would surrender the farmer to the manufacturer of the United States. You would throw down the protection, not merely to the manufacturer but to the farmer himself, and the man who, at the present moment, has cheaper implements and cheaper goods is better off, as a purchaser, generally, than he was before, and, as regards implements, he is better off than he was before protection was adopted ; he would once more be exposed to the very same imposition to which he was exposed before he had protection. You would increase the price of the implements and of all articles the farmer used. And then, what would follow ? The country might

obtain a little more revenue from one or two articles, but hon. gentlemen opposite would no longer be able to ask as to whether 300 or 500 or 700 men were employed in certain industries, for those industries would have gone across the line. What further would have happened ? My hon. friend from Huron (Mr. McMillan) and my hon. friend from Wellington (Mr. McMullen), who can sometimes talk protection, and the highest form of protection, those hon. gentlemen would find our farmers, in whose interest there is no man here more zealous than I am, would really be handicapped instead of occupying the satisfactory position in which he is to-day ; and what is more, that home market on which those hon. gentlemen set store, and properly so, would be swept across the line in the stream of emigrating artisans.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Oh, oh.

Mr. DAVIN. The hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) says, "Oh, oh." Although I never was with the hon. member for Queen's on a seat in court, I knew him when we were both students in the same inn of court in London, but I have sat in court with other barristers, and I know that falsetto, "Oh, oh," well. I have heard it again and again. When I have been stating, in my unsophisticated manner, the facts of a case to a jury, and laying down irreproachable law, the counsel on the other side would say, "Oh, oh," in precisely the same manner. So there is nothing in the "Oh, oh." I say, that if I thought the manufacturer was placed in an unjust position by that duty ; because having his 25 per cent as he has now—

Mr. WALLACE. Twenty per cent is the duty.

Mr. DAVIN. Yes ; I forgot. You have reduced it to 20 per cent. If the manufacturers have that 20 per cent protection, I do not see how they are handicapped by the duty on iron. Therefore, I have no pity for the poor manufacturer. I have no pity for the Massey-Harris Co. whatever ; the only pity I have for them is that the friends of some hon. gentlemen of the Opposition so handicapped them at the great Chicago exhibition that they did not get justice. Looking at the matter as it is, looking at the prices that have been paid for agricultural implements in the past, and the comparative prices now paid in the United States and in Canada, I say that the farmer is suffering nothing in consequence ; because if we were to destroy the home competition, the result would be that the farmer would have to pay a large price for his implements.

Mr. CASEY. The hon. member (Mr. Davin) has certainly dealt in a most unsophisticated way, as he told us, with the arguments advanced in connection with this item. On the other hand, his humour has been highly

sophisticated. When he dragged the donkey by the tail into the discussion and compared it to the great National Policy, as now revised and re-revised, I feel sure that some judgment must fall upon him for his sacrilegious comparison. It is not only the hon. member for Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) whom we generally find buoyant in his disposition, who has been excited by this discussion, but the Premier and the Minister of Finance himself, who ought to be used to it by this time, both lost their coolness and both showed very clearly that there was something sore in their feeling in regard to this matter. The right hon. the Premier severed himself from his colleague, who is supposed to attend to the finances of the country, in his opinion as to the effects of the protective tariff. It is a two-headed Government, evidently, and the two heads do not think alike. The Premier committed himself to the extraordinary statement, that people who use dutiable goods did not pay any taxes in case they did not actually import the goods from abroad. His colleague said in his Budget speech—it has been quoted before, but I must quote it again, because the Premier said the statement only came from this side of the House—his colleague at his right hand used this language in his Budget speech :

Another objection that has been made to the National Policy and to the protective principle in it is : that the cost of many manufactured goods has been enhanced to consumers on account of the rates imposed. I grant that argument at once to a certain extent.

Even so far the Minister of Finance has knocked the wind out of the Premier. He says further :

I say that in initial years of a National Policy with a protective principle in it, that it will have the effect of enhancing the cost of goods, and that at the first the cost of goods will be very closely up to the measure of the protection which was given.

That is to say, the price of home-made material will be put up as high as it can be, without enabling people to import cheaper. Again :

If it does not have that effect why should it ever be adopted at all, and what is the good of it.

I should not have repeated that quotation had not it been for the injudicious statement of the Premier that the protective policy had not such an effect. From the words of his own colleague, I convict the Premier not only of not keeping in touch with the ordinary political economy of the day, but of not keeping in touch with his own Finance Minister, especially charged with attending to these matters. The right hon. gentleman, in fact, lost his head a little, and under a fit of irritation, he said what he did not think, and what he knew could be immediately squelched by a quotation from the remarks of his own colleague. The Minister of Finance, instead of answering

Mr. CASEY.

the questions of my hon. friend from Brant (Mr. Paterson), rose to his feet, saying : May I ask my friend another question ? I defy my hon. friend from Brant to prove so and so. It is not the place of the Minister to question the hon. member for Brant ; it is his place to answer the questions put by the hon. member for Brant (Mr. Paterson), because it is not the hon. member for Brant who is proposing a tariff to this House. The tariff is proposed by the Minister, and it is his duty to answer all pertinent questions in regard to his proposals. The Minister of Finance pretended that the issue was, whether the manufacturer of agricultural implements is better off with a 20 per cent tariff, and paying duty on what he uses at various rates, than he would be without any duty on either his raw material or his finished article. That is not the issue before the House. We have a tariff here, giving a certain protection to the manufacturer of agricultural implements. We have a tariff putting a very high duty on his raw material, and we urge that this manufacturer who very properly has had to submit to a reduction in the price of what he makes, should be relieved to a considerable extent by reducing the duty on his raw material. It has too long been the idea of gentlemen opposite that the only way to help the manufacturer is to put a duty on what he makes. It is time that the sound and honest way of helping a manufacturer should be pointed out to the House, and that is, to reduce the cost to the manufacturer. What we ask now is, that the maker of agricultural implements should be helped in that way, and not in any protectionist way whatever. The Controller of Customs, in figuring up the amount of duty to be paid on the various kinds of iron and steel used in the manufacture of, say a binder, adopted a plan that was not quite as straightforward as it should have been. He assumed that 600 pounds of pig iron were used, that 300 pounds of wrought iron were used, and he puts them all at half a cent a pound ; whereas, we know that a half cent a pound is the lowest rate and that wrought iron is taxed in various shapes at a good deal more than that. We have wrought iron in the form of forgings, and in the form of axles and axle bars, taxed at 35 per cent. Then, we have malleable castings taxed 25 per cent, nails 30 per cent, screws 35 per cent, and so on, with a great deal of the iron that enters into the making of a binder, all taxed at varying rates, amounting to a good deal more than half a cent a pound. So that the hon. gentleman's figures are utterly unreliable. We know quite well that the manufacturers of these machines do not make everything they want to put into them. They do not make all their own castings, nails, screws, bolts and sheet iron. They buy largely these articles ready-made from others. Then, we have not had any figures with regard to the canvas ; but that,

as well as the paint and varnish, and everything else put into the machine, are heavily taxed. We therefore ask, not that any further protection should be given to the manufacturer, but that he should be relieved of some of these burdens. According to the Controller's figures, which I think amount to about \$5 per machine, or about 5 per cent, the makers of these machines have a protection of about 15 per cent out of the 20. The Minister of Finance says that is a fair protection. Now, Sir, let us compare that with his idea of a fair protection for coal oil. He gives the producer of coal oil from 100 to 200 per cent protection on an industry which is smaller and less important than the manufacture of agricultural implements, and which hardly imports anything, and he refuses to relieve the agricultural implement maker of some of the cost of his raw material as a set-off for the reduction in his protection. There was a call from the other side of the House a few moments ago in regard to inconsistency on this side. Now, Sir, for inconsistency commend me to these two items, as samples of the utter want of principle displayed in this revision of the tariff.

Mr. BENNETT. Let me call the attention of the Minister of Finance and the Controller of Customs to the fact that wooden vessels are excluded from the benefit of this item. Last year I had occasion to make an application, on behalf of the owners of a wooden vessel, which cost a very large amount of money, for a rebate in respect of a steam-steering apparatus which was not manufactured in the country and which could not possibly be purchased here. But wooden vessels were excluded from this privilege, and the owners could not get the benefit for which I applied. As a matter of fact, on the upper lakes it is desirable to have wooden vessels in preference to iron, owing to the fact that in those waters there are large numbers of sunken rocks, and when a wooden vessel strikes it can often be saved, while an iron vessel that strikes generally becomes a total wreck. Therefore, I would suggest the addition of the word "wooden" as well as the word "composite" to this item.

Mr. MASSON. When this question was first broached, I rose to propose the amendment which the hon. member for East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett) has suggested. We have had a good deal of discussion in regard to the amount of protection necessary for agricultural implement manufacturers. It is now conceded that they have a net protection of about 14 per cent in addition to a very considerable protection by the patent laws, so that I think that class of manufacturers now receive ample protection. I will not occupy the time of the committee any further on that point. But I would press upon the attention of the Finance Minister the requirements of a class of people who are not protected at all, but who, I think, should

be allowed to import free of duty all materials that enter into the construction of their product. The ship-builders of this country have to compete, in the same waters and in the same trade, with American-built ships. They have also to compete with the world, so far as shipping is concerned. English vessels of the very highest type—steel, iron and wooden vessels—can come into our waters, fully equipped, and compete with our Canadian-built ships. Not only the hulls and rigging come in free, but all the furnishings that enter into the complete equipment of these vessels. Some years ago I called the attention of the Government to the duty that then existed on iron and steel entering into the construction of iron, steel and composite vessels, and an amendment was made, which is now re-enacted, in the application of which I found the difficulty my hon. friend from East Simcoe has pointed out. On the upper lakes, where the very strongest class of vessels is required, where the freights are heavy and the seas are great, the shipping is passing from wooden vessels to iron or steel vessels, or to wooden vessels strengthened by iron and steel. The expression "composite" may have been intended to cover that class of vessel; but it has been interpreted to mean a vessel so called by Lloyd's. Consequently, vessels built on our upper lakes, strengthened with arches or sides or frames of iron and steel, do not get the benefit of this free item. I would therefore ask that the item be extended to all vessels without distinction. I would further ask that steering-gear and other articles not manufactured in Canada, and intended for use on these vessels, be allowed to come in duty free. The steam and electric steering-gear which is now in use on all our passenger vessels, and also on a good many freight vessels, is not manufactured in Canada, but has to be imported either from England or the United States. There is also, in our more finely finished vessels a large quantity of copper and brass used, which also has to pay duty. I may say that in one vessel built in the town of Owen Sound over \$6,000 in duty were paid on material that went into its construction. You can easily see then that an industry striving to compete against the world, without protection, as this industry of ship-building in Canada is now striving, requires that every facility should be given it in the construction of vessels in the best and most improved and cheapest manner.

Mr. FOSTER. Before replying directly to my hon. friend who has just sat down, I want to, if I can, give a little more information to my hon. friend opposite, who ventured the assertion, I think, that the present tariff made it very difficult for agricultural implement makers to compete in foreign countries, and I think led to the impression that they were rather falling off in their exports to foreign countries. The returns give some interesting facts. From

1887, which was the year when we put on the higher iron and steel duties—what my hon. friends would call inordinately heavy protection—to the present time, what has been the history of the extension of the agricultural implement industry, in so far as its export trade is concerned? This, Sir, that in 1886 we exported only \$17,000 worth of agricultural implements, and in 1893 we exported \$444,696 worth, nearly \$500,000. Now, there must be something wrong in the premises or the deduction of my hon. friend, who has tried to leave the impression that the present tariff made it very difficult for our agricultural implement men to compete abroad. There are the facts. In 1878, before the National Policy had its inception, \$86,000 worth were exported altogether. In 1886, just before we put on the higher iron duties, the export was \$17,000 worth, and in 1893 the export had gone up to \$444,696, \$50,000 more than in 1892, and of course a great deal more than in the preceding years. Consequently it has not been proved by my hon. friend that the duties upon iron have had the effect of destroying the manufacture of agricultural implements, so far as the export business is concerned.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). How does the hon. gentleman account for the reduction from 1878 to 1887?

Mr. FOSTER. It needed more stimulus than it got in 1887.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). In 1887 the export was only \$17,000, and in 1878 it was \$86,000.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman will remember that the course of every industry, under a protective policy, is first to make itself strong in the home market, and then, after it has gained possession of that, to reach out for the foreign market.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Are we to understand from the hon. gentleman that the cause of the increased expansion of the export of agricultural implements is the iron duty? That is the cause, according to him. You have added enormously to the cost of their raw material, and therefore you have been able to increase production.

Mr. FOSTER. I was answering the argument of hon. gentlemen opposite, that the duties on iron so hampered the industry that these agricultural implement men could not carry on their business successfully.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. No; that was not the argument.

Mr. FOSTER. I have shown that the facts tend exactly the other way.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What we were pointing out was the extraordinary injustice done by the hon. gentleman to a particular class. He chooses to give one class of men 100 per cent protection, and to cut

Mr. FOSTER.

another class down to 20 per cent. He chooses to give one class of men their raw material absolutely free, and to inflict a tax of 30, 40 and 50 per cent on the raw material of another. Why should the cotton manufacturer be allowed to have his raw material perfectly free and the agricultural implement manufacturer be compelled to pay an enormous duty on his raw material? What earthly ground or reason is there for that? Is it on the ground of the benefit done the country? Now, the agricultural implement industry is one that is naturally indigenous to this country, which cannot be said of the cotton industry.

Mr. SPROULE. It needs less protection.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. If you are going to protect anything at all, you ought to protect the industries which are natural and indigenous to the country, and likely to develop a considerable export trade, and not foster hothouse industries, which can only develop an export trade at an extraordinary expense to the country. There are ten reasons for protecting agricultural implements to one for protecting cotton. The hon. gentleman knows well that these agricultural implement industries employ a very large number of hands—more, I believe, if you have regard for the number of men employed, than the cotton industry. In the latter there may be a few men, but the rest are women and children. In the agricultural implement industry, although the census returns are so made up that this is not shown, 4,000 or 5,000 men are employed, and these have families. Of the two industries, the one is much more valuable than the other. But the hon. gentleman cannot give the slightest advantage to that industry, which is natural to the country and which employs almost all able-bodied men, with families depending on them, but he can give treble and quadruple protection to the manufacturer of cotton, who employs, of necessity, as a rule, a much greater number of women and children than men. When the hon. gentleman has to deal with such an industry as the development of our coal oil wells, he has no scruple in giving it a protection of 120 to 150 per cent.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Neither had you.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I gave no such protection. I reduced the protection very largely. I reduced the duty from 15 cents to 6 cents.

Mr. FOSTER. But what about the excise duties?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. And I reduced the excise duties, and gave a great boon to the whole population of Canada—a boon worth \$1,500,000 to \$2,000,000 per year, looking at the quantity of coal oil consumed in the country. That is what the Government of Mr. Mackenzie and myself did. But I want to call attention, for the

sake of illustration, to the case of the valuable industry of hulling rice. To that industry the hon. gentleman had not the slightest scruple in giving a protection of at least 75 per cent on his own showing.

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Every penny of 75 per cent. The duty on unhulled rice is 3-10ths cent per pound, and on the cleaned rice it is 1¼ cents per pound. Now, the difference between those, making a very liberal allowance, indeed, for the total loss that may be incurred in converting the dirty rice into clean rice, would give at least a protection of 75 per cent. But when it comes to the agricultural implements there the hon. gentleman's idea of fair protection is 13 to 14 per cent, as laid down by the Controller of Customs. Now, we have a right to ask: Why this extraordinary discrimination? Why let the cotton manufacturers' material in free and tax the agricultural implement manufacturers' raw material to the tune of 40 or 50 per cent? Or still more, why do you allow such a comparatively insignificant matter as the hulling of rice to be protected to the tune of 75 per cent? or wall paper to the tune of 100 per cent? or some of these manufactured cotton goods to be protected to the tune of 32 per cent, when for the agricultural implement maker 13 per cent is enough?

Mr. SPROULE. If the hon. gentleman's argument means anything, it means that the agricultural implement maker is dealt with unfairly, that he has a grievance. And the only possible reason for that is that the protection to his manufacture has been reduced. Now, the hon. gentleman had better make up his mind whether he is to stand by the manufacturer or to stand by the farmer. He has turned around and is now advocating the interests of the manufacturer, contrary to all experiences we have had of that hon. gentleman, his invariable complaint hitherto having been that the farmer was being harshly dealt with for the benefit of the millionaire manufacturer. I do not see how the manufacturer can be so unfairly dealt with if he has only to pay in duties—provided he imports all his iron—\$4.20 for the material for an implement on which he gets a protection of \$20. The argument of the hon. gentleman is not a fair one. Even if it were true that the duty on cottons or other lines of manufacture was too high, it would be better to have them lowered than to institute a comparison with a view to increasing the duty on agricultural implements beyond what is desirable. The hon. gentleman's argument is only to convince the agricultural implement manufacturer that he is not being fairly dealt with. I do not think they will regard him as their friend because of his present attitude. His new born zeal for the manufacturer will not win him very much favour from those who remember so well the denunciations of manufacturers we

have so often listened to from the same hon. gentleman.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). The hon. gentleman (Mr. Sproule) says this is a question between the farmer and the manufacturer. It is not so. There is no demand made for an increased duty on agricultural implements, and only if that were done would injustice be done to the farmer. It is to the interest of the farmers as well as to the interest of the manufacturer that the remarks that have been made should be made.

Mr. SPROULE. The contention is the manufacturer is unfairly dealt with by the reduction of this duty.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). There is no contention whatever that the duty on agricultural implements should be more than 20 per cent. The reduction of the duty is approved of on this side, but what is asked is that the duty on the iron entering into the manufacture of these implements shall be reduced, and that in the interest of the farmer as well as of the manufacturer. It should not be much trouble to the hon. gentleman to see that; and others can see, if he cannot, that what is asked for is not in the interest of the manufacturer as opposed to that of the farmer. This tariff is based upon the principle of protection to home manufactures, and the question is asked why there should be such a difference in the treatment meted out to different kinds of manufactures. Instances have just been given of protection to certain industries running as high as 75 per cent, and the question is why should there be such a difference in the rate of protection given to different classes? Take, for instance, the refining of the sugar. Sugar is a necessary article of every day consumption, and the process of refining is a comparatively simple one, employing relatively few hands. The protection on refined sugar runs from 16 to 21 per cent. Now, according to the figures of the Controller of Customs, there is a net protection to the manufacturers of agricultural implements of about 13 per cent.

Mr. SPROULE. It is 15.80 per cent over the duties paid on their iron, even if all were imported.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). These are not the figures given by the Controller of Customs. I think he said that, allowing for the duties on all raw materials, the net protection would be about 13 or 14 per cent.

Mr. WALLACE. The net protection on a binder would be \$13.40. I have the complete figures here now, and the total amount paid by the manufacturer on the materials entering into the manufacture of a binder, if all those materials were imported, would be \$6.60. I might mention that there was an error in my previous statement. I substituted pig iron for wrought iron or steel. That would cause some variation in the figures, but the total, as I have it here, is \$6.60.

Mr. EDGAR. That does not include the duty on the paint ?

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). I suppose the hon. gentleman left that out of consideration, as also the 30 or 35 per cent on the machinery used in the manufacture. However, that need not come into the discussion now, because this is a discussion of comparative rates of protection. Take the industry of sugar washing, of which I was speaking. Why should this industry be given a protection of from 16 to 21 per cent according to the value of the sugar—averaging say about 18 per cent—while there is only about 14 per cent on agricultural implements. I am now comparing one large item with another : but many others could be cited, as the hon. gentleman knows, the raw material for which is admitted free, while the protection runs from 25 to 30 or 35 per cent. That is the question submitted to the Finance Minister, and it is in the interests of the farmer as well as of the manufacturer, not that the duty on agricultural implements should be increased, but that the duty on the raw material should be reduced. I merely rose to point out to the hon. gentleman that he was mistaken if he thought the position taken on this side of the House was adverse to the interests of the farmer. We speak in the interests of the farmer and we ask why it is, if you are adopting the protective system, that one class of manufacture is treated so differently from another class ?

Mr. SPROULE. That was not the contention of the hon. gentleman. He spoke of this as an important industry employing thousands of hands, and he contended that they were unfairly dealt with. If they are unfairly dealt with, how is it being done ? By lowering their protective duty ? If the whole gist of the argument was not that the manufacturer was being unfairly dealt with, then I do not know what the nature of argument is.

Mr. BENNETT. I would like to ask the hon. Finance Minister whether he intends to make this clause cover the case of wooden as well as of iron vessels ?

Mr. FOSTER. That is a matter of importance, and if the gentlemen who have presented it will rest their case with the presentation of it, the Government will take into consideration how far it can go in the direction they desire. The question involves important points demanding consideration.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Does the item stand ?

Mr. FOSTER. No ; we will consider the matter.

Mr. LAURIER. I would suggest to the hon. member for Simcoe (Mr. Bennett) that he should adopt the idea given out by the Prime Minister. He should tell the ship-builder that he has the choice of purchasing Canadian or foreign iron. If he purchases

Mr. WALLACE.

foreign iron, he must pay the duty, but he has it on the authority of the Prime Minister that if he buys Canadian iron, he pays no duty.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. That is the first time I ever heard the hon. gentleman give such sound Canadian advice.

Mr. BENNETT. But I spoke of articles not manufactured in the country—for instance a steam-gearing apparatus—which, if used in iron or composite vessels would be free of duty, but, unless the clause covers wooden ships, would be dutiable if used in ships of that class.

Mr. McMULLEN. I would like to ask the Controller of Customs when the price of imported binders was fixed at \$100. When was that order made, or how long has it been in existence ?

Mr. WALLACE. I made that ruling a year ago this month. I think, before the implements were brought in, at the request of the McCormicks, of Chicago, who were proposing to send in some implements.

Mr. MARTIN. Was that done when they were proposing to bring in more than a hundred at once ?

Mr. WALLACE. We fixed the schedule of prices for binders, mowers, and ploughs—the whole arrangement.

Mr. MARTIN. Does the hon. gentleman mean to say that it was done at the request of the McCormick Company ?

Mr. WALLACE. They asked to be informed at what rate of duty their implements could be brought into this country, and I informed them the valuation at which the implement could be brought in.

Mr. MARTIN. The hon. gentleman, in his remarks before, stated a somewhat new principle. We have been accustomed in the committee to hear a great deal about the Canadian manufacture. The Finance Minister disposes of a great many items by telling us that the duty is satisfactory to the particular manufacturer in question.

Mr. FOSTER. How many items ?

Mr. MARTIN. A great many.

Mr. FOSTER. How many ?

Mr. MARTIN. I could not say, probably a hundred.

Mr. FOSTER. I will give my hon. friend \$10 for every one he can find above five.

Mr. MARTIN. I think I will get a great many \$10.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Put up your money.

Mr. MARTIN. I was about to point out that the Controller of Customs has introduced a new principle. It is not the Canadian manufacturer alone who is to be satis-

fied, but he tells us that the American manufacturer is satisfied in this matter. Now, I venture to doubt, even if that is a correct statement. The American manufacturers object very much to the arbitrary action of the Customs Department in assuming to say what the price of their article is. I may say that I do not care at all what the American manufacturer thinks, whether it is in his interest or against it, but it happens that in this particular matter the interest of the American manufacturer is precisely the interest of the farmer in Manitoba, and in that I am interested. On what principle has the hon. gentleman a right to say that a particular binder is worth \$100, when, as a matter of fact that binder can be bought possibly, for \$80? If there is a duty of 20 per cent upon that binder which is worth \$80, it would amount to \$16; but the hon. gentleman arbitrarily says that it is worth \$100, therefore the amount of duty on that binder is \$20 instead of \$16, as it ought to be. He makes the provision that if a hundred binders are brought in at once, the price is to be reduced to \$90. The hon. gentleman must know that that provision is practically of no effect, because that number of binders are not brought in at any one time. But I claim that in this matter the action of the department is most arbitrary, that it is most unnecessary. There is no reason why the value of binders cannot be determined in the same way as any other article. Now, I would point out further that the value of binders varies very much indeed. For instance, we know that at the present time the manufactures in the United States are depressed, and we know that binders can be bought there considerably cheaper now than they could be bought when the hon. gentleman made that order a year ago. Now, why should the farming classes not be able to take advantage of those low prices? Why should the department make a regulation which practically makes a duty purporting to be 20 per cent, run up to 30 and 35 per cent? The farmers of Manitoba feel that this is an arbitrary regulation, that it is one which practically increases the duty, and I am much mistaken if the American manufacturers, whom it affects indirectly by decreasing importation, are not also much opposed to it. I know as a matter of fact that the agents of those manufactories in Manitoba who sell these goods, find these regulations very hard upon them. I draw attention to this matter because agricultural implements are one of the items for which the Finance Minister, in his speech, claimed a good deal of credit for the Government by reducing the duty from 35 to 20 per cent in the interest of the farmer. If the hon. gentleman had gone further and stated that he would only collect 20 per cent, then the farmer would have received the benefit that the Government profess to give him, the farmer would have known exactly what it was; but under the present conditions he cannot and does not

know what he must pay for his agricultural implements.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. gentleman is unnecessarily concerned about the interests of the American manufacturer. We have looked after the interest of the Canadian people, and we have not done any injustice to the American manufacturers. What are the facts? The McCormicks of Chicago wanted to send some of their implements into Canada, and they wrote to the department, asking on what prices we would impose a duty. I asked them to send along their price list, the prices at which they sold them singly and in large quantities, and they did so. In addition to that, I sent a special agent of the Customs Department, Mr. McMichael, of Toronto, to the States, to inquire into the prices at which they are sold in that country, that being the price according to the law, upon which the customs duties are regulated. He reported that the statement made by McCormick Brothers, as to their price, was correct, that these were the prices at which they were selling them in the United States, and upon those prices the duties were collected. No injustice was done to the McCormick Brothers, because the prices were those that they gave me, and which I ascertained by inquiry to be the prices at which they were rateable for duty. From beginning to end, it was simply carrying out the customs law of Canada.

Mr. FRASER. I would like to ask the Controller if he accepted the prices?

Mr. WALLACE. I have just told the committee that the prices were accepted after our agent went over to the States and made an investigation, both from their books and from other sources, and ascertained that these were the prices at which these implements were sold in the United States.

Mr. FRASER. Therefore when a machine comes in here, it is just entered at their prices?

Mr. WALLACE. Certainly.

Mr. FRASER. There is a question back of all this that shows the character of the tariff. Are there more men employed in making the machine than of those who are purchasers of the machine? That is the great question. If there are more people to buy, surely their interest should be taken into consideration. If we are going to look after the man who makes the article and not look after the man who purchases it, where there are ten men purchasing the article to one making it—

Mr. SPROULE. Your friends have been arguing all the time that an injustice has been done.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. No, they have been arguing that these men should have the raw material, as all others have had, duty free.

Mr. FRASER. So far as this particular duty is concerned, I am not concerned for the interest of the American manufacturer. I do not care whether an American machine comes in here or not, provided the farmer here can get the machine as cheap in Canada as the American farmer gets it over there. Whoever heard of sending an agent into the United States to find out the price at which the machines are sold there? If the Americans send them in here at half price and the farmers get the advantage of it, as they are made here, is that not a good thing? Why send a man into the States to find out about the price for fear they may send them in here too cheap? The tariff appears to be framed on the principle that certain manufacturers must be consulted, and that no inquiry need be made as regards the views held by purchasers. I am not going to mention in how many cases the Finance Minister stated that the manufacturers were suited. It would be the same in one case as in five thousand, because the principle would be involved. Are we going to make this country rich by satisfying the men who produce articles and not those who purchase them? It is a curious way of enhancing the value of the land, and of increasing the wealth of the people, in view of the fact that there are 100 purchasers to one manufacturer. If there be any force in that argument it must be only when it has been shown that the manufacturers add more to the wealth of the Dominion than do the purchasers. If that proof is furnished, there may be some foundation for the present tariff, but surely the purchasers, who constitute the large majority of the people, must be consulted in regard to agricultural implements or any other articles. The principle is universal. It is not a question of adopting one principle for one industry and another for another, and if the Americans choose to produce cheap articles of equally good quality to those produced in this country, is not that to the interests of our people? The Americans must take something in return. They must purchase from us some article which they need and which is made to advantage by us in Canada, and, of course, that adds to the wealth of the country.

Mr. MARTIN. I object to the Controller putting into my mouth a complaint I never made. I did not complain about any manufacturing company. What I did was to complain of that a year ago the Customs Department fixed the price on binders at \$100, in the face of the fact that there was a falling market in the United States, and the price has fallen very considerably, and it was not fair at that time to decide that all binders should be charged at the rate of \$100 in the United States. That regulation has been in force more than one year, since which time every binder entering Winnipeg has been assessed at the rate of \$100. There has never been a time at which many bind-

ers have been bought at much less, generally about \$80, than at the value put on them by the Customs Department. What I desire the Controller of Customs to explain is why binders were selected for that very exceptional treatment. Does the Customs Department, on every article of commerce, fix an absolute price, utterly irrespective of the state of the market? It does not. Is there any special likelihood of importers committing irregularities upon the Customs Department in connection with binders? In my opinion, that is a matter very easily kept in hand, and there is no article on which the Customs could detect fraud so easily as in connection with the importation of binders. A binder is a large article, is a well-known machine, and an article, the price of which can be very easily ascertained from time to time, and the Controller has made no explanation as to why the Government found it necessary to oppress the farmers of the North-west and Manitoba by assessing every binder at a fixed price of \$100, utterly irrespective of the price of binders from time to time. As a representative of a city where the people gain their living entirely from farmers, I quite agree with what has been said with regard to the unfair policy pursued by the Government in connection with the iron duties. So far as regards agricultural implements, the manufacturers and the farmers are precisely in the same boat. The agricultural implement maker should be placed in the position to supply implements at a cheap rate to the farmers, and if the high duties on iron, in the case of bar iron of 50 per cent, and in the case of iron of 40 per cent, were removed or very largely reduced, the farmer would get that advantage; but there are many other articles besides agricultural implements, manufactures of iron, which the farmers are obliged to buy, and on all those lines a reduction in iron duties would be a very great advantage to the farmer. So the efforts of hon. gentlemen opposite to make it appear that hon. members on this side of the House are one day opposing the manufacturer and the other day supporting him are wrong, for this action can be taken, to a certain extent, without any inconsistency. We on this side of the House oppose high duties on all articles. We are opposed to high duties on agricultural implements; we concur in the reduction from 35 per cent to 20 per cent. So far as that is concerned, we have no sympathy with the agricultural implement maker, and in the interest of the farmers we consider that the protection afforded them should be reduced. But when the duty on agricultural implements has been reduced to 20 per cent, and a duty of 40 or 50 per cent is allowed to remain on the raw material which enters into the manufacture of implements, then, without any inconsistency, without any abandonment of the principles of a revenue tariff, we can join with the implement makers and ask the Government to reduce the duties on

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iron, and in that respect the farmer will receive advantage as well as the manufacturer.

Mr. HASLAM. I desire to call the attention of the committee to the thorough inconsistency of the argument made by hon. gentlemen opposite. As a matter of fact, the amount of \$20 on a machine is a specific duty; it is \$20 protection on a \$100 machine. To-day, \$100 invested in butter at 20 cents per pound, represents 500 pounds, and there is exactly \$20 protection on that, or exactly the same rate as on agricultural implements, so the protection is similar in both cases. Let me pursue the argument further. When butter is low, at 16 cents per pound, and 500 pounds is purchased, there is still \$20 protection. So the farmer and the machine maker, so far as these classes of goods are concerned, stand exactly in the same position, and the policy which should be good for one should be good for the other. But it appears that this will not suit hon. gentlemen opposite; there must be a different policy adopted for each, whereas, as matters stand, the rate of protection is exactly the same on butter and agricultural implements, and it is a specific duty in both cases. I think that taking the agriculturist and the machine manufacturer, you will find if you take the trouble to go into it, that the protection is just about equal through. I do not think that the farmer has very much to complain of in that respect.

Mr. McMULLEN. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Haslam) has advanced a theory of protection which is something new to this House; and I shall not take time to say anything in reply. The Controller says that the prices of binders for importation has been fixed at \$100. That is \$25 beyond the value of these binders when bought for export. The hon. gentleman says he sent a man to the United States to ascertain the price at which they were sold there, but he knows very well that binders are sold in the United States under a combine, and the result is that the price for export is fixed 25 per cent below the price for home consumption. He did not fix his duty upon the export price of a binder, but upon the price at which it is sold for home consumption in the United States.

Mr. WALLACE. The law says that the price for duty is the price that it is sold for in the open market of the country from which it is imported. Therefore the price for duty is not the price for which the American binder is sold in Canada. That is the Act of Parliament; we have to be guided by that law, and it is a very proper and just law too. Suppose it were otherwise, how would the price be fixed for any article? It might be sent in here, and defraud the revenue and defraud the honest trader as well.

Mr. McMULLEN. If goods are imported from England is the duty fixed upon the price they were sold for, or on the price

they sell for in the open market in England for home consumption?

Mr. WALLACE. Certainly.

Mr. McMULLEN. I think the Controller of Customs is mistaken in that.

Mr. WALLACE. Not at all.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Mr. Chairman, permit me to suggest that we are off the item altogether.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. Oh, we have been away from it for two hours.

Mr. McMULLEN. The Finance Minister has been trying to persuade the farmers that the duty upon agricultural implements has been reduced from 35 to 20 per cent, but in order to please the manufacturers of binders he has placed the value at \$100, whilst the intrinsic value is \$75. In that way he is giving the manufacturer of binders more than they are entitled to.

Newspapers, and quarterly and monthly and semi-monthly magazines, and weekly literary paper unbound.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Is there not a tax levied upon such articles as Harper's, and all the rest of these?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. FRASER. Does that free list include such publications as the Law Magazines, and Law Reports of England and the United States?

Mr. FOSTER. They come in free unbound.

Mr. FRASER. I have always had to pay duty.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I get mine free, but I know they are charged duty in some places and not in others.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It is intended that they should be free.

Mr. FRASER. I will show that to the collector the next time he tries to charge me duty.

Seeds of flax. Free.

Mr. SPROULE. I think this article should have a duty on it. Large quantities of it are now produced, not only in Ontario, but in Manitoba and the North-west Territories; and at the same time there is quite a large importation from the United States. By keeping the market for our own people, we would enable them to get a little better price at present, and develop the production further. I think it is not fair that it should be left on the free list.

Mr. FOSTER. It is the raw material for linseed oil, on which we have reduced the duty.

Mr. SPROULE. But we have quite enough in the country for the manufacture of lin-

seed oil. The flaxseed is not imported for that purpose, but for sowing in Manitoba and the North-west Territories.

Mr. MARTIN. You do not want to put the duty on seed, do you?

Mr. SPROULE. I believe they are to-day raising it in large quantities.

Mr. FRASER. Then why do they import it, if they are raising enough?

Mr. SPROULE. I understand they have enough to supply themselves now.

Shoe buttons, papier maché; metal glove fasteners, eyelet hooks and eyelets for boots and shoes and lacing hooks. Free.

Mr. FOSTER. I want to make an amendment; strike out the words: "and lacing hooks."

Mr. LANGELIER. Does this include eyelets for corsets?

Mr. FOSTER. No; this is a boot and shoe business.

Mr. LANGELIER. Eyelets for corsets are not manufactured in this country. I have a telegram from a large corset manufacturing concern in St. Hyacinthe, the E. T. Corset Company. The telegram reads:

Corset eyelets not manufactured in this country to our knowledge. If the contrary is stated please ask where they are made. At Gananogue they only make corset clasps.

This is the raw material of a very important industry.

Mr. FOSTER. They have 35 per cent protection.

Mr. LANGELIER. But why do you charge a duty on raw material of one manufacture and not on that of another? This is as much a raw material for the manufacture of corsets as for the manufacture of boots and shoes. As a matter of fact, in St. Hyacinthe, there are large manufactories of boots and shoes which import these eyelets without paying duty, while the corset manufactory near at hand has to pay duty.

Mr. FOSTER. There is a great difference between corsets and boots and shoes.

Mr. LANGELIER. The other day I called attention to the article of clasps, when it was stated that there was a manufactory of clasps at Gananogue. But there is no manufactory of eyelets. If this duty is not intended to protect anybody, these goods being a raw material of manufacture, surely they should be on the free list, just as for boots and shoes.

Mr. FOSTER. Where does the eyelet go?

Mr. LANGELIER. I am not in the business; I speak only by the book.

Mr. SPROULE.

Soda, sulphate of crude, known as salt cake, barilla or soda ash, caustic soda; silicate of soda in crystals or in solution, bichromate of soda, nitrate of soda, cubic nitre, sal soda, sulphide of sodium, nitrite of soda, arseniate, binarseniate, chloride and stannate of soda. Free.

Mr. FOSTER. In the last line, after the word "chloride" add "chlorate."

Trees, forest, when imported into the province of Manitoba, or the North-west Territories for planting. Free.

Mr. FOSTER. Make that read: Trees, n.e.s., dropping out the rest of the item.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What is the effect of that?

Mr. FOSTER. To let forest trees in free anywhere, and all trees except fruit trees or ornamental trees mentioned in the dutiable schedule.

Committee rose and reported progress.

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

THIRD READINGS.

Bill (No. 53) respecting the Calgary Irrigation Company.—(Mr. Davis.)

Bill (No. 63) respecting the Guelph Junction Railway Company.—(Mr. Henderson.)

Bill (No. 64) respecting the Medicine Hat Railway and Coal Company.—(Mr. Ross, Lisgar.)

WELLAND POWER AND SUPPLY COMPANY.

House resolved itself into Committee on Bill (No. 49) to incorporate the Welland Power and Supply Company (Limited).—Mr. McKay.)

(In the Committee.)

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I call the attention of the Minister of Justice to this Bill. I was on the Private Bills Committee, and this Bill was referred to a sub-committee of which I was a member. I would call the hon. gentleman's attention to the question whether we have any jurisdiction in the matter at all. Jurisdiction is attempted to be given us by suggesting that they are going to take from the waters of a navigable river certain waters for the purpose of filling their artificial ditch and providing electric power. Apart from that one fact, all the other powers sought are those which ought to be given by the Ontario Legislature. The Bill is purely provincial in every other respect, and my own judgment was strongly that it is not one this Parliament ought to pass at all. Having expressed myself pretty strongly in the committee on this point, I now call

the attention of the Minister of Justice to it. If he chooses to advise that the Bill should pass, I shall say no more about it. It is not a railway Bill in any sense, although the Railway Act applies to it. It is Bill 'sui generis'; I do not know of any like it having been passed. It is not like the Bill of the hon. member for South Norfolk (Mr. Tisdale), which provided for the construction of a canal which shipping would use. It is to provide for certain water powers to be used for electric purposes, and the company proposes to tap the waters of what they call a navigable stream to obtain these water powers. That is the only possibility by which this Parliament could seize jurisdiction at all, and in my opinion it is not sufficient to give it jurisdiction.

Mr. McKAY. After the objections raised by the hon. member for Queen's, it might be as well to defer the Bill until Monday next to enable the hon. Minister of Justice to look into the matter.

Committee rose and reported progress.

ATLANTIC AND NORTH-WEST RAILWAY COMPANY.

Mr. BAKER moved concurrence in amendment made by the Senate to Bill (No. 30) respecting the Atlantic and North-west Railway Company.

Mr. EDGAR. I would like the hon. member to explain what the nature of the amendment is.

Mr. BAKER. The amendment is made to the second subsection of the second section, and relates merely to the public notices of the meeting of shareholders to approve of the agreement authorized by provisions of the Bill. The Bill is drafted upon the lines of the model Bill in the Railway Act, which provides that such notices shall be published in one newspaper in each of the counties through which the railway runs. This railway as incorporated runs from the boundary line of New Brunswick to Montreal, and thence to Lake Superior; but the agreement contemplated by this Bill refers to the portion of road between Renfrew and Eganville, a distance of about twenty miles; and the amendment provides that the notice shall be published in each of the counties through which the portion of railway covered by the agreement runs. It would manifestly be useless to publish notices relating to this agreement in New Brunswick.

Motion agreed to, and amendment concurred in.

FIRST READING.

Bill (No. 110) to amend and consolidate the Acts relating to the Harbour Commissioners of Montreal—(from the Senate).—Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.)

SEAMEN'S ACT AMENDMENT.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER moved second reading of Bill (No. 13) to amend the Seamen's Act.

Mr. FLINT. Will the hon. Minister explain the Bill?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The first section repeals a clause in the Seamen's Act, which gives the master of a vessel a lien on the ship for his wages. It is proposed to give him a lien also for liabilities properly incurred by him on account of the ship, and to assimilate that section in our Act to the provision that obtains in the Imperial Act. The other clause in the Bill is practically to sanction the practice that has obtained in Canada ever since 1869 in regard to claims for the relief of seamen found abroad in distress. We have been paying these claims on vouchers from the consuls abroad in all the cases of seamen who had been domiciled in Canada for twelve months; but the Act did not seem to go so far as that, though the Order in Council adopted in 1869, upon which the British Board of Trade has been acting, was on that line; and the object of the Bill is now to put that practice in the form of an Act and sanction what has been done.

Motion agreed to; Bill read the second time, and House resolved itself into Committee.

(In the Committee.)

On section 1,

Mr. FLINT. Was this provision in the Bill of last year?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Yes, but the Bill was not proceeded with.

Mr. FLINT. And the same provision exists in the British Merchants' Shipping Act?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Precisely the same.

On section 2,

Mr. FLINT. In what respect does this differ from the old section?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. These words have been introduced: "who have been domiciled in Canada for twelve months." That is the language of the Order in Council of the 19th of November, 1869. Any Canadian seaman who is relieved from distress in a foreign country is relieved by a British consul. The Board of Trade pays the expenses and charges them to us, and we pay the Board of Trade.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Should not that same provision be extended to our seamen in inland waters: for instance, in the case of a man in Chicago?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. We deal with claims of that kind as special

cases. They do not come under this provision.

Mr. FLINT. I congratulate the Government on this measure, and it will no doubt supply a want which has been felt for some time. I remember years ago, to speak more distinctly within the recollection of the Minister, there was application made for assistance for seamen who were in destitute circumstances abroad, and the Government were enabled to meet their needs. If this Bill fully meets a case as that which occurred then, no doubt it will be a good law and will be approved by merchant seamen.

Bill reported, and read the third time and passed.

HARBOUR MASTERS' ACT.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER moved second reading of Bill (No. 45) to amend the Harbour Masters' Act.

Motion agreed to; Bill read the second time and House resolved itself into Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What is the object of the Bill?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. At present the Governor in Council can only appoint a harbour master, and that has given rise to some inconvenience in case a harbour master has to absent himself for any time; and it is to enable the appointment of a legal representative or deputy to be made that the Bill is proposed.

Mr. McMULLEN. Then it is not intended to increase the expenditure?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Not at all.

Bill reported.

LIGHTHOUSES AT SABLE ISLAND.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER moved second reading of Bill (No. 46) to amend the Act respecting lighthouses, buoys and beacons at Sable Island.

Motion agreed to; Bill read the second time, and House resolved itself into Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). What change is proposed by the present Bill?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. At present it is necessary for the Minister of Marine to obtain the approval of the Governor in Council to the appointment of every light-keeper, and in cases where the salaries range, as a great many of them do, from \$50 to \$200, there is a loss really to the exchequer through this practice, which is

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now obligatory, because it is absolutely necessary to put the light in operation, and some one has to be appointed temporarily. That sometimes involves a greater cost than the proportion of the salary, and it is considered in the public interest that as regards the smaller appointments the Minister should have power to make them.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). What I desire to know is, whether the Minister has considered if this will affect the independence of Parliament?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Both the Canals and Railways are now administered in the same way, and the Minister of Railways makes appointments of a much more important character. I have not considered the matter to which the hon. gentleman refers.

Bill reported.

PICTOU HARBOUR.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved second reading of Bill (No. 88) further to amend the Act respecting the harbour at Pictou.

Motion agreed to; Bill read the second time, and House resolved itself into Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). What is the object of this Bill?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The object of the Bill is simply to remove doubts. The wharf referred to is within the limits of the harbour, and was built by the Harbour Commission out of the public funds. But in the Act respecting the harbour at Pictou, N.S., certain wharfs are mentioned. The Act was passed prior to the building of this wharf, and the commission desire the passage of this Bill to remove any doubt that might arise as to their jurisdiction.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Does it involve any expenditure?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The wharf has been built, and the commission are in charge of it.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). There is no private property involved?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. No question whatever has been raised in regard to the wharf.

Bill reported.

PUBLIC HARBOURS.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER moved second reading of Bill (No. 95) respecting public harbours. He said: This Bill is rendered necessary in connection with questions that have arisen concerning the harbour of St. John, notably. There are certain ports excepted from the general provisions of the Harbour Masters' Act, and the harbour of St. John is one of them, it having a special charter. Vessels had been depositing ballast outside of the limits de-

scribed in that charter, and endangering the navigation of the roadstead, but the harbour authorities were powerless, and, as the harbour and port were excepted from the provisions of the Harbour Masters' Act, there seemed no way in which the nuisance could be prevented. This Bill has been drafted to give the Governor in Council power generally to proclaim a certain area of water to be a harbour under the jurisdiction of Parliament, and to apply the provisions of the Harbour Masters' Act to that. For instance, at St. John, the waters not extending out sufficiently to cover this roadstead approaching the harbour, would be declared to be a public harbour, and the provisions of the Harbour Masters' Act would be brought into play, and authority would be obtained to prevent any nuisance of that kind, and to regulate the depositing of ballast.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Are you claiming as harbours, natural bays and inlets where no public money has been expended?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. No, that is already covered in general by the Harbour Masters' Act, and these provisions were ample, except in the case where we came to a port having special privileges by Royal Charter.

Motion agreed to; Bill read the second time, and House resolved into committee.

(In the Committee.)

On section 3,

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I move to strike out section 3, as printed in the Bill, and substitute the following:—

"The Governor in Council may make rules and regulations for the Government of any public harbour or port in Canada, but in the case of the ports of Quebec, Montreal, Three Rivers, Toronto, Halifax, Pictou, and the port of St. John, in the province of New Brunswick, such rules and regulations as are inconsistent with any rule or regulation of any of these ports shall not be made until after application therefor from the local authority in charge of the port has been received by the Governor in Council.

These ports that are exempted from the operation of the general provision of the Harbour Masters' Act, of course, are naturally sensitive that anything should be done to impair their privileges, and the clause, as printed, I find does that, to some extent. For instance, it gives power to the Governor in Council, in making the rules which would be necessary, power to make regulations which would affect the harbour having these special privileges. Therefore, I beg to substitute the clause, above, in place of section 3 of this Bill.

Mr. HAZEN. I would like to ask the hon. Minister of Justice if he thinks that this clause as amended covers the case of

the harbour of St. John. That harbour is not what is generally known as a public harbour, that is, one under the control of this Parliament. The charter of the city of St. John, a royal charter, granted in 1874, conveyed to the mayor, aldermen and commonalty of the city of St. John all the land of the city and all the land covered by water, the harbour and the rights of navigation and fishing in the harbour. That royal charter was confirmed by an Act of the first legislature of the province of New Brunswick passed in 1785. Under the terms of the British North America Act the control of all harbours which belonged to the provinces at the time of Confederation was passed to the Federal powers. But so far as I know, the Federal Parliament has never exercised any jurisdiction over the harbour of St. John at all, that harbour being controlled by the Common Council of the city of St. John; and for that reason the harbour of St. John is expressly exempted from the provisions of the Harbour Masters' Act. This Parliament should, therefore, pass no legislation that would in any way affect any of the rights that the Common Council of St. John has in the harbour. I would ask the hon. Minister of Justice what he thinks of this section.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The royal charter only takes the harbour of St. John out of the category of harbours that belonged to the provinces before Confederation. It is the property of the corporation of St. John, who hold it as trustees for the public; but my impression is that the rights of legislation with reference to it exist only in this Parliament.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I do not question the statement of the hon. member for St. John, but the question is what inference may be drawn from his statement. I think there are many English cases in which the rule laid down that property which is vested in the king personally may be granted by him, but property which he holds in trust for the nation he cannot make a grant of.

Mr. HAZEN. That would be true with regard to a part of it. He could not grant, for instance, the public fisheries; but in this case the rights of this Parliament over the harbour is limited by the fact that the legislature of New Brunswick, in 1785, ratified the royal charter.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I do not think that would make any difference, because I apprehend that the charter was a charter granted by the Crown and not by the Parliament; and the legislature by legislating could not make its functions broader than the Crown had power to grant. All the property in the harbour, so far as it was not navigable, would be in the power of the Crown to grant to commissioners; but I do not see that the Crown could grant away the property in the harbour itself.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It could not grant any more than the Crown held.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). And it seems to me that the British North America Act gives this Parliament power to legislate in this case.

Mr. HAZEN. Of course the British North America Act gives this Parliament power to deal with navigation and shipping. I may say that this whole question is before the Exchequer Court, in a case brought by the Queen against the St. John Gas Company, to restrain them from allowing refuse water to run into the harbour, which, it is claimed, interferes with fishing and navigation—a case which was argued there the other day, and in which I was counsel; and judgment will probably be given in a short time.

Mr. FLINT. Have the authorities controlling the harbour asked for this legislation?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. It is in their interest and at their instance that the Bill is proposed; but it is made general, to suit any case that may arise.

Mr. HAZEN. That is true, but I do not think the Act, as amended, has ever been submitted to the corporation of St. John. If there is no great hurry, I would suggest to my hon. friend that he should allow it to stand until their advice can be obtained in regard to it.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The amendment before the committee meets any possible objection that the corporation of St. John or any other might have. The harbour of St. John, while it is interested, is not the only harbour interested; and in no case can any action be taken to put in force any of these rules and regulations until their adoption is requested by the harbour authorities. We might take the committee stage, and let the third reading stand, and in the meantime the hon. gentleman will have every opportunity to communicate with the city.

Mr. HAZEN. Under the amendment perhaps no harm could result, as any action taken would have to be taken at the instance of the city. At the same time, I would like to have the views of the corporation before the Bill becomes law. If the hon. Minister prefers to have it pass the committee now and let it stand to the third reading, that will be perfectly acceptable.

Bill reported.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 9.10 p.m.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, 14th May, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

VINTON POSTMASTER.

Mr. SUTHERLAND (for Mr. Fraser) asked, Who is the present postmaster of Vinton, county of Pontiac? When was he appointed? When was his predecessor dismissed? Were any charges made against the late incumbent? If so, what was the nature of such charges and by whom were they made? Did any person or persons ask for the change? If so, the name or names of such party or parties? If charges were made against the late postmaster, by whom were they laid? Was an investigation held? If so, at whose instance and with what result?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Mr. Grace is the present postmaster of Vinton, in the county of Pontiac. He was appointed on the 15th of February, 1894. His predecessor was not dismissed. It was ascertained that the post office was not in a convenient position. The inspector inquired into the matter and reported that the site was not a convenient one. The old post office was, therefore, closed and a new office was opened at the residence of Martin Grace, which was stated would be more convenient to the persons using the office.

WEST SHEFFORD POST OFFICE.

Mr. SANBORN asked, Has the post office at the Canadian Pacific Railway station, West Shefford, in the county of Shefford, been closed? If so, when, and for what reason?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. This post office was closed on the 1st of May, the postmaster having resigned, the office appearing to be of little utility. The department has now under consideration an application made for the reopening of the office in question.

VOTERS' LISTS FOR 1894.

Mr. GUAY asked, Have instructions been issued to the revising officers under the "Dominion Franchise Act" to prepare for the revision of the voters' lists this year? If not, why not?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No instructions have been issued to revising officers this year, except to the revising officers who have been newly appointed. The statute requires them to begin their duties of revision on the 1st of June. No instructions to that effect are necessary from the department.

PIER AT WEST POINT.

Mr. PERRY asked, Is it the intention of the Government, during the present session, to place a sum in the Supplementary Estimates to rebuild the Dominion Government pier at West Point, Prince Edward Island ?

Mr. OUMET. I cannot give an answer to that question until the Supplementary Estimates are before the House.

CASCUMPEQUE HARBOUR.

Mr. PERRY asked, Is it the intention of the Government to continue, during the present year, blasting rock and dredging Cascumpeque Harbour, Prince Edward Island ?

Mr. OUMET. The hon. gentleman will know exactly what is the intention of the Government when the Supplementary Estimates are brought down.

REVISING OFFICER FOR RICHMOND.

Mr. RINFRET asked, When was George H. Aylmer Brooke, Esq., advocate, appointed revising officer for the county of Richmond, P.Q. ? Has the said G. H. Brooke been paid any moneys whatsoever for services as reviser, for printing, expenditure, &c. ? Are the Government aware whether there was a revision of the electoral lists of the county of Richmond in 1891, when the revision of the electoral lists was made in all the other counties of the Dominion of Canada ? Do the Government intend to retain Mr. Brooke in his position as revising officer for the county of Richmond ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The Secretary of State is not here, but I will answer for him. Mr. Brooke was appointed revising officer for the county of Richmond, in the province of Quebec, prior to the commencement of the last revision. He has been paid moneys for his services as revising officer, for printing, expenditure, &c., payments on account. There was no revision of the lists for the county of Richmond in 1891. The Government do not intend to retain Mr. Brooke in his position ; they intend to appoint another revising officer.

MAJOR GENERAL HERBERT.

Mr. HUGHES asked, What words were used by Major General Herbert on the occasion of his recent visit to Montreal, in reference to the Pontifical Zouaves ? Had Major General Herbert permission from, or the authority of, the Honourable the Minister of Militia, to use the words he did on that occasion ?

Mr. PATTERSON (Huron). I disclaim all responsibility for any utterances of any officials in connection with the department over which I have the honour to preside. There

is no necessity for my authority being given for any of their utterances. At the same time, out of courtesy to my hon. friend (Mr. Hughes), and with a desire to gratify his laudable thirst for knowledge, I will give him the exact words used by Major General Herbert on the occasion to which he refers, when the Major General was addressing a French-Canadian battalion in Montreal. I apologize in advance to the House for any defects of accent :

Vous avez parmi vous, de ceux qui, se joignant à cette bande, justement nommée : " les croisés du dix-neuvième siècle," ont rempli un devoir à la fois militaire et religieux sur les champs de bataille de Mentana et de Monte Rotundo, et aux portes mêmes de la ville éternelle. C'est à vous donc de vous jeter en avant, et de montrer les qualités militaires de votre race et son dévouement héréditaire à la patrie.

PIER AT HIGGINS' SHORE.

Mr. YEO asked, Is the Department of Public Works aware that by reason of a sand bank which has formed close to the pier at Higgins' shore, Prince County, P.E.I., the said pier is almost useless for shipping purposes ? Have any petitions been received asking that a dredge may be sent to remove this obstruction ? If so, is it the intention to send a dredge there during the present season ?

Mr. OUMET. A petition was received in February last stating that dredging was required at Higgins' shore, Prince County, P.E.I. This petition has been sent to the resident engineer with instructions to examine into and report on the matter complained of, but his report has not yet been received. There will not be any dredge available for work at this place during the present season.

DISMISSAL OF MR. B. LOISELLE.

Mr. BRODEUR moved for :

Copies of all correspondence, reports or judgments, in relation to the dismissal of Mr. B. Loisel, postmaster of Ste. Angèle de Monnoir.

He said : Mr. Speaker, in making this motion, I desire to say a few words in regard to the dismissal of the postmaster to whom it refers. In previous years I have brought up in this House the question of the dismissal of this postmaster, and I regret to say that the Government have refused to produce the papers in regard to it, which were ordered by the House in 1892. In the first place, in 1891 I put the following question to the Government :

Whether the Government have dismissed Mr. B. Loisel, postmaster of Ste. Angèle, in the county of Rouville ? Were complaints made against him ? Who is the person who made such complaints ? Why was he dismissed as postmaster ?

The answer given to that question was as follows :—

Mr. HAGGART. The dismissal of Mr. B. Loisselle from the postmastership of Ste. Angèle de Monnoir has been decided upon by the Government. Complaints were made that a registered letter addressed to Mr. A. Guillet, and repeatedly applied for by the addressee, was improperly detained in the Ste. Angèle de Monnoir post office for three days, and the post-mark altered to conceal the time date of receipt. The principal complainant was Mr. A. Guillet. These complaints were found on inquiry to be well founded, and the facts have been considered sufficient to justify the postmaster's removal from office.

The charges made by the Government against that postmaster were very serious. He was charged, first, with having committed a forgery, and, secondly, with having kept a letter in his post office for several days, during which the said letter had been repeatedly applied for. Well, I may say at once that since that time those charges have been proven to be entirely untrue from beginning to end. The postmaster has never been guilty of any forgery or of having detained the letter in question in his post office. But more than that. In 1892 I moved for the correspondence and all the other papers concerning the dismissal of this postmaster; and, although two years have elapsed since the order of the House was given for them, no papers have been brought down; the Government have not seen fit to give us the documents on which they relied to justify the dismissal of the postmaster. But I am not surprised at all that the Government has done such a great injustice to a man who was not guilty at all of the charges which were made against him; I think there was good reason for it. I afterwards wrote to the Government placing in their hands affidavits which proved conclusively that the charges made were untrue; but the then Postmaster General, now the Minister of Railways and Canals, did not even answer my letter. An action for damages was then taken by Mr. Loisselle against Mr. Guillet, who was mentioned by the Government as the author of the charges; and judgment was rendered some time ago. At the trial it was admitted by the sub-inspector who made the inquiry, and by the Deputy Postmaster General, that the charges were entirely untrue, that no forgery had been committed by Mr. Loisselle, that there had been no delay in the delivery of the letter, and that consequently Mr. Loisselle was not at all guilty. Judgment was rendered to that effect by Hon. Justice Lynch, and the Government will no doubt accept the word of such an eminent judge. In the judgment it is said :

That the said charges have been made by Guillet without cause and with malice, and that it has been proved that no alteration has been made, and that the said letter has not been detained in the post office by Mr. Loisselle's fault.

Mr. BRODEUR.

But now let us come to another fact. When the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals stated in 1891 that the postmaster had been dismissed because he was guilty of forgery, he declared that Mr. Guillet had made the complaint. Well, we examined Mr. Guillet under oath, and these are the answers he gave in the witness box :

Question. Have you made any complaint in 1891 against Loisselle, concerning some irregularities which you pretended having been made by him in the administration of the post office of Ste. Angèle?

Answer. I have not made any complaint.

At page 6 of his evidence we asked him this question :

Question. On the oath you have taken, Mr. Guillet, you undertake to swear positively that you have not mentioned to anybody, or you have not put anybody else under the impression, that Mr. Loisselle had detained improperly that letter in question in the post office, and besides that, you swear positively that you have never mentioned, and you have never put anybody else under the impression, that Mr. Loisselle had changed the postmark of the said letter?

Answer. No.

Question. Did you not declare to the deputy inspector, Mr. Gervais, that Mr. Loisselle had altered the date of the receipt of the letter, and had altered the post-mark?

Answer. I have never said that to Mr. Gervais.

Well, Mr. Speaker, I do not know who is telling the truth; but I suppose it was the then Postmaster General, when he said that Mr. Guillet had made such a complaint. At all events, here is one of the friends of the Government, whose rascality is now defended by the Government, who declares under oath that the Government did not tell the truth when they stated that he had made some charges against Mr. Loisselle. But the judgment rendered declared that the charges had been made by Mr. Guillet. In fact, according to that judgment, Mr. Guillet perjured himself. At all events, we sent a petition to the Government asking them to reinstate Mr. Loisselle in his position. Here is a man who had been charged by Mr. Guillet and the Government of having detained a letter in his post office. This was a very serious charge, and I do not blame the Government for his dismissal at the time. But when the person on whose word the Government relied came on the stand and swore that he had never made any charge and that everything which had been said by the Minister in the House was untrue, and when a judgment of the court was afterwards given, declaring the charge to have been entirely untrue and erroneous, what was the duty of the Government? I sent in a petition asking for this man's reinstatement. I urged that, as he had been dismissed on a charge which the court had declared to be untrue, it was the duty of the Government to reinstate him or to order an inquiry. But the Government refused to do either, and are now upholding the man who

declared under oath that the utterances of the Minister of Railways and Canals in this House were utterly unfounded. I think that now, since it has been undoubtedly proven that this man was not guilty of the crime with which he was charged, and that he had administered his office perfectly well, it is the duty of the Government to at once reinstate him.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. This matter has come more than once before the House, and the attention of the Postmaster General has been called to it by the hon. gentleman. The facts of the cause appear to be as follows: Mr. Loisselle was dismissed in July, 1891. He had been charged with wilfully detaining a registered letter addressed to one Guillet. The assistant inspector was sent, as is done in every case where a postmaster is charged with any irregularity, to investigate the matter, and a full report was sent in by the inspector to the department. In that report, the inspector said that the charge was well founded, and the Postmaster General, following the invariable rule, dismissed this postmaster. It would appear, however, that Mr. Loisselle subsequently took out an action for damages against one Mr. Guillet, who had made the charges, and judgment was given granting damages to Loisselle. Now, the hon. gentleman asks me, under the circumstances, to reinstate Mr. Loisselle. The question would not have been so difficult of solution had not the department, acting upon the report of its inspector, appointed a successor. A new postmaster was appointed, who has always given satisfaction, against whom no possible charge has been brought, and to reappoint Mr. Loisselle would have necessitated the dismissal of the postmaster named in his place. However, according to the report, although I am prepared to admit that the judgment rendered by the court disproves the charge brought against Mr. Loisselle, there were irregularities, which certainly did not amount to any criminal act, and which would have been overlooked, had not a new postmaster been appointed.

Mr. BRODEUR. Will the hon. gentleman tell us the irregularities complained of?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. I cannot tell the hon. gentleman. They form part of the inspector's report. I am perfectly free to admit that the irregularities were not such as would have led to the dismissal of the postmaster, but taking the full report of the inspector, besides that report being positive as to the postmaster having detained the registered letter, it mentioned other irregularities, which, as I have said, would under other circumstances, have been overlooked. I merely mention this for the purpose of showing that the course of the then Postmaster General (Mr. Haggart) was perfectly clear, and that he could not act otherwise than as he did, that is, dismiss

the postmaster on the report of the officer entrusted with the investigation. As to producing the papers, the hon. gentleman knows that every report of an inspector to the Postmaster General is strictly of a confidential nature. The hon. gentleman may consider that very funny, but in the very nature of the duties which inspectors are called on to perform, it is necessary that their reports should be considered confidential. Otherwise it would be impossible to expect these men to investigate with perfect freedom charges such as are brought from time to time to the notice of the department, knowing that they would incur the animosity and the ill-will of those whose conduct they had been investigating, if their reports were given to the public and discussed freely. These reports are required for the purpose of maintaining the strictest possible efficiency in the service, which is of such enormous importance to the public at large. The privacy of letters, the importance of communications of a commercial nature sent from one person to another, require the exercise of the strictest possible discipline, and this discipline can only be ensured by means of such officers as the inspectors, who are instructed to investigate charges and report to the Postmaster General.

Mr. BRODEUR. Will the hon. gentleman permit me. I think there is more than that in the record. There is an envelope which, if produced, would, of itself, be sufficient to prove that the man was not guilty of the charge made against him. If the hon. gentleman will not produce this report, at least he should produce the vouchers.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. I am giving the report placed in my hand by the officers of my department. I assume that that report is correct. If there is an envelope the hon. gentleman would like to see, there can be no objection to producing that. When the hon. gentleman gave his notice of motion, as I was anxious that every paper and every piece of evidence that could be produced before the House should be laid on the Table promptly, I caused a letter to be written to Mr. Palmer in Montreal to ascertain if he had any of these documents. Here is his answer:

I am inclosing a copy of the judgment in the case of Benoni Loisselle vs. Amédée Guillet. The late postmaster of Ste. Angèle has been awarded sixty dollars damages, with costs against the defendant. The full report of the trial may not be printed for some weeks yet. I shall certainly send you a copy at the earliest possible moment as requested in your communication dated the 5th inst.

These are the circumstances in this Loisselle case. It was upon the report of the inspector that he was dismissed. I do not see how it was possible, under the circumstances of the case, to dismiss the man

who had been appointed to replace Mr. Loisel, and to reinstate Mr. Loisel in office. If there are papers that can be laid before the House, they will be brought down.

Mr. BRODEUR. Will the envelope be produced ?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Yes, if it is here.

Mr. BRODEUR. Why has it not been produced within the past two years ?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. I do not know ; but it will be produced now, if it exists.

Mr. BRODEUR. When the matter was up in court in Montreal, I saw the envelope there.

Mr. DEVLIN. I seconded the motion now before the House because I had become acquainted, to some extent, with the facts connected with the case. This is certainly a case of hardship. A charge is deliberately made against a postmaster to the effect that he had retained a registered letter. An officer of the Government, as I understand the case, is at once despatched to the scene. He returns with a report, and the result of this report is the dismissal of the postmaster who has been on trial. The inspector, if I am correctly informed, while engaged on this mission, never saw the postmaster against whom the charge was made, nor did he have him examined. The inspector simply went down and got what information he could pick up, and came back without having thoroughly informed himself of the case. The department, acting, no doubt, upon the inspector's report, dismissed Mr. Loisel. Afterwards, action is taken in civil suit, and the judgment in that suit shows that the postmaster was entirely innocent. The hon. member for Rouville (Mr. Brodeur) by petition addressed to the department, and afterwards by motion in the House, asks that justice be done to this postmaster. The gratifying reply of the Postmaster General is that this is impossible. Of course, says the Postmaster General, the charge made against the postmaster was unfounded ; the postmaster's conduct was perfectly correct ; it is true there were a few little irregularities, but they were not covered by the charges, and they were not even considered by the department. The charge upon which the postmaster was dismissed was that of having detained a registered letter, and afterwards a judgment rendered in the courts proved conclusively that the charge was not well founded. But the reason why this postmaster cannot be reinstated, the reason why his reputation cannot be given back to him as an honourable man, the reason why he is to be denied reinstatement in the position, the duties of which he discharged faithfully and honourably, is that another has been appointed in his place, and it would be too bad to turn him out. Mr. Speaker, there

Sir ADOLPHE CARON.

is very little logic in that position. If this gentleman, who has had the office for a very short time, would be injured by being relegated to the position which he occupied before his appointment to this office, does it not seem clear that the gentleman who occupied it so long must suffer much more from being discharged with the cloud over him of a charge specifically made and now proven to be not founded in fact. There is no logic, there is no fairness in such a position. I take this case up because it is one of interest to the members of this House. The hon. member for Rouville has sent petitions to the department, asking that justice be done to this man, asking that he should be treated fairly, asking the Postmaster General simply to discharge his duty with regard to this man, and the Postmaster General replies that he cannot do justice to this man because another has been appointed in his place. This seems to be of a piece with the general policy of the department over which the hon. gentleman presides. Of course, this petition was sent by a member on the Opposition side, and, perhaps, for that reason, the department and the Postmaster General think it should not court. Why, what was the answer given me by the Postmaster General ? When I asked the hon. gentleman certain questions, I was informed by him that every change in the service in the county which I have the honour to represent was made at the demand of a gentleman who is not a member of this House. The Postmaster General no doubt, remembers very well the discussion we had last session with regard to matters of this kind in this House. On that occasion he promised me publicly in this House that he would look into these matters, that he would study them, that he would carefully consider them, and, if possible, remedy the grievances I pointed out. And this year I am informed that I had no need to bring these matters to the attention of the hon. gentleman, that all representations on these subjects came from outside sources. On the Order paper I see a question put by the hon. member for Guysborough (Mr. Fraser), relating to a case which, I believe, is absolutely similar to the one brought forward by the hon. member for Rouville (Mr. Brodeur). A charge was made against the postmaster at Vinton, if I am not mistaken, and upon that charge the postmaster's services were dispensed with. But to-day the answer given by the Postmaster General is that the postmaster was not dismissed, but that the post office was changed for convenience sake. Now, the Postmaster General knows that it was not for convenience sake that the post office was changed. If the hon. gentleman had ever been at Vinton he would know that the change is a very slight one, that the post office has only been removed from one place to another, and that the change in distance cannot add to the con-

venience of the public. There was something behind this action which was not revealed by the Postmaster General in his reply. I have much pleasure in seconding the motion made by my hon. friend. It is hard for Mr. Loïselle that justice cannot be done him in this matter, but it must be a great satisfaction to him to know that the report made by the officer of the department, although his report may have been satisfactory to the department, has since been shown to have been contrary to the facts. Not only by a judgment of the court rendered in Montreal, but by the declaration of the Postmaster General made on the floor of the House to-day. Mr. Loïselle was declared perfectly innocent of the charges made against him. The Postmaster General admits that he did his duty thoroughly, but simply because another gentleman, whom the Minister favoured, had secured the place, after an ill-founded report had been sent in, Mr. Loïselle must be denied justice and fair-play.

Mr. SCRIVER. I must say I listened with a good deal of surprise to what fell from the hon. the Postmaster General in regard to this case. There is one thing about it that I do not understand. It appears that the officer who was sent to investigate the charges against Mr. Loïselle, reported that they were well founded. that Mr. Loïselle had been guilty of forgery, and had also been guilty of the lesser fault or crime of detaining a registered letter. But if I understand what has fallen from the hon. member for Rouville (Mr. Brodeur), that same official, in giving his testimony afterwards before a court, denied that he had made such a statement in regard to this postmaster. If that is the case, I need hardly say to the Postmaster General that his plain duty is to inquire into all the facts, and into the conduct of this particular official. At all events, it appears, and the Postmaster General admits it, that Mr. Loïselle was entirely innocent of these grave charges which had been brought against him, charges which, I admit, had they been true, would have justified his dismissal; but the Minister contends there were some trifling irregularities which, however, would not have been sufficient to warrant his dismissal. In fact the Postmaster General has admitted that but for the false charges brought against Mr. Loïselle, and the false report made by an official of his department, this gentleman would still be in the position of postmaster at that place. I need hardly say that the fact of his dismissal has left upon his character an imputation, and I think it is the plain duty of the Minister, under the circumstances, to remove it. I cannot admit that the mere fact that another man has been appointed to the position from which Mr. Loïselle had been improperly dismissed, would justify the department in keeping that man in office and refusing to reinstate Mr. Loïselle. It seems to me that after I appeal to the sense of justice of the Postmaster

General, he cannot do otherwise than consent to the reinstatement of this man because, if he does not do so, a great injury will have been inflicted upon an innocent man.

Mr. HAGGART. A few words in reply to the hon. member for Rouville (Mr. Brodeur). It seems that this case occurred when I was Postmaster General, but I forget the circumstances entirely. The hon. gentleman says that I made a statement in the House to the effect that this postmaster had been accused by the inspector of certain charges, and that in subsequent examination before a judge, the inspector stated upon oath that he never made those statements to the Postmaster General.

Mr. BRODEUR. No; the inspector did not say that.

Mr. HAGGART. The hon. member for Huntingdon (Mr. Scriver) so understood him, and has just reiterated that statement.

Mr. BRODEUR. The then Postmaster General declared that a man named Guillet had made charges against the Postmaster of forgery, and of having detained a letter during a certain number of days. Well, that Guillet was examined under oath—I have read a part of his testimony—and he then declared that he had never made any charge against the postmaster to the Government; and now the Government are taking the part of this man Guillet, who admitted that he had not spoken the truth against Mr. Loïselle; consequently Mr. Loïselle must be considered to be entirely innocent of the charges made against him.

Mr. HAGGART. If I understand the hon. gentleman rightly now, he says that a man named Guillet lodged a charge with the department upon which, after investigation, the postmaster was dismissed, and that subsequently Mr. Guillet upon oath retracted his charge. All I can say is that at the time I made this answer, I knew of no such man as Guillet, and could not have known him, and could not have known any of the circumstances of the case. I gave the answer on the authority of the inspector of the department. The hon. gentleman says that although all the circumstances were laid before me, I did not even have the courtesy of returning an answer to the hon. gentleman. I must also deny that statement. It was a departmental affair, and I gave a departmental answer to the hon. gentleman. All I can say is that this postmaster was dismissed on the recommendation of the inspector, and that the answer I gave to the House in 1891, notwithstanding any assertion of any gentleman who made an affidavit or was examined in reference to the case, was prepared for me by my officers as an answer to the hon. gentleman's question.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The statement of the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals

I am sure is made in perfect good faith ; but he will see that the answer he gave at the time leaves scarcely any doubt as to the accuracy of the statement made by my hon. friend.

Mr. HAGGART. I did not hear him read my answer.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman read it, and I fancy there is no mistake with regard to that. Now, the statement made by the then Postmaster General, the present Minister of Railways and Canals, according to what the hon. member for Rouville (Mr. Brodeur) has said, was that the date upon which the letter was received at the post office, was altered, and that it was kept back from the party who was rightfully entitled to claim it ; and that was the report made to the hon. gentleman by the inspector of the Post Office Department, and upon that ground the postmaster was dismissed. The statement made by the court was that the party who made the complaint never made any such allegation, and that the letter was not kept back from the party entitled to receive it. So that if the Postmaster General did not fall into a mistake at the time he made the statement to the House, he was evidently misled by the inspector on that occasion, and the statement of the present Postmaster General is not satisfactory because it is of very great consequence that the party who is discharging the duties of inspector of post offices should carefully discharge those duties so as not to cast any reflection on any party not deserving of censure. The testimony which my hon. friend read, taken in court, was that the inspector never called on the party, never made any inquiry with respect to the matter, and the date stamped on the envelope shows that the statement made by the inspector of post offices in his report, was an inaccurate statement. How came he to make that report ? How came he to declare that there was an alteration in the date stamped on the receipt of the letter, if no such alteration was made ? How did he come to make such a declaration without having seen the envelope, as appears to have been the case ? How came he to make the declaration that the letter was detained in the post office for several days after it had been received, when the party entitled to receive it himself declared upon oath that he never made any such statement, either to the Postmaster General or to the inspector ? The information given to the House at this moment shows that the inspector has been guilty of a very great dereliction of duty. He had been guilty of more than that. He has made a false and erroneous statement to the Postmaster General, or to the Post Office Department, which shows that he is entirely unworthy to retain that position, if the facts disclosed by my hon. friend should turn out to be

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

correct. The House will be wanting in its duty, and so, too, will be the Postmaster General, if it permits this party to remain in office without having the matter fully inquired into and the result laid before Parliament, in order that Parliament may see on what grounds this party was accused, and on what grounds he was dismissed, and how the inspector came to make such a statement to the Postmaster General, and by him communicated to the House, in justification of the dismissal of this postmaster. This postmaster is entitled to be reinstated in his office. We have not before us any question of any trifling or subordinate irregularity. They are not matters before the House, and they would form no justification for continuing to exclude this man from office ; and the Postmaster General is called upon to satisfy the House that the charges were of such a character as to show that this man was unfit to retain his position. The hon. gentleman admits they are not such charges. He admits there was no justification for the dismissal of the party from the position of postmaster, and although postmasters in the country hold office during pleasure, we know very well the conventional rule is that the Government permit them to retain office so long as they properly discharge the duties appertaining to it. I think this matter is one that the House cannot pass over with indifference, because it is perfectly clear that an officer, high in the department has made statements to the Postmaster General which were wholly unwarranted, and that he has been guilty, not only of very great dereliction of duty, but also of gross misconduct in office.

Mr. EDGAR. I have here an extract from 'Hansard,' which will no doubt satisfy the Minister of Railways as to what he said in reply to an inquiry made on September 14th, 1891 :

Mr. TROW (for Mr. BRODEUR) asked, Whether the Government have dismissed Mr. B. Loisel, postmaster of Ste. Angèle, in the county of Rouville ? Were complaints made against him, and who is the person who made such complaints ? Why was he dismissed as postmaster ?

Mr. HAGGART. The dismissal of Mr. B. Loisel from the postmastership of Ste. Angèle de Monnoir has been decided upon by the Government. Complaints were made that a registered letter addressed to Mr. A. Guillet, and repeatedly applied for by the addressee, was improperly detained in the Ste. Angèle de Monnoir post office for three days, and the post-mark altered to conceal the time date of receipt. The principal complainant was Mr. A. Guillet. These complaints were found on inquiry to be well founded, and the facts have been considered sufficient to justify the postmaster's removal from office.

It is evident that my hon. friend the Postmaster General was a little mistaken in thinking he had heard nothing of the complaint made.

Mr. HAGGART. I did not say anything of the kind. I said the circumstances had all passed from my mind, and that no doubt the answer would be correct, and whatever the answer was, it was one prepared by the department.

Mr. EDGAR. I wish to point out that there is something material in the reply made. In the first place, the ground of dismissal is stated there positively—that of holding back a registered letter and altering the post-mark. No other ground of complaint for the dismissal was stated at the time, and it is too late now for the Postmaster General to come forward and say there were other charges, he did not remember, and he did not know what they were—he did not justify his action on that ground, but he made it a sort of excuse for keeping the other man in office. I never heard of this case before, and I am only speaking now in regard to what has been admitted on both sides of the House. Here are two innocent men; one innocent man is in office and another innocent man is out of office, and not only is the latter an innocent man, but he is a deeply-injured man; and as between those two innocent men, one of whom has had the advantage of holding the office for some time, and he has had benefits showered on him, while the other has been dismissed, injured, and wrongly injured—which of the two innocent men should suffer? Surely not the one who holds office to-day by reason of the unfortunate error made on an insufficient examination of the inspector, and which is now admitted was wrong. Is the Crown to be the only employer to treat an honest man as a criminal, and to continue to treat him as such, although his innocence has been proved? What a nice lesson this is for civil servants throughout the country! Imagine a man in the Government's employ accused of a crime and dismissed without very much examination, and another officer put in his place! That man is then forced into the courts of law, and when his innocence is established, the Government says: We can do nothing for you, you and your wife and children must starve, because, although you are absolutely innocent, we put another favourite in your place. I do not believe that the people in the country will justify that sort of treatment. This is not a question of departmental administration, but one of principle as regards the Government of the country. This is not a mere trifle. Cannot the Minister of Justice tell his colleagues that if a criminal is found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment, and facts are subsequently established to prove his innocence, immediately messengers of mercy are sent to release the man and place him at liberty, and do all that can be done to restore him to his place and position. Why, we have often heard of cases where men have been let out of prison without having established their innocence on ac-

count of the condition of their health. But here is a case where absolute innocence has been established, and it would be a wretched precedent if this House, without severe comment, allows the Government to get up and justify such a course as the present Postmaster General has justified this afternoon.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I hope, for the sake of the Civil Service generally, that the Postmaster General and the members of the Government will reconsider the position which I understand they have arrived at. I am no more disposed than they are to advocate as a general rule the production of confidential reports or correspondence, but where a very grave injustice is admitted by the Postmaster General himself to have been committed on an innocent party, and when it appears clear from his statement that the man who committed that injustice was an officer of the department, the inspector sent down to report upon the case; then I say that that inspector's report, whether confidential or not, ought to be submitted with the rest of the papers and be examined. If the statement of my hon. friend from Rouville (Mr. Brodeur) is correct, apparently this inspector—I do not pass judgment upon him, I am merely repeating the statement of my hon. friend—this inspector, is said by a gentleman in this House to have conducted an examination without taking the trouble to examine the party accused, or of giving him an opportunity to justify himself.

Mr. BRODEUR. And no notice was given.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That, I understand from my hon. friend to be the case. If that be the case, if it can be proved and shown that the officer on whose report the former Postmaster General, and I suppose the present Postmaster General, relied, did so act, and when it is admitted by the Postmaster General that a most grave injustice has been committed on an employee of the Government, then, Sir, I do respectfully submit to the House that the ground of retaining confidential communications ceases, and that in common justice and equity all the papers in such a case, which, as put by my hon. friend from Rouville (Mr. Brodeur), conveys a very grave charge against this officer, should be laid before the House, and thereafter, that my hon. friend ought to be in a position to take, on full examination, such steps as seem to him just to ensure either one of two things: That redress should be given to this man, as I think redress should be given, or that the officer whose misconduct or whose error of judgment, as the case may be, has brought about the present state of things, should receive some adequate censure and some adequate punishment. It is outrageous that any civil officer under Government should

be dismissed on a charge of which he proves to have been absolutely innocent, and that nobody should be held guilty of any wrongdoing in the matter. If the Minister in his capacity as head of the department has been misled—as I am quite willing to suppose—by the error of his officer, then it rests with that officer to make such excuse or justification as he can for the grave injustice which has been committed. In order that this matter may be thoroughly searched, I think that my hon. friend (Mr. Brodeur) is right and that, confidential or not confidential, all these reports made by the inspector which have led to such a state of things as we have seen disclosed this afternoon, should be placed before this House, which is the proper tribunal to investigate wrongs of that kind; and that after that is done, my hon. friend, if he deems it necessary, should bring the conduct of this official before the House in case the Government do not themselves, on examining into the matter, see that there is reasonable cause for punishing him. Apparently, so far as I have been able to gather from the facts stated here, the party who is guilty in this matter—I say apparently only because I do not wish to condemn him—is the official who made this report on insufficient evidence, and thereby induced the Government to do this very grievous wrong.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It would seem that two public officers are concerned: One of them has been tried and found not guilty; the other of them has not been tried, but has been found guilty by some hon. gentleman to-day in advance of the trial. He has been denounced for the last twenty minutes at least, and has only had the benefit of the saving clause which the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) has put into his speech, and in which he supposes there may be a possibility of his being innocent. I quite admit that there may be cases in which even confidential reports should be submitted to Parliament, especially if such confidential reports had misled the action of a public department. Let me call the attention of the hon. member for Rouville (Mr. Brodeur) to this fact: that in deciding whether these reports should be treated as confidential, or whether they should be laid on the Table of the House, it is important that the head of the department should be informed what the testimony was at the trial which took place in the province of Quebec. It may be that that evidence and that trial fully exonerated the postmaster; it may be that it did not, and in order to enable us to come to a correct conclusion as to how far we should keep the reports as confidential, it would be well that we should see the evidence. If the hon. gentleman has it in his possession, as I understood from him a few moments ago, I would ask him to let the head of the department have it.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT.

Mr BRODEUR. We might amend the motion then by adding: That all the papers in the suit of Loïselle against Guillet should be brought down.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It is not necessary to do that.

Mr. BRODEUR. I have got only the deposition of Guillet; I have not all the depositions, and I think it would be perhaps better to have all the evidence given at the trial.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I may remind the Minister of Justice that the Postmaster General expressly admitted the innocence of this man, and in admitting his innocence he therefore admitted that at the least a grave error of judgment had been committed.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. I beg to make an explanation. I made no admission of any kind. I merely stated that a judgment had been given declaring that this man was innocent; and, moreover, I supplemented what I said by reading an answer to a letter which I had addressed to Mr. Palmer for the purpose of obtaining the papers which would allow me to judge as to how far the judgment had gone. I stated to the House the answer of Mr. Palmer, who said: That the report of the trial has not yet been completed. In the very report from 'Hansard' which the hon. gentleman from West Ontario (Mr. Edgar) has read, it will be seen that my statement agrees absolutely with what the then Postmaster General stated. The Postmaster General stated, according to that report: That there were charges made against Loïselle, and one of these charges was made or laid by Mr. Guillet, and I said that there were other charges, which were perfectly true.

Mr. LISTER. The Postmaster General has not ventured to inform the House whether, if he became satisfied on an examination of all the papers that this man dismissed from office is really innocent, that he will restore him to his office. He has not said that, and that we have a right to expect from the hon. Minister. His department, either under him or under some person else, has done the most grievous wrong it is possible for one man to do to another. He has branded him, as far as the department can do it, as a forger, and as having violated the law in other respects, and upon the evidence which was submitted to the then Postmaster General this man was summarily dismissed. Now, Sir, it is an astonishing thing indeed if the good reputation of a man and his family are to be destroyed by any official of the Government, without a proper examination and consideration of the evidence, and the conviction that the evidence leads to one only conclusion, and that is that the man is guilty. Is it possible, in this year or in this age, that a Postmaster General of this country will, without proper testimony on the recommen-

dation or report of some official of his department, dismiss a man from office and brand him as a criminal, and that that innocent man shall have no redress in the courts of this country because it is the act of the Government? And when it is discovered that the man is innocent and that the whole action of the Government has been wrong, is it possible to find anybody who will refuse that man all the redress which it is in his power to give to him? It is incredible that the Postmaster General should stand up here to-day, and, after admitting, as he has admitted, and as the proofs completely establish, that the charges made against this person were absolutely untrue, should say that because he has appointed somebody else in this man's place, he refuses to right the terrible wrong he has done to him and his family. Anybody else who did as he has done might have to answer to the courts of the country; but he is free from that responsibility. Now, Sir, the Postmaster General says one thing in which I concur. He says that it is necessary in the public interest that the discipline of the post office officials throughout the country should be strict. I agree with him in that; I believe it is the duty of the Government to enforce the strictest discipline on the part of their officials. But, Sir, does the hon. gentleman always apply this rule? I trow not. There was brought to the attention of the hon. gentleman who sits beside him (Mr. Haggart), and who was at one time the Postmaster General of this country, the fact that a postmaster, a son of a supporter of the Government in this House, with the officials in his office, had deliberately opened, not one letter merely, but two or three or more letters. The evidence was clear beyond any question. If the hon. gentleman will bring down the confidential report on that case, which he has in his department, I believe it will show that the charge made against the gentleman in question was true. The Postmaster General had an opportunity of seeing the person who made the complaint; an investigation was made by an official of the department; evidence was taken, and, if the statement made to me is correct, not by one person alone, but by others who were familiar with the matter, it was proved that the postmaster had opened more than one letter, I believe three or four. The Postmaster General was told of this in his office, and he has in the archives of the department a report of the inspector who examined into the matter. That postmaster is still the postmaster nominally; but, as he is studying for a profession, he passes only the vacation time in his office. This matter was brought before the Government several years ago, and has been brought before it year after year since, and yet the hon. gentleman at the head of the department, who says that discipline is absolutely necessary in the public

interest, has not thus far dismissed this official, but he is allowed still to draw the emoluments payable for the services he is supposed to render. I repeat, Sir, that the same measure of justice that is measured out to one should be measured out to all. It should not be allowed to go abroad that because one man happens to have power and influence with the Government he may do with impunity what would cost the official life of somebody else. All should be placed upon a footing of the most perfect equality. That is the only way in which discipline and fidelity to the interests of the country in the public service can be enforced. Let the officials of the country know that one is to be punished and another is to escape, and you establish a precedent that is dangerous to the public welfare. If the Postmaster General desires more information upon the case I have hinted at, I am prepared to give it to him; I am prepared to furnish him with the evidence and proofs of the statement I make, either publicly or privately. The matter was investigated by the inspector in a certain district in this country, and I believe that the evidence brought before that inspector proved beyond any question the truth of the charge that had been made against the postmaster. Now, it is somewhat astonishing that a different mode of procedure should exist in the province of Quebec from what exists in the province of Ontario. I know something about these investigations. I know, to the credit of the department, at all events in the western part of the country, that a man who is charged with an offence is given every opportunity to answer to the charge by giving evidence and calling evidence on his behalf, and the person making the charge has an opportunity of bringing evidence to substantiate it. The court is in every sense an open court, and at the end of the inquiry all the evidence, together with the report of the inspector, is forwarded to the Government. That is the proper course of procedure. But in this case what do we find? This poor man was the postmaster in a small village. If the statements of the hon. member for Rouville (Mr. Brodeur) are correct, the inspector comes along and holds a sort of star chamber somewhere, nobody knows where; the unfortunate man accused is not even notified that a charge is made against him, or called to answer to the charge; but somebody comes before the inspector and makes a statement, it may or it may not be under oath—in all probability this was not under oath. The man who the Minister says made the complaint denies that he ever made any such complaint to the Minister or the inspector. Then, who else could have made it? The man who has lost his situation is not in a position to know. Was there any reason for his dismissal apart from the statement made to the Government? Was not the envelope itself, if it had been pro-

duced to the inspector, abundant evidence that the charge of altering the date was false? What evidence was there? Surely the hon. Minister should not have discharged this man and ruined his prospects, good name, and reputation, on the simple report of an inspector, unsupported by the evidence given. And if that were not testimony in the proper sense of the word, he should have gone back to the orders of the department and taken the evidence on oath. Because an inspector reported that certain charges are well founded, surely the department without any further investigation, should not have dismissed this man and perhaps have ruined him, or at all events, cast a stain upon his character. For no matter what the court may have done, this dismissal can be cast against him and his family. And the only restitution the Government can make him, the only way they can rectify the great wrong done, is to restore to him the office which they so wrongfully took from him.

Mr. BRODEUR. In answer to the hon. gentleman on the other side, let me say that the conduct of the inspector, from beginning to end, was entirely misleading. The Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Haggart), who was then Postmaster General, says that he never received the letter I sent him some time ago. Well, I have a copy of the letter here, which I sent to him in 1891, and that letter was sent to him personally. It is true I wrote the letter in French, but I thought at the time the hon. gentleman understood French, and I am informed he does. It was written on the 17th September, 1891, and was addressed to the Hon. Mr. Haggart, Postmaster General, Ottawa. I am very much surprised to hear that the hon. gentleman did not receive such a letter.

Mr. HAGGART. I did not say that I did not receive it. I do not remember any of the circumstances. Probably it went to the department as a departmental letter. But if it is a private letter to myself, I will hunt it up and see if I can find it. What is the date?

Mr. BRODEUR. 17th September, 1891.

Mr. HAGGART. I am not aware that I ever refused to answer any letter, and it seems extraordinary to me that I did not acknowledge the receipt. At all events the Postmaster General (Sir Adolphe Caron) says to-day that the only paper we have is the inspector's report.

Mr. BRODEUR. Where is the letter of the 17th September, 1891, and where are the affidavits which accompanied it? I sent with that letter some affidavits to the then Postmaster General (Mr. Haggart), proving that the charges made against Mr. Loïselle in this House by him were entirely unfounded. I have not even received an answer to that letter. The hon. gentleman said a minute ago that if the letter were a

Mr. LISTER.

private note, perhaps he had knowledge of it. The letter should be in the hands of the department, and I do not know why these papers should not be brought down.

Mr. HAGGART. The hon. gentleman says he sent the letter to me and that it was a private letter. But if he inclosed affidavits, it was evidently a public letter, and the moment I received it I handed it to the officers of the department. It was their duty to answer it, and these affidavits will be on file in the department.

Mr. BRODEUR. I understood from the Postmaster General (Sir Adolphe Caron) that the only paper in the department is the report of the inspector.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Every paper, except the confidential reports of the inspector, will be brought down and laid on the Table.

Mr. BRODEUR. I think that, under the circumstances, not only the other papers, but the report itself should be brought down, and I will tell the hon. gentleman why. I asked for those papers at the beginning of the session of 1892. On the 7th March, 1892, this House gave an order for copies of all petitions, correspondence, vouchers, depositions, inspector's reports and all documents whatsoever respecting the dismissal of Mr. Loïselle. The Government did not oppose the motion, and it was adopted. Now the Government say they will not produce the report because it is a confidential one. But there is the order of the House instructing the Government to produce those papers, which so far the Government have refused to produce. More than that, in 1892, I asked for the papers, and was told that they were lost. I was told that they had been given to the then Postmaster General (Mr. Haggart), the Minister of Railways and Canals, and that they could not be found. Some time after I was told that they were in the hands of Mr. Chapleau. At any rate I could not get those papers brought down in 1892. In 1893, I again asked for their production, but nothing was done. I was informed that the papers were all lost. I had to take an action against Guillet, and I questioned him concerning the declaration in the House that he had made a certain charge against Mr. Loïselle. I asked him what he had to say to that? He replied that all that was said by the Postmaster General was untrue from beginning to end; and he made that statement under oath. I do not want to blame the Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Haggart) who, I believe, was perfectly sincere when he made the declaration. I know that he was reading the report of Mr. Gervais. But I ask, what kind of an investigation did this Mr. Gervais make? Was it such an investigation that could be accepted by the Government? What did he do? One day, immediately during the Quebec provincial elections, my adversary, Mr. Gigault, said to Loïselle: Well, Loïselle, you are

against me, but you will see in a few days you will be dismissed by the Government. On the charge that a pretended crime had been committed, Inspector Gervais went, one year afterwards, to Ste. Angèle de Monnoir, and there saw Guillet, the Conservative leader of the locality, and held an investigation with Mr. Guillet. He did not examine any witnesses, he did not notify Loiselle—not at all. But he made a report to the Government that Loiselle had been guilty of the charge of forgery and had kept a letter many days in his office. He made the serious charge which was repeated in this House by the Minister of Railways and Canals. As a member of this House, and as knowing every fact of the case, for having conducted the enquête in court myself at Montreal, I declare what I have stated to be true. There was no investigation made. More than that, some time after I asked the Postmaster General (Mr. Haggart) to have an investigation made. Unfortunately he did not receive my letter and consequently could not answer it. At all events I did not receive any reply. I then entered an action, and that action was sustained, the judge declaring that the charges were malicious. And what scandal did we see when the case came up in the courts in Montreal? The judge before whom the case was tried had been on the bench but a short time. Before his appointment he had been known as a Conservative in politics, and a member of the Provincial Cabinet. The advocate for the defendant Guillet kept constantly asking, during the case, what was the use of granting damages for in a political action, and spoke of the case as a political trick. But, in spite of this, the judge was honest enough to grant damages, and to declare that the charges were entirely untrue. More than that, Guillet did not bring a single witness to prove his case. The Deputy Postmaster General, Mr. White, came there as a witness, and then, for the first time, I was allowed to see this famous envelope. I asked for the production of the vouchers concerning this dismissal in 1891, and again in 1892. Among these vouchers was that envelope; there is no question about it. I discovered that this envelope was in the hands of the Government. How did I discover it? I had been told that there was not a single paper in the department, that they had not the record of the case, that everything had been lost. I went on one occasion to the office of the advocate for the defence in this case, and he showed me a letter from an official of the department, telling him that they would bring every paper that would suit him. That is the way in which this man Loiselle has been treated, and that is the way Gervais, the inspector, made his investigation. I say that under the circumstances the duty of the Government was to reinstate this postmaster. I sent a letter with a copy of the judgment to the Postmaster General, and he answered me that

the matter should have consideration. Some time ago he answered me in the House that he would not reinstate Mr. Loiselle. Mr. Speaker, considering that this inspector has not seen fit to make a serious investigation of the case, I think we have a right to have the documents produced before this House, and that is the reason why I move that the following words be added to the motion before the House, according to the suggestion of the hon. Prime Minister:—

And a copy of the record, depositions, declarations and pleadings in suit brought in Montreal of Loiselle vs. Guillet, and the inspector's report.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The hon. gentleman cannot move an amendment to his own motion. I understood him to say that he had in his possession the papers relating to the trial.

Mr. LANGELIER. Is there any objection to my moving the motion which has been read by my hon. friend? If not, I move that these words be added.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. If these papers are in the department they will be brought down; if not, an order of the House cannot cause them to be produced.

Mr. BRODEUR. This is an address.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I see the original motion is for an address; I thought it was for an order of the House.

Motion, as amended, agreed to.

PICKET'S PIER.

Mr. BORDEN moved for:

Copies of all letters, reports of engineers or other papers in the hands of the Government relating to the condition of the Picket's Pier and the non-expenditure thereon of the sum voted last year for the purpose of repairing said pier.

He said: In making this motion, Mr. Speaker, I must ask the indulgence of the House for a few moments while I recount in some detail the history of this public work during the past few years. I may say, by way of preface, that the Picket's Pier, so-called, is a breakwater on the Basin of Minas, in the county of King's, N.S., and is similar to other breakwaters from time to time receiving Dominion Government aid. It was a public work, constructed many years ago, before Confederation, by the aid of the Provincial Legislature, and, after Confederation, grants from time to time were made by this Parliament to keep up this work. I think it was in 1886 that it was transferred by the Provincial Government, together with a number of other breakwaters, to the Department of Marine and Fisheries.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. No.

Mr. BORDEN. I think so. Well, then, to the Department of Public Works. At any rate it was transferred to the charge

of the Dominion Government, and the Dominion Government has taken control of it and appointed a public official known as a wharfinger, who has charge of this breakwater, and who collects fees from vessels coming there, and upon goods received and shipped there. In 1878, I think, public money was expended on this breakwater, and again, I believe, in 1883. In 1887, when I came into this House for the second time, a petition was sent to me in which it was stated that the breakwater was going down, and that public money should be expended upon it. I presented that petition. I saw the Minister of Public Works at that time and asked that a sum of money be expended upon this work to keep it from falling into decay. Nothing was done, and this went on until 1891. After the election of 1891, I again repeated the request made to me by citizens of the locality in which this pier is situated for the expenditure of public money on the work. However, the Government was deaf to all entreaties. But it so happened, Mr. Speaker, that on the 1st day of February, 1892, or a little before that, the Government developed a new and lively desire for the maintenance of this interesting public work. I may mention, by way of parenthesis, that just at this time there was a by-election in the county of King's. I had been unseated, and a writ had been issued for polling in the by-election on the 13th of February. Although it was in winter, although the wharf was covered with two or three feet of snow, and it was a very bad time of year for making the expenditure, nevertheless an engineer was sent there in the middle of January, and on the 1st day of February following, he issued a commission to a resident of the community near that wharf, in the following terms:—

The Dept. of Public Works, Canada,
Resident Engineer's Office,
HALIFAX, N.S., 1st Feb., 1892.

LEVI EATON, Esq.,
Lower Canard.

DEAR SIR,—Inclosed herewith I hand you a commission and authority to expend the sum of \$200 in making some urgent repairs—

Mark the words, Mr. Speaker, "urgent repairs"

—to Picket's Wharf. We examined this wharf together on the 16th January, and you are well aware of what is required.

At the same time this letter was also forwarded to Mr. Eaton, the commissioner:

On the recommendation of C. R. Bill, Esq., the Honourable the Minister of Public Works has been pleased to approve of your appointment as foreman in charge of repairs to Picket's Wharf, Lower Canard.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Who is Mr. Bill?

Mr. BORDEN. Mr. Bill is the gentleman who was contesting King's County with me
Mr. BORDEN

at that interesting moment. Now, we observe that an important step had been taken towards the repair of the breakwater at Picket's Pier, and on 4th February I find a letter written by this same resident engineer to this same Mr. Eaton, who enjoyed office for a very few days, as the sequel will show:

DEAR SIR,—I have yours of 2nd inst. I think if you look at your commission you will find it stated that your pay will be at the rate of \$2.50 per day for every day that you are actually working. This, of course, does not mean time that you have to wait before you are able to make a start on the repairs, and while you are making arrangements for material. With regard to beginning work, you will use your own judgment as to when it is practicable to do so. As long as the wharf is not sustaining actual damage, there is, of course, no necessity to begin work immediately.

Now, that was on the 4th day of February, and on the 6th day of February, which was nomination day, this interesting letter was written by this same resident engineer to this same Mr. Eaton, for the time being, the commissioner for the expenditure of this money. The election took place on the 13th February subsequently:

February 6th, 1892.

LEVI EATON, Esq.

Please do no work and make no contracts or arrangements for materials, or for beginning work on Picket's Pier until further instructions. That is to say, please consider your appointment suspended for the present.

Yours truly,
C. E. DODWELL.

Now, it so happens that this man, Levi Eaton, for so short a time in the enjoyment of these official honours, has been a life-long Liberal. He is some 60 years of age, and has been a Liberal ever since he was able to vote, and a very intelligent Liberal. Mr. Bill, my opponent, had gone to him and asked him if he would expend this money on the Picket's Pier. Mr. Eaton said: Why don't you get some of your own friends to do it? Mr. Bill said: You are the most prominent man in this locality, I want you to do it, and unless you will consent to do it, the expenditure won't take place. Well, Mr. Eaton did not wish to see the community deprived of the great boon of having this wharf repaired, and so he consented to take charge. But, Sir, the fact that this appointment of Mr. Eaton had been made, accidentally got out before nomination day, and on nomination day there was serious trouble in the Conservative camp. The Conservatives living in that neighbourhood insisted it was an insult to them that a Liberal should be appointed, and they insisted that the appointment should be cancelled, and that the expenditure should not be made. These are facts, and I state them in my place in Parliament with full knowledge of the responsibility I am taking in making this statement. Well, so much for the expenditure which the engineer found absolutely necessary and urgent to be made

in February, 1892. Now, as it happens, I came back here in 1892, and knowing the report the engineer had made, and knowing that it was correct—because I say at once that the report made by the engineer was perfectly truthful, that the work was going into decay, and that repairs should not only have been made in February, 1892, but long before that—I saw the Minister of Public Works, and asked him if he was going to put a vote in the Estimates; and he put me off, although he gave me to understand that he would put a vote in the Estimates in 1892. Towards the end of the session, finding that I was not likely to get much satisfaction, I took the liberty of calling the attention of the then Minister of Justice, now Prime Minister, to the condition of affairs, and to what had taken place. On 4th July, 1892, I received from him the following letter:—

DEAR SIR,—I note what you state in your letter of 28th ulto. and shall be very glad if the Minister of Public Works is yet able to meet your wishes in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
J. S. D. THOMPSON.

Finding no vote had been put in the Estimates, I asked the Government to take the sum out of the vote for general repairs and carry out that which they had found so urgently necessary in February, but which in July they seemed to think might go over for an indefinite period. I wrote to the Minister of Public Works about the same time, and received from him this very polite note, dated 19th July, 1892:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter re Picket's Harbour. The chief engineer of my department will visit Nova Scotia at the end of the month, and will examine the state of Picket's Pier, and see that what is necessary be done.

Yours truly,
J. A. OUIMET.

That was on the 16th July, 1892, and so far as I know, the chief engineer has never got there yet. Well, I kept pegging away, and in December of the same year, I received another letter from the Minister of Public Works:

I have received your three letters of 27th inst., and have asked my officers to give me reports on the matters mentioned therein.

With best wishes for the new year,
I remain, yours truly.

That letter was dated about Christmas time, 1892, and the good wishes were for the year 1893. In 1893 we had a session of Parliament, and I succeeded in persuading the Minister to put a vote in the Estimates for the repairs of this important Government work. That vote was passed through this House, and it amounted to \$800. I went home happy, imagining that the matter was settled, and that this long-needed repair would be at once carried out. But after I reached home I found nothing was being done. So,

on August 8th. I wrote a letter to the Minister to refresh his memory once more, in regard to Picket's Pier. On August 16th, he very promptly answered—as he always does—as follows:—

In answer to your letter of the 8th instant, I may say that orders were given over a month ago to do necessary repairs at Picket's Pier. I will inquire into the matter.

That was on August 16th, and orders had been given a month before. I waited until September 5th, and on that day I wrote another letter, and I am afraid, as time elapses, my importunities became rather strong.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The pier had been getting better all the time.

Mr. BORDEN. There is a little of it left. On November 2nd, I received the following reply:—

In compliance with your request contained in your letter of 5th September, I have the honour to inform you that orders have been given for the necessary repairs at Picket's Pier.

I telegraphed the Minister, and finally I wrote him in the following terms on December 9th:—

Notwithstanding the fact that you have twice assured me within four months that "orders" had been issued for the repairs to be made to the Picket's Pier, not a particle of work has been done, nor is there the slightest indication, at the pier, of anything being about to be done. I have just been on it, and I can assure you once more and finally, so far as letters and telegrams are concerned, that the work is in a most disgraceful condition, and will, in all probability, become a complete wreck if not repaired at once. If you have given "orders" for the work to be done, your subordinates seem to be taking their time in executing these "orders." It seems a little too bad that a small expenditure (duly voted by Parliament) which would save from destruction a costly and useful public work, cannot be made. What is the reason?

That letter, I believe, brings the correspondence up to date. When Parliament was called I came here, and I certainly expected to find in the Estimates, which were promptly laid on the Table of the House, a revote of the grant which had been made last year for a work for which orders had been given. I was, however, truly astonished when I found that the Estimates contained no mention whatever of a vote or revote for Picket's Pier. Although the amount involved is not very large, the principle at issue is one of some importance to this country. We should know why, if the engineer in February, 1892, found that repairs to this breakwater were so urgently necessary that they should be done at once, during that inclement season of the year, this work is allowed to continue without anything further being done with regard to it. If the action taken by the Government at that time was justifiable,

then surely the course pursued by the Government since that time was utterly unjustifiable; if it is, on the contrary, a work that does not deserve the expenditure of public money, or if it is a work not out of repair, surely the course pursued by the Government in February, 1892, was utterly unjustifiable. Hon. gentlemen opposite may take which ever horn of the dilemma they please. The people who live in the vicinity of this breakwater are almost exclusively farmers, and the feeling prevails that the reason they have been neglected is that they are farmers. They say: If this breakwater happened to be near the terminus of an important railway, or in some town where industries were being bolstered up by this Government, and by the National Policy, the matter would have been attended to at once, but they being nothing but agriculturists they may be neglected with impunity by the Government. I must confess that when that statement is made, I find it very difficult to satisfy these people that it is not true. I have already stated enough to show that some explanation is demanded with respect to the course which the Minister has pursued in this matter. I felt it was of sufficient consequence to have a statement made on the floor of this House in explanation of the course taken by this Government. I have endeavoured to do my duty by my constituents. I have written letters and have interviewed Ministers, and I have promised these people that they were on the eve of having the repairs made, and every time I have done so it appears I was misinformed. In justice to myself I wish to be in a position to satisfy these people that, at all events, so far as I am concerned, every word I said to them was true; that when I said I had received assurances from the Minister that the order had been given for the expenditure, I had received that assurance, and I have taken this public way of proving to these people that the statements that I made to them were in every respect correct. I desire to obtain copies of the orders alleged to have been given. I should like to see a copy of the interesting telegrams or letters which must have passed between the Public Works Department at Ottawa, and the resident engineer, Mr. Dodwell, on that interesting day, February 6th, 1892. I should like to know how a gentleman who had been appointed on February 1st as commissioner, who was assured on February 4th that his payment would be \$2.50 per day, and that he might choose his own time to begin the repairs, should be dropped out as commissioner on February 6th, which day happened to be the day of the nomination for the by-election in King's County. This will prove interesting information, and I am sure the Minister will be glad to supply these details when the papers are brought down to the House.

Mr. BORDEN.

Mr. OUIMET. I cannot thank the hon. gentleman (Mr. Borden), but at the same time I cannot find fault with him for having read so much of my prose. I suppose the hon. gentlemen of this House have, from these letters, noticed the willingness and earnestness on my part and on the part of the department to do what was fair towards the hon. gentleman and his constituents as regards that pier.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). You promised.

Mr. OUIMET. I repeat that I was willing and in earnest about it, and before I sit down, I think I will be able to prove that in this matter the department has done nothing but its duty towards the public and towards the county of King's, N.S. The hon. gentleman stated that it was too sad that the instructions given in February, 1892, should have been prosecuted, because they might have influenced the electors of his county against him and in favour of his opponent. I am not aware that this could have been the fact, and if such were the case it is a poor compliment to his electors, for I could not suppose that the expenditure of \$200 on a pier of the importance of Picket's wharf would have been of so much value in a by-election. As regards matters passing during the month of February, 1892, I must say my memory is a little unreliable. I was in the same position as the hon. gentleman himself, I was going through the electoral mill for myself and for many of my friends. I was new in the department at the time, and probably a good many details escaped my attention. In complaining that the appropriation voted by Parliament last year has not been spent, the hon. gentleman should have, in the first place, shown to the House that this appropriation was sufficient to carry out the work that was to be done, and in the second place, he should have shown that circumstances had not so changed as to justify the department in not expending the money that had been voted. When the reports of the resident engineer and of the chief engineer of the department are laid on the Table, they will, I believe, prove to the full satisfaction of the House and of the country, that the department had acted wisely in not expending during last summer, the money which had been voted. The facts stated in my letters to the hon. gentleman are strictly true. At the beginning of the fiscal year the programme of the department was fixed by myself and the chief engineer, and instructions had been issued all over the country to proceed with the works that had been provided for by Parliament, Picket's pier being one of them. I was very much surprised to hear from the hon. gentleman that the instructions in this particular case had not been carried out, and I gave an order to proceed with the work. Some time later on, it was reported to me that the pier in question was in such a state that

the amount of \$800 would not be sufficient, and nearly \$3,000 would be hardly enough to put that pier in such repair as to make it perfectly safe and useful. It became then a question as to whether the department was justified in undertaking a work that could not be completed for the amount voted and so incurring an expenditure and responsibility far beyond the appropriation. Seeing that, I took it upon myself to have the chief engineer order that a careful report should be made by the resident engineer, placing the facts before the department so as to see exactly what was required and what would be justified by the importance of the wharf itself, in order that I might be in a position to state to Council that the expenditure necessary would be much larger than that authorized, and that the department would require a further amount to complete the work. The result was contained in a report made to the department by the chief engineer in February last, transmitting a report, with plan, from Mr. Dodwell, resident engineer, relating to the condition of Picket's wharf, N.S. The cost of thorough repairs is estimated in that report at \$2,649. The report also calls attention to a previous report made by him to the effect that the wharf was not, in his opinion, a work of Federal importance.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) What is the date of the previous report from Mr. Dodwell?

Mr. QUIMET. That was in January, at the beginning of the year. There is another aspect of the question to which the attention of the House ought to be drawn. It is a fact that since the wharf has been built, circumstances have greatly changed. It was at one time the only wharf in that part of King's County which served for the export of a large quantity of agricultural products, but since then, the Cornwallis Valley Railway has been built. The best point for a landing place in that particular part of King's County was thought to be Kingsport; and the importance of and facilities for a wharf there were considered by the authorities of the company to be such that they chose Kingsport as their shipping port, and have built their track to the wharf to accommodate not only themselves but also the public. I understand that the wharf is only two or two and a half miles from Picket's wharf, and it is very doubtful if it would be wise to go on with any further expenditure on Picket's wharf. As I have said, nothing on my part has been done to take an undue advantage of my hon. friend. Everything has been done by me in the most straightforward manner, with an earnest intention of doing him and his electors justice as if they were the best friends of the Government. These facts will be placed before the House; and when the Estimates come down—or before, if the hon. gentleman chooses to make a motion upon the subject—it will be time enough to consider the whole matter, and I hope

that my department as well as myself will be absolved from any intention of doing any injustice to the hon. gentleman or to his electors.

Mr. BORDEN. The hon. Minister has read from the report of Mr. Dodwell, the resident engineer, to the effect that he doubts whether this work is any longer a work of general or Dominion importance. That, I understand, was the first report Mr. Dodwell made. His first visit to the harbour was made on the 15th or 16th of January, 1892; and, as the result of his visit, he advised the Government to spend \$200 immediately to save from destruction a breakwater which he gravely doubted to be of Dominion importance at all. Let me call attention to the fact that there had been no vote for any expenditure at Picket's pier; and yet in mid-winter, a most extraordinary time for such a thing, this engineer went there—it must have taken strong pressure to induce him to make a report of that kind—and, though it was not of Dominion importance, he advised an immediate expenditure of \$200 upon it. These are facts which the hon. gentleman has not cleared up to my satisfaction, and I doubt if he has done so to the satisfaction of this House. The hon. gentleman says that before I find fault with his department I should prove that the grant of last year was insufficient. I am not the chief engineer of the Department of Public Works; I have no responsibility whatever with reference to the amount of the grant. My responsibility is ended when I place the case before the Government and induce them if I can to place a vote in the Estimates for the repairs. It lies with the Government and the engineers of the department to make correct estimates.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Did you not suggest the amount?

Mr. BORDEN. No; I did not suggest the \$800; I said that I thought from \$500 to \$1,000 would be enough. While the grant may be inadequate now, the general opinion is that \$1,000 ought to be sufficient, and certainly would have been had the repairs been attended to in time. Now, the hon. Minister has stated that the circumstances are altered—that a railway has been constructed which renders the maintenance of this pier unnecessary. The hon. gentleman is, however, entirely at fault in his geography. While it is true that Picket's pier is not even two miles distant from the Kingsport pier, the terminus of the railway he refers to, it is equally true that Picket's pier is on the opposite side of the river, and the distance from there by the road to Kingsport pier is six or seven miles. The railway he refers to is not any nearer than the Windsor and Annapolis railway, which has existed there for fifteen or twenty years; and, as a matter of fact, that railway will not be used. If this breakwater is allowed to fall into decay, a very

serious loss will be entailed on the community; and I do hope that before the Minister adopts the recommendation of the engineer, he will look into the matter and see whether a small sum cannot be expended to keep the pier at least in such a condition of efficiency as to be useful for the shipment of produce. I would like to ask the Minister if the report, which he says suggests the necessity of an expenditure of \$3,000, recommended an extension of the breakwater, or simply repairing it.

Mr. OUMET. The cost of efficient repairs will be approximately as follows:—31,000 cubic feet of close-faced stone cribwork, \$2,170; 210 cubic yards brush and stone protection, \$210; 940 cubic yards stone and gravel filling, \$564; four mooring-posts, \$20; total, \$2,964. The report concludes:

I propose examining this work again in the spring as soon as it is free from ice, and if I see any reason to change the above report and estimate, I will forward another.

I have not received any other report.

Mr. BORDEN. It does not appear that there is any extension of the work contemplated. I must think that the estimate is a very high one. The argument which the Minister presented as a reason why this pier is unnecessary is not well founded. The fact that a railway is constructed which has its terminus at Kingsport will not in any way relieve the necessity for this breakwater.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Does that take part of the produce that used to go by the old route?

Mr. BORDEN. Very trifling indeed.

Motion agreed to.

IMPORTS UNDER ORDER IN COUNCIL.

Mr. CHARLTON moved for:

Return showing the amount and value of crucible steel imported into Canada, free of duty, in each year since 1885, under the provisions of Order in Council of 6th November, 1885. Also, amount and value of lastings and mohair cloth imported into Canada, free of duty, in each year since 1885, under the provisions of Order in Council of 6th November, 1885.

He said: The motion that I have put into your hands, Mr. Speaker, refers to a matter of very considerable importance, and to a line of conduct adopted by the Government which, in my opinion, is a usurpation of power. The Government, of course, must have a majority to sustain them as a Government, but that majority should keep the Government in its proper place. If it merely fills the functions of a majority and is guilty of slavish submission to the Government, and permits the Government to usurp the powers that a Ministry of a free country ought not to possess, then the majority be-

Mr. BORDEN.

comes subservient to the Government and recreant to its duty to the people who sent it here. The independence of this House has been seriously impaired in the last few years from various causes, and I think we are gradually drifting into a course of procedure and into a policy in respect of which it is high time we should call a halt, and adopt a policy more in consonance with the principles of free and representative Government. In the English colonies on this continent, from almost the time that they were established, there was a constant struggle on the part of the people while these were Crown colonies against the power exercised by the Governor in Council, and a constant demand made by the people for representative government, the benefits of which, though so highly appreciated by the early colonists, we seem in this Dominion at present to place a lower estimate upon, than was placed upon by them 150 to 200 years ago.

The objections to the system of legislation by Order in Council are numerous. Of course, we have a body of Ministers who are perfectly capable of shaping the legislation of the country, and who are worthy of the confidence of the people, and who might possibly safely dispense with the co-ordinate functions of the House at their back. We might have that. We always do have in the Government some men of ability, and certainly have at present, in the leader of the Government, a gentleman who is accounted a jurist and a statesman, a man of high reputation and fit, no doubt, for the position he occupies, but we also have in our Cabinets a good many men who are not of that description, but who are little, if at all, above the average of the ordinary members of the House. We have in our Governments, as a rule, a good many members who are not capable of forming an opinion, shaping a policy, and guiding the destinies of the state in matters of delicacy and importance. Some Minister may have some croquet, and if the Government is in the habit of legislating by Order in Council that Minister may impress his ideas on his colleagues, or his colleagues may pay very little, if any, attention to the representation of his ideas, and he may get the consent of his colleagues to some enactment by Order in Council highly detrimental to the interests of the country. That, we can readily understand, may be the case. And in any event, when the question to be decided by Order in Council is under consideration, there cannot be that consideration given to it which is given in the open House of Commons. There cannot be that sifting of the various interests, that presentation of the opposite side of the case, and it is not natural to suppose that such should be the case. The Government in Council sit with closed doors. There are 13 members in the Administration. A proposition is laid before this body. Those interested on the opposite side, who might

wish to be heard in opposition to the majority, are not there. Some Minister may, as a favour, desire his colleagues to give their consent to the measure he proposes; and in nine cases out of ten it will fail to receive the consideration it deserves. The Government in Council, with the best intentions, will be liable at all times to make serious mistakes. They are assuming a responsibility which should rest upon the House of Commons. There are instances in history of mistakes that were made, and there will be instances again, and this being the case, there should be the utmost regard paid to the wishes of the entire House, and the utmost modesty exercised by the Ministry in shaping legislation and running the affairs of the country. Now, we have had Ministers here, Mr. Speaker, to whom neither you nor I would be willing to entrust the decision of important and delicate questions. For instance, one Minister, who may have graduated as the teacher of a ladies' seminary, may assume the important functions of one department of the Government, although his previous training has not been such as to fit him for the discharge of these functions. Another, who may have graduated from a country store, may assume control of a department of the Government, and his training has not been such as to entitle him to the utmost confidence of the people. Therefore, I say that the Ministers themselves ought to be chary about exercising legislative powers, and ought not to adopt fiscal legislation or measures of other kinds, as they have been doing in the past, without consulting the House of Commons.

Now, I wish to refer this evening to some of the acts of the Government in the line that I am complaining of. I wish to point out that in the last eight or nine years the Government have, by Order in Council, adopted important fiscal legislation which should not have been adopted without reference to this House. They have assumed to place fiscal legislation upon the Statute-book by Order in Council without consulting the House, and they did not ask the consent of the House even after it had met in session the second, third and fourth times after these Orders in Council were placed on the Statute-book. We have in these motions I am now moving, thirty-eight general classes of merchandise, placed at various times on the free list, and these thirty-eight general classes of merchandise may be further divided, perhaps, into one hundred different subdivisions. We have in these Orders in Council all these concessions made by placing the articles I refer to on the free list for the benefit, not of the general public, but of special interests. In not one instance can it be shown that the change was for the public benefit, but every one was made for the benefit of some class. Seventeen different classes of manufacturers have been benefited by these special Orders in Council placing these thirty-

eight different classes of goods on the free list. In 1885, we had two orders of this kind passed. That was nine years ago, and for nine years the Government has not asked Parliament to sanction the action taken with regard to these two orders. We have an Order in Council passed on the 6th of November, 1885, putting crucible steel upon the free list for the benefit of some line of manufactures, and we have an Order in Council of the 6th November, 1885, putting mohair cloth and lastings upon the free list for the benefit of some other class. Nearly nine years ago these two orders were passed, and for all that length of time they have been on the Statute-book! And yet Parliament has never been asked to give its concurrence and assent to these enactments. Now, Mr. Speaker, this is outrageous. The only justification for the passing of an Order in Council is the necessity of meeting some emergency arising before Parliament assembles. And, when Parliament assembles, it is the duty of the Government to lay their action before Parliament at once and to ask its concurrence in what they have done.

In 1886, five Orders in Council were passed putting various articles on the free list for use in certain manufactures. For eight years these orders have been in force without Parliament having been asked to ratify the action of the Government. On the 5th of July, 1886, hatter's bands, bindings, tips and sides and linings, both tips and sides were put upon the free list; on the 17th of July, steel strip for buckthorns and plain strip fencing; on the 17th of July, wire rope; on the 20th of July, twisted brass and copper wire, and on the 18th of November, yarn spun from the hair of the alpaca or angora goat. All these changes were made at the instance of men representing special interests, who came before the Governor in Council in their Council Chamber, or appeared there by deputation or representation and asked for these favours. These Orders in Council were made without other interests being heard: all these concessions were made without discussion by the people or the representatives of the people, and they have remained the law of the land without Parliament being consulted till this session.

In 1887, we had three Orders in Council passed relating to the same class of subjects. On the 1st of July, sweat leather was put on the free list; on the 2nd of July, square reeds, rawhide centres, textile leather or rubber heads, thumbs and tips, and steel, iron or nickel caps for whip ends; on the 22nd November, copper rollers for calico printing.

In 1888, we had five Orders in Council of the same character. On the 16th of November, felloes of hickory wood were put on the free list for the benefit of carriage makers; on the 6th of December, homo spring steel wire,

smaller than number nine and not smaller than number 15 ; on the 11th of July, steel, No. 12 gauge and down to No. 30 gauge ; on the same day, under another Order in Council, yarns of wool and the worsted ; and on the same day, under another Order in Council, jute yarn, cotton yarn, finer than No. 40 ; and wire of iron or steel, galvanized or tinned or coppered or not, of No. 16 gauge or smaller.

Now, here are fifteen Orders in Council. Mr. Speaker, two of them passed nine years ago, five passed eight years ago, three passed seven years ago, and five passed six years ago, all dealing with fiscal legislation, all affecting changes in our fiscal system which should have been submitted to the Committee on Ways and Means of this House ; but all of them, in order to serve class interests, adopted without discussion in the country or among the people's representatives. All these stood upon the Statute-book year after year and no protest was raised in this House, a subservient majority not venturing to question the right of the Ministers to take from them their proper functions of legislating in matters of this kind.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Nor a subservient Opposition either.

Mr. CHARLTON. The Opposition is not subservient, Mr. Speaker. The truth is we have had so many outrages to look after, and our numbers are so small, that some matters, such as this, have escaped attention. But now we are beginning to gather them together. Better late than never is a good rule, and, though these Orders in Council have been left unconsidered for nine or eight or seven or six years, until my hon. friend may have supposed they had escaped attention, at last they will be brought to public attention. The mills of the gods grind slow, but they grind exceeding small, and in the end we will have the misdeeds of this Government dragged to the light.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The mills of the gods seem to grind you smaller every time.

Mr. CHARLTON. We may be ground fine, Mr. Speaker, but I sometimes think, when I hear of the good times our friends on the opposite side are having, of the old scripture expression : " They were eating and drinking until the flood came and swept them away."

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Still looking for calamities.

Motion agreed to.

It being Six o'clock the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

THE LOBSTER FISHERY.

Mr. BOWERS moved for :

Correspondence since 1st January, 1892, to the present time from fishery officers, and others from Mr. CHARLTON.

the western counties of Nova Scotia and the county of Charlotte in New Brunswick, as regards the taking of lobsters and of the limitation of size, and of all recommendations in regard to the same. Also a copy of all correspondence between the Minister of Marine and Fisheries and his officials and all other persons as regards the close season for the herring fishing at Two Island Harbour, Grand Manan, and of the weirs at that place.

He said : Mr. Speaker, in dealing with the question under consideration, I would call the attention of the hon. the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, and of the House, to the great importance of this subject, and more particularly as it appertains to the welfare of the inhabitants and fishermen of western Nova Scotia, and of the waters of the Bay of Fundy, including the southern shores of New Brunswick. I will speak first of that part pertaining to the lobster fishery. Only a few years ago, the exportation of lobsters in a live state was in its infancy, and it has only been within the last eight or ten years that this ever-increasing and enormous industry has become one of vital import to that part of the Dominion. The Yarmouth Steamship Company have given it a great impetus by establishing a fast line of boats to Boston, thus placing, in a short space of time, this very edible shell-fish in a satisfactory condition in that market, whereby all connected with it, reap, at certain seasons of the year, very large prices, and making it, on the whole, a fairly remunerative business. Some idea will be given if I state that for the fiscal year 1893, there were exported, of live lobsters, from Shelburne County, 2,670 tons ; Yarmouth County, 1,637 tons ; Digby County, 681 tons ; Annapolis County, 76 tons ; and Charlotte County, New Brunswick, 944½ tons ; making a total amount of live lobsters exported from these five counties, of 6,008½ tons, valued at \$467,113, giving employment to a large number of men, who own 380,000 traps, valued at \$266,000. During the last year or two, however, there has been a largely decreased catch, per capita, more particularly in the counties of Digby, Annapolis, and Charlotte, with which counties I am more personally cognizant. Many petitions and letters, if I am rightly informed, have been forwarded to the Minister upon this subject, praying that some steps may be taken to increase the output, by an extension of the fishing season, and save, at the same time, this very valuable fishery from extinction. As the statute now stands, all lobsters not under nine inches may be taken, with the exception of berried or seed lobsters. What the fishermen want, almost to a unit, in Digby, Annapolis, and Charlotte counties, is that no person shall be allowed to catch and sell any lobster under ten and one-half inches, the size allowed to be sold in the Boston market. As for the counties of Yarmouth and Shelburne, I am not prepared to speak, but I am aware that many tons of undersized lobsters are taken in

those counties, and sold to the canneries, and I have no doubt but what most of the fishermen in those counties would be pleased to have the Act apply also to them. However, of this, probably the representatives of those counties may be the best judges. In talking with fishermen this spring at Beaver Harbour, Charlotte County, I was informed that all the fishermen of that county would be willing to see such an Act enforced, as three out of four lobsters caught at present were under ten and one-half inches, and although the catch in Digby and Annapolis counties compare better as to size than this, I feel sure that fully 40 per cent are under this length. When we consider that the price of a full-sized lobster will average from 8 to 10 cents each, while the undersized ones will only bring from 1 to 1½ cents each, we can readily understand the large financial loss that takes place yearly when it is estimated that those undersized shell-fish will, in the course of twelve months, be worth from 600 to 700 per cent more than if sold as they are at present to the canneries, or exported to the New York market. Therefore, I desire to impress on the Minister and Government the necessity of enacting an Order in Council forbidding the taking of all lobsters under ten and one-half inches in the waters of the Bay of Fundy, as pertains to the counties spoken of. Overseer Campbell, of St. Andrews, page 177, report, 1893, says :

The lobster catch was less than last season, owing to a less vigorous prosecution of the industry. They are annually becoming more scarce and unless a close time for a year or two is made, will soon have to be abandoned.

Special Guardian Cross, of Beaver Harbour, reports :

The lobster fishing is gaining in importance to us, the catch having been larger, and more men engaged in it each year.

Overseer Brown, of Campobello, reports decrease in the lobster catch. Commodore Pratt, page 175 of report, 1893, says :

A large increase is noticed in the catch of lobsters, due not only to the fishing being slightly better than previous seasons, but also to the fact of a larger number of men being engaged in fishing for them. Prices were considerably in advance of previous seasons.

Many persons have begun this fishing without due regard to the close seasons, therefore, during the week just closed the crew of this ship and the several fishery officers were busy in seeking and destroying several hundred traps and releasing their contents. Great care had been taken in the manner of setting those traps, with a view to their being unnoticed by a casual observer.

Inspector Kianey, at page 122, says :

The increased take may be attributable to two causes: first, the increased number of those employed in the industry; and secondly, the fishermen have learned the once popular idea that these

fish were to be taken only in inshore waters, has been exploded, hence this branch of fishing is now largely conducted miles at sea.

The present fishery regulations are satisfactory, with, of course, the exceptional cases—one of which is that in some localities where winter fishing cannot with any degree of success be carried on—the fishermen do not feel satisfied that others more favourably located shall reap the good results of the good prices obtained in the early part of the year.

It is regrettable that many of the packers buy and pack the "berried" fish. In this connection I would again urge that the packer be licensed, such license to be cancelled upon proof of wilful violation of the regulations.

It will be noticed that the increased catch which some note is nearly always owing to the large number of men engaged, and not on account of the fish being more plentiful. On the contrary, it is generally conceded that each year a greater number of traps is required, and they must be placed at longer distances from the shore to obtain the same financial results as the preceding year. Again, Mr. Speaker, there seems to be a general feeling that the season should be extended from four to six weeks in the waters of the Bay of Fundy, as the violent storms that take place during the months of March and April prove very destructive to traps and oftentimes cause much financial loss to those who have embarked in this industry. In fact, many parties along the southern shores of the Bay of Fundy dare not place their traps in position before the 10th of May, which gives them scarcely two months to pursue their calling. This, it is needless to say, does not give parties enough time to earn wages suitable to the risks incurred. They recognize that, with an extension of time of from four to six weeks, and the stoppage of the catch of small lobsters, that in a short time they can look forward to an increased catch of saleable fish. This will give them the American market, when prices are especially buoyant. It is estimated that from seventy-five to one hundred thousand dollars would be thus added to the wage of the fishermen in that part of the Dominion. The fishermen of these counties strictly observe the close season, which is not the case in many parts of the Dominion. I, myself, during the month of September saw fishermen hauling their traps in some of the harbours of Halifax County, where I was told they can them and then ship them to Halifax where they are sold in open market. The hon. Minister will remember that in 1891 I called his attention to the annually increasing scarcity of bait-fish in the waters of the Bay of Fundy, and instanced the enormous waste that was annually taking place along the shores of Charlotte County, N.B., and elsewhere by means of weirs, &c., that trapped the greater part of those small herrings that the Government in other places tried, or pretended to protect. The hon.

member from Charlotte (Mr. Gillmor) at that time undertook to say, that no man was sure whether these herrings were sardines or not, and that if they were, in a few years they would be as plentiful as ever. Well, time has borne out the statements I then made. It is only needful to state that the winter herring fisheries of New Brunswick, which had proved a great source of revenue to that part of the country, and which had then commenced to decline, has never been since prosecuted, and herrings in those waters in the winter time have long since ceased to be a source of revenue. Inspector Pratt informed me that last year he computed that 80,000 hogsheads were used in the sardine business alone, and when we take into account the enormous numbers used as lobster bait, and for fertilizers, sizes too small for sardines, besides the boat-loads that are dumped into the channels when there is no market; we may at the smallest computation place these so wasted at 80,000 hogsheads additional. Now, each hogshead contains about five barrels, or an equivalent of 800,000 barrels—allowing that it only takes twenty-five of these small herrings to make the bulk of a full-grown one—although some allow forty—we have almost the incalculable number of twenty millions of barrels, which, if not thus caught and destroyed, would arrive to maturity, taking out of account the natural enemies of the ocean world. Some may think these figures large, but those acquainted with this industry are aware that I am not exaggerating. I am told that from Musquash to Deer Island, a distance of fifty miles, immense numbers are taken, and when there are no purchasers they take those immense boats containing from 50 to 100 barrels and just dump them far enough out to sea so that they will not injure the weir by polluting the water. I am told that even at Barton and Griffin Cove, in Digby County, they are used as fertilizers, and that under the eyes of the overseer. In fact the overseer owns a share of the weir, if I am rightly informed, where this is done. I have the persons' names to corroborate this if necessary. The catch of herrings for bait and for export as a consequence of this ruthless waste and destruction will in the course of a few years be a thing of the past, and with the scarcity of bait-fishes the failure of the line fisheries follows as a natural sequence. Reports from all parts of the two provinces, calling the attention of the Minister can be found in his report for 1893. Most of these report the herring fishing yearly declining. At page 102 of the departmental report for 1893, Mr. Bertram reports :

Herring are the first fish to visit our shores in the spring and upon this run, the cod and lobster fishermen largely depend for bait. These fish are much inferior to the mid-summer run, which command \$2.50 and \$3 per barrel more than either spring or fall herring and are used largely for home consumption by all classes. It is in these

Mr. BOWZERS.

fish that the greatest decrease has taken place, being 4,105 barrels, each county contributing to the decrease. The cause for the absence of summer herring during the past two years cannot be accounted for. Herring are known to be sensitive to stormy weather and during storms make for deep water. Both this season and last just as they were making their appearance on the coast heavy east and north-east storms occurred lasting for several days. It may be that these storms caused the fish to return to deep water, thus resulting the failure the statistics for the past two seasons indicate.

The loss of this branch of the fishery is seriously felt by our people.

At page 222 of the report, Mr. Wakeham says :

The catch of herring has again been small, though these fish were more than usually constant for bait purposes, all through the season, on the south coast, yet the spring catch at the Magdalen Islands was below the average, and the fall fishing on the Labrador was a complete failure. Small fat herring were very abundant along the coast of Gaspé in December; they were only taken for local use. These small fat fish are not found at any other season, save when the ice is making along shore in the months of November and December; they are undoubtedly, as far as quality and flavour is concerned, far and away ahead of any other run of herring, but they never reach the market.

The following reports appear with reference to the fishery in the province of Quebec :—

Overseer L. E. Grondin reports an increase in the yield of salmon and sardines, but a considerable shortage in herring. The latter he attributes to the prevalence of porpoise around the coast at that time. The total yield is valued at \$15,000, being a difference of \$9,000 less than the season of 1892.

Mr. Grondin also collected the statistics of fisheries for the neighbouring division in the vicinity of Rimouski. There also, all kinds of fish make a favourable showing with the exception of herring, which entirely failed. The total yield of ex-Overseer Martin's division is valued at about \$7,000.

Overseer Napoléon Levesque reports a great diminution in the yield of the fisheries of the district as compared with the season of 1892. This is especially noticeable in herring and coarse fish. In fact, the total value only amounts to \$8,400, a decrease of over 80 per cent.

Overseer Xavier Pelletier also returns a large decrease in the yield of the fisheries of his division. Where he reported nearly 500 barrels of herrings in 1892, this year he only returns 11 barrels. The shad fishery was also a failure; but a fair catch of salmon was effected at St. Denis, 96 white whales, (marsouins) were captured at River Onelle. The whole catch of fish is completed at a value of \$12,000.

NORTH SHORE, RIVER ST. LAWRENCE, FROM QUEBEC TO BERSIMIS.

Overseer L. P. Huot reports the past fishing season as generally satisfactory. The slight decrease noticed in salmon, shad and whitefish is

ascribed to the smaller number of men engaged in those fisheries. Eels, the staple fish of this division, were plentiful, their yield exceeding 200,000 pounds, a surplus of 63,000 pounds over the catch of the previous year. Pickerel also shows a large increase. The fishery laws were well observed. The total yield of the fisheries of this district, valued at \$18,000 (an increase of 50 per cent over that of last season) is all disposed of on the local markets of Quebec City and vicinity.

Overseer Ulysse Bhéreur reports the salmon fishery of his district as steadily declining, in fact only 500 pounds were taken this season. The yield of the herring and sardine fisheries was the smallest on record in this district. No sufficient reasons are given for this discrepancy.

In regard to the second part of my motion, I intend calling the attention of the Minister to the somewhat invidious manner in which the interests of the weir-owners and of the vessel fishermen conflict, and I will say that some Act should be enacted, or some allowance made, whereby fishermen would be permitted to set their nets at Two Island Harbour during the close season for the purpose of obtaining bait. This might be done under the superintendence of the fishery overseer. Some vessels, with their crews, were seized and fines imposed during last season for catching herrings for bait only. This seemed very hard to them, more especially as the weirs were allowed to take all the herrings they wished, and that these weirs should be licensed while they were forbidden, does seem to be somewhat strange. I trust that the Minister will take these matters into his very serious consideration, and grant the small boons asked for by the fishermen of that part of the province which I have the honour to represent, as also to take immediate steps for the better preservation of the herring fisheries of the Bay of Fundy.

Motion agreed to.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND RAILWAY.

Mr. PERRY moved for :

Copies of all correspondence between the Minister of Railways and the Rev. A. E. Burke and others, having reference to the moving of the flag station from Mill River, on the Prince Edward Island Railway, to Howlan Road, and all telegrams and documents having reference to the same, as well as all petitions, &c., against the removal of said flag station.

He said : Mr. Speaker, in making this motion I ask the indulgence of the House, while I make a few remarks. The Mill River flag station is situated on the Prince Edward Island Railway, about half way between Duvar Road and Howlan Road. These two roads run in parallel lines from east to west ; there are about 40 settlers on Duvar Road and about 50 on Howlan Road. The Mill River flag station was established about 20 years ago, about the time the Island railway was completed, for the accommodation

of two lumber mills, owned by the Messrs. Haywood Brothers. They bought 1,500 or 2,000 acres of wood land at Mill River, and built these two mills, and they have been carrying on the manufacture of lumber ever since, so that this flag station was a great accommodation to them. We have no way of ascertaining exactly the amount of freight which the railway has obtained by carrying the lumber of these mills to places where it has been required, because Mill River station was not a booking station. I suppose the freight would have to be paid at the place of destination, wherever the lumber went, and I believe it was sent to different places all the way from Tignish to Summerside. About 100 carloads, I think, are shipped annually from Mill River station, of which about 80 carloads go from the mills of Messrs. Haywood Bros. Now, this is an item of great importance. Each of these carloads would average about \$10, which would be \$800 contributed to earnings of the Prince Edward Island Railway by the mills alone. From Howlan Road, so far as I can ascertain, about 12 carloads have gone, and from Duvar Road about 8 carloads, which would make about the quantity I have mentioned. Now, I am not prepared to say that the people of Howlan Road should not have station accommodation. I dare say they have a right to it ; but why should the Department of Railways rob Peter to pay Paul ? If it was necessary to have a station at Howlan Road, why not build one there and leave the one at Mill River where it was ? But it happens that Messrs. Haywood, unfortunately for them, I suppose, are not Tories, but Liberals, and they have made no secret of the fact that at the last election they voted for myself and my colleague against Messrs. Howlan and Hunt, the Government candidates, and I suppose this is the reason why this station has been removed. If this is the way the Government expect to gain votes in Prince Edward Island at the next general election they are making a sad mistake. When these papers are brought down, as I hope they will be shortly, it will be amusing to see the names of the parties who have signed the requisition for the removal of the station. We shall find that many of the gentlemen who signed the requisition are living at great distances from the station, and have no personal or business relations at either Howlan Road, Mill River or Duvar Road. I understand that the people at Duvar Road have made application to the Department of Railways for a station there. Hitherto they have been accommodated by the Mill River station. I am not certain that that petition has ever reached the department ; I think, perhaps, it has not. I know it has been drawn and signed, and I know that a request has been made to send it ; but perhaps they were told : " You had better not send it just now ; if you do, you will be looking for two stations, where there

is only one. I am sure that the removal of this station is against the interests of the Island Railway. I have been told that the superintendent of Government Railways, Mr. Pottinger, was sent to make a report to the Department of Railways on the subject; but I am sure that he did not recommend the removal of the station from Mill River, because it would be against the interest of the railway. But as a punishment the Messrs. Haywood Bros. are compelled to haul their lumber a mile or a mile and a half from their mill to the place of shipping, and what will be the result? The result will be that the consumers of this lumber throughout the country will have to pay an extra sum in order to indemnify the mill-owners for the extra expense to which they have been put by the imprudence of the Government. Now, the people of Duvar Road will no doubt look for station accommodation at their road, and they have just as good a right to it as the people of Howlan Road. Why did not the Department of Railways apply to myself and Mr. Yeo, who are the representatives of the county? I know it is not satisfactory to the Government that we should be here, but the people's wish is supreme, however unsatisfactory to the Government, and it is a small piece of business on the part of the Government to show their displeasure and disappointment in this way. From 300 to 400 men are employed, getting out the lumber, hauling it and manufacturing it, in the mills, into boards, shingles and laths. The industry of these men should be fostered instead of impeded by being cut off from the accommodation they had previously enjoyed and which their industry requires. But because some busybodies, forsooth, whispered into the ear of the Minister of Railways that these men did not vote for the Government candidates, but voted against Messrs. Howlan and Hunt, they are to be deprived of this accommodation. What a great crime it was to vote against Messrs. Howlan and Hunt? How did they come to get the monopoly of the votes of the people of Prince County? But let me tell the Government that neither Mr. Howlan nor anybody else can force the electors of that county to vote subserviently to the dictates of the Government. The people of that county are independent and have minds of their own. Perhaps they have not made the best selection. They might have made a better selection than myself and my colleague, but at all events that is their business and not the business of the Government, and the Government have no right to dictate to them how they are going to vote, and bring coercion to bear on them because they choose to exercise freely their political proclivities. A good portion of the passenger traffic has been contributed by the employes of those mills, many of whom live from 5 to 20 miles distant, and go home every Saturday evening, returning to their work Monday morning. Besides, there is a large lumber traffic

Mr. PERRY.

hauled over the road from these two mills yearly. I believe the traffic of the Mill River has been about a thousand dollars a year, and perhaps more, which went into the exchequer of the Prince Edward Island Railway. Now, however, these people are cut off, and will have to employ teams and double teams to haul this lumber to a shipping point, and the consequence will be that the consumer, the poor farmer and fisherman, will have to pay extra in order to indemnify the mill-owners for the additional cost they have been put to through the action of the Minister of Railways. I trust that these papers will be brought down without delay. They are already written in the department, and I shall not take "no" for an answer, but shall insist on having the papers at once. I wish to be in a position to let the electors of Prince County know who they are who are so much interested in opposing the interests of the people and the welfare of the county. I wish to know how many miles some of them live from the Howlan Road and the Mill River Duvar road, and would like to know what interest they have in causing all this mystery and mischief. The time ought to be passed when men should be ostracised because they happen to be in opposition to the present Government. I am not finding fault with the Government for appointing their friends to office. Neither I nor any of my supporters expect any office from them, but we expect justice, though it is difficult to expect justice from an Administration which has given so many instances of wrong-doing. A more glaring case has not come before the House for years than that brought up by the hon. member for Rouville (Mr. Brodeur) to-day, in which a man was condemned and hanged, his character destroyed, and all this without a trial, on the mere word of a Government inspector, and to all appearances because he did not vote for the Government candidate. It is the same in the matter of the Mill River case. Because the people did not choose to support the Government, they are to be deprived of the accommodations which they are entitled to, and which they have hitherto enjoyed.

Mr. YEO. I do not know what the reasons were which induced the department to remove the flag station from Mill River, but in my judgment a great mistake was made and a great injustice inflicted on the people in that locality. The people who live in the immediate neighbourhood of Mill River station have erected mills and carry on quite an industry there. As my hon. friend has explained, there are two roads running parallel with each other, Howlan Road and Duvar Road, and these are connected by the Mill River Road. The flag station formerly was about midway between the two—I think some five chains nearer Howlan than Duvar Road, but in a place convenient for both. When the railway was built it was thought that Mill River was the

most suitable place for the flag station, and there it was placed and there it remained until some time during last December. I think the removal of the flag station was commenced about the 13th of December, just about the time of the Prince Edward Island election. I do not know whether this was done to influence the voters, but it would seem rather suggestive. I think about four-fifths of the traffic was supplied by the Mill River people, and about three-quarters of the passenger travel was from Mill River and consisted principally of the parties who owned the mills and their employees. If it were thought necessary to give the people residing on Howlan Road a flag station, I would like to see them get it, but I do not want to see them get it at the expense of the people who have enjoyed it heretofore. I do not think that the people who reside on Howlan Road would ask that they should be furnished with a flag station if, in order to grant their request, it was necessary to deprive the people of Mill River of the station they had. The Minister of Railways, in replying to a question asked by my colleague a few days ago, stated that the flag station was removed in consequence of a petition, and named a gentleman who resides fifteen miles away and who cannot possibly know the wants of the people as well as those living in the neighbourhood. The people at Mill River have built up a property there; they have, I think, two steam mills and a water mill or two. They have built up that property expecting that the station which they have always had would be left there. I do not suppose its removal ever entered their thoughts, and I think it would have been only fair to these parties, before the removal took place, to have given them some intimation that such a step was being considered. Of course we shall know better when the papers come down, but I cannot for a moment suppose that any one residing in Prince Edward Island in connection with the railway would recommend this change, and the people engaged in carrying on the work of that railway ought to be better able to judge in a matter of this kind than those who know little or nothing about railways. My own opinion is if they were consulted they would say that Mill River is the proper place for the flag station, or if it is necessary to construct another station for Howlan Road, by all means do so. I asked the hon. Minister of Railways a few evenings ago whether any application had been made for a flag station at Duvar Road, and his reply was there had not. If such is the case, if the department do not intend to place a flag station on Duvar Road, they will inflict a great injustice on those people, as well as on those at Mill River; it will make them travel half a mile further than they have been accustomed to do to reach the station. I know that some of the parties living on the Howlan Road, if the question were put to them, would say

they would much prefer, if only one flag station is to be established, to have it at Mill River. One gentleman, who receives as much freight, if not more than any one who is living on the Howlan road, told me since the change was made that he had ordered his freight to be left at a railway station two miles distant. I do not know whether the political opinion of the men who live near Mill River has anything to do with this change. I hope it has not. I hope the Department of Railways, as well as every other department of the public service, looks more to the interest of the public than to benefiting supporters of the Government. I cannot think that the Minister of Railways would allow himself to be influenced by such considerations. I am afraid there is too much of that kind of thing in our public service, and, if such is the case in this instance, I think, in the general interest, the sooner a new departure is made the better. I beg leave to second the motion, and, in doing so, to express the hope that the Minister of Railways—whom I am sorry not to see in his place to-night—when he has had the opportunity of looking into the papers, will reconsider the matter and order the flag station to be opened again at Mill River. I do not ask that the station should be removed from Howlan Road. If these people want that accommodation and the Railway Department see fit to give it to them, I shall be only too delighted to see them accommodated. I do not want to see any part of the country benefit at the very serious expense of another, and, as these parties have done so much in supplying freight and passenger traffic to the railway, I hope and trust the Minister of Railways will take the question into his very serious consideration and order the flag station at Mill River to be reopened.

Motion agreed to.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE INDIAN DEPARTMENTAL REPORTS.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant) moved:

That it is desirable that three hundred extra copies of the Report of the Department of the Indian Affairs be printed yearly, and sent from the distribution office as soon as issued to the various Tribes or Bands of Indians having Trust Funds in the hands of the Government, such distribution to be in proportion to population, and sent to the different Councils and Local Superintendents for the use of the Indians, and that all future reports of the Department shall contain the items of expenditure from the funds of each such Tribe or Band during the year.

He said: Mr. Speaker, the reports of all the departments are of public interest, and this fact is recognized by the printing of a sufficient number to supply members of the House for their own use and also to furnish some extra copies for distribution.

While the same number of the Department of Indian Affairs is printed, it will be obvious to the House that the Indian tribes or bands have a special interest in this report, and I think are entitled to consideration at the hands of the House. As is well known, many of those tribes or bands have large trust funds in the hands of the Government, and the report of the Department of Indian Affairs gives a report of those funds, and, in a limited measure, the manner in which they are dealt with, and the expenditure connected therewith. I know for my own part that many of those Indian bands are anxious to have the reports, so as to know how their affairs are conducted, and what is done with their funds. As far as my own county is concerned, where there is a large and intelligent band of Indians, I have endeavoured to give them all the reports of which I was able to avail myself. The Superintendent General of Indian Affairs usually kindly seconding my efforts in that direction by giving me extra copies. But still there is not enough of them to satisfy what I think is a fairly reasonable demand on their part; and I think it would only be the proper thing for the department to second the efforts of the member that may have the honour of representing a county in which any of these bands are situated, by seeing that the report should go to them as a matter of right. In thinking the matter over I have placed the extra copies which I think it is desirable should be printed, at some 300. Whether that would be enough, I cannot say; at any rate it would be an improvement on what we have at the present time. The extra cost would be a very small matter; I suppose that when the report is in print the extra expense entailed by the printing of these 300 extra copies, would probably not be more than \$40 or \$50 at the outside. The suggestion that these shall be sent from the distribution office, according to population, and sent to the different councils and local superintendents for the use of the Indians, is, I think, the best and fairest way of making the distribution. As the Minister knows, the population of these various tribes or bands varies a good deal, and the number of the members of the council differs very much; there may be from five to perhaps 40 or 50, or even more, in the council of the Six Nations, which are in the county of Brant. My idea was that each of the councillors, at any rate, should be possessed of a copy, and that there should be several extra copies in the council house which could be distributed amongst them, or made use of by other members of the band taking interest in the affairs of the band, and that a certain number also might be sent to the office of the local superintendent, who should be instructed to allow their perusal by any of those under his charge who might desire to make use of them, or that he might distribute them in his wisdom among those who might ask for them

Mr. PATERSON (Brant).

and to whom they would be of value. So much for the first part of my proposition. The second part is that all future reports of the department shall contain the items of expenditure from the funds of each tribe or band during the year. For some years past the department seems to have departed somewhat from following this course. It was done more fully in previous years, but lately, for some reason or another, the information has been curtailed, and this year I was forced myself to ask for two special returns to elicit the information which it was right and proper that the Indians in my own riding should have, in reference to the expenditure of their funds. I am one of those who believes that it is very desirable that no special returns should be asked for in this House that can possibly be avoided, and I think this will be a means of saving expense and time and trouble; and for that reason I suggest in my resolution that in the future the items of expenditure out of the trust funds of these various tribes shall be printed in the Minister's report, so that when these reports are sent to the various tribes or bands they may have before them an account of the stewardship of the Superintendent General in the management of their affairs, giving them, not only the amount of the balance of their funds on hand, but the amount of those funds that has been expended during the year, giving the items of expenditure, and what it was incurred for, &c. When we remember that we are but the trustees of the Indian funds, it will strike every one, and I am sure no one more strongly than the Minister himself, that it is but right and proper that those whose funds are being dealt with by the department should be given the fullest information with reference to the disposition of these funds. Feeling that the resolution is a very reasonable one, with these few words of explanation, I beg to place it in your hands.

Mr. DALY. I may say for the information of the hon. gentleman and the House that upon reference to the reports of the Department of Indian Affairs it will be found that we publish there the accounts of some 177 bands for whom the Government hold trust funds. It is true that the details are not given, it is simply the balances on hand at the last fiscal year, and the receipts, expenditures and balances on hand at the end of the present fiscal year. The reason the details of receipts and expenditures are not given, is that they appear in the Auditor General's Report, and to place them in the report of the department would expand the volume very considerably. It was not thought necessary that we should publish more than is being published at the present time. The hon. gentleman will see that it would extend our report considerably if we were to include in it the accounts of 177 bands. Of course the items in some would be much

more numerous than in others, and it was simply for reasons of economy that the items were not added, and it was thought that for all purposes the appearance of those items in the Auditor General's Report would be quite sufficient. From information I have received from the department since the hon. gentleman's notice was placed on the Paper, I learn that the department have somewhat anticipated the hon. gentleman's idea by suggesting the distribution of 200 extra copies over and above what have been distributed in the past. This number will be sufficient to meet the desire of the hon. member for Brant (Mr. Paterson) and, at the same time, the view of the department, because, in times past, a detailed statement of each account was sent to the Indian Superintendent, to be kept by him in his office for inspection by such Indians as might apply. But since the publication of the statement respecting the tribal funds, this has been abandoned, and a number of copies have been sent for distribution among the chiefs and head men among the different tribes. The department is of the opinion that it would be better to obtain an extra number of copies, over and above the 500, to which we are entitled under the Order in Council passed in January, 1893, and that 200 is sufficient to supply all extra copies required for the Indians, although, of course, there is no objection to 300 copies being distributed if it is thought necessary. I would ask the mover to strike out the words, "From the distribution office," and the motion will be taken as an instruction to the department. In regard to the closing portion of the hon. gentleman's motion, I have already pointed out why I do not think it would be well to carry out the idea suggested, on account of the extra expense that would be involved in printing when the details already appear in the Auditor General's Report. In order to overcome the difficulty, I would undertake that a certain number of copies of the Auditor General's Report should be sent to Indians who desire to see the details. The First Minister suggests that as the Auditor General's Report is so bulky, that portion of the hon. gentleman's motion should be allowed to remain.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). I am glad the Minister has received the motion in such a friendly spirit. The expenditure for the additional 300 copies will not be much, and that number of copies will be required. The hon. Minister is not aware how anxious the Indians are to see copies of the reports connected with their funds. It will be much preferable to have these statements embodied in the report of the Indian Department rather than have copies of the Auditor General's Report supplied.

Mr. DALY. Let the motion pass, striking out only the words, "From the Distribution Office."

Motion, as amended, agreed to.

RETURNS ORDERED.

Copies of all correspondence, contracts, leases, &c., in relation to the purchase or to the leasing of a property for the purposes of the post office of St. Roche de Quebec.—(Mr. Choquette.)

Copies of all papers, letters, contracts, &c., in relation to the furnishing of groceries, provisions, merchandise, &c., to the Dominion Government, for the use of the officers and men of the Citadel, Quebec, by the firm of Turcotte & Provost, of Quebec, or by J. B. Provost, grocer, Quebec.—(Mr. Choquette.)

Return showing the amount and value of hatters' bands, bindings, tips, and sides and linings, both tips and sides, imported into Canada in each year since 1885, under provisions of Order in Council of 5th July, 1886. Also, amount and value of steel strip for buckthorns and plain strip fencing imported into Canada, free of duty, since 1885, under provisions of Order in Council of 17th July, 1886. Also, amount and value of wire rope imported into Canada, free of duty, since 1885, under provisions of Order in Council of 17th July, 1886. Also, amount and value of twisted brass and copper wire imported into Canada, free of duty, since 1885, under provision of Order in Council of 20th July, 1886. Also, amount and value of yarn spun from the hair of the alpaca or angora goat, imported into Canada, free of duty, since 1885, under provisions of Order in Council of 18th November, 1886.—(Mr. Charlton.)

Return showing the quantity and value of felloes of hickory wood imported into Canada in each year, free of duty since 1887, under provisions of Order in Council of 16th November, 1888. Also, quantity and value of homo spring steel wire, smaller than No. 9, and not smaller than No. 15, imported into Canada, free of duty, in each year since 1887, for the use of manufacturers of mattresses, under provisions of Order in Council of 6th December, 1888.—(Mr. Charlton.)

Return showing the value of sweat leathers imported into Canada free of duty in each year since 1886, under provisions of Order in Council of 1st July, 1887. Also, the value of square reeds, raw-hide centres, textile leather or rubber heads, thumbs or tips, and steel, iron or nickel caps for whip ends imported into Canada free of duty in each year since 1886, under provisions of Order in Council of July 2nd, 1887. Also, value of copper rollers for use in calico printing imported into Canada free of duty in each year since 1886, under provisions of Order in Council of 22nd November, 1887. Also, quantity and value of steel of No. 12 gauge and down to No. 30 gauge, imported into Canada free of duty in each year since 1887, under provisions of Order in Council of 11th July, 1888. Also, quantity and value of yarns, of wool and worsted, imported into Canada, free of duty, for use of manufacturers in each year since 1887, under provisions of Order in Council of 11th July, 1888. Also, quantity and value of jute yarn, cotton yarn finer than No. 40; and wire of iron or steel galvanized or tinned, or coppered, or not, of No. 16 gauge or smaller, into Canada, free of duty in each year since 1887, under provisions of Order in Council of 11th July, 1888.—(Mr. Charlton.)

Copies of all communications or petitions addressed to the Minister of Railways, or to any

other Minister, by the parishes of St. Jacques, St. Alexis, St. Esprit and St. Marie Solomé, in the county of Montcalm, respecting the locating of the railway called "The Great Northern Railway": also copies of all answers made to said petitions or to any other letters or communications received.—(Mr. Tarte.)

1. Copies of all correspondence between the Department of Railways, the Minister of Public Works and any other persons in relation to sections 12 and 13 of the Soulanges Canal. 2. Copies of the call for tenders and of all tenders received. 3. Copies of contracts awarded.—(Mr. Tarte.)

Correspondence during the past three years, between the Government, or any of its members, and any Company or other person, in relation to the establishment of a steamship line between France and Canada.—(Mr. Tarte.)

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Mr. EDGAR. I really must ask the hon. First Minister if it is not a rather early hour to adjourn at so late a period of the session. There is a motion ready to come which will not be a contentious one, and on which the discussion will not be very long, and it is only half past nine o'clock. We have only one day in the week left for motions, and there are a great many on the Paper. I think the First Minister should take this matter into consideration.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I think it would be very unfair to ask the House to discuss the question of universal peace at half-past nine o'clock, and the probability is that if the motion was taken up the debate would be adjourned, and the motion would be placed in a much less favourable position than it occupies now, at the head of the list.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 9.30 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, 15th May, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 111) to amend the Insurance Act—(from the Senate).—(Sir John Thompson.)

Bill (No. 112) respecting the arrest, trial and imprisonment of youthful offenders—(from the Senate).—(Sir John Thompson.)

Bill (No. 107) again to revive and further to amend the Act incorporating the Red Deer Valley Railway and Coal Company—(from the Senate).—(Mr. Davis, Alberta.)

Mr. DALY.

Bill (No. 108) respecting the Manitoba and North-western Railway Company of Canada—(from the Senate).—(Mr. Ross, Lisgar.)

PRIVILEGE—MR. TURCOTTE, M.P.

Mr. BRUNEAU. Mr. Speaker, I rise on a question of privilege. I beg to state that I am credibly informed and believe that I can establish:

First, That Arthur Joseph Turcotte, Esquire, a member of this House for the electoral district of Montmorency, and while he was a member of the House, to wit, from the eleventh day of March, eighteen hundred and ninety-two, until the first day of February, eighteen hundred and ninety-three, was a partner in the firm of Turcotte & Provost, which said firm, during said period, held, enjoyed and executed a contract with or for the Government of Canada, on behalf of the Crown, in the name of Jean Baptiste Provost, one of the members of the said firm, for which public money of Canada has been paid to the said firm and to the said Arthur Joseph Turcotte, a member of said firm, which said contract was for the supply of groceries and similar goods for the use of the Militia Department at Quebec;

Second, That the said Arthur Joseph Turcotte, while a member of this House, to wit, from or about the first day of February, eighteen hundred and ninety-three, until the first day of February, eighteen hundred and ninety-four, was carrying on business for his own benefit in the city of Quebec under the firm name of "Turcotte & Provost," and during said period he held, enjoyed and carried out a contract with or for the Government of Canada, on behalf of the Crown, which said contract stood in the name of Jean Baptiste Provost, but was in reality held for the sole use and benefit of the said Arthur Joseph Turcotte, and large sums of the public money of Canada were paid under said contract to the said Arthur Joseph Turcotte, and, although the cheques were issued therefor to the said Jean Baptiste Provost, the proceeds thereof were received by the said Arthur Joseph Turcotte, which said contract was also for the supply of groceries and similar goods for the use of the Militia Department at Quebec;

Third, That the said Arthur Joseph Turcotte, while a member of this House, to wit, from on or about the first day of February, eighteen hundred and ninety-four, to on or about the first day of April, eighteen hundred and ninety-four, was carrying on business for his own benefit at Quebec under the firm name of "A. J. Turcotte & Co." and during said period he held, enjoyed and carried out a contract with or for the Government of Canada, on behalf of the Crown, which said contract stood in the name of Jean Baptiste Provost, but was in reality held for the sole use and benefit of the said Arthur Joseph Turcotte, and large sums of the public money of Canada were paid under said contract to said Arthur Joseph Turcotte, and the benefit thereof was received by the said Arthur Joseph Turcotte, which said contract was also for the supply of groceries and similar goods for the use of the Militia Department at Quebec;

Fourth, That the said Arthur Joseph Turcotte, while a member of this House some time in the year eighteen hundred and ninety-three, was in-

terested in contracts and agreements with the Department of Marine and Fisheries for the Government of Canada, on behalf of the Crown, and large sums of the public money of Canada were paid under said contracts and were received by the said Arthur Joseph Turcotte, which said contracts were for the supply of groceries and similar goods for the use of the Department of Marine and Fisheries.

I therefore move :

That the matters stated be referred to the Select Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections to inquire fully into the said allegations, with power to send for persons, papers and records, and to examine witnesses upon oath or affirmation, and that the said committee do report the result of their inquiries, and whether the said Arthur Joseph Turcotte has vacated his seat.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The motion which the hon. gentleman has made is undoubtedly one relating to privileges, and is therefore entitled to urgency ; but the usual practice of the House in such matters is to have the matter stand over for a day or two until the paper can be printed and appear in the Votes and Proceedings. From the reading of it at the Table, not three members of the House know what it is.

Mr. LAURIER. I have no objection to the matter standing over. My hon. friend purposely did not give notice, because last year, when my hon. friend behind me (Mr. Edgar) gave notice it was held to be no longer a question of privilege, and had to take its place on the Order paper. Will this be taken up to-morrow or the day after ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The day after. The case the hon. gentleman referred to was the case of putting a motion on the paper, and then it could not be taken up as a question of urgency.

Mr. LAURIER. It will stand as a notice of motion for the day after to-morrow.

THE CATTLE TRADE.

Mr. MULOCK. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I would ask the Government to be good enough to expedite the carrying out of the order of the House of Monday last for copies of correspondence between the Government and certain parties named in the order respecting the cattle trade—the embargo imposed on the cattle trade in Great Britain, and so on. The particulars of the order appear in the Votes and Proceedings, page 210. I am desirous of that order being complied with at the earliest possible moment, in order that I may deal with the matter involved, and I would be grateful to the Government if they would expedite it.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It will be expedited. What is the page ?

Mr. MULOCK. 210, the lowest order, commencing with :

Copies of correspondence between J. B. Wright and the Government.

PRIVILEGE—NEWSPAPER CRITICISM.

Mr. McMULLEN. I find in the Halifax 'Herald' this notice :

McMullen denounced the Government for allowing fishermen's supplies to the amount of nearly half a million of dollars to be admitted free of duty. He wanted to know why the fishermen should be thus favoured at the expense of the farmers.

I must say that the gentleman in the gallery who penned those words and sent them to the Halifax 'Herald' must have known he was penning what is a barefaced falsehood. I made no such statement in the House. These are the words I used :

I would like to ask the hon. gentleman if it is not as necessary to cultivate the soil of this country as to fish in its waters? If so, why are not the farmers allowed to bring in free rope to make lines for tying their horses and cattle, for which purposes an enormous quantity is used? But the farmers have to bear the brunt of this beautiful tariff.

I contended then, as I do now, and as I have done every time this question of the tariff has been before the House, that the necessities of life should be made as free as possible for the farmers and fishermen, and duties put upon goods that are luxuries.

INQUIRIES FOR RETURNS.

Mr. McDONALD (Huron): Before the Orders of the Day are called, Mr. Speaker, I would ask the Government if they can tell me when I may expect the return giving the names of the members of the Ontario Legislature who received money for services performed under the Dominion Government since 1879, and also the members and ex-members of the Legislature who have received appointments from the Dominion Government since 1879 ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It will take some months yet. We have to ascertain the names of all these members of the Legislature, and to look through all the Public Accounts for fifteen years past.

Mr. McMULLEN. I would like to ask if it will take some months to prepare the return I asked for six weeks ago—of the amounts of money paid to Mr. Wood, M.P.P. for Hastings, by the Dominion Government within the last three years ?

Mr. HAGGART. That return will be down this week.

REVISION OF VOTERS' LISTS.

Mr. LAURIER. I would call the attention of the Prime Minister to the fact that

we are within fifteen days of the period fixed by law for the commencement of the revision of the voters' lists. I understand that no instructions have been given to the revising officers on the subject up to the present moment. I gather from a casual observation made by the Prime Minister that it was the intention of the Government to bring in a Bill this session to amend the Franchise Act. I would like to ask whether it is the intention of the Government that revisions shall take place under the present system, or whether the law is to be amended in that respect?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The revision is to take place under the present system. The reason no instructions have been given to the revising officers is that there has been no intention to give any; the revising officers are expected to carry out the law which obliges them to begin the revision on the 1st of June. I explained yesterday, in the absence of the Secretary of State, that instructions had been given to those revising officers recently appointed, but in no other case have instructions been given. In previous years instructions have been given only when it was the intention of the Government to have the revision postponed. It is intended that the revision shall take place under the present system, and the Bill to be introduced will not make any changes in the system, but will make provision for the case of those districts the boundaries of which have been changed in the Redistribution Act which goes into force at the next general election. That is the only material change.

Mr. LAURIER. That is all?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I would like to add a word. I do not wish to consider myself bound by the statement that that is all. That is all that I am aware of at present.

Mr. LAURIER. Of course I am quite aware that the intentions of the Government may change from time to time—I need hardly be reminded of that.

THIRD READINGS.

Bill (No. 45) to amend the Harbour Masters' Act—(from the Senate).—(Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.)

Bill (No. 46) to amend the Act respecting lighthouses, buoys, and beacons, and Sable Island—(from the Senate).—(Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.)

Bill (No. 95) respecting public harbours—(from the Senate).—(Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.)

SPEAKER OF THE SENATE.

On the Order being called for second reading of Bill (No. 89) respecting the Speaker of the Senate—(from the Senate).—(Sir John Thompson.)

Mr. LAURIER.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I would ask the hon. gentleman to let that stand for a few days.

NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES ACT AMENDMENT.

House again resolved itself into Committee on Bill (No. 5) further to amend the North-west Territories Act.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. DALY. Mr. Chairman, I have one or two amendments I propose making in the Bill. In order to meet the difficulties pointed out by the hon. leader of the Opposition with reference to section 64 of the Dominion Elections Act, I propose to insert a clause in the Bill to the following effect:—

The application provided for by section 64 of the Dominion Elections Act and by subsections added thereto by section 11, chap. 18 of the Statutes of 1891, shall, in the North-west Territories, be made to any judge in the said Territories.

The reason for that is, that the Act as at present, provides for a recount being had on an application to the judge of any judicial district, and as, in the North-west the judicial districts are not coterminous with the electoral districts, it seems to me best to provide that application may be made to any judge of the Supreme Court of the Territories.

Mr. MARTIN. I would suggest that it should read:

To any judge within whose district the whole or any part of the electoral district is situated.

The other, it seems to me, would be a very inconvenient provision, because, for instance, in an election in Eastern Assiniboia an application might be made to Judge Rouleau at Calgary.

Mr. DALY. It is not likely.

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know about that. It seems to me there should be some limitation, and that could be made by providing that applications should be made to the judge within whose district part or whole of the electoral district is situated. An applicant should not have the right of selection among all the judges in the North-west Territories.

Mr. DALY. If the hon. gentleman will look at section 64, he will see that application must be made within four days after the day on which the returning officer has made final addition of votes. There would not be time to apply to a judge at Calgary in a case arising at Eastern Assiniboia as the hon. gentleman has suggested.

Mr. MARTIN. I am not sure about that. This gives one party the right to select a judge. Both parties should be obliged to go to the same judge. If the hon. gentleman will put in that a limitation that there must be some part of the constituency within the

territorial limits of the judge, then perhaps it would be confined to one of the two judges.

Mr. DAVIN. The inconvenience suggested by the Minister of the Interior might occur, if the suggestion of the hon. member for Winnipeg were adopted, but I think the object both have in view might be attained by a slight modification. For instance, the hon. member for Winnipeg is afraid that an applicant for a recount in Eastern or Western Assiniboia might apply to the judge at Calgary. Suppose we take a voter in Eastern Assiniboia, in the Qu'Appelle district, who is a supporter of my hon. friend (Mr. Macdonald), and he wants a recount. It would be much cheaper and more convenient, as the hon. member for Winnipeg knows, for him to apply to Mr. Justice Richardson in Regina, which is in my constituency; and I think the object might be attained if words were added to say that an applicant for a recount shall apply to any judge of the Supreme Court, but that he shall always apply to a judge whose residence is nearest to his own habitat—or some words to that effect. I think that would meet the view that my hon. friend from Winnipeg wants to have carried out, and it would also meet the objection of the Minister of the Interior.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I think the prime difficulty is that this is a provision conferring jurisdiction. If the suggestion of the hon. member for Winnipeg be carried out, no judge will have jurisdiction excepting one whose judicial district includes the electoral district or part of it. If that judge should happen to be away, there would be no judge in the Territories having jurisdiction. Take, for example, an election contest in the riding of West Assiniboia. Here are all the judges sitting in Regina, except Judge Richardson, who happens to be away from the country on leave, and of all the judges there, not one of them would have jurisdiction.

Mr. MULOCK. You can confer jurisdiction on all of them; but then you could go on and say that the application should first of all be made to the nearest judge, the judge who resides in the electoral district, or nearest to the one in respect of which the election is in question. Moreover, if several judges have concurrent jurisdiction, you may have this difficulty arising, that an application made to one judge for a recount may be granted, and another application made to another judge may be refused; or you may have several judges at the same time issuing an order for a recount.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. You never can get through any judicial proceeding, if the judges interfere with each other's judicial work, as they would be doing in that case. If the Act be passed as it is drafted now, no judge in the Territories will undertake to exercise jurisdiction within the jurisdiction of another judge, unless some reason be as-

signed for it. There is the case of absence on leave; there is the case of absence under ordinary circumstances for a few days, as on an excursion to the country, illness, or any of those cases. You are dealing with the matter of jurisdiction, and I think, if you want to make it perfectly safe that there shall be a recount, the better way is to give jurisdiction to all the judges and trust to the ordinary courtesy of the Bench that the judges shall not interfere with each other.

Mr. MARTIN. That objection as to absence on leave applies to jurisdiction in other parts of Canada, where application must be made to the county judge in which the electoral district or any part thereof is situated. I see no reason why a different law should prevail in the Territories to that prevailing in other parts of Canada, except that arising from the fact that the distances are greater.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The hon. gentleman will see that, as regards county judges, we have other provisions which give jurisdiction to judges in the neighbourhood, or a special judge, in every case where a judge is absent, or ill. These judges in the North-west Territories are not confined in their ordinary jurisdiction to the judicial district in which they live. They have full jurisdiction in every part of the Territories, and therefore we will be but following the ordinary course in giving them the same kind of jurisdiction.

On section 4,

Mr. DALY. I propose to amend this section so that in the sections and parts of sections, or forms in which the words "revising officer" occur, shall be read as if the word "enumerator" were substituted for the said words.

Mr. MARTIN. Is there any reason why section 42, chapter 8, should not apply to the Territories? It prohibits judges voting, also revising officers and election clerks.

Mr. DALY. It is met by section 46, under which no person can vote unless his name is on the list.

Mr. MARTIN. There is nothing to prevent a judge having his name placed on the list?

Mr. DALY. No.

Mr. MULOCK. But the Franchise Act was to secure uniformity.

Mr. MARTIN. The hon. gentleman is practically making the whole of chapter 8 apply to the Territories, except as regards section 42. The judges, I suppose, would not vote in any case. The best way would be to make the whole applicable.

Mr. DALY. I do not think the whole of section 42 is applicable. It specially refers to revising officers. I am ready to prepare a clause in special reference to judges voting.

Mr. MARTIN. The clause itself would apply all right, because the hon. gentleman has already a clause where the revising officers are referred to as meaning enumerators.

Mr. DALY. The revising officer would be only one man whose vote would be lost in an electoral district, while there would be dozens of enumerators in such districts.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I think the hon. gentleman will find that as regards these persons the section has been repealed or suspended. There was a declaratory Act passed, I think, in 1887, stating that those persons should have the right to vote.

Mr. MARTIN. Surely it is not intended that the enumerators should vote?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Certainly.

Mr. MARTIN. Or that the revising officer should vote?

Mr. DALY. No.

Mr. MARTIN. It seems to me that this legislation is not based on the right principle. If it is wrong for a revising officer to vote in a constituency in Ontario, why should an enumerator vote in a constituency in the North-west Territories? Both these officials are supposed to be judges in a sense. The enumerators are entrusted with the independent task of making a voters' list, and if the revising officers are forbidden to vote, I do not see why the enumerators should vote?

Mr. DAVIN. There is a complete difference between the position of the revising officer and the position of the enumerator. The enumerator is sent out to take the names of persons in a certain district, who ought to vote under the Act, and if we were to disfranchise them, we would, I think, do a very great wrong. The enumerators are not in the position of revising officers. If they put a man on the list or leave a man off, it is not final; because a man can go to the poll and make a declaration that he has fulfilled all the qualifications, and he has a right to vote whether the enumerator puts him on the list or not. The enumerator is not in the position of a judge, whereas a revising officer in Ontario to a certain extent is.

Mr. MARTIN. If it makes no difference whether the enumerator puts a man on or off the list, why in the name of common sense do you have enumerators at all? If it makes no difference whether their duties are performed or not, why do you have them?

Mr. DAVIN. I am surprised at the futility of my hon. friend's objection to my argument, because he is a North-west man himself in a sense, and he knows something about the country. If every man who came up to vote had to be sworn we never could take the vote in one day, or even in two or three days. You must have an enumerator to give you the list of those entitled to vote. If the

Mr. DALY.

enumerator has left a man off the list, he really has not adjudicated him off, nor does he adjudicate in the case of a man who goes on the list, because every man who goes on the list can be sworn as to whether he fulfils the conditions to qualify him to vote or not.

Mr. MARTIN. Before this Bill is reported, I would like to say a word or two with regard to the previous discussion which we had upon it. I had then occasion to refer to what I might call the bumptious manner in which the hon. Minister of the Interior met the suggestions I made with regard to this Bill. I made those suggestions in a good spirit with a view to getting the legislation into as perfect a state as possible, and in the course of them I referred to the fact that the elections in the Territories were now held on the same day as the elections in the other parts of Canada. The hon. Minister of the Interior, in a very bumptious and nasty way, referred me to the section of the Act which provided that those elections should be held three weeks later than the elections in the other parts of Canada, the hon. gentleman not being aware that that section had been repealed. I would be very far from commenting on what might be called the ignorance of the hon. member in a matter of that kind—something that he ought to have known when legislating upon it—had it not been for the nasty way in which he attempted to reflect on me for making a mistake, when, as a matter of fact, I had made no mistake. But at the moment, when the hon. gentleman referred me to the section, I was not in a position to turn up the amending Act which had been passed in 1888, and which made me right and the hon. Minister wrong. I think it right to say that much on the matter, and at the same time to compliment the hon. Minister of the Interior on the very much improved manner in which he has conducted this Bill to-day as compared with the manner in which he conducted it on a previous occasion. I am always prepared to discuss these little matters of detail in a friendly way with a view to getting information myself, and, if at any time I happen to be in a position to give information to the hon. member, I am most happy to do so. I am also prepared to receive as hard blows as it is possible for the Minister of the Interior to give me, as I am prepared to deliver similar blows to him, if I find myself in a position to do so. But I do not think the hon. member improves his position at all by approaching the discussion of the details of a matter like this in the very nasty and bumptious way in which he did so on the previous occasion. I wish to enter my protest against that kind of conduct, because if it is persisted in, I shall certainly resent it, and I am sure that the hon. member brings no strength or dignity to himself or to the Government or to the position he fills, by indulging in such conduct. The hon. gentleman has been reprimanded in a very public

manner for the way in which he has filled his position outside of this House—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. MARTIN—and I very much regret that it becomes necessary for me to call attention in the House to the manner in which he attempts to conduct himself in the position in which he finds himself.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I object altogether to the hon. gentleman's proposition that on this question we should come to blows. He says that he is prepared to deliver hard blows and to take hard blows; but I hope we can amend this Act without any necessity for that. In fact, it would be inconsistent with the principle of the Bill, which is to keep the peace at elections, that members of the House should break the peace in discussing it. I do not think the observations of the hon. gentleman are called for at all. We always treat with the greatest respect suggestions from members of the House for the purpose of improving Bills that come before us. No one in this House possesses the combined intelligence of the whole House, and any one who has a Bill to promote will be grateful—we on this side always are—to receive suggestions from those who possess a portion of that wisdom which is not concentrated on this side of the House. Perhaps it would gratify the feelings of the hon. gentleman to put in a clause to say that no one shall be "bumptious" and "nasty," only that I think that that would be regarded by the general public as a direct reflection on himself.

Mr. MARTIN. The hon. Minister of Justice must have entirely misunderstood what I said. I spoke of blows merely in an intellectual sense. I am prepared to inflict criticisms on the Government, and I am prepared to receive from the Government the strongest kind of criticism for myself and the party with which I am connected. But I quite repudiate the suggestion that the hon. Minister has made as to bumptiousness. I think I have made my suggestions in a proper spirit, and I ask the hon. Minister of Justice if he thinks the conduct of the Minister of the Interior on the previous occasion was not bumptious?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I decidedly think it was not. There were some expressions used in a hasty way, but I am sure they were not offensive, and were not intended to be offensive to the hon. gentleman.

Bill reported.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

Mr. FOSTER moved that the House again resolve itself into Committee on Ways and Means.

Motion agreed to; and House resolved itself into Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Adzes, hatchets, picks, mattocks, track tools, wedges and crowbars of iron or steel, and hammers and sledges, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I am sorry to see that the hon. gentleman is going to add largely to the duty on these articles.

Mr. FOSTER. Not very largely.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. There is already an enormous duty for such articles. I say enormous, because I regard 30 per cent as wholly indefensible, and now the hon. gentleman proposes to make the duty 35 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. On some of them.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Picks, mattocks, track tools, wedges, and crowbars, of iron or steel—every one of these articles being largely used either by farmers or artisans—on these he proposes to add 5 per cent to the enormous duty of 30 per cent. It would be very much more to the purpose to reduce the whole to 25 per cent. On what possible ground does the hon. gentleman propose to depart from the policy of reduction to 30 per cent, and now make it 35 per cent? Hardly a more objectionable duty than that on tools can be found in the whole tariff. They are among the last things that ought to be increased.

Mr. CHARLTON. This is another illustration of the fact that some other industry has the ear of the Government, which the farmers and labourers have not. There is a list of articles in use by the farmers, miners, lumbermen, a decrease in the duty on which would be a general benefit, extending to almost all classes of society, yet the hon. gentleman proposes to raise the tariff from 30 to 35 per cent for the benefit of the special interests and to the detriment of numerous classes. The action of the hon. gentleman is clearly indefensible. Why not leave the duty where it was?

Mr. FOSTER. You have to look at these duties and the proposals now before the House in two lights—as regards the material out of which they are made, and with reference to the duties in the old tariff. These articles are made from steel and iron, which are protected, and the duty it is proposed to put upon them at present, taken in connection with the materials of which they are made, is not a relatively high duty. Taken in connection, comparatively, with the duties as they were before, there is, in almost every instance, a decrease or, at least, no increase. Adzes and hatchets 35 per cent before, it is proposed to keep at that rate. Picks, mattocks, track tools, wedges and crowbars, of iron or steel, old duty, 1 cent per pound and 25 per cent; hammers, weighing three pounds and over, 1 cent per pound and 25 per cent; all others,

35 per cent; and sledges, 1 cent per pound and 25 per cent. These are the old rates, and all these compound duties were much higher than the present duty placed upon them. We make the duty lower, and make it a single duty rather than a compound duty. As regards the axes, they were \$2 per dozen and 10 per cent. That has been reduced to 35 per cent, which, according to the price, is a very large reduction on the lower grades. The hon. gentleman will easily find out the equivalent of the duty in each case by taking the grades of axes and calculating the duty, and he will find that the duty is very largely reduced on the lower and medium grades by putting it at 35 per cent.

Mr. CHARLTON. That information would not be available in time to consider the item now.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman can make the calculation in a very little time. Take axes worth \$5 per dozen—\$2 per dozen and 10 per cent would amount to \$2.50, or about 50 per cent.

Mr. CHARLTON. Is that the ordinary grade of axe?

Mr. FOSTER. Four dollars, \$5, and \$6 are the ordinary grades; \$6 is a good grade.

Mr. SCRIVER. Very few axes sell as low as \$5. The axes commonly sold in this country cost 66½ cents.

Mr. FOSTER. That is the retail price.

Mr. SCRIVER. That is the price by the dozen boxes.

Mr. FOSTER. We are speaking of the invoice price. Then, if you take scythes, they were \$2.40 per dozen. Hay knives were \$2 per dozen, and 20 per cent; forks of all kinds had the double duty, the ad valorem and specific; making, in all these cases, a much larger duty than the 35 per cent now proposed.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. All these considerations must have been present to the hon. gentleman's mind when he made the duty 30 per cent. He had a year to incubate upon the question, and when he announced the 30 per cent he gave it as his matured consideration.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Then, "why this thusness;" why do you raise the duty now? The hon. gentleman, in one respect, is, beyond all question, carrying on a private and Star Chamber sort of examination into these matters where no human being except himself and the parties interested in having these duties raised have any opportunity of being heard. He came to us two months ago, declaring that 30 per cent on these goods was enough. Why has he altered his mind? The cause, as we know perfectly well, is that pressure

Mr. FOSTER.

has been brought to bear upon him by some of these parties who are interested in manufacturing these goods, and this is done at meetings where others have no opportunities of cross-examining these people. I cannot conceive of a worse system, one more likely to produce corruption on one side, and all imaginable evils to the public on the other, than this system of the Minister, after having come to a deliberate decision that, under all the circumstances a certain duty is best, having interviews with the manufacturers, and coming to terms with them. We ought to know what ground these men propose to him for the departure from the rate of 30 per cent which he announced. That is a huge protection, as he knows. I may point out also that what the hon. gentleman has just said about the heavy duties imposed upon the raw material used in these manufactures, goes to show how just is our claim for the reduction of the duties on raw material used by agricultural implement makers. If the manufacturers in the line we are now considering are entitled to have their protection increased by reason of the fact that their raw material is heavily taxed, then, 'a fortiori,' the makers of agricultural implements ought to have their raw materials cheaper, if we cannot see our way to raise their duties. I would like to know, for general information, whether the iron and steel of which the goods we are now considering are manufactured are produced in this country?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, a large portion of it is.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Then, according to the statement officially made by the Prime Minister, these people pay no taxes upon that.

Mr. FOSTER. That is true.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Then, what possible justification can there be for these high duties?

Mr. FOSTER. Will the hon. gentleman give me an instance, recorded or not recorded, where a man who does not import an article pays a duty into the Customs?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I did not say I could show a case of a duty paid into the Customs on an article not imported, but I can show a thousand cases where duties on such articles are paid to the protected manufacturer. I would like to know why this 30 per cent is changed into 35 per cent? Mr. Chairman, we have so much respect for the original decision of the Minister that we deem it highly inexpedient that he should go back on it without explaining to us why he does so. What arguments have been given him to justify this increase of 5 per cent?

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman is very hard on himself and very hard on the gentlemen who sit beside him when he lays

down the proposition that, having once come to a decision about a matter, you ought never to change.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I do not say that; but why do you change?

Mr. FOSTER. When a reasonable man charges his mind it is because of an access of light and knowledge. The hon. gentleman tries to make it appear that we have succumbed to superior force in a private Star Chamber meeting, where the manufacturer has faced the Ministers and obliged them, perforce, to come to his terms. Perhaps the hon. gentleman would question some of the manufacturers of these articles and find out whether the Ministers have come to their terms or not. A man makes up his mind according to his light and knowledge, but he is not a progressive man who, having made up his mind resolutely shuts his eyes and ears and refuses to learn more. The wise man is he who knows more to-day than he knew yesterday.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Then, give us the additional light that was poured in on your own mind.

Mr. FOSTER. How can I? The hon. gentleman knows that he carries on this discussion in a spirit of persiflage.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Not at all; I want to know why we are to pay 5 per cent more on these goods?

Mr. FOSTER. The idea of the Government from the first was to make a reasonable revision of the tariff, and to give to each industry which could make out a case for its being retained in this country, a reasonable vantage for maintaining itself here. If, after looking over a particular case you come to the conclusion that 30 per cent is sufficient, but afterwards it is shown that this is entirely insufficient, it is only right, as it is in accordance with the principle we have laid down, to make a change and allow what is reasonably sufficient to maintain the industry. Some of these may appear to be very simple articles, but if the hon. gentleman will go into the investigation of the subject—the cost of material, the prices at which the goods are sold, the competition to which the manufacturers are subject from the United States, and from other countries—he will find that the question is not so simple a one to decide. In this case, the majority of the articles remain at 30 per cent; it is only a few that we have raised to 35 per cent. The change from the old duties to those which we now propose is a very large reduction in every case, a reduction greater, I am bound to say, than the reduction made in the raw material—and the duties in iron and steel, as my friend knows, were both reduced. The desire has been, while not wishing to destroy any industry, to keep it down to the barest modicum of

protection which would give it a vantage ground in the very strong competition—stronger now than ever before—which every industry has to meet.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). The other day, in discussing the protection on agricultural implements, the Controller of Customs gave the figures showing the quantity of raw material entering into a reaper, and the proportion of duties upon that raw material as compared with the duties on the finished article. No doubt the Minister has the figures in this case also, and if he will give those figures, I think he will convey the information asked by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). For instance, he might give the duty on the raw material for a dozen axes.

Mr. FOSTER. The duty is half a cent per pound.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). But the Minister might reduce that, so that we might compare the duty with that under the ad valorem rate.

Mr. FOSTER. Take an axe which weighs four or five pounds, and it is easy to calculate the duty upon it. If he will just state the duty on an ad valorem basis on the raw material entering into a dozen axes of average value. A dozen axes will weigh about 50 pounds. A dozen axes require 54 pounds of iron and six pounds of steel, and say 10 cents' worth of borax, with coal for fuel, grindstones to sharpen, emery wheels to polish and boxes to put them in.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). It is the cost of the raw material we want.

Mr. FOSTER. Then the grinding of the axe, the polishing off, painting, boxing and papering; and there is a certain amount of waste which has to be accounted for, and so on.

Mr. CHARLTON. We want to know what the duty would be upon 54 pounds of iron and six pounds of steel.

Mr. FOSTER. The steel and iron both make 36 cents on a value of about \$1.36. When you have the axes ready, they are worth in round numbers \$5 a dozen—36 cents on the raw material.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Then, with 6 per cent duty on the raw material of a dozen axes, that leaves 29 per cent protection?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) This is a development tax, not a revenue tax.

Mr. FOSTER. This is simply a protective tax to keep the industry.

Mr. CHARLTON. It is a highly protective tax—29 per cent besides the duty on raw material.

Mr. MULLOCK. Will these axes be of any use to lop off moulding branches?

Mr. FOSTER. They can be used for that purpose.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Apparently the reverse process is going on. This is grafting on an addition of 5 per cent, not lopping off 5 per cent.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Does the hon. gentleman think this increase will bring him in a larger revenue?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not anticipate much revenue. The duty being lowered, the importation is apt to be more. In that case, of course, we gain some.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Do you calculate on an increase of revenue?

Mr. FOSTER. There will be very little difference.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Then I take it this is for the purpose of developing the industry?

Mr. FOSTER. To keep the industry, yes.

Mr. McMILLAN. I cannot understand why this industry requires 29 per cent when the duty on the raw material is only 6. The other day we were told that the duty upon the raw material of our binders was \$6.60, and that there was \$13.40 duty in favour of the manufacturer, and the Government contended that was a sufficient amount of duty. Now, if that was a sufficient amount of duty to the manufacturer of agricultural implements, how does it come in the case of axes that they require 29 per cent when there is only a duty of 6 per cent upon the raw material? I am afraid there is some favour shown in some shape. There are manufacturers of other agricultural implements, such as hay tedders and implements of that description, that are required upon almost every farm in the country, and these are to be taxed 35 per cent. I would like the Government to explain how it is that one class of implements require so much more protection than another class?

Mr. McMULLEN. It appears to me this enormous duty of 35 per cent is given to a class of tools that have been made in this country for thirty or forty years. Axes were made in Canada long before we had a National Policy, and men were able to manufacture them and get along and make money. I cannot understand how the Government continue to increase the burdens of the consumers of those particular articles by imposing increased duties, when it is not for the purpose of raising a revenue, as they admit. If you consult the Trade and Navigation Returns you will find that very few of those articles have been imported. The fact is the whole trade of this country is kept within the hands of our own manufacturers in Canada, and by means of the

Mr. CHARLTON.

tariff they are able to victimize the users of those tools, and charge for them considerably more than their actual value. Now, the country is getting no benefit from the operation of this policy except that it keeps a few men at work, and it would be much better for the consumers of these articles if the Government would superannuate the men engaged in the manufacture, and give them a living allowance, and let the people buy everything they want wherever they please, and at the lowest price. This was shown the other day in the matter of cotton mills. The Minister stated the other day that on the output of a mill manufacturing cotton prints, we are paying \$300,000 a year, or, according to his admission, over \$270 for each man, woman and child engaged in it. We are virtually paying the whole wages of that particular institution in order that it may continue to make prints in Canada. In other ways also, the people are being robbed and plundered, they are being ruined financially for the purpose of keeping in existence a policy that prevents the people from buying in any other country, and compels them to pay whatever price the manufacturers choose to ask. If that is in the interest of this country, I am much deceived if public opinion will longer bear the injustice to which we are subjected by the operations of this tariff. Possibly hon. gentlemen may fancy that they will be able to extend its operations in the future, and continue to mystify the public mind as they have been doing in the past, but I do not think the people will much longer submit to it. My impression is that the people are getting educated on these points.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The hon. Minister made a statement just now, no doubt in good faith, which is wholly and entirely at variance with his statements in the Trade and Navigation Returns, which I hold in my hand. The hon. gentleman stated, and the matter is of moment, that his present tariff is a large reduction in fact on the tariff that formerly existed. I want to call the attention of the committee to the real value of the reduction the hon. gentleman is making. I find that on tools, implements, axes of all kinds, adzes, hammers, &c., we imported last year the value of \$6,240, on which there was a duty paid of \$2,184. I should like to ask the hon. gentleman where the reduction is? That duty did not amount to more than 33 per cent or 34 per cent, and consequently instead of making a reduction as he says, if anything, there is a slight increase, according to the evidence of the Trade and Navigation Returns. And similarly in the case of axes, on which, if I understood the hon. gentleman aright, he also claimed a large reduction, I find of chopping axes there were imported 558 dozen, of the value of \$4,925, on which a duty was paid of \$1,609. The committee will see that this is equivalent to a little less than 30 per

cent. If there is any error in the hon. gentleman's figures as contained in the Trade and Navigation Returns, he will of course be at liberty to explain it, but that is the statement made in those returns.

Mr. WALLACE. It is 32½ per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I see that the Finance Minister proposes to make the duty 35 per cent on axes of all kinds.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. gentleman said that it was under 30 per cent, and I find it is exactly 32½ per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It is well under 35 per cent. The contention of the Finance Minister was that he had reduced the duties, that even under 35 per cent there would be a large reduction. As a matter of fact it is perfectly clear that 35 per cent, instead of being a reduction, is a considerable augmentation. Hon. gentlemen opposite may have altered the duty from a compound specific to the ad valorem, but as a matter of fact, in the face of the Trade and Navigation Returns, the hon. Minister is imposing an additional duty. It may not be so heavy as I have stated, it may be only 2½ per cent instead of 5 per cent increase; but whether it be 32 per cent or a little under 30 per cent, it is quite clear that by placing the duty on axes at 35 per cent the Government are not reducing the duty, but are adding considerably to those duties which were levied last year. Errors excepted, I make it out that while last year we imported 558 dozen of axes of the value of \$4,925, on which a duty was paid of \$1,609, the duty required to be paid on those goods as now proposed would be \$1,723. The actual effect of the hon. gentleman's proposition is not to decrease the duties, as he stated, but to increase, by nearly 10 per cent, or at all events, 7 per cent or 8 per cent, the already high duty levied on an article like axes, which it is important to every agriculturist and every other people to obtain as good and cheap as possible.

Mr. FOSTER. This is a matter of some moment, and I am glad the hon. gentleman has brought it up, because it allows me, not to take back what I stated, but to affirm what I said, and prove it. The hon. gentleman took an item in the Trade and Navigation Returns and based his whole statement upon it. He is correct so far as that item in the Trade and Navigation Returns is concerned. But if the hon. gentleman were looking, not for pointing an argument for the time being, but at obtaining the truth, he would at once judge that as there were only 558 dozen axes imported they must form a very small proportion of the whole number of axes used in the country. As a matter of fact, 25,000 dozen of axes are made and used here annually, and so the importation of 558 dozen is an infinitesimal proportion of the number used.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Do you mean used or imported?

Mr. FOSTER. Used in the country. The next fact is, that with a duty of \$2 a dozen and 10 per cent, only the highest grades could be imported. The consequence is, that if you compound the duty collected on an ad valorem basis on high price axes, at \$9 per dozen, the percentage is very much smaller of course. But the hon. gentleman knows this, that the axes used in this country, or at all events, the very large proportion of them, are not axes which realize \$9, \$10, or \$8, but are axes which run from \$4.50 up to \$6.50. Those will include the axes which are used in common. If the hon. gentleman will deal with the facts and not make an abstract and one-sided statement, let him follow my calculation. Take an axe worth \$4 a dozen: the old duty was \$2.40, the proposed duty is \$1.20, or a reduction of one-half. Take an axe worth \$5 a dozen: old duty, \$2.50, proposed duty, \$1.85. Take an axe worth \$6 per dozen: old duty, \$2.60, proposed duty, \$2.20. Take an axe worth \$7 per dozen: old duty, \$2.70, proposed duty, \$2.45. When you come to an axe worth \$8 per dozen the two duties are exactly even. Now, according to the hon. gentleman's theory, according to the creed he believes in and preaches persistently, not only does the man pay the duty on the importation, but every man who buys an axe manufactured in the country pays the amount of duty, not to the customs officer, but to the man, the greater or smaller robber, making the axes. So by his theory, on 25,000 dozen of axes an amount of from \$1 to 50 cents per dozen under the old duty was paid into the hands of the manufacturers here, which would be manumitted under the new duties. The hon. gentleman need not spin theories, for he is a man of business, he knows the prices, he knows the duties, and he can take a pencil and prepare a statement such as I have made. The hon. gentleman need not do so just now, because I have made this matter so plain.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The result is this, that if the hon. gentleman would only give us free trade the people of Canada would get a first-rate axe for no more than they now pay for an inferior one, and the revenue would not lose 1 cent. The hon. gentleman admits that we make 25,000 dozen and that 558 dozen are imported, and that the total revenue is about \$1,600; but if we were not an enslaved people we would be able to buy in the cheapest markets where we would be able to obtain an article of the best quality for the price which we now pay for an inferior one. That is the necessary and inevitable deduction from the argument of the Finance Minister. I grant that the mixed duty is a little worse as regards the inferior article, but our people do not want inferior articles, and it is adding insult to injury to tell them, as the Finance Minister does, that the effect of

his tariff is in practice to condemn them to the use—as indeed appears tolerably established, and that is all he did establish—to condemn them to the use of a very inferior article, and to pay the extra price upon it; much more than 35 per cent on the inferior article, although not much more than 35 per cent on the superior article. He could not give a better illustration of the prodigious mischief which, perhaps without intending it, the introduction of this protective tariff does. Here is an article in general use in every household, and under your tariff you do not get any revenue from it. The tax on 25,000 dozen of axes, according to the Minister's calculation, would have amounted to \$60,000 or \$70,000, but the sum which comes into the public treasury amounts to but about \$1,600, proving as I have often contended, that among the other beauties of the protective system is this: That it constantly occurs that for one dollar that goes into the public treasury, \$10 or \$20, or perhaps \$100 are taken out of the pockets of the people. We do not want any better illustration of that than the statement made by the hon. gentleman, that whereas the total consumption of axes amounts to 25,000 dozens a year, under his tariff we are only able to import 500 dozens of the superior article.

Mr. FOSTER. And two other things are perfectly clear: First, that the hon. gentleman has abandoned the position he took a moment ago, that I made a mis-statement, and that we are not reducing the duty.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Not a bit of it.

Mr. FOSTER. Does the hon. gentleman still make that statement?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. On the decent article, yes.

Mr. FOSTER. He cannot maintain, nor can he prove that the duty is not lower than it was before on all the articles. When that was made plain to him, he went off on another tack. Under his beautiful system I can tell him exactly what would happen. It is this: The employment, large and varied, given by the making of axes in this country and all the attendant industries, would be a thing unknown in Canada. The employment would be elsewhere. These articles would be made in other countries, and the whole trade would go out to other countries, and the labour would be paid and would reside in other countries. The hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) has not looked into the question, and I can tell him something more that would happen. I can show him a letter from a manufacturer living in New Hampshire to a hardware merchant in this city, in which the United States manufacturer proposes to make him a sale of axes, and he is ready to invoice these axes at a certain price, but informs him in the same letter that these axes are sold to the people of New Hampshire for \$8 or \$9 a dozen, and he pro-

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT.

poses to sell them to this merchant in Ottawa for \$5.75 a dozen; he to pay the duty here in Ottawa. Take off that duty and what would happen would be exactly this: In the first place, no axes would be made in this country, and the employment would go to a foreign country; in the second place, without the stimulus to reduce the price of their axes that the New Hampshire manufacturer has to-day by reason of this duty, showing conclusively that he is willing to pay the duty, and that it is not the consumer here that pays it; instead of that, the man in Ottawa would pay the same for his axes that the man in New Hampshire does to-day.

Mr. CHARLTON. The hon. gentleman has perhaps unconsciously illustrated one of the beautiful features of protection. He tells of a New Hampshire manufacturer, who proposes to sell to a customer in Ottawa an axe for \$5.75 for which he charges \$8 to a customer at home. What enables the New Hampshire manufacturer to do that? He is, under the protective arrangement in the United States, enabled to enter into a combination with other manufacturers to charge \$8 a dozen for an axe that he could afford to sell at a profit for \$5.75. That is what it amounts to. The hon. gentleman has mentioned a character of the trade between the two countries which is well known to all importers. For instance, the Canadian importer can buy sewing machines from the manufacturer of the United States for \$20 or \$30 less than is charged for the same article to the local trade of that country. They sell for export at a cheaper price than they sell for home consumption, and they can afford to do it because they have command of the market at home, and because the Government is a partner with the manufacturers in enabling them to fleece the people by charging far higher prices than they could profitably sell for. In this way colossal fortunes have been rolled up, millionaires have been created in the States through the operation of a tariff that enables them, provided they can manage a trade combination among themselves, to sell the articles they manufacture at 15 per cent, 20 per cent, or 30 per cent higher than they can afford to sell them for. That is the system by which the Government enables the manufacturers to rob the people of that country, and the hon. Minister, I repeat, has unconsciously placed before the House a striking evidence of that when he relates that a New Hampshire manufacturer offered to sell an article in Canada at a price that would afford him a profit, while he sold the same article in New Hampshire for 50 per cent more.

Mr. TAYLOR. I sold axes during the time of the Administration of hon. gentlemen opposite, as I have no doubt some of their friends on that side of the House are doing to-day. During the Liberal regime we sold axes at \$1.25 each, and to-day any farmer can buy the same axe for from 60 to 70

cents each. Now, if the National Policy has done anything, it has done that for the users of axes in this country. It has brought down the price fully 100 per cent. and any hon. gentleman engaged in the mercantile trade on the opposite side of the House will corroborate this statement which I make.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. They will corroborate the statement that the hon. gentleman knew a good deal about the pressure which induced this duty to be altered from 30 to 35 per cent.

Mr. TAYLOR. The original proposition was 35 per cent on axes, if the hon. gentleman will read his tariff.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I am speaking of the proposition that is before us, and which is to raise the duty on a number of articles from 30 to 35 per cent.

Mr. TAYLOR. There is no raising of the duty from the original proposition of the Finance Minister; the original proposition was 35 per cent.

Mr. MULOCK. Why does he want to change it, then?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). It is pretty clear that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Taylor) has had his axe ground, and that the Finance Minister did it for him. The hon. member has addressed to the House one argument, and the hon. Finance Minister another. I wonder if the manufacturers have pressed the Finance Minister to alter the tariff because of the reason stated by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Taylor). Is it because that they could not get as good a price under a low as under a high tariff, or that they got a better price, that they pressed the Finance Minister to alter the tariff? The hon. gentleman (Mr. Taylor) says, that when the tariff was 17½ per cent he got \$1.25 each for his axes. Then why does the hon. gentleman favour the raising of the tariff, for surely he was better off then than he is now? The American competitor did not do for him what the Finance Minister pretends to say the American competitor is likely to do for the manufacturers to-day. He did not come in, and make Canada a slaughter market. On the contrary, the Canadian manufacturer was very much better off than he is at the present time. Notwithstanding that the manufacturer is so much better off, the hon. gentleman is not satisfied with that happy lot. He wants to make him miserable; he wants to put him in a worse position than he is in. In fact he never could be comfortable unless he were placed in a worse position than he was before, and so the hon. gentleman presses this change of tariff upon the Finance Minister, not because the manufacturer is going to profit by it, but because it is going to give to everybody in the country cheaper goods. Well, Sir, is that the reason? If the hon. gentleman is right, the higher the duty, the

lower the price of the article in the market. But that was not the contention of the Finance Minister; that was not his argument. The Finance Minister himself admitted that when a duty was imposed it increased the price of the article very nearly to the extent of the duty; it was only after numerous establishments came into existence and there was competition between them, that there was an actual reduction of the price. This House knows that an argument of that sort is the merest nonsense; it does not impose upon any one any more. The hon. gentleman may have imposed on the people with an argument of that sort when the National Policy was first introduced; but it will impose on no consumer in this country any longer. It is not to ensure goods being furnished to the consumers of this country at lower prices that the hon. gentleman is proposing this change in the tariff; it is to put more money into the pockets of the manufacturers than would go into them under a lower tariff. The hon. gentleman talks about foreign competition injuring the Canadian manufacturer and driving him out of his own market. In what instance has that ever happened? Who is going to offer goods at less than their cost in this or any other market? Is not everybody manufacturing with the view of making all the profits he can, and does he not take advantage of every opportunity to do that to the fullest extent? Manufacturers in the United States do not differ in this respect from those of any other country in the world. The hon. gentleman says that a manufacturer of axes in New Hampshire has offered to sell in Canada at \$5 a dozen the same axes that he sells in the American market at \$8 or \$9 a dozen. Well, that only shows that he can sell them at \$5 at a profit; he would not offer them if he could not; and it is in consequence of the high duties imposed in the United States that he is able to fleece the people of that country by making the market a close market. Ought not that to be a warning to us, instead of an example to be improved upon? A few years ago the Singer sewing machine was imported into this country at \$16 each, and retailed here at about \$45. Some of these machines were seized for undervaluation; what was the effect? It was shown that they cost the manufacturer about \$10 each, so that instead of being entered at an undervaluation, they were entered above their cost and sold at a very much higher figure. The Singer sewing machine has never been sold in this country at \$10 or at any such figure. A few years ago the Wanzer sewing machine was sold at retail for \$33. It cost the manufacturer \$7.50; it was sold to the wholesale man at \$11; it was sold by the wholesale man to retailers throughout the country at \$22; and it was sold by these retailers to individual purchasers at \$33. In that case who was fleeced? Was it the manufacturer? Did the American machine

destroy the Canadian market for him? Was he injured, or was there any prospect of his being injured? No; the only people in this country who have been fleeced for the past fifteen years under this tariff have been the consumers of these articles. I dare say the Controller of Customs knows that there is not a sewing machine put on the market in Canada to-day that is not sold at three times its cost, and more in many instances, or that there is not an American machine put on the market which, apart from the duty, is not sold at double its cost; and yet the hon. gentleman, in the face of these facts, which must be known to him, comes to this House and declares that if the duties were reduced on articles necessary for use or consumption, the manufactories in Canada would be closed. Nothing of the kind would happen. The manufacturers reap large profits; so large in many instances as to induce them to manage their business without any regard for economy or for proper management. Under all circumstances, whether the management is strict or loose, the effect is the same: they reap large profits, they are enabled to do that in consequence of the duties imposed by the Government; and men who are not earning more than 5 per cent on the value of the capital invested in their agricultural undertakings, throwing in their labour and counting it as nothing, are compelled to pay a large additional sum for everything they purchase in order that some one who gets 14 or 15 per cent on his capital may add 15 or 20 per cent more. I say the whole thing is monstrous; it is not creditable to the Government of this country. It is wholly incompatible with every honest consideration. Instead of protecting every man in the possession of what belongs to him and enabling him to retain what his own industry produces, the Government compels him to pay tribute to some favoured manufacturer. A more monstrous system than exists in Canada cannot be devised, and every change which the hon. Finance Minister has made since he has introduced his tariff has been a change in the direction of oppression and injustice to the great consuming population of Canada.

Mr. McMULLEN. The hon. Finance Minister stated that a man in the United States offered to sell in Ottawa for \$5.50 a dozen the same axes that he sold in the United States for \$8 a dozen. I would like to know from the Finance Minister if Canada is not trying her hand at the same thing? Our manufacturers are sending cottons to India and selling them there at prices which must be below what they are charging our people. Why is that? Because they are sold in India in competition with goods which are manufactured in free trade countries. That is done in order to keep the cotton factories in this country running, as the Minister admitted the other night. He said that some

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

factories were kept running by producing stock adapted for the Australian trade and the Indian trade, and another hon. gentleman said that the experience of the manufacturers had been that they had lost money on all the cottons they had exported. Perhaps the man in the United States who wants to sell axes here for \$5 a dozen, wants to do it in order to keep his factory running. I have it on the best authority that organs exported from Canada are sold at less than they are sold here after the carriage is paid. So that we are just following the same line the Finance Minister pointed out the United States is following. We are reaping the results of this tariff, which is ruining the people who have to submit to its operation.

Mr. MARTIN. I would like to ask the Controller of Customs for information on this point. In the case of an importer bringing goods into Canada, and who has disposed of these goods, on which he has paid the duty according to the tariff resolutions first brought down, I understand the regulations of the Customs Department require him to make an amended entry, should the duty here be increased in going through committee. In some cases large quantities of goods have been imported and sold on the basis of the tariff resolutions as originally announced. Of course, so far as any decreases are concerned, the importers are not going to object. But an increase may mean a very serious loss. Are customs-house officers instructed to compel importers to put in an amended entry and pay the additional duty, where the duty has been increased in committee?

Mr. GILLMOR. The Finance Minister has given me information about the price of axes that I had not before. I have always been in the habit of buying and selling and using axes and have never seen any of those the Finance Minister talks of as being sold at \$5 per dozen. Before Confederation we had several axe factories in New Brunswick, when our tariff was but 12 per cent. We then had as good axes as now, though they were a little higher in price, but I know of none that can be sold to-day at less than \$6 or \$7 a dozen. The parties making axes in New Brunswick, under this high protective tariff are not as well off as were those who were making axes forty years ago.

Mr. FOSTER. The conditions of trade have changed very much.

Mr. GILLMOR. There may be hand hatchets that sell at 30 cents or 40 cents, but there is nothing that can be called an axe in the market which is not worth at retail 80 or 90 cents, if fit to be used at all. The Finance Minister is a New Brunswicker, and he knows that the axe industry there to-day is not in a better condition than it was before we had his protective tariff. My hon. friend from South Oxford (Sir

Richard Cartwright) and the Minister of Finance may understand these changes, but I must confess that I could not make out anything from the description the Minister of Finance gave of these increases in the tariff, and I do not believe there are ten men in the House who understand it. The country does not understand this system, but is getting its eyes opened to its abuses. My hon. friend has been about 60 days trying to readjust the tariff, and as a result we have a mass of confusion which no one can make anything of, instead of a system so plain that every one called upon to contribute ought to understand. Other systems of taxation are easily enough understood. If you tax a man for school purposes, he knows what he pays and what he is paying it for. If you tax him to support the poor in the county, he knows for what object he is taxed and what he pays. But here you are taxing the people to the tune of \$90,000,000 a year, and I defy any one to understand anything about it. All that the people do know is that the country is worse off under this protective system than it was under a lower tariff.

Mr. FOSTER. I am lowering the taxes.

Mr. GILLMOR. If you are lowering taxation, I accept the decrease. Anything that will lower taxation is an improvement, but you have to understand vulgar fractions, and the scuffle in Goff's arithmetic is not a circumstance to this cumbersome, confused and intricate system of taxation. The theory of protection is to develop infant industries, but when these infant industries have got full control of the home market why put anything more on?

Mr. FOSTER. I want my hon. friend not to be misled by the arguments on that side. I am reducing the taxes very largely.

Mr. GILLMOR. From all said on both sides, I cannot understand that you are reducing it. Are you not adding to it, compared with what you contemplated when you brought down your tariff resolutions?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Yes; it was 30 per cent, and you are making it 35.

Mr. FOSTER. Thirty-five per cent both times.

Mr. GILLMOR. Thirty-five per cent is a very heavy tax. I hope the time is not very far distant when the reduction will be considerable. If you have Canada for a market why not reduce the tax?

Mr. FRASER. Are the axes made in Canada good axes?

Mr. FOSTER. Splendid.

Mr. FRASER. Take the axes that the Americans can send in at \$5 or \$6, what do we sell them at?

Mr. FOSTER. Just about the same.

Mr. FRASER. Then there is no fear of outside competition?

Mr. FOSTER. You might sell a thing at the same rate and still lose, as you with your stock in the glass factory.

Mr. FRASER. They lost nothing.

Mr. FOSTER. You lost.

Mr. FRASER. The original factory did. If we can produce as cheaply in Canada as in the United States, what need of 35 per cent duty?

Mr. WALLACE. In reply to the hon. member for Winnipeg, I beg to inform him that all the entries are now made subject to amendment, and if Parliament increases the duty the importer will be called upon to amend the entries.

Mr. MULOCK. After they have sold their goods?

Mr. WALLACE. It is immaterial. As in this case the duty is not proposed to be increased, they will not have to amend their entries. The duty before was much higher than it is now. As submitted to Parliament it was 35 per cent, and we do not propose to change that. There are one or two matters which have developed themselves in this discussion. The hon. member for Charlotte (Mr. Gillmor) has told us that the manufacturers of axes are not as well off to-day as they were forty years ago when they were getting about \$1.50 or \$2 apiece for their axes.

Mr. GILLMOR. That is my impression. I am not thoroughly acquainted with the different industries.

Mr. WALLACE. If so, those men cannot be robbing the people or else they would be very rich. The hon. member for Charlotte (Mr. Gillmor) says they have got poorer.

Mr. GILLMOR. I have not said that exactly.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. gentleman said they were not as well off now as they were forty years ago. That is a pretty good answer to the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), who says they have been robbing the consumer. If his statement is correct, they would be rich by this time. Another point that it developed is that in the country having the highest protection on steel they are producing the cheapest quality of axes that can be made. These axes do not come from England; they are imported from the United States. These 558 dozen that were imported at \$8.82 per dozen, under the old duty would have cost to lay down in Canada, \$11.70.

Mr. CHARLTON. Ordinary chopping axes?

Mr. WALLACE. I do not say they are ordinary chopping axes; they are much more expensive. You can buy, not the ordinary, but a good chopping axe—for men who are earning their living by chopping will not use an inferior axe—at \$6.50 to \$7 per dozen. Axes that would cost \$11.70 must be of a superior kind. According to the hon. member for South Oxford, the old duty on these high-priced goods would be 32½ per cent, or a little less than the duty which is proposed by the resolution now submitted to the House. I contend that the present duties are much lower than the old ones. For instance, an axe worth \$4 a dozen in the United States, under the old duty would cost to bring in, \$6.40. That is pretty near the average price of axes, as stated by the hon. member for Huntingdon (Mr. Scriver), which, I believe, is correct. The duty on these axes under the old tariff would be 60 per cent; on axes at \$5 a dozen, the duty would be about 50 per cent, and on axes at \$6 per dozen, it would be 43½ per cent. We are proposing to make all these 35 per cent, so that we are making a very substantial reduction in the protection granted the Canadian manufacturer, but still, I hope, giving sufficient to enable these men to go on and give employment to our own people in the manufacture of axes, scythes, and forks, which industries, I am told, employ from 1,200 to 1,500 men in this country. Another point is that these articles are sold as cheaply here, and even more cheaply, than they would be if we adopted a free trade tariff. According to the statement of the Finance Minister, who gave the facts of an actual business proposition made to an Ottawa merchant of which there can be no doubt, the offer is made to sell, for \$5.75 a dozen, a class of goods for which they charge \$9 per dozen in the United States. If this protective duty of ours should be taken away, why should Canadians get the article 1 cent cheaper than the people in Vermont get it? They would pay \$9 a dozen as the people on the other side do. These goods are sold to-day, duty paid, at \$8.50 per dozen. We should be paying 50 cents a dozen more than we are paying to-day, and about 1,500 people, who are now at work in Canada, would find themselves without employment.

Mr. MULLOCK. Why do the people of the United States pay \$9 for these goods? How is it the manufacturers can get that price there?

Mr. WALLACE. I will give the hon. gentleman the reason. Nine dollars per dozen is the lowest price at which they will sell them over there, but they will sell their surplus to Canadians at a lower price. They have a combination there in these particular articles.

Mr. McMULLEN. Now you have struck it.

Mr. WALLACE.

Mr. WALLACE. Well then, I hope the hon. gentleman is satisfied.

Mr. MULLOCK. How can they have a combination?

Mr. WALLACE. Because they have combined—that is the reason.

Mr. CHARLTON. What enables them to combine?

Mr. FOSTER. Headwork.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. gentleman wants us to say that protection enables them to combine. But if he will inquire into the matter, as I inquired when the Combines Committee was at work some years ago, he will find that the worst forms of combinations in this country are in those articles in which there was no protection whatever. It was shown before that committee that the worst combine was in coal.

Mr. MULLOCK. Nature protects that.

Mr. WALLACE. So the hon. gentleman's innuendo that these combines were caused by protection is not correct. Moreover, as the Prime Minister says, we cannot affect the operation of the United States tariff. Whether their tariff is high or low, whether there are combinations or not, we cannot affect that. But we can control affairs in Canada, and we have much more power over combinations here to-day than we could have under a free trade system under which these articles would be imported from the United States.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Why have not these hon. gentlemen the courage of their convictions? The hon. member for Leeds (Mr. Taylor) proved to a demonstration—at least to his own satisfaction—that when you had a 17½ per cent duty, axes cost \$1.25; now that the tariff is 35 per cent, axes cost 60 cents or 70 cents. Then, by all means, raise the tariff to 70 per cent, and let us get axes at 30 cents or 40 cents, and we will be content. If the hon. gentlemen are willing to follow out these conditions, I am not sure but that I would agree to make an exception and advocate the change.

Mr. TAYLOR. Under the 17½ per cent duty, our axes were partly made in the United States. To-day, they are all made in Canada, and the farmers of this country are feeding labour engaged in making them and they are getting cheaper and better articles.

Mr. McMULLEN. There is one thing the people of this country will be convinced before this discussion on the tariff is through, and that is, that the Finance Minister and the Controller of Customs are the godfathers of more infants in this country than any other two men in it.

Mr. MARTIN. I should like to say a word or two further with regard to the question I put to the Controller of Customs. It does seem to me that this involves a very great hardship. We have been discussing the tariff for nearly two months. It is not possible for merchants and manufacturers to suspend their business for two months. It is necessary, in many cases, to produce certain articles and put them on the market in the spring, otherwise they cannot be sold at all. Let me illustrate by taking the case of wire. I fancy that item is not passed, but, at any rate, what I say is for the purpose of illustration. A certain tariff is proposed upon wire, but afterwards this is largely increased. In the meantime, the manufacturer who uses this as his raw material, has had to import it, and manufacture and sell his goods, and he has given the people the benefit of the reduction proposed and—so far as the law is concerned—actually made by the Government in this particular. The Government have received deputations from manufacturers who are interested in this particular item and, as a result of their representations, have increased the duty on wire. In this particular item they are increasing it 5 per cent, in other items it is much more than 5 per cent. Then they call upon these manufacturers who have used this as a raw material to make a large payment and amend the entry. I understand the Minister has the question of wire under consideration, iron and steel wire, 11 to 14 gauge, which is now at 15 per cent. Now, if that is increased, as I understand it is proposed, those manufacturers who have used large quantities of that wire have reckoned as part of the cost the duty upon that wire at 15 per cent. Now, is it not a gross outrage upon a particular individual who is in business in Canada, whose interests the Government are bound to protect, to compel him amend his entry and make an additional payment to the Government for goods that he has already disposed of? I would submit to the Finance Minister whether it would not be fair, considering the great length of time that the revision of the tariff has necessarily taken, that if a merchant or manufacturer can show that he has actually disposed of those goods, and that he will be put to an actual loss, he should only be compelled to amend his entry with regard to those goods that he has not disposed of. If something of that kind is not done, a great loss will be sustained by those manufacturers who were obliged, by the peculiar conditions of the trade they are in, to go on and manufacture their goods in the months of March and April, and who find it impossible to wait until the Government have made up their mind as to what duties they are going to put on that article.

Mr. MULOCK. This duty of 35 per cent, in fact all duties of 35 per cent on articles that pass through the hands of a wholesaler and retailer, amount to a duty of 50 per

cent to the consumer. When, therefore, the Government argue that 35 per cent is a moderate duty, they are defending what amounts to an additional cost to the consumer of about 50 per cent. If I understand the trade rightly, when a wholesaler purchases an article, whatever the cost is, he reckons his percentage of profits on the total costs, which, of course, includes the duty. If, therefore, a wholesale merchant has been obliged to purchase an article on which 35 per cent duty has been paid, if he estimates his profits at 20 per cent, which I am told is not an unreasonable profit in trade, that, added to the 35 per cent duty—

Mr. FOSTER. He would not add it to the 35 per cent. It is only 20 per cent of 35 per cent, not 20 per cent and 35 per cent together.

Mr. MULOCK. Twenty per cent of 35 per cent will be another 5 per cent. When that passes into the hands of the retailer he will add on 20 per cent of the total cost to him. So this 35 per cent to the original wholesale merchant has grown to be 50 per cent added to the retail price to the consumer.

Mr. WALLACE. Ten per cent is the wholesaler's profit.

Mr. MULOCK. It will vary on different articles. I do not know what is the rate on axes. Taking 20 per cent as an average—and that is a great deal under the percentage of profit taken by middle men in some cases—but I believe that 20 per cent will be found to be a very reasonable scale; so that 35 per cent of a duty at the custom-house means 50 per cent of a cost to the consumer. Ministers may shake their heads, but I am aware of articles in which the middle cost is far in excess of 20 per cent. I think the Minister of Finance is bound to give the committee some reasons for maintaining these high rates on these tools which is going to amount to 50 per cent. Or if I were to take the suggestion of the Controller of Customs, even if the middle profit on the protection were only 10 per cent, it would amount to a duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, which added to the 35 per cent, gives you $42\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, if you only allow the wholesaler and the retailer 10 per cent profit on the cost. If the percentage of protection is less, the cost would be less, and there would be a corresponding reduction in the cost to the consumer. Every person understands that to be the custom of trade. So we may well discuss the tariff in view of its being worked out, and to see its ultimate effects on the consumer. Even taking the statement of the Controller of Customs, when he says the middle man charges but 10 per cent profit upon the cost—even in that case a 35 per cent tariff means $42\frac{1}{4}$ per cent additional cost to the consumer, if you admit that the tax at the custom-house is added to the cost of the consumer. I presume these items under discussion are regarded in some sense as necessaries of life, and you are taxing these various industries at this excessive rate. Therefore, I say

that it is due to the country that the Finance Minister should now give the reasons which have led him to ask Parliament to give its sanction to this high rate.

Mr. FOSTER. Carried.

Mr. MULOCK. No ; I ask the Minister to tell us, because we have information, it has been suggested by the member for South Oxford, and it was generally rumoured before these items came up, that there were going to be changes made in the interest of certain persons, that pressure was being brought to bear upon the Government. Now, if the Government have thought only of these industries, and have not considered the rights of the consumers, we ought to know it.

Mr. FOSTER. No ; we have considered the rights of the consumers.

Mr. MULOCK. But have they been consulted ?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MULOCK. The consumers have been consulted ? That is information the country will be glad to know. Will the Minister say in what form he has consulted the consumers ? I believe that deputations of manufacturers have come down. Now, the Minister has made a statement that he has consulted the consumers ; will he say how. The consumers, I am afraid, were not invited to be heard. It would seem then that this schedule has been fixed up in the interest of a few favoured ones who had kicked, or threatened, or intimidated the Minister. In fact there are industries represented by members in this House, and I feel it is a scandal to our system of government that members of Parliament should be personally interested in framing a tariff that will put money into their own pockets. I do not know how far it is correct, but I see it stated in public papers that a member of this House placed his resignation in the hands of a semi-official person, the whip, because the Government were not giving him all the protection he wanted upon an article, starch, I believe ; and that then the Government came down and listened to the demands and threats of a supporter, and promised a surrender. We have other instances of clerical errors being made, owing to pressure of a hidden character, all outside the public gaze. Now we have the Minister telling us that he has consulted the consumers in regard to this matter. If he has, it is his duty to tell the House and the country how he consulted them ; when he consulted them. When did he invite the great masses of the people of the community to make their opinions known before he ventured to propose this scheme here ? When the Government were dealing with the farmers, when it was proposed to affect them, they were invited to be present, and the Controller of Customs and a couple of lawyers went about and tried to badger

Mr. MULOCK.

these farmers in public, to prove to them that they did not know anything about the grievances they thought they were suffering under. They were obliged to argue their case as best they could, in the presence of a number of gentlemen who were badgering them and endeavouring to make them appear inconsistent, and in some instances, ridiculous. But in regard to manufacturers, the interviews took place in secret ; and after the tariff changes were proposed, we are told a great many deputations waited upon the Minister, and again he listened to them in secret. We do not know what occurred. Now, I say that this is a scandal to the country, it is an abuse of the position the Government occupies, to be levying taxes upon people through the medium of this tariff at the solicitation of interested parties, without giving a hearing to those who are to pay the bills. That state of affairs is now being sought to be reversed by this legislation, and the Minister of Finance declines to tell the House in what respect he has considered the interests of the consumers and given them an opportunity to be heard. If the hon. gentleman will not respond to the voice of the people so far as it may be said to emanate from the Opposition, he may have to listen to that voice direct from the people later on.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I am not going to renew the axe discussion just now, but I wish to call the attention of the Finance Minister to the remark made by the hon. member of Winnipeg (Mr. Martin). I am quite aware that under ordinary circumstances the mercantile community have to take their chance. But these are not ordinary circumstances. Never in our experience has a tariff been kept under consideration for anything like the length of time that has now elapsed in regard to the present tariff.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes ; in 1878.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Not for the same length of time.

Mr. FOSTER. For six weeks.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I had something to do with it, and I think neither the Finance Minister nor the Controller of Customs was a member of the House at that time. For all practical purposes very little alteration was made in that tariff as submitted, and certainly no changes were made to be compared with the large alterations which the Finance Minister has made in this tariff ; some may have been made, but they were not of any great consequence. But whether or not, on the mere ground of equity towards the commercial public it is desirable, and it could be accomplished under an order of the Treasury Board, or by the adoption of a short resolution by the House to be inserted in the tariff Bill, to provide that in all cases where actual transactions have taken place, the original duty which had

been paid should be considered sufficient. No one, I think, could object to that proposition on the ground of equity, and I do not think there is any reason to anticipate either in the present or the future any great inconvenience or loss to the Government, although great loss might accrue to individuals if no such rule should be adopted. It appears to be perfectly equitable, when the Government has come down and declared they intend to fix a certain rate of duty, and when the ordinary merchant, having no means of information other than the discussions in Parliament, imports his goods in good faith according to that tariff, and proceeds to sell them at prices he would not have accepted if he had known the duty was going to be raised, that the transaction shall be allowed to stand without requiring the merchant to pay the additional duty.

Mr. BOWERS. I should not like that to be done. I have an entry of manila cordage, and I should like to obtain a reduction on it. After the remarks of the Controller of Customs the other day I think I will get my cordage free. I do not, therefore, agree with the last speaker.

Item agreed to.

Shovels and spades, shovel and spade blanks and iron or steel cut to shape for same, 50 cents per dozen and 25 per cent ad valorem.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What is the reduction ?

Mr. FOSTER. It is a reduction from \$1.25 to 50 cents per dozen.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What does the 50 cents per dozen represent ? This is really a proposition to raise the duty from 35 per cent to 50 per cent. It may be according to the tariff that was in existence last year a reduction, but compared with the proposition which the Finance Minister submitted to the House a few weeks ago it is a very large increase.

Mr. FOSTER. Take shovels at \$5, and the old duty would represent \$2.25 ; the duty at 35 per cent would be \$1.75, the duty at 50 cents per dozen and 25 per cent would be \$1.75. So there is a large reduction on the old rate, and the present proposition is about the same as 35 per cent.

Committee rose, and it being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

House again resolved itself into Committee on Ways and Means.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. McMULLEN. Would the Minister say what is the average value per dozen of these ?

Mr. FOSTER. I think probably the average would be \$4.50 or \$5 per dozen.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). What change is proposed in this ?

Mr. FOSTER. The duty proposed is 50 cents per dozen and 25 per cent ; the old duty was \$1 per dozen and 25 per cent.

Mr. GRIEVE. Does the Minister mean to say that the wholesale price of these spades and shovels is \$4 or \$5 a dozen ?

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, no ; I was asked for the average price. They run from \$3.25 up to perhaps \$7 a dozen.

Mr. GREIVE. They are retailed at from 80 cents to \$1, so that there must be a tremendous profit on them.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I remember seeing an invoice in which the duty figured to 74 per cent, so that the price of the shovel blades is not much more than \$2 per dozen, and the duty on that class would be 50 per cent.

Mr. McMULLEN. How many factories are there making these ?

Mr. FOSTER. There is a factory at Gananoque, a factory near Halifax, a factory at Montreal, and one at Quebec.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Perhaps the adviser of the hon. gentleman could tell us how many men are employed in this industry ?

Mr. TAYLOR. I know that there are from 80 to 100 employed in the Gananoque factory. There are some seven or eight in the country, and I cannot speak of the others.

Mr. McMULLEN. The Minister ought to place us in the possession of all the information with regard to this industry, and the number of hands employed in these factories.

Mr. FOSTER. The Gananoque factory is the largest and they employ from 80 to 100 hands. There is a large-sized factory in Halifax, but I am not able to say how many hands are engaged there.

Mr. McMULLEN. What is the total quantity of this article manufactured in Canada ?

Mr. FOSTER. The total output of the Gananoque factory is 8,500 dozens.

Mr. GRIEVE. Is the total output of the Gananoque factory composed of spades and shovels ? I understand that it also makes lawn mowers, forks and other kinds of garden tools.

Mr. FOSTER. No, I think shovels and spades only.

Mr. McMULLEN. Can the Minister not state the amount of the total output in Canada ?

Mr. FOSTER. I cannot at the moment. If I can get the information for the hon. gentleman, I will send it to him. Only 2,200 dozens were imported last year.

Item agreed to.

Wire of iron or steel, 11 to 14 gauge inclusive, 15 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. I want to amend this by adding: "Galvanized iron wire, No. 12 gauge, when imported by makers of barbed wire for use in their factories, 15 per cent."

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I wish to call the hon. gentleman's attention to a communication which I have received from a company engaged in the manufacture of wire fences. These gentlemen represent, and apparently with considerable truth, that the wire which is their raw material is charged a very high rate of duty. The wire they more particularly use is Nos. 6 and 9. They make what is called the locked wire fence. This is an industry which, whether infant or adult, does not appear to have been brought to the hon. gentleman's notice, and they pray for a reduction on their raw material, which, being entirely in accord with our policy on this side, I am very happy to forward as far as I can. The hon. gentleman seems to have given to the companies engaged in similar occupations their wire either free or at a reduction. This wire, I suppose, would at present come in under the general clause at 25 per cent ad valorem. If the hon. gentleman would include in his amendment Nos. 6, 9 and 12, that would meet the case.

Mr. FOSTER. I shall have to think that over. The barbed wire fence makers require No. 12, and but for this change would have to pay 25 per cent on it, while the small protection given to them on barbed wire would not permit them to carry on their industry. So I propose to put No. 12 gauge on the 15 per cent list, and keep the duty on barbed wire as it is.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. If the hon. gentleman would add Nos. 6 and 9, I think that would meet the views of the manufacturers of locked wire fencing. This, I think, is very much the same as the barbed wire fencing, with this difference, that certain joinings in it make it easier to make and to erect, and necessitates fewer posts. Of course, the Minister is aware that all over the North-west and Ontario, every day, more and more, the use of wire fencing, either barbed or plain wire, or wire fencing of some kind or other, is coming into constant use, and it is a very important item in the economy of a farm, in certain agricultural processes, that farmers should possess fences not only cheap and durable, but capable of being easily moved. I understand that the lock wire fence is one that has special merits in that direction. It is easier erected, requires fewer posts, and is capable of being moved from place to place more easily than any other fences. It is, therefore, for many reasons a thing which does deserve, if any industry of that kind deserves, a reasonable consideration at the hands of the Government. I am not asking

Mr. FOSTER.

in the least to increase the tax, but simply to give these men who use six and nine the same protection that it is proposed to give the men who use gauge No. 12.

Mr. CHARLTON. The principle is exactly the same in the two cases.

Mr. FOSTER. I would have to look into that. I have not examined that question. It must be a very heavy grade of wire that runs as thick as six.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That would be used for what, I suppose, they call the supporters. Of course, the heavier the wire they use, the better able they are to dispense with numerous posts. Every one of us who has had anything at all to do with leasing lands, knows that in a very large part of the country the removal of fences is becoming an extremely serious question. More and more, every day, the wood is disappearing, and the necessity of having metal fences is becoming apparent. No doubt whatever I am speaking against our party interests when I urge that a reduction of the tax on the wire which goes to make wire fences would be a great boon to all farmers everywhere throughout the Dominion.

Mr. FOSTER. The Government have recognized all that and have reduced the duty on the barbed wire fence just one-half. It is to enable the barbed wire fence manufacturers to live under the present duty that we reduced No. 12 wire, which is not all the wire they use—they use twelve and thirteen. If the hon. gentleman will send me the note he has, I will look into the matter, and if we can do anything, will come back to the matter again.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The hon. gentleman, I suppose, will advise me before the matter is absolutely out of our hands what he will do?

Item agreed to.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes. There are two items that were passed of which I wish to change the verbiage a little, and reduce the duty on some portions. They are on page 13 of the small book. Take the item of rolled iron or steel angles. The committee will recollect that we divided the rolled iron or steel angles and special sections into two classes; and on those weighing less than 35 pounds per yard the duty was 35 per cent. Then, on others, weighing not less than 25 pounds per lineal yard, it was 12½ per cent. I propose to widen that, and to change the verbiage a little, so that the first one will read:

Rolled iron or steel angles, channels and other sections, weighing less than 35 pounds per lineal yard, 35 per cent.

That goes with the old duty.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. You said you were going to reduce the duty.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, I am taking out of that something which I am putting into the item below it at 12½ per cent :

Rolled iron or steel angles, channels and other sections, weighing less than 35 pounds per lineal yard, n.e.s.—strike out structural shapes and special sections, 35 per cent.

Then the next one will read :

Rolled iron or steel angles, channels and special sections, weighing not less than 35 pounds per lineal yard, and rolled iron or steel beams, joists, girders, columns, sections,—trough sections and other building or bridge structural sections, weighing not less than 25 pounds to the lineal yard, and rolled iron or steel bridge plates not less than three-eighths of an inch thick nor less than fifteen inches wide, and flat eye bar blanks, not punched or drilled, 12½ per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. You had not bar blanks before.

Mr. FOSTER. I amended that by putting "flat eye bar blanks not punched or drilled." That lets into the 12½ per cent duty certain structural shapes which were before included in the 35 per cent, and is an advantage to builders.

Item agreed to.

Celluloid, moulded into sizes for handles of knives and forks, not bored nor otherwise manufactured ; also molded celluloid balls and cylinders, coated with tin-foil or not, but not finished or further manufactured, 10 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. I wish to make an addition—celluloid lamp-shade blanks. It reads just as it does now, but I add at the end, before the 10 per cent : "And celluloid lamp-shade blanks." That reduces them from 20 per cent to 10.

Item agreed to.

Stereotypes, electrotypes and celluloids of newspaper columns, and bases for the same, composed wholly or partly of metal or celluloid, ¼ of a cent per square inch.

Mr. FOSTER. I propose to reduce that one-half and make it three-eighths of a cent instead of three-quarters.

Mr. SOMERVILLE. Will not that be an excessive duty, even at the reduction of one-half ? The stereotype plates manufactured are sold to the newspapers at so much per square inch, and the duty amounts to from 160 to 180 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. I think not so much as that. I have had a statement put in my hands showing that it may run as high as 118 per cent.

Mr. SOMERVILLE. I understand that the newspaper men have been making representations to the Government to have this duty reduced. I would like to ask the Finance Minister how many men are employed in Toronto in this industry, for Toronto is the only place where this plate is manufactured ?

Mr. FOSTER. I am informed that the wages paid in these industries amount each week to \$800. There are two houses making these stereotype plates.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). How many thousands are employed in the printing establishments which find these plates necessary for their business ?

Mr. FOSTER. The papers seem to be very glad to get these plates.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Yes ; but they would be very much better pleased if they could get them at a reasonable rate.

Mr. GRIEVE. Are stereotype plates in the German language manufactured in this country ?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know ; but I imagine not.

Mr. GRIEVE. Would there be any possibility of their being manufactured in the near future ?

Mr. WALLACE. German books are allowed in free.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Carried.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. No ; before this resolution is adopted, I think we ought to know what this reduced duty means. If my hon. friend from North Brant (Mr. Somerville) is correct, the old duty amounted to the perfectly outrageous figure of 180 per cent. The reduction, therefore, leaves it at about 90 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, no.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That would be still an outrageous duty.

Mr. SOMERVILLE. We have the authority of the Ottawa 'Citizen' that it was from 160 to 180 per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. There is an authority I do not believe equal to my hon. friend, but hon. gentlemen opposite may. I am not aware what the duty is myself, but if the 'Citizen's' statement is even approximately correct the duty of ¾ths of a cent a square inch would still leave the duty far too high. There is no sort of defence for a duty in a matter of this kind of 80 or 90 per cent, no matter whether 50 or 60 or 800 people are employed in producing the article. I should like to know what the hon. gentleman considers what the duty of ¾ths of a cent per square inch represents on an ad valorem basis.

Mr. FOSTER. It would be very variable, according to the value of the plate brought in. In some cases it would be as high as 50 or 55 per cent.

Mr. CHARLTON. Not higher ?

Mr. FOSTER. Not on any plate worth anything.

Mr. WALLACE. Further, the statement is made, and I believe correctly, that the price of these plates in Canada is a little lower than that in the United States. The duty is not added to the price here at all.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). That is not the point. It is impossible in the market of Canada to produce more than a very limited number of plates, and the difficulty every newspaper man experiences is to get plates distinct from those being used by his neighbour. Take the case of two newspapers published in the same town or in adjoining towns. They do not want to get the same plates, but to get plates covering different matter, and in the limited market of Canada this cannot be done. The necessary variety cannot be furnished. Any newspaper man can tell the hon. gentleman that.

Mr. SOMERVILLE. The hon. Minister says that the duty depends on the value of the plates imported, but the duty is so much to the square inch, regardless of the value.

Mr. FOSTER. Some plates are worth more than others.

Mr. SOMERVILLE. But the duty is so much per square inch.

Mr. FOSTER. But there are more characters in one square inch than in another.

Mr. GRIEVE. I am informed that the duty of $\frac{3}{4}$ of a cent per square inch amounts to something like 32 cents per column, and the price of the plate to the printer is 20 cents per column, so that those who are forced to import this plate from the United States have to pay something like 52 cents per column, or \$3.12 per page. This is an injustice to a certain class of printers in this country. We have a large number of German printers who use this plate. German electro plate is not manufactured in this country, and must be imported. This is a great injustice, not only to the German printers, but to the German readers as well. German readers in this country are the same as English readers, they like to read the old country news. German papers printed in the large centres in the United States are composed largely of German miscellaneous matter. The ordinary German reader in this country prefers that class of reading, and they will subscribe to American papers in many cases in preference to Canadian papers, because of this German miscellany. If there is no probability in the near future of this German plate being manufactured in this country, I would recommend the Minister of Finance to take into his consideration the desirability of reducing the duty on this article.

Mr. SOMERVILLE. I would like the hon. Minister to explain with regard to the duty and the value of the plate of which he spoke. The tariff is so much to the square

Mr. FOSTER.

inch. It does not depend upon the value, but upon the size of the plate.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Of course the hon. gentleman must have the information in his possession. What does he suppose to be the value per square foot—which is perhaps the easier way to get at it—or per square inch, if he prefers it, of this stereotype plate? Of course, we understand that where this is variable it will affect the ad valorem rate of duty. No doubt he has the average figures, and also the minimum and maximum.

Mr. WALLACE. The average as given in the Trade and Navigation Returns is $\frac{5}{8}$ of a cent per square inch.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Then that would correspond closely with what I said, because if the value is $\frac{5}{8}$ and your tax is $\frac{3}{8}$, that would be close upon 60 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. You are right.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Which is a very heavy duty on articles of this kind. Of course that is better than 160 or 180 per cent. Moreover, I apprehend that if $\frac{5}{8}$ is an average, on certain qualities it would be very much higher.

Mr. WALLACE. There is another point that hon. gentlemen opposite forget. They have a chance of having their speeches printed on Canadian stereotypes, owing to this duty.

Mr. CHARLTON. In the matter of stereotype plates, the Government ought to put them on the list of articles the duty on which is arranged on an ad valorem basis. There is a great variation in the value of these plates. The duty as it is arranged now may be as much again, on an ad valorem basis, in some cases as in others. The newspapers of the country certainly deserve fair treatment at the hands of the Government, and if the Government were to put a duty of 20 per cent ad valorem on stereotyped plates, it would be a high enough rate. We would then have the duty assessed on plates according to their value, and the matter would be placed upon an equitable basis. The duty, instead of being a specific duty of $\frac{3}{4}$ of a cent per square inch, should be an ad valorem duty, and the committee should decide what rate that ad valorem duty should be. The hon. gentleman proposes to charge stereotyped plates 30 cents per column. I have just measured one, and the plate costs 20 cents per column; so under this proposed duty the rate is 150 per cent. The committee have been misled as to the actual rate of duty on the ad valorem basis, and we are now agreeing to a duty of 150 per cent on this arrangement of $\frac{3}{4}$ of a cent per square inch.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. gentleman is in error. He is estimating it at $\frac{3}{4}$ of a cent

per square inch. We have reduced it one-half, to $\frac{3}{8}$.

Mr. CHARLTON. Even at $\frac{3}{8}$, it is 75 per cent, and that is as high again as it ought to be. You can prove it by measuring a column and getting the number of square inches, assuming a basis of 20 cents a column for the stereotyped plate.

Mr. FOSTER. What paper are you measuring?

Mr. CHARLTON. I am measuring the 'Globe.'

Mr. FOSTER. You can't depend upon the 'Globe.'

Mr. CHARLTON. Papers differ in their moral character, but they do not differ much in the size of their columns.

Mr. GRIEVE. I have a letter from the editor of a German newspaper, who tells me that he pays 20 cents per column for the plate, and 32 cents per column for duty.

Mr. SOMERVILLE. I think the Minister might well consider the case of German plates, because there is no probability of German plates being made in this country in the near future. The German newspapers printed in Canada have to compete with the German newspapers printed in Detroit and Buffalo, which are largely circulated in Canada. The German people prefer to have, as the hon. member for Perth said, a larger amount of reading matter in their papers than they get now in Canadian papers, because the Canadian-German newspaper publishers cannot afford to give the same amount of reading matter as the German papers in the United States, where they get this cheap plate. It is utterly impossible for the Canadian-German newspaper publisher to compete with the American-German newspaper publisher under these circumstances, because he cannot get German stereotyped plate in this country at all, it is not manufactured here, and there is no probability it ever will be manufactured here, and he is placed at a great disadvantage in his business when he has to compete with the papers on the other side. I think it would be well for the Government to consider this matter, even if they do charge an exorbitant duty on English stereotyped plates used by English newspaper publishers, they ought to allow the Germans to be placed on the same basis as the American-German publishers. So long as they have to pay such an exorbitant duty for these plates that they have to bring in from the United States, our Canadian-German papers cannot be as large as the German papers in the United States, and they cannot get as high a circulation; and if the principles of the Conservative Government are to be propagated in this country through German newspapers, the Government must give them the same facilities for furnishing news as the American-German newspapers have.

Mr. McMULLEN. The suggestion of the hon. member for Perth (Mr. Grieve) is a very important one, and I hope the Minister will give it his consideration. There are a great many Germans who would like to get their reading matter as cheap as possible, and I think the Minister should consent to the suggestion that has been made.

Item agreed to.

Cane, reed or rattan, split or otherwise manufactured, $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. To what are you raising it?

Mr. FOSTER. I am lowering it; it was formerly 25 per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It was $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. This is a second thought. The duty on that article was 25 per cent. This is a rearrangement of the duty by which it is brought down to $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. We think, however, that is too small a protection for the industry, which is a large one in or near Toronto. I should like to make the duty $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, which will then be a reduction of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What is manufactured principally from the cane or rattan? Is the industry one of splitting the cane?

Mr. FOSTER. They import the bamboo, strip it, split it, and prepare it.

Mr. McMULLEN. Is there any duty on the cane when imported?

Mr. FOSTER. No, the rough cane comes in free. Referring to the sugar duties, I propose to place the duty on glucose at 1 cent per pound.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). That would be equivalent to a duty of about 115 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. About 100 per cent.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I am informed it would be more.

Mr. FOSTER. I saw to-day invoices at $15\frac{3}{8}$ cents, and that would be less than 100 per cent.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The candy makers and persons engaged in the confectionery business will find this to be a tremendous tax. The Finance Minister is dealing with them somewhat as he dealt with the agricultural implement makers.

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). He has given a certain amount of protection, but he has also given them a certain amount of burden to bear.

Mr. FOSTER. I have been good to confectioners, chiefly from my regard for the hon. member for North Brant (Mr. Paterson). They have 35 per cent straight pro-

tection. I have kept the duty on the coverings for the confections at a low rate.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). One hundred per cent on glucose.

Mr. FOSTER. I have reduced the duties on sugar, which is, of course, largely used, and I have given them peanuts at a much less rate of duty than formerly, and I am now reducing glucose from $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents to 1 cent.

Mr. McMULLEN. How many manufacturers of glucose are there in the country?

Mr. FOSTER. There are two, at least, that I know of.

Mr. McMULLEN. The Minister having decided to reduce the duty on glucose, he should also reduce the duty on corn starch.

Mr. FOSTER. I did reduce it from 4 cents to $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents.

Mr. McMULLEN. From 2 cents to $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents.

Item agreed to.

Mr. FOSTER. Under the head of textiles, I propose that shirts costing more than \$3 per dozen, shall bear a duty of \$1 per dozen, and 25 per cent.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). If the hon. gentleman left them at 25 per cent, omitting the \$1 per dozen, he would be placing the duty sufficiently high.

Mr. FOSTER. The duty on the raw material is 25 per cent. I propose to ask the committee to consider the case of shirts costing less than \$3 per dozen, the day after to-morrow.

Mr. EDGAR. Suppose shirts cost \$4 per dozen, this tax would be 50 per cent, and on shirts costing \$3.25 it would be 55 per cent.

Mr. MULOCK. They are a luxury.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). For that reason, perhaps, the duty is placed at 55 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. The committee has already discussed shirts, collars and cuffs, and gone over the whole ground. Reasons were given why high protection was necessary in order to protect the industry in this country. Information was given as to the distribution of the industry, as to the large amount of labour employed, and the reasons stated why it was necessary to afford protection in order to protect our people against cheap labour in other countries.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman has asserted that shirt makers pay a duty on the cotton that is manufactured in Canada, namely, 25 per cent on the raw material. If the contention of some of his friends, including the Prime Minister, is correct, shirt makers do not pay any tax unless they manufacture shirts from foreign material. The Finance Minister has made a little progress, but he has not carried all

Mr. FOSTER.

his friends with him. The hon. gentleman is charging an enormous duty when he imposes a rate of over 50 per cent.

Cotton clothing and other manufactures of cotton, n.e.s., $32\frac{1}{2}$ per cent ad valorem.

Mr. BOWERS. Does that mean nets and seines?

Mr. FOSTER. Nets and seines are on the free list.

Mr. BOWERS. Is it intended to put nets and seines on the free list?

Mr. FOSTER. I told the hon. gentleman that two months ago.

Mr. BOWERS. In the old tariff it said: "nets and seines free." In the free list of this tariff it says: "twines to be used in making nets and seines, free."

Mr. WALLACE. That was changed in committee a good while ago.

Mr. EDGAR. Is the Minister going to allow this item to pass in that shape?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. EDGAR. Surely the Minister of Finance cannot be in earnest, because while that is a reduction of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on clothing, it is an increase from 20 per cent to $32\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on manufactures of cotton, n.e.s.

Mr. WALLACE. The intention of that is, and the wording of it will bear it out, that cotton clothing is $32\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and articles manufactured from textile cotton fabrics are $32\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; not any manufactures from the cotton wool, but an article made such as a garment or bag, n.e.s., made from the cotton textile fabric.

Mr. EDGAR. If the Minister means that, would he be kind enough to say it in his tariff, because at present it does not say so.

Mr. FOSTER. It was the same reading in the old tariff.

Mr. EDGAR. I do not think so. The old tariff as to clothing was item 17, of 50 and 51 Vic., chapter 39, and the language used was this:

Clothing made of cotton or other material, n.o.p., including corsets or similar articles, made up by the seamstress or tailor, also tarpaulin, plain or coated with oil, paint, tar, or other composition, and cotton bags made up by the use of the needle, n.o.p., 35 per cent.

The Minister of Finance has shortened up that article now and made it to read: "cotton clothing," which perhaps includes it all, and I do not say it does not. However, by the Revised Statutes of Canada, chap. 33, item 139, we have the item reading in this way:

All manufactures of cotton, n.e.s., 20 per cent.

Will the Minister show me in his new tariff

where this item of "manufactures of cotton, n.e.s." is, if it is not in this?

Mr. FOSTER. You mean by that, manufactures of cotton wool?

Mr. EDGAR. Manufactures of cotton, as is said here. That was the language which was used in the tariff before, whatever it meant, and under that the hon. gentleman knows that in the importations there were large quantities, even of sewing thread, imported under that n.e.s. at 20 per cent. Now, while this item on clothing apparently is a reduction of 2½ per cent, it is on all other manufactures of cotton, an increase of 12½ per cent. If it is not meant to be so, I hope the hon. gentleman will change the language of the item.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. gentleman asked where those items are provided for in the new tariff. Under items 3, 4 and 5 of "textiles," gray "unbleached cotton fabrics, 22½ per cent;" "white or bleached cotton fabrics, 25 per cent," and "cotton fabrics, printed, dyed or coloured, 30 per cent." Can the hon. gentleman find any item that is not included under these three? Every article of cotton manufacture is either bleached or unbleached, or printed, or coloured, and these three items will take in every manufacture of cotton, of whatever kind it may be, except those especially enumerated hereafter. There is no "n.e.s." required.

Mr. EDGAR. Under the old tariff there were forty different items, and now you have reduced them to twenty.

Mr. WALLACE. It shows how we simplified this one.

Mr. FOSTER. It is intended that this should include everything.

Mr. EDGAR. It may be intended, but is there any clause whatever for manufactured goods except this?

Mr. WALLACE. This item includes garments or articles made from the textile fabrics, and not made from the cotton wool. Just the same as cotton clothing and any other articles that might be made from the cotton clothing.

Mr. FLINT. Has the Government concluded to accede to the request of the Yarmouth Cotton and Duck Company to transfer from the free list cotton duck for belting and hose, and place upon it some duty in order to protect, to a certain extent, their manufacture? If I understand the situation correctly as laid before the Government, it is this: We have on cotton manufactures a pretty high tariff of 32½ per cent. A certain manufacturing institution manufactures goods of this kind, which are used by belting and hose companies in the manufacture of their belting and hose. This cotton manufacture is admitted under this present tariff free. Now this company says: We look to the Trade and Navigation Returns, and we

find that about \$50,000 of that particular class of that cotton goods is imported free as a raw material for the manufacture of belting and hose. These manufacturers ask the Government to apply the principle of their own policy to them as well as to other manufacturers, by giving them the benefit of some protection on their manufactured product. It seems to me, treating the matter entirely from a protective standpoint, from which I think this tariff should be discussed as far as the details are concerned, that they have made out a pretty good claim; and I would like to ask the Minister or the Controller, if they have made up their mind either way, to state the reasons they have for any proposed action, because, so far as I have been able to study the question from the papers placed in my hands, it appeared to me, viewing the matter from the standpoint of the Government, and the standpoint of the principle on which the tariff is based, that they had made out a good case.

Mr. FOSTER. That properly comes in, I suppose, under the free list, which I hope we shall soon reach, and then we will take it up. I wish to make a little change in this, to make it clear. I wish to make it read: "Cotton clothing and other articles made from cotton fabrics, n.e.s., 32½ per cent." That is what was meant, and this will make it clear.

Logs and round unmanufactured timber, not specially enumerated or provided for in this Act, free.

Mr. SPROULE. Before this item is passed, I would like to say something upon it. In the northern part of Ontario a condition of things has been going on for some time which is very detrimental to the best interests of that portion of the country at least; and I believe the same thing is going on to some extent in the Maritime Provinces and in the province of Quebec. I refer to the exportation of pine logs, spruce logs and other logs in large quantities to the United States.

Mr. CHARLTON. If the hon. gentleman will allow me, I would suggest that this discussion would come properly when we reach the export duties at the close of this list.

Mr. SPROULE. We are at the free list of logs, and I do not know that we could have the discussion at a better time. I say that the exportation of our logs has been increasing every year since 1885. No restraint is put upon that exportation by our Government, and it is doing the country a very serious injury. We had a discussion on this subject last session, but owing to the shortness of the session not as many spoke upon it as wished to do so; therefore, the Government were not as fully informed on the subject as they otherwise would have been had this discussion continued, and as

no change has been made since, the discussion which then took place appears not to have influenced the Government in the direction we had hoped it would, and therefore it becomes our duty again to draw the attention of the Government to this condition of things. In 1885, I believe, we had an export duty on logs of \$2 a thousand. In 1888, the duty was increased to \$3 a thousand, and it had the desired effect: it stopped the exportation of Canadian logs to a very large extent. The result was that the mills in the northern part of Ontario commenced to cut the lumber that had previously been cut in the United States. But, through influences that were brought to bear on the Government, they were persuaded that if they would take off the export duty on logs the Americans would give us a free market for our lumber. It is true, they did reduce the duty to the extent of \$1 a thousand on pine lumber, but on no other. That change was in the right direction, but it did not meet the expectations or the wishes of the Canadian lumbermen, for it did not prevent large numbers of our logs going out of the country. Then, the work commenced to extend, and from that time to the present there have been taken out of our country increasing numbers of logs every year. I have here from the Trade and Navigation Returns a statement of the value in dollars and cents of the timber taken out of the country during the last few years. In 1889, when the export duty existed, there was taken out \$444,805 worth, in 1890 \$615,194 worth, in 1891 \$615,320 worth, in 1892, after a large number of timber limits in the Georgian Bay district had been bought by Americans, \$1,044,134 worth, and in 1893 \$1,517,137 worth.

Mr. DEVLIN. Are these amounts for logs only?

Mr. SPROULE. For logs, and principally in the Georgian Bay district. I am giving them just as they appear in the Trade and Navigation Returns. What does this mean to the people in our section of the country? It means, first, the destruction and waste of our timber, because the timber of that country is being taken out in such large quantities that in a few years those vast and magnificent forests in the province of Ontario provided by nature for man's use, will be entirely destroyed. No one can deny that fact; any one who has given any attention to the subject must admit that year by year the timber is decreasing very rapidly. At the present time, I am credibly informed and believe, over fifty townships in the Georgian Bay district are denuded of pine timber every year. The Ontario Government, which has been looking into the matter, has come to the conclusion that although there is a great deal of timber back there, still the best of the timber has gone, and in a few years that section of the country, which was formerly covered

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by magnificent pine forests, will be almost entirely bare. Then this policy is taking out of the country its raw material and giving to Americans, instead of to Canadians, the labour and the profit of cutting, towing and manufacturing that raw material. What does that amount to? I gave last year statistics formulated by an American lumberman of the amount likely to be cut during the year, and I have been since told that even a larger amount than the estimate was taken—I have been told that some 500,000,000 feet were taken out. The following figures I gave last year as an approximate estimate of the cut for the then current season:—

The Saginaw Lumber Company is putting in over 20,000,000 feet in the Spanish River; Barringer, 15,000,000; Spanish River Lumber Company, for Folsom & Arnold, at Bay City, 17,000,000; Nelson, for his Cheboygan mill, 8,000,000; Park, Woods & Company, for Au Sauble, Mich., 15,000,000, and E. Hall, of Detroit, for his Bay City mill, 16,000,000. On the Mississauga River, Gilchrist, of Alpena, has let contracts for 80,000,000 to stock his mill, and Howry & Sons will take out 25,000,000. On the French River and Wahapite, there are heavy operators. The Emery Lumber Company are taking out over 50,000,000 for Tawas and Bay City; Hart & Fisher are going to get out all the logs they can this winter, and next summer they will take out over 50,000,000 feet; Captain Bliss will take from French River for his Saginaw mill 16,000,000, and the Moore Lumber Company, about 10,000,000. Further east, Wm. Peters will take out 17,000,000, and Merrill & Ring about 12,000,000.

Summing these up, and adding what is taken out by Canadian jobbers and sold to Americans, they amount to about 450,000,000 feet.

Mr. DEVLIN. From what district?

Mr. SPROULE. The Georgian Bay district. I notice that in the discussion on the Wilson Tariff Bill in the United States lately, a friend of the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) who evidently was posted on what he was talking about, said, speaking of the Americans: We are in a position to-day to supply our mills from the Canadian shore.

Mr. CHARLTON. Who was that?

Mr. SPROULE. Senator Weadock, who was quoted last year as an authority by the hon. member for North Norfolk. He said: We are able to supply our mills from the Canadian shore. There are four ports of the United States, Saginaw, Alpena, Cheboygan, and Tawas, whose mills are nearly entirely supported by logs taken out of Canada. To-day, we are bringing over annually about 500,000,000 of Canadian pine to be sawn up in the mills of our country. Therefore, the request was made in the United States Senate to allow lumber to come in free, lest the Canadians should put on an export duty and stop the export of

those logs. The American senator then asked: What does it mean if these logs are stopped? It means virtually the shutting down of these great mills and the stoppage of the operations carried on in the salt works. It means the throwing out of employment of thousands of men employed to-day in the manufacture into lumber of these logs, taken out of Canada. But, Mr. Speaker, on the other hand, I ask, what does it mean as regards Canada? Last year I gave figures, which I believed to be approximately correct, because they were furnished by one of the biggest lumbermen in the Ottawa Valley. According to these figures, the lumbermen in the Ottawa Valley expected to take out, last year, 428,000,000 feet of lumber. The trees are cut down in the winter, put into the streams and lakes, floated down, and in the summer are cut up in our mills. To take out enough logs to make that quantity of lumber, required the employment of about 7,000 men in the woods during the winter months, and then for the balance of the year in the mills and lumber yards, cutting up, piling and shipping the lumber to a foreign market. It means, in fact, the employment of seven thousand men all the year round, six months cutting down the trees, carrying the logs to the lakes and streams, floating them down, and then six months cutting up the logs in the mills and piling and shipping them. Every one knows what commercial activity is caused by the lumber mills in the city of Hull and along the Ottawa Valley by the number of men employed in the lumbering industry, and one can readily understand what a depression has resulted in the Georgian Bay district from the fact that all the logs taken out from that district are now cut on the American side. In the Ottawa Valley, only 428,000,000 feet were taken out, but, according to an American authority, 500,000,000 were taken out in the Georgian Bay district in the course of the year. That means the employment of 8,000 men for the winter six months. But these men, who otherwise would be actively employed in this country in the summer for the remaining six months, are, by the policy of the Government, thrown idle during that time. They cannot engage in the mills on the other side, because they are met at the line by the alien labour law, which shuts out every Canadian from employment there. Therefore, the Canadians are thrown out of employment for six months in the year. It is easy to conceive what a loss that causes to the towns in the Georgian Bay district. What were lively commercial centres a few years ago are, comparatively speaking, dead to-day. The mills that gave employment to hundreds of men are now standing idle. In Mildand, a few years ago, there were four large mills working, one of which cut a hundred thousand feet per day. At present there is not a single one in operation.

One of these mills used to employ about three hundred men, directly and indirectly, but to-day it is shut down. Go to the Muskoka district, around Parry Sound, and you will find the same condition of things. Go along the Spanish river and the north shore, and of the mills which formerly cut large quantities of lumber every year, almost all are idle, and the busy hum of industry which rejoiced the ear a few years ago, is silent, only to be heard on the American side. One can readily understand what that means to Canadians. It means that the raw material is taken out of our country in order to give employment to Americans. It means the keeping of our saw mills idle. An average saw mill would cut, probably ten million feet in a year. According to the estimate of Senator Weadock, 500,000,000 feet were taken across Georgian Bay last year. At the rate of ten million feet per mill, that would keep fifty mills going the whole season round. You can understand then, Mr. Speaker, what a loss the transfer of this business to the American shore has caused our section of the country, where we experience the evil results more than, perhaps, any other portion of the country. Not only are the men thrown out of employment, and the mills forced to shut down, but the money expended in plant is utterly unproductive. And all this is owing to the policy carried out for some years past by this House. This policy has also resulted in raising the price of finishing materials to our farmers and others. A few years ago, before the logs were taken out of Canada, we had the advantage of getting cheaply the cull lumber to convert into doors, sashes, shutters and other lines of finishing work. We could obtain that lumber at \$4.50 per thousand feet, laid down in carloads and freight paid. To-day, we have to pay for the poorest kind, at least \$9.75 per thousand feet. One can understand from that why it is that the price of the goods in these various lines has gone up. Doors, sashes, frames, blinds, and the finishing for buildings—all these lines have gone up in price, greatly increasing the expense of those who desire to build and who ought to be supplied from the refuse timber of their own country instead of being obliged to pay for higher priced goods. Now lath went up in about the same proportion. A few years ago we could buy a good pine lath at \$1.25 to \$1.35 per thousand. It is now worth \$2.75, and hard to be got at that. Another result has been to deprive our railways and vessels of an important item in their trade. When these logs are taken across Georgian Bay, they are not towed by Canadian tugs; the Americans will not allow that to be done. I see they are endeavouring now to induce the Government to allow not only their towing plant, but their chains and other parts of the outfit used in this work to be entered free. In the towing they use their own tug, while Canadian

shipping is left comparatively idle. Another result is that it has destroyed a valuable market for the products of the farm. A few years ago in the Georgian Bay country, one of the best markets we had in the fall was among the lumbermen of the Georgian Bay. We could always afford to pay 5 cents a bushel more for oats and a cent a pound more for pork and a higher price for other products of the farm which were sent to lumber camps to be used as supplies. How is it now? We do not send a single pound of pork to this market. These men coming in from the United States bring their supplies with them, and I am told by those engaged in business—I mean the labouring men—and I have letters in my possession to the same effect that a large amount of the stuff is smuggled in, no duty being paid. They bring in their sleighs, chains, and harness, as well as their supplies of oats, corn, pork and beans, a large proportion being brought in without the payment of duty. Moreover, they bring their own men in in hundreds. It is estimated that last season over a thousand men from the state of Michigan were employed in the Georgian Bay district taking out logs, this labour coming in competition with Canadian labour. And with what effect. Men who a few years ago were receiving from \$25 to \$30 a month, last year were cut down to \$18. This was because of the competition they were obliged to endure through the importation of these men. Times were hard in the United States and many men were out of employment and these men were brought over here and put to work, reducing the value of Canadian labour. Again, this system is seriously injuring our towns and villages in the northern portion of the country. I spoke of that before, and need not dwell upon it at length. Another evil result is that it is destroying the fisheries of the Georgian Bay. Some may ask the question how it is that this can possibly interfere with the fisheries. These logs are taken over the Georgian Bay in great fields, enclosed within a boom. I am told that sometimes they extend from one to two miles between the booms. The rubbing of the logs together scrapes off the bark and this sinking to the bottom of the lake where the fish have been in the habit of getting their feed, settles down to such an extent that it covers up and destroys the feeding grounds of the fish, which are thus forced to migrate. In many localities in the Georgian Bay where fishermen formerly found it profitable to carry on their business, they are now unable to catch any fish at all. Moreover, the effect is to destroy the nets of the fishermen. I have here a sample given me by some fishermen. This is a portion of a net that was spread for fish, but the bark from the pine logs settled down and got so entangled with the mesh that the net has become useless. This bark cannot be taken out, the net cannot be made over, and so it must be thrown away as completely destroyed. The fishermen have re-

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monstrated against this serious injury to their occupation, but are unable to do anything to prevent it. I have the authority of a fisherman for saying that there are between one and two thousand men engaged in the fishing business in the Georgian Bay and Lake Huron. That means between one and two thousand families and a very large number of these are deprived of the returns they would get for their labour were it not for this injury to their occupation. This towing of logs not only injures fisheries and destroys the nets of the fishermen, but it is a serious danger to navigation. These logs are taken across, as I have stated, in great fields, sometimes nearly a mile long. While the tug that is towing them can be seen at night, those directing a vessel cannot see the great tow of logs behind and cannot be aware of their danger until they run into the tow, injuring their vessel and endangering the lives of the people aboard. Now, what does this business mean to the labouring men in our district? Senator Weadock estimated that logs representing 500,000,000 feet of lumber were towed across Georgian Bay. The towing would represent \$500,000. The cost for manufacture, piling and shipping would be \$2.50 per thousand, or \$1,250,000. All this is labour that is lost to Canadian workmen. For freight it would cost about \$2 per thousand, or a further \$1,000,000, lost to Canadian railways and vessel-owners. The lath and culls would represent 50 cents per thousand, or \$250,000. So that in the aggregate, the Canadian lose, nearly all for labour, about \$3,000,000 per year, and that all in our section, by virtue of the system of the present day of allowing logs to be taken out free. This quantity of timber is enough to keep fifty mills in operation for the whole season, running at an average of about 10,000,000 feet each. The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), speaking on this subject last session asked: Why should we complain if the Americans take a few logs over to their country; we take as many from them as they take from us. I stated then and I repeat it now, that I have studied carefully the Trade and Navigation Returns, and every other authority I know of, and I have failed to find anything to verify or justify the statements made by the hon. gentleman. His estimate was based, I think, upon information that was not correct. The hon. gentleman said that we brought into the country as many logs as we took out of the country. And to make up that, what did he give? I find from the Trade and Navigation Returns that in 1889, while there were \$444,805 worth went out, only \$358,805 worth came in. In 1890 there went out \$615,194 worth, and there were brought in \$256,100 worth. In 1891 there went out \$615,320, but there were brought in \$859,898 worth. That was the only year where the importation was greater than the exportation. \$412,224 worth of that was lumber taken in Manitoba.

Mr. CHARLTON. I would call the hon. gentleman's attention to one fact that he has overlooked. In making returns of the imports of logs from the United States, our Trade and Navigation Returns make no account of logs received at St. John and sawed there, from the state of Maine.

Mr. SPROULE. I want to show the hon. gentleman that he is entirely mistaken in the conclusion he draws, and the information he gives regarding that one item of lumber. In the year 1892 we brought in \$237,723 worth, and we sent out \$1,044,134 worth, or rather the Americans took that value away of our Canadian logs. In 1893 we brought in \$266,990 worth, and we sent out \$1,517,157 worth. Now, the hon. gentleman said that the Trade and Navigation Returns take no account of the lumber that is brought in from the state of Maine, to be sawn in New Brunswick. The hon. gentleman is in error in making that statement, because he knows, I think, as well as I do—at least, if he does not, he ought to know, being a lumberman—that the logs which are brought in there are brought in under special conditions; they are not cut by Canadians, and we get no benefit whatever from them. I say they are brought in under special circumstances. Those who are acquainted with that section of the country know that the streams run from the state of Maine down into Canadian territory, and in the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1846, a provision was made that timber in the state of Maine along the tributaries of the St. John, should be allowed to be brought into Canada, because it must be floated down the river to reach the markets of the world. It is brought down by Americans and manufactured at the mouth of the river, and thence shipped to other countries. That is a privilege they enjoy. The third article of the treaty providing for it, reads as follows:—

That all the produce of the forest in logs, lumber, timber, boards, staves or shingles, or of agriculture, not being manufactured, grown on any of these parts of the state of Maine watered by the River St. John, or its tributaries, shall have free access into and through the said river and its said tributaries, having their source within the State of Maine, to and from the seaport at the mouth of the said River St. John, and to and around the falls of the said river, either by boats, rafts or other conveyance; that when within the province of New Brunswick the said produce shall be dealt with as if it were the product of the province.

Then there was to be a special customs regulation made to meet the requirements of the case, and the clause in the United States Customs regulations relating to this matter reads as follows:—

The products of the forests of the State of Maine, upon the St. John River and its tributaries, owned by American citizens.

Owned by American citizens, not by Canadian citizens.

And sawed or hewn in the province of New Brunswick by American citizens, the same being unmanufactured, in whole or in part, which is now admitted into the ports of the United States free of duty, shall continue to be so admitted under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall from time to time prescribe.

And upon these conditions only this large quantity of logs are admitted. Now, the hon. member for North Norfolk said last year that over \$700,000 worth of logs were brought in through that channel that did not appear in our Trade and Navigation Returns, and therefore he said that we brought in more logs from the United States to Canada than they took out from Canada. But we ought to leave out this large quantity, seeing that they must be owned by Americans, must be cut, manufactured and handled by Americans, for, although they are manufactured on Canadian soil, Canadians reap substantially no benefit whatever from that manufacture, and therefore we have no right to include that quantity. If you take that out, you reduce the entire imports down to the figures I have given. Those are not shown in the Trade and Navigation Returns. The hon. gentleman made an estimate of the quantity, and I give his own estimate, therefore it must be correct. But if you leave out that estimate, as it ought to be left out, it leaves us in this position: that last year we only brought in \$266,000 worth of American logs, while they took from us \$1,517,000 worth. Now, I do not wonder that some people are advocating the taking of our logs out of Canada free of duty. Why? Because their interest lies in the United States, they want to get them over there to saw. I do not wish to be offensive, nor to say anything that I should not say in reference to conduct of any man; but when I tell this House that the hon. member for North Norfolk has been engaged in the lumber business for a great many years, that his mills are located at Tonawanda, in the state of New York, that he requires the raw material to keep those mills running, that he has to take the logs from the Georgian Bay, and when he gets them there free it is to his advantage—when the House knows this, they will estimate what importance should be attached to his arguments when he speaks on a question of this kind. And that has been going on for many years. He cannot, under a contract, take one of his own Canadian fellow-citizens over there to manufacture his lumber, but must employ Americans in his mills altogether. Although we could bring Americans into the Georgian Bay district to cut down the pines, when Canadians float these logs to the line they are there met by the Alien Labour law and are sent back, and Americans do the rest of the work. Now, I do not wonder that he should advocate taking the logs out of the country free of duty. It answers his purpose, it adds to his profits, therefore it is quite

natural, from a selfish motive, if from no other, that he should support that policy. He stands to-day in the same position as the United States lumbermen over in Bay City, in Alpena, or in Cheboygan; he has to get his raw material out of Canada to keep his men and mills employed over there, therefore he wants to get that raw material at the cheapest price, and without paying anything to Canadians who furnish that raw material. I say it is unfair, and I am sorry to find that the Government have not provided for an export duty on logs. I believe that if we had an export duty of \$3 or \$4 a thousand put upon these logs we would have a large quantity of lumber sawed in our country, that is now sawed in the United States, it would compel the employment of those 8,000 men in our own country, it would make an additional market for the products of the farmers in western Ontario, and for the stores of the merchants, it would increase work and promote industries in our own country, where to-day there is stagnation. Now, this has been going on for years, and if it is not stopped, in a few years more the timber will be gone, and will be no longer worth protecting. Some will tell you that the Americans do not want our lumber. That is not so; they say themselves they do want it. They say their mills would be idle, those salt works would be lying idle were it not for the fact that men come over to the Canadian side and supply themselves with the raw material to keep those mills going. It is in the interest of the people of our country, especially of my section of the country, that we should have an export duty on logs. This question has been before the House year after year. Last year, as I said at the commencement of my remarks, there was not time enough for the members to discuss it properly; we only had part of one afternoon to consider it, and there was not consequently a full expression of opinion in the House, and the Government could not estimate the feeling that existed in the country as it would have been voiced by the people's representatives. Let me say that the town councils and the county councils in our part of the country have passed very strong resolutions favouring an export duty. The county council of Grey, representing 80,000 inhabitants, the county council of Simcoe, the town councils of Collingwood, Owen Sound and Meaford, along with several others, have passed resolutions strongly favouring it. One or two deputations have been down here to interview the Government to induce them to reimpose this export duty on logs, but up to the present time we have not succeeded in doing so. We still hope it may be done. We think it is short-sighted policy to allow this raw material to be taken from the country without let or hindrance and without the imposition of an export duty, and I hope the

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Government will see fit at an early date to reimpose the export duty on timber. If we do not do so, our forests will gradually disappear, and we shall lose a very valuable asset left to us by Providence, and be unable to use it and obtain that advantage from it in the future that we have done in the past. There are two ways in which this may be accomplished. The Provincial Government, which sells the limits, might impose restrictions so as to make it compulsory that the timber must be cut and manufactured in the province. They have not done so for the simple reason that they obtain a better price by imposing no restrictions in regard to taking timber from the country. So there is no other way of securing this necessary restriction than by placing an export duty on logs through the Dominion Parliament, and when we cannot move the Provincial Government we should be able to retain this restriction from the Dominion Government and be able to induce them to impose an export duty, and thus prevent the denuding of the forests, which constitute a great source of wealth, and retain in the country the labour and trade connected with the manufacturing of that lumber. Allow that section of the country to benefit by it; it is not benefiting by it to-day, and it ought to be able to do so. Year by year the Americans are buying up the timber limits in much larger proportions, they are buying them from Canadians to an increasing extent, and are paying large prices for them. Some hon. members will say that the lumbermen will suffer. Let hon. members, however, consider the high prices that are being paid and the large profit that is made to-day. When it is remembered that McArthur Bros. bought up timber limits for \$73,000, and held them for four or five years and sold them for \$450,000, hon. members can understand the extent of the profits coming into the pockets of the lumbermen. The men who own timber limits, of course, do not want an export duty imposed because they would not receive quite so much for their limits, but if this duty were imposed, the labour would be kept in Canada, and the money would be spent here instead of on the other side of the line, and it would be largely spent in the Georgian Bay district on account of the pine timber there. I hope the Government will reconsider this question, and put an export duty on logs before the session closes.

Mr. CHARLTON. I can quite sympathize with the hon. member for Grey (Mr. Sproule) in his desire to see the pine timber in the Georgian Bay district, manufactured in Canadian mills. It would be very desirable in the interest of the country, if this result could be secured without involving a great disaster in endeavouring to obtain it. Trade, however, finds its level naturally, without the interposition of the Government, and if

the sawing of the timber now cut from the Georgian Bay forests in Canadian mills could be secured without diminishing its value \$2 or \$3 per thousand, well and good; but I am not in favour of ruining one class of the community in order to afford incidental benefit to another. An export duty is essentially a robbery; it cannot be justified on any condition. It is a policy usually resorted to by barbarous states. The United States prohibit an export duty by a clause in their constitution, and the best political economist recognized an export duty as a measure for the purpose of forcing trade into unnatural channels, and imposing on the industries of the country burdens which cannot be justly borne. The hon. gentleman, in the course of his remarks to-night, admitted that the result of the export duty in 1890, which was adopted on the promise made by the American Government that the duties on lumber would be reduced \$1 per thousand, produced beneficial effects to the extent of largely increasing the lumbering business of the country, and of conferring benefits on those engaged in the trade. The hon. gentleman told the House that the trade was very largely increased, and in that connection he made use of figures which were the guesses of an American lumber journal, and he paraded those figures before the House as a correct statement of the volume of trade, amounting to 500,000,000 feet last year. I wish to give the hon. gentleman some authentic returns.

Mr. SPROULE. I wish to correct the hon. gentleman. These statements were not the guesses of an American lumber journal, but were estimates of both American and Canadian lumbermen in the business, and they should be tolerably correct.

Mr. CHARLTON. The hon. gentleman quoted them from an American lumber journal as to the amount of business to be done, as the number of chickens to be hatched, when the result of the business were summed up, and the amount of business was placed at 500,000,000 feet. The Ontario Government collected Crown dues on all logs shipped to Michigan, except about 10,000,000 feet, taken from Indian reserves. They exercise a close supervision in order to collect \$1 for every thousand feet. The cut is supervised by rangers during the winter, and if there is any suspicion of any imposition or fraud, the logs are seized and scaled over, and the Ontario Government may be relied on to secure from those lumbermen payment for all the timber they have cut. The return I hold in my hand shows that the export of logs last year from the province of Ontario was not 500,000,000 feet, but 236,432,802 feet. If it is necessary, I will give, in detail, the names of the parties who made returns to the Ontario Government, who paid their dues, who got their permits to export their logs, and who exported them. The return is as follows:—

MEMO. re EXPORT OF SAWLOGS, 1893.

| Names. | Feet B.M. |
|------------------------------|-------------|
| Peters, Wm | 18,000,000 |
| Merrill, Ring..... | 18,000,000 |
| Moore Lumber Co..... | 7,281,800 |
| Hardy Lumber Co | 6,577,912 |
| Bliss & Co..... | 8,116,220 |
| Emery Lumber Co..... | 28,929,926 |
| Howery & Sons..... | 18,000,000 |
| Charlton, J | 1,549,000 |
| Pack, A..... | 9,016,085 |
| Hall, Ed..... | 5,584,779 |
| Saginaw Salt Co. | 10,500,000 |
| Eddy, C. K..... | 1,839,000 |
| Cheboygan Lumber Co | 5,300,000 |
| Spanish River Lumber Co..... | 16,904,863 |
| Alger & Smith | 4,329,000 |
| Hale & Booth | 8,532,090 |
| Gilchrist, Pack & Co..... | 4,068,918 |
| Cooper & Stewart..... | 4,213,664 |
| Maltby, W | 5,000,000 |
| Fisher, — | 15,402,921 |
| Chew Bros..... | 3,028,338 |
| Eddy Bros. & Co..... | 22,500,000 |
| Dyment, N..... | 4,151,786 |
| Gilchrist & Fletcher | 3,407,500 |
| Germank, Bank | 6,199,000 |
| | 236,432,802 |

Department of Crown Lands,)
Toronto, 9th May, 1894.)

Mr. SPROULE. The hon. gentleman has not given the Canadian jobbers' portion, which is very large.

Mr. CHARLTON. I have given the return of the export of logs, showing the total quantity cut by men holding licenses under the Ontario Government, who made returns, who paid Crown dues, who obtained permits and exported their logs, and of that quantity, 20,000,000 were old logs from the previous year. This return contains a full statement of the quantity, excepting something like 10,000,000 feet exported from Indian reserves.

Mr. SPROULE. The hon. gentleman must know this, that he has taken the amounts collected for stumpage dues, and on that statement the return is made up. But the amount exported by Canadian jobbers does not appear.

Mr. CHARLTON. To talk with a gentleman who understands the trade is an easy matter, and it is very easy to get along with such an individual, but it is entirely different when you are talking with some one who is entirely ignorant of it.

Mr. SPROULE. I have heard that before.

Mr. CHARLTON. The hon. gentleman speaks, no doubt, with the very best intention, but he knows nothing about the subject. He has been grossly deceived with regard to the exports, and he is now unwilling to accept an official return, a return that is strictly accurate, made by men under oath, and who have paid their dues on this quantity of lumber, a return which

shows as accurately as a return can show, the quantity exported.

So much for that branch of the subject. The statement made by the hon. gentleman with regard to the exports, is more than double the amount actually exported. Now, with reference to his statement that the mills are standing idle. It is true that owing to the improper location of certain mills in that region they are not running, but the mills in the vicinity of the pine regions where pine is convenient to the mills, are running. It has been found impossible on the part of some men to get their logs sawn there, and that has been the case on one occasion with myself. But the mills at Midland, and the mills at Victoria Harbour, and the mills at Collingwood, and the mills at other points are nearly as far from the source of supply as the Saginaw mills, and the reason these mills are standing idle is: that the logs have to be towed to them, and the towing is more dangerous, as you are on a lee shore all the way down, than to Tawas, Alpena or Bay City.

Mr. SPROULE. Does that apply to the Parry Sound mills?

Mr. CHARLTON. It does to a limited extent, although the mills about which the greatest difficulty and trouble is made are the mills at the points I have referred to.

The hon. gentleman has produced a piece of net here got up for the occasion, and I do not know how much ingenuity was expended in setting pieces of pine bark into the meshes of that net; but if any trouble results from the towage of logs by the dropping off of the bark, and the depositing of that bark on the shore, that trouble would be as great, if not greater, in the towage of the logs to Midland, Victoria Harbour and Collingwood, as in their towage to Michigan, and the objection amounts to nothing either one way or the other.

The hon. gentleman told us as a grievance that lumber has gone up in price. He states that it costs him and the people in his section of the country far more for lumber and far more for lath than it did before the removal of the export duties. Of course it does. It is one of the reasons that the lumbermen of this country are satisfied with this policy, because the products of the forest are higher in price now than before, and they are realizing more money from the lumber than previously. On lumber sawn in Canada, the duty has been reduced \$1 per thousand feet, and on lumber exported from Canada in logs, the duty of \$2 per thousand has been removed. The result is an advantage to the holders of stumpage, and to all parties interested in general. It may not be good for my hon. friend (Mr. Sproule), it may not have had the effect of cheapening the price as the policy of the Government is intended in some respects to do. It may not be in favour of cheapening lumber, laths, shingles and labour, but the interests of the lumber-

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men and the interests of the labourers are better served in consequence of having prosperity by reason of the high prices and better returns.

The hon. gentleman tells us that Canadian tugs are not allowed to tow logs to Canada. That is another illustration of the correct knowledge possessed by the hon. gentleman. All the Canadian tugs on the upper lakes suitable for the work are engaged in this business.

An hon. MEMBER. Oh, no.

Mr. CHARLTON. Yes; all the Canadian tugs fit for the business are engaged in it during the towing season, and there are no restrictions on Canadian tugs. Those rafts are cleared from a Canadian port for an American port, and Canadian vessels can engage in the business of going from a Canadian port to an American port just as well as American tugs are cleared from an American port and can go to a Canadian port. There are no restrictions whatever in this respect, unless in the case of wreckage, and in such cases an American tug cannot work on the Canadian shore, and the Canadian boat cannot work on the American shore. In consequence of that fact, all the towing companies have vessels registered in both countries for the purpose of being placed in such a position that they can attend to the rescue of their rafts on the Canadian shore with Canadian tugs, and that they can attend to the rescue of their rafts on the American shore with American registered tugs. So much for the accuracy of the hon. gentleman's assertion with regard to that matter.

Mr. SPROULE. Then why are they applying to-day to get their towing plant free?

Mr. CHARLTON. That refers to boom sticks and chains, and boom sticks and chains are not a tug. Although it may be held to be part of the outfit of a tug, just as much as a tow line is, yet it is not a tug. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Sproule) said that Canadian tugs were not permitted to participate in this trade, and I inform him now that he is utterly mistaken in that. He tells us that wages have been reduced in consequence of this change. That statement is not according to the facts. When the export duty was taken off logs in 1890, wages that winter went up 30 per cent or more, and in 1891, wages in the Georgian Bay district were nearly double what they had been previous to the removal of the export duty. It is true that last winter there was a decline in wages as compared with the previous year, but that was in consequence of the great commercial stringency and depression in the lumber market. However, the result of the removal of the export duty has been a large increase in the number of men employed, and greater prosperity in all the towns in the vicinity of lumber operations in the Georgian Bay district.

The hon. gentleman also referred to the dangers of navigation by these rafts, and he stated that the rafts were one or two miles long. Well, Baron Munchausen could not have made a wilder statement than that. I suppose they may possibly be three-eighths of a mile long, some of them.

Mr. GILLMOR. How wide ?

Mr. CHARLTON. Seven or eight hundred feet, or six hundred feet wide of the bag boom, but they do not all endanger navigation in the open lake. They have a code of signals which prevent that. On a clear night the tug displays a certain kind of light to show that it has a raft in tow, and every navigator on the lakes knows what it is. On a foggy night they have what is technically known as a mocking-bird whistle, which gives a peculiar kind of shriek, and every navigator on the lakes knows what that is, and knows that there is a tow of logs behind that tug. Whether they hear the whistle or see the peculiar light of the tug, they know what her business is on the lake.

The hon. gentleman (Mr. Sproule) has also given us some information in a comparison of log exports and log imports, but he studiously avoids making an account of the great quantity of logs that we have been importing from the States practically, and which have been sawn at St. John, ever since lumbering commenced on the upper waters of the St. John River. As I have stated, these logs do not figure in the Trade and Navigation Returns, but the practical result, the money result of taking these logs to Canadian mills at the mouth of the St. John River, and sawing them in these mills, is precisely the same as the practical money result of taking the logs from Canada and sawing them in Michigan.

Mr. SPROULE. Will they let Canadians do the work ?

Mr. CHARLTON. Certainly they do. That is another assertion of the hon. gentleman, which is more absurd even than the one about the length of the rafts. The labour in these mills on the St. John River is Canadian labour, and Canadians earn the money in these mills. Let the hon. gentleman ask any man familiar with the business as to that, and he will learn that there is no restriction in regard to that matter at all, and that in addition Canadian labour takes the logs out in the woods and mans the drives on the river.

Mr. SPROULE. Allow me for one moment—

Mr. CHARLTON. I wish to make my statements without any interruptions.

Mr. SPROULE. I read the clause in the American Customs Act which prohibited Canadian labour. I read it there and that is the authority I gave, and it ought to be good authority.

Mr. CHARLTON. The hon. gentleman made this assertion last year, and I took the pains to acquire the information that would enable me to speak with authority on this matter, and I can inform him that he is utterly wrong.

Mr. SPROULE. You can go into the Library and acquire the information there.

Mr. CHARLTON. The mills situated at the mouth of the St. John River employ Canadian labour. The mills in the conversion of these American logs into lumber distribute money in the Canadian centres of employment to the same extent that money is distributed in Saginaw in sawing Canadian logs there.

Mr. INGRAM. I would like to ask the hon. gentleman—

Mr. CHARLTON. I would like about one-quarter of the interruption, and a little more chance to make my remarks.

Mr. INGRAM. I would like to ask the hon. gentleman this question. With regard to the mills that he has at Tonawanda, will the American people allow Canadian labourers to work in these mills ?

Mr. CHARLTON. I wish to inform the hon. gentleman that I have no saw-mill at Tonawanda, that I never owned a saw-mill in my life anywhere, either at Tonawanda or anywhere else.

Mr. INGRAM. The mill that you and your brother own there.

Mr. CHARLTON. My brother and I do not own a saw-mill at Tonawanda, and we never owned a saw-mill since the commencement of our business. So much for the accuracy of the information of some hon. gentlemen opposite. I never owned a saw-mill, or had an interest in a saw-mill, and I always had my logs sawn under contract.

Mr. INGRAM. What about your planing mill ?

Mr. CHARLTON. A planing mill is not a saw-mill any more than a horse is a mule. Now, Sir, with regard to the statement made by the hon. gentleman—

Mr. WALLACE. Answer the question about the planing mill.

Mr. CHARLTON. Is that pertinent to this matter ? If it is necessary to say what we have in the United States, we have a small planing and house trim mill at Tonawanda, which manufactures principally lumber brought from the southern states into forms fitted for the New York market—southern gum poplar, hardwood and cypress, and a little white pine, which, however, is a very insignificant portion of our business. Now, the export of logs from the state of Maine into the province of New Brunswick and the conversion of these into lumber at the city of St. John is practically

the same as the exportation of logs from the Georgian Bay district and the conversion of them into lumber in the state of Michigan. The benefits accruing are in the one case the same as in the other. Now, we have no record in our Trade and Navigation Returns of the amount of this business, and, in order to get track of it, it was necessary to apply to other sources for information; and I did apply to the secretary of the Boom Company at Fredericton, N.B., for a statement of the quantity of logs brought into New Brunswick from the state of Maine that passed through their booms for several years. On the information I received, I made a computation of the exports and imports for a period of years extending from 1884 to 1890. During that period our exports of logs to the United States amounted to \$3,289,000 worth, as shown by our Trade and Navigation Returns, and our imports of logs into Canada from the United States, including the amount as shown by the returns given by the secretary of the Fredericton Boom Company, amounted to \$8,468,000 worth; so that we imported \$5,179,000 worth of logs in excess of the amount we exported to the United States. In the face of these figures, gentlemen stand up here and make a great ado about the outrage of exporting logs to the United States, although up to the year 1890 we received \$3 of advantage by our imports for every dollar of disadvantage, if any, we incurred by our exports. It is true that last year the export of logs increased. I suppose last year, possibly the year before, was the first year in the history of Canada when our exports of logs to the United States exceeded our imports of logs from that country. Last year our exports as shown by the Trade and Navigation Returns were: Pine, \$1,057,000 worth; spruce, \$123,000 worth; and elm, \$216,000 worth. I suppose we may leave elm out of the calculation, as it has not been proposed to impose export duties upon this class of logs. In this case, our imports of logs from the United States last year, were \$266,990 worth, as shown by our Trade and Navigation Returns, and the imports from the state of Maine to be sawed in the mills of St. John were about \$900,000 worth, a total of \$1,166,990 worth; and, leaving out of account elm logs, our exports to the United States amounted to \$1,180,259. In other words, we exported in excess of the amount we imported \$13,269 worth. And yet we have this great fuss made about the existence of a trade that the hon. member for East Grey makes out is ruining our country. As a House of Commons we have to look at the whole field. If our attention were confined to the matter as it affected the Georgian Bay district, we would have to consider it on a different basis from what we do when we regard the interests of the whole country, which is the view of the case we have to take. As I said before, I am

Mr. CHARLTON.

sorry that these logs cannot be manufactured into lumber in the Georgian Bay district; but it cannot be done, although if we get lumber admitted to the United States free, and the provision for free lumber is on a permanent basis—this business of towing logs to Michigan will almost, if not entirely, cease. Give the Michigan lumbermen a reasonable assurance of the admission of lumber free into the American market as a permanent condition of the business, and they would prefer sawing the logs into lumber in the Georgian Bay district to towing them to Michigan. The risk of towing the logs is a considerable one, estimated at from 75 cents to \$1 a thousand; the tow-bill is on an average \$1.50 per thousand, and the cost of delivery to mills in the Saginaw Valley, from 30 to 70 cents per thousand, and these and other expenses they would avoid by sawing the logs on this side of the line. Give them the assurance that the provision for free lumber will last long enough to enable them to build mills and take something out of them at the end of three or four years' operations, and they are not going to tow their logs to Michigan. It is only because of the uncertainty of the trade, or the fear that the lumber duties might be increased, or that the Canadian Government might put an export duty on logs and the American Government might add that to the amount of the import duty—it is only because of the unsettled character of the trade that the American lumbermen continue to tow their logs across the lake, when, other things being equal, they would prefer to saw them here.

Now, the hon. gentleman tells us that the Ontario Government ought to impose restrictions. Why, I have heard the hon. gentleman and his friends make such a wild proposition as that the Provincial Government should charge \$4 per thousand of Crown dues and remit \$3 of that for all logs sawed in the country. Would it not be an interference with the vested rights of men who had bought timber limits from the Government to make them pay four times the amount of Crown dues that they were asked to pay when they bought these limits—to tell them that if they do, what the Government dictate, they will remit three-fourths of these Crown dues? Sir, it could not be done? The Ontario Government have these timber resources as a source of revenue; they pay a large portion of the expenses of the Government from those resources; and when that Government want to put a timber limit on the market they want to do it on conditions that will bring the largest returns. At the last sale they realized \$2,300,000 from a little over 600 square miles of timber limits. If any restriction had been imposed such as the hon. gentleman proposes, if they had been sold on the condition that the timber should be sawed in Ontario, the Government would not have received a million dollars where it

received \$2,300,000. As a business proposition, the Government of Ontario sell their timber limits to make money, not for the purpose of building up a little sawmill here or there.

The hon. gentleman tells us that the men who own the limits are opposed to the export duty. Of course they are, because the imposition of the duty would reduce the value of their property more than one-half, perhaps two-thirds. A man who has a limit worth \$100,000 would naturally object to the imposition of a duty that would make that limit worth only \$30,000; and would it not be an outrage on that man to adopt a policy which at one fell stroke would wipe out two-thirds of the value of his property? But the hon. gentleman appears willing to do that for the purpose of benefiting some petty sawmills in the Georgian Bay district, which we would be glad to see benefited if it would not be done by robbing others.

Mr. SPROULE. Is \$3 a thousand two-thirds of the value of the pine?

Mr. CHARLTON. Yes, \$3 a thousand wipes out the value of the pine, standing on the stump, in most localities.

Mr. SPROULE. One-fourth of the value.

Mr. CHARLTON. On the average, these limits on the north shore of the Georgian Bay, after the Crown dues are paid, are not worth \$3 a thousand, and if the Government impose a duty of \$2 a thousand it would wipe out over two-thirds of their value. And if the Government imposes a crown charge of \$3 a thousand feet, it wipes totally out the value the stumpage. The hon. gentleman proposes to confiscate to the extent of two-thirds the value of this immense property in order to benefit a local class interest. No more outrageous proposition was ever made in any legislative body in any free country.

I want to point out to the hon. gentleman a few of the consequences that would follow the imposition of this duty. We did have an export duty imposed in the year 1866 of \$1 a thousand. That export duty was continued up to the year 1866, when it was increased to \$2 per thousand, and in 1888 it was increased to \$3 a thousand, by the operation of an Order in Council, made without due consideration, upon the representations of one side only. The Order in Council was passed in November, and a few months afterwards the Government found out its mistake, and again reduced the duty to \$2 a thousand. The American Government did not seem to have had their attention drawn to this question until about 1889. They had then a consul in this city by the name of Hotchkiss, who happened to be a practical lumberman, and who, on investigating this matter, discovered that the import of logs into Canada from the United States was greater than the export of logs from Canada to the United

States. This fact was laid before the Treasury Department at Washington. The American Government then became aware of the fact that, while by their constitution, they were precluded from imposing an export duty on logs or anything else, the Canadian Government had been charging an export duty of \$1 a thousand for a number of years, and then had raised it to \$2 a thousand, when, in point of fact, it would have been more reasonable for the United States to impose an export duty, since the export from that country to Canada was greater than the export from Canada to it. The American Government, therefore, cast about for some method of rectifying this wrong, as they deemed it. They could not do it directly by the counter imposition of export duties, because their constitutional limitations would not allow them to take that course. It was, therefore, proposed to add the Canadian export rate to the import duty in the United States as retaliation. When the McKinley Bill was under consideration, it was arranged, by informal negotiation, that if Canada would wipe out her export duties, the United States would reduce its import duties on lumber to \$1 a thousand feet. Various propositions had been made while that Bill was under consideration. One was to add the export duty to the import duty, and thus make the duty on lumber in the United States \$4 a thousand feet, but finally the United States made informally the proposition that if the Canadian Government would officially promise to remove the export duty on logs the United States would, in return, reduce its lumber duty to \$1 a thousand feet. The question was put to the Government by the hon. member for Pontiac, and Sir John Macdonald replied in the affirmative. He said that his Government would consent to that, and would take occasion to inform the proper officials at Washington of its intention. Then the American Government reduced the duty on pine lumber, but not on spruce lumber as it should have done. Our export duty was, however, removed, in consideration of the reduction of the duty on pine to \$1 a thousand feet. A great impetus was thus given to trade in the Georgian Bay district. Limits changed hands at advanced prices; and since the reduction of the American duty and the repeal of the export duty, the limits in the Georgian Bay region increased in value some twenty million dollars. That increase would be wiped out if the export duty were restored. The trade has gone on prospering since. The lumber interests of Canada have never been in so prosperous a condition as during these late years. And I may say that, but for the existence of our export duty of \$1 per thousand feet, when the McKinley Bill was under consideration in 1890, we would probably have got free lumber. The irritation produced in the United States by the existence of that absurd, unjustifiable duty was so

great as to prevent our securing free lumber when the McKinley tariff was arranged in 1890. The proposition to have free lumber was naturally opposed by the lumbermen of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Oregon, Washington Territory, California and Maine. These men adroitly seized upon the existence of this obnoxious tax, and made it do effective duty in their opposition to the granting of free lumber, and that one fact, I repeat probably, prevented us having free lumber under the McKinley Bill.

Now, we have at Washington a tariff under consideration, and by that tariff lumber has been placed on the free list. The Democratic party promised that many articles should be placed on the free list—coal, iron ore, sugar, wool, lumber. One after the other these articles have been put on the dutiable list, and now the only things remaining are wool and lumber.

Mr. SPROULE. You do not know but that they will be made dutiable.

Mr. CHARLTON. If my hon. friend has his way, I know that would be taken off the free list quicker than the sun rises. It would not be a day before they would be taken off if the insane policy of the hon. gentleman were adopted by our Government. Here is the Wilson Bill, and I want to call my hon. friend's attention to the following paragraphs in the free lists:—

672. Logs, and round unmanufactured timber, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act.

673. Fire wood, handle bolts, heading bolts, stave bolts, and shingle bolts, hop poles, fence posts, railroad ties, ship timber, and ship planking, not specially provided for in this act.

Under the tariff now in force ties are charged 20 per cent, ship planking \$2 a thousand feet, and some of the other articles enumerated bear a duty.

674. Timber hewn and sawed, and timber used for spars, and in building wharfs.

675. Timber, squared or sided.

This now bears a duty of $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents per cubic foot.

676. Sawed boards, planks, deals and other timber.

Now, spruce is included in that, and at present it bears a duty of \$2 a thousand. Basswood and hemlock pay a duty of \$1 per thousand red pine, \$2 a thousand and so forth.

677. Pine clapboard.

These now bear a duty of \$1 a thousand.

678. Spruce clapboard.

These are now charged \$1.50 per thousand.

679. Hubs, for wheels, posts, &c.

680. Laths.

Mr. CHARLTON.

Laths now bear a duty of 15 cents per thousand and pieces.

Pickets and palings—These now bear a duty of 10 per cent.

Shingles—Now 20 cents a thousand.

683. Staves of wood of all kinds, wood unmanufactured.

This wood includes pulp wood and all classes of wood. These are the articles put on the free list under this Bill, subject to the following proviso:—

Provided that all of the articles mentioned in paragraphs 672 to 683 inclusive, when imported from any country which lays an export duty on any of them shall be subject to the duties existing prior to the passage of this act.

That is, if you were to levy an export duty upon hop poles, or railroad ties, or the most insignificant of the articles enumerated in that schedule, the duties in force prior to the passage of the Wilson Bill would all come into force again. This is the disaster the hon. gentleman invites. He is prepared to sacrifice the lumbering interests of this entire Dominion, from Nova Scotia to British Columbia, for the sake of saving a few local interests up in the region of Georgian Bay. He puts me in mind of the little boy who wanted to stop a steamer running Ohio falls in order that he might pick up his apple which had fallen into the river. We cannot stop to pick up the hon. gentleman's apple; we cannot sacrifice so many interests and invite so great a disaster for the purpose of conferring the slight advantage he desires to have conferred upon himself and his constituents in the Georgian Bay region.

So much for this branch of the question. Now, it is asserted—the hon. gentleman will make the assertion, I suppose—that the Yankees must have our lumber. The American market is of great importance to us, there is no doubt about that. We sold over \$13,000,000 worth of lumber in the United States last year. Year by year, as our limits grow poorer, the percentage of coarse lumber made by our mills grows greater. The only market that we have for this is in the United States. The mills of the Ottawa Valley make about 25 per cent of their cut into deals which are shipped to England. The balance of the cut must be sold to the United States. Therefore it becomes apparent that the American market is a necessity to us, and that necessity is growing greater. It is asserted that they must have our lumber. Impose what restrictions we may, they will come over for our lumber, and that, whatever restrictions we impose, they will have to bear the consequences. That is a mistake. I am familiar with the lumber trade, and I know that for the last 15 years southern pine and poplar have been constantly encroaching upon the area which we have considered as our own market. The fact has recently come to my knowledge that a box and shook

factory in the city of Oswego, just on the other side of Lake Ontario, which formerly used 60,000,000 of feet, mainly of coarse Canadian lumber, is bringing up 40,000,000 feet of southern pine, so that its order for Canadian lumber will be cut down from about 60,000,000 feet to about 20,000,000 feet, and this in a city immediately overlooking our southern border. Our red pine has been crowded out of the American seaboard cities, and our white pine has to meet the competition of southern pine, poplar, gumwood and other varieties and mills engaged in what is known as the trim business—that is, supplying doors and windows, flooring and wainscoting and all the interior finish of a house, use three times the quantity of southern woods that they formerly did, even those mills in the lake basin and along the frontier. So it becomes of importance to us to take care of this market, to see that we are not placed at a disadvantage in competition with the southern source of supply. If we invite the imposition of heavy lumber duties, we invite a condition of things that would be disastrous to the Canadian lumber trade, and if we adopt the policy that would prevent our getting free lumber we inflict an incalculable disaster on this country. For that reason I deprecate, as do all lumbermen who have trade relations with the United States, the imposition of this export duty upon logs. I deprecate even the raising of the question at the present time. The fact that this matter is discussed, that a prominent Government supporter justifies the imposition of an export duty, may exercise the most unwelcome influence upon the deliberations now in progress in Congress as to whether lumber shall remain on the free list or not. So we want to treat this question with a little common sense and forbearance. We want to realize that having had a settlement of this matter in our favour we should adopt the policy that will allow the whole lumber interests to derive advantage from the changes that are proposed. We want to realize, moreover, that we cannot impose an export duty without being made to suffer for it. The Americans are alive to this question, and they have made up their minds that an export duty is not to be permitted, and that if any attempt is made in that direction on our part it will be at our own peril and at our own very serious cost. This question is one of prime importance. Bearing as it does upon so many interests in this country we should deal with it very carefully; we should deal with it with a great deal of prudence. We cannot impose this duty again. I objected very strongly to the power held by the Government to arrange these matters and to impose duties by Order in Council. I regard that power with the greatest nervousness and the greatest distrust, because I know the power exercised by deputations coming to the Government with representations on this subject. Such

a deputation waited on them the other day, including, I believe, my hon. friend who has just spoken (Mr. Sproule), one of the members for Simcoe, and a number of prominent citizens from the Georgian Bay district, who went to the Government without realizing that there is any other side to this question. What I fear is that the Government may come to a decision—and embody it in an Order in Council—which men understanding both sides of the case would never dream of. I hope that when we come to the consideration of the proposal that the Government shall have power to impose export duties, the Government will withdraw that request, and that, if not, the House will deny the power.

Mr. BENNETT. The hon. gentleman who has just resumed his seat is indeed to be congratulated on the piece of special pleading he has done for the American limit-holders, and especially for the firm of John & T. Charlton. The hon. gentleman is talking for dollars, and I quite understand why he has made this pathetic plea, and why he has seen fit to adopt this style rather than the swaggering style he usually adopts in debate. The hon. gentleman very valiantly came to the rescue of the Ontario Government, who have been the friends of the American limit-holders throughout, in their refusal to place such restrictions on the sales of timber as to ensure the lumber being manufactured in the province of Ontario. I have made the statement, believing it to be right and correct, that the Ontario Government have the power, and always have had the power, to advance the dues, and, if they choose, to impose dues of \$6 or \$7 per thousand on the timber, and then give a rebate for any of this timber which is manufactured in the country. I have here the authority of a gentleman who poses as being thoroughly conversant with timber matters, and I propose to read his opinion. But before doing so let me say that the hon. gentleman must admit that the Ontario Government has from time to time changed the dues in respect to timber. Men owning limits, and having paid for them under a duty of \$1 per thousand, woke up next day to find these duties increased to \$1.25 or \$1.50.

Mr. CHARLTON. The hon. gentleman is mistaken.

Mr. BENNETT. I beg the hon. gentleman's pardon. I am informed by the limit-holders—

Mr. CHARLTON. If the hon. gentleman will permit me I will correct his statement now and if not, I will correct it at the close of his speech. Some years ago the dues were increased from 75 cents to \$1 per thousand. They have not been increased since. The last sale held by the Ontario Government was of about 600 miles of limits, which were sold for about \$2,300,-

000. They were sold subject to dues of \$1.25 per thousand. There was no interference with the sales previously made, and all the timber limits, except those in this 600 miles of territory, pay \$1 per thousand in dues to-day.

Mr. BENNETT. I have on the one hand the statement of a gentleman whose word I know is to be taken; but I have on the other hand the word of the hon. gentleman opposite, and from one of his statements I judge of the balance. Now, I have got here the statement of a gentleman who assumes to know whereof he speaks, and this is what he says publicly in reference to the increase of dues:

In the first place the Ontario Government have refused to make the tenure as regards Crown dues permanent: they have refused to give the limit holder a statutory rate of \$1 per thousand and the assurance that this will continue for a fixed period, and the American is left ignorant as to how soon that regulation may be changed, and uncertain as to the moment at which the Ontario Government may increase the dues.

Does the hon. gentleman agree with that?

Mr. CHARLTON. I agree that something might happen in the future, and I assume that until this is done, the dues are only \$1 a thousand.

Mr. BENNETT. The hon. gentleman has made the statement that it cannot be done.

Mr. CHARLTON. I have not.

Mr. BENNETT. That is the statement the hon. gentleman made in the House a year ago.

Mr. CHARLTON. I said a discrimination could not be made in charging \$4 to one man and \$1 to another.

Mr. BENNETT. I do not blame the hon. gentleman for standing by the Ontario Government, for they stood by him. Now, the hon. gentleman has made some other statements which resolve themselves into matters of fact. He equivocated on the point as to whether he was interested in mills in the United States, and he covered up his retreat by saying it was only a planing mill. Now, from a Tonawanda paper I read this advertisement:

J. & T. Charlton, wholesale dealers in masts and spars, Canada round pine, etc., Tonawanda.

Is that the firm of which the hon. gentleman is a member?

Mr. CHARLTON. It is, and they did not saw any of it there.

Mr. BENNETT. Then they go a little beyond planing lumber. As a matter of fact the hon. gentleman knows very well that he has been engaged in the lumber business, and his advertisements in the American papers prove it.

Mr. CHARLTON.

Mr. CHARLTON. I merely stated that I had no saw mill, and never owned one.

Mr. BENNETT. The hon. gentleman says that the statement made by Senator Waddock that 500 million feet of Canadian logs went into the United States last year, is untrue, and in support of that he produces a statement of the Ontario Government to the effect that there were in all only some 236 million feet. Now, in answer to that let me tell the hon. gentleman and the House that the Ontario Government do not keep an account of how much lumber is exported from Canada into the United States, but they do make up a return showing what the Americans are cutting and exporting, and such a return shows that the Americans took 236 million feet; but the hon. gentleman is not honest enough to tell us the millions and millions of feet that were cut by Canadians and sold to Americans, and if he aggregates the two together he will find that something in excess of 500 millions was last year exported to the United States. Now, I will give him the benefit of this fact, that the customs returns skew only the export from Canada to the United States of about 245 million feet. But how is that statement made up? An American tug owner, anxious not to disclose the truth as to the amount of exports, has his captain make a clearance showing that much less timber is in rafts. Now, there was a time when the trade had not grown to such large proportions, and in those times even the firm of John & T. Charlton were honest enough to get up and admit that the vessel was taking out five million feet in a tow; but since there has been so much noise made and so much opposition to this large export, what do we see? We see that in most rafts there is only an export of one million feet, an even million; and the fact is that in the returns of that tug you might as well have a printed affidavit showing that each clearance was one million feet. As a matter of fact, instead of there being one million feet in each raft, there is usually three, four, and up to seven million feet. Let me tell the hon. gentleman further, to show how erroneous and misleading the customs returns are, that one raft belonging to Ring, Merrill & Co., which cleared with seven million feet, is not shown in the returns at all. Now, let me tell the hon. gentleman further, that his tug, the Onaping, I think, this year probably, according to the return usually made on one occasion, took out five million feet, but since they are getting cautious and canny, since the word has gone forth, apparently, that these shipments were not to disclose the truth, the tug only towed one million feet. Well, there is a little tug called the Chamberlain, the power of which I know as a matter of fact, is not equal to one-fourth of that of the Onaping, tows 4,500,000 feet. The fact is that realizing the importance of the matter to them as American limit holders in Canada, they have absolutely and fraudu-

lently made returns which are misleading and which are untrue. When only 250 million feet are returned as having cleared at the customs-house last year, the fact is, as I believe, that they have cleared nearly 500 million feet, or even more. Now, from an Orillia paper containing correspondence from the port of French River this fact appears, that this year the Emery Lumber Company will export 40 million feet, and the Saginaw Towing Company will take out 60 million. Now, there are two firms alone who will ship over one million feet, and the hon. gentleman knows as well as I know that the record which shows 236 million feet, is untrue and is false in every respect.

Mr. CHARLTON. I rise to a point of order. The statement I made was true, and the hon. gentleman accuses me of falsehood, and I wish him to retract.

Mr. BENNETT. I did not. I say the hon. gentleman knows that the return is false.

Mr. CHARLTON. I assert that the return is true. I rise to a point of order, Mr. Chairman, and I want your decision.

Mr. BENNETT. I did not say the hon. gentleman's statement is untrue. I say that the return is false, and I believe he knows it to be untrue.

Mr. CHARLTON. No; you said I knew it to be untrue, without qualification.

Mr. BENNETT. Well, I believe the hon. gentleman knows it to be untrue.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Chair, Chair.

Mr. BENNETT. Well, I withdraw the statement and qualify it in this way. I believe the hon. gentleman knows, or rather he thinks, that this is not wholly within the mark.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman cannot make any imputations.

Mr. BENNETT. Then all I can say is that the hon. gentleman is not very conversant with the matter when he asserts that Senator Weadock's statement is untrue, that 500 million feet went last year into the United States. Now, I do not want to misinterpret anything the hon. gentleman said, but he said that he was patriotic at heart, that he was anxious, nay, more, that he was particularly anxious, to saw his logs in Canada, but that he could not get accommodation. Did I understand the hon. gentleman correctly in that

Mr. CHARLTON. I said that there was one occasion when I was unable to get all my timber sawed in Canada, and was in consequence compelled to tow the timber away from the point where it was put in, and I towed it to Tawas, Michigan. Had I got it sawed in Canada, I would have towed it to Midland or Collingwood, but I preferred to tow it to Michigan, for various reasons, and did so.

Mr. BENNETT. Within what time?

Mr. CHARLTON. Within the last two or three years.

Mr. BENNETT. I have in my hand a letter written by Mr. D. H. Turner, from Little Current, Ont., and it will show the hon. gentleman the fact concerning his exportation of logs:

DEAR SIR,—It may be a pleasure for you to know that your efforts regarding the reimposition of a duty on saw-logs has been greatly appreciated by the people of this section of Algoma. I believe in the National Policy, but the only "smoking chimneys" that we see here is the smoke from the stacks of the American tugs with hundreds of acres of logs passing on their way to Cheboygan, Saginaw, Bay City and other United States towns while the "chimneys" of our mills are smokeless. Things were humming here at one time and we have a mill here that will cut 125,000 a day that is now idle, it is known that a firm was negotiating for it when the duty was taken off and that firm has been towing upwards of 30 million per year to Saginaw. Mr. Charlton has 7,000,000 at Whitefish river near here which he has contracted to cut at Cheboygan. No wonder he has been exercised over this matter, we look forward to this matter being arranged to help us out and I thank you for your help.

Yours truly,

R. H. TURNER.

Yet within a few miles of where the hon. gentleman's logs are, there is a mill standing idle. So much for his patriotism and the encouragement and help he is willing to grant Canadian workingmen. The riding I have the honour to represent is interested in this business. It is a matter of men leaving this country or staying in this country. The Government to-day have spent money and are spending money in the United States to bring immigrants back. I tell the Government that by one stroke of the pen, by placing an export duty of \$5 on logs they can bring from 16,000 to 15,000 Canadians from Michigan, Canadians who have been expatriated by this policy. This statement is borne out by the hon. member for Russell (Mr. Edwards), who said that in every mill in Michigan he found Canadians employed. I hold in my hand petitions from a number of towns. I have one here from the town of Orillia, which is thirty miles from the shore of Georgian Bay, and is a town which felt the beneficial effect of the lumber trade when it was in full blast, on the shores of the Bay. The people of the town ask the House of Commons and the Government of Canada to place a practically prohibitive duty on logs. May I say this, too, that the Mayor of the town of Orillia has a large saw mill there, and he strongly denounced the imposition of an export duty, because it would produce a return to \$2 duty against Canadian lumber. Despite his opposition, the resolution was carried by a practically unanimous vote of the town. Then the town of Penetanguishewa

shene has also petitioned, and I hold in my hand a resolution passed by that town, asking that a prohibitory duty be imposed on logs. The town of Midland has also passed a resolution to that effect, and I have received a letter from the Mayor of Collingwood, stating that to-morrow I will receive a petition from his Town Council. Are the Government going to pass by and disregard the wishes and claims of thousands of people simply that dollars may be thrust into the pockets of the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) and a few American speculators? These men came into this country and bought limits, on what terms? On the terms that the hon. member for North Norfolk has stated: First, that they did not know the minute the duty would be increased by the Ontario Government, which it has the power to do; and, secondly, they knew that the Dominion Government had in the past imposed a prohibitory duty on logs, because \$3 duty was practically a prohibitory duty. Knowing these facts, they came in here and purchased limits. What are their rights as vested owners? Their rights are simply rights subject to anticipated changes, and to-day American lumbermen know very well that the Government, either provincial or Dominion, has this power, and they expect it at any moment to be put into force. I charge the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) that he is the man more than any person else who has prevented Canada from getting lumber free into the United States. The hon. gentleman went over to Tonawanda, in 1890, and I have a copy of a paper containing a report of a meeting there. When it was stated that there was a probability that the duty might be taken off lumber altogether, what did the hon. gentleman do? The report says:

After discussing the matter it was voted that a telegram be sent to Senator Hiscock at Washington, a difference of opinion exists as to whether duty on lumber should be reduced to \$1.00 or \$1.50 per thousand. A majority favours \$1.00, but we are unanimous on the conditions of adding the entire Canadian export duty on logs to our import duty on sawn lumber. The Canadian Government have power to remove the export duty by Order in Council and can act without consulting Parliament.

Does the hon. gentleman deny he was at that meeting? Does the hon. gentleman deny that he offered them all that information? He was the man himself, and instead of doing what he should have done, endeavoured to impress on the meeting the necessity of permitting Canadian lumber to come in free of duty, he urged that—and the sting was in the tail—there should be added the export duty placed on Canadian lumber. Despite the hon. gentleman's pilgrimages to Washington, time and again, and I presume they have been mostly in this behalf, what has been the result? When the McKinley Bill was passed, they

Mr. BENNETT.

were unable to have their views incorporated in the McKinley Bill, namely that the duty should be \$1, plus the export duty. Why? Because the Government of the United States very wisely and properly said: The people of the United States, as a matter of necessity, require Canadian lumber, and not to please the hon. member for North Norfolk, not to please the American limit holders who had purchased limits in Canada, will we make an arrangement to pay that large amount of duty. I will not discuss the question who pays the duty, as that question is threshed out almost every day. It must be admitted, however, that when you must have an article as a matter of necessity, that moment the consumer pays the duty. What would be the result if the Dominion Government imposed an export duty on logs? The result would be this, that these men who hold limits to-day in Canada, and who are Americans to a great extent, have been successful in getting introduced into the present Wilson Bill that clause which produces, in the event of an export duty going into effect, the imposition of \$2 duty on lumber. If that action has produced that result in one case, as soon as this Government intervenes and places a prohibitive duty on logs, that moment the eyes of these hon. gentlemen will be turned to Washington to secure admission from this country into the United States, of free lumber. Why, the hon. gentleman says, in defence of Canadian lumbermen, that this Government should not interfere. I make this statement, that one of the largest manufacturers of Canadian lumber in Ontario assured me in this city that he did not care the snap of his finger if \$2 duty were imposed, because it would have to come out of the pockets of the American consumers. And I had, moreover, an interview with Mr. Eddy, of Hull, who will be accepted as an authority in the lumber business, in which he stated that the Americans must have our white pine, and we are the only people from whom they can obtain it; further, that if they put on a duty even of \$50 per thousand they would have to have it—they must have it, and that settles it. The hon. member for North Norfolk knows that to-day, before a saw has been placed in a log in the Ottawa Valley, 75 per cent of the cut is sold, despite the fact that the duty may be increased to \$2. Has the American dealer who purchased the lumber agreed that in the event of the Wilson Bill going into effect, he will pay the Canadian dealer \$1 more. No. It is an accepted theory to-day that the American purchaser is the man who has to pay the duty, no matter what it may be. I am not going into questions as to the effect on the trade in that section of the country of the removal of the export duty. Those petitions speak for themselves. The Minister of Finance knows that last year a large deputation, over thirty in number, came here representing the

County Council of Simcoe, also that deputations have come here repeatedly; and the question simply resolves itself into this, whether this Government are prepared to drive the people out of this country by the operation of the present policy? Yet we have driven them out in the past, and they are continuing to drive them out. If the Ministry do not propose to interfere, but to continue the present policy of free logs, let it be known once for all, and let the balance of the lumbermen on Georgian Bay banish themselves to Michigan and become America's citizens. It is the duty of the Government to intervene, and when there is a conflict between labour and capital, labour should prevail. No class legislation of this kind should be passed by this Parliament. Let the hon. member for North Norfolk be patriotic. Instead of taking his seven million feet of logs at White Fish across the lake, let him have them cut at the mill alongside, which is at present idle—let him leave some money in Canada. It is quite true the hon. gentleman made the statement that the masses in Canada are not particularly to be admired for their intelligence.

Mr. CHARLTON. When did I say that?

Mr. BENNETT. Why, Sir, you said it in that ever memorable letter you one time wrote to an American newspaper, in which you described the volunteers of Canada who had went to the defence of their country during the Fenian raid. You will see it all in 'Hansard.' The hon. gentleman remembers that memorable correspondence. Now, the hon. member for Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) must mistake the intelligence of the Ministry when he thinks that forever and forever they are going on in this policy of driving the people out of the country in order that he may be permitted to use his tugs in towing over logs to the United States.

Mr. HUGHES. On Sundays.

Mr. BENNETT. Certainly, on Sundays. I made a statement last year that the hon. gentleman's tug was employed in towing logs on Sunday, and I make the statement here again.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, no!

Mr. BENNETT. Yes. If the hon. gentleman is the owner of the tug 'Onaping,' and I do not think he will deny that he is, she certainly was employed last year in towing logs on Sunday.

Mr. CHARLTON. On what occasion, and on what date?

Mr. BENNETT. About the month of July, and into Victoria Harbour. When she was under charter to Mr. Waklie.

Mr. CHARLTON. I had not the control of her then.

Mr. SPROULE. Did you get the profits out of it?

Mr. BENNETT. Did the hon. gentleman provide that he would not charge for Sundays? Will he be good enough to answer the question whether the charter excepted the Sundays? The hon. gentleman does not answer. Silence gives consent, and so I presume that the hon. gentleman charged for the Sunday work.

Mr. MACLEAN (York). The Sunday Bill will stop that.

Mr. BENNETT. It is to be hoped that it will. I say that a plain duty is imposed upon the Government and upon the people of Canada in this matter. Here is a trade going out of the country that will employ 10,000 or 15,000 men. Here is a trade that will distribute in the country hundreds of thousands of dollars, and are the Government going to permit a continuance of this system which has been in vogue, to the country's great discredit and to the country's great evil, for so many years past. If they propose to do so, all I can say is this: Let the Government announce at once and forever, and then the men living on the shores of Georgian Bay who have been hoping on that some change shall be made, will pick themselves up and betake themselves to the United States. The policy of the Government in this matter is not right. It is not fair to Canadians, because it sets up class legislation. It sets up a class of legislation that benefits the few at the cost of the many. Let the Government intervene; let them pursue a policy in this matter that will be progressive, a policy that will be paternal, a policy that will be patriotic, and will receive the thanks not only of the honest men who are engaged in the lumbering business, but of the thousands of people who are interested in it in that portion of the country.

Mr. CHARLTON. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Bennett) seems to have deemed it necessary in discussing this question, which is properly a question of public policy, to resort to a personal attack upon myself.

Mr. BENNETT. Not at all.

Mr. CHARLTON. The spirit he has evinced in that respect is, I think, one to be more honoured in the breach than in the observance in a decorous body like the Canadian House of Commons. I have nothing to say to the hon. gentleman's imputation that I have stated a falsehood and knew it was a falsehood and sought to deceive the House by false statements. I do not know that my character in this House, or perhaps in the country, will warrant so young a member as the hon. gentleman from East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett) in making an attack of that kind upon myself. However, let that matter pass.

Mr. BENNETT. If the hon. gentleman will allow me, I did not say that he made the statement, knowing it to be false.

An hon. MEMBER. That is what you said.

Mr. BENNETT. If any hon. gentleman had that impression conveyed to him, I ask him to take my disclaimer that I mentioned anything of the sort. But I did say this: that the statement was untrue and with a full knowledge of the facts, as the hon. gentleman has, I think he will hardly take the statement to be correct in its entirety.

Mr. CHARLTON. I take the hon. gentleman's disclaimer as a matter of course, but I take the disclaimer with the statement: that I have every reason to believe that the statement was true, because I had the proof, and the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bennett) had no reason whatever to believe the statement untrue, because he had nothing but hearsay evidence with regard to the matter. However, I shall allude to that matter again. He takes up the statement of Mr. Weadock, of the House of Representatives, not Senator Weadock, in a speech in which he says so much timber is brought over. The hon. gentleman took up a newspaper statement, but I took up a sworn Government return and showed what the facts were. I wish to approach this matter in the most temperate spirit and to avoid that spirit which my hon. friend (Mr. Bennett) has evinced to-night, because we should observe decorum here. I wish to refer to the statement made by the hon. gentleman with regard to the timber regulations of Ontario, and his assertion that the Ontario Government had increased the Crown dues and had given no assurance to the limit-holder that they would not increase them rapidly and indefinitely. The hon. gentleman stated that the Ontario Government had increased the dues to \$1.25 per thousand. That statement is incorrect, although there was a foundation of truth that might have misled the hon. gentleman, and I wish to state explicitly to the House what the policy of the Ontario Government is, and what are their dues at the present moment. The Crown dues in Ontario for many years were 75 cents a thousand feet, board measure. Some ten years ago, I think, I speak under correction, the dues were increased to \$1 per thousand. The lumbermen of Ontario have asked at various times that the Government should give some statutory assurance that these dues would remain a permanent fixture. While the Ontario Government has never seen fit to grant that request, yet, they have always given it to be understood that their policy in that respect would be a conservative one, and that there was no reason to believe that the dues would be increased. They gave proof that this was the case when at the last sale held a year ago last fall they placed some 600 square miles of timber limits upon the market, and they stated as a condition of the sale that the ground rent would be \$3 per square mile, which is the ground

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rent of all limits in the province, and that the Crown dues would be \$1.25 per thousand, which is 25 cents higher than the Crown rent upon all limits then under license. No change was made in the limits under license, no change was contemplated, and no foundation existed for the statement that the Ontario Government had increased the dues 25 cents per thousand feet on licenses which previously existed. The Government did not do it, and there is no reason to suppose they will do anything of the kind. This statement made by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bennett) was made for the purpose of conveying the impression to this House that the Ontario Government had a right to increase the dues to \$3 or \$4 per thousand feet, and make a drawback in the case of manufacturers who manufacture timber in Ontario. Such a course would be a mere confiscation of property. These berths have been sold in good faith at public auction and the highest bidder got them, whether he was an American or a Canadian. The highest bidder took them under the regulations of the department, and to vary these regulations after these sales were made would be an act of bad faith. The Ontario Government does not look upon the matter in the light that my hon. friend and some of his friends evidently do, who seem to suppose that an American limit holder is a fair object for plunder, that an American limit holder has no rights, and that he should be deprived of his property by adverse legislation and discriminatory Crown dues. If such a policy were entered upon by the province of Ontario or by this Dominion it would be a policy that would lead to very grave consequences. It would be a policy dishonest in itself, indefensible in itself, and a policy which the country would suffer by very seriously.

Now, Sir, with regard to the quantity of logs exported, my hon. friend from East Gray (Mr. Sproule) attempts to show that there were 500,000,000 feet, and in order to belittle the evidence I have placed before the House in regard to this matter my hon. friend from East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett) corroborates the statement made by the hon. member for East Grey that the statement made by me to-night from the returns of the Government of Ontario is incorrect. Now, this statement is a statement in detail. It gives the quantity of logs taken out by every firm in Canada for export. The Government of Ontario understand what logs are exported. It is necessary, before 1,000 feet of logs can be cleared from any outport in Ontario, to get the permit of the Ontario Government. Unless that permit is had, and is in the hands of the collector, no clearance will be given, and the Ontario Government have the means of knowing exactly what logs have been exported. The Commissioner of Crown Lands in Ontario has made this statement on his responsibility and it gives all the logs exported from the

province of Ontario except those taken from Indian reserves, amounting to 10,000,000 feet in round numbers. With regard to Americans who have exported logs, purchased of Canadian limit-holders and not returned for export, I would like the hon. gentleman to give the name of one of them. This list contains the names of some Canadians who have sold logs for export; for instance, Hale & Booth, whose headquarters are in this city.

Mr. BENNETT. Does it contain the amount sold by the Georgian Bay Lumber Company to Ring, Merrill & Company, and exported by them?

Mr. CHARLTON. I repeat that this statement covers all the logs exported by these various parties to Michigan, and it is not worth the hon. gentleman's while to try to cast discredit upon it. The total amount exported from Ontario last year falls short of 250,000,000 feet. The hon. gentleman's attempt to throw discredit on this statement by saying that our navigation returns show more than the amount shown by the Ontario Government statement. Our navigation returns do nothing of the kind. They show an export last year of 127,000,000 feet of pine logs in all, while the Ontario returns show an export of 236,000,000 feet, almost double the amount shown by the navigation returns.

Mr. BENNETT. The returns of the custom-house clearances made by American capitalists aggregate 184,703,000 feet.

Mr. CHARLTON. I have given the figures of the Trade and Navigation Returns for the fiscal year ending the 30th of June last.

Mr. WALLACE. That is not the calendar year.

Mr. CHARLTON. I am aware of that. The Ontario statement is for the calendar year 1893. The two statements do not agree; but the statement by the hon. gentleman that the Trade and Navigation Returns show a larger export of logs than the Ontario returns is an incorrect one.

Mr. BENNETT. I did not say the Trade and Navigation Returns; I said the statement compiled from the custom-houses.

Mr. CHARLTON. This statement in the Trade and Navigation Returns is compiled from the custom-house statement, and the statement which the hon. gentleman may have made himself or some other person may have made for him, does not supersede these authentic official returns made by the Minister and his officials. The hon. gentleman says that if I were conversant with this matter I would not have fallen into so many errors. I venture to say that I am as conversant with the lumber business as the hon. member for East Simcoe. With regard to the charge that I had taken logs from Canada when a mill was standing idle in this country, it is true; I was shipping

logs to be sawn at Cheboygan in Michigan, and I was asked to have them cut at a mill at Little Current at \$4 a thousand, including delivery, when I could get them cut at Cheboygan at a trifle over \$2 a thousand, and will any man say that I was not justified in getting them cut there at about half of what I would have been charged at Little Current? It is true the gentleman he refers to, Mr. Turner, did communicate with me, but it was after I had closed my arrangements for the season, and whether his arrangement would have been advantageous or not, it was too late for me to consider it. The hon. gentleman talks of the Government adopting a policy that will put money into the pocket of the member for North Norfolk. Are we discussing this question merely in regard to its bearings on the interests of one or two individuals, or the members of this House or a few limit-holders? Did I not point out that the entire lumber interest of this Dominion was interested in this matter? Did I not point out that the proviso in paragraph 68³ of the Wilson Bill provided that if the most insignificant article in the free list were subjected to an export duty, every article on that list would be put upon the dutiable list? This question is one that does not affect me or the members of this House alone, or the lumbermen of the Ottawa Valley alone, but one that affects every lumberman in Canada from Prince Edward Island to British Columbia. The hon. gentleman tells us that he saw an Ottawa lumberman who expressed entire indifference as to whether the duty was increased to \$2 a thousand or not. I would like to know who that Ottawa lumberman was. I think I know the Ottawa lumbermen pretty well, and I know that they all stand in the utmost dread of this question being tampered with, and the chances of their getting free lumber into the United States under the Wilson Bill destroyed.

An hon. MEMBER. Mr. Eddy.

Mr. CHARLTON. As for Mr. Eddy, he is not manufacturing lumber for export. He is engaged in the business of manufacturing wood pulp paper and wooden ware, and since he went into that business it is in his interest to have the export duty put on to cheapen his raw material. If he could get his pulp wood and all the raw material he uses reduced in cost 30 or 40 or 50 per cent he would hail the export duty as a God-send to him; but every man who has lumber to export would bewail the folly of the Government if they took the advice which the hon. member for East Simcoe gives to-night.

Mr. BENNETT. I was not referring to pulp wood.

Mr. CHARLTON. But the hon. gentleman referred to Mr. Eddy, and I am showing what was the milk in the cocoanut in regard to this matter.

With regard to the meeting of the Lumbermen's Association at Tonawanda, I was there some two or three years ago, and I went to the meeting as a spectator. I knew a good many of the lumbermen there, and being in the town I was invited to attend the meeting. The majority of the meeting were in favour of putting lumber on the free list. Some were opposed to it. The question of export duties was also discussed, and the lumbermen at that meeting, as all the lumbermen in the United States, took the ground that if the United States admitted lumber free of duty it was a matter of plain and common fairness that Canada should remit the export duty. If the United States made any concession with regard to lumber duties, a condition should be that Canada should be required to remove this obnoxious tax. That was the opinion of the majority of gentlemen there. It is the opinion of the majority of lumbermen from Maine to California, and it is the opinion the United States will act upon, my hon. friend may rest assured.

My hon. friend says that I have made frequent pilgrimages to Washington. I have been there once or twice, and I have found it a very fine city. I shall make it a practice to go there in future whenever I have leisure. I find it a very fascinating city, where I have made some very pleasant acquaintances indeed. I have found my ideas enlarged by going there, and I believe that if my hon. friend went, he would come back with a little more knowledge of the world, and a little more breadth of idea than he has at present, and in all probability he would see things in a somewhat more liberal spirit. I was not at Washington during the discussion of the McKinley Bill for the purpose of securing high rates of duty on lumber, because I am interested in having lumber admitted into the United States free. I have always expressed my opinion, in the United States and everywhere, in favour of free lumber and the removal of all restrictions on a trade of every kind, since I have had a seat in this House. In Washington, my little influence, so far as it went, was exerted in favour of free lumber, and I may possibly have been somewhat instrumental in preventing the adoption of that proposal to add the export duty in Canada to the import duty in the United States. I may have been somewhat instrumental in getting the proposal made that if this Government would remove the export duty, the Americans would reduce their import duty to \$1 a thousand feet. As I have stated before, if our foolish export duty had not been in the way, if it had not been for the irritation caused by this duty, if it had not been for the adroit use made of it by opposing American lumbering interests, we would probably have had free lumber in the McKinley Bill. It was the existence of that irritating export duty which prevented our obtaining free lumber, but the best terms that could be got un-

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der the circumstances were obtained when that provision was made that if Canada removed the export duty, the Americans would reduce the duty on pine lumber one-half.

My hon. friend spoke of a letter. I had almost forgotten. It is ancient history. In that letter he says I spoke disparagingly of the Canadian people. I ask the hon. gentleman, when he referred to the letter, whether—

Mr. BENNETT. Not the Hickey affidavit?

Mr. CHARLTON. No; my hon. friend's kindly animus is always shown in his remarks. The letter referred to was a piece of paper written upon in pencil, I understand without date or signature, and since 1872 up to the present I have been waiting to have it shown that that was my letter. I have always been called into court to prove the charge against myself. I have never acted as a witness, but have always defied my accusers to prove that such a letter of mine ever existed, and I defy the hon. member for Simcoe (Mr. Bennett) to-night to do the same thing.

With regard to the working on Sunday of the 'Onaping' steamboats have to work on Sunday, even if they belong to Puritans. Steamers have to cross the ocean, and do not lay to from Saturday night until Monday morning, but pursue their voyage on Sundays as well as other days. I never advocated any measure in this House to prevent steamboats working on Sunday. My Bill provides that Sunday newspapers shall not be printed, that the Government canals shall be closed on Sunday, and that railway lines should not run on Sunday, beyond the limits of actual necessities, and that excursions by rail or steamer shall not be permitted. I would not permit my tug to work on Sunday if I could help it. She was chartered last year to a firm that required her services, and if she was out with a tow of logs on Sunday she had to pursue her voyage. No vessel out on the lakes or on the high seas stops her course on a Sunday. No religious society has asked for such a measure, and this attempt of my hon. friend to throw discredit on an opponent is only an instance of the malignant and malicious animus which has animated him in everything he has said.

This is, perhaps, all that it is necessary for me to say on the matter. I shall summarize what I have to say very briefly. It is this. I am quite willing that all logs should be manufactured in Canada; I am quite anxious that this should be done, if it can be done without too great cost. But I am not prepared to sacrifice great interests in this country for the purpose of promoting, by an unjust tax, smaller interests. I am not prepared to incur the penalties which the United States Congress is prepared to impose on the entire lumbering interest in Canada, for the sake of securing the manufacture of a few logs in the Georgian Bay region; and for one reason, among others, that if we did at-

tempt that, the market we desire for the sale of our lumber would be cut off by retaliatory legislation. We have had enough of this kind of work. We want broader trade relations between the United States and Canada ; we want the development of a better feeling between the two countries, and the abandonment of this absurd system of retaliation and counter retaliation. We do not want, in a condition of trade where we import more logs than we export, to charge an export duty on the smaller quantity we export when we receive the larger quantity we import free, and especially when the consequence of our act would be the infliction upon us of retaliatory legislation, affecting the entire lumber interests of the country. We should look at the question from the broadest standpoint. We should get above the narrow range of view of the little country village or town, and adopt a policy best calculated to serve the interests of the whole Dominion, even if it may not exactly satisfy the wishes of the hon. member for Simcoe and his constituents.

Committee rose and reported progress.

Sir JOHN CARLING moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to ; and the House adjourned at 11.40 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, 16th May, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FOG-ALARMS.

Mr. BOWERS asked, Will tenders for the supply of coal be advertised for the fog-alarms of Apple River, Cape d'Or, Point Prim, Briar Island, Cape Fourchu, Seal Island, Cape Sable and Cape Roseway this season ; if so, will they be issued separately, or in such a way that a tender can be placed for one or more stations ? Will the one tendering the lowest receive the contract, all else being equal ?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. No tenders for the supply of coal for these fog-alarms will be asked for the season of 1894. I may add for the information of the hon. gentleman, that in 1891, Townshend & Co. applied for and obtained the contract of supplying these fog-alarm stations for a term of three years at \$5.40 per ton, 2,240 pounds per ton, which included the supply of

coal and the freight of coal to the different stations, in such quantities and at such stations as might be required from year to year.

NORTH WAKEFIELD MAIL CONTRACTS.

Mr. DEVLIN asked, What contract or contracts exist between Robert Joynt, of Masham, Ottawa County, and the Government ? What is the amount specified in such contracts ? When do they expire ?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Mr. Joynt has the contract for the mail service between Joynt and North Wakefield via Rupert and Lascelles. The amount payable under the contract is \$426.66. The contract is temporary, during the pleasure of the Postmaster General.

LITTLE RAPIDS DAM.

Mr. DEVLIN asked, Have any petitions calling attention to damage done to property through the dam at Little Rapids, Rivière du Lièvre, Ottawa County, been presented to the Government during the last two years ? Have any claims for such damages been made ? What action, if any, have the Government taken in the matter ?

Mr. OUIMET. Several claims have been presented to the department for damage done to property through the construction of the dam at Little Rapids, on the Rivière du Lièvre, in the county of Ottawa, Quebec. In some cases amounts have been claimed, in others no specific sum has been mentioned. A survey of the river was made during the past summer to ascertain what damages, if any, had been done to the various properties, and the report is now under consideration in the department.

BRANDON EXPERIMENTAL FARM.

Mr. MARTIN asked, What outbuildings have been erected at the Experimental Farm at Brandon during the last twelve months, and at what cost ? Who was the contractor, and who was the architect ? Were tenders asked for ? If so, in what way, and what were the names of tenderers and amounts of tenders ? Why were not advertisements asking for tenders published in the Brandon newspapers ?

Mr. OUIMET. An implement and carriage shed costing \$2,125 was built during last summer. John Hanbury was the contractor. The plans and specifications were prepared by the Department of Public Works. The cost of the building was estimated by the architect of the department at \$2,250. Mr. John Hanbury offered to do the work for \$2,100, and, as he was reputed to be a reliable contractor, the contract was awarded to him.

THE DEATH OF VICTOR LEMAY.

Mr. RINFRET asked, Has the Government been informed that Victor Lemay, of St. Louis de Lotbinière, was killed accidentally, on the 10th April last, while working at the Sault Ste. Marie Canal? Has the Government been informed as to the manner in which the death of the said Lemay occurred, and whether the accident was caused by negligence on the part of those in charge of the works? Who are the contractors engaged in the construction of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal? Is it the intention of the Government to indemnify the family of the deceased?

Mr. HAGGART. The Government have not been informed that Victor Lemay, of St. Louis de Lotbinière, was killed accidentally on the 10th of April last on the Sault Ste. Marie Canal. The Government have not been informed as to the manner in which the death of the said Lemay occurred, nor as to whether the accident was caused by negligence on the part of those in charge of the work. Messrs. Hugh Ryan & Co. are the contractors engaged in the construction of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal. If an accident did occur by which Victor Lemay lost his life, the Government are in no way responsible, and, therefore, do not propose to indemnify the family of the deceased.

EMPLOYMENT OF A MEMBER'S SON.

Mr. MARTIN asked, Whether any son of the hon. member for Eastern Assiniboia is in the employ of the Government? If so, what is his employment and salary? When was he appointed, and on whose recommendation?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). A son of the hon. member for East Assiniboia is in the employ of the Government. He is temporarily employed as assistant inspector of weights and measures, and his salary is \$500 per annum. He was so temporarily employed in October, 1893, on the recommendation of the Hon. Senator Perley.

ADJOURNMENT—QUEEN'S BIRTHDAY.

Mr. TAYLOR. I would like to inquire of the hon. Premier if it is the intention of the Government that, when the House adjourns on Wednesday, the 23rd instant, it shall stand adjourned until the following Monday? I understand that there is a pretty general consensus of opinion on both sides of the House that this shall be the case. I have made a good many inquiries among the members, particularly those from a long distance, and I find that a great many wish to visit Toronto on the 24th, and they would prefer that the House should

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not sit on Friday, but should stand adjourned until Monday.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. In a matter of that kind the desire of the Government would be to comply with the general wish of the House itself, but with safeguards as to the despatch of the business which the Government have to carry forward. I think it would be necessary to make it a condition of the adjournment, even though the general assent of the House should be given, that Wednesday should be a Government day.

Mr. CHARLTON. Mr. Speaker, we have upon the Order paper at present, I think, twenty-eight public orders, and we have practically done nothing with this branch of the business at all. When we assembled the House gave the Government all the days during the Budget debate. This consumed between three and four weeks. Under the rules, a suspended debate on a notice of motion went to the head of the list of public Bills and orders. In this way days have been taken up with the discussion of notices of motion, and we have actually devoted only two days to public Bills and orders. Last year private members gave practically all their time in order to enable my hon. friend the Premier to go to Paris, and we had no consideration of public Bills and orders for that session. The proposal to take the same course this session, allowing private members no time for the consideration of their Bills, is one against which I protest. I think we can stay here long enough to discharge the business of the country in a proper way, and it would not be a proper way to deprive private members of an opportunity for the consideration of the business they have in charge.

Mr. LAURIER. I can appreciate the desire of the Premier to conform to the wish of the members in this matter. But if such an adjournment carries with it the condition mentioned by the Premier, I would join in the protest of my hon. friend (Mr. Charlton) against giving away all the days that are left to private members to press forward the Bills they have in charge. The hon. the Premier should not forget that the Order paper is now crowded as it has not been for several years past, nor should he forget that three weeks at the beginning of the session were taken for the business of the Government. Under such circumstances, the adjournment, if it is agreed upon, should take place under the ordinary rules, and when we resume on Monday following the Queen's Birthday we should follow the Order paper as it is now.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I have only to say that the three weeks at the beginning of the session were taken, not for Government business, but for an attack on the Government. However, that is an end to the adjournment.

BRIBERY AND DISFRANCHISEMENT.

House again resolved itself into Committee on Bill (No. 6) to disfranchise voters who have taken bribes.—(Mr. Weldon.)

(In the Committee.)

On section 2,

Mr. JONCAS. Before entering into a discussion of the details of the different clauses of this Bill, I ask permission to offer a suggestion. This Bill is meeting with rather strong opposition from many members on both sides of the House, and I think that, if the suggestion I am about to offer is accepted, this opposition will be considerably lessened. I can understand and appreciate the desire of my hon. friend the member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) to crush corruption and put a stop to bribery at elections. Although the political level in Canada is still high, and I may say higher than in any other country in the world, I have no hesitation, however, in saying, and I think that many members of this House will agree with me that our political level has lowered somewhat during the past twenty years; and it has not lowered only in the province from which I come, but in every other province of the Dominion. I am proud, however, to be able to say that there is a strong political feeling existing in both parties in the country, and that the immense majority of the electors who go to the polls are guided by a sense of their duty as citizens. But is it not equally true that in too many counties and ridings in this Dominion, on the eve of every election, there are hundreds and hundreds of hangers-on who are waiting to be purchased before they will make a single move? It is well known that these hangers-on are so numerous now that they have the balance of power in many counties in the Dominion. So I say that the hon. member for Albert is to be congratulated in his efforts to put a stop to bribery and corruption, and the principle laid down in his Bill is one which has been accepted, and which is acceptable to every member of this House. Let me tell him, however, that, in my opinion, it does not go quite far enough. I have not the least doubt of his sincerity, but if he wishes to prevent corruption and stop bribery, I think he must provide in his Bill for the punishment of the man who offers a bribe, as well as for the punishment of the man who takes it. In my opinion, a man who offers a bribe is much more guilty than the poor man who receives it, because the man who offers the bribe is generally educated and intelligent, while the man who accepts of it is very often an ignorant man, who cannot realize the enormity of the fault he is committing. It may be said that there are laws already existing to punish the man who offers a bribe. I agree that we have laws punishing the man who offers a bribe, but we have laws also punishing

the man who takes a bribe. Why, then, it may be asked, should we now frame a special law to punish only the man who takes a bribe and not include in this punishment the man who offers it? I will take this occasion to say a word about certain articles which appeared in the English press a few days ago in relation to this subject. From the tone of those articles it would appear that many have come to the conclusion that the opposition to the Bill comes only from the province of Quebec, and that the members from the province of Quebec are willing to allow corruption to be practised. Well, Mr. Chairman, I do not think that is the case. We from the province of Quebec readily admit that the principle laid down in the Bill of my hon. friend from Albert is a good one. But we want it to go a step further, and we say to him: If you want to stop corruption, punish severely the man who offers the bribe, and even more severely, if you can, than the man who takes it. Therefore, I think that if the hon. gentleman will consent to insert in his Bill the word "offered" wherever the word "taken" occurs, the opposition to this Bill will be considerably lessened. I merely offer this suggestion in the meantime, before the discussion on the details of the Bill is taken up.

Mr. WELDON. In reply to the suggestion made by the hon. member for Gaspé (Mr. Joncas), I would like to repeat what I said in the House last year when a criticism of the same nature was made by the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies). In the first draft of the Bill I had made it read as the hon. member for Gaspé suggests, so as to punish both him who gives as well as him who takes a bribe. But it was pointed out to me afterwards by some members of the House that that was an illogical provision, which I quickly saw myself. In other words, we say to the man who takes a bribe: You are a man who does not value your franchise, and we will take it from you. Of course, we cannot say that to a man who gives a bribe; the law does not say of such a man that he does not value his franchise, and it is not quite clear that it would be logical to deal with him. However, I share the general statement made by the hon. gentleman, and for my part I would heartily support it now, and would ask this committee to support it with that amendment, were it not for another difficulty, and that is the difficulty of getting at evidence. However, I think a good many members of the House agree with the hon. member for Gaspé, and I am not quite clear that my own views are shared by the majority of the committee. I would prefer, for my own part, that that provision were not added, but I shall not resist that provision. I heartily share in the idea expressed by the hon. gentleman; I heartily agree that in very many places the briber is very much more blameworthy than the poor man of less intelligence and standing in the com-

munity who accepts the bribe. I apprehend difficulty would arise in regard to getting at the evidence and putting the Act in operation, going as it were, with a comb through the county. This suggestion will be in order when we reach sections 6, 13, 14 and 20, and I leave it to the House, expressing my own personal wishes in regard to the matter, but at the same time not interfering or opposing, or asking those who think with me in regard to this Bill, to offer opposition to the hon. gentleman's proposition. I think the work of getting out the evidence and making the Act really effective, when the money is put up and the judge is obtained, will be jeopardised if the committee insists in striking down the man from whom I think it is most likely that evidence will be obtained—that is the briber. As to whether I am wrong or not in this opinion I leave to the judgment of the House, but I will not offer any determined opposition to the suggestion of my hon. friend.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. I will endeavour to address the committee for a few moments in English, and will then proceed to address hon. members in my own language. The Bill now under consideration is similar in its terms to a Bill passed by the Imperial Parliament in 1852. Under that Act the briber is placed in the same position as the man who receives a bribe. That year a commission was asked for. The proposition passed the two Houses, and commissioners were appointed to go round and visit any borough or city where it was supposed that corruption had prevailed. The commissioners were instructed to report to Parliament, if in session, and if not to report fourteen days before the opening of a parliamentary session. Authority was given to disfranchise any constituency in which gross corruption had taken place. Up to 1883 it appeared that the law had proved entirely useless. It was subsequently amended, and it is now designated "An Act for the Better Prevention of Corrupt Practices at Parliamentary Elections." This Act was sanctioned on 25th August, 1883, and our Act respecting contested elections has some analogy with that law. A distinguished author, expressing his opinion on the old law, says :

The English people have had the same evil to contend with, and they have mastered it. When they rid themselves of the "Rotten Borough" system they began a course of legislation which continued until a few years ago. The Corrupt Practices Prevention Acts of 1854, 1863, and 1879, the Representation of the People Acts of 1867 and 1868, the Parliamentary Elections Acts of 1868 and 1875, and the Ballot Act of 1872 (Australian System) were all directed towards securing the purity of elections. Yet all of these enactments were found insufficient to prevent fraud, intimidation and corruption. The expenses of a parliamentary election were still enormous, and were variously estimated at \$15,000,000 to \$20,000,000. But the keystone of the election-reform arch was added when the

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Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act of 1883 was adopted. A marvellous success has attended the introduction of this law. Since then elections in England have been peaceably and honestly conducted, and the total expenses have fallen from \$20,000,000 to less than \$3,000,000.

The Bill now before the House, if adopted, would not prevent corruption at any future election. If a similar law passed by the Imperial Parliament in 1852, and which remained in force up to 1883, was, as this author says, insufficient to prevent fraud and corruption at elections, how can we expect that the present Bill will prevent electoral corruption? We have experience to guide us, and we have a pretty long experience, too. We have had experience extending from 1852 to 1883, and we know that many amendments have been passed to amend the law, and yet they have been ineffective in preventing political corruption. Starting from that experience, I am prepared to accept the proposition made by the hon. member for Gaspé (Mr. Joncas), but I will not accept the Bill even if that proposition is embodied in it, because I am perfectly convinced that if this Bill should become law it would not prevent corruption at any election. I desire to answer what has been asserted by the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon), that the bribe-giver should not be punished as severely as the bribe-receiver. The same author from whom I have already quoted, referring to this point, says :

Some suggestions, therefore, may not seem out of place at this time, as to the elements which ought to enter into this sort of legislation. Among these elements may be stated the following:—1st. A careful definition of what constitutes "corrupt practices" including bribery, personation of real or fictitious persons, undue influence or intimidation; and "treating," i.e., giving or receiving food or drink corruptly for votes or political influence. 2nd. Punishment of personation as a felony; this being one of the most vicious forms of election fraud. 3rd. Punishment for bribery:—(a.) Of the bribe-taker, for a misdemeanour; because the recipient is usually guilty of but a single act, and likely to be poor, ignorant, wretched, and under great temptation. (b.) Of the bribe-giver, for a felony; because he who bribes one will try to bribe many, and becomes a tempter, and the perverter of public morals. 4th. Liability of the briber to civil action for a sum certain on the suit of any person. This is to reach those who guard their pockets more closely than their morals and fear the cupidity of individuals more than the consciences of apathetic prosecuting officers. 5th. Punishment of other offences as misdemeanours because of less gravity than those mentioned.

From this point I am obliged to oppose the Bill, and endeavour to prevent its passage by the House. In the Blake Act we have a law to prevent all manner of corrupt practices that can be committed at any election. The contestation of election allows that. I think the more law we have on the subject, the more corrupt we appear to be.

A writer in *Blackwood's Magazine*, No. 134, has very truly said :

If it be that the age of election purity is dawning upon us, it is sad to think, from the safeguards that have now become law, how bad we must have been in former years,—how demoralized the constituencies, to require such rude discipline as is provided by the new Bill. Is it a proof that we are so much wiser and better than our fathers? Is our sense of purity clearer? Do we so entirely sympathize with the spirit of the poet's lines—

Cursed is the man who's bought and sold,
And barter's liberty for gold ;
For if election is not free,
In vain we seek for liberty,
And he who would sell his single right
Would sell his country if he might.

If Tacitus is correct—'In corruptissima Republica plurimæ leges'—we must be worse off now than at any former date, for every session is esteemed in proportion to the number of Bills that are passed. Is it again, let it be asked, true, that we look on our parliamentary history with feelings of shame? Is all this anxiety for purity of election an honest expression of our sentiments? Or is it not the case that this new Act, while it is regarded with something like alarm by the novices, gives rise to feelings akin to regret on the part of the old stagers who have lived through what may literally be called the "golden" age of elections, and is viewed with intense dislike by all the lower classes, who looked forward to a general election as to a Bacchic revel, and regarded it as a part of our English constitution.

That was written in 1883, commenting on the election law passed, in place of the former law in England. My ideas are these : That in the first place this Bill will be useless, and in the second place, that Canadians will be looked upon as a people so corrupt that we had to pass a law which existed 30 years ago, and which law was proved to be insufficient. I will, therefore, fight this Bill to the utmost extent that I can. I am in favour as much as any member of this House of finding means to prevent corruption. The hon. member for Gaspé (Mr. Joncas) has said, that we do not like corruption in the province of Quebec any more than do the people of any other province. We do not have any more corruption in the province of Quebec than in any other province, and I go further and say : I do not think we have just as much corruption as in some other provinces ; I won't mention any names. We cannot deny that in Quebec, however, there are some constituencies which need money.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Oh.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. That is not the correct expression in English, but what I do say is that money is wanted for what we call legal expenses. I know that in some counties they want money, but the premier fault is not with the electors, but with the candidates themselves. When the

two candidates start out for election they will meet and they will laugh together, and one of them will say : Don't spend more than two or three thousand dollars, for that is all I have got ; or one will say to the other : I cannot spend a cent, and do you not spend a cent either. If the candidates agreed amongst themselves not to spend any money and carried out that agreement, there would be no necessity for this law at all. Therefore, the remedy is with the candidates themselves. If it rests with ourselves not to make any expenses, then what is the use of enacting such a law as this, which will only give us bad fame. (Translation.) Mr. Chairman, before this section is passed, I wish to offer a few remarks. The Bill now before the Committee is a copy almost word for word of an English law, 14-15 Victoria, passed as far back as 1852. This legislation had been brought about by the extensive bribery then prevailing in England, and which they did not know how to oppose. The fact is, electoral bribery was practised on a very large scale. But, by the way, I will ask the promoter of this Bill whether he thinks we have come to that ; whether he thinks the state of affairs is as deplorable as it was then in England. But I pass on to an analysis of the English law of 1852. In England, there are two classes of citizens, each of which has much influence on the extent of electoral bribery. These two classes are : the wealthy, very wealthy people, and the poor, very poor people. The former, I refer to the wealthy people, have such wealth as not to know what to do with it. Now, in order to be raised to honours, they practice bribery to the utmost extent, which gives them considerable influence. Indeed, what is to be thought of a candidate who can afford to spend even a million to get returned? There is nothing the like of that in Canada. We have no such class of wealthy citizens, of citizens who have nothing to do but spend their money to their fancy, or even, if they choose, in practicing electoral bribery. In England, there are to be found a class of very poor, destitute citizens, who have not even five cents to get a piece of bread. It is easy to understand that such a class of people should be very accessible to the temptations of the rich, that is to say, to offers of money for their votes. Fortunately, we have in our country no such class of poor, destitute votes, which prevents electoral bribery from causing as great a mischief here as in England. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, there is no comparing the state of affairs in Canada with respect to electoral bribery to the state of affairs which existed in England in 1852. Yet that law of 1852 was repealed in 1883.

Mr. AMYOT. (Translation.) Would the hon. member kindly give us some particulars in connection with that law of 1852 ?

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) The text is in English. I only read it a moment ago.

Mr. AMYOT. (Translation.) You could easily translate it.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) In order not to delay the work of the committee. I will not undertake such a translation. But I will read again such parts of the law as I quoted a moment ago. The chapter is intitled : Chapter LVII. :

An act to provide for more effectual inquiry into the existence of corrupt practices at elections for members to serve in Parliament.

30th June 1852.

The Act reads as follows :—

Whereas it is expedient to make more effectual provision for inquiring into the existence of corrupt practices of elections of members to serve in Parliament : Be it therefor enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same as follows :

1. Where by a joint Address of both Houses of Parliament it shall be represented to Her Majesty that a Committee of the House of Commons appointed to try an election petition, or a committee of that House appointed to inquire into the existence of corrupt practices in any election or elections of a member or members to serve in Parliament, have reported to this House that corrupt practices have, or that there is a reason to believe that corrupt practices have extensively prevailed in any county, division of a county, city, borough, university, or place in the United Kingdom electing or sharing in the election of a member or members to serve in Parliament, at any election or elections of such members or member, and the said Houses shall thereupon pray Her Majesty to cause inquiry to be made under this Act, by persons named in such Address, such persons being (where the inquiry to be made relates to a place in England or Ireland) barristers-at-law of not less than seven years standing) or (where such inquiry relates to a place in Scotland) advocates of not less than seven years standing, and not being members of Parliament, or holding any office or place of profit under the Crown, other than that of a Recorder of any city or borough, it shall be lawful for Her Majesty, by warrant under Her Royal Signed Manual, to appoint the said persons to be commissioners for the purpose of making inquiry into the existence of such corrupt practices ; and in case any of the commissioners so appointed, die, resign or become incapable to act, it shall be lawful for the surviving or continuing commissioners or commissioner, to act in such inquiry as if they or he had been solely appointed to be commissioners or a sole commissioner for the purposes of such inquiry, and (as to such sole commissioner) as if this Act had authorized the appointment of a sole commissioner, and all the provisions of this Act concerning the commissioners appointed to make any such inquiry shall be taken to apply to such surviving or continuing commissioner or commissioners.

Mr. AMYOT. (Translation.) To whom was the inquiring commissioner to report ?

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) I am coming to that section. Sections 6 and 7 reads as follows :—

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VI. Such commissioners shall, by all such lawful means as to them appear best, with a view to the discovery of the truth, inquire into the manner in which the election in relation to which such committee as aforesaid may have reported to the House of Commons, or where the report of such committee has referred to two or more elections, has been conducted, and whether any corrupt practices have been committed at such election, and if so, whether by way of the gift or loan or the promise of the gift or loan of any sum of money or other valuable consideration to any voter or voters, or to any other person or persons on his or their behalf, for the promise or the giving of his or their vote or votes, for his or their refraining or promising to refrain from giving his or their vote or votes, at such election, or for his or their procuring or undertaking to procure the votes of other electors at such election, or whether by the payment of any sum of money or loan or other valuable consideration whatsoever to any voter, or to any other person on his behalf, before, during, or after the termination of such election, by way of head money, or in compliance with any usage or custom in the county, division of a county, city, borough, university, or place to which the inquiry relates, or how otherwise, or whether any sum of money or other valuable consideration whatsoever has been paid to any voter, or to any other person on his behalf, after the termination of such election, as a reward for giving or for having refrained from giving his vote at such election ; and in case such commissioners find that corrupt practices have been committed at the election into which they are hereinbefore authorized to inquire, it shall be lawful for them to make the like inquiries concerning the latest previous election for the same county, division of a county, city, borough, university, or place ; and upon finding corrupt practices to have been committed at such election, it shall be lawful for them to make the like inquiries concerning the election immediately previous thereto for such county, division of a county, city, borough, university, or place, and so in like manner from election to election, as far back as they may think fit ; but where upon inquiry as aforesaid concerning any election such commissioners do not find that corrupt practices have been committed thereat, they shall not inquire concerning any previous election ; and such commissioners shall from time to time report to Her Majesty the evidence taken by them, and what they find concerning the premises, and especially such commissioners shall report, with respect to each election the names of all persons whom they find to have been guilty of corrupt practices at such election, and as well of those who have given bribes for the purchase, or for the purpose of purchasing the votes of others as of those who have themselves received money or any other valuable consideration for having given, or having given, or having refrained from giving, or for the purpose of them to give or to refrain from giving their votes at such election, and also the names of all persons whom they find to have given to others, or to have received themselves, payments by way of head money, or as a reward for giving or refraining from giving their votes at such election, and all other things whereby in the opinion of the said commissioners the truth may be better known touching the premises.

VII. Every report which such commissioners make to Her Majesty in pursuance of this Act shall be laid before Parliament within one calendar month next after such report is made, if Parliament be then sitting, or if Parliament be not then sitting, then within one calendar month next after the then next meeting of Parliament.

XVI. The said commissioners shall have power, if they deem fit, to award to any witness summoned to appear before them a reasonable sum for his or her travelling expenses, and for his or her maintenance according to a scale to be determined and approved of by the commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, and the said commissioners shall certify to the said commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury the names of the said witnesses, together with the sums so allowed to each, and the said commissioners shall pay to the said witnesses the said sums so allowed as aforesaid, out of any money which may be provided by Parliament for the purposes of the said commission.

Mr. CHOQUETTE. (Translation.) I would like to know, Mr. Chairman, whether the hon. gentleman is in order when thus reading old English laws. I raise the point of order.

Mr. AMYOT. (Translation.) On the point of order, I wish to say that we must obtain information with respect to the English legislation, as, in anything that relates to parliamentary institutions, England affords us valuable precedents. We find in the English laws a lot of information which cannot but guide us, especially in a matter such as the Bill we are now discussing. They have had much experience in England with respect to popular institutions, and if we can find precedents there, we will be sure to be enlightened as to what we ought to do. Therefore, I think the point of order raised by the hon. member for Montmagny did not hold good.

Mr. CHOQUETTE. (Translation.) I ask for your ruling, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Mills, Annapolis). The hon. gentleman must confine himself to the section as far as possible.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. Yes, I am always at the section; but if I am not to be permitted to interpret the section, then it is useless to discuss it. This clause is the same as the clause in the Bill that I have been reading, and I am explaining that this law must be a failure, because its wording is similar to that of the law passed in England in 1852, which was completely useless and insufficient for the prevention of corruption. If that was the case in England, where they are so well versed in laws regarding corrupt practices, and where they were so desirous of preventing corruption, how can we say that this law will prevent corruption? The experience of England has shown clearly that it will not do so.

Mr. WELDON. The suggestion was made the other night, during the debate, that this Bill might be used, in the case of an election petition under the Controverted Elections Act, as a means of fishing out evi-

dence. That certainly is not meant to be done, and to make that use of the thing quite impossible, I would move to strike out the words "within sixty days" and provide instead that the petitions under this Act shall not be filed until forty days have run, so that we would know whether or not an election petition had been filed, and I would provide also to leave a margin of twenty days, within which a petition could be filed under this Act, the object being to keep clear of election petitions altogether, so as to avoid making this Bill available to a petitioner for the fishing of evidence in order to unseat the unsuccessful candidate. I hope the committee will vote down the amendment proposed, and then I will move the one I have just explained.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) As the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) states that he is willing to change his Bill and amend it so that the petition could not be presented within forty days or after sixty days following the polling day, in order that this law might not be used as a ground or a means to protest an election—I have no objection to that—I will, if allowed by the Committee, withdraw my amendment.

Amendment withdrawn.

Mr. WELDON. I will ask to have the words "within sixty days" in the Bill struck out, and the following words substituted therefor in the ninth line:—

On a day not less than forty days and not more than sixty days.

Mr. BERGIN. The objection I make to this amendment is that, under the present law, a petition may be filed within thirty days against the successful candidate. The law also provides that after that thirty days has elapsed, the candidate is entitled to hold his seat without further contestation. But if we pass this amendment, parties who are disappointed may combine to wreak private vengeance upon the successful candidate by raking up such evidence as may support an application for the reopening of the case. Under the law as it stands, if evidence is discovered within, I think, two months, which would serve to unseat a candidate, such petition might be filed based on the discovery under this amendment. If the judge stated that extensive bribery prevailed, as provided in this Bill, I believe, under the Revised Statutes, it would be the duty of the Speaker, on receiving that report, to disfranchise that constituency. These are the dangers involved in this amendment, and I think the House should be cautious before passing it.

Mr. WELDON. The amendment is due to a suggestion made by the Minister of Railways (Mr. Haggart) the other night. I saw the danger, and have undertaken to cure it. I might have made a fuller statement when on my feet, and said that, to give the highest

protection and prevent this Bill being made use of, in case an election petition has been filed. I will offer another section, which will be the last section in the Bill, providing that where an election petition has been filed, this Act shall not operate until that election petition has been abandoned or disposed of. Let that thing go by itself, and if the election trial goes on, this Bill will not operate until such election petition has been disposed of.

Mr. BERGIN. Under this amendment, there will be no such thing as finality to these charges. Any man, no matter how pure his election may have been, may be subjected, under this Bill, on the discovery of a single case, to increased persecution, although, on the trial of the election petition, his election may have been declared pure by the courts. This thing will still hang over him, and I do not think members of this House ought to be exposed to an increase of the persecution they are very often subjected to, when election petitions are filed, without any foundation, merely for the purpose of gratifying the personal vengeance of a disappointed candidate.

Mr. LAURIER. It seems to me that the argument just made by the hon. member for Stormont (Mr. Bergin) does not at all apply at this moment. It might have applied two years ago, before the Controverted Election law was amended, but since that law was amended I do not think it can apply. Previous to 1891, a single case of corruption was enough to annul the election, but in 1891—I do not remember whether it was at the suggestion of the Minister of Justice, but at all events it was with his approval, and, for the matter of that, with the approval of the whole House—the law was amended in that respect, and now a single case, or two cases of bribery are not sufficient to annul an election, but the judge must report that there has been bribery of such a character as to influence the election.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. JEANNOTTE moved :

That after the word "belief" in the twentieth line, the following words be added :—Certain cases of corruption are to his or their own personal knowledge.

(Translation.) I was stating, Mr. Chairman, that section 2 defines the means to be taken to obtain an inquiry after the election, if a complaint was made signed by twenty-five voters stating that they have good reason to believe that bribery prevailed, without any other formality. In the English version of the Bill, it is stated that they will have to give their affidavit stating that they are voters. That is not to be found in the French version ; so that such a petition, according to the French version, could be signed by a stranger, even a man living in the United States. The French version reads as follows, in section 2 : "Sworn by all the

Mr. WELDON.

petitioners, stating that they are such voters, and that the allegations in the petition are true. &c." I would like to know whether it is the English or French version we have to follow in the discussion of this Bill, and what version will be the law ?—(English.)—I would like to know, Mr. Chairman, whether the English version or the French version of this Bill is the correct one, because section 2 is not the same in both. By the English version the parties signing the petition are obliged to swear that they are voters, while in the French version it is provided that any parties living in the place may sign a petition and have an inquiry made. I want to know which version is the correct one ? I await an answer.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Whatever version is passed, the other will have to be made to conform to it ; and it is the English version that the committee is considering.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. Then I suppose the French version will have to be amended. (Translation.) Wednesday last, when I offered a few remarks in connection with this Bill, I stated—and it was found rather strong—that the adoption of section 2, such as it is, would give us a bad report in foreign countries. It is proved by the authors I have just quoted, Tacitus, who lived at a time when bribery was unknown, but who, nevertheless, saw far beyond his age, said that the greatest number of laws were made in the most corrupt commonwealths. I could well have quoted such authors the other day, but I did not want to weary the House by taking too much of its time.

I move in amendment that the word "sixty" in the first line be struck out and the word "thirty" be inserted in place thereof.

That amendment is explained by itself. We have thirty days to protest an election. By this Bill sixty days are allowed to ask for an inquiry into cases of bribery. In other words, thirty additional days are required for blackmailing, and we all know that blackmailing carried on during thirty days is quite expensive. It may come up to heavy prices. This is why my amendment requires that the time should not be longer than the time allowed to protest an election. If this Bill should be adopted such as it is, here is what will happen : a petition for the protest of an election will be presented on the 29th or 30th day, and the returned candidate who will have received it will not fail to take any means in his power to have a petition signed asking for an inquiry into the cases of bribery practised by his opponents. It will be the means to prevent the truth being known by any one. The defeated candidate who will have against him such a petition will be exposed to a tolerably large expenditure. The returned candidate will think of settling his protest as best he can : then both parties will agree to

pair off, and no one will ever know how many cases of bribery there were. To prevent this, and in order that cases of bribery may come to light, the twenty-five petitioners, if they are in earnest, should not wait till the 59th day to make their petition. For, as I stated a moment ago, it is giving a premium to blackmailing, it is placing the returned candidate in the painful necessity of paying not only the costs of the protests in course of being tried, but also exposes him to the risk of paying the costs of such an inquiry. I think, Mr. Chairman, that what we all aim at is the most expeditious way of preventing bribery at elections. If we allow sixty days to present a petition, if, after the judge is appointed, he has thirty days to give his notices of summons, that will make three months. Well, here is a member against whom no protest was filed within the thirty days required by law. On the thirtieth day following the election, a feeling of joy appears in his features, his uneasiness is over. Should this Bill be adopted thirty more days will elapse before it is known whether an inquiry into the cases of bribery, probable or improbable, will or will not be made: and if thirty additional days still elapse before the judge should open his proceedings, one can see in what unpleasant position that man will be placed, should he not be rich especially. But I will be told: If he has no means, let him not run. We know that when a candidate is put in the field by one or the other party, it is because he stands a chance of being returned, and he is then told: You are the only man in the riding who can help us remaining into power or coming into power, in order that we may work for the good of the country. Your election will not cost you a cent, you will be helped and it will not cost you a cent. It is very hard for a man to resist, and, as a rule, he accepts. The election is hardly over when means are taken to ruin him and, if he lost his election, friends become rare. And then it is very soon done with the liberality of friends. Very few persons are found who are willing to turn towards a defeated candidate and stretch out a helping hand to him. By adopting this Bill, we should certainly not take the means to reach the desired end. Before finally becoming law, it will, of course, have to undergo many amendments. Cases of blackmailing must be punished, and candidates not be exposed to fall victims to them. Purity at elections must be assured, but we must not, on the other hand, fall in any excess. Mr. Chairman, I hope my amendment will be adopted, as it improves the Bill.

Mr. BELLEY. (Translation.) I am quite in favour of the proposed amendment. It is based on the principle acknowledged in the Controverted Elections Act. The hon. member for L'Assomption (Mr. Jeannotte) wants to have the same time fixed as is allowed in

protested election cases. Now, allow me to observe, Mr. Chairman, that this amendment does not quite reach the end in view. The hon. member ought to state by his amendment that the petition should be presented within thirty days from the polling day. It will be remembered that, under the Act of 1891, the time for protesting an election is computed from the polling day. He will allow me to suggest his amending his motion in that direction. This amendment ought to be agreed to by the committee, as it is the principle laid down in the Act of 1891.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) Indeed, my amendment is quite in the same direction as the Act of 1891, referred to by the hon. gentleman.

Amendment negatived. Yeas, 25; nays, 50.

On section 2,

Sir HECTOR LANGEVIN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to have that clause read, because I think an amendment made the other day, is not inserted in the motion as read just now, and would it not be better, Mr. Chairman, that the clause should remain as it is now, and when we come to the schedules to amend these in accordance with the second clause.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. The more so as this clause has been adopted just as it is. We can deal with the schedules when we come to them.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. This clause only indicates that there will be a schedule containing the affidavit.

Mr. FREMONT. (Translation.) I wish to call the attention of the committee to a contradiction there is in this clause between the phraseology of this section and the text of some schedules to which reference is made therein. The text of the schedules is very indefinite; it is worded in general terms. No mention is made therein of any particulars. It must not be forgotten that great discretion is left to the judge. He must be satisfied, from the affidavits filed before him, that there was a sufficient number of cases of bribery to make an inquiry. Thus this section states:

Whenever, within sixty days after the day on which an election is held under *The Dominion Elections Act*, a petition in the form or to the effect set out in Schedule A to this Act, has been presented to the court, signed by five or more voters of an electoral district (the postal address of each voter signing the same being added to his name), stating that bribery has extensively prevailed at the election, and having annexed thereto an affidavit or affidavits, in the form or to the effect set out in Schedule B to this Act, sworn by all the petitioners, stating that they are such voters, and that the allegations in the petition are true, to the best of their knowledge and belief, the court shall within thirty days assign one of its judges for the purpose of making inquiry under this Act.

I think we should strike out all that which relates to the schedules and leave the whole thing to the discretion of the judge.

Sir HECTOR LANGEVIN. (Translation.) The schedules may be modified when the committee will take them into consideration.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. I want to know if the officers of that court will be paid extra for their services, as is done in cases of contested elections. If so, \$500 would be exhausted in two or three days.

Mr. WELDON. The provisions for money and the like of that, come later on in the Bill.

Mr. AMYOT. If you want to make the law operative, we must inquire how it is likely to operate. There is no use passing a law which we cannot put into execution. The hon. mover might tell us how these officers are to be paid.

Mr. WELDON. They will be paid out of the deposit.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) This deposit of \$500 is not sufficient. If it is intended to pay the witnesses out of it, it cannot be affected to the other costs which will necessarily be incurred. Who is going to pay the officers of the court? If you do not provide for the payment of these, your law could never be carried out; never would an inquiry be made. In controverted election cases, the judge, the clerk, in short, all the officers of the court are paid extra, in addition to their ordinary salary. Therefore, we must state out of what funds these officers will be paid. Besides these officers, there are the stenographers, and they entail a very large expenditure. I think the committee ought to be fully informed in this respect before this section should be passed. Out of what will you take the money required to pay all these expenses?

Mr. BELLEY. (Translation.) Out of the deposit of \$500.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) Then, you will not go far.

Mr. AMYOT. I ask the hon. mover if the officers of this court are to be paid extra. Will the judge be paid his travelling expenses? How much will his clerk be paid? How much the bailiff? What will be the tax of the witnesses? The Bill makes no provision for these things, and it would be impossible for a judge to establish a regular court without these provisions. When the \$500 are exhausted, where will be the funds to go on with? The hon. gentleman must know that opposing parties will do their best to accumulate costs, and very soon the stenographer, the bailiff, the clerk of the court, travelling expenses of all concerned, and so on, will have eaten up the whole \$500. The great mistake in this Bill, I think, is in not providing for eventualities. Chapter 10 of the Revised

Mr. FREMONT.

Statutes, to which I have referred, provides that the enquête shall be conducted by Parliament, or under the control of persons appointed by the Governor in Council, and, of course, at the public expense. Under that provision, all the necessary costs would be provided for, and the laudable object which the hon. mover has in view would be attained, but it certainly would not be attained by this Bill. I admit that it is very desirable, whenever there is corruption to an extent sufficient to influence the result of an election, that we should punish those guilty of that corruption. That principle seems to be admitted all round. Why not, then, make a law that will render that object attainable? I know how the things will operate. Parties will go before a judge, and he will reluctantly undertake to make an enquête. Obstacles will be thrown in his way, which he will use as a means of avoiding the trouble of going on with the enquête. I think the Bill should provide that when a judge is satisfied by the preliminary evidence he would take, that a case exists such as contemplated by this Bill, then he should report to the Governor in Council or to Parliament, and upon that preliminary evidence, an investigation could take place at the expense of the country. In that way, we would attain the object we all have in view. It would be easy to establish corruption if it existed to any extent, whether by treating, or by giving money, or by intimidation, or by promises publicly made to few or many people. These things could be ascertained by the judge in a preliminary enquête, and then the case could come before this Parliament, or before the Governor in Council, and these authorities, having gone over that preliminary evidence, would then order a regular inquiry at the expense of the country, and the object we all desire to attain, would be secured.

Mr. WELDON. I would suggest to my hon. friend, who is in accord with the principle of the Bill, that this question of the payment of costs be raised again on the 16th clause, and let us go on with the intervening clauses. We will have the question of the payment of costs raised on the clause where the \$500 is spoken of.

Mr. AMYOT. It might be objected then that we had admitted the principle, and we would be called to order. I think we should come to an understanding at once.

Mr. WELDON. That is only a routine clause.

Mr. AMYOT. The hon. gentleman will understand the suggestion I made, which is that these proceedings should only apply to the preliminary enquête, without there being any necessity of calling the guilty parties in the case. The case would proceed ex parte under the guidance of the judge to inquire into the general feature of corruption, if such

should exist. Then the report would be made, and the duty of the judge would be concluded. His report would come before Parliament and another stage of the proceedings would be entered upon, because it would then be found indispensable to proceed further with the enquête, without which this Act would become a dead letter.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. Under the Imperial Act of 1852, the Government itself conducted the enquête and paid all expenses, and yet, after ten years' experience, the Act proved to be completely useless. Here there is no money available, except \$500. Who is going to pay the judge? I do not know the practice in other provinces, but in the province of Quebec when a judge holds sittings outside of his jurisdiction he charges \$10 per day and expenses. The clerk of the court, the stenographer, the bailiff, and the crier would also have to be paid. When this question was up last year it was suggested that the witnesses should pay their own expenses. This proposition was held to be impracticable, and, accordingly, \$500 was provided for the payment of witnesses. But the judge, the clerk of the court, the stenographer, would all have to be paid before they entered upon their duties, and there would be nothing left for the witnesses. If we are going to have a new law against corruption at elections, let it be framed so as to prove efficient to meet any case of corruption, and have the necessary funds provided. Under the present conditions, the enquête, under the present Bill, would only last a few days continuously, as there would be no funds available. If the judge adjourned the court for a week for lack of money to pay running expenses, parties who were accused of having done corrupt acts would not have an opportunity to prove their innocence. What would become of men unjustly accused of having received one or two dollars for their votes? They would not have a chance of proving their innocence. The hon. gentleman who introduced the Bill should explain where the money is to be obtained beyond the \$500, because that sum would not go far in conducting an enquête before a court. Suppose the enquête lasted fifteen days, about \$250 would be needed for the judge, \$60 for the clerk, besides the stenographer and balliff's fees. It is thus evident that the enquête would not continue more than three or four days and would not be concluded.

On section 5,

Mr. AMYOT. Would it not be wise to give notice in the newspapers?

Mr. WELDON. The plaintiffs get notice, and any party whose vote is attacked must get a special notice, and proceedings cannot go on unless it is proved to be impossible to serve the party.

Mr. AMYOT. So the accused parties will not have any notice, and the proceedings

will go on ex parte. So only when the opinion of the court has been formed on the evidence taken ex parte, these persons will be called upon. There is something unfair about that proposition. I think the petition should give the names of the parties whom it is pretended have been corrupted, and those accused parties should receive notice, too. It is not fair, as the Bill stands, to start the inquiry without the knowledge of those whom it is intended to accuse. In many cases before judicial tribunals, particulars are furnished. In this instance, the particulars at least should consist of the names of those whom it is intended to accuse, and the parties should be notified that they would be proceeded against at a certain time and place.

Mr. WELDON. If the hon. gentleman will read section 13, he will observe that great care is taken that a voter whose vote is attacked, cannot be struck at without notice. The court will adjourn, and notice will be served, and thus the parties will have time to prepare a defence.

Mr. AMYOT. The section does not meet my objection, because the witnesses are heard first, and after the enquête has proceeded ex parte, the parties are brought forward. They have not been there to watch and see if the enquête has been regularly proceeded with. You proceed ex parte against them, and when that is done then we send for them and say: What have you to answer?

Mr. WELDON. It is the very essence of the Bill that there should be a thorough investigation. The Bill cannot work if you hamper the thing at this stage with many restrictions. It seems to me that all that is reasonable is secured, when you say that the man has proper notice, and we must trust to the judge of the higher court to exercise a good judicial discretion and give them ample time to prepare for their defence. I think the Bill may be safely trusted to secure that. No one desires anything else.

Mr. AMYOT. The hon. gentleman will soon see that he will not succeed with that paltry sum of \$500. If he adopted the plan of having a preliminary enquête which would be the basis for an order to have a general enquête, having at our disposal the money provided by Parliament, then we would be all right. But he wants to bring to conviction the guilty parties at once, and he will not succeed, because he does not provide the ways and means.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) Mr. Chairman, I ask what is meant by the word "district," in section 5? Is it an electoral district or a judicial district? The judicial district sometimes includes two, three or four counties.

Mr. WELDON. We will add the words "electoral district."

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) The suggestions just made by the member for Bellechasse are important. Section 6 states :

It shall be the duty of the judge to endeavour by all lawful means to ascertain the persons who have taken bribes at the last election.

And section 13 reads :

The judge shall report the names of all voters whom he finds to have taken bribes ; but he shall not report that any voter has taken a bribe unless and until he is satisfied that such voter has been served with a notice of the charge against him, and has had an opportunity of meeting it, or that it was impossible to give him such notice by reason of his intentionally evading service.

The inquiry being taken down in stenography, the accused party will have to wait till the notes of the stenographer are transcribed to look into the position taken against him. In the first place, who will pay the costs of the stenographer ? And then, when will the accused party have to come and offer his defence ? After examining the deposition, he will have to confer with a lawyer. It is a great waste of time ; who will pay for all those costs ? The hon. member for Albert stated a moment ago, in answer to my hon. friend from Bellechasse : " If you put too many conditions, you won't have any enquête." Well, we are taking every possible means to prevent corruption ; but we intend to put into this Bill as many means as are necessary to carry out the law. If we should pass a law that will remain a dead letter, as that passed in England in 1852, it is useless to put such a law in our statutes. I think the hon. member for Bellechasse was right in the observations he made, and that the hon. member for Albert should explain his Bill and not refer us from one clause to another.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. (Translation.) This does not apply to this clause. The clause now under discussion has for its object to inform the voters of the coming and moving from one place to another of the judge who makes the inquiry.

On section 6,

Mr. JONCAS moved to insert after the word " have " on the second line, the words " offered and given."

Mr. DICKEY. The last time this Bill was before the House I opposed this amendment, and I do not wish it to pass now without entering a protest. It seems to me it is objectionable on two grounds. In the first place, it changes the whole principle of the Bill. The principle of the Bill is to furnish machinery that will remove from the electoral lists the names of certain voters who are not fit to exercise the franchise. That unfitness is assumed by the Bill to be established when they are willing to accept a bribe for their vote. That unfitness is supposed to exist because they are willing to

Mr. JEANNOTTE.

change their convictions for moneys, and everybody thinks it is quite proper that men of that class should have the franchise taken from them. I am not here to say that the briber is not as guilty as the man who is bribed. He is probably more guilty in some aspects, but the question that strikes me is this : Is the briber a man who should not exercise the franchise, is the briber a man whose opinion upon public questions we do not want ? Now, every hon. gentleman who sits in this House knows that unfortunately for the country, there are men of the very highest intelligence, men who are able to intelligently discuss public question on the platform, who will, in the heat of an election, bribe a man who is base enough to sell his vote. What we wish to get at, as I understand through this Bill, is to secure an intelligent majority of the electors. A man may be blameable in many walks of life, but his opinion on public questions may be valuable, and it does not follow that we should refuse the opinion on public questions of the man who bribes. This Bill does not intend to punish anybody at all, but it is simply and solely intended to expunge from the voters' lists certain persons who are unworthy of expressing any further opinion through the franchise. I say that even the putting down of corruption is a secondary matter in this Bill ; its real object is to wipe out certain classes of voters who are unfit to exercise the franchise. That is the elementary principle of the Bill, and it is violated by this amendment. The amendment also hampers the Bill in its operation. Suppose, for example, that the hon. member for Albert wants to put this Bill into operation in his constituency ; what does he do ? He calls a man who he supposes has used large sums of money against him in the election, and puts him into the box. If that man is free, the hon. member can get some evidence from him. If you can set the bribing class against the bribed class, if you can let these two classes of rogues fall out, there will be some chance for honest men to get their due ; but if you mass them together, and say that both are equally guilty, they will continue their conspiracy in roguery, and you will be able to get very little satisfaction from either. I ask any man in this House who wants to make this a workable Bill, not to render it unworkable by voting for this amendment.

Mr. FORBES. Last year I had the honour of moving an amendment similar to the one now moved, and it was very nearly carried in the House. Since then I have talked on this subject with the promoter of the Bill, and I am led to believe that he is not in his heart opposed to this improvement. I am sorry that I cannot agree with the principle laid down by the hon. member for Cumberland (Mr. Dickey). He would have us believe that the person who offers a bribe to voters is not doing a wrong—in other words, that he is a proper citizen to control the affairs

of this country. By such a remark the hon. gentleman is making a direct stab at the principle of responsible government. If you are going to remove from the voters' lists the names of nine hundred and ninety-nine persons who are possibly weak enough to subject themselves to the influences of bribers, and leave the thousandth man free to exercise his franchise, you will very soon have your voters' lists reduced to such an extent as to sap the very principle of responsible government. This Bill, if it is correct, should, in my opinion, be directed against both classes of criminals—the man who gives the bribe, as well as the man who takes it. Why should a man who is held by the laws of this Parliament to be a criminal, punishable by a fine and imprisonment, be allowed by another law to have the right to control our legislation? I also take exception to the argument of the hon. member for Cumberland, that we shall only get our just dues by setting the two classes of rogues against each other on the witness-stand. If you put under oath a man who has been guilty of bribery, he is not going to admit that he has bribed another man, and thereby have him disfranchised. There is always a tacit understanding between the guilty parties that they will protect each other. The only way to get at the truth is to put on the witness-stand the man who has been bribed, and ask him if So-and-so did not affect his vote. If he says that he did, in such a way, the judge is forthwith bound by the Bill to disfranchise that man, while letting the man who tempted him go scot free. The promoter of the Bill stated that its object was not to punish, but to take away from persons who are weak enough to take bribes, the power of controlling the public affairs of this country—to treat them as children and weaklings, and remove their names from the list of voters. We are equally bound to say that the man who offers a bribe is weak in doing that, and as little entitled to exercise the franchise as the man who accepts a bribe. For that reason the amendment should carry, and I will most certainly support it.

Mr. JONCAS. I am surprised at the views expressed by my hon. friend from Cumberland (Mr. Dickey). He says the principal object of the Bill is not to punish corruption. I understood that that was its object. He says that the promoter of the Bill only aims to strike from the voters' lists the names of men who take bribes. The man who offers a bribe is equally guilty, in my opinion, with the man who accepts it, or more guilty, because he has more intelligence. If we are against corruption, we must admit that the man who goes through a country at election times bribing the electors should be punished equally with the man who accepts a bribe. My hon. friend from Cumberland argues that he ought not to be punished, because he has more intelligence. I do not see the force of that argument; I think that for

that reason he ought to be punished all the more. This country would have much fewer electors who would sell their votes if there were fewer men going through the counties at election times offering bribes. Furthermore, the hon. member for Cumberland said that it was a secondary matter to put down corruption. If the putting down of corruption is only a secondary affair, we do not want this Bill at all. I always understood from the promoter of the Bill that his intention was to put a stop to bribery, and in order to do that he ought to punish as severely and even more severely the man who offers a bribe than the man who takes it.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. This Bill has not for its object the prevention of corrupt practices, as I can prove by the hon. member for Cumberland (Mr. Dickey), a promoter of the Bill, who comes forward and says, in a straightforward manner, that the object is not to prevent corruption, but only to punish the bad men who allow themselves to be corrupted. The man who distributes the corruption is, according to the hon. member for Cumberland, an intelligent man, much more so than the poor creature who takes a dollar from him to keep his family from dying of starvation. The gentleman who goes around buying votes and making promises and corrupting the people is an intelligent man, according to the hon. member. I say that he may be an intelligent man, but that no honest man would do that dirty work, and as a matter of fact, it is generally strangers, parties unknown in the locality, who are capable of everything, who go around corrupting the people, and these are the parties whom the hon. member for Cumberland pictures as intelligent men. According to that theory, the thief is an intelligent man, much more so than the receiver, and while the receiver deserves to be punished, the thief, because of his superior intelligence, ought to go scot free. Last session I understood that the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) had given his word that he would agree to an amendment punishing the briber as well as the bribee, and on that understanding, I ceased then opposing the Bill. But I do not see any such provision in the present measure. I would refer my hon. friend to volume 3 of 'The Arena,' in which he will find a very ably-written article setting forth that the man who bribes ought to be much more heavily punished than the one who accepts the bribe, because the latter is generally a poor ignorant man, and in any case his offence is but a single one, while the former is, as the hon. member for Cumberland said, an intelligent man, and his offences are numerous.

Mr. AMYOT. I fully concur in the remarks of the hon. member for Cumberland (Mr. Dickey). The object of this Bill is to reach that class of electors who are always ready to go to the agents of the candidate in any county, if not to the candidate him-

self, and ask for some consideration for their vote. Those who do the bribing are of course equally guilty, but with regard to them we have ample provision in our present election law, clause 84 of chapter 8 of the Revised Statutes.

Committee rose, and it being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

House again resolved itself into Committee.
(In the Committee.)

Mr. AMYOT. To provide a new punishment for the bribery would be to add a new provision to the law, and one which already exists in stronger form, I will refer you to sections 84 and 87—as well as others—of the Act concerning the election of members to the House of Commons. Section 84 describes many offences by the briber, such as giving money, promising money, promising to procure employment, and so on. And it provides that such an offence is to be a misdemeanour, which means now that it is an indictable offence, and involves a penalty of \$200. Section 57 provides that threats of violence, etc., shall be treated as a misdemeanour, and, in this case also, a penalty of \$200 is provided. If we look at section 117 we shall see that these penal actions may be taken at any time within one year after the election. Now, if we take section 98 we shall see that a disqualification for eight years is provided for all those, other than the candidate, who have been found guilty of any corrupt practice in any proceeding in which, after notice given of the charge, he has had an opportunity of being heard. Section 110 provides that some of the prosecutions may be taken even before the criminal court. So these offences are already provided for so far as concerns those who are guilty of corrupting the electorate, and provided for more completely than under this Bill. These are treated as a criminal offence, and the limitation of the action is not in this instance 60 days, but one year. The disqualification provided for is not limited to seven years, but to eight years. So we do not want any new law to provide for the case of offences by bribers. This being settled, what is the object to be attained by bringing this offence by the bribing party within the Bill? I cannot see any object. The effect of bringing the bribing party under the operation of this Bill will be to deprive the prosecuting party of the best witnesses we may find under the circumstances. It is very seldom that corruption is practised in open daylight. We see the effect of corruption in the open daylight, but the act of corrupting is generally carried out in the dark. If you expose the bribing party to the same penalty, and subject him to the same mode of punishment by this Bill as the bribed party, then you give a strong inducement to the bribing party not to tell the whole truth under oath when he can

Mr. AMYOT.

avoid it. So you deprive yourself of the best witness you may have. Thus, not only would there be no object whatever in making such provisions against the bribing party, but the result would be actually injurious. The object of this Bill is to reach a class of electors who are a great nuisance to everybody in the elections, men who go around among the election agents seeking to be corrupted. That is what we want; and the rest is already provided for. We need not complicate the present Bill by adding provisions, the effect of which can only be to interfere with its working. That is the reason I am opposed to the amendment. But, as I said, I do not believe the Bill as framed will carry out the object of its promoter. I believe that some amendments are necessary, so as to provide under the present Bill for a preliminary ex parte enquete, which would be reported to Parliament, and then we would have a general and regular enquete which would bring the guilty parties to punishment. If we have such a law, and carry out a series of these enquetes, thereby reaching this class of corrupt people, then disqualify them, and saddle them with the costs, it will only be necessary for us to deal with two or three counties in order to teach such a lesson to this corrupt class of electors that, in future, we may expect to have elections pure and honest, and reflecting the real opinion of the people.

Mr. JONCAS. Before six o'clock I expressed the opinion that the real desire of the promoter of this Bill was to prevent bribery and corruption. My hon. friend from Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot) says that there is no object in providing punishment for a man who bribes. Well, Sir, I quite admit that the present law severely punishes the briber, but we must not forget that the same law also provides for the punishment of the man who accepts a bribe. Section 85 of chapter 8 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, provides :

The following persons are also guilty of bribery, and shall be punishable accordingly :—

(a) Every voter who, before or during any election, directly or indirectly, himself or by any other person on his behalf, receives, agrees or contracts for any money, gift, loan or valuable consideration, office, place or appointment, for himself or for any other person, for voting or agreeing to vote, or for refraining or agreeing to refrain from voting at any election.

(b) Every person who, after any election, directly or indirectly, himself or by any other person on his behalf, receives any money or valuable consideration for having voted or refrained from voting, or for having induced any other person to vote or refrain from voting at any election.

And every person so offending is guilty of misdemeanour and shall also forfeit the sum of \$200 to any person who sues for the same with costs.

So that by the law now existing the man who receives a bribe is guilty of the same offence as the man who offers it, he is guilty of misdemeanour which is punished

the same as theft. We feel the need of a new law to prevent and stop bribery—I am not going to discuss now the utility of such a law—is it not also necessary, in order to make such a law effective, to punish the man who gives the bribe, as well as the man who takes it. Now, it is said that the intention of the promoters of this Bill is to strike from the electoral list the names of a few men who are not intelligent enough to appreciate the value of their franchise. Mr. Chairman, it is no use to attempt to conceal what is going on during an election. The men who offer bribes are generally men who have votes. They are more intelligent, perhaps, than the man who accepts the bribe, but they are electors in the riding, they are electors in the parish. In every parish and township in Canada there is what we call a head canvasser. The parish is generally divided up, as we all know, the county is generally divided up, and apportioned among ten, or fifteen, or twenty canvassers. These men are all electors, they are all responsible. I think the hon. member for Cumberland (Mr. Dickey) said that the man who offers a bribe has an opinion of his own, whereas the man who accepts it has none. Unfortunately, in too many instances the man who sells his vote is almost as respectable and as intelligent as the man who offers the bribe; and I say that if we feel the want of a law of this kind, in order to make it efficient, we must punish the man who offers the bribe with equal severity to the man who takes it. All these canvassers who go around through the parishes and counties have their pockets full of money for the purpose of buying votes. If these men are threatened with the loss of their franchise for a number of years, they will hesitate before offering bribes. I do not discuss the strict legal point of this question, but I say that if the intention of the promoter of this Bill is really to prevent corruption and bribery, if he does not limit himself to striking off the electoral list a few names, then he must admit that the best way to attain his object is to punish the man who offers the bribe and who, in my opinion, is much more guilty than the man who accepts it.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. The real question just now before the committee is whether the party who is guilty of corruption ought to be punished. The hon. member for Cumberland (Mr. Dickey) says that the party who offers the bribe is usually a very intelligent gentleman, whereas the man who sells his vote is of no political party. Well, I think experience has proved the contrary. There is in every county or riding a man whom I will call an election broker—that is the name he is called in the United States—who takes charge of an election. These men have no politics at all. Their first object is to get money from the candidates. If the Conservative candidate, we will say, is able to

hand them for distribution two, five, or ten thousand dollars, they are of his politics; but if the candidate of the Liberal party is able to make a still higher offer, they will leave the Conservative party and attach themselves to the Liberals. They have no more sense of honesty than the man who sells his vote for 50 cents or one dollar. They are no more intelligent, and they are worse, than the man who sells his vote. The man who sells his vote sells only one vote, and is not the inciter of corruption; but the man who goes around through the parish from door to door, trying to buy votes, is by far the more guilty man of the two. Now, I am surprised to find some Liberal members in this House opposing an amendment to punish the briber as well as the bribe-taker. It is said that the man who buys votes can be reached by the law now in existence, as well as the man who takes bribes. If the party who sells his vote is reached by the law, it is only in the case of a contested election. If there is no contested election, neither the man who buys nor the man who sells his vote are troubled at all. If an enquête takes place in an electoral division where there is no electoral trial, neither the man who gives the bribe nor the man who takes it will be troubled at all. But if there is a contestation, and it is proved that a man has bought votes, he is fined and disqualified, and the man who sells his vote is punished just the same. Now, if you make a new law especially for the party who sells his vote, why not make it applicable to the party who gives the money to buy that vote? Let me repeat that if there is no contestation of the election, if there is no protest, the man who gives bribes is not troubled at all. That is not the way to stop corruption. It seems to me that no man who is sincerely desirous of ascertaining the true sense of the electors in any division, can object to the punishment of the man who is guilty of offering bribes as well as the man who sells his vote. If the bribe-giver is more intelligent, he is ten times more corrupt than the man who sells his vote for 50 cents or \$1. I do not think that this Bill if it should become law would prevent corruption. If the amendment is not adopted the Bill will cover corruption and give a chance to any candidate who wants to be elected, to buy as many votes as will be necessary to elect him. As soon as he has been elected he will allow a certain period to elapse in order that his election may not be contested. If a petition has been filed it may be proved that 200 or 300 electors were bought, but at the same time it may be proved that the candidate so elected does not represent the majority of the constituency. But if the law should provide that after an enquête has been held and a report made to this House there were more votes disqualified than the majority obtained, the candidate reported to be elected should lose his seat, I would favour such a provision. The effect

would be apparent, because the candidate would be exposed to lose his seat if he were declared elected. That would be proper means to adopt to prevent corruption. I do not thoroughly understand how the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) holds such strong opinions against corruption when his Bill does not provide means to prevent it. There is nothing contained in the Bill to disqualify the party engaged in corrupt practices. No election broker will go round and spend money if he has not first obtained it from a candidate, agent, or committee. If he receives \$2,000 from the candidate, he is apt to keep \$1,000 for himself and spend the balance. He will buy votes for one, two or ten dollars, and for his own vote he will keep \$200 or \$300. It is difficult to believe, when as high a sum as \$45,000 has been expended on an election, that the agent has not kept in his pocket \$10,000. This does not represent his own labour or his use to the candidate, but it is largely retained for his own vote. That party who received \$10,000 for doing the work, who would no doubt be considered an honest and intelligent man, would not be reached by this law, although he was the man who corrupted the constituency. I do not understand such a policy. I am against corruption, but I want to adopt the correct means to prevent it, and to punish the parties who buy votes, and more especially the candidate who has given money for corrupt purposes. I hope the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) will accept the amendment. The experience of the Imperial law, passed in 1852, showed that the law had been without avail, and that it did not prevent corruption, and even although the bribe-giver was punishable, the law was so framed that no one could be reached. In 'Hansard' of May 24th, 1852, I find that Col. Sibthorp, in the House of Commons, said :

He warned the Government against the man-traps and spring-guns set by the other side, for they would get caught if they did not mind. The Star Chamber was a farce compared with the tribunal which this Bill would create. It would send down commissioners, briefless barristers, he supposed, into various parts of the country and like poachers they would lie waiting for their prey in the darkness of the night, and endeavour to entrap innocent and unwary persons—persons less likely to be guilty of corruption than the noble lord himself.

I think the amendment should be accepted, and I understand the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) has given his word that he will accept it.

Mr. WELDON. I made a statement during the afternoon as to my views. The hon. member for Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot) in the speech he made a few moments ago, and the hon. member for Cumberland (Mr. Dickey), stated my views on the matter. Any one who is eager to see bribery punished in this country could hardly ask for a more drastic law than section 84 of chapter 8 of the Re-

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vised Statutes, which makes the Act of giving bribes a misdemeanour punishable by five years in the penitentiary, and it also provides that any person who chooses to bring an action may recover \$200. If hon. members ask for a law to punish bribery in dead earnest, what law can be more clear or direct than that. I am not trying to punish the briber or the bribee, but as the leader of the House said last year in stating the purpose of the Bill, and as I endeavoured to state last night in bringing the measure before the House, our object is purely and simply to take another way, a different way, to deal with this old difficulty. It is no answer to say that we are not covering the whole ground. If you are covering some part of the ground with reasonable hope of enacting useful legislation, surely that is worth while endeavouring to accomplish. It is no answer to say that you are not doing this and not doing the other, if you are adopting correct measures. I did say to the hon. member for Gaspé (Mr. Joncas) that I would not resist the amendment, or ask my friends to resist it. I did say to him as I say now. I must leave it, of course, to the judgment of the committee; but my own mind is against the amendment for the reasons which are given by my hon. friend for Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot).

Mr. DUPONT. (Translation.) Mr. Chairman, no one more than my hon. colleagues and myself wishes to take any possible means to oppose bribery. There is no one among those who take part in political contests, but is anxious that bribery should be rooted out. And of all such people, no one is more interested than the candidates or members in the doing away with such an evil. Among the members particularly, and among those at large who take any part in electoral contests, there is no one that I know of but is anxious that bribery should cease its work of electoral devastation among the electoral body. Up to now, any action taken against bribery was grounded on what was done in England, in France and in every country where the parliamentary system is in force. Here, as in all other countries, bribery never ceased to be practised to a more or less large extent. Was that due to the laws that had been passed? No. Were laws wanting for the repression of bribery? Not that I know of, if I consult some authors who have written on this subject. The laws that were passed in relation to this question were never wanting in severity, and their numbers bear witness to the desire of those who made them to check this evil inherent to representative institutions. To only mention Canada, the laws contained in our statutes, and which tend to oppose bribery and punish it are not wanting. But what is wanting is good, efficient laws. I much praise the efforts of the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon). I admire them and I praise his courageous attempt

at punishing electoral bribery, but I think his Bill, at least such as it is, will never reach the end he has in view, and that it is not calculated to lessen in any way whatever bribery at our parliamentary elections. It is not the first time that such an attempt has been made. We have the Blake Act, which seems to me to be more perfect than the one now proposed; yet, although it has now been on our statutes for a good many years, no one that I know of ever asked the assistance of that law to do away with electoral bribery. No electoral riding ever thought of using it. What I would have, Mr. Chairman, is a good law, a law that would afford means to void the elections tainted with bribery, a law that would be more perfect than the one we now have, and that would reach the guilty candidates and members, the agents and all those people who offered bribes and depraved the moral sense of the voters, a law that would not only punish the candidates or members who are wholly innocent of any reprehensible action, when bribery was practised against their will and without their consent, to the detriment of their purse. What I would have is a good law that would reach the guilty ones, and would not cause innocent people to suffer. My hon. friend the member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) forgets that the real guilty party is the one who seduces the voters, who furnishes the money, the one who, by his mischievous actions, debauches the electoral body, the one who pays the agents to go and offer bribes and buy the voters. The real bribe-givers are the agents who go through the rural districts, go from door to door calling upon the most ignorant voters—for it is with them they stand the best chance of succeeding in their secret work—the agents, I say, who go and offer temptations to the voters the least cognizant of the law and political matters, who do not appreciate, therefore, the enormity of the social crime they commit, and who by listening to the mischievous advice of those agents of bribery, pervert the popular verdict and send to Parliament men who do not represent the majority of the county. This is due, no doubt, to the ignorance of the voters, guilty ignorance, I own, but is it not true, on the other hand, that this evil is the direct work of the agent who went and solicited and induced the voter to pervert the electoral verdict by selling his vote and accepting money to give it to a candidate who does not represent his political opinion. But there is more than that. There are such men as have political opinions; there are such voters as are for one or the other party, and they are not those who lend the most reluctant ear to the alluring promises and money offered by such agents of bribery. In all electoral bodies, however educated and intelligent they may be, there is also another class of voters whom such agents reach, and they are the individuals who

have no political opinions. These ignorant voters accept money for their votes and they pervert the result of an election. Is it not reasonable to think that such individuals are less responsible for the wrong they do the electoral body than those who pay them for their votes, and the latter—I refer to the agents—will exercise their influence to propagate bribery. Those agents, as stated by the hon. members who preceded me, are as a rule more intelligent men than the generality of voters who forget themselves to the extent of selling their votes; they are, as a rule, men whose intelligence is superior to the intelligence of those they go and offer temptations to. They are certainly the most guilty ones, and therefore it is such people that the law should reach and severely punish. In setting forth these views, I am not relying merely on my own authority. It is the principle acknowledged by all the authors who have studied and written on this question of electoral bribery. The authors who made studies on bribery and representative institutions in general proclaim the principle of the greater responsibility of the agents and insist on their greater culpability. It is the opinion expressed by Mr. Antoine Lefèvre in his book, wherein he discourses on electoral laws and customs in France and England. That writer expresses very distinctly the opinion just mentioned by me. Mr. Lefèvre, referring to the degree of culpability of the bribe-giver and the bribe-taker, writes as follows, and it is the opinion of a writer who has given much study to the question, and who, therefore, deserves the full consideration of the committee. The lines I am about to read seem to have been written in view of this Bill, so much do they seem to distinctly apply to it:

It is to the honour of the legislation of Great Britain that it has extended in that path and has followed it to the end without any failing, never receding but always moving forward in that just fight for the purifying of elections, which was the siege of Troy, but also the conquest of Troy.

The question was not merely to add new laws to those already in force, it was applicable laws that were required. The powerlessness of the old laws had discredited them; they could hardly reach any but the least guilty people, while they allowed the more guilty ones to escape, and they were therefore at variance with that permanent need of equal justice of which the English people never disaccustomed themselves. Owing to the difficulties of the evidence, not only did the principal agents know how to escape the exorbitant fine which was to reach them; but the candidate himself on whose behalf the voters were bribed, and to whom one could have said with the great poet:

La faute en est... à toi, riche, à ton or,
was almost sure of impurity. Of course, the law did not shield him with its indulgence.

Further on, he writes:

Mr. AMYOT. (Translation.) In what year was that written?

Mr. DUPONT. (Translation.) In 1870, I think.

Mr. AMYOT. (Translation.) The law he refers to was repealed since.

Mr. DUPONT. (Translation.) I know that.

Bribery has met so far with more intelligence, it knows how to conceal itself under more harmless appearances. Indeed it does not exert itself to the detriment of opinions, it rather works upon the indifference of voters. Therefore it will continue to intrench itself behind extenuating circumstances, so long as the opposition seems to attach to the one who sells his vote rather than to the one who buys it. In order that dishonour may do justice on bribery, the offence against honesty must appear as being committed much more by the one who gives than by the one who receives the gift. It is the feeling that now begins, if not to prevail, at least to be propagated, and it is easily found that the evil, if not yet found, is felt at all events. It is the first condition for a cure.

Thus, in England, as well as here, the public men who intended to put a stop to electoral bribery and who, indeed, worked in that direction, have thought of eradicating the evil by striking at the bribe-giver, at the one who supplies the money. My hon. friend considers that the law we now have in our statutes is sufficient against the briber. Well, if such be the case, it is equally sufficient against the bribee, since it is the same law. He wants to inquire into those who sell their votes. Why not inquire into those who buy them? The moment you know the one who buys the vote, you are in a position to trace his steps and discover those whom he called upon. It is just as important to make an inquiry in order to discover those who buy the votes than to make one against the wretched beings who sell their franchise. Bribery is practised in various ways. It is not only money that works as a bribery agency at elections. There is the undue influence. In England, leagues were formed among people of fashionable society. Ladies moving in the highest circles take a hand in electoral contests in favour of certain candidates or certain parties. They go to the great stores and threaten their owners to withdraw their patronage from them if they do not support the candidate of their choice. It is a manner of bribery. On other people, as stated by the author I have just quoted, this bribery influence takes the form of a gentle smile; gentle smiles are hard to catalogue. There are many ways of influencing the electorate. I think, therefore, that the amendment moved by the hon. member for Gaspé would improve this Bill. If the House is of the opinion that it should pass the Bill of the member for Albert, I think it should adopt the amendment of the hon. member for Gaspé. I would rather have the Bill put aside, though, and the Government take upon themselves, with the consent of the House, to pass a good controverted election act which would reach the guilty parties.

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who are the suppliers of money, those who engage the agents who go and bribe the electorate. So long as you will not strike at these, you will to no purpose punish the miserable fellow who frequently believes he does not sell his vote, but merely gets paid for the time he takes in going to the poll. The amendment of the member for Gaspé has for its object to find out such buyers of votes and punish them. The punishment will be much more efficient with them than the one inflicted on those who are willing to receive money. For, as stated by the hon. member for Cumberland (Mr. Dickey), such men are more intelligent than those who are bought, and the moment they will find the law laying heavily upon them, they will become more cautious. When there will be no more agents to practise bribery, we may feel satisfied there will be no more bribery. I beg the hon. member for Albert and the supporters of his Bill to yield to evidence; if they wish to eradicate the evil, they must first crush down the recruiters of votes, and when they will have done that, electoral bribery will have disappeared from our habits.

Mr. AMYOT. (Translation.) The reasons just given by the hon. member for Bagot (Mr. Dupont) do not at all meet the arguments set forth. By striking at the corrupt people, we wish to reach the real guilty parties; and by corrupt people, I mean that class of men who, on polling days, prowl about the polls, waiting for money to go and vote. Unfortunately, one or the other of the candidates, or their agents, desirous of securing victory, finally yields to the temptation such a class of men offer them, and they offer them money or make promises to them in order to induce them to vote for the man whom they are working for. It is such people whom it is necessary to punish, for they vote for one or the other party without distinction as soon as they receive the bribing money they are fishing for. As for bribes, their punishment is already provided for, and fully, in the laws we now have. By this Bill, we intend to get at these political debauchees, and for that purpose we think it necessary to pass a special legislation. To reach that end, some evidence has to be made. Now, if you strike at the briber, you will not be able to make such evidence for want of the principal witness. It is a very important, if not an essential point in order to succeed in ascertaining the offence, as you will find no voter willing to inform against himself. That is the point that has to be answered. Were the amendment relating to the punishment of the briber adopted, there would not be a single witness to attest under oath that such and such a voter was bribed. We intend to punish that class of voters who try to sell their vote at every election. We want to put their names on a black list, for it is always such people who are an obstacle to electoral purity. We are all anxious that our elections should be carried on in the most proper and

purest possible way. We are all tending to the same thing, but we are at variance as to the means that should be taken to reach the end.

Mr. DUPONT. (Translation.) I am pleased to reply to the observations of my hon. friend the member for Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot). We wish for election purity, and that is why we want to get at the briber, because he is more guilty than the bribee.

Mr. AMYOT. (Translation.) It is already done by existing laws.

Mr. DUPONT. (Translation.) No, you will come short of your purpose. The evil must be eradicated. As for witnesses, it will be very easy to turn the difficulty pointed out by my hon. friend. When it will be understood that we have eradicated the evil by getting at the briber, the voters will know that electoral agents can no more give them any money; they will ask for none and will no more try to sell their votes. Let it be known once for all that there will be no more buyers and there will be no more bought people.

Mr. AMYOT. (Translation.) Yes, when two Sundays will come together.

Mr. DUPONT. (Translation.) I think the bribers must be punished first, so as to prevent them making any victims. When they will be all crushed down, the bribees will next disappear. Therefore, we must apply ourselves to the removing of the bribers, because they are the most clever and intelligent people among those who take part in electoral corruption.

Mr. RINFRET. (Translation.) Does not the existing law provide the means to get at the briber?

Mr. DUPONT. (Translation.) It also punishes the bribees.

Mr. AMYOT. (Translation.) Very leniently.

Mr. DUPONT. (Translation.) I want electoral bribery to be eradicated; that is why I want a law that should look for and severely punish the one who buys the voters. There is the capital point of the evil. We must punish those who use their money in making victims, in sowing perjury and dishonour. If my hon. friend from Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot) intends to oppose bribery, let him join with us to root it out by removing its most active, clever and intelligent agents; I mean the bribers. And, when we will have succeeded in that undertaking, we will then be in a position to say that all those who will come and sit here do really represent the will of the majority of the voters, freely and independently expressed, and never could a doubt be cast on the honesty and purity of their election.

Mr. JONCAS. (Translation.) If my hon. friend from Albert is earnest—and I have no

reason to doubt that he is—I am sure he will yield to the arguments of my hon. friend from Bagot. The hon. member for Bellechasse used a rather queer argument in opposing my amendment. He says he intends by this Bill to reach the bribee, but he wishes to protect the briber, because he wants him as a witness. Should the existing laws be inadequate to stem the tide of corruption which threatens us and is rising from year to year, then let us pass the Bill now before us. But, if this new law is necessary, let us punish both the briber and bribee. As just stated by the hon. member for Bagot, the root of the evil lies in the fact that there are agents in every county who, well furnished with money, go over the parishes for the purpose of bribing the voters. I grant that there are in every parish, in every county, a certain number of voters forming a nucleus, who have no political convictions, or, if having any, are always ready to sell them. I grant that in many cases this nucleus of voters holds the balance of power, and that it is important that measures should be taken to check this ever-increasing evil. But you will agree with me that as soon as the required measures will be taken to cause the briber to understand that he can no more carry on his operations with impunity, a longer step will have been taken in the way of a remedy to the existing evil than by striking a few names out of the list of voters. The strongest argument made against my amendment is this: they say: The existing law provides for the severe punishment of the one who buys the votes. I grant it; but they forget to say that the same law also provides for the severe punishment of those who sell their votes. Under the existing law, bribers and bribees are put on an equal footing. Then, why not put in this Bill the briber and bribee on an equal footing? All our existing laws punish both the briber and bribee. It is contended that the laws already extant are inadequate to stem this tide of corruption, and they propose a new law. I wonder why they decline in this new law to punish briber and bribee in the same way. I have just read clause 85 of chapter 8 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, which declares guilty of misdemeanour the person who sold his vote. But it goes further; it declares that the person who will have sold his vote will be disqualified, will lose his civil rights. That is what is inferred from section 98. I may be allowed to quote that section in full:

98. Every person other than a candidate, found guilty of any corrupt practice in any proceeding in which, after notice of the charge, he has had an opportunity of being heard, shall, during the eight years next after the time at which he is so found guilty, be incapable of being elected to, and of sitting in the House of Commons, and of voting at any election of a member of the House of Commons, or of holding any office in the nomination of the Crown or of the Governor General in Canada.

Well, is not that provision severe enough

with respect to the man who sells his vote? It is as severe with respect to him as it is with respect to the one who buys a vote; and if my hon. friend from Albert refuses to accept the amendment made by me, I will feel justified in saying that the law he proposes is quite useless, since the existing law punishes both briber and bribee. I cannot understand why those who are earnestly willing to check corruption refuse to punish the briber. It seems plain to me that, if you first punish the bribe-giver, and punish him more severely than the bribe-taker, you will have found the means of checking electoral bribery more effectually. For these reasons I hope the hon. member for Albert will not object to the amendment I have moved.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) Mr. Chairman, I thought the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) was going to accept the amendment of the hon. member for Gaspé (Mr. Joncas). The hon. member for Bellechasse has just stated that the bribe-giver must not be punished, because he has to be kept as a witness. It is a principle he very likely never used in arguing his cases before courts of justice, for he is too expert a lawyer not to admit that this is a principle which would not be accepted by any court. Under this new doctrine, in order to have a good witness, one would only have to secure the services of a briber, of a man whose reputation is ruined. The law ought also to enact that the thief will not be punished, but only the receiver of stolen goods. It would not be the principal criminal, but his accomplice, who would have to apprehend the law. This is very unsound morals. It shows to me that the Bill is worse still than I thought. No, Mr. Chairman, we must not think of securing impunity to the principal culprit in order to have him as a witness. We must, on the contrary, have none but honest and respectable witnesses, men who never were liable to any of the punishments or penalties inflicted by law. I already stated, in the course of the debate on this Bill, that it did not tend to prevent corruption, but, on the contrary, to promote it. All that which is going on now, all that which is stated is to me new evidence that I was right. Therefore, it will be admitted that I am doing my duty in opposing it with all my might. I need no bribery to be returned, and I will never come back in this House if such fraudulent means have to be used to win over a majority in my county. I do not want to be returned by having recourse to the buying of votes or distribution of whisky. Proceeding from that principle, I say that the hon. member for Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot) was wrong, and that the reason he gave was not an earnest one. In support of his contention, the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) read section 84 of the Elections Act. Why did he not read section 85? I am compelled to read that section 85, since the hon. member did not deem it proper to read it. It enacts:

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The following persons are also guilty of bribery, and shall be punishable accordingly:

Every voter who, before or during any election, directly or indirectly, himself or by any other person on his behalf, receives, agrees or contracts for any money, gift, loan or valuable consideration, office, place or employment, for himself or any other person, for voting or agreeing to vote, or for refraining or agreeing to refrain from voting at any election.

Every person who, after election, directly, or indirectly, himself or by any other person on his behalf, receives any money or valuable consideration for having voted or refrained from voting, or for having induced any other person to vote or refrain from voting at any election;

And every person so offending is guilty of a misdemeanour, and shall also forfeit the sum of two hundred dollars to any person who sues for the same, with costs.

That is severe enough. We who are for the amendment, we want it because we are desirous to put a stop to corruption. We do not intend to protect the larger to the detriment of the lesser guilty parties, we do not intend to protect the bribers to the detriment of the people they bribed. We want to strike at those who with their money go and buy fifty or a hundred voters and thus carry the section for the candidate who does not enjoy the real confidence of the majority. We do not want to protect the gentleman, the intelligent man, as stated by some, because he is the greater culprit. He is the father of the evil and he deserves a severer punishment than the other. The Bill now before the committee enacts that the one who sold his vote will be disqualified for seven years. Why should not the one who bought such a vote be punished likewise? Under the Elections Act, the person disqualified for seven years cannot be a member nor hold any position under the Government. Does this Bill go to that length? Not at all. It merely states that the voter will be deprived of his franchise, but he may hold a position under the Crown, be a member and come and sit in this House, for there is nothing in the Bill to the contrary. He may come and sit here and satirize those who have passed such a law. He may even be appointed Lieutenant-Governor of a province, or collector of customs at Montreal, for instance, a position now vacant, for there is nothing that forbids it. So that the hon. member for Albert and the supporters of his Bill are in favour of corruption. Some papers will vainly cry out that we are in favour of corruption because we oppose this Bill. It is quite the contrary. We are so much against corruption and so anxious to protect the good name of Canada and that of the Canadian people that we do not want a law which would result in its lessening. An English member, Col. Sibthorp, referring to the Bill against electoral corruption proposed in the English House of Commons in 1852—

and the Bill now before the committee is but a copy of this English Bill—stated, as reported in 'Hansard Parliamentary Debates,' volume 70 :

Mr. SCRIVER. (Translation.) In French.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. I shall translate it in French after. I will give you a little lesson in French ; I know you want it. After this debate I think you will understand French as well as I understand English. (Translation.) I will now resume the quotation from Colonel Sibthorp :

He thought the measure was utterly indefensible as to its mode of operation. The pure paid Commissioners it appointed were to go down into the boroughs and cities from time to time to seek for corruption. He conceived the bill was meant to encourage a class of men going about as spies in every city and borough in the Kingdom. It was a cowardly, dastardly measure, and full of meanness. Nobody, of course, would call that influence corruption which was used by government in certain seaports and other places where there was a great expenditure of public money ; but if an independent member, happened to go into a miserable cottage in the place he represented and finding a man lying in sickness and want, and perform toward him those christian duties of charity and kindness which, he thanked God, had been early impressed upon his mind, and which he had never forgotten, that, he supposed, would be made a corrupt practice, and the member would jeopardise his seat. Indeed it was highly dangerous nowadays to give a voter even a pinch of snuff. He knew that to oppose such a bill as this was difficult ; but he could not allow it to be read a second time without expressing his deep regret that its provisions should be such as would prevent the slightest exercise of Christian charity by a member towards his poorer constituents. Let the bill pass, however, and he would go on as he had ever done. He had never been guilty of any malpractices at elections ; and he wished every member had as clean hands as he had. He feared it would take an enormous quantity of soap to purify some of them. He had never controlled or restricted in any degree the humblest labouring man in his employ ; and let the consequences be what they might, he should never forget the duties every man ought to perform in this world toward his poorer neighbours.

(Translation.) Since the Controverted Election Law was passed, how many elections were protested before the courts ? One-fourth ? No. A twentieth part ? I doubt it. It is the few whose fate was decided upon by courts of justice.

Mr. AMYOT. (Translation.) Let the hon. member read section 106 of the Controverted Elections Act and he will find that this is provided for.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) I have read that section 106. It is well known. Here it is :

106. All penalties and forfeitures (other than fines in cases of misdemeanour) imposed by this Act, shall be recoverable or enforceable with full

costs of suit, by any person who sues for the same by action of debt or information, in any court of competent jurisdiction in the province in which the cause of action arises, and in default of payment of the amount which the offender is condemned to pay, within the period fixed by the court, the offender shall be imprisoned in the common jail of the county or district for any term less than two years, unless such penalty and costs are sooner paid ; but no action or information for the recovery of any such penalty or forfeiture shall be commenced unless the person suing for the same has given good and sufficient security, to the amount of fifty dollars, to indemnify the defendant for the costs occasioned by his defence, if the person suing is condemned to pay the same. 37 Vict., chap. 9, sect. 109 ; 46 Vict., chap. 4, sect. 1.

I think the hon. member for Bellechasse intended to play me a trick, for this condemns his own contention. That section 106 condemns the Bill of the member for Albert (Mr. Weldon). If this section 106 punishes all those who practised bribery, why should he introduce a Bill stating that hereafter the bought voter will only be disqualified for seven years, while the existing law condemns such a voter to an imprisonment for two years and to pay a fine ? Any one may take proceedings against that elector before a criminal or civil court and have him punished. The hon. member for Gaspé stated that electoral corruption is now prevailing more than ever. I think he is mistaken. It is a well known fact that there is now less corruption at elections than twenty years ago. Thus, for instance, I know of counties where, twenty or twenty-five years ago, a candidate had to spend \$17,500 to get returned, while now he gets returned there by acclamation, without spending a single dollar. People are so moral that they even think no more of such corrupt practices. They select men whom they trust and send them as their representatives in Parliament. I wonder if this is the way they intend to deceive the electorate. Yesterday I heard some gentlemen opposite state, in connection with an increase of three cents per pound upon woollens : You intend to deceive the people, but the people are enlightened, they will not allow themselves to be deceived by such humbug ; three cents per pound will not protect them, for they want foreign wool and you are going to increase the manufacturer's price. This argument, in my opinion, did not hold good, because it is the farmer who will be benefited by that increase of three cents per pound. If the Bill now before the House had such an object in view, if at least its provisions were more severe against bribery than the existing laws, I would say : They wish for the good of the electorate, they wish to prevent corruption. But such is not the case. There may be extensive bribery in the province of the hon. member for Albert ; maybe they give out \$10,000 to get returned there ; but they give it to an elec-

tion broker. That election broker is a gentleman whom they must protect he is an innocent man. Then it would come to this: that the devil is more cunning than God Almighty and he should be rewarded; he is a gentleman. This Bill is therefore subversive of all the principles so far admitted as true. I therefore repeat, and it will be my concluding observation, that this Bill tends to protect corruption. It will enable a person to get returned through bribery. I could very easily show before concluding that the reasons given against the amendment are very poor indeed. One has only to read the law to see the futility of the contention set forth. Section 107 of the Revised Statutes I have already quoted, enacts as follows:—

It shall be sufficient for the plaintiff, in any action or suit under this Act to allege in his pleading or declaration that the defendant is indebted to him in the sum of money thereby demanded, and to allege the particular offence in respect of which the action or suit is brought and that the defendant has acted contrary to this Act, without mentioning the writ of election or the return thereof.

Thus the plaintiff has only to claim the sum and he at once obtains judgment, the court decides in his favour. It is much more expeditious. Under this Bill, the judge may summon before him any one he likes. But, as he cannot sit during the regular terms, he will be forced to adjourn his inquiry. The proceedings will be put off from week to week, from month to month, and will, perhaps, last a whole year. There are complaints already made that judges indulge in politics on the bench. We know what complaints were raised in the province of Quebec. They were referred to in the press. The hon. member for L'Islet (Mr. Tarte) even made much fuss about that. How could the judge, appointed to make such an inquiry, succeed in giving satisfaction to everybody? You compel him to come down from the bench and condemn political opponents. Should he disqualify Conservative voters, the people will not fail to say: Had it been a Conservative judge it would not have happened. Should he disqualify Liberal voters, they will say: Ah, had the judge been a Liberal, the result would have been quite a difference. In the inquiries which were made by certain judges of the province of Quebec, some people were scandalized to see judges coming down from the bench to conduct such inquiries. What would it be should this Bill be passed? The election jobber, the broker, will always know how to protect himself and get sheltered from the punishment inflicted by law. You will not succeed in reaching him. The existing law is much more efficient than the one proposed. Under this Bill, a voter will simply be asked whether he received any money for his vote, whether he sold his franchise for a mess

Mr. JEANNOTTE.

of pottage. The election jobber, in order to conceal his designs, will say to the voter: Vote as I tell you, and we will settle that when the election is over. The voter, in such a case, will be able to swear that he received nothing for his vote. The hon. member for Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot) contends that we must not get at the briber, because he is necessary to make evidence. But how will we know whether he is necessary if he is not examined? We will have to summon all the agents of the candidates and to ask them whether they practiced bribery. These agents will say: What do you want to know of me? Do you want to know whether Peter received any money, whether James sold his vote. But, however, before answering, he will require from you that you should give him some particulars. The election jobber, with such a law, will be perfectly safe. He will give no money to the voters, but will hand it over to a sub-agent, and he will be able to say: I have indulged in no corrupt practices. If the promoter of this Bill was earnestly desirous of preventing corruption, he would, as stated by the hon. member for Bagot, begin by the beginning, that is to say, by punishing those who supply money to carry on the elections. As stated by the hon. member for Bagot, if there was no one willing to give any money, no voters would sell his vote. This Bill is neither more nor less than an indirect way to lure the voters and to shield, through legal means, the election jobbers, such people as undertake, for a money consideration, to do the dirty work of an election. A man who sells his vote is a criminal and deserves to lose his franchise, and also deserves to be driven out of society, as he actually is. But the man who buys his fellow-citizen commits as great a crime; he buys political liberty, he prevents a voter from using his intelligence and his free will. It was stated that the poor labourers were the only people who sold their votes; I deny that. No doubt it sometimes happens that the poor fellow who is in need of a dollar to provide for his family, sells his vote. But it is not a single dollar, but a hundred dollars that is required by the man who has sufficient means to live by himself; and if this Bill should become law, that man will become an election jobber. That is to say, instead of buying others, he will buy himself with the \$100 he will have received, and, to cover himself, he will say: I did not sell my vote, but I had charge to buy votes. Peter, who will receive \$10 of election money, will say: Here now, it is not for my vote that I receive this, but it is to buy my neighbour Lewis, and my other neighbour, Paul. He will go to these and say to them: You know, we vote on the same side. Here is a dollar for you, Lewis, and here is fifty cents for you, Paul; it is not to buy your vote, it is to pay for your time. And Peter will keep eight dollars and a half in his pocket, and it

will be impossible to get at him. Another man who will receive \$5 of election money will say: I am not selling my vote for \$5, but to help you carrying your election—because I know that you belong to the Government party, that you are an honest man, and that your candidate will give good votes in the House—I accept the \$5. Well, that man is covered again. Should any one come and tell him that he sold his vote, he will answer: No; I am an honest man, I am an intelligent man, I read the papers, I go and hear the great political speakers, such as the hon. leader of the Opposition; oh! my neighbours may have sold their votes, but I have not. This Bill is just the Bill to enable a candidate to get returned who could not get returned otherwise than by practicing bribery. We know the ways of bribers at election times. They do not go to a voter and propose to him bluntly to buy his vote. They say to him: Here is a dollar, two, five, twenty dollars; it is not for your vote it is for your influence. Go to your neighbour and induce him to vote for my candidate. Such a voter will swear before the committee of inquiry that he never received any money for his vote, but that he was paid as an agent. Of what use, then, will be this Bill? It is what I cannot see. Why, then, drag the judges into politics?

Mr. CHOQUETTE. (Translation.) The little Bench.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) Yes, it will be the worst little Bench that ever existed. They much criticised the inquiries made by the Government into certain facts made by the judges at the request of the Government of the province of Quebec. However, in these cases the charges or facts were such that the whole province of Quebec was stirred up. But here the case is much more objectionable. They seek to establish hundreds of little Benches. In the case I have just referred to, the whole population of the province of Quebec rose in a body against the guilty parties. There was therefore justification. Both parties were represented at the inquiry, and if part of the inquiry was carried on 'ex parte,' it was because the accused parties were unwilling to appear before the court and defend themselves. I will sum up, Mr. Chairman, for I do not wish to detain the committee any longer, although I would still have much to say. I will sum up by saying that I support the amendment now before the House for the following reasons: First, because sections 84, 85 and 106 of the Controverted Elections Act give us all the necessary means to prevent corruption and punish the party who becomes guilty of it, either by offering or taking bribes, for our law punishes the briber as well as the bribed. It is a plain, clear, definite law. We have only to use it to thoroughly succeed in purifying the poli-

tical atmosphere. Secondly, because this Bill does not tend to prevent corruption, but rather to protect the briber. Thirdly, because this Bill is not an earnest one either in its means or its object. Under existing laws, the voter who accepted money may be fined \$200, and, in default of payment, condemned to an imprisonment for two years and disqualification for eight years. Under section 98, already quoted by me, he loses his political rights and cannot accept any position under the Government, not even that of messenger. Under this Bill now before the House a man having sold his vote will be disqualified, but he can accept any charge under the Crown. He may be appointed Collector of Customs, Post Office Inspector, with a salary of \$4,000 or \$5,000 a year. He can even be returned as a member of Parliament.

Mr. WELDON. My hon. friend (Mr. Jeannotte) appears to have thoroughly exhausted the subject now. Might I ask that in justice and in fair play, he would allow the sense of the House to be taken on the question?

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) Mr. Chairman, there is one thing certain, it is that when I spoke on that question the other day, I was in earnest, and that what I said was perfectly true and to the question. I showed the injurious effects of this Bill, not only for three or four voters, but for the whole Dominion of Canada. I am now considering another question, having as much importance. I exceedingly regret that the hon. member for Albert should lose patience. If he is only willing to listen to me, he will learn French in a very short time, and when familiar with it, he will enjoy it. My object is to come to practical means whereby corruption may be prevented. But I am told: You have discoursed on that during two sittings already. It is true, but we have already spent two months discussing the tariff. In my opinion, it was a less important question than the one we are now discussing. The hon. members spoke on the tariff from twenty to thirty times in a single day. It was all very well for them; they spoke in English, while I am speaking in French. If my hon. friend from Albert had been willing to accept the amendment proposed, the discussion would have been finished long before this.

Mr. WELDON. I rise to correct the hon. gentleman most emphatically. I made the statement that I would not resist the amendment, but it is not for me or any one else to say that the amendment would be accepted. I said I would prefer the Bill as it stands, but I would not resist the amendment; but whether it will be accepted or not rests in the judgment of the committee.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. (Translation.) The hon. member (Mr. Jeannotte) ought to allow the Committee to divide on this question.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) But, Mr. Chairman, after the division I will have no more right to speak. I am not speaking for the mere sake of the thing. I am discussing an important question. When some hon. members spoke no less than 20 times on a question of 2 cents per pound upon wool, I did not blame them. Every one has a right to express his opinions, and it is hard to please everybody. I want to prevent corruption, and I am told: You speak too long, you make yourself disagreeable to the House. I do not want to be told at the next general election: You were in the House in favour of bribery; a Bill was introduced which had for its object to favour corruption, and you, Jeannotte, you were wanting in your duty; you did not oppose such a Bill. There is one thing, Mr. Chairman, that must not be lost sight of. It is that the Bill now before the Committee is not as good as the provision embodied in section 108 of the Revised Statutes. I will show that the existing law is a hundred times more severe for the bribe-taker than the Bill we are now discussing. That section reads as follows:—

108. In any such civil action, suit or proceeding, the parties to the same and the husbands or wives of such parties respectively, shall be competent and compellable to give evidence, to the same extent and subject to the same exceptions as in other civil suits in the same province; but such evidence shall not thereafter be used in any indictment or criminal proceeding under this Act against the party or person giving it. 37 Vic., chap. 9, sec. 111.

Under this section, the wife or children of the voter suspected of having taken bribes can be summoned as witnesses. We all know that it is the wife who receives the corrupting money, but she is very intelligent, and she says to her husband: Go and vote and do as told by that gentleman, it is all right. It will be the husband who will be summoned to give evidence at the inquiry made under this Bill. He will simply say that he never received any money for his vote, and he will tell the truth. What will be the result of your inquiry? The election jobber will address himself to the wife, sister or daughter of the voter, he will give them the sum agreed upon; but as the voter will know nothing of that or will ignore it, he will go and vote as told by his wife, and he will swear that he never was bought. Whatever may be said to the contrary, the voter is intelligent enough not to receive anything directly, it is through the wife that bribery is practised. The election broker pockets the most of the money handed to him, but he does not boast of it. Section 109 of the Revised Statutes enacts thus:

109. No person shall be excused from answering any question put to him in any action, suit or other proceeding, in any court, or before any judge, commissioner or other tribunal, touching or concerning

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any election, or the conduct of any person thereat, or in relation thereto, on the ground of any privilege, or on the ground that the answer to such question will tend to criminate such person; but no answer given by any person claiming to be excused on the ground of privilege, or on the ground that such answer will tend to criminate himself, shall be used in any criminal proceeding against such person other than an indictment for perjury, if the judge, commissioner or president of the tribunal gives to the witness a certificate that he claimed the right to be excused on either of the grounds aforesaid, and made full and true answers to the satisfaction of the judge, commissioner or tribunal. 37 Vic., chap. 9, sec. 99.

The court is bound to answer any question that may be put to him. The wife herself is bound to answer, though her answers might criminate her husband. There is no such thing in this Bill. There is nothing to compel a witness to answer questions that might criminate him, for the judge will not be empowered to extend the meaning of the law beyond what is involved in its wording, and then what will you come to? The witness will say: I decline to answer, because I do not wish to criminate myself, and there is nothing whereby I am bound to answer. Who can tell whether the answers would not cause some prosecution? Neither is there anything stated in the Bill with respect to the wife. It is not stated that she will be bound to answer the questions put to her. But the briber is left alone; he is allowed to prowl about his prey, like the raven about a mass of nauseous refuse. He is a gentleman, he is an intelligent man, do you see; you must not touch him. We are opposed to corruption, we want the voter not to sell his vote, that is why we are anxious to do away with the bribe-giver. The Blake Act was more definite and earnest than this Bill. Who ever used it since it was passed? Nobody. Yet under it the party asking for an inquiry had no deposit to make. If I oppose the Bill of the hon. member for Albert, it is to show to the country that those who are opposed to it are earnest men, who repudiate bribery. Now, in order to show that the Election Act now in force is more fair to the party unjustly accused than this Bill of the hon. member for Albert, I will quote section 111, which reads:

111. In case of an indictment or information by a private prosecutor for any offence against the provisions of this Act, if judgment is given for the defendant, he shall be entitled to recover from the prosecutor the costs sustained by the defendant by reason of such indictment or information, which costs shall be taxed by the proper officer of the court in which the judgment is given.

So that if the party unjustly accused before the court proves his innocence, he recovers all his costs from the prosecutor. This is an earnest provision which at once prevents corruption; such a law was not intended to favour the bribe-giver. I did not intend, Mr. Chairman, to detain the House so long; but

the question in which we are interested is such an important one that I am compelled to explain it rather fully. As I stated a moment ago, I consider it as much more important than a tax of three cents on wools. A tax of three cents per pound is not much, compared with the honour of a citizen. I am, therefore, justified in dwelling upon this point, in order to show to the Committee that they should not adopt this Bill. The citizen unjustly accused will be dragged before the court and compelled to prove his innocence. But even though he should succeed in proving that he is in no wise guilty, backbiters and jealous people will always contend that there was something in it. Had he not been guilty, will they say, he would not have been compelled to defend himself. That citizen will see his honour wane through the prosecution legalized by this Bill. Do you think that the accused party, cleared by the grand jury with a verdict of "not guilty," comes out of the court as white, in the opinion of his fellow-citizens, as he was before? Unfortunately, such is not the case. By passing this Bill, you will, therefore, assume an enormous responsibility, by enabling envious people to unjustly accuse honourable citizens, who will be compelled to spend their money to defend themselves. Should the accused person only have \$100 at his disposal, he will be compelled to spend them to protect his own honour and that of his wife and children, children who are the new generation and the voters of to-morrow. I shall conclude, Mr. Chairman, and I hope I have not abused the patience nor hurt the feelings of any one. I will here conclude my observations, reserving my right to discuss the other sections of the Bill, in order to explain my views with respect to this legislation.

Amendment negatived: yeas, 19; nays, 32.

Mr. JEANNOTTE moved that the committee rise.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. On that motion I want to call the attention of the committee to the state of this Bill. Of course, it would be highly improper for me even to doubt the sincerity of the discussion which has lasted so many days, and, therefore, I will say that this is obviously a bill that requires a vast amount of consideration and discussion by the House. The number of days at the disposal of the House to finish the Bill is very small, and it will be obviously necessary, if we are to preserve the credit of the House, that we should sit up all night for the purpose either of completing the passage of the Bill or defeating it. Because, surely, after four or five days' discussion, the House ought to be able to make up its mind whether to pass the Bill or not, and this decision it must, for its credit, arrive at if it has to sit all summer in order to do so. Therefore, I hope the committee will not consent to the motion to rise.

Motion negatived.

On section 7.

Mr. AMYOT. I have an amendment to clause 6.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. I declared clause 6 carried; we are now on clause 7.

Mr. AMYOT. That is not the best way to make progress with the Bill.

Mr. SCRIVER. I think you are mistaken, Mr. Chairman. The amendment was defeated, and immediately after you declared the result of that, the hon. member for L'Assomption moved that the committee rise.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. After the amendment was declared lost, I asked if clause 6 should pass, and I understood that it was agreed to, and I declared it carried.

Mr. CHARLTON. Hon. gentlemen have failed to watch closely the proceedings of the committee. You did ask, Mr. Chairman, whether section 6 passed, and you declared that it was carried.

Sir HECTOR LANGEVIN. I think that was a mistake. The question was about the amendment first. That was lost. Then the hon. member for L'Assomption moved that the committee rise. On that the First Minister rose and made the statement he did just now. As soon as he sat down the question was put on the motion that the committee rise. That was lost, and the sixth clause was not put to the committee.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. I suppose I may give my version too. The amendment of the hon. member for Gaspé was put and lost, the yeas and nays being taken. Immediately after I declared it lost, I asked whether clause 6 should be adopted, and I declared it carried. The hon. member for L'Assomption then rose and moved that I leave the Chair, and I called for the votes of the committee and I declared the motion lost. Now we are on clause 7. That is my view.

Mr. AMYOT. We are on clause 6. It is only the Chairman who is on clause 7. All the rest of us want to be on clause 6.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. We must sustain the Chair.

Mr. AMYOT. I beg to appeal from your decision, Mr. Chairman.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I understand that the hon. gentleman desires to move another amendment. There will be other stages of the Bill at which that may be done, and it would be better to move it at another stage, after the Chairman's ruling.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) But the mere fact of the Chairman ruling does not settle the mat-

ter. I have no interest in stopping the Bill ; I am rather the other way ; but I like to see fair play. There was no question put as to the adoption of clause 6.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I submit that we cannot discuss that after the Chair has decided. We can only have an appeal from his ruling.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) It is a question of fact, and if I contested it as the hon. member for Bellechasse does, I would appeal to the committee. It is absurd to say that the dictum of the Chairman shall control the whole House.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. That is the remedy.

Mr. LAURIER. For my part, I did not know that the question was put at all. If the Chairman says it was, we must take his statement ; but the Chairman must see that he could not have put the question, because otherwise the amendment would have been moved.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. After the motion of the hon. member for Gaspé was defeated and I said lost, I said : " Shall clause 6 be adopted ? " and my decision is that clause 6 has been carried. The only remedy for an hon. member is to appeal to the House.

Mr. FREMONT. I remember perfectly well that when the amendment moved by the hon. member for Gaspé was declared lost, you asked whether the clause should be adopted, and I remember myself calling out " carried ; " and you declared the clause carried. There are a certain number of members of this House who state that they were not cognizant of the fact ; but there are other members who say that they do recollect it, and I should think that their evidence is worth a great deal more than that of those who did not notice it. As a matter of practice, if the committee desire to reconsider their decision, they might do so ; but as a matter of fact, the clause has certainly been carried.

On section 7,

Mr. AMYOT. Before this clause 7 is adopted, I move, in amendment, that the following words be added :—

It shall also be the duty of the judge to be satisfied that the parties implicated in the charges of corruption have been served with a notice of the charge, and have had the opportunity of offering their own evidence.

I would have offered this amendment to clause 6, but as that clause was carried before I had an opportunity of offering it, I now move it in amendment to clause 7. This amendment is also preliminary to another clause, which I will propose latter as clause number 13.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman cannot move this amendment to clause 7, as it is not relevant to that clause. He may make it a special clause when we come to the foot of the Bill. It has no relation to clause 7, which is under discussion.

Mr. AMYOT. We must find some means of expressing our views. I understand the rule is that this motion is not in order.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. It is not relevant, and can only be brought down as a separate clause.

Mr. AMYOT. Clause 7 has relation to the rules of practice to be made, and I will move the following amendment :—

It shall also be the duty of the judge to be satisfied that the parties implicated in charges of corruption have been served with a notice of the charge, and have had an opportunity of offering their own evidence, and the judges will make rules of practice to that effect.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. The amendment falls under clause 7 by the few words the hon. gentleman has added to it, but it is perfectly ridiculous. If the committee choose to adopt it they can do so.

Mr. AMYOT. Is it the ruling of the Chair that the motion is ridiculous ?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. Yes.

Mr. AMYOT. This is a serious matter. Here we are subjected not only to see the legality of a question decided by the Chair, but even its propriety. Even if it is declared nonsensical by the Chair, we have to submit to that decision or appeal from it, and I want to know if that is the decision of the Chair ?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. Yes, it is the decision of the Chair. The amendment of the hon. gentleman was made after clause 6 had been carried, and was intended as an amendment to clause 6. But when the hon. gentleman found that his amendment was not in order, as we were on clause 7, he added to it the words : " and the judges will make rules of practice to that effect," which brings his amendment under clause 7, although the two clauses have no relation whatever to each other. And that is why I say the amendment is perfectly ridiculous, but is still in order.

Mr. AMYOT. I need not say that I will defend my amendment, though it be ridiculous. The decision of the Chair is so bright, so within the rules and the spirit of the rules of the House that I will not say a word about it. I can only congratulate the House and the committee on having so well-enlightened a Chairman.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. Order. The hon. gentleman has not the right to pay compliments to the Chair.

Mr. AMYOT. As my motion is ridiculous, I may make a ridiculous speech, and have the right to continue in the same strain as

my motion. I am only praising the Chair, and I cannot see why the Chair should stop me. I am defending my ridiculous amendment, and surely I must have some rights. I understand that the amendment has been decided in order, and, as I want to test the sense of the House, I beg to submit my ridiculous motion to the committee.

Mr. DUPONT. (Translation.) I think you have no right, Mr. Chairman, to make any remarks on the motions put into your hands, nor to qualify them, nor pronounce on their worth.

Mr. BELLEY. (Translation.) I fully agree with the hon. member for Bagot (Mr. Dupont); it seems to me we ought to be allowed to express our views as we like, without being exposed to the censure of the Chairman of the Committee. The amendments we propose are made with good faith, and I must ask the Chairman to be pleased to accept them as such.

Amendment negatived.

On section 11,

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) Mr. Chairman, before you declare this section passed, I wish to make a few observations, at the risk of having them qualified as absurd and ridiculous. What will happen if I succeed in showing that there are only twenty-two voters? Yet the petition is stated to be evidence by itself. It might very well happen that two or three petitioners should die in the interval, and how will the judge be able to proceed, if he has not the required number of petitioners? I think it is a most arbitrary measure. Therefore, I will deem it my duty to move an amendment if this clause is not changed.

Mr. AMYOT. (Translation.) The words "prima facie" will not prevent the giving of the evidence referred to by the hon. member.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) If that is the meaning the House gives to that section, very well.

On section 12,

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) The deposit of \$500 will be there to pay the expenses of the court, but who will pay the witnesses; I mean the travelling expenses and maintenance?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. It is proposed to strike out section 12 and replace it with the following:—

The judges shall award for every witness summoned a reasonable sum of money for his travelling expenses and his subsistence, which sum of money shall be paid to him at the same time as service is made upon him by the bailiff.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) I have a few words to say with respect to that question of witnesses. Since they wish by this

Bill to have a right, I will not say to find out cases of bribery, but to play the tyrants over honest people, let them at least enable such parties to come up to the court. In ordinary cases, the witnesses are not bound to come to the court before being paid their travelling expenses. In this Bill they say: The judge "may." Suppose a witness living in Montreal is summoned to St. Lin; he has fifteen leagues to travel over. The railway fare is \$2.50. He spends two days at St. Lin, which costs him \$2.50. He will have spent \$5 in all. Should the judge find out that he has nothing to say, he will be entitled to nothing for his expenses. Is not that an iniquity? It is an abomination. Section 12 is so obscure that no one can understand it, not even the hon. Solicitor General (Mr. Curran). My amendment would make it clear.

Mr. BELLEY. (Translation.) Section 12, as printed, reads as follows:—

The judge may award to any person who appears before him, and who is in his opinion a necessary and material witness, a reasonable sum for travelling expenses and maintenance.

If he is a material witness, the judge may not only tax him, but also order the payment of his disbursements. Will it be left with such a witness to come or not to come and give evidence? Will he himself decide whether he ought to appear or not? The judge is empowered by another section to summon all the voters of a county; could a witness say: I will not appear, as I am not a necessary and material witness? If such is the true meaning to be given to this section, I see no objection to let it pass, for it will make the Bill illusory. If this is not the meaning to be given to it, if the witness should be bound to appear, then the judge may order, or not, the payment of the expenses of such a witness. Will a judge be empowered to tax a witness because such a witness will have answered that he has nothing to say? A witness is not taxed because he gave a material evidence, but because he was summoned. I think no Parliament should sanction such an injustice as this, for the witness could always say: You refuse to give me the sum to which I am entitled to, because I knew nothing; is it my fault if I have nothing to say? For these reasons, I think the amendment of the hon. member for L'Assomption (Mr. Jeannotte) should be accepted.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) I wish to say a few words. This Bill has not for its object to prevent bribery, but to allow of perjury. The witness is told: You will be paid if you swear to such and such a thing. I am right in saying that this Bill is intended to promote bribery, and not to prevent it, for it lets out corruption from head to tail. If it was brought before a court of justice, it would be rejected at once.—(English.)—I think, Mr. Chairman, that everything should be stated in the law, and that there should

not be an opportunity for any person to offer a witness a bribe to perjure himself. He may say to a witness : If you do not give a good deposition, sufficient to condemn the man accused, you will not be paid, you will lose your five or ten dollars ; but if you will give good testimony against him, we will pay you. That is the greatest instance of corruption I have ever seen, and it is put in a Bill intended to prevent corruption.

Mr. JONCAS. I may, perhaps, be allowed to call the special attention of my hon. friend from Albert (Mr. Weldon) to this :

The judge may award to any person who appears before him, and who is in his opinion a necessary and material witness, a reasonable sum for travelling expenses and maintenance.

The hon. gentleman will see that this clause is an injustice to witnesses that have been called to appear before a court of justice and who have been heard, though their evidence may not be considered by the judge necessary and essential. The witness should get his travelling expenses and indemnity for his time, in any case, and I think the amendment proposed by my hon. friend from L'Assomption (Mr. Jeannotte) is a just and fair one, and should be accepted by the promoter of this Bill.

Mr. DUPONT. (Translation.) I would like to know who are the parties who have a right to summon witnesses ?

Mr. CURRAN. (Translation.) The petitioners.

Mr. DUPONT. (Translation.) It is stated nowhere in the Bill, and, moreover, they are not interested in the payment of witnesses.

Mr. WELDON. It seems to me better to allow the judge some discretion in this matter. In case any one should undertake to load the trial down with expenses deliberately, the judge should be allowed to say whether a witness has been called for the proper purpose. I think "may" is a better word than "shall" in this case.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The object of the clause is clear, but the clause may require a little amendment in order to carry out the object. It is intended that the witness is to be paid his expenses and maintenance by the party summoning him, and the judge may allow these costs to the party if he thinks the witnesses were material.

Mr. MONCRIEFF. I would like to ask the mover of the Bill : when the judge allows to the witness his witness fee, to whom is it allowed ? In an action in any of our courts it would be allowed to the successful party and not to the witness. What does this clause mean in that respect ?

Mr. CURRAN. It will be allotted to the witness out of the deposit, inasmuch as the judge would consider he was worthy of taxation. The deposit is for the purpose of paying those costs.

Mr. JEANNOTTE.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I agree with the Solicitor General about that. The \$500 is all we have in view for the present, although that sum may be increased. The petitioners in the first instance will hand in a list of the witnesses whom they desire to have summoned, and they must, before these persons are required to move, tender them their ordinary witness fees. The hon. member (Mr. Dupont) is right in saying that the petitioners have no interest in the taxation. We can, however, very well conceive that those whose honesty has been attacked, may have to call witnesses in their defence and the judge may allow them fees out of the funds, and that I take it is the operation of that part of the section which enables the costs to be taxed in favour of the party who desires to call the witnesses.

Mr. DUPONT. (Translation.) There is nothing in the Bill to the effect that the accused parties will have a right to summon witnesses and make a counter-evidence.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. (Translation.) I think we might as well pass over this section.

Mr. MONCRIEFF. The petitioners deposit a certain amount of money. That fund may or may not be sufficient to meet the expenses of the trial. I think that all witness fees should first be paid by the party calling the witnesses, and the witness then has an indemnity or protection, who may not have had any of the fees after he appears in court. I move this amendment to meet the case, in place of clause 12 :

All witnesses shall be entitled to be paid in the first instance by the party by whom they may be summoned, witness fees or conduct money as in an ordinary action in the Supreme or Superior Courts of the province in which the proceedings are being carried on, and the Judge shall allow the witness fees of all material witnesses so called before him out of the money in court, if not already previously paid to such witness.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I do not understand that there is any clause giving a party who has been summoned as a witness the right to summon other witnesses in his defence, and it is only on that hypothesis that the suggestion made by the Prime Minister can be adopted as a possible meaning of the section. There is no clause to provide for witnesses summoned by the original witnesses whose character has been attacked and who desire to call witnesses to defend it.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. That may be provided for in another section.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. I understand that the parties who sign the petition will have nothing to do with the enquête. They only ask that an enquête shall be held in such electoral district, and then the judge himself holds the enquête. But he will give notice to the parties who have signed the petition, to be there at such a day and to give him the names of the parties whom they wish

to be interrogated. There is no one accusing them. The judge himself, following the advice given by the petitioners, will send subpoenas to the parties, but no one will accuse them but the judge himself, who will be lawyer, judge and commissioner.

Mr. WELDON. The suggestion of the leader of the House can be carried out by altering the clause. I move in amendment to the amendment that the clause be altered so as to read in this way :

The judge may allow a reasonable sum for travelling expenses and maintenance of any witness who, in his opinion, is a necessary and material witness, such sum to be paid in the first instance by the parties summoning the witness.

That would make it clear that the witness gets his fees, and the judge has discretion.

Mr. LAURIER. Do you mean that only those witnesses should be paid who are material witnesses ?

Mr. WELDON. They are all paid. In the first instance, they are paid by the parties who summon them, but in the long run it will come out of the court unless the judge decides they were not material witnesses.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Does the Bill provide that a witness shall be paid before he comes ?

Mr. WELDON. Yes, and the court has discretion when they come up, to say whether they were properly summoned or not.

Mr. AMYOT. I would draw the attention of the mover to this fact. Clause (a), which we have adopted, binds every witness summoned to come to court. Now, we are asked to pass another clause, in which he says that the material and necessary witnesses shall be paid beforehand. I want to know, if witnesses are not tendered their costs, travelling expenses and maintenance beforehand, are they bound to come ? There is a distinction to be drawn there. You summon witnesses, and they are all bound to come by clause (a) ; now, by clause 12, you say some of the witnesses shall be paid beforehand.

Mr. WELDON. They are all paid beforehand.

Mr. AMYOT. Then your \$500 would be very soon exhausted. The hon. gentleman promised that on this clause he would tell us how he was going to provide for the costs.

Mr. WELDON. That will come up on clause 16. As the amendment is drawn, it does not say that these witnesses' fees are all to come out of the funds of the court ; it simply says that the witnesses are to be paid by whoever summons them.

Mr. AMYOT. Who summons them ?

Mr. WELDON. Whoever wants to.

Mr. AMYOT. Is it the judge, or the twenty-five petitioners ?

Mr. WELDON. Whoever has put up the money and set the machine agoing. It would be the petitioners, of course.

Mr. AMYOT. Are they responsible for the costs or is there a limit ?

Mr. WELDON. We are now discussing the question of the witnesses' fees, we will take up the costs in a subsequent section. The proposal is that the witnesses' fees be paid by whoever summons them. Then they come to court, and if the judge says they are overloading the case by unnecessary witnesses, they will be paid by the parties who summoned them ; if, on the other hand, the judge says they are reasonable and necessary witnesses, they will be paid out of the funds.

Mr. AMYOT. There is no plaintiff in this instance. You have the twenty-five petitioners, who deposit \$500, their responsibility is limited to that sum. Out of this \$500 you must take the whole of the expenses, and when that sum is exhausted, if the enquete is not finished, what do you propose to do then ? Now, you say you will pay beforehand the travelling expenses of the witnesses whom the judge believes to be material. Well, when the money is all gone, where will you get more money to pay those material witnesses ? It is all very well to say they should be paid by the parties who summoned them, but when there is no party summoning, what will you do ? The twenty-five petitioners are no longer there ; when they have lodged their petition and the \$500, off they go. The duty of the judge begins then ; he goes on with the \$500, and when that is exhausted, what do you intend doing ?

Mr. WELDON. There will be no trial.

Mr. AMYOT. A moment ago a motion I made was characterized as ridiculous, and I do not want the whole Parliament to be put in a ridiculous position by passing a Bill which will not be workable. Does the hon. gentleman intend making the amount larger ?

Mr. WELDON. I said that we would discuss the question of costs on section 16 when we reach it.

Mr. LAVERGNE. I think we should provide for a clause, as in ordinary procedure, by which a certain sum of money would be tendered to each witness to cover his travelling expenses. There is no clause to that effect provided in the Bill. It says that the judge shall grant a certain sum, if he considers it necessary to do so, but this is left conditional, and if a witness is in poor circumstances he may be unable to come. In the province of Quebec it is provided that a witness is not bound to attend unless a certain sum of money is tendered him with which to pay his travelling expenses.

Mr. WELDON. The section provides for that.

Mr. MONCRIEFF. No. I understand that the required deposit of \$500 is simply put up as a bond of part security for costs. The section under discussion is not framed as it should be. It should read that all witnesses shall be entitled to fees as in ordinary actions in the Superior Courts, to be paid in the first instance by the party by whom they were called, and the judge should have discretion to tax a further allowance.

Mr. WELDON. That provision is already in the Bill.

Mr. CURRAN. It is not there. If it is there, and the hon. gentleman will read it, the present difficulty may be avoided.

Mr. MONCRIEFF. I have not found it there.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I have already asked that the hon. gentleman point it out in the Bill.

Mr. WELDON. The clause reads :

The judge may award to any person who appears before him and who is in his opinion a necessary and material witness, a reasonable sum for travelling expenses and maintenance.

I am willing to add : "Such sums to be paid in the first instance by the parties summoning the witnesses."

Mr. AMYOT. How can the judge know beforehand whether the witness is a material witness or not ?

Mr. WELDON. I accept the suggestion of the hon. member for Lambton (Mr. Moncrieff).

Mr. WELDON. I move the following amendment, which I think will cover the ground :—

The ordinary fees of witnesses for their attendance, travelling and maintenance shall be tendered to them by the person or persons who have applied to have them summoned ; it shall also be in the discretion of the judge to allow the costs of witnesses that are necessary on taxation.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The rate of payment would depend on the witnesses. Let the judges provide the rate in each province if they are going to make rules.

Mr. CURRAN. This amendment meets the main objection urged, that there was no provision made for the payment of ordinary witnesses and for tendering them a sum for payment of travelling expenses.

Mr. JEANNOTTE. There is no party applying to have witnesses called, except the judge himself.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The witnesses certainly will not attend under section 6. Section 5 deals with the procedure at the commencement of the inquiry.

Mr. LAVERGNE.

5. The judge, shall upon his appointment, or within a reasonable time thereafter, from time to time hold meetings for the purposes of the inquiry, at some convenient place within the district, and may adjourn such meetings from time to time and from place to place within the said district ; and the clerk or the prothonotary of the court shall give notice of the time and place of holding his first meeting, by mailing such notice to each of the electors who have signed the petition, at least fourteen days before the first meeting is held.

He will have the twenty-five persons who have signed the petition before him, and he will have to get from them the names of the witnesses to be summoned to prove the charges made ; and the way in which the particulars of the charge shall be handed in and other matters are dealt with under section 7. But the judge cannot possibly order the clerk to summon witnesses without having their names before him.

Mr. DUPONT. (Translation.) We are in a state of legislative chaos, unintelligible to any one. Every one is proposing his own amendment. We cannot make out any of the amendments brought before the committee. It is a real confusion which indicates the worth of the Bill now before us. In all the amendments moved it is stated that the judge may allow a witness his travelling expenses, if he deems such a witness to be necessary in the case ; why not state that any witness summoned before the court will be entitled to all his expenses ?

Mr. CURRAN. (Translation.) It is what is proposed by the amendment now before the committee.—(English.)—The first point is covered by the amendment, namely, that the ordinary fees of witnesses for their maintenance, travelling and attendance will be tendered them by the person or persons who have applied to have them summoned. The witness, on receiving his subpoena, will be tendered that amount for travelling expenses, and his maintenance while in attendance. Then the judge has the discretion to disallow necessary cost to witnesses, on taxation.

Mr. DUPONT. Against whom ?

Mr. CURRAN. Against the \$500 deposited.

Mr. AMYOT. Then I accept the amendment, which is clear. Is it to be read in connection with clause 8. and if so, will witnesses who have been tendered the amount specified be obliged to attend ?

Mr. CURRAN. No.

Mr. AMYOT. The explanation we have now will no doubt guide the tribunal, but if we had not received that explanation, there is a positive clause which states that witnesses shall be bound to attend.

Mr. MONCRIEFF. I move the following as a subsection to clause 12 :—

All parties giving evidence in their own behalf shall be paid the like witness fees as recorded in the preceding section

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I think we ought to consider that subject in connection with the section dealing with the fund. We ought to provide that whatever expenses are incurred by any persons charged with corruption under this Bill or in testifying on their own behalf, shall come out of the fund. This is hardly the place for such a provision.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) There is a rule in the English courts on election petitions, which has been adopted by most of the provincial courts, providing for the payment of witnesses out of the fund paid in by the petitioner. It seems to me that would cover the ground. If the promoter of the Bill will look at the English text-books on elections, he will find there a rule which will meet the case.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. That is in the line of my suggestion, and that is the reason why I thought it would be better to deal with the question when we come to the question of the fund.

Amendment negatived : yeas, 20 ; nays, 26.

Mr. MONCRIEFF. It seems that the sections of this Bill are very crude ; indeed, the one I moved in the way of amendment does not please myself. I would move that the committee rise and report progress, and ask leave to sit again.

Motion agreed to : yeas, 39 ; nays, 17.

Committee rose, and reported progress.

ADJOURNMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Mr. MULOCK. Before this motion is carried, I think it would be well for the House to understand whether the business of this country is to go on or not. I think that the scenes we have just witnessed are not creditable to this House. There is a large amount of public business awaiting the consideration of the House, and there does not seem to be that honest disposition to proceed with the affairs of the country that I think the situation warrants. Where the responsibility rests I do not propose to discuss to-night ; but I think the time will soon come when the House and the country will have to know whether the proceedings of this House are to degenerate into a farce, or whether the affairs of the country are to go on properly.

Mr. TAYLOR. We were kept here for three months in this way in 1885.

Mr. MULOCK. I only make this remark. I think the country will disapprove of the proceedings of this day. If I can judge rightly, there is no disposition to proceed with the business on the paper.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I do not think the hon. gentleman's remarks are quite called

for in this instance. I do not think the public will find fault with the proceedings of to-day ; I think it will rather be with the want of proceedings. It would have been much more in accord with my own feelings if the committee had disposed of this Bill and made way for some others on the paper which are quite important likewise. I had to express to the committee my views, which I beg to repeat, that the dignity of the House calls for the final disposition now of a Bill of this kind, after so protracted a discussion has taken place. I think the discussion was very tedious, but I do not think that any of us are justified in saying that it was prolonged unduly with a desire to obstruct business. The Bill is one of great importance, and has evoked the earnest opposition of members of the House. For my part, I am anxious to see it pass and have a fair trial ; but members who are within the rules in opposing its passage, can hardly be reproached with insincerity or a desire to make the proceedings of this House degenerate into a farce. I hope the House generally will see the propriety of coming to the conclusion which I ventured to advise, that we should for our own sake, as well as for the principle involved, endeavour to make a final disposition of the measure as soon as possible. We shall not have an opportunity of adopting the Bill until this day week, but I hope that then the House will come to some conclusion concerning it.

Mr. LAURIER. There is some cause for the remarks of the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock.) They are justified, to some extent, by what has taken place, and I would remind the First Minister himself that, at an earlier stage, he said that he hoped those who opposed the Bill were serious. Having spoken in this manner, the hon. member for North York had reason for saying that the proceedings have not added to the dignity of the House, and that it was questionable whether or not those who had spoken were serious.

Mr. DUPONT. (Translation.) I protest against the words just uttered by the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock). If he meant to say that the members who oppose this Bill as proposed, are obstructionists, I think he was quite wrong. We are making no factious opposition to this Bill, which is one of the most important brought before the House. We have no intention whatever to prevent the business of the House from going on. I think, moreover, that the hon. gentleman should have been of the last to criticise those who oppose a measure brought before this House, when such an opposition is earnest and comes from men having strong convictions. I think the hon. member should be the last to speak as he did, for he himself and his party have more than once obstructed the parliamentary business of this House.

Mr. AMYOT. I think it is but right to reply in English, so that the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) may understand our opinion of the remarks he made a moment ago. He complains because a most important Bill has been discussed during two sittings of the House. It has been discussed in a language he does not understand, and he takes occasion, therefore, to presume that the discussion was in the nature of obstruction. I would remind him that in our province we do not happen to attach perhaps sufficient importance to questions of finance, but we respect the sentiment of the other provinces, who do attach importance to that subject, and we have been patiently listening here, night after night, and month after month, to a repetition of the same theories and arguments over and over again, without a word of complaint. But because we think it proper, in the interest of our electors and justice, to discuss the Bill we have just left, the hon. gentleman takes upon himself to impugn our motives. I protest against his course as one calculated to disturb the harmony and dignity of the House. The hon. gentleman does not know the strength of resistance we possess when provoked. We want peace and harmony, but we want to be respected, and when we desire to speak in French, if the hon. gentleman does not understand, let him remain silent, and not impute our motives. We have as much right here as he has. If we wanted to obstruct we could easily do so, and keep the hon. gentleman here for months longer, but the lengths of our session have never been increased one day by the French speaking in this House. Because this is the first French debate, the hon. gentleman wants to make the House and the country believe that we are obstructionists. That is most unfair and unjust, and a repetition of such conduct will not tend to promote the harmony of the House.

Motion agreed to ; and the House adjourned at 12.35 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, 17th May, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

PRIVILEGE—MR. TURCOTTE, M.P.

Mr. BRUNEAU moved :

That Mr. Arthur Aimé Bruneau, member of this House for the Electoral District of Richelieu, having stated in his place in the House, that he is credibly informed and believes that he can establish :

1st. That Arthur Joseph Turcotte, Esquire, a member of this House for the Electoral District of Montmorency, and while he was a member of the

Mr. DUPONT.

House, to wit : from the eleventh day of March, eighteen hundred and ninety-three, was a partner in the firm of Turcotte & Provost, which said firm, during said period, held, enjoyed and executed a contract with or for the Government of Canada, on behalf of the Crown, in the name of Jean Baptiste Provost, one of the members of the said firm, for which public money of Canada has been paid to the said firm and to the said Arthur Joseph Turcotte, a member of said firm, which said contract was for the supply of groceries and similar goods for the use of the Militia Department at Quebec ;

2nd. That the said Arthur Joseph Turcotte, while a member of this House, to wit : from or about the first day of February, eighteen hundred and ninety-three, until the first day of February, eighteen hundred and ninety-four, was carrying on business for his own benefit in the city of Quebec, under the firm name of "Turcotte & Provost," and during said period he held, enjoyed and carried out a contract with or for the Government of Canada, on behalf of the Crown, which said contract stood in the name of Jean Baptiste Provost, but was in reality held for the sole use and benefit of the said Arthur Joseph Turcotte, and large sums of the public money of Canada were paid under said contract to the said Arthur Joseph Turcotte, and although the cheques were issued therefor to the said Jean Baptiste Provost, the proceeds thereof were received by the said Arthur Joseph Turcotte, which said contract was also for the supply of groceries and similar goods for the use of the Militia Department at Quebec ;

3rd. That the said Arthur Joseph Turcotte, while a member of this House, to wit : from on or about the first day of February, eighteen hundred and ninety-four, to on or about the first day of April, eighteen hundred and ninety-four, was carrying on business for his own benefit at Quebec, under the firm name of "A. J. Turcotte & Co.," and during said period he held, enjoyed and carried out a contract with or for the Government of Canada, on behalf of the Crown, which said contract stood in the name of Jean Baptiste Provost, but was in reality held for the sole use and benefit of the said Arthur Joseph Turcotte, and large sums of the public money of Canada were paid under said contract to said Arthur Joseph Turcotte, and the benefit thereof was received by the said Arthur Joseph Turcotte, which said contract was also for the supply of groceries and similar goods for the use of the Militia Department at Quebec ;

4th. That the said Arthur Joseph Turcotte, while a member of this House, sometime in the year of eighteen hundred and ninety-three, was interested in contracts and agreements with the Department of Marine and Fisheries for the Government of Canada, on behalf of the Crown, and large sums of public money of Canada were paid under said contracts and were received by the said Arthur Joseph Turcotte, which said contracts were for the supply of groceries and similar goods for the use of the Department of the Marine and Fisheries :

Be it therefore Ordered, That the matters therein stated be referred to the Select Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections, to inquire fully into the said allegations, with power to send for persons, papers and records, and to examine witnesses upon

oath or affirmation, and that the said Committee do report the result of their inquiries and whether the said Arthur Joseph Turcotte has vacated his seat.

Mr. TURCOTTE. Mr. Speaker, I deny in the most formal and complete manner the charges brought against me by the member for Richelieu. Since I have had the honour of a seat in this House, I have not been a contractor with the Government. In so far as the present charges are concerned, I will, with the permission of the House, read a declaration published by Mr. J. B. Provost, the contractor at that time and at present, for supplies furnished the citadel at Quebec and the Marine Department in that city, and who is mentioned in the charges :

QUEBEC, 21st April, 1894.

To the Editor of 'l'Événement'.

Having been confined to the house through illness for seven or eight days, I only yesterday read the parliamentary correspondence which appeared in 'l'Électeur' of the 16th of April.

In that correspondence it is stated that Mr. A. J. Turcotte, M.P., had the contract given to his partner, Mr. Provost, for the supplying of groceries to the citadel, and that after the dissolution of the partnership Turcotte & Provost, I had claimed the profits arising from the contract amounting to something like \$1,600. I must here declare that I obtained this contract in a regular manner, by tender, and when I obtained it I was no longer a member of the firm Turcotte & Provost. I may further add that at that time as I had no business place of my own, I arranged with the Turcotte firm for the delivery of my goods. As to the contention that I claimed \$1,600 from Mr. Turcotte for the execution of my contract, this assertion is completely false. I did not make any claim of this kind, and I had no such claim to make as I was paid in person by the Government through cheques payable to my order.

(Signed) J. B. PROVOST.

I must further state, in order that this House may have official information of the same, that I am the defendant in a lawsuit, taken the 30th of April last, by which I am asked to pay the penalties to which I might be liable for having sat in this House in contravention of the Act concerning the independence of Parliament on account of the contracts mentioned in the present charges. The action before the court and the charges before this House cover exactly the same grounds.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The statements which are made in the declaration of the hon. member for Richelieu (Mr. Bruneau), taken in connection with the statements of the hon. member for Montmorency (Mr. Turcotte), undoubtedly appear to warrant a reference to a committee for inquiry into the facts, and it seems to me, therefore, that there can be no objection to the inquiry taking place. I would take exception, however, to one phase of the resolution, which I take to be unimportant, but which I would ask to have struck out,

because it may appear to indicate the desire of the House as to the specific nature of the judgment by the committee itself. Of course, the desire of the House is that the committee shall report the result of the inquiry. Undoubtedly they are to report the facts, and if in their judgment it is proper to do so, they should undoubtedly report their opinion upon these facts. The resolution is :

That the matters stated in the declaration be referred to the Select Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections, to inquire fully into the said allegations, with power to send for persons, papers and records, and to examine witnesses upon oath and affirmation, and that the said committee do report the result of their inquiries.

I think the resolution should stop there, and that the last part of it should be left out, namely : "and whether the said Arthur Joseph Turcotte has vacated his seat." The resolution requires the committee to state their judgment upon the question. Besides, it might well be, under the circumstances mentioned by the hon. member for Montmorency as to the existence of a suit, that if it be ascertained that the suit is about to come to judgment, the committee would prefer to wait for the decision upon that matter if there are questions of law involved. But without intimating at all that that would be a result to be desired—on the contrary I would prefer, and I think the House would prefer to have an opinion upon the facts—still I think the committee ought not to be precisely bound to state whether Mr. Turcotte has vacated his seat or not. I take it for granted that it will make no material difference in the resolution ; and I move that all the words after "inquiries" in the resolution, be struck out. I am told the practice is to refer also the statement of the hon. member implicated, to the committee, and I have no objection to that.

Mr. LAURIER. I must say that I cannot see the force of the objection raised by the hon. gentleman to the concluding portion of the resolution. It is a question of fact that is to be referred to the committee, and taking it for granted at this moment, without at all prejudging the case, that the statements in the declaration are true, then certainly the committee will have to consider whether Mr. Turcotte has vacated his seat. That will be the very object of the inquiry, and upon this question the committee can give their opinion. If they choose, they can report only the evidence, but undoubtedly they can give their opinion as to whether Mr. Turcotte has vacated his seat. The House would not be bound to concur in that opinion, they might dissent from it, but I cannot see for what reason the committee should be refused the power of expressing their opinion on the result of the inquiry. I may be told that the committee would not be deprived of that power, I do not think it would, even if this amendment were carried ; but I ask : What is the object of the amendment if it

is not to deprive the committee of the power of expressing their opinion upon the evidence adduced before them? I cannot see the force of the objection raised by the hon. gentleman. Either it is serious or it is not; if the objection is serious, then I think we should insist that the committee should have power to pass an opinion upon the result of the evidence, if they so choose; and if it is not serious, I do not see any reason for the amendment. I would not say anything at this moment as to the merits of the case, they will be discussed by the committee. As to the suit now pending before the courts, surely the House of Commons will not be bound by any proceedings in a court of law. The court of the House of Commons is the sole judge of its own dignity and of its own independence.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The objection is serious, and I think my hon. friend has misapprehended it. Undoubtedly, on the statement of facts alleged by the hon. member for Richelieu, the member's seat will be forfeited. But the committee may find the facts to be otherwise; they may find them to be as the hon. member for Montmorency has stated, or they may find them to be different from either statement. In that case, and in any case, I think the committee can report its opinion on the evidence if they choose to do so, and I should strongly deprecate an amendment to the resolution that would in any way prevent their having full power to do so. I merely want to guard against their being compelled to express an opinion as to whether Mr. Turcotte has forfeited his seat, if the committee should desire not to make a report on that question. Undoubtedly the House is not bound by the proceedings of a judicial tribunal on the liability of the member involved for penalties or otherwise. The court may decide that the hon. member is liable for penalties, and this House may decide that he has not forfeited his seat; but I take it for granted that this House will pay great respect to the decision of the tribunal in the province of Quebec, whatever it may be. It would be a lamentable state of affairs if, on a question of law involving the title of a member to his seat, we should refuse to be guided by the decisions of the courts of law. I merely want the committee to be entirely free to express an opinion, and it would be greatly to the convenience of the House that they should do so.

Mr. EDGAR. I think that in cases where the privileges of members are involved, it is much safer, as a rule, to follow the precedents which we have in the English Parliament, and in this Parliament. I can find no precedent where these words which the First Minister desires to have struck out, have been left out from a motion of this kind. On the other hand, our journals are full of precedents to the contrary. For instance, in 1877, I find in this volume which I

Mr. LAURIER.

hold in my hand, that on the 10th April, in the case of the Hon. T. W. Anglin, who was charged with being interested in a contract, and having thereby forfeited his seat, the reference to the committee ordered them to report the result of their inquiries "and whether the said T. W. Anglin has vacated his seat." "I find that on the 25th April, the Hon. Mr. Mousseau moved for a similar reference and inquiry in the case of Mr. Thomas Workman, a member of this House: and that reference concluded with an Order to the committee to report the result of their inquiries "and whether the said Thomas Workman has vacated his seat." On the same day the hon. member for West Elgin (Mr. Casey) moved a resolution, which was carried, with reference to the present Senator Desjardins, and the committee were ordered to report the result of their inquiries "and whether the said Alphonse Desjardins has vacated his seat." The reference asked by the hon. member for Richelieu (Mr. Bruneau) does not limit the inquiry. It proposes that the committee report the results of their inquiry, and it does not ask the committee to state that Mr. Turcotte has vacated his seat, but to inquire whether he has vacated it. I think that is a matter covering most material information for which the House should ask, and I hope the House will obtain it, and, in my opinion, it is a great pity that the House should be asked to depart from the precedents already established.

House divided on amendment:

YEAS:

Messieurs

| | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Bain (Soulanges), | Langevin (Sir Hector), |
| Baker, | Leclair, |
| Barnard, | Lippé, |
| Belley, | Macdonald (King's), |
| Bennett, | Macdonell (Algoma), |
| Bergeron, | Maclean (York), |
| Bergin, | McAlister, |
| Boyd, | McDonald (Assiniboia), |
| Boyle, | McDonald (Victoria), |
| Bryson, | McDougald (Picton), |
| Burnham, | McDougald (Cape Breton), |
| Cameron, | McInerney, |
| Cargill, | McKay, |
| Carignan, | McLean (King's), |
| Carling (Sir John), | McLennan, |
| Carpenter, | McNeill, |
| Caron (Sir Adolphe), | Madill, |
| Coatsworth, | Mara, |
| Cochrane, | Mason, |
| Cockburn, | Metcalfe, |
| Corbould, | Miller, |
| Corby, | Mills (Annapolis), |
| Costigan, | Moncrieff, |
| Curran, | Northrup, |
| Daly, | Quimet, |
| Davin, | Patterson (Colchester), |
| Davis, | Patterson (Huron), |
| Denison, | Pridham, |
| Dickey, | Prior, |
| Dugas, | Putnam, |
| Dupont, | Robillard, |
| Earle, | Roome, |
| Ferguson (Renfrew), | Ross (Dundas), |
| Foster, | Ryckman, |
| Fréchette, | Smith (Ontario), |
| Girouard (Two Mountains), | Sproule, |
| Grandbois, | Stairs, |
| Grant (Sir James), | Stevenson, |

Guillet,
Haggart,
Haslam,
Hasen,
Henderson,
Hodgins,
Hughes,
Hutchins,
Ingram,
Ives,
Joncas,
Kaulbach,
Kenny,
Lachapelle,

Taylor,
Temple,
Thompson (Sir John),
Tisdale,
Tupper (Sir C. Hibber'),
Tyrwhitt,
Wallace,
White (Cardwell),
White (Shelburne),
Wilmot,
Wilson,
Wood (Brockville),
Wood (Westmoreland).—103.

NAYS :

Messieurs

Bain (Wentworth),
Béchar, d,
Beith,
Bernier,
Borden,
Boston,
Bourassa,
Bowers,
Bowman,
Brown,
Bruneau,
Campbell,
Carroll,
Cartwright (Sir Richard),
Casey,
Charlton,
Choquette,
Christie,
Colter,
Davies,
Dawson,
Devlin,
Edgar,
Fauvel,
Featherston,
Flint,
Forbes,
Fraser,
Frémont,
Gibson,
Godbout,
Grieve,
Guay,
Harwood,
Innes,

Landerkin,
Langelier,
Laurier,
Lavergne,
Leduc,
Lister,
Livingston,
Lowell,
Macdonald (Huron),
McCarthy,
McGregor,
McMillan,
McMullen,
Martin,
Mignault,
Mills (Bothwell),
Monet,
Mulock,
O'Brien,
Paterson (Brant),
Perry,
Proulx,
Rider,
Rinfret,
Rowand,
Sanborn,
Scriver,
Semple,
Somerville,
Sutherland,
Tarte,
Vaillancourt,
Welsh,
Yeo.—69.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. TAYLOR. The hon. member for Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot) has not voted.

Mr. FORBES. The hon. member for Russell (Mr. Edwards) has not voted.

Mr. AMYOT. I was detained in the Supreme Court too late to hear the whole of the motion read. Had I heard the whole of it, knowing its contents as I do, I would have voted for the amendment.

Mr. EDWARDS. I was not in my seat when you, Mr. Speaker, put the motion to the House.

Main motion, as amended, agreed to.

FIRST READING.

Bill (No. 109) for the relief of Joshua Filman—(from the Senate).—(Mr. McKay.)

ELECTORAL LISTS OF LAPRAIRIE-NAPIERVILLE.

Mr. MONET asked, Is it the intention of the Government to appoint at an early day

a revising officer to prepare the electoral lists of the county of Laprairie-Napierville ; or to retain in their positions the two revising officers who have hitherto prepared the lists for Napierville and Laprairie respectively ?

Mr. COSTIGAN. It is the intention of the Government to fill all vacancies of revising barristers, but in districts affected by the Redistribution Act, appointments of revising barristers will be made subject to an Act of which the Prime Minister gave notice some days ago.

BREWERIES AT NEUSTADT AND CARLSRUHE.

Mr. LANDERKIN asked, What revenue was derived from the brewery at Neustadt during each and every year from 1886 to 1893 ? What was the officer's salary, and what were the total expenses connected therewith in every year of the same period ?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). The revenue derived from the malt used in the brewery at Neustadt, the surveying officer's salary, and the expenses connected therewith each year from 1886 to 1893 were as follows :—

| Year. | Revenue. | Salary. | Expenses. |
|---------------|------------|---------|-----------|
| 1886-87 | \$1,024 00 | \$720 | nil. |
| 1887-88 | 1,100 00 | 750 | nil. |
| 1888-89 | 842 30 | 750 | nil. |
| 1889-90 | 946 65 | 750 | nil. |
| 1890-91 | 999 62 | 750 | nil. |
| 1891-92 | 2,231 00 | 750 | nil. |
| 1892-93 | 2,596 00 | 750 | nil. |

The officer supervising this brewery likewise supervised the malt-house and brewery at Carlsruhe and the malt-houses at Neustadt.

Mr. LANDERKIN asked, What revenue was derived from the Carlsruhe brewery during each and every year from 1886 to 1893 ? What was the officer's salary, and what were the total expenses connected therewith in every year of the same period ?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). The revenue derived from the malt used in the brewery at Carlsruhe, the surveying officer's salary and the expenses connected therewith each year from 1886 to 1893 were as follows :—

| Year. | Revenue. | Salary. | Expenses. |
|---------------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| 1886-87 | \$1,023 75 | \$ 750 00 | \$128 62 |
| 1887-88 | 911 55 | 750 00 | 154 74 |
| 1888-89 | 727 60 | 750 00 | 166 75 |
| 1889-90 | 849 09 | 945 80 | 164 25 |
| 1890-91 | 1,048 10 | 1,000 00 | 159 75 |
| 1891-92 | 2,018 00 | *750 00 | 100 50 |
| 1892-93 | 1,638 16 | *750 00 | 90 30 |

*This brewery was supervised from 1886 to 1891 by Officer Nicholls, who, in addition, surveyed the brewery and malt-house at Formosa, the breweries at Walkerton and Chepston, the cigar factory at Walkerton and the malt-house at Carlsruhe. From 1891

to 1893 the brewery was supervised by Officer Lang, of Neustadt, whose salary is shown in answer to previous question. From 1886 to 1891, probably one-fourth the officer's salary might fairly be charged against this survey, and from 1891 to 1893 one-half.

DREDGING OF SPANISH RIVER.

Mr. DEVLIN asked, Is it the intention of the Government to proceed this summer with the dredging and other improvements of Spanish River, Algoma, and to place in the Estimates a sum sufficient to carry out the work?

Mr. OUMET. It is not the intention of the Government to proceed this summer with that work.

CERTIFICATES TO MASTERS AND MATES.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Having obtained the consent of the Crown, I move that to-morrow the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole to consider the following resolution:—

That instead of the fees provided by sections six and eight of the said Act, the Governor in Council may establish a scale of fees to be charged for certificates to masters and mates; and until so established the fees to be charged shall be the following, that is to say:—For a certificate of competency as master, fifteen dollars; for a certificate of competency as mate of a sea-going ship, eight dollars; for a certificate of competency as mate of a ship trading on the inland waters of Canada, or on the minor waters of Canada, or on coasting voyages, six dollars; for a certificate of service as master, eight dollars; for a certificate of service as mate of a sea-going ship, five dollars; and for a certificate of service as mate of a ship trading on the inland waters of Canada, or on the minor waters of Canada, or on coasting voyages, four dollars.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Are these increases?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The fees proposed are increases. The fees are regulated now by the general statute relating to the certificates of masters and mates, and the fund connected with these certificates has about \$41,000 in it. It is considered that the fees at present, which are about \$5 for masters and \$3 for mates, are entirely too low for the service.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) You are trebling them in the case of the masters.

Motion agreed to.

THE LATE HON. JOHN HEARN.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Mr. Speaker, I regret to have to announce to the House the death of the Hon. John Hearn, who represented Quebec West. The news has just

Mr. Wood (Brockville).

reached us that he died, after a protracted illness, to-day—about noon; and I am sure the House will regret very much to hear this announcement. Although the hon. gentleman was a member of the Commons for only three sessions, he had endeared himself to us all by his warm heart and his genial manner, and his courtesy in all the transactions which he engaged in as a member of this House. While for so short a time he was a member of this Assembly, we all knew him by reputation as a very active member of the Legislative Council of his province for many years, and I likewise learn that he was a most patriotic and devoted citizen of Quebec, whose public services were of great importance to that city for the welfare of which he always loved to labour, and laboured successfully.

Mr. LAURIER. Mr. Speaker, it is to me a very melancholy pleasure under the sad circumstances to add my voice to everything that has just fallen from the lips of the right hon. the Prime Minister. Though it was not my privilege in any part of my life to be associated with the late Mr. Hearn in political sympathy, it was my privilege to have intimate acquaintance with him for many years, and I can certainly testify as to the high and I may say unique position which he occupied in the city of Quebec. He distinguished himself not only in the Legislative Council of Quebec, but before that in the Legislative Assembly of his province, and for a great many years, I may say in a sense, he was the leader of the municipal council of his city. All those who knew him could appreciate his perfect qualities, to which the Prime Minister has just referred. I can say more; I can testify to his very great abilities also. He was a man certainly of exceptional mental power, and although he came to this House at a period of his life when he was broken in health and could not do justice to himself, yet on the few occasions he addressed the House he impressed every one who had the privilege of hearing him with the fact, that they were in the presence of one of the master minds of the House. If he had come to this Parliament at an earlier period he undoubtedly would have had a most successful career here.

ADJOURNMENT—QUEEN'S BIRTHDAY.

Mr. TAYLOR. I wish again to refer to the question of adjourning the House from next Wednesday evening until the following Monday. Since the discussion took place yesterday, many members on this side of the House particularly have requested me to bring the matter to the attention of the Government again to-day. One or two members of the Opposition have mentioned the same matter to me, and I promised that I would bring up the question and have it discussed. A great many of the members

feel disposed in favour of the adjournment, and they trust that an arrangement can be come to.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I can only repeat what I said yesterday, that we cannot consistently with our views as to the state of public business lose two days of next week for Government measures. If members, therefore, generally desire an adjournment, I can only venture to move it on condition that they give the Government next Wednesday.

Mr. CHARLTON. I feel called upon to make the same objection as I did yesterday with regard to that arrangement. While these adjournments may suit the convenience of the Government, some members, of whom there are a large number in this House, should in all fairness have their interests considered. Gentlemen who are unable to reach home, lose time enough by statutory adjournments, and days when there is not a full session, without an adjournment of this kind. The condition proposed by the First Minister, that the Government should take next Wednesday, would be a very great injustice to members of this House who have been promoting public Bills. The right hon. gentleman very well knows that we have practically reached no public Bills this session. We reached none last session, as that kind of business was entirely unperformed in this House in consequence of the desire of the right hon. gentleman to have private members waive their rights in view of his desire to leave for Paris. We permitted him to do so, and not a single public measure was reached. From various causes this session we have reached no public measures practically, and the rule of the House that notices of motion under debate at 6 o'clock should go to the head of Bills and Orders, a place they are not entitled to, has helped to prevent public measures coming up. Those who have public Bills to promote have lost five days this session in consequence of this rule. We have since then had an order under consideration for two days, owing to obstruction, and goodness knows how long it may be under consideration after this. The proposition to take next Wednesday for Government business, I deem to be in the highest degree unfair; unfair to the members of this House who have public business in charge, unfair to the interests of this country, because, Sir, it cannot be understood, I imagine, by the people at large that the duty of this House is merely to come here and register the decrees of Government. We have other business to perform besides the business of the Government. We have on the Order paper a number of important Bills, and we certainly should take time to consider the business of the country properly. I must, therefore, protest against the proposition made by the First Minister.

Mr. LAURIER. Mr. Speaker, I had supposed that by this time the hon. member for Leeds (Mr. Taylor) would have been able to mollify the Prime Minister, but I am sorry to say that his efforts seem to have been unavailing. Do I understand that the Prime Minister will consent to the adjournment, if the House will consent to give him Wednesday of next week.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes.

Mr. LAURIER. Well, I would remind the right hon. gentleman that whether we have an adjournment or no adjournment, the Government is pretty sure to pass their measures if they retain their present majority, and until the next election I do not hope that the majority of the Government will be reduced very much judging from the experience we have had this session. Therefore, the only effect of private members keeping next Wednesday to themselves will be simply to postpone prorogation by one day. I think the hon. gentleman might consent to the adjournment, and at the same time give us the Wednesday, of which such bad use has been made so far.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) It has been my misfortune on many occasions to offer opposition to these adjournments, and of course personally my interests and those of my friends who come from the outlying sections of the country where they cannot go home, lie in the direction of continuing that opposition. But I have been informed that there is such a strong general feeling in favour of a short adjournment that I do not feel myself justified in offering any opposition to it. I merely wished to make that remark, because heretofore I have always strenuously opposed these adjournments, and I do not wish to be constantly in opposition to the general sense of the House.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I am glad to find that my hon. friend from Queen's (Mr. Davies) is not one of those distant members who become irritable at these long absences. I appreciate what the hon. leader of the Opposition has said to the effect that we are pretty sure to pass Government measures. I entertain a strong opinion on that; I have a strong confidence that we will. We would like to pass some of them, however, next week; but as his courtesy in making the suggestion to me demands equal courtesy on my part, perhaps, instead of accepting my proposition, he would be willing we should allow next Wednesday to remain for private members, and that we should take the Wednesday following for Government business.

Mr. LAURIER. That will come up in due time.

Mr. EDGAR. If the hon. gentleman likes to use his majority, we shall, of course, have to submit.

THIRD READINGS.

Bill (No. 88) further to amend the Acts respecting the harbour of Pictou, in Nova Scotia—(from the Senate).—(Sir John Thompson.)

Bill (No. 5) further to amend the Northwest Territories Representation Act.—(Mr. Daly.)

WAYS AND MEANS—PRIVILEGE—
NEWSPAPER CRITICISM.

Mr. FOSTER moved that the House again resolve itself into Committee of Ways and Means.

Mr. MULOCK. Mr. Speaker, before that motion is carried, I desire to rise to a question of privilege. In to-day's Ottawa 'Citizen' appears an item headed, "Mr. Mulock grossly insults some of the French-speaking members," and it goes on in a similar strain. In like manner, in the Montreal 'Gazette' of to-day appears an item in reference to the interesting Bill that was under discussion yesterday, in which the correspondent says:

Up to this point the debate, although at times wearisome, had at least been conducted with good temper and good feeling, but so soon as the motion to adjourn was put, Mr. Mulock felt called on to rise and insult the French members, to whom the day's discussion had been mostly confined, and who, for the most part, spoke in French, by calling the proceeding a farce and threatening in a vague sort of way the dire vengeance of "the people" on those who had "obstructed important public business," as Mr. Mulock put it. This was both unfair and untrue, and came with particularly bad grace from Mr. Mulock, who, every session, wastes more time in useless and senseless obstruction than almost any other member of the Opposition.

The paper then goes on to say that I was very well replied to by the hon. member for Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot). I rise to say that I do not think my remarks were fairly open to the construction placed upon them by the papers in question, and I do not think that any hon. member who gave a deliberate consideration to my remarks, could draw such a conclusion from them. In order that I may not be misunderstood, I venture to read the remarks that I made.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. MULOCK. I know it is a severe trial to my hon. colleagues. These are the remarks which I made:

Before this motion is carried, I think it would be well for the House to understand whether the business of this country is to go on or not. I think that the scenes we have just witnessed are not creditable to this House. There is a large amount of public business awaiting the consideration of the House, and there does not seem to be that honest disposition to proceed with the affairs of the country that I think the situation warrants. Where the responsibility rests I do not propose to discuss to—

Mr. EDGAR.

night; but I think the time will soon come when the House and the country will have to know whether the proceedings of this House are to degenerate into a farce, or whether the affairs of the country are to go on properly.

Mr. TAYLOR. We were kept here for three months in this way in 1885.

Mr. MULOCK. I only make this remark. I think the country will disapprove of the proceedings of this day. If I can judge rightly, there is no disposition to proceed with the business on the paper. These were the remarks I made. I disclaim wholly any desire to offend any of my countrymen, and I can say with the utmost frankness that I had nothing in my mind with reference to any particular class. There is a large amount of public business on the Order paper demanding attention, and I think that when a reasonable time has been given to the consideration of one measure, it is only due to the House and the country that hon. gentlemen should have some regard to all the exigencies of the situation. I had not an opportunity yesterday to reply to the criticisms directed against me by the hon. member for Bellechasse, because I was not permitted under the rules to do so. Moreover, perhaps I would not have deemed it my duty under any circumstances to reply to him, because his opinions perhaps change a little, and he may have spoken more hastily than he intended. At all events, I viewed his remarks with charity; but when they are taken seriously, I deem it my duty to call the attention of the House to the matter, and again to say that while asking that the affairs of the country be conducted deliberately and with due despatch, I do not, of course, wish to interfere with the strict rights of any member of the House.

Mr. AMYOT. Mr. Speaker, I am very glad the hon. gentleman declares that what he said does not apply to any special class of individuals, more especially to those who thought last night that they applied to them. So far as that is concerned, I have only to say that if they did not apply to them in connection with the proceedings of the two last Wednesdays, they applied to nobody at all, and if they applied to nobody, he might as well not have made them—he is losing his own time. As to my changing my opinion, it is known to this House and the country, that, in 1885, I changed my mind for known reasons, and left my party to form the national party. The hon. gentleman at that time admired very much my changing my mind; he thought it was a great thing in the interest of the country; he thought that my mind was clear, and that I was patriotic. But after spending a few years next to him, I concluded that I was losing my time and my energy and getting into waters that were not agreeable to me; and I was very happy when political changes allowed me to go back to my natural party and my old friends. That second change the hon. gentleman finds very much against the in-

terest of the country, and from that he draws the conclusion that my opinion is not worth noticing. At all events, his speech of a moment ago, which he delivered only on account of the words I uttered last night, proves that he attaches some importance to what I say. He may speak of my changes as often as he likes, but I can tell him this: that I will always thank Providence for having allowed me to stay as far as possible from him.

Motion agreed to, and House again resolved itself into committee on Ways and Means.

(In the Committee.)

Firewood, handle bolts, heading bolts, stave bolts and shingle bolts, hop poles, fence posts, railroad ties, ship timber and ship planking, not specially provided for in this Act.

Mr. MACDONELL (Algoma). Before that item passes, I would like to say a few words in connection with a subject of great importance to the western part of Ontario, particularly the section I have the honour to represent. I wish to draw the attention of the committee to two pictures in connection with the subject of the export duty on saw-logs. Four years ago we charged an export of \$2 a thousand feet on saw-logs. Shortly afterwards it was considered advisable to do away with that duty, in consideration of our getting what was supposed to be an equivalent. We took off the \$2 export duty per thousand feet on saw-logs, and we got in return from our friends to the south of us a reduction of duty to \$1 a thousand feet on pine lumber, pine shingles and pine clapboards, while the duty on spruce lumber and products of other kinds of lumber remained unchanged. It is not for me to discuss the question whether we got a compensating advantage or not, but we find that when this went into force, a great change came over the prosperity and welfare of north-western Ontario. Where the wholesale merchants of Toronto, Hamilton, Owen Sound, Collingwood, Sarnia, and all the ports to the east, had been selling large quantities of goods that went to the shores of Georgian Bay and were consumed in the lumber camps in the production of pine logs, that trade disappeared from our shores altogether, as far as the lumbering interests is concerned, after the export duty was taken off. Instead of employing thousands of men, of our own race and nationality, in the lumber woods, we found that the owners of the limits brought over their own men from Michigan and their own supplies. I do not say that they brought all their own men over, but they certainly did a very large portion. They brought their own supplies into the country, and I am credibly informed that a great many of those supplies never contributed anything to Her Majesty's revenue. If it were necessary to give an instance the time has now passed in which

those guilty of the offence could be prosecuted, because, in a mysterious manner, the documents to prove the offence against the lumber company which, I am told, was charged with it, disappeared mysteriously by fire and cannot be found. However, we found that supplies of all kinds came in from the other side. And, when speaking about the supplies that come in, I notice that the lumbermen from the south shore who go over there to do their rafting, and who bring over their own tugs to tow out the logs, appear to be highly indignant because they are charged a duty on the booms and chains that they bring over to our side in which to boom the logs and take them out of the country. If you look over the north shore of Georgian Bay and Lake Huron, from Penetanguishene to the west, you will see fifteen to twenty saw-mills there which were constructed by our people for the purpose of cutting our lumber, when the export duty was in force. Now, what is the result? About 25 per cent of these saw-mills only are operating to-day. Can this state of affairs be remedied? I think it can. I think it is the duty of a paternal Government to give us the relief we ask. My hon. friend from North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) said the other evening that there were various reasons why saw-logs could not be manufactured in this country. Sir, I failed to find one sensible reason adduced by the hon. gentleman, but there are a hundred reasons to advance in favour of the sawing being done in our own country. The statement was made that we could not get logs sawn at Little Current on account of the price asked. Now, I am credibly informed that the hon. gentleman did have saw-logs sawn there, and the logs were sawn, not for export to the United States, but for sale in Canada. I am also credibly informed that they were sawn at the very cheap rate of about \$2 per thousand feet board measure. If these mills along the shores of Georgian Bay and Lake Huron are idle, what do we see on the other side of the line? We see that the prosperity which we formerly enjoyed has gone to the United States altogether, and is helping to build up cities on the shores of Lake Michigan. I will quote an authority, which will not be disputed by this House, to show what is taking place on the south shore. Now, Sir, in 1892 the Saginaw Board of Trade published an annual review. I suppose this ought to be good evidence to gentlemen who may not be disposed to take the enthusiastic view of this subject that I do. That review says:

The repeal of the export duty on logs recently by the Canadian Government has greatly stimulated the rafting of logs across Lake Huron to American mills for the last two years. In 1891, no less than 80,000 feet were brought to the Saginaw River, and in 1892, a much larger quantity came over as figures below will show.

The figures given are 184,500,000 feet. The document goes on to say:

Those acquainted with this industry assure us that it is only in its infancy and that the Saginaw River mills will be supplied for many years to come in this way.

We hope, Sir, that that prophecy will prove erroneous, and that the Government may be induced to do something in the way of giving us that protection which we believe to be in the lines of the policy of the Government. This review further states that twenty-six saw-mills, operated at Saginaw, in 1892 gave employment to 1,890 men, and produced 321,831,312 feet of lumber, valued at \$4,824,826; the eighteen planing-mills employed 2,302 men, and turned out products valued at \$5,208,634; the fifteen shingle-mills employed 292 men, and turned out products valued at \$330,592; the eighteen furniture factories employed 296 men, and their products were valued at \$374,500. This makes a total of men employed in sawing and working up logs brought over from the north shore of Lake Huron and Georgian Bay, of 4,780, the industries in which they are employed turning out products valued at \$10,738,552. Thus we see a vast trade which should be adding to our national wealth and prosperity carried away from the north shore of these waters for the benefit of great lumber owners. Sir, what have we got in return for that? The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), during the course of his remarks the other evening, said that there was a mocking bird whistle in use there. Well, we get the mocking bird whistle on the north shore, and that is about all we do get. The same hon. gentleman spoke of the wail of a lost soul; we get there the wail of lost prosperity which, however, we hope to regain in a very short time. Now, Sir, the question of the quantity of logs exported appears to be of interest to the hon. gentleman who has defended the course which has been pursued, so I may say a few words upon that point. The hon. gentleman read a return, said to be authentic, from the Ontario Government cullers. We all know that when lumbermen go into the woods they are furnished by the Crown timber agent with certain books in which the number of logs and the quantity of lumber in feet must be entered, and these figures must be sworn to. The quantity so given may be correct, but it does not agree with the statements we find made by these very individuals who derive their prosperity from cutting up this timber. But, before I go to that subject, I would like to draw the attention of the committee to a return published by the Customs Department. With regard to that return, I may point out that there is no duty charged, there is no law under which any individual taking a raft of logs out of the country is obliged to pay a certain sum according to the quantity exported. Therefore, it is immaterial to him whether he states that he takes out a million feet, or double or

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treble that quantity. Take, for instance, the return from Little Current. I find that about sixteen rafts left Little Current during the season from the 10th of May to the 11th of September, 1893. In every case, the number of feet is shown in round numbers. The first seven rafts contained each an even million feet of lumber. The next contained exactly half a million feet, not one foot more or one foot less. The next two were of exactly a million feet of lumber, the next was half a million feet, the next four were exactly a million feet each; and the last one of the season contained exactly three million feet of lumber, according to the return. Now, can any practical man believe that that is true? Any man who ever handled a log or a stick of timber, or even a stick of cordwood would decline to regard such a statement as correct. Wherein is the discrepancy? It comes here: The individual who reports to the Customs simply goes to the officer and says, I have a raft with a million feet of lumber, which I am taking away; he gets his clearance papers and away he goes. One would think that if he was sharp he would put in a few odd feet, one way or the other. But the object in putting it in this way is to avoid showing the quantity of timber actually taken out of the country, because, I am credibly informed, as a matter of fact, instead of a million feet, the quantity taken out by each tug is nearer that given in this last entry—three million feet. I find that five rafts went out from the port of Algoma Mills on the north channel of Lake Huron. It is a peculiar fact that each of these rafts contained an even number of feet. Four of them contained three million feet, and one of them five million feet. It is the same all through. There are a number of returns, and I do not propose to trouble the committee with them, or put them on 'Hansard.' We find that at Spanish River, where a large quantity of logs were carried out, there were twenty-one rafts, of which fourteen contained an exact number of feet in round numbers. Now, the other night the statements which are contained in the Chicago 'Timberman' were disputed. I do not think any hon. gentleman in this House, I do not think any one who is engaged in the lumber business, will dispute that the 'Timberman' is a paper of standing and respectability. I do not think any of us here wish to impute motives to Mr. Weadock, the Congressman, whose statements are reported in that paper. Now, according to the Chicago 'Timberman,' Mr. Weadock, who is also the representative of Bay City, Michigan, a town of no mean importance in the lumber trade just now, thanks to the logs that go from Canada, is reported to have said:

There is brought into this state annually for manufacture probably—

He does not say exactly.

—probably 500 million feet of Canadian timber. It is owned by Americans, it is lumbered by Americans, it is towed over the lakes by American tugs, manned by Americans, and it is made up by American mills.

Now, should this state of affairs last longer? I think myself that it should not. Referring to the quantity that goes over there, I may just add that the Saginaw Board of Trade estimated it, in 1893, as 455,000,000 feet of saw-logs. That quantity, it says, was towed over to Michigan, and it is really about 40 per cent more than the entire cut of the Saginaw City mills. Consequently, if all this quantity was cut in our own country it would furnish employment for a very large number of men. The number of men required to cut this timber would be about 7,000. These, with their families, mean about 35,000 inhabitants, which would add to our national wealth \$15,000,000 or \$20,000,000 a year. Now, Sir, is it advisable that this amount of money should be thrown away? I think it is not. I think it is the duty of the Government to take this subject into consideration, and give us the relief that is asked for. Now, I find that the hon. member for North Norfolk, in his remarks the other night, criticised somewhat the power that the Government took to itself to regulate the export duty on logs. Well, I know that the hon. gentleman is a good old-fashioned Grit, and undoubtedly he ought to stick to Grit principles. His friends in Ontario do not argue as he does. The hon. gentleman is not a stranger to the members of the Ontario Legislature, nor is his name unknown in the Public Accounts of that province. The hon. gentleman knows that his friends in the Ontario Government have contended that the Local Government, as a Government, had the right, when they saw fit, to deal with the timber resources of the province of Ontario. If they saw fit to put a certain number of miles of limits of timber berths on the market they did not consult the Legislature of the province; by an Order in Council they did practically the same as the hon. gentleman contends this Government cannot do here. Well, I am glad to know the Government has the power, and I would be much pleased to see the Government use it. There is another matter in connection with this export duty on logs which constitutes a very serious grievance in my part of the country. It was mentioned the other night by the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule), and I cannot do better than repeat almost all he said. We find that from the towing of these rafts of logs through the waters of the North Channel and the Georgian Bay there is a friction going on all the time, as a result of which the coarse bark of the logs is first rubbed off, and then the inner bark gets loosened. The bark so loosened being water-logged,

sinks in the water, and entwines itself with the meshes of the nets of the fishermen. It not only destroys those nets completely, an example of which was shown us here the other night, but it is also deposited on the bottom of the fishing grounds where the fish are accustomed to feed. The consequence is that not only are the nets of the struggling fishermen destroyed, but the fishing grounds themselves are destroyed, because the fish require food, and if the feeding grounds are obliterated, as they are by this deposit on the bottom of the lake, the fish must go elsewhere to seek for food. Now, when a fisherman gets a lease for a certain portion of the lake, into which he puts his nets, and from which he has to make a living for himself and family, by the passage of those immense rafts over those waters, his fishing is actually destroyed. Now, the hon. gentleman the other evening, in excuse for this practice, said that it would be all the same if the logs were towed to Midland, or if they were towed to any other place. Sir, I beg to differ with him, and I will tell you why. As a matter of fact, if the logs were towed from where he himself booms his logs, to one of the mills that are idle now, such as those at Little Current, there would be no deposit on the bottom of the lake. On account of the short distance of towing, the friction of the logs would amount to nothing, so far as the booms are concerned. It is probably true that if the logs were towed from the upper part of Lake Huron down through the North Channel and across Georgian Bay to Midland, there might be some deposit. But that would not take place when the logs were towed a short distance, as they would be if brought to Midland. Now, there is no part of those shores with which I am familiar, in which fishing would be injured, provided the logs were sawn on those shores, and the question to be considered by us, as reasonable, sensible men, is this: does the whole lumber industry of the country warrant us in sacrificing an immense portion of the province of Ontario? and for what, forsooth? Because, as the hon. gentleman stated, this very discussion in the House might have an injurious influence on the framing of the Wilson Bill. Is there an hon. gentleman on either side of this House who is so gullible as to believe for one moment that the Wilson tariff is framed in our interest? Is there one hon. gentleman, either Conservative or Liberal, who deludes himself for one second with the belief that the people of the United States, that their representatives in Congress and in the Senate, are going to give us anything out of which they do not get a great deal more than their quid pro quo? No. For every dollar of benefit they give us, they are going to have two dollars in return, and they have obtained that return so far as regards the imports of saw-logs. How long is this privilege to continue? We feel

very strongly on the subject, and I am surprised that hon. gentlemen opposite have not backed up the champion of the United States saw-mill men who come to this country for their logs. We had a very interesting discussion the other evening, and only one hon. member took the floor in defence of what we are now arraigning. If the Government see fit to reimpose the duty, and we hope it will see fit, for we will not stop now in urging the reimposition of the export duty, we shall be gratified. The hon. gentleman called attention to a notice that appeared in the newspapers with respect to a deputation coming here to urge on the Government the reimposition of the import duty, and he thought it was almost a grievance that such should take place. Well, Sir, I contend, and I think all hon. gentlemen in this House will contend, that if a grievance exists it is not only the right and privilege of the citizen, but it is his duty to come here to the fountain head, and represent what that grievance is, and, if possible, have it removed. I may intimate for the information of hon. gentlemen opposite that if we do not get what we ask for to-day, to-morrow or next week, we will still keep pegging away until we secure what we believe to be justice to the north-west part of Ontario, and more particularly to the district which I have the honour to represent in this House.

Mr. O'BRIEN. There is no member of the House who naturally feels more deeply interested in this question than I do, representing as I do a portion of the country, perhaps, more interested in the lumber question than even the hon. gentleman who has just spoken. Desirous as I am of seeing all our raw material manufactured, as far as possible, in this country, especially with respect to timber, desirous as I am that our saw-logs shall be cut here and not elsewhere, I cannot, nevertheless, shut my eyes to the fact that there are interests concerned, and vast interests to which the Government are perfectly justified in giving due attention. I think the Finance Minister is to be commended for having prevented the duty being charged on chains and booms which was hastily imposed and as hastily withdrawn a few days ago. The hon. member for East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett) and others who have spoken on the question have made a charge against the administration of the Customs Department to which that department, I think, should pay attention. They have asserted as regards that departmental administration, that a larger quantity of logs was exported than was returned.

Mr. MACDONELL. I rise to make an explanation. I quoted figures from the Department of Customs, but I never intimated for one moment any charge of mismanagement against the department; on the contrary, I took particular pains to point out how these figures came into the Department of Customs. There was no charge whatever

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made, and I will venture to say that hon. gentlemen who quoted the figures as well as myself, will repudiate the statement.

Mr. O'BRIEN. I have no doubt that the hon. gentleman who made the statement to which I refer would be the very last man in this House to make any charge against the administration of Customs. That is not the role of the hon. gentleman. But they have stated facts which themselves constitute a charge against the administration. They have said that a large quantity of saw-logs are exported which are not reported to the Department of Customs. With whom does the fault lie? If it does not lie with the Customs Department, who should be blamed for it? They have also stated that large quantities of supplies are brought in on which no duty has been paid. If that statement is correct, that is another serious charge against the administration. Surely there are sufficient collectors in the Georgian Bay and Algoma districts to look after importations of this kind, and see that the duties are paid. But the real fact is, I believe, that in order to make a strong case for the reimposition of the export duty, those hon. gentlemen, I will not say wilfully, but ignorantly, have been guilty of great exaggeration in the statements made by them. I desire to speak only of what I know, and I do know something of the Parry Sound district from which a very considerable portion of the timber is exported, and I do not believe that any large quantity of supplies have been brought into that district from the other side of the line. In the first place, it would not pay to bring in flour, and as a matter of fact the pork used by the lumbermen of the Georgian Bay district is not Chicago pork, but is in the main, Canadian pork. The pork they use is a long clear, grown in this country and made in this country, and it does not come from the other side. It may be different in the Ottawa district, but in the Parry Sound district, and all through that country the only pork used, except on special occasions, is Canadian pork, and that, therefore, is not brought in as supplies. As to what other supplies are imported. I am at a loss to know. Then with respect to the number of men employed: one of the alleged grievances is that Americans have been employed in getting out the timber in place of Canadians. As a matter of fact, I may say that in the Parry Sound district during the last two or three years wages were never so high, employment was never so abundant and constant. There has not been a man or a team that could not get employment, and if Americans were employed it was because the firms could not obtain sufficient Canadian labour. I do not say that no manager or foremen have been brought from the other side, but the vast bulk of the labour employed has been Canadian labour. Passing aside the question as to whether logs should be imported or not, so far from the

country being injured from the extra quantity of logs taken out, this increased exportation has given great impetus to business, and has increased the employment of labour and the money expended in the country. The statement made that American labour has supplanted Canadian labour is not in accordance with the facts. Next we come to the really important question, as to how far the Government will be justified in interfering with the present condition under existing circumstances. I think the Government took a false step when they took off the duty in the first place—they should have left it on; but the reimposition of the duty now under present conditions is a totally different matter from taking off the duty under the conditions then existing. What would be the condition of the trade supposing the duty were reimposed? As has been pointed out in previous debates, without any action of Congress, merely on the operation of the law, the States would impose a duty on Canadian lumber, and thus paralyze the trade from one end of the country to the other. I should like to ask those hon. members, what would be the effect in the Parry Sound and Algoma districts if the lumber trade were paralyzed, as it would be, by an imposition of a duty of \$2 or \$3 per thousand?

Mr. MACDONELL. The answer is this: the Americans must have our white pine lumber.

Mr. CHARLTON. Humbug.

Mr. MACDONELL. Whether they impose a duty of \$1, \$2 or \$4, the Americans must have our white pine lumber, and they are going to buy it. Who pays the duty? The consumer.

Mr. O'BRIEN. That is one of the points on which information is very much wanted, and I would suggest to the Finance Minister that it would be a wise course to adopt in the interest of the country to appoint some person or persons who would give this House reliable information as to the extent to which the Americans are dependent on us for their lumber. I have never yet been able to get any reliable information on this point. I have heard statements of a most contradictory character from persons who might be supposed to be well informed, and I am not satisfied from any information I can obtain that the Americans are so dependent on our white pine that they must obtain it no matter what it might cost them. The great trouble with the lumber trade has always been this: that the better qualities of pine having been exhausted, there is a very large quantity of inferior pine which, under a duty of \$2 per thousand, it will not pay to ship to the United States. There was not sufficient market for it in this country, and they have had upon their hands for years and years back large quantities of this inferior pine, which they had

the greatest difficulty in disposing of at any price. The consequence was that the lumbermen only tried to cut pine which could pay them for export, and in going through the woods they would take those trees which were likely to give a quality of pine fitted for export, and leave the rest behind. Often when the lumberman cut down a tree which promised fairly well, yet, in spite of the best judgment he could use, he would only get one log that would pay him for export; and the remainder was left in the woods to rot or burn. Under the present condition of things, with an import in the United States of \$1 per thousand, lumbermen are able to get rid of large quantities of inferior timber, which previously it did not pay them to get out, and which was left in the woods to waste. Were the United States duty taken off altogether, as we have reason to think it will be by the Wilson Bill, not only will they be able to dispose of all the lumber which they make, but the advantage of towing logs across the lakes will be so entirely done away with that it is the opinion of those best capable of forming an opinion that there will be no towing across, because, notwithstanding all the precautions that can be taken, there is a very considerable loss upon the export of logs, and the slightest thing would turn the scale in favour of having them cut in this country. Some hon. gentlemen have also very much exaggerated the loss to this country by the export of logs. The principal mills upon the Georgian Bay, so far as the Parry Sound district is concerned, are still running at full speed. There are but a few of them closed and some of these towns in which the hon. member for East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett) is specially interested, are places from which the lumber trade has departed, in any case. They will never, under any circumstances, tow logs again to some of these places. They can just as well tow them across the lake as tow them from Little Current or French River down to Maitland or Penetanguishene. The people who own some of these mills have no limits of their own, nor have they had any limits for years, and, under existing circumstances, it is useless to try, by any system of legislation, to force the trade back to places where there are no natural facilities for carrying it on. The result of our reimposing an export duty now, would simply be to put such a barrier in the way of our trade that the only lumber which it would pay to export would be that of the very first quality; the remainder would simply lie in the woods, as it used to do, to burn or rot. Not only that, but the whole lumber trade would be so paralyzed that there would be far less cut in the mills on the Georgian Bay than there is to-day under the present system. When one speaks of paralyzing the lumber trade, does he realize what that means and what the effect of such a thing upon our financial

standing in the country would be. Does he realize the amount of money which the banks and other capitalists have invested in the trade? Does he realize what the generally paralyzing effect on the whole trade of the country any serious blow to that industry would be? I have no particular friends among the lumbermen, and the lumbermen have never been particular friends to me, but I must say that I would look upon any serious paralysis of the lumber trade as a most dangerous thing for the interests of the country. The Government are bound, as trustees for the whole population, and for all the commercial interests of this country, seriously to consider whether it would be advisable under existing circumstances to yield to the remonstrances of those who, I fully admit, very naturally feel keenly the ill-effects of what is now going on. I hope the Government will be careful not to allow statements which, I think, are very much exaggerated, to influence them in dealing with this question. They have the means of arriving at, and I have no doubt can arrive at, much more satisfactory results as regards the facts of the case, than from anything that can be stated in this House. I believe that the statements of some hon. gentlemen are exaggerated, as regards the amount of logs exported, as regards the amount of labour which is supplanted in this country, and as regards the supplies which are brought into this country. So far from there being any serious loss to the general population, I believe that those people whom I represent in this House, instead of having experienced a loss, they have really, on the whole, benefited by the export of these logs. I do not mean to say that this is a desirable thing. I am as much opposed to it as any one can possibly be, but I do not like to hear the case presented to this House in terms which seem to me exaggerated and unfair. I certainly think that the Government are justified—at any rate until we have some final conclusion reached on the question in the United States—in not taking any steps such as is desired by those gentlemen who have spoken in favour of an export duty. The case is one which should not be dealt with in the interest of any particular localities. It is a question affecting the general welfare of the commerce of the country, and any serious blow to the lumber trade would be severely felt all around. I go with these hon. gentleman so far as this: If we cannot get free lumber, then I am prepared to accept the alternative of whatever may arise from the export of logs. So long, at any rate—viewing the question as we must view it today—so long as there is any possibility of the import duty in the United States being taken off. I say it would be folly on the part of this Government, and folly on the part of members of this House who advo-

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cate it, to do that which, for the present at any rate, would result in most serious loss and disaster.

Mr. MASSON. This question has been regarded by the hon. gentleman (Mr. O'Brien) as a very important one, and as one that should be approached with care and deliberation. When this subject was discussed in the House last year, I thought with the hon. gentleman (Mr. O'Brien) that it would be an inopportune time to interfere, but we must consider that the longer this matter is delayed, the greater is the injury done to the country, if the view that is taken by those who are in favour of the export duty on logs is at all correct. I do not see how it can for a moment be questioned but that the export duty would have the effect of causing many millions of feet that are now towed across our lakes, manufactured into lumber in this country, a business which would inure to the employment here, of a large amount of labour, and the expenditure of a large amount of capital. That that would be a benefit, not only to the locality where the mills are situated, but to a very large stretch of the surrounding country, must be admitted by every one. I am a little surprised to hear the hon. member for Muskoka (Mr. O'Brien) say that the statements of hon. gentlemen who have spoken in favour of the export duty have been exaggerated. To my mind, it is almost impossible to exaggerate statements as regards the towing of logs across the Georgian Bay and the North Channel. I have frequently, in the last few years, passed up and down that bay, and I have hardly ever passed during the towing season without seeing one or more immense tows. Now, the estimate with regard to the tows, is that they contain about a million feet of lumber, sometimes two or three million feet, I am told; and that towing business goes on for several months in the year. It must be admitted, too, that many mills that used to employ a large number of men are now idle. That is largely brought about by the fact that the logs are towed across, entered free into the United States, and there manufactured into lumber, employing men and capital that, by right, should be employed in Canada. On the other hand, I admit that the importance of the lumber trade must not be lost sight of. If the imposition of that duty would paralyze the lumber trade throughout the length and breadth of this country, the injuries sustained might be greater than the benefits which would accrue. That is a matter to be calmly and carefully considered. But what right have we to assume that the lumber trade would be paralyzed? The hon. gentleman says that information is required as to whether the United States want our lumber or not. Speaking of the United States as a whole, there may be a question whether they want our lumber;

but, so far as the eastern markets of the United States are concerned, there can be no question whatever. The only class of men in the United States that are opposed to free lumber are those interested in the lumber fields. Now, it is stated that the lumber fields of the United States have fallen into the hands of a few men; and I think it will be admitted that the very men who hold the Michigan and Wisconsin lumber tracts are the men who are coming into Canada and buying up our timber limits and exporting the logs and sawing them at their own mills—preserving their own forests while depleting ours. In nearly all our timber sales the lively competitors for limits have been American lumbermen with mills and timber limits of their own. If they want our lumber, it is not for the west, but for the east; and the fact that they are coming here to buy shows that if an import duty is put on lumber in the United States, they must necessarily pay it. The duty would naturally for a while affect the quantity of lumber exported from Canada to the United States; but if it is admitted, as I think it must be, that if they do not absolutely need our lumber, they at least desire to have it, it follows that the duty would soon be removed. No person can for a moment suppose that the United States senators and representatives are legislating for the benefit of Canada, or that they would legislate against the interests of the United States simply for the sake of injuring Canadian lumbermen. The Michigan and Wisconsin lumbermen who are now clamouring for the duty on lumber wish to get the logs in free. They are able to satisfy their representatives that it is in the interest of the United States as a whole to have the logs brought in and manufactured in the United States. But if the Government of Canada, for the sake of protecting the interests of this country, conserving our own forests, developing our own resources, giving employment to our own people, and causing capital to be expended in our own country, choose to prevent this export of logs would not the United States, who want our logs and are willing to admit them free, as willingly admit the lumber? The eastern markets certainly would desire it. But the hon. member for Muskoka has introduced other questions. He not only says that the quantity of logs exported has been exaggerated, and that the number of mills closed has been exaggerated, but he says that charges have been made that the Customs Department have not made correct returns. Well, considering the manner in which these logs are gathered up in small tows and started off, the entry being made many miles from where they start, it is absolutely impossible for the Customs Department to give a correct return of the logs shipped.

Mr. O'BRIEN. Then I would ask the hon. gentleman how he is going to get at it if there is an export duty?

Mr. MASSON. There would then be many reasons for closely watching it. There would be revenue to be collected, which would demand much greater efforts being put forth in that direction. It is also said that a charge has been made against the Customs Department of allowing large quantities of produce to be brought in without paying duty. Well, I have heard lumbermen charge their fellow-lumbermen with that; but whether there is any truth in it or not, I do not think it is for us here to inquire. The same difficulty of enforcing the customs laws, the same facility of evading them, exists with regard to imports as with regard to exports; and, with vessels carrying lumber to the United States and returning from ports from which provisions could be brought in, it is very hard to prevent a certain amount of smuggling. But that is aside from the question altogether. The statement of the hon. member goes farther; he says that they do not use Chicago or American pork. The hon. gentleman may not have seen it; but I have seen on the docks tier upon tier of American pork brought from Chicago waiting for boats to take it to the hon. gentleman's own constituency. He did not visit the places where the pork was landed, but I have seen it in transit. I do not know that the putting of an export duty on logs would stop that. I do not know that it enters into the discussion at all. But, of course, with the employment of labour in our own country to saw these logs, the tendency would be towards the consumption of more of our own pork and other products in our own country than at present. If the hon. gentleman is correct in saying that in some places the lumbermen use Canadian pork entirely, it is clear that the employment of that labour would result in a larger market for Canadian pork. I do not wish to occupy the time of the committee any longer. I only wish to add my word to what has been said on behalf of an export duty. I believe that such a duty would be a great benefit to the country. Certainly, in the Georgian Bay district, and even west of that, it would be a very visible and immediate benefit. I do not think it would have the disastrous effect on the lumber trade that the hon. gentleman has stated. I do not believe that it would for any length of time seriously affect the lumber trade. Possibly it would for a short time, but on a whole I believe the lumber trade would survive the imposition of the duty, even if the Americans did impose a higher duty than they now do. It is stated, however, that the men employed are all Canadians and that the material used is all Canadian. I cannot speak for Parry Sound, but I can speak for a locality of which I have personal knowledge, where there are several lumber camps, and there, not only the men, but the horses and all the plant are transported across the St. Mary River. And that has been going on for a number of years.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. By permission of the Customs Department?

Mr. MASSON. The horses sometimes, I believe, pay the duty, but sometimes they swim across. I believe on one occasion they swam over. However, the question whether the men or the horses are brought over by American lumbermen is only incidental to the matter. I believe that if they had their mills established on our side, constant employment would be given to the men, and there would be more Canadian labour employed. No doubt they would still continue to bring over many of their lumbermen, especially from Michigan. We know that a lot of these men come over every winter and a lot of our men go over there for the winter, but they go for the winter's job and return. Now, if constant employment were given in the woods in winter and in the mills in summer, far more Canadians would be employed than at present. On the whole, I am strongly in favour of an export duty on white pine saw-logs.

Mr. SPEAKER (Hon. Peter White). May I be permitted to say a few words with regard to this matter? I frankly confess that I feel a great deal of sympathy for hon. members representing constituencies on the north shore of Lake Huron and Georgian Bay, in their appeals to the Government to impose an export duty on logs. But we must remember that the evil effects which these gentlemen depict are, to a great extent, local in their character. They are confined almost exclusively to the north shore of Lake Huron and the Georgian Bay. We must remember also that the interest of British Columbia and of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and Quebec and a large portion of Ontario lie in the direction of obtaining free entry of lumber into the United States. If the views of those gentlemen (some of whom have advocated the imposition of a prohibitive export duty) were to prevail, we might be prevented from obtaining that which I think every member of the House will agree with me would be of great advantage to the different portions of the Dominion to which I have referred; and it seems to me, that whilst it would be quite proper for the Government to obtain the power that existed before, of imposing an export duty on logs, that power ought not to be exercised, at all events until we ascertain whether the Senate of the United States will continue lumber on the free list, as proposed in the Wilson Bill, and if lumber should remain on the free list, I submit that it would be detrimental to the interests of the whole Dominion for this Government to place an export duty on logs. As has been said in this discussion, there is a great divergence of opinion as to whether the people of the United States absolutely require our lumber or not. I am of opinion that they require it within a certain limit of cost. But if they were to put up their

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import duty to \$4 or \$5 per thousand feet, our trade with the United States, with regard to a very considerable portion of the lumber we produce, would be almost entirely destroyed. And the kind of lumber to which I refer is the kind we are most desirous of getting rid of—that is the commonest grades, which we cannot get into the United States at all, except under the most favourable circumstances and conditions. I would therefore ask these hon. gentlemen not to press the Government to impose an export duty upon logs until we ascertain definitely whether the United States will continue lumber on the free list or not. I do not at all say that it would not be quite proper for us to impose an export duty upon logs, if the Americans should impose an import duty on our lumber going into that country. But I do say that it would be eminently in the interests of a very large portion of the Dominion, if this Government stayed their hands, at present at all events, until we know what course will be taken by the United States.

Mr. MASSON. In answer to the hon. Mr. Speaker, let me say that the locality we represent is a very large locality. Georgian Bay and the north channel to the St. Mary River command the outlet of Ontario's pine. Outside of that the fields are small, so that if it is only a locality it is a very large locality, as far as Ontario is concerned.

Mr. BENNETT. I am pleased to know that in this House, composed as it is of a large number of representatives, no one has risen against this export duty except those who are directly concerned in the matter. On the one hand, we have arrayed against us the solid lumber interest, with whom it is simply a matter of dollars.

Mr. CHARLTON. Are there any dollars in yours?

Mr. BENNETT. I am speaking for my constituents and not for dollars, and if the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) thinks he is going to override me in this House he is greatly mistaken. If he thinks I am going to attempt to enter into a discussion with him, on his own standard, he is much mistaken. I may not know much, but I know enough not to rush in where angels fear to tread, or to attempt to cope in Billingsgate with the hon. gentleman, for that would be something beyond my power. Let me read, for the edification of the House, some of the choice epithets which the hon. gentleman applied, when introducing his Sunday Bill the other day.

Mr. CHARLTON. Order. That is not pertinent to saw-logs.

Mr. BENNETT. The hon. gentleman has seen fit on different occasions, to use his unlimited Billingsgate to best advantage. The delicate and refined manner in which he refers to others, whose views are not in accord with his, is shown by the epithets

of hoodlums, anarchists, and thieves, which he so freely bestowed on them—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. BENNETT. If it is out of order to quote the hon. gentleman's language, then I must submit.

Mr. LAURIER. The hon. gentleman is referring to a past debate.

Mr. BENNETT. I am referring to the hon. gentleman's own statement. All I can say is this: that as long as I am in this House I will never attempt to enter into a controversy with the hon. gentleman and compete with him on the use of Billingsgate, for that would be a very unequal contest. I ask the Government to consider at whose instance lumber is made free in the Wilson Bill. It must be at the request of the consumer of lumber. And I say here—and I make the statement without reservation—that the clause in the Wilson Bill providing that in the event of our imposing an export duty on logs, an import duty of \$2 per thousand should be imposed upon our lumber was introduced at the request of the American lumbermen who own limits in Canada. And if to-day this Government proposed a prohibitory tariff, this very night we should find the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) and these American speculators, who hold limits in Canada, on their way to Washington to ask that lumber from Canada be admitted free. Every man of common sense knows this; it is patent on the face of it. In reference to the remarks of the hon. member for Muskoka (Mr. O'Brien) I can only say that I presume he has been pronouncing his political valedictory. For a man representing a district in which are saw-mill towns, which formerly had 1,200 and 1,500 people, and now contain a bare 100, to declare himself in favour of this policy can only lead to the assumption that the hon. gentleman is going out of politics, whether by or against his own will. I beg to call the Premier's attention to the memorable statement he made on one occasion. In Toronto he declared that the National Policy would stand the lopping-off of some of the mouldering branches. Let me remind the hon. gentleman that a good gardener does not continue lopping off branches alone, he does something more—he grafts. Here is an opportunity for him to graft a new branch on the National Policy, and if he puts one good Canadian graft on the National Policy to-day, by declaring that the timber trade policy shall be for the masses, and not for the few men that have made themselves wealthy out of these limits, he will be doing a kindness to the people of Canada, and will be introducing a measure of a most patriotic character. The Government are fully conversant with this matter. I hope that before this discussion ends that the Finance Minister will

give us who come from the districts, which are seriously affected, the satisfaction of going home and telling our people the why and wherefore of this case. Is the reason for no action being taken that the Government have not sufficient information on the subject? If so, then in the name of goodness let us know it, and we will see to it that they are given whatever information they require. If there are other reasons let us know. But to-day we have to go home, as we have done before, with nothing more to say than that the Government has the question under consideration. A year ago the Finance Minister gave us a glimmer of hope. I do trust that before the session passes away the clouds will be lifted altogether, and that the lumber industry of the North Shore will be revived, and thousands of men who to-day are expatriated in Michigan as a result of this policy will return. If this is done a graft will have been added to the National Policy that will be enduring, and will be worthy of a patriotic and progressive Government.

Committee rose, and it being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

House again resolved itself into Committee on Ways and Means.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. DEVLIN. I do not wish to prolong the discussion, but I can hardly allow a great deal of what has been said during this debate to pass without at least entering my protest against the proposition that an export duty shall be placed upon logs. It will be within the recollection of this committee that some two years ago there was considerable discussion upon this subject in the House. At that time, in the discharge of my duty as the representative of a district in which the lumber interest is a very considerable one, I placed myself in communication with some of the most important lumbermen of the Ottawa Valley, regardless entirely of their political opinions. I obtained from those gentlemen a number of letters which I read—if not entire, at least the important portions of them. Not a single gentleman, except one, whose name has been mentioned, I think by the hon. member for East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett), was in favour of the proposition that this export duty should be imposed. I will refer later on to the gentleman—Mr. Eddy. I must say that I for one was astonished to hear that such desolation existed in certain districts of Canada as was pictured before this House in the course of the speeches delivered by the hon. member for Simcoe and the hon. member for Grey (Mr. Sproule). Up to this debate we had been accustomed to hear from hon. gentlemen supporting the Government the delightful tale of prosperity existing in every part of Canada. In fact,

the great charge made against members of the Liberal party has been that they have been in the habit of decrying their country. But in this debate we see gentlemen like the hon. member for East Simcoe predicting every possible calamity, if the proposition which he offers is not accepted. We find the hon. member for Grey also saying that in the section which he represents there is a great deal of distress, owing to the fact that the export duty is not imposed. These gentlemen tell us that 18,000 Canadians have gone from their section to Michigan, and that a great many others will follow if the policy they advocate is not adopted. In fact, if you read the speeches they have delivered you will find stronger expressions with regard to the depression existing in these localities. I venture to say, than any that have fallen from the lips of hon. gentlemen on this side. And, bear in mind, Mr. Chairman, all this exists under this great and glorious National Policy, which was to have brought prosperity to every part of the country, the National Policy which was to have given increased population and renewed prosperity to every county in the Dominion. Now we are told that, notwithstanding this National Policy, which exists in these districts as well as in every other part of the country, Canadians are being driven, not by the hundreds, but by the thousands, out of these districts into the United States. The hon. member for Grey, insisting on the fact that this export duty should be imposed, gave two principal arguments, and with these arguments I may deal briefly. He gave these arguments with illustrations. He also stated as another reason why this duty should be imposed that the towing across Georgian Bay causes a great deal of inconvenience to navigation. If, on the other hand, you consider the enormous interests that are at stake, and that would be sacrificed, in all probability, if this export duty were reimposed, I do not think the arguments put forth by the hon. member for Grey will counterbalance the disastrous effects that would follow from the imposition of this duty. It has been very well said by the hon. member for Muskoka (Mr. O'Brien) that it is only in certain localities that this depression exists, that it is only in a certain portion of Ontario that any fear is entertained that the lumber interest would be injured by the duty remaining as it is. We have been told, and I agree with the view, that it would be well to consider the interests of every other portion of the Dominion. Sir, the lumber interest is not confined solely to the districts which are represented by those hon. gentlemen who advocate the imposition of an export duty. One has not far to look to behold the magnitude of the lumber trade in this district. We have the Ottawa River, with its magnificent tributaries, the Gatineau River, the Lièvre River, and if you go down the St. Lawrence River you will find on

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many of its tributaries that the lumber industry is active; indeed, in almost every section of the province of Quebec the lumber interest to-day is thriving, owing to the fact that there is no export duty. In fact, I think one hon. gentleman who advocates the imposition of an export duty admitted that to-day there is great prosperity in the Ottawa Valley, owing to the fact that we have comparatively easy access to the American market for our lumber. But, for the sake of a little local benefit to be conferred on a few mills, the hon. member for Grey would have all this trade of the Ottawa Valley placed in danger, he would have thousands and thousands of men who are engaged in this industry in both summer and winter, bringing happiness and contentment to their homes—he would have them thrown out of employment by the reimposition of a duty. I think that their interests should be just as carefully considered as the interests of the locality represented by the hon. member for Grey. Now, with regard to Mr. E. B. Eddy, whose name has been mentioned, I must say that any representations that gentlemen may make to the Government, should certainly carry weight. I am willing to admit that. I know what the strength of Mr. Eddy is, I have felt his strength in the past, and I have no doubt I will feel it in the future. Mr. Eddy is one of the pioneers of the lumber industry on the Ottawa. He does not personally look to dollars and cents. As soon as he had earned a dollar, as soon as he had amassed a fortune, he was ready to spend that fortune in building up the lumber industry of the Ottawa Valley. Perhaps there is no Canadian to-day who is deserving of more credit for the enterprise he has displayed than Mr. E. B. Eddy, of whom the hon. member for East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett) spoke. Mr. Eddy has ever been a consistent Conservative, and his representations should carry weight with the Government. I am willing to admit that, and I am willing to admit it, also, in view of the services which he has rendered to the cause which has been advocated here on so many occasions by the hon. member for Simcoe and the hon. member for Grey. I am willing to go even further, and to admit it in view of the services which he is likely to render to the Conservative party in future campaigns. I may remark here that his name was mentioned recently in connection with the succession of the late Prime Minister in the representation of the division of Inkerman in the Senate. The moment that gentleman's name was mentioned there was hardly a paper in the country, whether of Liberal or Conservative proclivities, which did not speak in the highest possible terms of Mr. Eddy, and which did not admit that certainly no gentleman would confer greater honour on a seat in the Senate, than Mr. Eddy.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. DEVLIN. Yes, I can prove it all. I am willing to go that far, and I may say that in taking the stand I do to-day, I am not going to gain the sympathy of Mr. Eddy. I did not have his sympathy with me in the last election, and I am not likely to have it again when I shall offer for re-election in that county. I am not, therefore, speaking with the hope of gaining one vote or several votes, I am speaking simply in accordance with my own belief, and the principles of fair-play which I entertain. I believe in the policy of freedom of trade. I believe that we should advocate to-day the emancipation of trade, that we should not look solely to the interest of one locality, but that we should look to the interest of every county, and every province in the Dominion. In accordance with that belief, I protest to-day against chains and shackles being placed on any branch of trade; I protest against the policy of legislating for the benefit of the few to the detriment of the great majority of the people. The hon. member for East Simcoe said that in advocating this policy he did it with the view of obtaining the benefit for the many, against the interests of the few. But, Sir, what has been his course in this House ever since he has had a seat here? His course has been to support the very policy that has made millionaires of the few, and impoverished the great many in the country. On all occasions he has been ready to vote and to speak with all his force in favour of the miserable policy that they call the National Policy—the miserable policy of protection for the few against liberty and emancipation for the many. And, Sir, actuated, no doubt, by that same belief, and thinking that certain parties have not got enough, he stands up in this House and utters a threat to the Government and to the Prime Minister, and says that he is, along with many others, ready to cross over to Michigan if this export duty is not imposed. Sir, I believe that we should not tax any portion of this community for the benefit of the few, and I believe that the taxes should be levied in such a manner that they shall contribute solely to the revenue that is required to defray the cost of carrying on the government, economically administered. That is my belief, and it is on that ground that I rise to-day to say that it will be a shame if the Government shall impose another additional burden upon a trade which is of great benefit, not only to the lumbermen who have invested millions of dollars in this interest, but to thousands and thousands who are depending upon the successful prosecution of that trade, and who desire to see no further barriers placed between this country and the great country to the south of us, who are anxious to see existing barriers taken down, who are anxious to see the natural channels of trade which exist between the two countries left free as they were intend-

ed by Providence to be. Why, we were told in this debate to-day that the Congress of the United States legislate in the interest of the United States. Admit it. We are here to-day, also, not to legislate in favour of the United States, but to legislate in favour of the whole Dominion. How many counties in the Dominion have sent in petitions asking for this export duty? How many provinces represented in this Chamber have asked for the imposition of this export duty? I think if you will exclude the locality from which those hon. gentlemen come, you will not find another district in the Dominion earnestly and loudly clamouring for the re-imposition of the export duty which would do so much harm to the great lumbering industry of the country.

Mr. SPROULE. Allow me to ask a question. As a representative of the Ottawa Valley, what would the hon. gentleman say if all the timber in this valley were carried down the river to the United States and sawn there instead of here? What would be said in his own riding?

Mr. DEVLIN. I would be sorry indeed for it.

Mr. SPROULE. That is our position; and why blame us?

Mr. DEVLIN. I would be very sorry if that were done; but believing in freedom of trade I stand by my principles, that you have no right to place any shackle or chain on any industry. What is the distance from here to the United States? The hon. gentleman knows it. Besides, we have means for carrying our logs to the United States by river and by railway, and the hon. gentleman knows it. But we in the Ottawa Valley are not afraid of the Americans. We have our Canadian brains and arms, and we are ready to defy American competition. We only ask for fair-play and for a fair field; we are ready to go into competition with any body of men in the world. The hon. gentleman knows there is not a great distance between the Ottawa Valley and the United States, and our logs are not brought 50 miles, but many hundreds of miles.

Mr. SPROULE. I was not speaking about distance.

Mr. BENNETT. Will the hon. gentleman answer a question? If the export duty were placed on logs to-day, what duty would there be against logs going from Canada to the United States, under the McKinley Act, and also under the proposed Wilson Bill?

Mr. DEVLIN. I think that question has already been very fully answered by the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), but as the hon. gentleman's memory is so short I will read again from the remarks of that hon. gentleman. The hon. gentleman knows that in the McKinley Bill there is a provision that if we place an ex-

port duty on our logs the import duty will be at once increased.

Mr. BENNETT. To how much ?

Mr. DEVLIN. Let me read. The provisions of the Wilson Bill are to this effect :

" 672. Logs, and round unmanufactured timber, not specially enumerated or provided for in this Act.

" 673. Firewood, handle bolts, heading bolts, stave bolts, and shingle bolts, hop poles, fence posts, railroad ties, ship timber, and ship planking, not specially provided for in this Act."

Under the tariff now in force ties are charged 20 per cent, ship planking \$2 a thousand feet, and some of the other articles enumerated bear a duty.

" 674. Timber hewn and sawed, and timber used for spars, and in building wharfs.

" 675. Timber, squared or sided."

This now bears a duty of \$1.50 per thousand feet.

" 676. Sawed boards, planks, deals and other timber."

These are the articles put on the free list under this Bill, subject to the following proviso :

" Provided that all of the articles mentioned in paragraphs 682 to 683 inclusive, when imported from any country which lays an export duty on any of them shall be subject to the duties existing prior to the passage of this Act."

I am reading from the Wilson Bill and am pointing out what the effect would be of placing an export duty on our logs. Two years ago I read the opinions of men, at least as competent to deal with the subject as the hon. member for East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett), and having as much interest in the country as that hon. gentleman, and they pointed out that the effect of the reimposition of the export duty would be at once to increase the import duty on the American side, and that would involve an immense danger and loss to the whole lumbering industry, not only in the Ottawa Valley, but of the whole Dominion.

Mr. BENNETT. Two dollars ?

Mr. DEVLIN. That is what I said.

Mr. BENNETT. The hon. gentleman did not say so.

Mr. DEVLIN. The hon. gentleman does not mean to intimate that I did not know what it was. I simply pointed out that I was glad to have had the opportunity of reading the provisions of the Wilson Bill, and perhaps they will have had the effect of bringing back the hon. gentleman to a more reasonable view of the situation. I am not making any threat as the hon. gentleman did ; I am not decrying my country, as the hon. gentleman decried it ; I am not telling the House that 18,000 Canadians had cleared out to Michigan, and that I would clear out if the duty was imposed. The hon. member for Algoma (Mr. Macdonell), however, thinks that he can find a solution of the difficulty. He said, and this is one of the reasons why I rose to speak, that no one would support the proposition put forward by the hon. mem-

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ber for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). I rise to support those propositions. I endorse most heartily his attitude on this question, and I am very glad to be able to do so. We have in the whole proposition laid down by the hon. member for Algoma the most complete essence of protection. The hon. gentleman said : Make the duty so high that no logs can go into the United States. We are very anxious, however, to get raw material from the United States for our various manufactures. We are also very anxious to get the products, not only of our forests, but of our mines admitted into the United States free of duty. Why is it to-day that our ore is not exported as freely as it should be ? The hon. gentleman will be able to explain that matter, no doubt.

Mr. MACDONELL. Did you say ore ?

Mr. DEVLIN. Yes. I thought the hon. gentleman was going to offer some sensible interruption, but perhaps it would be too much to expect it from him.

Mr. MACDONELL. I did not intend to interrupt the hon. gentleman. I merely asked the question to know if I caught the word. I will answer the question when the hon. gentleman is through.

Mr. DEVLIN. I am very much surprised to hear these professions from the hon. gentleman opposite. He knows that on certain occasions they say they are very anxious to obtain reciprocity with the United States, and yet for this very article which is an important one for the American market, they are prepared to ask the Government to close our market. They are ready to insist upon the adoption of a policy that would prevent almost any measure of reciprocity being hoped for from the United States. I endorse the position taken by the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) in regard to this question most heartily. In doing so I know I am expressing the feelings not only of the people of the county which I represent, but of almost every county, if not every county bathed by the grand Ottawa River, by the Gatineau, by the Lièvre, by the St. Maurice and the tributaries of the St. Lawrence. Impose an export duty, and you will hurt the lumber trade of the country enormously, and instead of a few establishments closing up in the Georgian Bay district thousands of people will be seriously injured, not only in the province of Quebec, but in many portions of Ontario, along both shores of the Ottawa, and many industries will be affected which owe much of their vitality to the distribution of money made by the lumber trade of the Ottawa Valley. I desire to impress on the Government the proposition that the export duty should not be reimposed. No necessity at this moment demands it ; no strong interest at this moment desires it. And, Sir, it is not in the interests of the country, not even in the inter-

ests of any very important portion of the country, that the duty should be reimposed.

Mr. KAULBACH. Mr. Speaker, the lumber industry of Canada is one of great significance and should be encouraged, fostered, and protected with the utmost care, and by the very best possible legislation. It has been brought to the notice of Parliament on various occasions that the free export of logs to the United States was resulting most injuriously to the lumbering industry of Canada. This was shown very fully and clearly by previous speakers on this subject, by the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) and the hon. member for East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett), and others, who stated that the large lumber mills on Georgian Bay, with their tall chimneys were standing idle, as monuments of the past, and the logs which should be sawed in them, are taken past them, over the bay, across the border and cut in the United States, owing to the export duty on logs having been removed. Now, the only way to recuperate the lumber industry of Canada in this particular is to reimpose the duty on logs. A further proof of the injury done to this industry in Canada under present conditions is shown by the utterances very recently of a member of Congress, that in the state of Michigan alone there has been and still is imported into that state annually from Canada for manufacture or cutting into lumber upwards of 500,000,000 feet. Again, in one of our city papers this morning I observed the following, as a further proof of what free logs is doing :

The Hon. Mr. Weston, a Michigan man, stated the case clearly last year when he said : "On the north shore of Lake Erie the Canadian saw-mills are in ruins, but the mills at Tonawanda, N.Y., are employing thousands of American workmen, manufacturing Canadian logs towed from the Erie north shore. The Saginaw mills are running out of American stock, and already they are looking to Georgian Bay for Canadian logs to cross Lake Huron and keep their mills and men at work." The Americans must have our lumber, but even were it otherwise it would be wise to prevent the depletion of our forests which is now going rapidly on.

Mr. CHARLTON. Will the hon. gentleman allow me to correct a mistake in that statement ?

Mr. KAULBACH. I am reading from a statement that I saw in a newspaper this morning.

Mr. CHARLTON. I am aware, and I would like to make the hon. gentleman aware of the true state of facts. The statement is made there that the logs are towed from the north shore of Lake Erie, and that thousands of men are employed in the mills at Tonawanda, N.Y. The fact is that logs have not been towed from the north shores of Lake Erie for the last fifteen years, and there are but two small mills at Tonawanda, that saw about 3,000,000 feet a year, which is brought

from the state of Michigan. The statement is entirely untrustworthy and misleading.

Mr. KAULBACH. Probably this person is mistaken in the name of this place, and he evidently intended, instead of Lake Erie, the north shore of the Georgian Bay. The timber limits of Canada in many instances, as I learn, are bought by Americans, lumbered by Americans, towed over the lakes by American tugs, manned by Americans, and manufactured or cut in American mills, and all the labour lost to Canada, most unsatisfactory to Canadians. The United States people readily see that free lumber would very readily shut up their mills, and render the industry profitless, so far as their mills are concerned, and necessarily have the tendency to transfer the milling industry to Canada, hence the offer some years ago by Congress to abate the duty on lumber \$1, providing Canada would remove the export duty then imposed on logs, which should not have been conceded by Canada, as it is well known that the timber limits in the United States were at the time, and are now, greatly depleted of timber and not affording sufficient for their home demand, and consequently all the duty placed upon lumber by Congress, the people of the United States would have to meet themselves as the consumers of the article. This appears very clear. The free export of logs affects not only the lumbermen of Canada, but those engaged in the manufacture of wood pulp as well, of which we have not a few of them in Nova Scotia, and some in the county I have the honour to represent, both which industries—lumbering as well as pulp—I want to have encouraged and protected. Pulp manufacturers would be interfered with in the Maritime Provinces more than lumbermen, as the wood could be transferred in vessels seawards, across the border, when saw-logs would be too cumbersome for that mode of transit, hence the necessity for remedial legislation to protect these industries in Canada, which can be done by reimposing the export duty on logs. I certainly see the necessity for the export duty on logs being restored, and the National Policy as it were, characterized—not by expatriating Canadians from the land of their birth or adoption by denying them the benefit of labour which could be employed at home, which the free export of logs from Canada had been, and is now doing—but by having our mills in Canada kept moving, and Canadian hands employed to operate them. I believe in Canada first, and Canada at all times for Canadians. I repeat, reimpose the export duty on logs, with the understanding that if the United States Congress will allow free entry for Canadian lumber, this Government will remove the export duty on logs. In other words, free lumber, free logs. This might be arrived at by restoring the duty and adding a reciprocity clause to the item to the effect, giving the Governor in Council power to remove the

export duty on Canadian logs on getting in return free lumber into the United States.

Mr. FORBES. If the hon. gentleman refers to page 30 of the tariff he will find the very provision there that he now asks the Government to make.

Mr. KAULBACH. It is not what I advocate. There is no export duty placed on logs there. I ask the Government to place the export duty on logs and then add a clause to the effect, that if the United States will allow our lumber to go in free, we will only be too happy to allow our Canadian logs to go into their country without an export duty.

Mr. McNEILL. I do not intend to take up the time of the committee longer than for a moment or two, but with regard to this matter I wish to say: that my own constituents are very much interested in this question, not only from the point of view of the lumberman, but also from the point of view of the fisherman. On the face of it to those on this side of the House, I think there ought to be a very strong case made out before we depart so entirely from the principles of the National Policy, as to send out of the country our raw material to be manufactured in a foreign country. If I had heard a very strong case made out to the effect that the imposition of the duty upon our lumber would be destructive of the lumbering interests of this country, I should be inclined to pause a good deal before I supported the proposition of my hon. friends who have been advocating the imposition of an export duty upon logs. I have no doubt that in the first instance the imposition of such a duty would affect to a certain extent the lumbering industry here, but I was very much impressed by the argument of my hon. friend from East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett), when he said, that those who had induced the placing of this clause in the Wilson Bill which threatened us with a duty upon our lumber if we imposed an export duty upon our saw-logs, were the very men who had purchased our timber limits and who were carrying our logs to the other side. Now, it is quite evident that it is very important for them in the meantime that they should get their logs in free of duty; but it seems to be just as clear that in the event of our placing an export duty on logs, so soon as a duty was imposed on lumber on the other side, it would be quite as important for them to have that duty taken off, because, as a matter of course, as soon as we prevented their exporting logs to any considerable extent by imposing an export duty upon them, they would find that they could not sell their lumber to advantage with a duty upon it on the other side, and they would at once desire to have that duty removed, because they would be obliged to make their lumber here. So that the very influence which is

Mr. KAULBACH.

threatened to be brought to bear to have a duty put upon our lumber would then be brought to bear to have any duty which was imposed taken off. I must say, for my part, that I would like to hear a much stronger prima facie case established in favour of the argument that our lumber interest is likely to be seriously affected by the imposition of an export duty on logs than I have heard yet. I confess that the statement made by the hon. the Speaker of this House had a very strong effect upon me, because I know him very well indeed, and I do not at all sympathize with the view that gentlemen who are engaged in the lumber industry and who happen to have seats in this House, should not be perfectly free to express their views on this subject. I think it is quite right that they should do so. Of course, we must recollect that to a certain extent their minds are likely to be, unconsciously perhaps to themselves, biassed in a certain direction; but, on the other hand, we must recollect that they are probably better informed on this subject than most of us who venture to speak upon it; and, from my knowledge of my hon. friend the Speaker of this House, I am quite sure of this, that the very fact that he was in any degree connected with the industry would make him very reticent about expressing his opinion upon the floor of the House on the subject at all; and unless he was satisfied in his own mind that the case was a strong case, he would not have spoken on the subject. Therefore, as I said, I feel very considerably impressed by what he said. At the same time I cannot say that there has been a sufficiently strong prima facie case made out in favour of his view to satisfy me that it would not be a good thing to impose an export duty upon logs. I wish to call the attention of the committee to this fact, which has already been spoken to by my hon. friend from Algoma (Mr. Macdonell), that we are not considering the lumber industry alone, but a second and most important industry, that is, the fishing industry. There is no doubt whatever that the towing of these logs across the lakes is injuring the fishing industry to a very material extent. The debris which falls from these logs, the bark which is rubbed off in the course of towing them across the lakes, is destroying the feeding beds of the fish, and their spawning beds also; and our fishermen find that even their nets are destroyed by the amount of bark which is accumulated in them in the course of this traffic. So that we have these facts to bear in mind. In the first place, this side of the House must recollect that allowing our logs to go into the American market free of duty is entirely contrary to the principles we advocate, the principles of the National Policy; in the second place, we have to recollect this very important fact, that by doing so we are allowing the Americans to deplete our forests, after they have pretty well depleted their own; and,

thirdly, we have to remember that we are to a large extent allowing the fishing industry of the Georgian Bay and Lake Huron to be destroyed.

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Chairman, I must say that for various reasons I think this is one of the most unfortunate debates that has taken place in this House. When the matter of the importation of lumber from Canada into the United States is under discussion in the Congress of the United States, I think it behooved this Parliament to have nothing at all to say about the matter. I think this discussion is a very serious mistake, and I think no hon. gentleman understanding the lumber trade would have introduced it at this time.

Mr. SPROULE. What are we sent for? To be dummies, when our interests are at stake?

Mr. EDWARDS. The hon. gentleman asks what we are sent here for. Some hon. gentlemen are sent here to speak for very small and limited localities, of which we have an example in this very instance. The district which I understand is alleged to be injured by the absence of an export duty on saw-logs, is a district of country embracing altogether some 5,000 square miles.

Mr. SPROULE. There are 19,000 square miles under license now, and 20,000 more.

Mr. EDWARDS. Well, Mr. Chairman, some hon. gentlemen think that this district is the world. But this country borders on the United States for a distance of between three and four thousand miles. Over this entire length of country the lumber trade is more or less an important trade, and I venture to say that no hon. gentleman in Canada who does not come from the district of country from which these hon. gentlemen come, would stand up here, if he understood the question at all, and contend for one moment that an export duty on saw-logs would be a benefit to Canada or the lumber trade of Canada. Now, it is almost unnecessary for me to say more than that the hon. the Speaker of the House has voiced my views on this subject.

Mr. SPROULE. You are both lumbermen.

Mr. EDWARDS. The hon. gentleman says we are both lumbermen. I understand that he is a doctor, and I understand that he thinks that he knows more about the lumber trade than we do.

Mr. SPROULE. And you have your mills and cut your lumber; but we do not do that.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. EDWARDS. As I said at the beginning of my remarks, I think this is a very inopportune time for discussing this

question. Under the McKinley tariff, which is now in force, white pine lumber going into the United States pays an import duty of \$1 a thousand, and spruce and red pine a duty of \$2 a thousand. The conditions of the Wilson Bill are that the duty shall be removed on white pine, spruce and red pine. Heretofore gentlemen interested in spruce were in favour of an export duty on saw-logs. I think that to-day their views have entirely changed. And why? Because the removal of the duty upon spruce going into the United States will be a very great benefit to the spruce producers of this country. Not only will it benefit spruce, but it will enable our red pine to go to the United States, as it cannot do to-day to any extent, because of the prohibitive duty. As I understand, under the Wilson Bill, the lumber products of any country which does not impose an export duty on saw-logs will be admitted free into the United States. This, I will say at once, is perhaps not so important to the pine interest as to the spruce interest. It is of greater importance to the eastern portion of Quebec and to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. But all the same, it will be of some benefit to the producers of pine and to the country generally, because the lumbermen themselves will not reap the whole of the benefit, but only a portion of it, and the people, as a whole, will reap their share. Now, the hon. gentleman from Muskoka, the district which is interested in the export duty in saw-logs, would jeopardize the lumber interests of the entire Dominion for the sake of having a certain quantity of lumber manufactured in that region. I believe that no greater mistake could be made than to reimpose the export duty on logs, and thus continue the import duty on our lumber going into the United States.

Mr. SPROULE. If the hon. gentleman's mill at Rockland were lying idle while all the logs went past it into the United States, and his men were thrown out of employment, would he say the same thing?

Mr. EDWARDS. If it were in the interests of the country that my mill at Rockland should shut down and never saw again, that condition of things should be brought about. I am one of those who believe that if the lumber of Canada goes free into the United States, no greater inducement could be offered to bring about the sawing of the lumber in this country. Now, as to the need of the Americans for our lumber, there are many hon. gentlemen who believe that our lumber is an immediate necessity to the people of the United States. Such is not at all the case. It is true that we have yet in this country a very considerable quantity of lumber, but the United States could do without our lumber for ten, twenty, perhaps thirty years, and that portion of our lumber which goes into the

United States has to compete, handicapped by a duty, with the lumber of that country. It would be in the interests of lumbermen and of this Dominion that our lumber should go in free. There are those who believe that the profits on sawn lumber in this country are very great.

An hon. MEMBER. Hear, hear.

Mr. EDWARDS. I would like the hon. gentleman who says "Hear, hear" to be a lumberman for a few years, and he would understand what the profits are sometimes. I notice that he said here a few days ago that 75 per cent of the lumber in the Ottawa Valley was sold. Well, I am a manufacturer of lumber, and the United States is my largest market, and I can tell the hon. gentleman that I have not \$5,000 worth of this year's product sold to go to the United States, and I do not expect to be able to sell any until the question of the Wilson Bill is settled. And I will tell him this also: that no more injurious blow has been struck at the lumber interests of Canada than the bringing up of this discussion at the present time. But when the discussion is brought up, we are compelled to tell the truth about the trade, and the lumber trade has not been in so depressed a condition for some years as it is to-day. Gentlemen who bring up a debate of this kind know nothing of the conditions, or they would not for one moment act as they do. I do not believe that they wish to injure the lumber trade, but they are injuring it and injuring the country, because it is the industry that comes next to the farming industry. And how is the lumber trade treated? It has to compete in the markets of the world, just as the agricultural industry has, and it has to pay a high tariff on almost all the materials it has to buy. Narrow-minded protectionists, who know nothing of the interests of the lumber trade or this country, would tax that trade at both ends. They would hamper us in the purchase of the articles used in our production, and also impose such conditions upon us as would kill our lumber trade. I speak feelingly, because I know the facts.

Mr. FOSTER. You will make out a good case for a bounty if you go on.

Mr. EDWARDS. The hon. gentleman says I will make a good case for a bounty. I can tell the hon. gentleman that if he will place the farmers and the lumbermen and the miners and the fishermen and all those who develop the natural resources of the country—if he will place us in the same position as the protected manufacturers, by giving us a bounty on everything we produce and that is used or consumed in the country, then we will all be on an equal footing. The only difference in opinion between Mr. Speaker and myself on this subject is this: He advocates, in the event of our lumber not being made free by the United States.

Mr. EDWARDS.

the imposition by us of an export duty on saw-logs. Well, as a matter of policy, and as a matter of principle, I am opposed to any such imposition. No matter whether the Americans impose a duty or not I would be opposed to our putting an export duty on saw-logs. And why? Because I believe in freedom of trade; I believe that the American who comes into this country and bids at our public auctions for limits, and buys them under the conditions imposed by the various provinces, has a perfect right to take his logs out of this country, so long as he conforms to the provisions of the Local Legislatures, just as he pleases. I may as well say at once that I would very much prefer to see the logs manufactured into lumber in this country. Yes, Mr. Chairman, and I would very much prefer to see our wheat and all our raw products manufactured before they are exported. But is this done? No, Mr. Chairman, our wheat is exported in an unmanufactured condition and so are many of our products. Yet, are there any suggestions that an export duty should be placed upon these? Why should an export duty be placed upon saw-logs any more than on wheat? The timber of this country is the property of the various provinces and it is for the provinces to deal with the question, it is for them to impose such conditions as they please. If hon. gentlemen desire to promote forestry in this country, they would employ themselves very much better if they would set themselves about protecting our forests from the ravages of fire. I honestly believe, as a lumberman having some considerable experience, that, up to this moment, twenty times as much of our lumber in this country has been destroyed by fire as has been cut by the axe of the lumberman.

Mr. SPROULE. What are Mowat's fire rangers doing; there is an army of them?

Mr. EDWARDS. Well, Mr. Chairman, I am not speaking for the Ontario Government; I am speaking now upon the question of an export duty upon saw-logs. As I understand it, the various provinces are now beginning to wake up and are doing a great deal in the direction of forest preservation. The lumbering industry of this country is not going to become extinct in a few years, but, with proper care, our forests will continue for many years, and those who believe that we near the end of the production of lumber in this country do not understand the greatness of our resources in this respect. Without taking up further time of the committee, let me say that I believe it will be a most dangerous and imprudent thing for this Parliament to authorize the Government to impose an export duty upon saw-logs by Order in Council. This is a matter of great interest to the entire country, and I do not think affairs should be left in such a condition that upon strong representations made by a few counties in western Ontario a great matter of

this kind should be dealt with without consulting the House. This is not a matter that should be relegated to the Government, but is one that Parliament should keep in its own hands. In any case the country could not suffer by allowing the matter to stand until next session, when it can be dealt with if Parliament thinks it necessary.

Mr. BRYSON. Mr. Chairman, this discussion having lasted for several days, I feel quite certain that the members of the Government, as well as many members of the House, are anxious that it should come to a close. I quite agree with the hon. gentleman who has just sat down that, at a time like this, when every word that is uttered by hon. gentlemen in this House is closely scanned by our neighbours across the line and considered in the light of the speaker's political convictions, we should be very careful what we say and how we act. At the outset, I cannot but express my admiration for the hon. member for Simcoe (Mr. Bennett), the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule), and the hon. member for Algoma (Mr. Macdonell) who have so zealously advocated the interests of the north-western portion of the province of Ontario, which they represent. I believe these hon. gentlemen are in earnest in their conviction that if the export duty were placed upon logs it would be beneficial to their particular section and that in what they say they voice the feelings of the constituents they represent. Sir, many hon. gentlemen in this House think it their duty to represent their constituents, while others think it their duty to represent themselves. I have no doubt, as one engaged in the lumber trade, that it will be insinuated, as it has been insinuated, that the lumbermen are arrayed on one side against the export duty, because it is to their own interest—that they are talking for dollars. Sir, I think that no greater insult can be offered to any great interest in this country than to say that those who speak on its behalf are speaking for dollars. It will surely not be denied that the lumber interest in this country deserves fair consideration at the hands of the Government. Sir, if, when the welfare of a great industry like this is in question, it would ill-become those who are engaged in the business and who are acquainted with the needs of the industry to remain silent, when those who are not lumbermen seem ready to declare that they are better able to represent the interests of the business than those who are engaged in it. Coming, as I do, from a lumbering district, and representing a large lumber interest, I am satisfied that I speak for over seven-eighths of my constituents when I say that the policy they would adopt to-day would be that of giving to the Americans free logs, provided they were willing to give us, in return, free access to their markets for our lumber. When I heard the hon. member for Simcoe advocate the put-

ting on of an export duty at this moment, I was obliged entirely to disagree with him. Sir, we are not here to legislate in the interests of any particular section of Canada; we are here to legislate in the interests of the Dominion at large. It is our duty to do this, not from the particular standpoint of the province of Ontario or the province of Quebec, or any other. We look at the exports and imports of our logs in the whole Dominion. In the western portion of Ontario the logs are taken from the United States to our mills in the Rainy River region. We look further west to the province of British Columbia to ascertain how the question stands as to the exchange of logs and lumber with the United States. We find that altogether, up to within the last few years we have been importing quite as many logs as we have been exporting from Canada. And if to-day they have a slight advantage over us in lumber interests it would ill-become us for that reason to take the step that is proposed to-day. We have been taunted by members on the Opposition side on several occasions with having been unable to arrange better trade relations with the United States, because we are constantly building up barriers against this trade. To-day, as a Conservative and a protectionist, I am prepared that we shall continue to have no export duty on saw-logs if the Wilson Bill comes into effect. But, in saying this, I still agree with what has fallen from the lips of the hon. gentleman that until the Wilson Bill is passed the Government shall have the right to reserve by Order in Council the power to impose an export duty on logs. Sir, I disagree entirely with the remarks of the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) in the statement he made when he was about to resume his seat, and, in order that I may not misquote him, with the permission of the House, I shall read what he said:

I hope that when we come to the consideration of the proposal that the government shall have the power to impose export duties, the government will withdraw that request, and if not, the House will deny them the power.

Sir, I entirely dissent from that. We have had a surplus of logs taken last year from the Canadian side, and there will be a surplus of logs taken away this year, and if the Wilson Bill is not carried next autumn in its present shape, I shall be one of the first to advocate the placing of an export duty upon logs. We have heard something of the depression of the lumber trade in Ontario. This is the first time that I have heard that the lumber trade in Canada is depressed, that only a portion of the large amount of lumber that will be sawn in the Ottawa Valley this year, has been sold. Sir, I am not so familiar with the facts as the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat, but I have been told on good authority that fully 75 per cent of the cut

of this year's logs is now sold. I shall not say that that lumber is sold to the United States market, because I am not entirely satisfied that such is the case, but I will say this, that the lumber which has been sold this year has not been sold in a declining market, nor has it been sold at a reduced figure on last year's prices. We all know that the prices obtained last year were considered fair prices, we know that the lumbermen generally have said that last year was as good a year as they have had for many years. I am prepared to say that the prices obtained this year have not been less than last year, and, in many cases, they have been a slight advance on last year. I object to the imposition of an export duty if the Americans are willing to give us reciprocal trade relations. We are willing to accept the proposition now before their Congress, but if they are unwilling to do more than merely place that proposition on paper, in order to hoodwink the Canadians, if possible, why should we not stand up for our rights, and foster this industry? Now, we are told that certain portions of western Ontario are suffering on account of the mills being idle, and a very good illustration of that fact was given by the hon. member for Muskoka (Mr. O'Brien). He said that the lumber in the section where that mill was placed had nearly all disappeared, that the forests had become depleted, and that it was impossible now to get logs to the point where that mill is situated. I think there are other similar cases. You might go to British Columbia, you might go to New Westminster, and there you will find mills which formerly did a very large business, but are now without logs to cut. Those are circumstances over which the Government have no control. The position I take here to-night is, that if the American Government are prepared to give us free lumber, I shall not ask the Government of this country to place an export duty on logs. My earnest desire is that the Government shall not be influenced by representations from any particular section, but that they shall hold the ground which they have taken up before the House, and stand firmly to it, irrespective of what any particular section may advocate to the contrary, because I believe that if we have any chance of ever getting free lumber, our chances would entirely disappear were an export duty to be placed upon logs at this moment.

Mr. MACLEAN (York). It is evident, from this discussion that there are many diverse interests affected, and that these interests are so wide that the different provinces cannot agree. Well, there is one way of reaching a settlement of this question, and we in Ontario have the cure in our own hands. After the election takes place, next month, we hope to have a Govern-

Mr. BRYSON.

ment in power which will place such restrictions on the production of lumber as will secure its cut in our own province. To that end, I advise my hon. friends here who are advocating this export duty, to turn out and support Mr. Meredith in the coming contest, because not long ago Mr. Meredith placed himself on record, and his followers placed themselves on record in Toronto, as favourable to such restrictions as will secure the cutting of our own lumber in our own country. Another point for the information of the hon. member for Russell (Mr. Edwards) is this, that the highest duty put on lumber by the Wilson Bill will be \$2. If that duty is put on, our lumbermen can still make money, because before the McKinley tariff came into operation, the duty was \$2, and they made money then. If they could make money then they will continue to make it even if the Americans again put the duty at \$2 a thousand. If that is the case, both the arguments of the hon. member for Russell, and the argument put forward by the hon. the Speaker (Mr. White), speaking as the representative of his county, fall to the ground. The lumbermen did make money when the duty was \$2, they are making money now, and they can make it if the duty is put up to \$2, as the Wilson Bill threatens to do.

Mr. EDWARDS. Supposing we should ask them to put it up to \$4 a thousand?

Item agreed to.

Sawed boards, planks, deals, and other lumber, free.

Mr. FOSTER. I want to add the words, "undressed or dressed on one side only."

Mr. MARTIN. I must say that the amendment proposed by the Finance Minister is certainly a great improvement on the item as it stands. Still, I think the committee is entitled to an explanation as to why the Finance Minister does not include all dressed lumber, instead of saying, lumber dressed on one side.

Mr. FOSTER. In the first place, the hon. gentleman quite understands that we have made a large concession on lumber, which is an important industry in this country, where there are diverse interests, as in most other things. The sawed boards, planks, deals, and other lumber which were placed in the free list at first, would simply allow lumber to come in free in the rough, and that was not so much a concession to Manitoba and the North-west, especially as it was meant to be. Owing to the fact that unless it is planed on one side or dressed on one side, the larger amount carried in the rough, adds very much to the freight, and made that a concession which, though useful in some degrees, was not as useful as we intended it to be. So we propose by this addition to give Manitoba and the North-west Territories, their lumber in the best available form considering the freight, for rough use, without entirely making lumber

free, and without trenching too much on the large interests of dressing and preparing lumber towards its use in various forms.

Mr. MARTIN. I understood the hon. gentleman to say: "without trenching too much on the large interests for dressing and preparing lumber." Where are they located?

Mr. FOSTER. Throughout the Dominion.

Mr. MARTIN. I thought the hon. gentleman was referring to Manitoba.

Mr. FOSTER. I had reference to the Dominion as a whole, of which Manitoba forms a part.

Mr. MARTIN. I understood the hon. gentleman in his remarks was referring to the dressing of lumber in Manitoba. I do not understand the hon. gentleman's remarks, and he has given no explanation except one, as to why lumber dressed on both sides should not be free. The hon. gentleman entirely misapprehends the question if he thinks it is a question of dressing lumber, or that it is a question only of freight. The reason free lumber in the rough would be no advantage to Manitoba is this: there planing mills are found in the country at very few places. The result is on that account that the expense of stopping lumber in transit and taking it from the cars to the planing mills and back again almost entirely precludes the importation of undressed lumber. I admit at once that the permission to allow lumber to come in dressed on one side adds very much to the concession. Formerly it was practically no concession. It is necessary to have lumber planed. There are no planing mills throughout the country, except at very few points, and so lumber imported from the United States for the use of farmers and settlers must be planed at least on one side. Very considerable quantities imported are planed on both sides. I understand the Finance Minister to say that he has refused to grant the full concession to the farmers in the North-west of allowing lumber to come in planed on both sides duty free, in order to conserve and not entirely wipe out the industry of planing lumber. I asked the hon. gentleman where that industry was located, and he put me off by referring to the Dominion of Canada. I know of no particular industry in Manitoba that amounts to very much as regards planing lumber. The whole question is not one of planing lumber or protecting the interests of those interests, but it is a question of protecting the manufacturer of lumber in Manitoba, and especially one particular manufacturer in Winnipeg, who is a very ardent supporter of hon. gentlemen opposite, a gentleman who has been here as a delegate with respect to this very matter. I am very sorry indeed to see that he has been able to persuade the Government to act in this

matter in the interests of a single individual and a few other manufacturers of lumber in Manitoba, because there are very few indeed, as against the interest of the farmers of Manitoba and the North-west Territories.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman sees something which no other living mortal sees.

Mr. MARTIN. I can see, and every settler in Manitoba can see it.

Mr. FOSTER. No single settler can see what you have stated. You say you never saw it, but you simply stated it.

Mr. MARTIN. Saw what?

Mr. FOSTER. You have made your statement.

Mr. MARTIN. The hon. gentleman is simply protecting Mr. Sprague and a few manufacturers of lumber as against the interests of the settlers.

Mr. FOSTER. That was not the statement at all.

Mr. MARTIN. It was the statement I made.

Mr. FOSTER. You made another statement.

Mr. MARTIN. I made no other statement whatever.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman did make another statement. His statement in plain English was this: He was very sorry that something happened, which he saw happened, which was that Mr. Sprague came down and prevailed with the Government, or with the Finance Minister, to put the item in this way. I say the hon. gentleman never saw that, and no mortal living ever saw it.

Mr. MARTIN. I have no doubt that the hon. gentleman's contention is to a certain extent correct. I have no doubt that Mr. Sprague's contention was—and I am willing to give the hon. gentlemen some credit—was not to allow lumber to come into the country dressed on one side, but not to allow lumber to come in dressed at all.

Mr. FOSTER. There was no need for any such a contention; it was already proposed in the Budget.

Mr. MARTIN. But the country was speaking out. The hon. gentleman has other supporters from the country besides Mr. Sprague, men who are not in the lumber business, and they were demanding from the Government that this pretended concession should be made a real concession, and Mr. Sprague, who is a most prominent Conservative—suggested by my opponent at the recent election—came here

and asked the Government to give us something which formerly amounted to nothing, and was simply no concession whatever, for it did not apply to more than ten per cent of the lumber imported into Manitoba from the United States. The hon. gentleman is now giving us some concession, a very valuable concession, but it does not go far enough, and the reason given by the hon. Minister for refusing the full concession is that some interests will be affected. It is not a question of protecting the planing mill industry, but of protecting Mr. Sprague and a few other manufacturers of lumber, because they are interested not in the planing of lumber but in the manufacture of lumber, and they are able to retain very high prices, which the hon. gentleman noticed when he was in Manitoba, and when he was made aware of the combination in the lumber business there and the high prices exacted from the settlers, and Mr. Sprague and a few other manufacturers in Manitoba, although most of the manufacturers are in Ontario, are anxious to maintain the prices as high as possible. The hon. gentleman, by refusing to allow lumber planed on both sides to come in free, is making a concession to them instead of a concession to the settlers. While I compliment the Minister for changing what was a mere pretense of a concession to us into a real and valuable concession, I regret he has not gone the full length and allowed all lumber, whether planed on one side or both sides to come in free, because in doing that he would have gone as far as possible towards meeting the Wilson Bill on this item.

Mr. FOSTER. It would have been too bad not to have left you something to regret.

Mr. HASLAM. I desire to point out the unreasonableness of the argument of the hon. gentleman who has just resumed his seat. The hon. gentleman contends that the concession just made by the Government in the matter of lumber is almost no concession.

Mr. MARTIN. No; I did not. The hon. gentleman misunderstood me.

Mr. HASLAM. I do not suppose there is a member in the House so foolish as to believe any such statement.

Mr. MARTIN. I rise to an explanation. I say that the hon. gentleman is quite mistaken. What I said was, that the item as printed in the proposed tariff resolutions was practically no concession whatever, but I added that the change the hon. gentleman has made in the proposed amendment is a very valuable concession to the country.

Mr. HASLAM. And the hon. gentleman wants the concession to go further. The concession amounts to this, that the flooring, casing and everything of that description used in houses will go in free. The hon.

Mr. MARTIN.

gentleman wants to know what interests are to be protected. I will tell you one industry that ought to be protected. The lumber industry of British Columbia ought to be protected, and I believe that in this instance it is worthy of a good deal of protection and a good deal of consideration. We buy the principal part of our supplies from Manitoba, and for these supplies, for the benefit of the Manitoba farmer, we pay 75 cents a barrel on Hungarian flour. That flour costs us \$3.74 per barrel laid down in Vancouver at wholesale price, while our competitors in the lumber trade on Puget Sound get that same flour for \$2.65 a barrel.

Mr. MARTIN. If the hon. gentleman will propose to take off that 75 cents a barrel on flour I will support him.

Mr. HASLAM. I can say as a lumberman of British Columbia, that we will be very well pleased to allow you all lumber free, provided you allow us our supplies free; but as it appears to me, according to the hon. gentleman, the farmers of Manitoba want the whole earth and a fence around it. In their estimation there is nothing in the Dominion of Canada but Manitoba. Now, we have to pay a duty on everything that is used in the product of lumber, and the farmers of Manitoba reap over seven-eighths of the benefit of the duty that we pay. That being the case, I think they should allow us some consideration in the matter. The hon. gentleman complains that he has not got the concession of getting lumber dressed on both sides free, but I tell him that I am positive, because I happen to know a little about the building trade as well as the lumber trade, that there is not 2½ per cent of the lumber used in the ordinary buildings in Manitoba that is dressed on both sides. To all intents and purposes there is 97½ per cent of the lumber going into Manitoba which will be free of duty. The request of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Martin) is one of the most unreasonable that any man could make.

Mr. MARTIN. I want to ask the hon. Minister of Finance, if this free list will include matched lumber? One of the most important articles that we import is what we call ship laths for buildings which goes through a planing-mill, and is to some extent tongued.

Mr. MACDONELL (Algoma). The question asked by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Martin) is in keeping with his statement in reference to lumber dressed on both sides. I enter a protest against admitting free of duty, lumber dressed on one side. When I read the free list in the tariff as originally proposed, it was bad enough to see lumber come in free, but to have that lumber come in free when dressed, is to my mind adding insult to injury. The hon. member (Mr. Martin) says, there are no large interests interfered with by admitting dressed lumber free.

Mr. MARTIN. I did not say that.

Mr. MACDONELL (Algoma). Pardon me, you stated distinctly that there was one small industry in Winnipeg, and you not only insinuated, but stated that that industry was owned by a gentleman who was a supporter of the present Government, and a possible candidate against yourself, and that on account of his political allegiance this concession was granted to him. If the English language conveys any meaning at all, the words that were uttered by the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) convey that meaning to my mind. Instead of the Government granting any concession to the gentleman spoken of as residing in Winnipeg, the present proposition of the Government will be of the most vital injury, not only to the planing-mills in Manitoba, large or small, but to the industry that has been established by the investment of thousands and thousands of dollars at Rat Portage to supply this lumber. To such an extent is it an injury to them, that the lumbermen there tell me, that there is but one thing for them to do if dressed lumber is allowed to come in free, and that is to close up their mills. There might be some satisfaction in it if we took the same view as the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin), because the majority of these gentlemen are not supporters of the present Government, but usually, and in fact invariably vote the other way. I feel so strongly on this question that I cannot but mention the fact: that if there be free lumber it will effectually close up these mills of which the usual output is about sixty millions feet a year. It not only affects the mills in Manitoba and north-western Ontario, but it affects the planing mills in every part of Canada where the mills on the opposite side of the river are as convenient as they are at a point like Sarnia for instance. The effect there is going to be: that this dressed lumber will come in and undersell our own lumber. As the hon. member for Nanaimo (Mr. Haslam) has stated, there is only about 2½ per cent of dressed lumber entering into the construction of an ordinary house. Any practical man who knows anything about the business will substantiate that statement. The hon. member (Mr. Martin) asks, is matched lumber to be free? As you all know, matched lumber is dressed lumber. If that comes in free, it will be a great misfortune to the lumbering industry in Canada, and I should be very sorry to see the Government going any further than they have already done in this direction.

Mr. MARTIN. If this does not include matched lumber, it is no concession whatever. The Finance Minister can understand that the two classes of lumber we use most of, is that which goes on the outside of the house and on the floors. The floors are planed and matched on one side and tongued and grooved, and the lumber on the outside

is ship lath, which is run through a machine which takes off a part of the edge, and to some extent answers the same purpose as if tongued and grooved. If the Finance Minister does not include these two classes of lumber in his concession, then he might almost as well accept the suggestion of the hon. member for Algoma (Mr. Macdonell), and leave the item the way it is.

Mr. FOSTER. Is that the hon. gentleman's suggestion?

Mr. MARTIN. No; my suggestion is, and I move:

That the words "and including matched lumber" be added to this item.

Mr. TAYLOR. Before the motion is put, I just want to say this. If I understood the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) aright, he said that if the hon. member for Vancouver Island (Mr. Haslam) would have his friends introduce a motion removing the duty of 75 cents a barrel from flour, he would support it. Now, he may speak for the farmers of Manitoba and the North-west on that question, but I know he does not speak for the farmers of Ontario. I do not know what the hon. members representing Manitoba and the North-west may say on this question, but I do most emphatically protest against the duty of 75 cents a barrel being taken from flour, as suggested by the hon. member for Winnipeg.

Mr. McMULLEN. It is a good thing that we have even one member among hon. gentlemen opposite who is prepared to advocate the cause of the farmers. I wish to say that the proposition to admit matched lumber free is a very important one, and I think the hon. Finance Minister should carefully consider it. It is well known that lumber going into the North-west dressed on one side is used for the purpose of sheeting and siding for homes, and it is made with lapped joints, one board being lapped over another. In that way it makes a neat joint and a rather comfortable house. If the lumber is not admitted as dressed and matched, the matching will have to take place in Manitoba, and I do not think there are mills there suited for that work, so that an increased cost will be entailed upon the settlers.

Mr. McDONALD (Assiniboia). The hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) may represent the farmers of the city of Winnipeg, but I represent farmers who raise wheat; and I believe that I am speaking in the interest of the farmers both of Manitoba and the North-west, when I say that we as a class decidedly object to having the duty of 75 cents a barrel on flour or the duty of 15 cents a bushel on wheat removed. I may say, as a representative of a farming district in the North-west, that I am glad that the Government have given us the concession of lumber dressed on one side. I

would like to support the amendment proposed by the hon. member for Winnipeg; but, as my hon. friends from British Columbia wants some concessions, and we don't expect the earth, I shall take the opportunity of voting against the amendment of the hon. member for Winnipeg, feeling that the people of my district are satisfied with the concession the Government makes in favour of lumber dressed on one side.

Mr. ROSS (Lisgar). Representing as I do a farming district of Manitoba, I wish to say that if the hon. member for Winnipeg advocated before a farming community the views which he advocates in this House, he would have the same result that he had in Selkirk when he ran against the hon. Minister of the Interior. Every farmer in my county at every meeting I held was strongly in favour of the duty on flour. They supported us as a party because they wanted that duty, and I know that to-day they wish it continued. The hon. gentleman would not dare to go before a constituency of Manitoba farmers to-day and support the proposition to do away with the duty on flour. I also wish to correct the statement that Mr. Sprague came down here and influenced the Government to make this limited concession in regard to lumber. Mr. Sprague's views are entirely opposed to what the Government is doing now. No concession whatever is made to Mr. Sprague or to any other lumberman in Manitoba or in the district of Rat Portage. I have received letters from a number of farmers in my district, and every letter expresses the view that they would be perfectly satisfied with lumber planed on one side being admitted free. Every lumberman in my district—and there are a number engaged in that enterprise on Lake Winnipeg—is entirely opposed to the free admission of lumber planed on one side only. Even that concession is against their wishes. The farmers of my district are satisfied with it.

Mr. MARTIN. The hon. gentleman misunderstands me entirely. I admit at once that Mr. Sprague is not favourable to this change; but I say that the influence of Mr. Sprague and others like him, the manufacturers, has prevented the Government going the whole distance and making all lumber free. I say that the Government, if they desire to do justice to the farmers of Manitoba and the North-west, should make all lumber, whether dressed on one side or on both sides, free; and Mr. Sprague and others engaged in the manufacture of lumber there, have been able to induce the Government to stop short of that and only give us lumber dressed on one side. The hon. gentleman knew very well that I did not suppose that Mr. Sprague was in favour of having lumber dressed on one side admitted to Manitoba free; he would, of course, prefer the present law, which imposes a duty on all lumber, whether dressed on one

side or on both sides. But I am satisfied that if the hon. gentleman put the question to the farmers whether they would be satisfied with the free admission of lumber dressed on one side, but not matched, they would emphatically say no, because the kinds of lumber most important to the farmers are those which are matched either as sheeting or flooring; and I am surprised to hear the hon. member for East Assiniboia (Mr. McDonald) say that he is going to vote against an amendment to give the farmers these kinds of lumber free, because the admission of lumber dressed on one side, without including matched lumber, will be practically of no use at all to the farmers of Manitoba. Now, one word with regard to this question of the flour duty. The reason I say I am prepared to support a revocation of the duty of 75 cents a barrel on flour, is that the millers of Manitoba are taking an unfair advantage of that duty as against the farmers of Manitoba. It is an advantage to the farmers of Manitoba to have their wheat ground into flour in the province; but under the system of milling that at present obtains in that province, under which the farmer sells his wheat and buys his flour, the millers, by increasing the price of the flour sold to the farmer to the extent, or nearly the extent, of the duty, charging that much more in the province of Manitoba than they get for the same flour in the city of Montreal, are taking an undue and unfair advantage of the protection, which they solemnly promised at the time it was imposed they would not do. For that reason I am prepared to vote for the removal of that duty.

Mr. SPROULE. What has that to do with dressed lumber?

Mr. MARTIN. I would not have referred to it if the hon. gentleman had not brought the matter up himself; and it is certainly very strange that he should object to criticisms in reply to a matter that he himself introduced.

Mr. CHARLTON. My hon. friend from Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) is to a large extent right in the strictures he makes with regard to this concession. The resolution makes free, lumber planed on one side. Now, lumber planed on one side, if used for the sheathing of a house, does not need to have dressed edges; but flooring is planed on one side and matched, that is, tongued and grooved. Siding is planed on one side, and matched and grooved. In the case of flooring and siding, if the resolution of my hon. friend passes, that lumber will have to be milled again. It may be brought in from the United States planed on one side, and before it can be used for flooring or siding it has to be milled again, and the expense of doing that would be practically the same as planing and matching. If the hon. gentleman wishes to make any

Mr. McDONALD (Assiniboia).

concession at all to the farmers of the North-west, he must allow not only the planed surface on one side, but the fitting for that lumber to go in free also. The concession made in this amendment is of a very trifling character, if it is of any advantage whatever to the settlers of the North-west.

Amendment negatived, and item agreed to.

Pine clapboards, free.

Mr. MARTIN. Will the hon. gentleman's amendment apply to that?

Mr. FOSTER. There is no limitation to it.

Mr. MARTIN. Does that item include dressed pine clapboards?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Item agreed to.

Hubs for wheels, posts, last blocks, wagon blocks, car blocks, gun blocks, heading, and all blocks or sticks, rough, hewn or sawed only, free.

Mr. CHARLTON. This is a literal copy of the Wilson Bill.

Mr. FOSTER. Not now, I am afraid.

Mr. CHARLTON. And the Wilson Bill puts dressed pine clapboards on the dutiable list and draws a distinction between rough and dressed pine clapboards. My hon. friend will find that the interpretation of the customs law will only admit free, under this provision, undressed pine clapboards.

Mr. TAYLOR. Why should we go better than they?

Mr. CHARLTON. They find it necessary to make that distinction.

Mr. TAYLOR. They want the work done in their country.

Item agreed to.

Staves of wood of all kinds, wood unmanufactured, free.

Provided that if any country shall impose a duty upon the articles in this Schedule enumerated, or any of them, when imported into such country from Canada, it shall be lawful for the Governor General in Council, from time to time, by Proclamation published in the *Canada Gazette*, to declare that the following Export Duties, or any of them, shall be chargeable upon logs exported into such country from Canada.

Mr. CHARLTON. I hold that the Government in asking this House to place in the hands of the Governor in Council this power, is asking that a power that it is not proper they should have. The imposition of an export duty is a matter that will involve a great many interests, and the Governor in Council is liable to take action without that ample and full discussion and sifting of the matter that is necessary, and which it would naturally receive in the House of Commons. The Government may be waited upon by a delegation representing special interests, and may fail to realize the full scope of its action. An Act of this kind, affecting as it would the entire lumbering interests of the Dominion, millions of dollars in value,

is a matter of such importance that Parliament ought not to abdicate its power, but insist on being consulted before any imposition of export duty is decided upon. It is possible that the Wilson Bill may pass with the duties on lumber largely reduced. Suppose the Wilson Bill passed with a duty of 50 cents per thousand feet on pine lumber instead of \$2, and a similar duty on spruce, and supposing the same proviso were attached to these schedules, imposing reduced duties, as are now attached to the free schedules, namely, that if any country imposes an export duty on any article enumerated in the schedule, the duties, as regards the imports from that country, shall be restored on all the articles to what they were before the passage of the Bill. Suppose that were the case. Our lumbermen reap a large benefit from the reduction of the pine duty to \$1, and if the Wilson Bill should pass with largely reduced duties on lumber, our Government would have power to impose an export duty without consulting Parliament and without giving to the question the consideration it ought to receive. I repeat that this is a power too great in its scope, too likely to affect important interests, to be placed in the hands of thirteen men. We have in the past plenty of instances where action has been taken by the Governor in Council without due consideration, as it is liable to be still taken. Undue influence may be brought to bear on the Ministers. There may be members of the Government who have strong prejudices, and whose prejudices may override their judgment, and I can readily understand that we might be brought face to face with a condition of things where it would be highly inexpedient to impose export duties. I repeat it is a matter of such vast importance that it requires the careful consideration of the representatives of the people in this House. If this is insisted on, I shall take action at the proper time to divide the House upon it, for I have the strongest views with regard to the impropriety of placing in the hands of the Government such arbitrary powers as might be exercised under this provision.

Mr. SPROULE. I am surprised at the hon. gentleman, who has always been such an ardent admirer of the gentlemen who framed the Wilson Bill, objecting to this proviso, which is almost identical with that in the Wilson Bill.

Mr. CHARLTON. Theirs is a statutory provision.

Mr. SPROULE. He thinks it is a very good proviso in the Wilson Bill, but a very bad one in the Canadian tariff. This proviso is the one thing that gives us any hope of getting justice done in the future, in the event of the Americans not giving us a free market for our lumber, as they propose to do in the Wilson Bill. We have fought this question out fairly, in the interests of our constituents, though we have

been twitted with knowing nothing about the business. Now that is the only provision ; it allows the Government in the event of the Americans imposing a duty upon our lumber, not giving us what the hon. gentleman claims is a very desirable thing for this country—the freedom of the American market for our lumber—to impose an export duty upon Canadian logs.

Mr. CHARLTON. The hon. gentleman tells us that this is an exact copy of the Wilson Act, and that this gives the Governor in Council precisely the same power as the Wilson Bill places in the hands of the American executive.

Mr. SPROULE. I did not say exactly the same ; I say it is the same principle.

Mr. CHARLTON. Mr. Chairman, this does not give at all the same powers as the Wilson Bill. The Wilson Bill, as passed by both Houses of Congress makes an explicit provision which is to be carried into effect without the intervention of the executive. It declares that certain articles shall be placed upon the free list, except when imported from countries that impose an export duty on any one of these articles, and where a country imposes such a duty upon any one of these articles, then all these articles when imported into the United States from that country shall pay the duty fixed by law before the passing of the Act. That leaves to the executive of the United States no discretion whatever ; it lays down very distinctly what is to be the law ; it makes a statutory provision as clear and as distinct as it can possibly be. But we propose to give to the Governor in Council a class of powers that will enable them, of their own motion, to impose export duties or refrain from imposing them, power to impose them and repeal them, in fact, power that may work the utmost mischief with the trade. I know that the lumber trade in this country has stood in dread of this principle heretofore. Such a provision gives a feeling of uncertainty in the lumber trade. It is not in the interest of the lumber trade, my hon. friend from Pontiac (Mr. Bryson), notwithstanding, that it should be left with this sword suspended over it by the thread of the will of thirteen men meeting in secret conclave, and possibly influenced by interested deputations, who seek changes in our fiscal system for the purpose of fostering this industry or that. We want great questions like this debated in the House of Commons, where the proceedings are reported, where the people can know what is going on, and where all those interested can have their cases presented through their representatives with regard to this important matter of fiscal legislation. We do not want to abdicate our functions as a House of Commons ; we do not want to ask thirteen men to undertake our duties and legislate for us, to dictate to this country what its policy shall or shall not

Mr. SPROULE.

be with reference to any matter in the whole range of fiscal legislation. I repeat that this proposal is to place in the hands of the Governor in Council powers that they may or may not exercise judiciously, powers that should receive most careful consideration at the hands of all representatives of the people, because they will affect the whole country. This is a much different matter from a question of custom-house regulations or some trifling matter that requires attention for the time being. This involves interests spreading all over the country, and involving millions of dollars of capital, and I protest against placing in the hands of thirteen men, who may be influenced by representations made by special interests, who may fail to give to the question the attention and consideration it deserves, who may not have the qualifications to deal with the question intelligently, such an extensive and arbitrary power as this.

Mr. BRYSON. If there is one thing more than another which induced me to take the ground I did in the few remarks I addressed to the House, it was that in this proposal the Government reserved the special right to impose this duty. If the hon. gentleman, instead of making the appeal he has made, would say frankly that he has no confidence in the present administration, we would understand the matter at once. Let it be understood once for all that we on this side have confidence in the administration, and are prepared to leave a matter of this kind in their hands, and to declare that if the United States do not place our lumber on the free list and give us access to their markets, the present Administration shall have power to impose an export duty upon logs.

Mr. SPROULE. If I understood the hon. gentleman's argument, he not only drew a distinction between the provision here suggested and the provision in the Wilson Bill, but he declared that the provision in the Wilson Bill was superior to this. As he says, one is a statutory provision, that of the United States, which comes into force just as soon as the export duty may be placed upon logs, while the other leaves it optional with the Government to impose an export duty at any time. We who are agitating for an export duty would be better pleased if the Government would do away with the proviso, and have the clause declare that if and when a duty is charged upon our lumber, an export duty shall be collected upon logs. The clause would then read :

Provided that if any country shall impose a duty upon the articles in this schedule enumerated, or any of them, when imported into such country from Canada, the following export duties or any of them shall be chargeable upon logs exported into such country from Canada.

Make it a statutory provision, and we will be better pleased. But the hon. gentleman will oppose that. He has no confidence in

the provisions of the item, and does not want it in any form in which it could be offered.

Mr. FOSTER. After "cedar," and before "hemlock," insert "elm."

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Is this a proposition to impose a tax on elm logs?

Mr. CHARLTON. It is left to the sweet will of the Government.

Mr. FOSTER. It includes elm logs with other logs and lumber upon which, in the event of certain things, an export duty may be imposed by Order in Council.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Upon what conditions?

Mr. FOSTER. The conditions are as stated.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). We are not importing any elm logs from the United States, and a great many of our people in the west have been engaged in selling elm timber, both to the home manufacturer and for manufacture on the American side. The present regulation is highly in the interest of the owner of the land. Take, as an illustration, the townships of Sombra and Dawn, which, though having excellent soil, are flat, level country, and, until some efforts are made to drain them, could not well be settled. Lands in these townships were largely in the hands of speculators. They were covered by a very heavy elm forest, and a great many settlers from the eastern country, from the vicinity of Kingston and other places in that neighbourhood, have gone west during the last fifteen years and settled in that district. They have purchased the land, and, almost altogether, they are paying for it out of the timber growing upon it. They engage in the winter season in cutting this timber, and it is sold both in the American market and to the mills on this side. Those who buy for the American markets, of course, are mostly tug owners who own vessels and engage, during the whole of the summer season, in taking these logs over to the American mills on the opposite side of the lake. I think it would be greatly to the disadvantage of the new settlers in those districts if anything were done which would put it out of their power to make the most advantageous sale they can of this timber for themselves.

Mr. CHARLTON. The same objection would exactly apply to all the others. If there is any objection to the next export duty on logs, the same objection will apply in principle and in detail to all the logs on this list.

In case of the export of any of the above enumerated logs in shorter lengths than nine feet, then a rate per cord may be levied in the same way, equivalent to the above enumerated rate per thousand feet, board measure.

Mr. SPEAKER (Hon. Peter White). I would like to inquire on what basis

the export duty on pulp wood would be calculated? There are 128 cubic feet in a cord of pulp wood, and there are only about 83 cubic feet in a thousand feet, board measure, of logs. It appears to me from the terms of this resolution that under it a duty exceeding \$3 per cord would be imposed on pulp wood exported from the country, and that would be a very large duty when you take into consideration the value of the pulp wood, which is not worth more than \$3 or \$4 per cord, and compare it with the value of a thousand feet, board measure, of lumber in the logs. I point this out for the reason that there is a very large quantity of pulp wood exported from the county I represent, a considerable proportion of it is spruce, and I am certain that the Government will find the duty entirely out of proportion to the value.

Mr. FOSTER. That is, however, a maximum limit.

Mr. SPEAKER. I am trying to point out that under this clause the Government would be compelled to charge a higher rate, proportionately, upon pulp wood than they would upon logs exported from the country, there being only a little over 83 cubic feet of lumber in a thousand feet board measure, and there being 128 cubic feet in a cord of pulp wood. The value of the cord of pulp wood is about \$3 or \$4 at the outside, while the value of the lumber would exceed that considerably, would probably be \$5, or \$6, or \$10.

Mr. FOSTER. It would be too heavy a rate.

Mr. SPEAKER. Too heavy a rate on pulp wood as compared with the logs?

Mr. FOSTER. But does not this simply give what is the maximum, beyond which a rate shall be levied, leaving it entirely optional to levy a rate which does not go beyond that?

Mr. SPEAKER. No. It is true that in the first clause you limit the amount to \$3 per thousand feet, board measure, upon logs, but I take it that under the reading of this resolution the same rate that you impose upon logs will have to be imposed upon the export of pulp wood.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It seems to me Mr. Speaker is quite right. If you levy a duty of \$3 in the one case you must levy a duty in the other case of \$4.50. I think Mr. Speaker is perfectly correct in his interpretation.

Mr. FOSTER. I think Mr. Speaker is correct. The maximum is put in the clause above, so I will amend that, if the committee will allow me, by saying "not more than, or not greater than."

Mr. BOWERS. There is a large quantity of pulp wood exported from the county I represent, thousands of cords per year. Under this clause a cord of wood would

represent about 1,500 superficial feet, which would be equivalent to about \$4.50 a thousand. I think myself that an export duty put on pulp wood at all will just kill the whole trade in pulp wood in Nova Scotia.

Mr. CHARLTON. There is just one thing to be said in its favour. Its natural tendency is to put an end to the trade between the two countries; and this would do it, perhaps, quicker than any other means.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think if the Minister would make that read: "in proportion to the value" it would be clearer.

Mr. FOSTER. This gives us the power to do that.

Mr. CHARLTON. You had better define it, if you possibly can.

Mr. FOSTER. I think you must trust something to our judgment.

Mr. SPEAKER. Does this include poplar pulp wood?

Mr. FOSTER. No; poplar is not on the list.

And export duty shall be chargeable accordingly, after the publication of such proclamation.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Waiving for the moment the point raised by my hon. friend, and in which I concur, that it is extremely inexpedient to give the Government the right to impose these duties at all by Order in Council. I think there is no doubt whatever that it is contrary to all sound principle, to all constitutional principle, to allow a Government one day to take off a duty and another day to reimpose it, then to remove it again and reimpose it again. The hon. gentlemen, I think, are only breeding trouble for themselves. We have had examples of the extremely indiscreet manner in which this power was exercised some years ago, when, if my memory does not fail me, the Government put a duty on and were obliged shortly afterwards to take it off. Now, it is not at all desirable that the Government should be encouraged to trifle with these questions. The act of putting on a duty by Order in Council is a very grave departure from our usual custom, and to take it off and reimpose it, and perhaps repeat the same thing over two or three times, can only bring the most intolerable confusion in the trade. I do not wonder that the lumber interest generally object in the strongest fashion to these things being tampered with as they have been. It seems to me this is particularly objectionable, and although I do not care to detain the committee now, I think that this is a provision on which the attention of the House ought to be challenged.

Item agreed to.

Books, printed paper, drawings, paintings, prints, photographs or representations of any kind of treasonable or seditious or of an immoral or indecent character, prohibited.

Mr. BOWERS.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Under which of these particular clauses did the Government take on themselves to exclude copies of Henry George's "Protection and Free Trade." As I understand when they were attempted to be circulated throughout this country, the Government excluded them, under schedule "C." I suppose.

Mr. FOSTER. No; under a post office regulation.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The Government excluded Henry George's "Protection and Free Trade," under which class did it come?

Mr. FOSTER. Under neither.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Then I do not think it was legally done.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Gentlemen who desired to circulate Henry George's book in this country wanted it carried free of postage.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. When it was franked?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. They had no more right to frank that book than hon. gentlemen opposite would have to frank the Table.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Does the hon. Minister mean to say that if we were to frank a copy of our debates, under the regulations now prevailing between the two countries it would not be carried free?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. No; I do not mean to say that. But Henry George's pamphlet was not a debate.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I beg pardon: it was part of the 'Hansard' of Congress.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I beg pardon; it was refused, because it was not.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It was read in Congress and printed in their 'Hansard.'

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes; but the book sent into Canada was a reprint. Only copies of the Congressional Record are admitted free, and this was not that publication.

Item agreed to.

Lumber and timber planks and boards of amaranth, cocoboral, boxwood, cherry, chestnut, walnut, gumwood, mahogany, pitch pine, rosewood, sandalwood, sycamore, spanish cedar, oak, hickory, whitewood, African teak, black heart ebony, lignum vitae, red cedar, redwood, satin wood and white ash, when not otherwise manufactured than rough sawn or split or creosoted, vulcanized or treated by any other preserving process; the wood of the persimmon and dogwood trees, hickory billets, and hickory lumber sawn to shape for spokes of wheels, but not further manufactured; hickory spokes rough turned, not tenoned, mitred, throated, faced, sized, cut to length, round, tenoned or polished, free.

Mr. TAYLOR. I suggest to the Finance Minister the desirability of dropping out the words "to shape, or rough sawn, and bent to shape." We have a great many factories in this country bending felloes for wheels, and it is quite sufficient if they are allowed to import free the rough lumber sawn.

Mr. BORDEN. I do not think it would be in the interest of the carriage manufacturers in the Maritime Provinces to make the changes suggested. I know they do not saw their rims, but they import from the United States most of the stock used.

Mr. TAYLOR. I know that the manufacturers west of Chatham and in that locality ship an immense quantity, car-loads, to the Maritime Provinces. There they have bending plants and have their own material. They import black hickory from the United States. The bending for all carriage manufacturing is done at Chatham, Hamilton, Galt and Norwood. There are several large bending factories in the country, and it is unfair to them to have the manufactured article imported free.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Then the Maritime Provinces should suffer in order that the western factories should benefit?

Mr. TAYLOR. The bending factories of the United States are in Ohio, and if the goods are brought from the United States they are supplied from that state.

Mr. FOSTER. Let it remain as we have it for the present.

Rolled iron tubes not welded, under 1½ inch in diameter, angle iron, 9 and 10 gange, not over 1½ inch wide, iron tubing, lacquered or brass covered, not over 1½ inch diameter, all of which are to be cut to lengths for the manufacture of bedsteads, and to be used for no other purpose; when imported for the manufacturers of iron bedsteads to be used for these purposes only in their own factories, until such time as any of the said articles are manufactured in Canada, free.

Mr. CHARLTON. Why would it not be just as proper to permit the farmer to import iron tubes of 1½ inches, or less, in diameter for hydraulic rams, and conveying water, as to allow them in free in this clause? The farmer has just as good a claim on the Government as the bedstead manufacturer.

Mr. FOSTER. There would not be many farmers who put in hydraulic rams.

Mr. CHARLTON. There are a great many.

Mr. TAYLOR. He could not weld the pipe. This piping has a lot of work to be done on it.

Mr. CHARLTON. You do not pay enough attention to the wants of the farmer.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. All over the country, farmers are introducing wind-mills for convenience in watering their stock, and other purposes, and it is especially valuable in such places as the North-west, and on ranches. Why should not the farmer, who wishes to improve his farm, have the same privilege as the bedstead manufacturer in importing his iron tubing free? I should like to have some satisfactory reason from the Finance Minister why that concession is not granted to the farmers, and for that matter, to all classes?

Mr. FOSTER. We are indirectly helping the farmer in this. He sleeps on the bedstead, and will possibly get it cheaper.

Mr. McMILLAN. There is not a farmer in the country to-day who is anxious to have a first-class barn, who does not use a large amount of this tubing in order that he can water his cattle inside, rather than turn them out in cold weather. Why should not the farmers have this tubing free as well as the bedstead manufacturers? This is one of the most delusive tariffs, as far as the farmers are concerned, that could be imposed on the country. The Government tell us that it is a farmers' tariff, and that farming implements are put at 20 per cent. Let me read the implements that are 20 per cent: Binders, reapers, ploughs, harrows, cultivators, seed drills, horse rakes. The articles upon which there is 30 per cent duty are: Crowbars, sledges, ropes, picks, sleighs, cutters. There is 25 per cent duty on wagons. There is 35 per cent duty on hay loaders, hay tedders, horse-powers, tread-horse powers, straw cutters, threshing machines, fanning mills, rollers, grain crushers, root cutters, pulpers, scufflers, horse forks, carriages for fork pullies, disc harrows, turnip sowers, hay knives, hay forks and dung forks, democrat wagons, buggies, spades, shovels, axes; and 32½ per cent on saws. So that the articles coming in at 20 per cent are, in reality, a very small portion of the agricultural implements; and yet the Government are attempting to lead the farmers of Canada to believe that agricultural implements are all admitted at 20 per cent. Now, if, as was contended the other night, 14½ per cent, or thereabouts is sufficient protection for the agricultural implements bearing 20 per cent duty, why do the 35 per cent articles require 20 per cent protection? Because the duty on raw materials required in the manufacture of these articles is just as low as the duty on the raw materials used in manufacture of the 20 per cent articles. I would like the Government to explain to me why the manufacturers of such articles cannot do with 14 per cent protection as well as the others? I state positively that not one-third of the agricultural implements used by the farmers are reduced to 20 per cent.

Item agreed to.

Fertilizers, &c., free.

Mr. BORDEN. I would like to ask the Finance Minister with reference to the first item on the top of page 25, whether phosphate rock, imported from Florida for the purpose of manufacturing fertilizers is admitted free. The question has been asked me by a manufacturer in the Maritime Provinces

Mr. FOSTER. It is not included under this.

Mr. BORDEN. Would it be included under "ores."

Mr. FOSTER. I should think it would, but I cannot answer the question definitely. I will make a note of it and find out.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Why not make that clear by adding to "fertilizers," "phosphate rock, to be manufactured into fertilizers." ?

Mr. FOSTER. We can come back to that, if necessary.

Item agreed to.

Salt n.e.s., imported in barrels, bags, or other packages, the bags, barrels, or other packages, to bear the same rate of duty as if imported empty, free.

Mr. FOSTER. Drop that item.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Have you the consent of the Minister of Militia to drop that item on salt ?

Mr. PATTERSON (Huron). I will tell the hon. gentleman and his constituents during the next general election.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I guess the omission of the duty had a good deal to do with the chances of the Minister of Militia in the next general election. I do not think he need have gone up to Huron if that item had continued.

Mr. MARTIN. I would ask the Minister of Finance what the duty on salt would be ?

Mr. FOSTER. There is no duty, so far as the items go, but I may put on the notice paper to-night an item with reference to salt. The hon. gentleman will see it in the Votes and Proceedings in the morning.

Mr. GIBSON. I may say that I have had a good deal of correspondence from different sections of the country regarding this matter, and they have no objection to salt being put upon the free list, so long as they get fuel and slack coal to make salt with, free. But if salt is to be free, and a duty still retained upon coal, they think that an injustice would be done to this industry. They are quite willing that a duty should be put upon salt coming into the country, so long as the Minister of Finance will keep the duty upon coal.

Sugar, not above 16 Dutch standard, free.

Mr. FOSTER. I desire to add n.e.s. after sugar.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The hon. Minister has never made it very clear to

Mr. McMILLAN.

the House up to the present time what he means by admitting sugars not above 16. There has been a great deal of doubt expressed by the trade and by hon. members as to what really constitutes sugars not above 16, under these specifications. One of the hon. members for Halifax gave a certain definition, and the Minister of Finance did not appear to know whether that definition was to be accepted or not. I want to know what the hon. Minister means by refined sugar and by unrefined sugar, and what particular grades are admitted under the clause as framed.

Mr. FOSTER. There has been no change made in the definition.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What we want to know is what the hon. gentleman considers refined sugar and what unrefined. The addition of n.e.s. may materially affect the clause unless the hon. gentleman is prepared to add some reasonable definition of what constitutes refined and unrefined sugars.

Mr. FOSTER. The words n.e.s. must be inserted, for this reason : that at page 18 it is provided that all sugars above 16 Dutch standard in colour are dutiable, and also all refined sugars of whatever kind.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That is precisely the point on which we want further information. We want to know what constitutes in the hon. gentleman's judgment refined sugar, and in particular, we wish to know whether centrifugal sugars are to be considered refined or not. That subject has been before the House for many weeks, and hon. gentlemen opposite should know what definition they can give.

Mr. WALLACE. Centrifugal sugars are not refined sugars.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That, I suppose, would admit a considerable number of a superior class of West India sugars ?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, that was the purpose.

Item agreed to.

Tea and green coffee imported direct from the country of growth and production.

This item shall include tea and coffee purchased in bond in any country where tea and coffee are subject to customs duty, provided there be satisfactory proof that the tea or coffee so purchased in bond is such as might be entered for home consumption in the country where the same is purchased.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Does the hon. Minister know how that will affect the trade so far as England is concerned ?

Mr. FOSTER. The item is very clear. The object is to make a distinction between the teas that are considered fit for home consumption and which, being of inferior quality, are not allowed to be consumed

in a country like Great Britain, and are marked "for export only," and which should be returned to the original country from which they came.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Another country by changing its tariff, even to the extent of one-half cent per pound, might affect this tariff.

Mr. FOSTER. This item will depend on legislation in other countries.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It is the queerest clause ever put into a tariff. What my hon. friend says is perfectly true. Supposing our American friends were to attach an absolutely nominal duty on tea, no matter how insignificant or how slight, it would have an affect on our customs tariff and trade. It seems utterly absurd to have such a provision in the tariff.

Item agreed to.

Wire, iron or steel, Nos. 13 and 14 gauge.

Mr. BERNIER. I desire to draw the attention of the Minister to the item, wire of iron and steel, No. 13 and 14 gauge. Provision is made in regard to wire used by a machine called the wire grip machine. I am informed by the boot and shoe manufacturers that many of them now use a machine called the Champion nailing machine. I ask the Minister to add this machine.

Mr. FOSTER. I will make a note of it, and will come back to it.

Mr. BORDEN. What about phosphate rock?

Mr. FOSTER. I will find out later on.

Mr. BORDEN. When the hon. gentleman admits lava and oces, etc., free, I should think he might very properly admit phosphate rock free, which is used in the manufacture of fertilizers.

Mr. WALLACE. Why, we have plenty of phosphate here.

Mr. BORDEN. That does not make any difference. We in the Maritime Provinces prefer to bring our phosphate rock from Florida, because we can get it there very much cheaper, and bring it by ships at a lower rate than we can from Ontario or Quebec. At any rate we should have the privilege of doing so if we wish. I have already pointed out to the committee that by the changes in this tariff the manufacturers of fertilizers in the Maritime Provinces have been put at a great disadvantage compared with those in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, because of the keeping up of the duty of sulphuric acid and the lowering of the duty on the manufactured article. I have a letter here from a manufacturer of fertilizers asking me to ascertain what the duty is on phosphate rock, and

pointing out that it is their intention, if phosphate rock is admitted free, to bring phosphate rock from Florida to Windsor, N.S., in order to manufacture it into fertilizers. They hope in that way still to be able to continue their business. That is their statement, and I think it is one worthy the consideration of the Administration.

Malt (excise) 1½c. per pound.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What reduction are you making here?

Mr. FOSTER. Half a cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What revenue does it involve?

Mr. FOSTER. On last year's, about \$230,000.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. So that practically the only important reduction made is on the article of malt, for the benefit of the brewers, I presume.

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, no; that is not the only important one.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Yes, the only important reduction made in the tariff is in favour of cheap beer.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). I can only say, in reply to the hon. gentleman, that the duty of 1½ cents per pound is higher than the duty either in Great Britain or in the United States.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. All the same, it does not affect the fact that the only important reduction of taxation made in the tariff is in favour of cheap beer.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, there is a million and a half of taxation taken off.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Not a bit of it. I doubt if there is \$50,000 deducted on all other articles.

Mr. ROOME. I cannot find anywhere in these resolutions any mention of antiseptic surgical dressings, such as absorbent cotton, cotton wool, absorbent lint, absorbent lamb's wool, tow, jute, gauzes, oakum, etc., prepared for use as surgical dressings, plain or medicated. These are very important articles, and it is very difficult for druggists to know under what head they are placed or what duty they bear. I think they should be classified by themselves in a separate list.

Committee rose and reported progress.

REPORT.

Trade and Commerce, for the year ended 30th June, 1893.—(Sir John Thompson.)

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 12.15 a.m. (Friday).

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, 18th May, 1894.

PRAYERS.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 115) for the preservation of game in the unorganized portions of the North-west Territories of Canada—(from the Senate).—(Mr. Daly.)

Bill (No. 116) further to amend the Indian Act—(from the Senate).—(Mr. Daly.)

THE HARD PAN CASES.

Mr. BAKER moved that all the accounts of expenditure and all other papers connected with the Hard Pan cases ordered by the House to be brought down, be referred to the Select Standing Committee on Public Accounts, in accordance with the recommendation contained in the eighth report of said committee.

Motion agreed to.

UNITS OF ELECTRICAL MEASURE.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville) moved that Bill (No. 117) respecting the Units of Electrical Measure be read the first time. He said: In moving the first reading of this Bill, I desire to say that the measure is one of such a technical nature that I shall not affect a knowledge of its details to any considerable extent. I may say that it is a subject that has received the consideration and the approval of the hon. Secretary of State, who was Minister of the Department of Inland Revenue before my connection with it. Briefly, the intention of the Act is to establish the standards of measurements now in use by the electric companies. The Bill itself in this respect is in line of the legislation that has already taken place in regard to weights and measures and the inspection of gas. It is claimed by the gas companies that there is no argument which makes for the inspection of gas that does not in like measure make for the inspection of their competitors, the electric light companies. It has received the consideration of experts and of the best minds that we could consult with upon the subject, and is considered by the Government a measure desirable in the public interest. I shall say no more about the Bill now, but on the second reading I will be prepared to go into the details, with some assistance.

Mr. GIBSON. I would ask the Controller if it is the intention of the Government to place the inspection of electric lighting under the Gas Inspection Act, with the same inspectors?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). Yes, the same. It is not the intention of the Government to make any new appointments. We have inquired into that matter, and believe that our present gas inspectors and officials can, with some instructions, do the necessary work of inspection.

Motion agreed to.

INSPECTION OF ELECTRIC LIGHT.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville) moved that Bill (No. 118) respecting the Inspection of Electric Light be read the first time. He said: This is a Bill relating to the inspection of electric light plants throughout the country, and has nothing to do with the standards of measurement, a subject dealt with in the preceding Bill just introduced. As explained in introducing that Bill, there appears to be no argument which makes for the inspection of gas companies the competitors of the electric light companies, which does not apply with equal force to the inspection of the electric light systems. Even under the contract system, which prevails at present largely, there is no regulation of these measures. That was the Bill first introduced; now the second Bill relates entirely to the supervision of electric meters.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

ADJOURNMENT—QUEEN'S BIRTHDAY.

Mr. TAYLOR. A number of members purpose leaving for home to-night, and some of them will not return in case it is settled that adjournment takes place from Wednesday until Monday of next week, and I see by the Notice paper that it is the intention of the Government to do this. These hon. gentlemen have requested me to ask the leave of the House to move that motion to-day with the permission of the House, and to have the matter finally settled. Other hon. members who intend going to-night and returning on Monday, would not go until Wednesday if the adjournment is to take place.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I am afraid we cannot agree to that, as several hon. gentlemen on this side of the House raise strong objection.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. So far as I can gather the feelings of the members on this side of the House, a great majority are in favour of adjourning over Friday. Having been here for some time, and being likely to remain for some time to come, a great many are anxious to go home, but they do not wish to return for the one day. There seems to be some objection on the part of those who have public Bills in charge, but the great majority of the members express their desire for this adjournment.

Mr. TAYLOR. With the consent of the House the motion might be made now.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I can only move it to-day with the unanimous consent of the House.

Mr. LAURIER. Leave it until Monday.

THE INSURANCE ACT.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved second reading of Bill (No. 111) to amend the Insurance Act. He said: Although the practice is not to send Government Bills to a committee, yet in this case I think it would be expedient that this Bill should go to the Committee on Banking and Commerce, as some of those interested in the business desire to be heard on the provisions of the Bill, and especially so as the Bill has been altered since its introduction in the Senate in a way that might affect their interests somewhat.

Mr. MULLOCK. I suppose it is understood that the Banking and Commerce Committee will be wholly free to deal with the matter and not be trammelled by any of the features of the Bill. Being a Government measure the question is: whether they are bound to adhere to the principles of the Bill, or whether it might be considered an open Bill.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The Government will adhere to it as a Government measure, but they must take their chances in committee, as they desire to take the opinion of the committee upon it.

Mr. MULLOCK. That is what I mean.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the second time.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF—GOVERNMENT BUSINESS.

Mr. FOSTER moved that the House again resolve itself into Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Mr. Speaker, it was on the 27th of March that the Finance Minister first moved that the House should resolve itself into Committee of Ways and Means when he announced his tariff changes. They, of course, became law on that day. We have now reached the 18th day of May, nearly two months after, and we have to-day again a motion made that the House resolve itself into Committee of Ways and Means. I think the House will agree with me that the slow progress that has been made in this measure is one that is deeply to be regretted in the interests of the country, and if we were to seek the causes for it I think members of the House who have watched the proceedings would not differ with me if I should say: it was caused by the unpreparedness of the Ministry to deal with the question. This is the more remarkable as these tariff changes were contemplated a year ago, and that a commission

of four members of the Government had the whole of one year to satisfy themselves with reference to what changes were necessary. They took tours through the country (expended public moneys, the amount of which we do not know), accompanied by private secretaries, taking their memoranda. We expected, as was stated last year, that when the House opened this session they would come prepared with a measure that should become law. Well, Sir, what has been the result? Nothing like mature consideration; nothing like definite resolve or purpose on the part of the Government, and I think the House will agree with me that that has been sadly lacking. We find ourselves to-day on the 18th of May, with amendments on the Notice paper, put there by the originator of the tariff himself, asking the House to agree to further changes in this Bill, which he had so much time to consider and prepare. We went into committee on these tariff items on the 13th of April, and, I think, on every Government day since we have spent a portion, if not the whole of the day, upon their consideration, having early adjournments sometimes, and I think the House will agree with me if I say: upon many of these occasions, if not all, the adjournment was not asked for upon the Opposition side of the House, but was suggested by the Minister himself, because at the moment he was not prepared to go any further with his Bill. After we had been in committee seven days, on 20th April one of the Government supporters made what may be almost termed a pathetic appeal to the Opposition to cease discussing the measure, because delay in its passage would be fraught with great injury to the country. I will read an extract from the remarks of the hon. member from South Norfolk (Mr. Tisdale) on that occasion. The hon. gentleman said:

I took up no time in the House in the general tariff discussion, and I want to appeal to these hon. gentlemen opposite as good, sound Canadians—and I believe a good many of them are such—to allow us to get this tariff through, so that the people of this country may know where their business interests stand. We on this side are prepared to take the responsibility of this tariff. We know that if we are wrong the people will condemn us. Load us with the responsibility, if you call it such, and do not keep this House, day after day, and week after week, discussing these matters, with the country all this time in suspense. If the hon. gentlemen will not do this, then I say—and I say it with no desire to gain any political advantage—that they will compel many to form the opinion—which I have not formed yet, but which I must form if they continue their present policy—that they are trying to delay the tariff so as to produce, if possible, disaster and loss to the business men of the community.

That was the position taken by the hon. gentleman in regard to delay in passing these resolutions. Nearly one month subsequently, namely on May 18th, we have a motion

made by the Finance Minister to the House to resolve itself into Committee of Ways and Means—for what purpose? Not on account of objections raised by the Opposition. I think the House will see, and the House will agree, that if the member for South Norfolk (Mr. Tisdale) at that time saw cause for alarm when only seven days had elapsed, and when even then he saw that the interests of the country were being jeopardized by delay. I should like to hear from the hon. gentleman to-day as to what he thinks of the present position. A month having gone by, owing to what I claim to be the unpreparedness of the Ministry and their inability to deal with this question, we have as a result the existing dissatisfaction and unrest in unknown quantities in the country. For nearly two months a certain set of regulations with respect to customs duties were the law of the land, and since that date alteration, not in one item, two items, or ten items, but very many alterations, made at every sitting of the committee, have been made, and hon. members can easily understand that there must be thousands, if not tens of thousands of amended entries to be subsequently made. Moreover, goods were imported by merchants on this code of regulations, which was considered to be practically law, the Government having introduced the tariff Bill after taking a year to consider it, and having had Ministers wandering up and down the country, considering they had a reasonable assurance that the basis of the tariff submitted would prove to be the law of the land, but they find in case after case, and these cases continue down to the present sitting of the committee, that the goods will not be passed on what they consider to be the law, but on an entirely different basis. During those two months, as any business man can understand, goods have been handled by merchants and have been placed in warehouse, and their value estimated according to the customs duties as submitted by the Government, and they now find themselves in the position of having to make new entries for goods that have been sold and passed out of their possession, and in some cases they may fail in realizing the fair value of their goods on that account. I trust when the Finance Minister carries this motion to-day, as he will do, and I have no desire to prevent the hon. gentleman from doing so, and the House again resolves itself into Committee of Ways and Means, he will find himself in a position to close up this matter and let the business men of the country know where they stand. I have thought it proper that these remarks should be made, and I have made them so that the country may understand thoroughly where the responsibility for the present position rests. It rests upon the Government, because they were not prepared with their measure, because the Government had not a stable policy, because they did not comprehend the position in

Mr. PATERSON (Brant).

which the country occupied, and that the Government have not stood by the resolution they themselves introduced. On May 8th the House adjourned at 11.55, on May 10th at 11.20. Why? The Minister was not ready to proceed. On May 11th the committee rose at six o'clock and the House afterwards went on with some Government Bills, but the Government were not prepared with more, and so the House adjourned at 9.10; and on May 15th the House adjourned at 11.40, Sir John Carling moving the adjournment, no Minister with portfolio being in the House at the time. Yet hon. gentlemen opposite think it necessary, in order to expedite public business, to take one of the few days left for the general business of the House, and they think it necessary to do so in order to get on with the work. That argument will not do. The business of the Government is not in a prepared state, and when we think that the House was summoned two months later than usual, and the probability exists that it will remain in session until the middle of summer, and we still find the Ministry in this unprepared state, it is enough to tax the temper of the House, and the effect of it so far as this measure is concerned on business interests, I am sure every man acquainted with business, understands, will be very serious indeed.

Mr. FOSTER. I did not know what the hon. gentleman proposed to do when he rose, but I know what he has done and done most effectually. I do not wish to bring Scripture parallels into the discussion, but the hon. gentleman very much reminded me of the old scriptural character who was taken to a certain place at a certain time to curse a people, and instead of that he blessed them. The hon. gentleman evidently rose for the purpose of cursing the Government and blessing his own party; but there is no vice versa in this matter, and he ended by cursing his own party most effectually and by blessing the Government. The hon. gentleman undertook to say that we had these tariff changes announced on March 27th. We had. The hon. gentleman then went into a long statement as to the Ministry being unprepared, having had a year to be prepared and having taken excursions throughout the country, their private secretaries with them, to try to find out the state of feeling in the country in regard to the tariff. They did so. It is evident they benefited by that from the fact that the House had been in session not more than ten days before the tariff was presented and the proposals of the Government were brought down. The country knows enough to be aware that that was not delay on the part of the Government.

Mr. LISTER. The country does not now know that tariff.

Mr. FOSTER. On March 27th the Budget propositions were brought down. What was

to prevent the House going into a discussion and settlement of the items? Not unpreparedness on the part of the Government; it was because the Opposition proposed to travel over the ground they had traversed half a dozen times every session since I have been in this House, and which they travelled over at no better gait and in no better shape than on all preceding occasions. The discussion was one which struck everybody in this House as being particularly old-fashioned, particularly stale, and not coming down to the live question of the tariff issue raised by the propositions placed before the House by the Government; but going over the old principles and the old methods which have been discussed in this House from year to year for the last five, six or seven years. If that discussion kept the House for a fortnight from going into the consideration of the items, and kept the business of the country perturbed and in a state of uncertainty for that time, it was not the fault of the Government; it was solely the fault of the Opposition. When we entered upon the discussion of these items, as soon as the Opposition would stop talking, and allow the House to get down to business, I make this assertion, that there never was a single day in which the Government were not prepared to go on with the tariff business, and did not go on with it as long as the House was willing to carry on the discussion. There was only one instance in which that was not so. That was the instance when we left off the discussion at six o'clock—not because there were not a very large number of items yet to be discussed and settled, which the Government did not change, and made no proposition to change, and which simply wanted the attention of the House, and the vote of the House if necessary; but because, unfortunately, I was unwell myself, and went home at six o'clock, and other Government business was taken up in the evening. Mind you, there was Government business to be taken up, and it was taken up for that sole reason. The hon. gentleman cited another case which he thought was in point—the case of a night or two ago, when he said Sir John Carling moved the adjournment of the House at 11.40 o'clock, no Minister holding a portfolio being present. That was the night the House engaged in the discussion on the export duty on logs—a discussion which lasted all that evening, and which I had a full knowledge when I left the House at eleven o'clock would take up the remainder of that session and a large part of the next, as it did; and I asked Sir John Carling if he would be kind enough to move the adjournment of the House so that I could go home. Nothing was lost, although we did not sit till three or four o'clock in the morning; and for my part, I do not wish to sit that late. I think that the way we have been doing business this year is the far more sensible way—to sit till ten or eleven o'clock, and then go home and take

our rest. Let the hon. gentleman look at the adjournments of the House, and he will find that in all these tariff sessions we have sat, on the average, till about 11.30 o'clock; and the reason we did not go on last night longer than we did was because gentlemen on the Opposition side suggested that we had done enough and had better go home, as my hon. friend who sits opposite me (Sir Richard Cartwright) did. Last night, however, I was prepared to take a dozen more items. If the hon. gentleman expected to make it appear to the country that the Government were to blame for the perturbation of business for two months, he calculated without his host. The people in the country read the papers; the people in the country follow the discussions; and the facts are entirely on behalf of the proposition—and the country knows it—that the Government have been prepared every day to do business, and have gone just as far as the Opposition would allow them to go. Sir, the path of reciprocity was travelled over for days in the fortnight's discussion that took place between the time the Budget proposition was brought down and the time when we were allowed to go into committee; and we had not more than got into committee when, on the very first items, the agricultural class, hon. gentlemen took up the same weary round in the discussion of reciprocity, and kept it up for two days. Now, Sir, I deny the charge—and was surprised that the hon. gentleman had the temerity to make it, in face of the gentlemen who have sat on the two sides of this House ever since this discussion began—that we are not farther ahead because the Government were unprepared to do their work. I challenge him to point out a single instance in which the Government have not been prepared to go on with their work, or any time when there was not work for the House to take up. If hon. gentlemen opposite can point out these instances, let them point them out.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). The notices on the paper to-day.

Mr. FOSTER. The notices on the paper to-day are beside the point entirely, because last night when the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) objected to go any further, there were a dozen items still left which would have provoked discussion, and which the Government were prepared to go on with if the Opposition were. Now, let us be definite; let us stop arguing on generalities, as hon. gentlemen opposite are so fond of doing. Let them show one single case in which the Government were not prepared to go on with business. I grant you, business has been disturbed. Under our form of government, you cannot undertake to revise a tariff without disturbing business. For years, hon. gentlemen have been crying out for a reform and revision of the tariff. They got a reform and a revision of the

tariff this year. How can they expect a revision of the tariff to take place without a certain derangement of business? It cannot be done, under our modes of procedure and forms of government. But there has been a minimum of disturbance, and if it has been greater than it needed to have been, that has been because of the long-winded nature of the harangues which the Opposition have given us, and not because we were not prepared to carry on this business.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I do not intend to prolong the discussion at any great length; but I am not disposed to let the hon. gentleman's statement pass unchallenged. The hon. gentleman's knowledge of Scripture is pretty much on a par with the knowledge of himself and his colleagues in the matter of political economy. They have the most ingenious methods of absolutely reversing the exact state of the case, of which we have seen a great number of instances, and never more so than in the remarks the hon. gentleman has just made. Now, I do not at all object to one thing that the hon. gentleman has done; I hold that he is right enough in this, that when we are called upon to discuss the items of the tariff, it is better that we should do it in reasonable hours, and not attempt to force them through in a very thin House at very late hours in the morning. I hold that the hon. gentleman is quite right in asking that these important questions should be considered at a time when we shall have at least a fair number of the people's representatives to consider them. But the hon. gentleman tells us that it has been necessary for us to remain in session two mortal months to consider this tariff, and further, that that has been caused by—what? By the desire of the Opposition to learn what possible reasons the Government had for coming down to us very nearly every second day with a proposition to undo their own work. Surely we had some right to know—although we find it very hard, indeed, to get at the facts—why it was that, after taking a year or thereabouts to consider these propositions, the hon. gentlemen in almost every third or fourth case, after having formally announced them to the House, sprang upon us a complete change. I have, in my time, seen a fair number of tariffs put through, and have watched similar proceedings in other countries having forms of government like ours—I do not know that the United States, for various reasons, affords any fair comparison—and I do not remember a case of a Government bringing down a tariff, supposed to have been carefully considered, and then, as hon. gentlemen have done up to to-day, proposing to alter from sixty or seventy of the items which they had so carefully considered.

Mr. FOSTER.

Mr. FOSTER. Out of how many?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Between sixty and seventy items the hon. gentleman has proposed to alter, according to my calculation, not taking into account some sixteen items, occupying very nearly a page of our Votes and Proceedings, to which now, on the 18th May, he invites our discussion. And I fear the end is not yet. It is simply absurd to tell us that, under such circumstances, anybody is to blame for this delay except the Government, who came down with a tariff so ill-considered that they have been obliged to alter it completely in about seventy-seven different cases. Out of their own mouths, to quote Scripture to the hon. gentleman, they stand condemned. They had no business whatever to come down here with their tariff in such a state. They delayed calling Parliament together until a very late and a very inconvenient period to every member of the House and every business man, and they had still well-nigh a hundred changes to make in their own propositions. The thing is absurd. As regards the revision of the tariff, every change almost which the hon. gentleman had made has been to go back, to wallow in the mire, to return to the evil practices which his calmer and better judgment had amended. There is scarcely one of these changes that is not a departure from the comparative small improvement which the hon. gentleman made, but which was still some improvement on the old system. Not merely has he failed to lop off the mouldering branches, but I do not think he has pruned them in the slightest degree. He has rather, in many cases, increased and augmented their mischievous character. I am willing to give the hon. gentleman credit for some good intentions in coming down with the tariff as originally submitted; but it is perfectly clear to every one who has followed the debates in this House and watched the various deputations trooping from one end of the country to the other, that the business of arranging a bargain and sale has been going on between the hon. gentleman and a number of those protected manufacturers, and that all these subsequent changes are changes, not made in the interests of the people, but for the purpose of obtaining support for the Government, in one shape or another.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I am sure that no one can be in the slightest degree surprised to hear that the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) feels profound distrust in our political economy and in the principles on which the tariff is based. The only uneasiness that we on this side ever experience on that subject, is lest some day the hon. gentleman should feel called on to approve of our policy. We feel perfectly safe in the confidence of the public at large, from one end of the country

to the other, while we enjoy the good fortune of having the hon. member for South Oxford disagree with us. But I wish to call attention to what is now shown to be the object of this demonstration to-day. The Opposition have been under the stress of public opinion and public censure for the way they have obstructed the business of this House from the first day of the session, and the hon. member for Brant (Mr. Paterson), being one of the most sensitive members on that side, found that, for the sake of his party and his own credit, it would be necessary to resort to some expedient in order to divert, if possible, public censure from his own party to members on this side, even though he had not the slightest justification in so attempting. The hon. member cited the sittings of this House on several days and gave the hours of adjournment. Members who have watched the discussion in the Committee of Ways and Means know that never once did the committee rise and report progress, until repeatedly urged to do so by hon. gentlemen opposite, whose long-winded and oft-repeated stories had given out, and who wanted the night to prepare to reel them out again the next day. There was but one day when the Committee of Ways and Means rose at six o'clock, and that was in consequence of the state of health of the Finance Minister, who, in addition to the labours, the unprecedented labours, cast upon him for the past twelve months, had sat for three hours that afternoon, leading the Committee of Ways and Means in a discussion which filled thirty columns of 'Hansard' before the committee rose. Yet, forsooth, the hon. member for Brant (Mr. Paterson) states as a grievance that the House adjourned at ten minutes past nine that evening. Was the tariff delayed? It had been under consideration for three hours before six o'clock, and if the hon. gentleman will take the trouble to look at the record, which, unfortunately for himself, he cited in support of the singular demonstration to-day, he will find that, in addition to the private Bills which passed that evening after recess, no less than five Government Bills had passed when the House adjourned at ten minutes past nine. And yet the hon. gentleman undertakes to make the plea that we adjourned at that hour because even the public Bills were not ready which were in the hands of the Government. He will have to contradict a great deal of cold print before he will discover anybody in the country who has been convinced, by the sham fight of this afternoon, that the blame for any delay which has taken place is on the Government side. The hon. gentleman indicated that he would have great pleasure in hearing what the hon. member for South Norfolk (Mr. Tisdale) thought on this question, because that hon. gentleman had appealed to the Opposition to expedite business. What he did was to protest against the utter waste of time by the Opposition in

keeping up a debate for three weeks before going into committee. The hon. member for Brant (Mr. Paterson) undertakes to make the public believe, in spite again of what really did occur and what appeared in print, that the remarks of the hon. member for South Norfolk had reference to the conduct of the Government in putting through the items in committee, whereas what the hon. gentleman desired, and what he expressed, was that the Opposition should withhold from further continuance of the fifty-times-repeated advocacy of unrestricted reciprocity and commercial union, and allow the House to get into Committee. With the facts, as they are upon record, I beg to repeat, so that there shall be no misapprehension, that every day the Government have been prepared, and the Finance Minister has been prepared, in spite of the state of his health, with more items ready for the consideration of the committee than the committee has been prepared to deal with in the course of each day's session. Under these circumstances, I must also call attention to this fact: that the records of Parliament will be searched in vain, back to the first day of the first session, and the parliamentary history of the province of Canada will be searched in vain, to find a session in which the Government business was so rapidly brought forward and in such a prepared state when the House opened. In the face of that, to have this accusation made, in the tones in which it was made this afternoon, leads one to believe that the Opposition, in view of the course it has taken in the discussion of the tariff, feels under the necessity of misleading public opinion as to the events proceeding in this House from day to day.

Mr. LAURIER. Both the hon. gentlemen who have spoken on that side have endeavoured to mislead the House as regards the position stated by the hon. member for Brant (Mr. Paterson). The question is not at all whether the House sat at undue hours or adjourned at too early hours, but the accusation is that when the Government called Parliament together, and for weeks afterwards—even after he had brought down his Budget speech—the Finance Minister did not know his own policy. It is true that two weeks after Parliament met the House was moved into Committee of Ways and Means, but will the hon. gentleman pretend, in the face of the records, that the Finance Minister had made up his mind as to his policy at that time. A certain policy was announced on the paper, but what is the policy we have at this moment? The hon. gentleman knew his own mind so little then, that up to this day we have had notice from him of sixty items in his original proposition, to be amended. Day after day, week after week, the hon. gentleman undid his own work. He proposed to furnish us with a revision of the tariff. The

proposition was, forsooth, that taxation had been too high, that at last the Government were going to go back upon their record and give the people some relief from taxation. No doubt that was the intention at the moment, but for reasons upon the consideration of which I shall not now enter; the hon. gentleman went back on his own record, and reimposed almost every high duty which he had proposed to cut down. This is what we complain of; this is the charge made against hon. gentlemen by my hon. friend from Brant (Mr. Paterson). The business of the country has been impaired because of this uncertainty; the operations of business men have been interfered with because they do not know where they stand. What is the tariff to-day? What will it be to-morrow? These are the questions that people are asking, and they are given no satisfaction. The ground is well taken that the business of the country would be in a better state to-day and business men would be better satisfied if they knew that the changes brought before the House would become law. But they have not this satisfaction and business is disturbed everywhere throughout the country because business men do not know but that duties so often changed may be changed again. Now the hon. gentleman says that we obstructed the progress of public business, because for two weeks we debated the general principle of the measure. Was the discussion all on one side? Is it not true that for every man who spoke on this side a man spoke on the other side, that the question was debated just as much on that side as on this? And the hon. gentleman tells us that four or five times we discussed the question of reciprocity. Is it not true that for every assertion on this side a contrary assertion was made by hon. gentlemen opposite? As I said, we do not complain of undue hours of sitting. I think the hon. gentleman's practice in that respect is commendable, for the House should not be asked to sit beyond a certain hour. But what I complain of, and what we must hold the hon. gentleman responsible for, and what the country will hold him responsible for, is that he does not at this moment know what his own tariff will be, and that we have no assurance that amendments already made will not be again amended. That is the charge made by my hon. friend from Brant, and that is the charge upon which the country will hold him accountable.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, there is a comical aspect to this discussion. At first one was filled with wonder at the object of the hon. gentleman from Brant (Mr. Paterson), but I think his object is disclosed, and that it shows that this is an hour of repentance for hon. gentlemen opposite. When we began this session some time ago, we found the most determined spirit of obstruction that, at least, I have ever seen on the part of an Opposition

Mr. LAURIER.

in this House since 1882. I am in the judgment of the House when I say that gentlemen opposite began the session in a determined and defiant attitude, which signified that they would prevent or postpone the very introduction of the tariff Bill. In the debate on the Address they surprised the country by singling out one particular topic, the Behring Sea arbitration, displaying an extent of ignorance upon the question that must have astonished the people from one end of the Dominion to the other. They misrepresented all the facts connected with the case—

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. But you did not dare to answer.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman says we did not dare to answer. Sir, we had too much respect for the intelligence of the people of Canada to take the time necessary for an answer, and, besides, we were most anxious to get to this tariff, and we were willing to sit silent and allow those speeches to go to the country for what they were worth, after the answer the Prime Minister had given very early in the debate, because, as every man in the House could see, we wanted to push on with this business question. Why, it was discussed among the members of the House, it was common talk in the country, every one could see the transparent game being played. The Opposition, whether it was anxious that the business of this country should be plunged into a most unhappy condition, or however they choose to explain it, determined to follow up this policy of obstruction which had already been adopted. The Finance Minister pressed hard time and time again to reach this order which the hon. gentlemen now say should have been hurried forward. But the Order paper was filled in the most rapid manner in the history of Parliament with all kinds of motions, senseless and otherwise; ridiculous questions were put here day after day; papers were ransacked to find subjects for questions and motions, which, when reached were found to have nothing in them. All these fireworks were displayed by the Opposition and the Government had to plod steadily on and force the position in order to get the attention of Parliament directed to the main object of this session. Contrast the position of the Government to-day with the position of the Government of gentlemen opposite in 1874. Search the records and you will see that these gentlemen came down in fear and trembling and laid upon the Table of the House their tariff proposition. Did they go on with it? Did they think the business of the country demanded instant and immediate attention to the question? For two weeks, if my memory serves me right, they dangled this policy before the House and the country, and then withdrew it and changed it in most important items. The position which they say the Government

of the day should take is not a position which commends itself to the minds of business men—that of coming down with a hard and fast statement of details of the whole tariff and sticking to them right or wrong, forcing them through at the point of the bayonet or by virtue of the majority which hon. gentlemen say we possess, turning a deaf ear to the representations of the business men, sending them to the father of evil as this Finance Minister of long ago would have done had he control and responsibility in this matter. When a delegation of business men visits the capital and asks to be received by the Government, notwithstanding the great difficulties of the position of the Finance Minister on an occasion like this, it is received. No delegation that has visited this city can say that it received other treatment than courtesy and a respectful hearing by the Government, and the Government is not ashamed to say that from many of the deputations they learned much that was of advantage to the interests of the country and they were not too proud to put into the tariff such corrections as seemed to be justified by any new light that was thrown upon the question at any time. And I believe that the Government in taking that position have commended themselves to the business men of this country and have obtained even more of the confidence of the people than would otherwise have been possible in regard to the manner in which they dealt with these important, varied, and often complicated questions. And, Sir, I hope the day will never come when the Finance Minister of this Government or his successors will assume the attitude of the Finance Minister when gentlemen opposite were in power—that he already knows enough, that he can learn enough within his sanctum from works on political economy to propound a fiscal policy which must be enacted, regardless of all protests and representations. This Government does not desire to go on, Mr. Speaker. What were we discussing five minutes before this debate was forced upon us? We have been trying to obtain the consent of the Opposition to give us an extra day for Government business. We were discussing whether hon. gentlemen opposite were sufficiently anxious to expedite this one great question now before the House and the country as to give us another day. How was that proposition received? Has there been any disposition to give up private business so that the member for Brant may have an opportunity to rest easy and see this tariff moving on to a conclusion? I say we have witnessed other scenes besides obstruction. When the tariff was under discussion we saw most extraordinary developments on the other side of the House. The leader of the Opposition said we did not know our policy when Parliament met. We did know our policy, we knew the principle upon which we are standing in this House and in this country to-day, the principle from which we have never flinched, the

principle of protection. Do those hon. gentlemen know their policy? Have those hon. gentlemen ever been willing to give us even a skeleton of their policy that it might be dissected here and elsewhere? Did not those hon. gentlemen after talking theoretical free trade for a week, let out the secret the other day that in the matter of agricultural implements they were protectionists, and higher protectionists than we are? There have been many things we did not know at the beginning of the session, but we did know the policy of this Government. But in view of the details and the many conflicting questions connected with the various items, no one supposes, no business man in this country ever supposed, that you could introduce a tariff composed of five or six hundred items, and arrange the percentages and the various kinds of duty without making some changes. Take the question of oil. Did we obtain much assistance from hon. gentlemen opposite? Why, we witnessed an open disagreement between two members of the Opposition, and one who has taken up an immense amount of time, the hon. member for West Elgin (Mr. Casey) was told by the hon. member for West Lambton (Mr. Lister) that he did not understand the subject he was discussing. And it is from critics of that character that we learn to-day that we are guilty of delaying the business, and of failing to make that progress with the tariff we should have made. The hon. gentleman complains that we have made a great many changes. Well, as long as they were necessary, and as long as we stand to the principle upon which our tariff is based, there should be no objection to that. But it is a significant fact, and all the more significant because it is a fact that upsets the whole of their grievance to-day, that there never has been in the history of this country, if my memory or information serves me right, a tariff propounded and in which there were so few changes in proportion as there are in this case.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Hear, hear.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Is he able to contradict that statement?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Certainly, at all points.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Is he able to point out a tariff in which there were fewer changes made, in proportion, than have been made in the present tariff since it was brought down?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. There never was a case in which so many changes were made.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman, like his party, deals in generalities, toothless and ineffectual generalities. I have given the opportunity, and he contradicts me in general and in the

rough, as he always contradicts any person. But he cannot point out an instance—and I will give him to the end of this debate to look one up—in which so few changes have been made as have been made in the tariff now under consideration.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. There is not a single case in which you can show so many changes.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Exactly, he answers my challenge with another. Perhaps this is the opportunity for me to sit down and allow the hon. gentleman to obtain that information, or some other hon. gentleman to do it for him.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). My hon. friend, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries has addressed the House in a very excited state. It is obvious that he feels that he has a very weak case, and that he must make up in energy and in noise what he fails to supply in argument. Now, the hon. gentleman overlooked this important fact, that we have been considering the tariff on almost every Government day for several weeks, and I do not know a single occasion when the Minister of Finance did not ask that certain items should stand over. Stand over for what purpose? Why, in order to give the Government an opportunity to consider those matters, to discuss them with those parties who were discontented, before determining the precise rate of duty that the Government would propose in regard to those matters. Now, granting that everything is true that hon. gentlemen have said, let us suppose for a moment that the Opposition did what the First Minister says they did—but the First Minister, in that particular, has been depending on imagination and not upon facts as they occurred in the House—let us suppose for a moment that the First Minister was correct in that view, what use would the Government have made of the time if the Opposition had remained silent? Why, the Government were not ready to go on. Last night they were not ready to go on with certain items; I do not know that the Finance Minister is prepared to-day to say ultimately what the rate of taxation shall be on certain imported articles. That being so, is it not clear that up to this moment, at all events, the Government have delayed the consideration of the tariff? The Minister of Marine and Fisheries has informed the House that there were a far greater number of changes in former tariffs than there have been in this one. I deny that statement. The hon. gentleman, before he made that statement, ought to have been able to give to the House the particular tariff, and the number of changes that were made in it, in order to show that his statement in that respect was accurate.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I said the percentage of changes.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Well, I say that the percentage of changes in this tariff is greater than in any other tariff that has been proposed before. The Government announced last session that they proposed to deal with this subject of the tariff, they proposed visiting various parts of the country in order to make inquiries and ascertain from the people what the rate of taxation should be on certain articles. They did what they said they were going to do in that respect; they visited various portions of the country, they entered into communication with the people, they obtained what information they could in that way and they delayed calling Parliament together until nearly two months after the ordinary period at which Parliament should have met. One would suppose that they would have employed those two months for the purpose of perfecting a tariff, based upon the information which they had obtained. Then a fortnight after Parliament was called together the Finance Minister made his Budget speech and stated the general policy of the Government, and submitted the specific tariff which he had matured after these interviews, after this consideration, after the long period allowed him for the purpose of deliberation. That tariff was submitted to us, and we have been considering it ever since. Why have we discussed this matter so much in committee? Why, Mr. Speaker, we have discussed the subject in committee in consequence of the departures which the hon. gentleman has made from the tariff which he submitted to us at first. The Minister of Finance complained that we discussed general principles. Why, Sir, what did the Finance Minister do in his Budget speech? What was the whole character in that Budget speech? I have pointed out before in this House, and I repeat it again now, that the hon. gentleman will look in vain in the Budget speeches made for the past century in the United Kingdom, for one such as he delivered to the House. It was the business of the hon. gentleman to have told the House, in making his Budget speech, not merely the mode of taxation which he intended to adopt, but what revenue he expected to derive from each tax which he imposed, and what he expected would be the gains or losses in consequence of the changes which he made. Well, Sir, down to this hour the information which every Minister of Finance, every Chancellor of the Exchequer, feels it his duty to give to the House of Commons in England the hon. gentleman has not given to the House. Then let us look at the changes which the hon. gentleman has made since the tariff has been before us. The hon. gentleman has proposed specific duties in place of the ad valorem duties which he at first proposed. The hon. gentleman has proposed an increase in taxation on a large number of articles. I suppose out of seventy odd articles—

Mr. HAGGART. Not one.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman has proposed an increase of taxation in at least sixty of those seventy odd articles.

Mr. FOSTER. Not one.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). In those changes which he has made, I say he has proposed an increase in the rate of taxation, and he has proposed the substitution of specific duties for ad valorem duties. Well, Sir, the hon. gentleman did not deign to tell this House what was his object in making those changes, why he had changed his mind, what reason he had for submitting certain propositions in the first instance. We were entitled to that information. The hon. gentleman did not tell the committee what advantage he expected to derive from those changes, or what loss of revenue would be sustained, and a large portion of the time taken in discussion in committee has been occupied in endeavouring to obtain from the hon. gentleman that information which he ought to have given spontaneously. I say, then, that the hon. gentleman has himself wasted the time of the committee.

Mr. FOSTER. Wasted what?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The time of the committee.

Mr. FOSTER. You can say anything after that.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I say it. I have noticed half a dozen question put on various matters which the hon. gentleman should have answered and given information concerning spontaneously, but all that was done was to declare the item carried. That is the extent of the information given in many instances.

Mr. FOSTER. I could not foresee anything but sensible questions.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Is it not a sensible question to ask why the hon. gentleman proposed a change? Is it not a sensible question to ask why the hon. gentleman, after having substituted ad valorem for specific, returns to specific again? Is it not a sensible question to ask why the hon. gentleman proposed in some instances to increase the tariff, when he had previously proposed a reduction?

Mr. FOSTER. You have always got your answer.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Yes; after an hour bandying with the hon. gentleman an answer would be obtained sometimes, and sometimes no answer at all. In regard to all these matters it was the duty of the hon. Minister to have informed himself, he should have come down to the committee and stated what his views were on those items, and have clearly explained to the committee the reason why he proposed a change. But the hon. gentleman was in the hands of masters who were outside of Parliament. The hon. gentleman, after

having made up his mind and submitted his proposition was compelled to change that proposal. He was told that it would not suffice, that more taxes were required, that that mode of imposing taxes would not be advantageous to the manufacturers, and so the hon. gentleman came down to the committee and asked to have them give their consent to certain changes in some instances, perhaps not knowing what would be the effect of those changes, but having resolved to make them sooner than battle with his friends, and so we were delayed in consequence of want of information or reluctance to give information on the part of the hon. Minister. But again I say this: that the hon. gentleman has not been prepared to take the House out of committee, and so far as I know he may not be prepared to do so at the end of to-day. That being the case, the delay up to this moment, whether we were speaking on an item or whether we were silent, was the delay of the Finance Minister, because he was not prepared to state what rate of taxation should be adopted on the various items of the tariff.

Motion agreed to; and House again resolved itself into Committee on Ways and Means.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. FOSTER. I desire to take up the leather duties. Under the old tariff leather and skins, not otherwise provided for, were 20 per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. By the old tariff you mean the tariff two months old.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes. Sole leather was $\frac{1}{2}$ cent a pound and 15 per cent. Upper leathers, 20 per cent; dongola, 20 per cent; cordovan, 25 per cent, and kid 20 per cent. The proposition, as it was placed at first before the committee, was to place all of these at 15 per cent. It was ascertained, however, on looking more thoroughly into the question, and taking into account the very strong competition from the United States, that with regard to black leathers, in respect of which I made the amendment, the cut from 20 per cent to 15 per cent would be too heavy, and subject the manufacturers to a competition which, at the present time especially, would be greater than they could well bear. Therefore, what we propose at present is to place these leathers at $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, which will be a reduction of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent from the old tariff, and certainly levies a very moderate duty. I think this is nothing more than just to the manufacturers of these leathers, which are largely made in this country, and I can speak of one, of the dongola leather, which is being very extensively made now, and of very excellent quality. The belting and sole leather remains as proposed, at 15 per cent.

Mr. MULOCK. When we had the subject of leathers up some time ago I asked the Finance Minister if he would allow the item to stand for a short time, while I read some correspondence on the subject. I have since read it, and it deals with the subject of sole leather, and my correspondent, I may say, is not a manufacturer, but, I fancy, a dealer in sole leather. He points out that hemlock tanned sole leather is the leather from which principally are manufactured the boots and shoes of the poorer classes. I would ask the Minister if he has fully considered that this tariff of 15 per cent is a burden upon the poorer classes, and I wish to know if he is prepared to make any reduction?

Mr. FOSTER. I have considered that aspect of the case, and in reducing the duty from what it was in the old tariff, I have to that extent given relief, if a diminution of duty would give any relief in a matter like sole leather, to the consumers of that article in this country. The tanners of this country makes that leather and the consumption is almost entirely native production. The oak sole leather is brought in from abroad, and that of course will pay a duty, but, as my hon. friend says, that goes into the finer kind of shoe. I am certain no one can quarrel with a protection of 15 per cent on sole leather. It is a reduction of from 17½ per cent on the average value, to 15 per cent, and it makes it no longer a protective, but simply a revenue tariff.

Mr. MULOCK. My correspondent calls my attention to the fact that we have become large manufacturers of sole leather for export, and that our sole leather finds its way to the markets of the world in competition with leather made under more favourable circumstances perhaps, and that the time has arrived, in his judgment, when it is no longer necessary to protect the Canadian manufacturer. According to the Trade and Navigation Returns, we exported for the fiscal year, \$865,000 worth of sole and upper leather. The two classes are not divided in the returns, and therefore one cannot satisfactorily argue the question as to sole leather. But it would appear that when we can export nearly \$1,000,000 worth of leather to compete with the manufacturers of free trade countries and the manufacturers of the United States, that the Canadian manufacturers hardly need such protection.

Mr. FOSTER. And they are not getting a large protection.

Mr. MULOCK. As the item is passed, and as I am only perhaps speaking out of courtesy, I won't press it any further. I suppose the Minister has made up his mind on the subject.

Mr. FOSTER.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think we will make any change.

Mr. MULOCK. Does the Minister think that the 15 per cent duty adds to the cost of shoes?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think so. Boot and shoe men have the 25 per cent protection, and on your own theory it is that which would put up the cost.

Mr. MULOCK. My correspondent tells me that there is a very effective combination in Canada between the manufacturers of sole leather.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think there is what you could call a combination amongst them.

Mr. MULOCK. I presume what is meant is: an arrangement by which prices are maintained. Has the Minister informed himself on that point?

Mr. FOSTER. That question was brought to my attention, and I found nothing that you could call a combine in the leather business.

Mr. MULOCK. Was there any understanding among them as to limiting the production or the price?

Mr. FOSTER. They sometimes limit production in order not to overstock the market.

Mr. MULOCK. You found no combination as to maintaining prices at minimum figures?

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Item agreed to.

Plumbago, 10 per cent ad valorem.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What is the object of that tax at all?

Mr. FOSTER. We have always had a tax upon it of 15 per cent, and the proposal is to make it 10 per cent. We have large deposits of it which are now being developed, and it is in a better position than ever it has been before for output and refining. A large plant worth \$250,000 has been put in which is most complete in every respect, and they are prepared to turn out a large quantity of the refined plumbago every day.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What plumbago did we import?

Mr. FOSTER. Three thousand two hundred and ninety-one dollars worth.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I do not suppose it matters much one way or the other, but it is because we have such large deposits that it is an absurdity to tax it.

Mr. BORDEN. This is an appropriate time to repeat the question I asked last night as to the duty on phosphate rock. The hon. gentleman promised to inquire.

Mr. WALLACE. That would come in free of duty as a fertilizer. All fertilizers in the crudest state are free, and that is a fertilizer in the crudest state.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Has the hon. gentleman had a legal opinion on that point, or is he making the law?

Mr. WALLACE. We are carrying out the law.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Reading that article respecting fertilizers, I doubt whether it would bear that construction.

Mr. FOSTER. It has been coming in free all the time under the old tariff.

Mr. BORDEN. Does the hon. gentleman say that it will be admitted free now?

Mr. FOSTER. My hon. colleague said so.

Item agreed to.

Lumber or timber manufactured, n.e.s., 20 per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What is the exact effect of that change?

Mr. FOSTER. What we did last night was to make certain lines of timber and lumber free. To sawed lumber and the like of that we added lumber undressed or dressed on one side only; and this item will include all lumber and timber not enumerated in the free list, and further manufactured than dressed on one side. I want also to call the attention of the House to the fact, which they may not have noticed, that lumber and timber further manufactured than rough sawn or hewn was before 25 per cent, and, besides putting a part of that on the free list, we have reduced the rest to 20 per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Good, as far as it goes. It depends upon how far that will be modified by customs regulations affecting the valuations.

Item agreed to.

Shingles, 20 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. These were 20 per cent before; but I intend to put them with wood pulp into a reciprocal clause, providing that they shall be made free in Canada when they are made free in the United States. As I explained to the House with reference to shingles, we shall have reciprocity in that if the Bill as proposed at Washington passes, because it places that article on the free list.

Item agreed to.

Blasting and mining powder, 2 cents per pound.

Mr. FOSTER. In the old tariff blasting and mining powder was 3 cents per pound, canister powder, 15 cents per pound, cannon and musket, 4 cents per pound; giant powder, 5 cents per pound and 20 per cent; gunpowder, 5 cents per pound, and nitro-glycerine, 10 cents per pound and 20 per cent. Instead of all these we propose to have

three items. Blasting and mining powder is reduced from 3 cents to 2 cents per pound.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What is the supposed value of blasting and mining powder?

Mr. FOSTER. From 6 cents to 8 cents per pound. I suppose the average value is about 7 cents.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. So that the duty would amount to about 30 per cent.

Mr. EDGAR. Is that the Hamilton factory?

Mr. FOSTER. There are two factories, the Hamilton Powder Company and the Acadia Powder Company.

Mr. EDGAR. What is the factory in Hull?

Mr. FOSTER. That is for nitro-glycerine explosives.

Mr. MULOCK. What is the raw material for the makers of blasting and mining powder?

Mr. FOSTER. With the exception of sulphuric acid and glycerine, their raw material is free. They make the powder and explosives out of saltpetre, sulphur, charcoal, glycerine and sulphuric acid.

Mr. MULOCK. What amount of protection is on the raw materials?

Mr. FOSTER. Not a great deal. Most of them are free.

Mr. MULOCK. So that they have nearly 30 per cent clean protection.

Mr. FOSTER. They have 25 per cent clean protection.

Item agreed to.

Cannon, musket, rifle, gun and sporting powder and canister powder, 3 cents per pound.

Mr. FOSTER. In the old tariff the duty on canister powder was 15 cents per pound and on gun and sporting powder 5 cents per pound. These are reduced to 3 cents.

Item agreed to.

Nitro-glycerine, giant powder and other explosives, 4 cents per pound.

Mr. CASEY. What are they supposed to be worth a pound?

Mr. FOSTER. The former duty was 10 cents a pound and 20 per cent. Their value is according to the percentage of nitro-glycerine they contain. Pure nitro-glycerine is worth about 30 cents a pound. A good explosive contains about 40 per cent of nitro-glycerine.

Item agreed to.

Salt in bags, barrels salt fine, in bulk, and coarse salt, n.e.s., 5 cents per 100 pounds.

Mr. FOSTER. That was proposed to be put on the free list.

Mr. CASEY. What was the reason for putting it back?

Mr. FOSTER. After further consideration, it was thought better to put it back at the old duty, which was very small. The salt manufacturers from western Ontario have suffered competition from the Michigan salt works, which have large deposits, and use the slabs and refuse of their mills for fuel, and enjoy extremely low freights in the distribution of their products. The protection is very small, 5 cents per 100 pounds, or $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents in packages.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. If the hon. gentleman would only give these people who manufacture salt, their coal and their raw materials and the tools they use free, he could keep the item as it is.

Mr. FOSTER. Does the hon. gentleman know what difference free fuel would make?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. But he will not do this, and therefore the farmers who use the salt have to pay. There is no doubt that the salt manufacturers were being treated with injustice. It is in no respect a contradiction to the principles of free trade to lay down the proposition which I have laid down with respect to other industries, that when you are taxing a man's raw material or tools, you undoubtedly ought either to leave the tax on his products as it was or give him free raw materials. The proper way is to give free raw material.

Mr. FOSTER. If the hon. gentleman would gather the salt manufacturers together and talk to them on the line of that proposition he would get a little more light.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I have conversed with them.

Mr. CASEY. The hon. gentleman no doubt has seen the salt manufacturers. Will he please give us some information concerning his interviews?

Mr. FOSTER. I have not seen one of them.

Mr. CASEY. Or heard from them.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, I have heard from them.

Mr. CASEY. If the hon. gentleman has obtained information in any way from salt manufacturers he ought to lay it before the House. I have always understood that free fuel would about make as much difference to the salt manufacturers as this tax. They would be about as well off with free fuel, leaving salt free, as with 5 per cent per 100 pounds duty and coal not free.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman needs some light.

Mr. CASEY. Give us the light.

Mr. FOSTER. I gave it by saying that such is not the case.

Mr. CASEY. That is not giving us light. It is the hon. gentleman's simple statement. Was he so informed by the salt manufacturers and did they submit figures?

Mr. CASEY.

Mr. FOSTER. Perfectly. Does the hon. gentleman know how much they pay for the coal they use in the refining of salt.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. But there are other things that go into the manufacture of salt.

Mr. CASEY. The duty on coal does not depend upon what they pay, for it is a duty per ton.

Mr. FOSTER. On coal dust it is a percentage duty.

Mr. MULOCK. My impression was that the old duty on salt was 10 per cent per barrel of 280 pounds.

Mr. FOSTER. No. This is the old duty exactly. A change was made two years ago, by which one-half the protection was taken off, at the time of the salt combine, and this is the reduced duty.

Item agreed to.

Salt in bags, barrels, or other packages, the bags, barrels or packages to bear the same duty as if imported empty, $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents per 100 pounds.

Mr. BOWERS. Why make the tax higher on bags than on salt in bulk? A great deal of salt comes from the English market, and is sold in the Maritime Provinces for use of the farmers.

Mr. FOSTER. The fishermen get their salt free of duty.

Item agreed to.

Manufactures composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca goat or other like animal, viz.: blankets and flannels of every description, cloths, doeskins, cassimeres, tweeds, coatings, overcoatings, and felt cloth, n.e.s., 5 cents per pound and 25 per cent ad valorem.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That is to say, the hon. gentleman has gone back on the declaration he made in favour of ad valorem duties on textiles, and is going to tax the cheaper kind of goods very much more than the more expensive kind.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman may put it in that light, but if he will notice what I said at the time I brought down the proposition, he will see that I said I found very great difficulty in coming to a decision as to the duties to be put on manufactures of wool. There is such a diversity in fabrics made from wool that it is impossible to find any one rate of duty which will equally protect all. Two things had to be observed: first, not to give a larger protection than was reasonable upon the better class of goods, and yet to give a large enough protection to keep within the country the very widely distributed and varied manufactures of coarse wool. I came to the conclusion, after having very thoroughly gone into the subject with the representatives of this woollen industry, that, on account of the extreme cheapness with which these coarse or shoddy goods, which purport to be woollen, but are partly or wholly shoddy, can be made in Great Britain or other coun-

tries, that it required an extremely high rate of protection to keep them out. You remember that the old tariff imposed upon some of these goods, duties equivalent to an ad valorem rate of 50, 60, or 70 per cent. In the conferences that we had and in the investigations that took place, I understood from the manufacturers of the coarser woollens, and the manufacturers of the shoddy goods, that no protection less than that which had been given before would be efficacious in enabling them to keep their business. On that point, we had to part company. I told them that I could not bring down to the House a duty so large as that which had been imposed, that if, after thinking it over, they came to the conclusion that nothing less than that would do them, all I could do would be to put on what seemed, under all the circumstances, a reasonable protection to the better goods, and let them take the chances. With that view, we brought down the 30 per cent rate, knowing full well that it would inevitably cut out a large proportion of the coarse woollen industries, particularly the smaller ones. However, after the promulgation of that proposition, other conferences took place, other investigations were made, and the people who are engaged in this industry gave still closer attention to this matter, and, as a result, it was represented to the Government that with the duty as it is proposed here, the larger part of the woollen industry of the country could be conserved, and, at the same time, the inordinately high protection could be avoided. This duty of 5 cents a pound and 25 per cent ad valorem, while it does not raise the duty upon what you may call a fair class of woollen goods, while it lowers the protection to a certain extent, upon the higher class, yet gives to the coarser wool products of the small mills a specific and ad valorem duty combined which will have the effect, as they tell me, of keeping the larger part of their business, although necessitating very careful management on their part. Now, what we had to look at was this: This woollen industry is different from almost every other industry in Canada; it is one of the largest industries in the country and one of the most widely distributed. Small woollen mills are found in almost every part of the country—

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). And have been for years.

Mr. FOSTER. And have been for years. They buy the wool direct from the farmer, and, in many cases, sell him the manufactured goods in return, a practice which has, to a large extent supplanted the old practice of carding the wool and making garments at home. These mills, in their several localities give employment to the people, keep up business and are in close touch with the farming community, to whom they are of a great benefit in the way of

affording a market for the products of the farm. The employment given in the smaller coarse woollen industries and in the larger fine woollen industries may be given as a proportion of about two to one, that is two are employed in the coarser small mills, taking them in the aggregate, to one employed in the larger mills. All these considerations had weight, and the Government has come to the conclusion that, though in respect of uniformity it is not so good a duty as that which he had arranged on cottons and woollens all through, although it subjects us to the charge by gentlemen opposite that we are putting on double duties, mixed ad valorem and specific, still the good to be obtained is more than commensurate, for the industries will be, in the main, retained and the employment given. And, whatever hon. gentlemen opposite may say with regard to combines in other trades, no man can successfully maintain—and I do not think that any man pretends—that there is any such thing as combine amongst the woollen mills. Such a thing is practically and actually impossible. These industries are very strong competitors amongst themselves, and the prices of woollen fabrics have been kept very low and have been cut down in larger proportion even, than those of the foreign manufactories, with the exception, maybe, of those of one or two countries. At the same time, the industry has been kept up, the people have had the benefit of cheapened goods and, what is still more important, they have got a better class of goods. Under the old duties, the coarse woollens were not all kept out, I suppose it is impossible to impose any duty which will keep them out—only prohibition would do that. That shoddy will come into this country. But this duty keeps out the major part of it, and gives to the wearer in this country the advantage of first-class woollen goods. And, where they make shoddy, a stronger and better and purer shoddy—I will not say purer shoddy—

Mr. CASEY. What is pure shoddy?

Mr. FOSTER. I will take that back, because my hon. friend would interpret it to mean shoddy that is all shoddy. What I speak of is a mixture of wool and shoddy.

Mr. CASEY. A sort of mixed specific and ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. If you examine samples of shoddies which are brought in from Britain and those made in this country, it requires but a casual observation to inform one that even in shoddy goods we have the strength and fibre in much greater degree than when the goods were imported. Now, I do not want to make a long story of this. I have stated simply the ground upon which the Government has gone, and we think we are justified on business grounds in making this change in order to conserve

a very large, a very widely distributed and a most important industry in this country.

Mr. MACLEAN (York). Mr. Chairman, I desire again to congratulate the Government on their return to specific duties. As a protectionist, I have to repeat that specific duties involve a sound principle. Hon. gentlemen in this House have been ridiculing and deriding specific duties. On what ground do they base this ridicule? Specific duties are the rule, the world over. I have here a table showing the facts with reference to the various tariffs of the world: England imposes duties upon thirty-eight articles; France imposes duties upon 619 articles; Austria imposes duties upon 357 articles; Russia imposes duties upon 440 articles; Sweden imposes duties on more than 300 articles; Denmark imposes duties on 63 articles. All these duties are specific. Are hon. gentlemen aware of that fact?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Perfectly—and the reason for it.

Mr. MACLEAN (York). Germany's tariff makes 434 articles dutiable, and imposes specific duties on all but two. Italy's tariff covers 837 articles, and on all but one the duties are specific. Norway collects customs on more than 500 articles, and the duties are specific, except in six instances. Spain, with 339 articles on its tariff, imposes an ad valorem duty on but one. The above shows that out of 3,957 duties, only ten are on an ad valorem basis. Now, surely that goes to show that in Europe, where they have had tariffs for centuries, and where they have given the greatest attention to these questions, the entire tariff system is based on specific duties. Moreover, in the United States, where the tariff issue is now up, the tariff reformers set out to abolish specific duties: the Democratic party which is a free trade party, set out to abolish these specific duties, and they gave as a reason that these duties were unjust to the poor man who bought an inferior class of goods. But they have been compelled by the logic of facts laid before them to return to specific duties, and all the changes now proposed in the Senate are in this direction. If the Democratic party which is a free trade party, are compelled to recognize the advantage of specific duties, why should not a Conservative party and a protectionist party, as we have in this country, maintain them and insist upon them? I am glad to see the Government upholding specific duties, and returning to them, and I hope they will be prepared to defend them throughout. Now, in regard to woollens and specific duties, I wish to read an opinion from a paper which ought to speak as an authority, namely, the 'American Woollen and Cotton Reporter,' of April 19, of this year. In

Mr. FOSTER.

a recent issue, discussing tariff reform in the States, it speaks as follows:—

We have purposely refrained heretofore from mention of the petition, which is being circulated for signatures of commission merchants and manufacturers, asking for a change from ad valorem, as proposed in the pending tariff Bill, to specific duties as we did not care to discount its effect upon Congress. The petition has been before the goods district for a number of weeks and the wide publicity given it seems to absolve us from silence regarding it. The petition was suggested by representative men who are in touch and sympathy with the dominant party, and it is essentially a protest against the radical cut in duties as proposed and also against the adoption of simply ad valorem duties as pertains to the woollen schedule. The petition names no rate which would be acceptable to the signers, but contents itself with the brief statement that the proposed rate would be ruinous to a considerable portion of the woollen industry. The main feature, and the one which is specially emphasized, is that relating to the wrong which would be inflicted upon the industry by the change to solely ad valorem rates.

The petition is gaining signatures rapidly, and among them are many names which should command respect of Congress, and influence its action. The pros and cons on the questions of relative merits of ad valorem and specific duties have been so clearly set forth, time and again, that it would seem as though an advocate of the former must be more or less controlled by malice against the woollen industry.

That is the opinion of the entire woollen industry in the States, namely, that only those who are moved by malice can maintain that ad valorem duties should prevail instead of specific duties. I would also like to read, for the information of hon. gentlemen opposite, a telegram I have just received from Alderman John Hallam, of Toronto, who is a Liberal in politics, as the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) can testify. Mr. Hallam is a very large dealer in wool, and he is thoroughly conversant with the woollen industry of this country. He says:

Canadian manufacturers cannot compete with foreign goods at less than 25 per cent ad valorem and 5 per cent specific duties.

In a letter which he wrote the other day, or a circular which his firm issued in regard to the woollen industry, he speaks as follows:—

The delay at Ottawa in settling the tariff on woollen goods has created an industrial uncertainty, and a want of confidence in the future of the trade.

That may suit the discussion that occurred in the early part of the day.

The proposed change in the tariff from compound to purely ad valorem duties, will seriously embarrass the tweed, blanket and yarn manufactories. They will not be able to successfully compete with the shoddy goods of Huddersfield and Dewsbury under the proposed changes unless the Government take

the duty off coal, machinery and other articles now taxed and used as raw material. This is having a very depressing effect on the price of our domestic wools and on the woollen trade in general. Home competition has reduced the price of Canadian tweeds, blankets and yarns to the lowest possible point, and if the Canadian mills are subjected to the keen competition of these goods under an ad valorem duty with England, France and Germany, where machinery and all raw material are free of duty, it simply means shutting up some of the mills in this country. In my opinion, this change in the tariff will only benefit the importing and ready-made clothing trade.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The ad valorem duty is equal to the whole of the wages.

Mr. MACLEAN (York). That is not the issue.

The Americans are not changing their tariff on wools to give the Canadian wool growers more money for their clip, but simply to give the manufacturers of the United States free wool at the lowest possible price in competition with English and foreign wool markets.

Then, Long & Bisby, another large house doing business in woollens, in their circular say :

Australia, Argentine, and the United States are the largest wool producers. When reviewing the affairs of these countries, and noting the financial depression and the great shrinkage of values, it is a matter of pleasure—one may say surprise—to know that Canada has been so little affected. Her financial institutions have proved to be of the best, willing and able to take care of the business of the country. Money is plentiful and easy to obtain by those worthy of credit. Under a moderate tariff her factories for some years have been busy. While not producing millionaires, she has been furnishing employment and happy homes to thousands of wage-earners. That this state of affairs could continue, while the whole world was complaining of dulness and loss of trade, could not be expected.

Which is clear testimony that our woollen industry is not over-protected, or making anything but a fair profit. Then they go on to take the same view as Mr. Hallam, that a specific duty is necessary for the continuation of that industry in this country. Now, in the tariff debate at Washington, now running, this issue with regard to specific and ad valorem duties is under discussion, and the Government sent out a circular to ascertain the views of their chief collectors in regard to the two kinds of duty, and the evidence they received is almost entirely in favour of the maintenance of specific duties, and against ad valorem duties. You will find a summary of this evidence in the Montreal 'Gazette' of two days ago. I wish to read one sentence from the collector at Philadelphia :

This view—

—namely, the view in favour of ad valorem duties—

This view, however, loses its practical feature in the face of tests which develop fraud and undervaluation, dishonest methods of concealing the quality of materials used in manufactures, the employment of bribes in some instances to corrupt public officers, to which may be added, what is, perhaps, the greatest objection of all to ad valorem rates, the tendency to place the control of the most valuable imports in the hands of foreign manufactures having agents in this country to whom they consign the products of their factories at cost of production, or perhaps less—a method which has been carried to such an extent as to force a large number of merchants in our chief commercial cities out of the importing business, compelling them to buy their goods from such agents, who are enabled by the ad valorem system to sell the goods, duty paid here, at lower price than an importer could buy them at the foreign point of manufacture.

Now, when hon. gentlemen in this House argue against specific duties, and in favour of ad valorem duties, they are constantly arguing in favour of the importer, and trying to make out that the enemy of this country is the manufacturer. They say the manufacturer is bleeding the people white, that he is becoming a monopolist, and so forth. On the contrary, they set up the importer, who wishes ad valorem duties as the great friend of the consumer. Now, I contend, and protectionists contend, that the manufacturer is a much superior citizen to the importer, and that if it is necessary in the interest of the manufacturer to have a specific duty as against an ad valorem duty in favour of the importer, then protectionists generally, and especially a protectionist Government, as we have in this country, are bound to maintain these specific duties. When the Government go back to the country, it will be a source of satisfaction to the protectionists to know that specific duties are to be maintained, and that there is not likely to be any departure therefrom.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I think, in all conscience, the Minister of Finance must admit that a considerable amount of the time occupied in this discussion cannot be chargeable to the Opposition. He has been instructed for two days on end by the hon. gentlemen who advocate an export duty on saw-logs, and I do not think two men on this side expressed an opinion about it. He has also been instructed at considerable length by his guide, philosopher and friend, who has just taken his seat, and who is perfectly right in saying that all sound protectionists like specific duties. Sir, we do not doubt that in the least. I never knew a protectionist who knew his business who was not profoundly impressed with the truth of the French maxim, "Plumer la poule sans la faire crier." We all know why specific duties are preferred by protectionists. The last thing those gentlemen desire is to let the public know to what extent they are fleecing them. It is more difficult to shield duties under the

guise of ad valorem duty than it is under specific and ad valorem combined. Not one man in fifty will take the trouble to ascertain what a certain specific and ad valorem duty will represent. It is difficult to ascertain the result, for it often varies, as in cases like this now before the committee, from 27½ per cent to 50 or 52 per cent. Therefore, protectionists and Governments all round are most desirous to have specific duties in order that they may, I will not say plunder the people, whatever I may think, but exact taxes from the people without the people knowing how far they are taxed by the duties. With regard to the woollen manufacturing industry it is a fact, whether the hon. Finance Minister knows it or not, that taking Canada all through it was quite as prosperous under a 15 per cent and 17½ per cent tariff on woollen goods as ever it has been since. I will not contend that there may not have been some alterations in the country since, which affected it more or less, but it is well known, and I think it was admitted by the committee over which my friend the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) presided, that while we had a moderate ad valorem tariff those manufacturers and manufacturers generally were on the whole more prosperous than they have been since. And the reason is obvious. They were allowed to develop naturally and fairly, and in accordance with the growth of the country. Capital was not diverted by ill-considered tariffs, with the result that extreme competition has been created in a good many cases to the injury, not merely of the woollen manufacturers, but generally in regard to the other manufacturing industries of the country. The Government, however, chose to interfere, and I do not think they have benefited the woollen manufacturers on the whole to any great extent; some large concerns may have benefited, but I do not think on the whole woollen manufacturers generally have been benefited. But what the Government have done is this: they have to an enormous extent deprived the people of Canada of the benefit which would otherwise have accrued to them from the enormous improvements in manufacturing and from the various inventions which have been perfected during the last sixteen or seventeen years. But all this time the Government, although they benefited the manufacturers, utterly failed to add to the prices of the products of the agricultural class, or even to prevent the prices of their products from falling. To-day wheat is scarcely more than one-third, and barley is scarcely more than one-third the price actually paid for it sixteen or seventeen years ago. So it is with respect to other articles; but the Government by means of the tariff and specific duties, step in and prevent the farmers and other large producers, who are being injured or whose incomes are being reduced by the great fall in the values of their products, from compensating themselves in the least

degree by the fall which would have taken place had the Government not interfered with the prices of the articles obtained in exchange for agricultural and other products. There is no better proof of the extreme injustice done the consuming class wanted than what the hon. gentleman has just told the committee. The hon. gentleman was prepared to give 30 per cent, a monstrous protection for any industry, I do not care what it is; but that was not enough. Those men descended on them, and on a good many of the coarser articles they have wrung from them a duty which will be equal to 45 per cent or 50 per cent. On articles representing a value of from 20 cents to 25 cents per yard, this duty will be equivalent to 45 to 50 per cent. On articles largely used by the wealthy class the duty may not reach more than 27½ per cent, and 5 cents per pound is an utterly insignificant matter on goods of high values. All through the consideration of these items the Minister of Finance is making it evident, as indeed he is making it more clear every day, that as regards the producing and consuming classes this Government are entirely opposed to their interests, that they are prepared to make any sacrifices for the purpose of maintaining their hold on a certain section of the community, which is no doubt a valuable and important section, to whom to appeal in certain contingencies and emergencies. Those gentlemen can obtain the greatest concessions, but the classes on whom more than all other the welfare of the country depends are being sacrificed all through the tariff and in every change proposed by the hon. Minister. In a great many cases the value of the raw material in these articles approaches very nearly half the cost of the finished product. What follows? The hon. gentleman is giving protection in some cases almost equal to the whole cost of manufacturing. We should be able to obtain wool and other articles which enter into the manufacture of woollen goods almost as cheaply as the manufacturers in any other country. We ourselves produce a good deal of wool, and nowadays the cost of transportation is so small that there should not be, and I do not know whether there is, any material difference between the cost of the raw material as laid down at our mills and elsewhere, and if it equals, as I believe it may in many cases, 40 or 50 per cent of the value of the finished products, it follows that under pretense of developing and increasing those industries all the cost—not merely the wages—of manufacturing is to be defrayed out of the tariff. It is perfectly clear that if the raw material can be laid down here almost as cheaply as in other countries, and if it represents nearly one-half the value of the goods, and on coarse goods I believe it is very often the case, a duty which amounts as in this case on the coarse article to 50 per cent will be equivalent to the entire cost of manufacturing the raw material into the finished pro-

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duct. That is in every sense a gross abuse, and at the same time a gross injustice to the people in Canada. It is one of the many results and the many acts of injustice which follow from the policy that the Finance Minister and his friends behind him have been advocating. The one point in regard to which I believe the hon. gentleman and his friends are tolerably correct is this: that his false policy, his policy of forcing a large number of persons into this position by the bait held out a few years ago has produced such competition that I do not believe those prosecuting manufacturing to-day are at all as well able in most cases to make an honest living as they were under the ordinary revenue tariff which existed from 1867 to 1878.

Mr. CURRAN. The last speaker evidently imagined the deeds of his regime have been forgotten, and that he can make the people of Canada believe, the new generation that has sprung up since his Government was in power, that this Dominion was as prosperous during that period as it is now and has been under the policy carried out by this Government and its predecessor. I would not have risen to reply to the hon. gentleman's remarks, which have been anticipated in argument by the statement made by the Finance Minister, were it not that I desire to express my hearty concurrence in what has been done by the Finance Minister in bringing down the item which is now under consideration. I do so because I have been addressed from various quarters in connection with this industry which has been attacked by the hon. gentleman who has just resumed his seat. I will not occupy the time of the committee by reading many of those communications, but in order that the hon. gentleman may have brought to his mind in as forcible a manner as possible what was the state of affairs during the time he refused to listen to the representations made from various quarters, I will read just one letter, which was addressed to me by the Rev. J. H. Dixon, rector of St. Jude's church, Montreal. When the tariff was brought down originally, he wrote me in this strain:

132 FULFORD STREET,
MONTREAL, 5th April, 1894.

HON. J. J. CURRAN, M.P.,
Solicitor General.

DEAR MR. CURRAN.—I am sure you will excuse me as one deeply interested in the West end of Montreal, and indeed in the whole Dominion of Canada, if I address you on a subject which may not seem to belong to the province of the clergy, and yet which when better understood will readily be admitted to be of deep interest to every citizen and to any clergyman labouring as I am in a manufacturing district, as much as to others.

I heard to-day with deep concern that the Montreal Woollen Mills Co. would be forced to close down their mills unless there was some modification

of the tariff. I am a Church of England clergyman, as you know, and as many of the men and women working in the woollen mills are English, and members of the Church of England, and are members of my church—the matter of the shutting down of the mills touches me very closely, and I sincerely trust you will use your great influence with your colleagues, both as a member of the Government, and as one of the members for Montreal to have such a modification of the tariff made as will enable the manufacturers in the said woollen mills to carry on their business.

I have now lived nearly nineteen years in the manufacturing West end of Montreal and can speak with experience of the disastrous effects of shutting down factories.

When I first took charge of this parish a number of the operatives of iron works beyond the canal had just shut down under circumstances somewhat similar to the case under consideration—it was hoped relief would be given in the way of protection, but it never came, and I saw the men impoverished by waiting—saw them sell their furniture and at last weep bitter tears as they begged for food, and I had to share my food with many parishioners, to my very great hurt.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). When was that?

Mr. CURRAN. That was when the hon. gentleman was in power with his colleague beside him; that was during the time that the deputations were coming to Ottawa to represent what was necessary for the interests of the country, and when they were told by the colleague of the hon. gentleman: To go to the Father of all Evil.

Mr. CASEY. I understand the hon. gentleman to say that they were told to go to the Father of all Evil.

Mr. CURRAN. Yes, by the then Finance Minister.

Mr. CASEY. And they went to the Conservative party.

Mr. CURRAN. They came at all events to those who gave them the protection they required, those who brought back prosperity to Canada, and who put our people in a position so as they were not obliged to sell their furniture and not be obliged to weep bitter tears as they begged for food. This letter goes on to say:

I saw the sugar refinery shut down for a time. I am not so sure for what cause. I believed at the time that it was from some similar cause, and I paid retail, 11 cents per pound for brown sugar which I paid 7 cents per pound for before when we had competition from our home production. In the interests therefore of Montreal, in the interests of the Dominion of Canada, in the interest of my parishioners, I hope you will succeed in preventing the closing down of this factory and of others in similar positions.

Yours very truly,
JAMES H. DIXON,
Rector of St. Judes, Montreal.

In face of those facts which we all know,

in face of the fact that the people were crying for bread, that the black flag was being carried, that the soup kitchen was the only industry that thrived; the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) would listen to no representation from those who knew the state of the country, would make no change in his policy; and yet he stands up to-day, and in presence of those sad memories which are written in the history of the country, he tells us that the Dominion of Canada is not more prosperous now than it was then.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Not by any means as prosperous.

Mr. CURRAN. Not even as prosperous, he says, as when the sugar refineries were closed, when the iron works were shut down, when under his regime the whole country was clamouring for that protection which was afterwards given by the Conservative party, and the promise of which by the Conservative party caused these hon. gentlemen opposite to be swept nearly off the face of the earth. The people of Canada, knowing better than the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) what the country wanted, gave the Conservative party an immense majority, not only in that election of 1878, but in each subsequent election the Conservative party carried their banner triumphantly, as they will carry it to victory when they next appeal to the people, because they have not abandoned the policy that has made Canada prosperous. It is true that we have modified this tariff in such a way as to meet the new condition of affairs which has grown up in the Dominion and which it was necessary to expect after fourteen or fifteen years' experience under the tariff as originally introduced and modified from time to time since. I can tell the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) that if he wishes to remain in opposition until the day of his death, the best thing he can do to retain his position is to go on telling the people of Canada that they are not more prosperous to-day than they were in the days of the poverty and destitution and beggary which existed during the reign of himself and his colleagues. I wish for no better augury for the future of the Conservative party in Canada than that the hon. gentleman should continue to make the sort of speeches he has made to-day, and in which he has revelled since the beginning of this session. The letter which I have read, written as it is by a clergyman who enjoys the respect of every one who knows him in the community in which he lives, shows that the dark days of Liberal power in Canada are not forgotten much as the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) may desire that they should be. For my part, I am satisfied that our people do not fail to remember their sorrowful experience between the years 1873 and 1878, and I am confident that they

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will not place their interests in the keeping of men who learn nothing from experience, no matter how bitterly taught them, and who voluntarily close their eyes to what is going on around and about them in Canada to-day.

Mr. EDGAR. After the lecture which the Finance Minister read to the House against discussing general principles and enlarging on the whole subject of the tariff, it was very inconsiderate for the junior member of the Administration to delay the serious business of the country by discussing these general principles as he has done.

Mr. FOSTER. He has to counteract your bad example.

Mr. EDGAR. Two wrongs cannot make a right, even in the eyes of the Minister of Finance. Surely after the hon. Minister had submitted to the long recitation of the hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean), it was adding insult to injury that his junior colleague should waste more of his valuable time. I must say that if there is anybody in this House who ought to be proud of the influence he has exercised over the Minister of Finance and over the Government it is the member for East York (Mr. Maclean). From the beginning of the tariff discussion he has come out like a man and stated that he is a protectionist right through. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Maclean) believes in specific duties and lamented the backsliding of the Minister of Finance who, in his Budget speech, told the House and the country that he was going to reform the tariff, largely in the line of abolishing specific duties. What a comfort it is to the member for East York (Mr. Maclean) now to find that in these sixty or seventy reconsiderations of that reformed tariff, nearly every one of them is going back to that principle of specific duties, which, a few weeks ago, was a wrong principle, at least in the eyes of the Minister of Finance. As it so happens, we are now discussing the item of "woollen goods" in which the Minister of Finance had proposed to put on an *ad valorem* duty, but on which the hon. gentleman now goes back again to specific duties. Would you believe it, Mr. Chairman, that in the Budget speech of the Minister of Finance, he gave the duty on these coarse woollen goods as an instance of the evil of specific duties, notwithstanding that he returns to that evil before we have got out of Committee of Ways and Means. That there may be no argument about that, I will take the liberty of reading a few words from the Budget speech of the hon. gentleman. He said:

The chief argument to be used against specific duties is where they are applied to a wide range of articles varying in price.

Then the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) interjected this remark:

Well, call it woollen goods.

And the hon. the Minister of Finance replied :

If the hon. gentleman thinks that is one article, we will say, woollen goods.

Of course, he had in his mind the fact that he was going to put an ad valorem duty on them. He went on to say :

And where the specific duties act so as to raise the prices realized upon the cheaper though good articles, thus discriminating against a class of consumers in the country, in a case of that kind, the argument for ad valorem duties is strong.

I should think it was strong ; and the Finance Minister asks the House to-day to allow him to swallow his own argument, and to alter these woollen duties. I think that the capital which the Government had hoped to make out of what they called the tariff reform is a minus quantity to-day.

Mr. FOSTER. We are satisfied with it.

Mr. EDGAR. They are very, very sorry they ever attempted any such thing as a tariff reform.

Mr. FOSTER. Not in the least.

Mr. EDGAR. Well, the country understands what their reform was, and, when we apply the language of the hon. gentleman in his own Budget speech to these new changes it understands how little the Government knew what they were going to do about it when they brought down that speech, and how little they have been allowed to do by the hon. gentlemen who sit behind them, and by the protected manufacturers who elect so many of those hon. gentlemen. There is no use of our disguising the fact ; we all know, and the country knows very well, that while they attempted to make some reductions, for which we were quite willing to give them credit, they have not since had an hour's peace by day or by night, but have been pressed and bullied by deputations from all parts of the country, who, when they could not get at the Finance Minister, have got at the members, and have forced them to retrace the steps they took in the direction of tariff reform. The hotels in this city have never done such business as they have done this session by boarding the deputations of manufacturers that have come here to force the Finance Minister to swallow his words, and to change his tariff until he can scarcely recognize his own offspring. I am sure that the House will be sorry to keep the hon. gentleman much longer from closing up this tariff, and will be glad to let him out of the agony he is suffering from his own supporters.

Mr. CASEY. The hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean) congratulated the Government on the reactionary steps they have taken in regard to the tariff. Now, Sir, I belong to a church—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. CASEY. Yes, and I believe the hon. Finance Minister himself, who laughs, belongs also to a church which believes in the possibility of back-sliding and falling from grace.

Mr. FOSTER. No ; I am a good Baptist.

Mr. CASEY. But I never heard any good Methodist congratulated before upon falling from grace, as the hon. Finance Minister has been to-day.

Mr. MACLEAN (York). He returned to the fold.

Mr. CASEY. In his Budget speech the hon. Minister did approach very nearly to something like reasonable doctrines in regard to the taxation of cheap goods. He admitted that the specific tax was a bad one, in that it imposed 50, 60 and 70 per cent on the clothing of the poorer classes. But he has back-slidden, and he admits that on the representations of the woollen manufacturers themselves he has been induced to reimpose this tax, which in his Budget speech he denounced as unfair and injurious to the poorer class of people. The method of imposing taxes by specific duties reminds one very much of the patent medicines that one sees advertised—specifics for this, specifics for that, specifics for everything. The hon. gentleman seems to have found that the only medicine that will tone up the constitution of our poor, weakly, infant manufacturers, is a specific tax or so much a pound or so much a ton, as the case may be. That is the remedy on which he unfailingly falls back upon, without regard to the claim he has made on public credit for having abandoned that and returned to the ordinary method of cure. Then, Sir, when he came to discuss the reasons given by the manufacturers for requiring this specific medicine, he urged the old story that under a protective tariff the people of this country got a better article, and got it much cheaper, than they would get it if our manufacturers were subjected to the competition of foreign manufacturers. Well, if Canadian manufacturers can make a better and cheaper article than is made abroad they do not need any protection. Everybody knows that that argument in favour of protection is just as shoddy as the worst class of woollen goods which the hon. Minister wishes to exclude. He says that not only are tweeds and woolsens made better in Canada, but that even the shoddy made in Canada is purer than that imported. He saw that he had laid himself open to ridicule in that remark, but he is not going to escape ridicule because he admits his liability to it. The idea that pure goods can be made out of shoddy is the height of absurdity in its essence.

Committee rose, and it being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

WELLAND POWER AND SUPPLY CANAL COMPANY.

House again resolved itself into committee on Bill (No. 49) to incorporate the Welland Power and Supply Canal Company (Limited).
—(Mr. McKay.)

(In the Committee.)

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). This Bill is beyond our jurisdiction. In the very nature of things, it is a local undertaking. It is not one which can be declared for the general advantage of Canada. If such a declaration were made, it would not bring the Bill within our jurisdiction. In the distribution of powers under section 92 of the British North American Act, certain powers remain exclusively to the provinces, and this exclusive jurisdiction in the provinces excludes all jurisdiction in this Parliament. The provinces had an autonomy of their own before the union, and reserved certain powers to themselves, and all these powers are exclusive of everything in section 91, except the matters referred to in subsection 16 of section 92. According to the concluding parts of section 91, those matters which are matters of a local or private nature, if comprised in the enumerated portions of section 91, would not fall under subsection 16 of section 92. We find by subsection 10 that local works and undertakings are under the exclusive jurisdiction of the provinces, but, with the exception of certain classes, such as :

Lines of steam or other ships, railways, canals, telegraphs, and other works and undertakings, connecting the province with any other or others of the provinces, or extending beyond the limits of the province.

Lines of steamships between the province and any British or foreign country.

Such works as, although wholly situate within the province, are before or after their execution declared by the Parliament of Canada to be for the general advantage of Canada or for the advantage of two or more of the provinces.

This is not a work coming within any of these classes of exceptions. I call the attention of the Minister of Justice to paragraph (c) of subsection 10. "Such works" do not, when you carefully examine this article, refer to such local works and undertakings as are mentioned in the chief part of the section, but in the two preceding subsections, because you cannot make an exception of such a character as to destroy the grant. If you were to construe the words "such works" to mean such local works and undertakings as are mentioned in the exclusive jurisdiction given to the provinces, you would be conferring on the Parliament of Canada a power that would absolutely destroy the grant to the province. That would be contrary to the well-established canons of construction. You are to so construe the whole subsection 10 with

. Mr. CASEY.

its exception so as to enable every portion to become operative. You are not to construe the section in such a way as to take away the entire grant. So, while you would have the power to construct a local work or undertaking, wholly situated within the province, by declaring it to be for the general advantage of Canada, you could not validly make that declaration unless the work, when constructed, became part of a work which would connect two or more provinces or a province with a foreign country. The construction of a canal from Georgian Bay to Lake Ontario would be a work wholly within the province of Ontario, which might be declared to be a work for the general advantage of Canada, because, when constructed, it will make a continuous waterway which will extend, not simply through Ontario, but connect Ontario with all the other provinces. The same thing might be said of a railway. There might be a missing link of railway which might be wholly within the limits of one province, but which, if constructed, would be a part of a continuous railway system, connecting one province with another, and could be declared for the general advantage of Canada. But the simple declaration of its being for the general advantage of Canada, standing alone, would not be sufficient. It would require the other conditions enacted in subsections "A" and "B." There is nothing in this Bill which makes it come within our jurisdiction. Generally, all matter of a merely local or private nature are within the exclusive jurisdiction of the province. What is there in this measure that makes it other than a work of local or private nature? It is not the incorporation of a company having jurisdiction and extending all over the province. It is not for the purpose of carrying on business all over the Dominion. It has a local habitat. In the very nature of things, it cannot be removed further. Its business is confined to where the work is constructed. There is the field of its operations, and that field is within the province of Ontario, and the company must look to the Ontario Legislature for an Act of incorporation. It has not any right to come here, and ought not to come here; and it seems to me that it is very unfortunate for the parties who are undertaking to invest money in enterprises of this sort, that we should go on and incorporate and perhaps permit invested interests to grow up, and then, after they have been called into existence, it may be found, in some suit that comes up, that we have no power to incorporate the company. That the Local Legislature has power to incorporate it is beyond all doubt, and we ought to bear in mind that our jurisdiction is an exclusive jurisdiction and so is the jurisdiction of the provinces. There may be differences of standpoint which will bring us, to some extent, into the same field for different reasons, but this is not a Bill involving any consideration of that sort, and it seems

to me that this House ought not to undertake to legislate on a subject of this kind. And I press the matter upon the attention of the Minister of Justice because it is very much better that these measures should be excluded than that our time should be taken up with their consideration when it will only have the effect of misleading parties, and perhaps contribute ultimately to imposing very serious losses upon them.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I understand, Mr. Chairman, that this point was pretty fully considered by the committee and that the committee came to the conclusion that this was a Bill which should be recommended to the House to be proceeded with, and also that it was within the jurisdiction of this Parliament. The hon. member for Queen's, P.E.I. (Mr. Davies), called attention to the question of jurisdiction the other night, and I promised to consider it. This I have done. The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) has not dealt with one feature of the Bill on which, I understand, the committee laid some stress, as affecting the question of jurisdiction, namely, that this Bill authorizes the construction of a work on Dominion property—a river, which is mentioned in the second section.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I do not see that that would make any difference.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The Bill provides :

The company may construct, equip, maintain and operate a canal and hydraulic raceway from some point in the Welland River within five miles from its junction with the Niagara River, to a point or points on or under the Niagara escarpment.

The committee came to the conclusion, I think, that, inasmuch as rivers are Dominion property, an Act which enables a company to deal with a river might be passed by this Parliament.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). If I might interrupt the Minister for a moment : even though this might be a reason why they should obtain leave to carry on their operations from this Parliament, I do not think that is a reason why this Parliament should give them a corporate existence.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. There are two views to take of a Bill of this character. One is that it is not a Bill giving leave to make the canal, or whatever the work may be, but to give corporate powers in case the promoters may obtain the right to carry on the work. I confess that the view I have taken with regard to this matter is that such Bills do not confer any right or title with regard to the work, but confer the corporate powers which are specified in the Act in case the right should be acquired by the company, in other words, they put an aggregation of persons in the same position as a private person would be, namely, that

they would have the powers to construct the canal, provided they obtained the right to the property. I think that, generally, it would be safer to adopt that rule, lest it should appear that in private Bills we are giving rights which would require the assent of the Crown in order to pass them. I confess I am not able to agree with the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) as regards the company not being within our jurisdiction, as not being engaged in a work for the general advantage of Canada. It struck me, Sir, that the interpretation of paragraph (c) of subsection 10 of section 92 of the British North America Act was so wide as to enable us to make that declaration with respect to any works which otherwise would be of local character.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). That would destroy the whole grant.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I am not so sure of that, and I will express the difficulty I find in arriving at that conclusion as well as I can. The paragraph reads :

Such works as, although wholly situated in the provinces, are before or after their execution declared by the Parliament of Canada to be for the general advantage of Canada or for the advantage of two or more of the provinces.

I do not think that that paragraph, interpreted in the wider sense as enabling us to make that declaration with respect to any local work or undertaking, would destroy the effect of the subsection, but it would have the effect of placing within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Legislature all works in respect of which this Parliament did not make that declaration. But, I think, with all respect, it is clear that it bears that interpretation, because it gives that power to this Parliament, and, in case the power be exercised, it takes away the authority of the Provincial Legislature with respect to works even though they are wholly within the province. Therefore, it seems to me it would not bear the construction put upon it by the hon. member for Bothwell, namely, that the work must be one which, when finished, connects one province with another, or any province with a foreign country. In respect of works of that character, I should say from the outset that they could only be dealt with by this Parliament, and with the declaration that they are for the general advantage.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Perhaps I did not make myself clearly understood. My contention is this : Suppose you had one railway wholly within the province of Ontario, incorporated by the Legislature of the province of Ontario, and another wholly within the province of Quebec and incorporated by the Legislature of that province. A distance of 100 miles intervenes between these railways. There would be a work wholly within the province of Quebec or Ontario which you might declare for the general

advantage of Canada, and that declaration would give you jurisdiction over two provincial corporations that were separate before. The Minister will see that whether paragraph (c) bears the construction he puts upon it or the construction I put upon it depends on whether "such works" means such works as are mentioned in paragraphs (a) and (b), or those mentioned in the principal part of subsection 10.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I confess that the illustration the hon. gentleman has given would be a happy one as indicating a class of cases which clearly call for the exercise of our power to declare the work one for the general advantage of Canada, and that, in such a case, the exercise of that power would be plainly justified, even though the work were wholly within a province. But it does not seem to me that the illustration, though a forcible one, in any way indicates that the clause is confined to that class of cases. Now, if the hon. gentleman will allow me, "such works," I contend—and I would ask the hon. gentleman, on reflection, to agree—are not the works referred to in the two preceding sections or any other sections, but that class of works, which, "although wholly situated within the province, are, before or after their execution, declared by the Parliament of Canada to be for the general advantage of Canada, or for the advantage of two or more of the provinces." On one point I think there can be no dispute at all, namely, that this is the view which has been taken by this Parliament for many years. From time to time we have had that declaration made with respect to works which were, beyond all question, purely local, such, for instance as railways, of three, four, or five miles in length, and not forming part of any line of communication whatever connecting one province with another. I think it would be wise, until there is some judicial determination of the question, that we should not consent to give up the interpretation so freely acted upon in this Parliament. I think it would be quite legitimate to make that declaration with respect to a work which, though wholly within the province materially tended to increase the trade of the province, facilitated communication between different parts of the province or between the province and a foreign country. And if, with respect to this work, Parliament came to the conclusion that it facilitated trade and communication between distant parts of the province and thereby facilitated communication with the other provinces, it might be declared to be for the general advantage of Canada, and that declaration would be conclusive. But what I thought of suggesting with respect to the objection raised by the hon. member for Queen's, P.E.I. (Mr. Davies), is that this committee ought to be asked to con- cide the Bill by making this declaration. Certainly, whatever interpretation be adopted by the House with regard to our powers

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

under the British North America Act, that declaration would remove the question as to jurisdiction, and it is advisable to remove that question. It would not be using the powers which are mentioned in paragraph (c) of subsection 10 to any greater extent than has been customary in this House from time to time. I grant that this feature is worthy of consideration by this committee. The committee to whom the Bill was referred seems to have thought that clause unnecessary or inexpedient, because, I am told, it was in the draft Bill and was omitted in consequence of the committee, perhaps, being of opinion that it was unnecessary and that the fact that the Bill dealt with a public river, a river which is claimed to be the property of Canada, was sufficient to give jurisdiction to this Parliament. Supposing that point to be open to question, I would think it better that this declaration should be made. I would not go so far as to contend that this declaration ought to be made by this committee, if the committee who had the Bill under consideration had investigated the matter and had come to the conclusion that the declaration ought not to be made with respect to this work. But from what I am informed, I am inclined to the opinion that the committee omitted this clause merely because they thought it unnecessary, and that there was ample jurisdiction on the face of the Bill without it. I find that I was under some misapprehension. It was not in the draft Bill, but what I had in my mind was that the suggestion was made to the committee that a clause might be added making our jurisdiction apparent. If the committee acted on the supposition that jurisdiction was amply apparent without such a clause. I think we might, with propriety, insert it here. But if the committee, on the other hand, thought that such a clause ought not to appear, it would be more courteous and a more careful way of proceeding to discharge the present order and refer the Bill back to the committee with instructions to inquire whether such a clause would not be appropriate.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I differ from the view expressed by the Minister of Justice in this, that this House ought not to undertake to give to any private company or corporation, jurisdiction by declaring a measure to be for the general advantage of Canada; if the intention is simply to create jurisdiction by such a declaration. I do not admit, either, that we can give jurisdiction by that declaration alone, and I would ask the attention of the committee for a moment to the construction of these two sections which, it seems to me, go a long way to answer the argument of the Minister of Justice. In the first place, I ask the committee to notice that in section 91 of the British North America Act it is stated, in general terms, that it shall be lawful to legislate with regard to the peace, order

and good government of Canada, except with regard to those matters that are placed by the following section under the exclusive jurisdiction of the provinces. Then, as was pointed out by a very able lawyer in England, on a certain occasion before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, this fact must be borne in mind, that the provinces have in the first instance, a grant made to them, or powers allowed to remain with them. In the second place, the powers enumerated in section 91, and which are barred out of the general grant, embraced in that section, stand second in order. The concluding part of section 91 declares that any matter coming within any of the classes of subjects enumerated, that is in section 91, shall not be deemed to come within the class of matters of a local or private character comprised in the numerous classes of subjects by this Act, assigned exclusively to the Legislatures of the provinces. Now, what are excepted out by this concluding portion. It is this. That generally all matters of a merely local or private nature in a province are declared to be within the exclusive jurisdiction of the province. But if you can show that any matter of a local or private nature is within the enumerated powers of Parliament, as set out in section 91, then it shall not be held to fall under that subsection. But those concluding words of section 91 apply to no other portion of section 92 than this subsection 16, because you will see from examination it uses the express words employed in that subsection, and speaks of a class of matter and not classes of matters. If the Minister of Justice is right in his contention, there is no subjects of a local or private nature over which this Parliament might not obtain jurisdiction by the simple declaration that it is for the general advantage of Canada. You could not go behind that. You could declare the street railway from the Queen's hotel down to the Union station in Toronto to be for the general advantage of Canada, and that would bring it within our jurisdiction, so that although a general declaration would not bring the whole of these matters within our jurisdiction, we might take up every one in detail and declare that every public work existing at this moment, every private corporation dealing with public works of the character mentioned in this section, is for the general advantage of Canada, and thus put an end to all the powers of the Local Legislature for the moment existing. I maintain, therefore, that you cannot interpret an exception from a grant in such a way as to destroy the grant itself, and you do that if you declare there is nothing in the exclusive jurisdiction of a province that you could not take from it by a general declaration. That is not reasonable. You are to look to what the section itself says. You are to bear this in mind, that where you carve out of a general grant a specific reservation you are to interpret the general grant liberally and in-

terpret the exception in the most restricted way. The exception is to receive a restricted interpretation, and the general grant is to receive a broad interpretation. Now, the general grant is to the province. The province shall exclusively legislate on any local works or undertakings other than such as are of the following classes. Now, they are classified, and are not intended to be works incapable of being classified. You have first, a class mentioned, lines of steam or other ships, and so on. You have, second, lines of steamships between one province and another. Then you have this statement: Such works as, although wholly situate within the province, and so on. I take those words to mean such works as are mentioned in A and B, such works as are a noticeable exception to the general grant; and, being so, it seems to me that you cannot bring these, by a general declaration, within the jurisdiction of this House. Then you have this further statement:

Generally all matters of a merely local or private nature in the province are within provincial jurisdiction.

There is an exception to that, and that exception is contained in the concluding part of the preceding section. All works of a local or private nature, comprised in the enumeration of the preceding subsections. Now, you take the enumerations of subjects coming within the jurisdiction of this Parliament:

The public debt and property; the regulations of trade and commerce; the raising of money by any mode or system of taxation; postal service; the census and statistics and so on.

These are specific grants, and if you say any matter falls within any one of these specific grants, it cannot then fall within: "Generally, all matters of a merely local or private nature." There is no attempt to show that this Bill falls within any of these enumerations; and if it does not, it cannot be dealt with, because it cannot be dealt with under subsection 10 at all. We have nothing whatever to do with the subject; it is a work of a local or private nature, and being such, and not being found within any one of these subsections of the preceding section, this House can have no jurisdiction, and there is no way provided by which jurisdiction can be given. That being so, we ought not to legislate. If I understood the Minister of Justice, he agreed with me in my contention that the mere fact that this Bill deals with, or proposes to appropriate, the water of a river which is navigable, which is under the jurisdiction of the House and of which this House has an easement, would not give this Parliament jurisdiction. It is proposed by this Bill to incorporate a private company and authorize it to use the water, but this Parliament cannot give that power when it is within the power of the Local Legislature. It is provided by law that the property of an individual cannot be taken unless it is

wholly distinct matter from the incorporation must be obtained to expropriate the water of a navigable river. That, however, is a wholly distinct matter from the incorporation of this company. It must first get its corporate existence from the body having jurisdiction over the subject matter, and that I submit is not this Parliament. I do not propose to discuss the subject further, and I simply wish to put my views with respect to this measure and every other measure of the same sort that comes before Parliament on record.

Bill reported, and Bill read the third time and passed.

IN COMMITTEE—THIRD READINGS.

Bill (No. 60) to incorporate the Cariboo Railway Company.—(Mr. Mara.)

Bill (No. 65) to confirm an agreement between the Ottawa City Passenger Railway Company and the Ottawa Electric Street Railway Company, and an agreement between the said companies and the corporation of the city of Ottawa, and to unite the said companies under the name of The Ottawa Electric Railway Company.—(Mr. Robillard.)

Bill (No. 105) for the relief of Caroline Jane Downey—(from the Senate).—(Mr. Taylor.)

Bill (No. 84) to incorporate the Alliance of the Reformed Baptist Church of Canada and the several churches connected therewith.—(Mr. Colter.)

Bill (No. 75) respecting the Chaudiere Electric Light and Power Company (Limited), and to change the name thereof to The Ottawa Electric Company.—(Sir James Grant.)

Bill (No. 27) respecting the Dominion Burglary Guarantee Company (Limited).—(Mr. Sproule.)

OTTAWA ELECTRIC LIGHT COMPANY.

House resolved itself into Committee on Bill (No. 74) to incorporate the Ottawa Electric Light Company.—(Sir James Grant.)

(In the Committee.)

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Before you report the Bill, Mr. Chairman, I may say that I object to legislation of this sort in this Parliament. Companies of this kind have a local habitat, a fixed place of existence. They differ from companies carrying on mercantile operations. The 'lex loci rei sitae' applies to all Acts of this kind; if the company is wholly within the limits of a province as this one is, it is also wholly within the jurisdiction of the provincial legislature.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

Mr. LANGELIER. What will remain of the powers of the local legislatures in regard to public works if we go on incorporating companies like this? I do not think it was ever contemplated, when the words "for the general advantage of Canada" were put in the British North America Act, that they would be used to declare all works to be for the general advantage of Canada. I suppose it was contemplated that when such a declaration would be made by the Parliament of Canada, it would be made because it was true; but who can say truly that it is for the general advantage of Canada that an electric light company should be incorporated, having its location and its exclusive business in the city of Ottawa? If we go on incorporating companies of that kind in this Parliament, we might just as well give up the powers of the local legislatures in such matters.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. This company extends its operations to the province of Quebec—to Hull.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Even if it does, it might do so under a provincial charter, just as any corporation might carry on operations in the East Indies or in China.

Bill reported, and read the third time, and passed.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF.

House again resolved itself into Committee on Ways and Means.

(In the Committee.)

Manufactures composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca goat or other like animal, viz.: blankets and flannels of every description, cloths, doeskins, cassimeres, tweeds, coatings, overcoatings, and felt cloth, n.e.s., 5 cents per pound and 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). I propose to discuss this item from the point of view which engaged the attention of the House for a short time this afternoon. You will not fail to have observed, Sir, that this resolution covers a very wide range of articles. Any hon. gentleman who will consult the Trade and Navigation reports will see that these are articles which are very largely imported into Canada. I have to recall to you again, Sir, that nearly two months ago the Finance Minister announced that the duty on these articles would be 30 per cent. To-night he comes down with a proposition to change that and add to the duty on these articles 4 per cent, 5 per cent, 10 per cent, and in some cases 30 per cent, entailing upon the importers, who no doubt relied upon the statement of the Finance Minister that 30 per cent might be depended upon as the tariff in future—more especially as the articles of woollens was mentioned at

the time, when dealing with the subject of specific duties in his Budget speech, as an illustration of an article in respect of which it was not desirable to introduce specific duties. These importers, relying upon that statement, undoubtedly have passed their entries through the custom-house and sold the goods, as it is not likely that they would keep them in stock during two months. Their selling price, of course, would be based upon the rate of duty then announced by the Finance Minister, but when this resolution passes, as I suppose it will, these importers will have to amend their entries, pay the extra duties imposed, and be out of pocket the difference, without any chance of recouping themselves, as the goods must have, in most cases, passed into the hands of their customers. They are, therefore, without redress. The hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean), in advocating specific duties to-night—in doing which he is consistent—was pleased to institute a comparison between the manufacturers and the importers, to the disparagement of the latter. I think that was unnecessary. I do not undervalue the manufacturers and their work in the country, nor do I think we are called upon to undervalue the work and services of the importers. We are all useful citizens in this country but holding the views the hon. member for East York does of the importers, even admitting their interests as not to be mentioned in comparison with those of the manufacturers, I would ask him if the importers were not, at any rate, entitled to be made aware of the views of the Minister of Finance within a shorter date. The First Minister was pleased to tell us this afternoon, speaking, as I charitably suppose, in a moment of haste and without due consideration, that the whole country knew that the delay in these changes of the tariff was due to the Opposition. But we are face to face with a statement which it will be hard for this gentleman to get around. Are the Opposition to blame for the delay in making known these changes, which are to add 5 and 10 and, in some cases, 30 per cent to the duties these importers have paid weeks ago, and which they will have to make good by amended entries. What have we to do with that? If the Opposition, as was charged against them but without foundation, had delayed the progress of the tariff measure through the House, the importers of these articles would not be in any better position. If the Opposition had neglected their duty and had not criticised the various articles at all, the importers would have been no better off, because certainly there has been no delay caused by the Opposition in the announcement of these changes. If the Minister of Finance did not make up his mind until last night, the Opposition are not accountable. Or if he had made up his mind, the Opposition can not be blamed for the grievous injustice he has done in not making his decision known

sooner. When the hon. member for South Norfolk (Mr. Tisdale) pointed out how disastrous it would be to the interest of the country to have this tariff dangling over people's heads a long time, without any conclusion being come to, I ask him why the Finance Minister did not follow the course suggested by me then and give notice of the proposed alterations in the tariff, so that the trading community could take cognizance of it. The hon. member for South Norfolk could not expect the Opposition to refrain from a fair criticism of the items of the tariff, but there was no need why the business of the country should suffer on that account, because all that was necessary was for the Finance Minister to give prompt notice of the alterations he intended to make in the tariff and not mislead importers in the way he has done. But the month of April passed and we came into May, and now in the third week of May, the Finance Minister comes down and proposes these changes. Yet, in the face of that, hon. gentlemen opposite have the temerity to say that the trading community are annoyed with the Opposition because the tariff measure has not been completed sooner. In the instance before us, we have conclusive proof of what I stated before, that vast injury has been done to the business interest of the country through the want of preparedness of the Finance Minister; and I think the hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean), however little he may think of the importers, must admit that they certainly deserved to have had intimation of the changes now proposed by the Finance Minister long before this, so that they might have governed themselves accordingly and avoid the losses which they are now suffering. It is a heavy item you are dealing with; it will require I do not know how many renewed entries in that one article alone, and it will be an immense loss to these importers, who may not stand as high in the estimation of the hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean) as I think they ought to stand, but who are at least worthy of a little fairer treatment than they are now receiving at the hands of the Finance Minister who is proposing this change. And, let the country read, and let the country note, that it is only on the 18th of May that we are considering these changes, and whether more are to follow or not we do not know. I again express the hope I did before, that to-night, before the committee rises we may settle upon this tariff, so that the business interests of the country may go on, and business men may know where they stand with reference to this important matter.

Mr. MULLOCK. I would like to ask the Minister of Finance what representations have been made, and on behalf of what classes, to cause this recommendation to be made to the House?

Mr. FOSTER. I gave that at length this afternoon.

Mr. MULOCK. The hon. gentleman said that representations had been made, but from what source, I think, he did not state.

Mr. FOSTER. I stated from what sources.

Mr. MULOCK. I do not think the hon. gentleman gave us particulars. I understand, Mr. Chairman, that there were conflicting representations made as to these changes. I understand that a section of the manufacturers asked for increases in the duties on these woollens, and that another section asked that these changes should not be made. Is that correct?

Mr. FOSTER. That is not correct.

Mr. MULOCK. It is not correct then that certain classes, for instance, a large body of importers from the city of Toronto, waited upon the Government to ask that the changes should not be made?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct. These are not persons interested except as importers.

Mr. MULOCK. Then that is confirmation of the attitude of the hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean).

Mr. FOSTER. That is unfair. I understood the hon. gentleman to speak of persons interested in the business, and I interpreted that to mean persons engaged in this industry.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Importers and consumers are just as much interested as the manufacturers are.

Mr. FOSTER. But I have a perfect right to say how I understood it. My hon. friend will not attempt to cram it down my throat that I have not the right to say what I understood.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Very well; you are not going to get this item through—don't disturb yourself.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; this is carrying out the policy of obstructing that you have been carrying out for two months.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. We will carry it out at our own pleasure.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman was speaking of representations made. I stated that I had detailed that this afternoon. I stated at some length the situation as regards the different classes of woollen manufactures and the representations that have been made. I understood that his question referred to those engaged in the different branches of this industry, and I answered him accordingly. I did not mean that the importer had no right to be heard, but I meant what I said, interpreting his question as I did, that there was no difference in the representations made by those engaged in the woollen industry.

Mr. MULOCK. The hon. Minister is quite right to correct any misunderstanding arising.

Mr. MULOCK.

ing. I only wished to know as to whose opinions were given weight by the Minister in reference to these recommendations, because I believe it is no secret that conflicting representations were made to the Government on this point. Now, Sir, my information is this: a number of manufacturers, engaged in the production more particularly of shoddy goods, waited upon the Government and asked for an increase of the proposed duty to 35 per cent or to 25 per cent ad valorem and 5 cents per pound specific. I understand that these representations came solely from a class of manufacturers who have formed themselves into a very substantial combine. And, Sir, I am told that these representations having come to the knowledge of the importers and men engaged in the trade—not being the particular class to whom the Minister appears now to have listened—these gentlemen attended before the Government and made certain representations. I suppose it is said that this is proposed in order to protect the Canadian manufacturer, and in order to supply the consumer with a pure article.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Pure shoddy.

Mr. MULOCK. Pure woollen goods. But, in order to understand this item properly you must read it in conjunction with the other clauses of the tariff. Turning to the other clauses of the tariff you find rags are admitted free. With rags free, and a high, almost prohibitory, duty upon pure woollen goods, you are offering a statutory premium to the production of shoddy goods. And the manufacturers who have asked for this are the manufacturers of shoddy goods. If this is the case, what is the Minister now accomplishing by his tariff? In the first place he is playing into the hands of a gigantic combine, five manufacturers being the constituent elements of that combine. Then he is discriminating against honest trade; he is promoting the manufacture of an inferior article, shoddy with a cotton warp, an article which, for the time being, may look even better than the genuine, that it may be passed upon an unsuspecting public to their ultimate loss. In whose interest is this proposition made? It certainly is not in the interest of the consumer that goods of an inferior character should be palmed off upon the public in this way, and that their manufacture should be directly promoted by the legislation now proposed. Yet that must be the result of this legislation. The information I have on this point comes to me from thoroughly reliable sources, from men high in their business, who have no political object to serve, some of them being very strong, staunch supporters of the Administration, but certainly opposed to this scheme as unfair to the community, and in every respect unpatriotic. It cannot be defended, Mr. Chairman, when you interpret this proposition in the light of the other provisions of the tariff. Moreover, I am sur-

prised that this scheme is only made known to the House to-day; because I have in my hand a memorandum given me as much as a month ago, foreshadowing this change. This memorandum I obtained from a deputation of importers who came to Ottawa to interview the Government, it seems to me weeks ago—the Minister will remember the exact time—and in it is given the proposition now placed before the House for the first time. I was told at the time that this was the proposition that was to come before the House, but it had escaped my memory until I was reminded of it by the Finance Minister bringing forward the proposal to-day. This memorandum states that in regard to these woollens the Government had under consideration the increase of the duty either to 35 per cent ad valorem or to 25 per cent ad valorem and 5 cents per pound specific. Well, that is what these gentlemen understood at the time of the deputation was likely to be the determination of the Government; whether the Government had absolutely so decided, is another matter. But it was in a half way public information, and it does seem extraordinary that if it was not more than a guess, it should only be made known to the community within 48 hours of the 18th of May. I think there is immense force in the criticism of the hon. member for Brant (Mr. Paterson), that at this stage, trade should be disturbed in this way for the purpose of promoting legislation, which certainly appears of a most indefensible character.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It is, perhaps, not surprising that a shoddy Government should favour shoddy manufacturers, and the manufacture of shoddy generally. That is entirely in accordance with the eternal fitness of things, and entirely in accordance with the general principle and policy which has distinguished the present Government since its formation. But whatever their policy may be, however desirous they may be of providing us with a stronger shoddy and a purer shoddy, as the hon. gentleman stated before Recess, there is no doubt whatever that they have acted very badly indeed towards the trade; there is no doubt whatever that it was quite within their power, and they ought to have announced long ago that they were disposed to make an important change in the tariff on textile goods. Now, it is not a case of hundreds, it is a case of thousands of people scattered all over this country who will be put to great inconvenience and great loss, and most unjustly so, by the action of the Government. We will pass over the question whether the Government, on a question such as the rate of duty on textiles, could not make up their minds in the period of 12 months they had at their disposal. I venture to say that any Finance Minister who knew his business ought to have come to a decision upon that matter many months before the tariff was declared. Whatever

policy they chose to adopt, they had ample opportunity of reasoning it out, and ample opportunity and ample means of ascertaining to the fullest extent what the effect of the proposed changes would be. If the hon. gentleman had done his duty, there was no difficulty whatever about his obtaining information from the trade on a matter of that kind. Now, two months ago he came down with a proposition to levy an ad valorem rate of 30 per cent. He explains, as is perfectly true, that this is one of the very things in which the specific duties were sure to work a grievous wrong to a very large class of the community, and on that ground he proposed to alter his duties, having had, as I say, ample opportunity of knowing how they would affect any particular class of men engaged in that business. Now, if he chose, after the two months, deliberately to reverse his policy, and in many cases to double the duty which he had previously put on, in many cases to add 30, or 40, or 50 per cent to the amount of the former duty—because, as he will easily see, if you raise the duty from 30 to 40, or 45, or 50 per cent, or even higher, as you may in some of these cases, it is equivalent to a difference of 40, or 50, or a 100 per cent on the duty previously proposed—the least he could do, seeing that as a result of his own deliberate conduct, all these parties which have been engaged in importing these goods or in having transactions with them, have been put to inconvenience—I say that it was his duty, under such circumstances, to make some provision to compensate these people. It can be very easily done, there is no objection in point of principle. It is clear that the hon. gentleman cares nothing for the consumer, he cares nothing for the importer, he cares only for a certain class of manufacturers from whom he and his colleagues and their supporters expect to obtain political support. Sir, it is well that the people of this country should understand that this tariff, to all intents and purposes, has been put up to auction—put up to auction, Sir, and that every one of these emendations are a bribe and nothing else.

Item agreed to.

All fabrics composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca goat or other like animal, n.e.s., 5 cents per pound and 30 per cent ad valorem.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Is that exactly the same as it was?

Mr. FOSTER. Exactly.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I thought that those in the old tariff had some specific duties.

Mr. FOSTER. In the old tariff these were under different rates of duties. This is the same as was brought down. I have divided the clause into two.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. How does this compare with the former tariff?

Mr. FOSTER. It is a little higher than the original tariff, on the average. The original tariff had three divisions, according to the value of the cloth. It is proposed to put them all in one at 30 per cent.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Could the Minister mention some of the articles that will come in under that head?

Mr. FOSTER. Chiefly dress goods.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Will winceys come in under that?

Mr. WALLACE. They are really cotton goods; they come under the cotton class at the same rate of duty.

Item agreed to.

Yarns, woollen or worsted, n.e.s., 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. HENDERSON. It seems to me the drop on this article of yarns is somewhat remarkable—from 10 cents a pound and 20 per cent ad valorem. I hope the Minister of Finance will not entirely destroy this industry by such a tremendous drop, but will kill it somewhat gradually, if he has decided to destroy it. I trust, however, he will see his way clear to giving at least a specific duty of 5 cents a pound, it having been 10 cents before. It seems to me this is one of the most remarkable changes that has been made in the whole tariff. I fail to see why the manufacturers of cloth should be restored 5 cents per pound duty and 25 per cent, and the article of yarn left simply with an ad valorem duty. I am one of those who believe that a strict ad valorem duty is not a protection. If you want to protect an article—and we have decided upon the policy of protection—we must add in these low-priced goods something of a specific duty. The woollen industry throughout the country was referred to by the Minister of Finance this afternoon. It is a very important industry; it is scattered all over the country. These men are buying wool from the farmer, and they are doing an important work in the country, employing a great deal of labour. It is desirable that these industries should have ample protection in order that they may do their business profitably and be able successfully to compete with foreign manufacturers. I hope the Minister of Finance will see his way clear to make a change in this item to the extent, at least, of 5 cents a pound and 25 per cent ad valorem.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Perhaps it would be as well. It is highly desirable that the last flimsy rag of appearing to consult the consumers should be removed, and for that reason I would be rather inclined to support my hon. friend opposite in saying that after what you have done you need not stick at so trifling a thing as this. It is better on the whole that the public should understand that the consumer or the producer in Canada is not going to get any

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT.

consideration at all from the hon. gentleman, and that even these little trifling benefactions which he was throwing out to them in the early part of the session are going to disappear. Therefore I think there is a great deal in what the hon. gentleman has said.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Even if I were a protectionist I would say 20 per cent was a very extravagant amount of protection. If I were to come down with a proposition asking that the cost of manufacture should be paid out of the public treasury, I would not make a more extravagant proposition than the Minister of Finance is making at this moment, 30 per cent will far more than pay the manufacturer the wages required for the conversion of wool into yarn. Yet the hon. gentleman proposes to ask for something more. The Finance Minister has submitted a proposition that is equivalent to asking the House to pay the cost of combing and spinning this wool into yarn out of the public treasury. If this were all, he would not ask 30 per cent of the merchantable value of the imported article, yet that is what he is doing. He has proposed that the people who purchase the yarn shall pay the whole cost of spinning, in addition to the merchantable price of the article, but with that proposition the hon. member for Halton (Mr. Henderson) is not satisfied, and he asks Parliament to make a further appropriation for the conversion of wool into woollen yarn. There is nothing that will surprise any member of this House after such a declaration has been made. These parties are not satisfied with having the whole of their employees' bills paid, that proposition is not enough. It is declared that if that is done, if Parliament pays the employees for carding, combing, and spinning the yarn, that is not sufficient, and the people want protection, encouragement, something more. But the ninety-nine men out of one hundred in the country who form the consuming class are of no consequence. The parties of consequence are those who choose to invest their money in carding mills and spinning machinery, and the Government should pay their labourers' bills and do something more, and then give them a fair market price for the article besides.

Mr. HENDERSON. I am afraid the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) never ran a woollen mill, otherwise he would probably possess a more familiar acquaintance with the profits on yarn than he has displayed. There are yarns manufactured in England and imported into this country at as low a price as 5 cents per pound. A protection of 30 per cent on these is very small indeed, not more than 1½ cents per pound. When we take into consideration the value of money, the difference in the price of labour, the greater opportunities and facilities they enjoy in England for purchasing wool or stock used for the yarn, we can readily understand that it is impossible for Canadian manufacturers to compete with British manufac-

turers in yarn of this kind. It is necessary in any line of business that the Canadian manufacturer should be able to produce low-priced articles as well as high-priced articles, in order to compete with the importations from other countries, and it is more particularly in the interest of the low-priced goods that I ask this additional protection to be given. On high-priced goods I grant the protection might be ample, but in order to enable our manufacturers to compete with low-priced goods imported, and I will say not to compete with those goods, but to keep those goods out of the country in order that they may not destroy our markets, it is in the interests of the people to have a high duty imposed—in fact, a prohibitive duty might be very advantageous. The duty I speak of would probably be prohibitive, but even if it were made prohibitive on these low-priced goods, I do not think it would injure this country. I fear that great injury is being done, because cheap German and British goods will take the place of cheap tweeds and woollen goods manufactured here. Never have we had such excellent goods and cheap goods as have been produced during the past few years in our own Canadian factories, and I only fear that the Government have made a mistake in interfering with the specific duties on woollen goods, and that they are opening the door to cheap foreign goods, which will be sold as substitutes for the good cloths which our Canadian mills are producing, and that it may prove to be a god-send to the shoddy peddler. I trust that will not be the case. I trust also that in this matter of yarn the Finance Minister will further consider the matter, that he will not allow the item to go through to-night, but will reserve it until Monday, and that he will then have decided to give the additional protection which I think is necessary in order to keep cheap German and English yarns out of the country and protect the Canadian manufacturer.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell.) We now see why the Finance Minister has not been able to go on with the tariff, we now understand the cause of the delay. The Finance Minister tried to-day to cast the responsibility for delay on the shoulders of the Opposition, but the hon. member for Halton (Mr. Henderson) has shown where the difficulty lies. The hon. member is not satisfied with the tariff, and he asks for further time in order that the Finance Minister may have an opportunity to change his mind. So the hon. member for Halton (Mr. Henderson) at all events, does not think we are getting on too slowly, but too quickly, and that we should pause and not deal with this item until Monday, and before then he hopes the mind of the Finance Minister will have shown some signs of improvement. I thought shoddy was elsewhere dealt with and that it did not come under this particular item, and it is rather remarkable that after sup-

porting a proposition to increase the duties in order to promote and encourage the manufacture of shoddy here, the hon. gentleman should now undertake to propose an alteration in the tariff which he says will exclude shoddy yarns. Of course it is not the interest of the consumer that the hon. gentleman is considering. If he had any regard for the consumer he would discourage the manufacture of shoddy goods. During this session propositions have been submitted to prevent the importation of oleomargarine and half a dozen other articles, because it was said they came into competition with genuine articles, but when the hon. gentleman proposes to discourage the use of shoddy it is only foreign shoddy to which he is opposed. It is all right if the Canadian manufacturer produces from the rags picked, goods that you can run your finger through, so long as the manufacturer gets his price; the interest of the consumer is of no consequence. But in the case of foreign yarns coming into competition with good worsted yarns produced here, the hon. gentleman said, put on the duty to exclude those yarns, although it would have the effect of excluding excellent articles produced abroad. The hon. gentleman began his observation by a reference to the importance of protecting worsted yarns, because they furnished a market for the wool produced in this country. What greater convenience can the manufacturer have than getting it produced in his own neighbourhood? Cheap worsted wools and yarn are produced in England from the wool grown on the sheep in the United Kingdom, and in that respect the English manufacturer and the Canadian manufacturer stand on an equality. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Henderson) having been promised 12½ per cent more than the cost of spinning these yarns, ought to be satisfied with that instead of asking the Minister of Finance to put further burdens on those who are obliged to consume them.

Mr. HENDERSON. I am not asking this protection in the interest of the manufacturer alone. I believe it is our duty to protect the consumer against inferior articles, and in that interest I ask for it as well.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell.) You did not do that in the case of shoddy goods?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes. I make this request to protect the people of this country against an imposition which is often perpetrated of offering inducements to purchase goods that are really not of any value. I think it would be a blessing to the people of this country if that class of goods were excluded altogether, and in the interest of the consuming classes. I ask the Minister of Finance to consider this matter and give a larger amount of protection against that class of goods than he proposes to do.

Mr. FOSTER. If anything would move me it would be the persuasive eloquence of

my hon. friend (Mr. Henderson). I shall, however, have to say to him, that we have given thorough consideration to this matter and the duty of 30 per cent on yarns seems to be a reasonable protection.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. There is one curious thing about this, and that is: the more you protect, the bigger importations we have in the matter of woollens. Last year, according to the Trade and Navigation Returns, we imported \$11,000,000 worth of woollens, which I think is the largest importation that we have. It seems to me that in all this business the hon. gentleman is endeavouring to make water run up hill, and that the consequence of the enormous taxes he has laid upon the people of this country, in their indirect operation, are such as to make manufacturing unnecessarily expensive. I believe the hon. gentleman (Mr. Henderson) is not altogether wrong in saying that it is entirely impossible in a great many of these cases for the Canadian manufacturer to manufacture these woollen goods as well as he did under a moderate tariff. There is no doubt that this exorbitant and outrageous tariff does strike indirectly at a great many of these manufactures. It undoubtedly adds to the cost of production in a great number of ways, and the fact that we should have imported \$11,000,000 worth of woollen goods is a pretty clear proof of the utter folly of the attempts the hon. gentleman is making to encourage certain classes of these manufactures in Canada. The only thing he has succeeded in doing, and the only thing he can succeed in doing, is to add enormously to the taxes of the people of this country. It is a curious illustration of the results of excessive protection defeating itself.

Item agreed to.

Clothing, ready-made and wearing apparel of every description composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca goat or other like animal, n.o.p., five cents per pound and thirty per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. This is simply giving to the ready-made clothing 5 per cent for the manufacturing. The cloth is 5 cents and 25 per cent, and the clothing is 5 cents and 30 per cent. I think that is very moderate.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. There is no possibility of reconciling our ideas of moderation with those of the hon. gentleman.

Mr. FOSTER. The boards of trade both of Toronto and Montreal asked that 10 per cent be made the difference between the material and the ready-made clothing.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). How do you reconcile that with the duty on yarns, because this is a very partial manufacturing operation. The hon. gentleman has made yarns 30 per cent, and according to the rule he has now mentioned, that the amount of

Mr. FOSTER.

labour and capital expended should be taken into consideration in fixing the amount of duty, the yarn should be lower.

Mr. FOSTER. It is just the opposite, because if the hon. gentleman will look into the matter he will find that the major part of the expense of investment and labour is on the making of the wool into yarn.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The dressing, dyeing and finishing of the cloth takes place after it is made into yarn.

Mr. FOSTER. As far as investment and labour goes, the weaving of the cloth is not so great.

Item agreed to.

Shirts, n.e.s., 35 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. The proposition was 25 per cent, which of course is less than the material out of which the shirts are made. This applies to shirts costing less than \$3 per dozen.

Item agreed to.

Window shades in the piece, or cut and hemmed, 35 per cent, but not less than 5 cents per square yard.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What may the value of these be per square yard?

Mr. FOSTER. The range of prices is from 12½ to 20 cents.

Mr. MULOCK. So that a window-shade worth 12½ cents will have a protection of 40 per cent?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; a very, very cheap shade.

Mr. MULOCK. That is a very high protection on a very cheap shade.

Mr. WALLACE. That is not a normal price; it is a slaughter price.

Mr. MULOCK. It is the class of shades that goes into the houses of the poor. The duty may amount to 50 per cent. I would ask the Minister if he would reconsider that, and make it reasonable.

Mr. FOSTER. I think this is reasonable.

Mr. MULOCK. The Minister reminds me of a character in Dickens' "Christmas Carol"—Marly, who had had no bowels, so that it was said you could see the buttons through his body. That was made perfectly clear on his death, because a spirit came one day, in a fog—just as I suppose the Minister is now—and there was a doubt whether it could be Marly at all; and it was decided that it was, because it was quite clear that he was devoid of bowels, it being possible to see the buttons through his body.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. Does that come under window shades?

Mr. MULOCK. Yes, because the Minister has no bowels for the poor, but thinks that 40 per cent is a perfectly reasonable rate of taxation to impose upon them.

Item agreed to.

Two-ply and three-ply ingrain carpets of which the warp is composed wholly of cotton or other material than wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca goat or other like animal, 3 cents per square yard and 25 per cent ad valorem.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What does that amount to ad valorem?

Mr. WALLACE. Thirty-two and a half per cent on a 40 cent carpet, 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on a 36 cent carpet, and 31 per cent on a 50 cent carpet.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What on a 30 cent carpet?

Mr. WALLACE. On a 30 cent carpet, if there were such a thing, it would be 35 per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Curious enough—and it certainly sheds some light on the success of the hon. gentleman's methods—I was looking up the total amount of our woollen imports in 1878, and I find that all we imported under a 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent tariff were just about eight and a half millions.

Mr. FOSTER. The people were not able to buy them then.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. They were a great deal better able to buy them then than they are to-day. I am perhaps better aware than the hon. gentleman that in a comparatively few isolated spots and in some cities there was some distress, owing to the world-wide depression that prevailed from 1874 to 1878; but I say here deliberately and with knowledge—and any man who has any acquaintance with the condition of the farming population and the value of lands in Ontario knows, whether he chooses to admit it or not—that the condition of the vast mass of the agriculturists of Canada was very greatly better in 1878 than it is to-day. Their lands were very much more valuable, their profits were very much greater, the annual amount which it was possible for them to expend in purchasing articles of general utility, was very much larger than it is to-day—quite double, if not more than double. There is no doubt whatever that the condition of the vast mass of our people has been far worse during the last fifteen years than it was during the whole period from confederation up to 1878. If the hon. gentleman disputes that, he has only to consult the officials of the various granges and agricultural associations throughout Canada to find that they fully confirm the position I take, that the value of their farms has depreciated immensely, that the value of the products of their farms has depreciated immensely, that the agricultural population throughout the older provinces at any rate, has come to a standstill. Why, Sir, in our time the rural population was increasing in Ontario, at a rate something like twenty-fold as fast as they have increased since, as the records of the various municipalities of Canada abundantly show. But

it is a curious fact that the whole result of all this tampering with and petting of the woollen industry, has been that we are to-day importing several millions more of woollen goods than we were before. I believe the reason is largely because the system is utterly and radically false, and because what he gives with one hand he practically takes away with the other. There is no doubt whatever that the operation of this system is largely to increase the cost of production, even to the most favoured manufacturers.

Item agreed to.

Treble ingrain three-ply and two-ply carpets composed wholly of wool, 5 cents per square yard and 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. MULOCK. What is the value of that quality of carpets?

Mr. WALLACE. Sixty to seventy cents, 65 on the average.

Mr. MULOCK. As low as 50 cents?

Mr. WALLACE. No.

Mr. MULOCK. That is the manufacturer's price, is it not?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

Item agreed to.

Women's and children's dress goods, coat linings, Italian cloths, alpacas, orleans, cashmeres, henriettas, serges, buntings, nun's cloth, bengalines, whip cords, twills, plains or jasquards of similar fabrics, composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the camel, alpaca goat, or like animal, not exceeding in weight six ounces to the square yard, when imported in the gray or unfinished state for the purpose of being dyed or finished in Canada, under such regulations as are established by the Governor in Council, 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent ad valorem.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I do not think that has occurred before in our tariff. What is the reason?

Mr. FOSTER. When these goods are finished they are dutiable at 30 per cent, and it allows them to be brought in in the gray at 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, so that they may be dyed in this country.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). But you cannot make a fast colour here.

Mr. FOSTER. You can make colours just as fast and as bright here as they make them in the old country. There is an establishment in Toronto which has learned the business by actual experiment and practice in the old country, and the parties have been successful in their dyeing. This adds nothing to the price the consumer has to pay. For the finished goods that are brought in, the duty is 30 per cent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It might cost a great deal to the revenue.

Mr. FOSTER. If it were successful it might cost something to the revenue.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. And therefore to the consumer, because that loss of revenue must be made up from other quarters.

Mr. FOSTER. But it will also add to the number of hands employed. In the old country those two operations are generally carried on in separate establishments. The dyeing is one thing, and the making is another.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I should like to know the number of people that are employed in any of these dyeing establishments at present. This half-and-half sort of affair does not strike my mind favourably. All through our tariff there are cases in which we allow goods very nearly manufactured to be brought in on somewhat similar terms; and for the sake of employing a very small number of hands, either the revenue loses or a heavy tax is inflicted on the consumer, as the case may be. Now, I have very grave doubts myself as to whether it is possible for our people here to dye as well as they do in England. I believe that we can manufacture a very fair quality of tweed and certain articles of that kind, but I have never seen a single case in which the dyeing was at all equal to the English dyeing, and I greatly doubt whether the thing can be done. I greatly doubt whether our climate is at all as favourable for that operation as the English climate. In any case I would like to know what the number of hands employed in these dyeing factories may be.

Mr. FOSTER. This is largely an experiment. This system of dyeing in fast dyes has been established in Toronto within the last year. Of course, having no margin as far as duties were concerned, but very small progress was made, and the object of this is experimental to a large extent, in order to ascertain whether this operation can be successfully carried on in this country. The experiment of last year seems to prove that it can be successful, and larger importations will constantly take place. This gives a margin sufficient for the dyeing and the finishing, but none too great for that. If it is not successful, if these fast colours and bright colours cannot be imparted, then, of course, the importations will not amount to very much.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I remember seeing a discussion on this subject in some of our newspapers a few years ago. It was there stated that there had been no success in making perfectly fast colours in woollen goods on this side of the Atlantic, and I think the reason stated was that certain qualities were wanting in the water on this side of the Atlantic which would always make that operation unsuccessful so far as the eastern states and the British provinces were concerned. It was also stated that there was a certain rock formation, I think,

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somewhere on the Georgian Bay where waters similar to those found in the west of England might be had, and where, possibly, fast colours might be obtained by dyeing there. On account of chemical reasons, which were stated, water of a peculiar quality is an indispensable requisite. There are also required certain conditions with regard to light that cannot always be had here. I suppose the hon. gentleman is aware that in the manufacture of the finer varieties of woollen goods, with the same workmen, the same machinery, the same appliances and the same raw material, they have been unable to spin the same number of yards of thread from a pound of wool in the New England states, that can be spun in the west of England. I have seen it stated that except in certain portions of British Columbia, and near the coast, where the necessary atmospheric conditions and rainfall can be had, there is no portion of North America where the same conditions can be had for producing fine goods from fine wools, that exists in the United Kingdom. Why, Sir, in the case of the manufacture of worsted, there are certain worsted goods manufactured in Bradford that, I understand, are sent to France to be dyed in order that they may be given the exact shade desired. I must say that I have never seen any Canadian woollen goods of perfectly fast colours yet produced.

Mr. FOSTER. But they are produced I think.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I understand that the hon. gentlemen are going to construct a canal through the Trent Valley with all possible expedition. They might extend it to Georgian Bay and bring water down that way.

Item agreed to.

Cocoa paste and chocolate, and other preparations of cocoa, 4 cents per pound.

Mr. FOSTER. There was a change made in the confectioners' chocolate, and I want to add another article which is used by the confectioners namely, "cocoa butter."

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Why do you strike out your original proposition—other preparations of cocoa?

Mr. FOSTER. The two are distinct. One is used for the coatings of confectionery, and the other is the preparation for drinking. The whole of them were 25 per cent. That made too heavy a duty upon the confectioners' coverings.

Item agreed to.

Slates, roofing slate, when split or dressed only; also slate pencils and school or writing slates, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. FOSTER. I want to add "roofing slate, not to exceed 75 cents per square, for black or blue slate." This change is in order to prevent the duties from running too high.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). Do you mean the 30 per cent duty must not exceed 75 cents on the square ?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. WALLACE. It was 80 cents before.

Item agreed to.

Steel rails weighing not less than 45 lbs. per lineal yard for use in railway tracks. Free.

But this shall not extend to railways for private purposes, nor extend to rails not intended to be used in the common carrying of goods or passengers, nor shall it extend to rails to be used on street railways or tramways.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). If a railway company lays a track to a gravel pit, I presume it will have to pay duty on the rails. How is the Government going to distinguish in these cases ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. A railway constructed for the purposes of a common carrier will get its rails in free, although practically the rails would not in the instance cited be used for carrying purposes.

Mr. FOSTER. The item will be printed, and if there is any amendment to make, it can be made by the committee.

Item agreed to.

Mining and smelting machinery imported prior to the sixteenth day of May, 1896, which is at the time of its importation of a class or kind not manufactured in Canada. Free.

Mr. MARA. When the Government in 1890 decided that mining machinery not made in Canada should be placed on the free list, the Minister of Finance stated that the object was to encourage the mining industry by offering the freest market for procuring the most modern machinery, and he also stated that the most liberal construction would be placed upon the wording of the Act. So far as British Columbia is concerned I am sorry to say that the benefits that were expected have not been realized. We feel that a liberal construction has not been placed on that Act in many cases; instead of a free and liberal construction, we feel that a harsh and restricted interpretation has been placed upon the Act, that it has not stimulated the development of our mines and only to a limited extent have we been afforded a free market for the purchase of modern mining machinery. From a return laid before the House a few days ago, I find that during the three years, 1891, 1892, 1893, the total value of mining machinery admitted into Canada free of duty was \$227,488, of which \$79,847 was received by Ontario, \$55,909 by Quebec, \$53,081 by Nova Scotia, \$46,043 by New Brunswick, \$20,425 by Manitoba, and only \$16,199 by British Columbia. I believe a considerable portion of the machinery credited to Manitoba was entered for British Columbia, but even taking the whole it only amounts to \$36,000, or an average of \$12,000 a year. I am not in a position to state how many

applications were made during those years, but from the many communications I have received. I am satisfied that the machinery admitted free of duty was small compared with the applications made. I believe at the time it was the intention of the Government to place a liberal construction on that Act, but difficulties arose in interpreting it, and unfortunately I think the Government applied to the manufacturers to provide them with a list of mining machinery made in Canada. In that list they enumerated almost every article of mining machinery under the sun. For instance, take concentrating machinery for iron and other metals. I am informed that in the Dominion there is no foundry or manufactory that can or has made complete concentrating machinery for the treatment of gold, silver, and copper ore. It is true they have manufactured such machinery that will treat iron ore, but none that will treat the precious metals; but this list, which was placed in the hands of the collectors, and is an instruction to them and is for their guidance, covers concentrating machinery for the precious as well as the base metals. That the view I now present is not an exaggerated one will be apparent to the committee from the proceedings of the Quebec Mining Association. I find that in the eastern provinces mining men have had the same difficulties to contend with that we have experienced, but they are fortunate in the fact that they are nearer the capital. They can get the ear of the Controller of Customs, their grievances can be more easily made known to him than ours at a distance of 2,500 or 3,000 miles, and their difficulties are more easily adjusted. At this late hour I feel it almost necessary to apologise for reading extracts or quotations, but I will make them as brief as possible, and I only do it to make the point I wish to emphasize that this grievance is felt all over the country, and in British Columbia there is at the present time no more important question than that of having mining machinery admitted free. At the adjourned meeting of the annual general meeting of the Mining Association of the province of Quebec, Mr. Bell, the secretary, stated :

One of the resolutions left over from the annual meeting yesterday was that relating to the Customs tariff on mining machinery. As you know, the Dominion Government, with the object of encouraging the mining industry, amended the tariff in 1890 so as to admit the machinery for mining purposes of such class or kind as is not manufactured in the Dominion free of duty. The period was three years, and it expires next month. The Government have renewed the provision until May 1896. The Act is in the main liberal, but difficulty seems to have been experienced in its interpretation by the collectors at some of the ports of entry. While in several districts no difficulty has been experienced in passing mining machinery free of duty, at others the duty has been imposed on machinery which distinctly was not made in Canada. The collectors seemingly were not instructed what

class and kind of machinery should come in duty free. It has been thought that some representations might be made to the Government on the subject.

CAPT. R. C. ADAMS.—This is one of the questions I desired to speak about. As it is the law is a perfect farce. I inquired when in British Columbia, how it worked there and found that it created a great deal of bother. An importer brought in some piece of machinery which the collector often held for duty pending investigation, and then as likely as not some country blacksmith was found to claim that he could manufacture the machinery.

Mr. J. BURLEY SMITH.—The mining industry is quite as important, if not more so, than any of our other industries, and it seems to me an unwise policy to hamper its developments by any tariff restrictions. At present we are only partially relieved of the duty. I refer to the stipulation in this Act whereby only machinery that is not manufactured in Canada shall be admitted duty free. It opens a question as to what machinery is free. For instance, while rock drills as a class are manufactured in Canada, only two particular kinds are made—the Rand and Ingersoll. Yet in Europe, at the present moment, there are actually 34 distinct types of rock drilling machines, some of which contain improvements which were not even dreamt of at the time the Rand and Ingersoll Sergeant were patented. Now does the law permit me to import any of those other kinds of drills, duty free?

Mr. B. T. A. BELL.—Certainly; I do not think there can be any doubt about it. The Government provides you with a form of declaration in which you simply swear that the machine you are importing is of a class and kind not manufactured in this country, and the collector is bound to pass it. The law is good enough of itself; it is its operation at some of the ports of entry that is defective.

Mr. W. H. IRWIN.—Mr. Bell's conclusion is that the Act is liberal. The experience of my company has been different. The meaning of the Act is vague and ambiguous—it is so loosely worded that almost anything we use in asbestos mining can be construed by the collectors to be either directly or indirectly manufactured in Canada. Can Mr. Bell tell me just what machinery can be brought in free under this Act.

Mr. B. T. A. BELL.—That would be a big contract. The whole essence of the Act lies in the words "class or kind." For instance, rock breakers as a class are made in Canada, but the types known as the "Forster," "Wiswell," "Cyclone," and numerous other kinds of crushers are not manufactured. Then we are entitled beyond a peradventure to bring in these free. The same applies to pumps, and all the various kinds of specialities not manufactured here. The Department evidently is not posted on the details of the subject.

Mr. JOHN E. HARDMAN, Halifax, said he had had considerable experience in the operations of the Act, particularly with reference to the importation of machinery for gold mining. At first they had found some difficulty in getting the collectors to arrive at a proper interpretation of the meaning of the Act. As an example, copper plates were admitted free of duty, but when silvered for amalgamating purposes, the Government in order to protect the few silver plating works—two as a matter of fact had no bath large enough to take in these plates—charged the duty. Representations

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were made by the Gold Miners' Association, with the result that a clear understanding now existed in Halifax, and there was comparatively little difficulty now in getting free entry for machinery. In every case, where the form of declaration had been filled in, the importer never failed to get his machinery in free of duty.

Mr. W. H. IRWIN.—Unfortunately our experience at the port of Sherbrooke has been very different.

Mr. HARDMAN.—In Nova Scotia we have no fault to find with the Act

Then a committee was appointed to wait on the Controller of Customs and at that interview, Mr. Franchot, who introduced the deputation, addressing the Controller, made the following statement:—

We have come to see you, sir, as representatives of the General Mining Association of the province of Quebec, regarding the present law relating to the importation of mining machinery. As you are aware the Act admits free of duty, all mining machinery of a class or kind not manufactured in the Dominion. The law in itself, as at present is perfectly satisfactory, but its interpretation by some of the collectors has not been satisfactory.

There are several other extracts that I had intended to read, all of which are in the same direction, but at this late hour I am rather afraid that I might tire the patience of the House. It occurred to me that there are three plans by which we might get over the difficulty. One is: To ask that all mining machinery be admitted free, but in interviews which the British Columbia members had with the Minister of Finance, we were clearly told that the Government could not permit that, and I am free to admit that there are many objections to it. One is: That it would be almost impossible to define what is mining machinery. A hammer or a saw would be entitled to free entry just as much as a boiler; or a pick or shovel as a steam engine. I can also see where it would be difficult to arrange this, because the local merchant or trader would have to pay the duties on everything he kept in stock, while the mining man, by making a declaration, would be able to get the same articles in free of duty, and that would not work. Another course that suggested itself to my mind was that mining machinery that is not manufactured within the province where it is to be used should be admitted free; but that is objected to also, on account of sectionalism. Then a third plan suggested itself, and that is, to append a list of articles of mining machinery that will be useful in the development of gold or silver and copper mines. I have made out a list of this machinery which I intend to submit to the committee and to ask them whether it would not be advisable to amend the item as it stands at present by adding these articles. I have placed on this list, "The Bridgeman ore sampling machine," a machine that is not made in Canada, but is suitable for prospecting and developing

mines not already open. Also, "All concentrating, refining, and amalgamating machinery and appliances for the treatment of gold, silver and copper ores." I may state that none of these are manufactured in Canada, and I suggest that they should be made free.

Mr. WALLACE. Are there none of the ore sampling machines made in Canada?

Mr. MARA. From the best information I can obtain, I believe that no machines for sampling galena or gold quartz ore are made in Canada. Then there is the "Tremaine stamp mill," a small and cheap machine which is very useful; also, "Forster's ore breakers," which are peculiarly adapted to gold mining, and which have introduced many economies in the treatment of ores. That is not made here. Then there are "Water jacket furnaces for galena and silver ores," none of which are made here. I believe there is a furnace for copper ore manufactured in Sherbrooke, but none for galena or gold ores. Then, again, "Root's patent spiral rivetted water pipe, and all special lines of piping, manufactured for hydraulicing, and steel plates and rivets used in the manufacture of hydraulic pipes." My object in putting steel plates and rivets used in the manufacture of hydraulic pipes on the list is this: That it would be unfair to admit all piping free of duty, and not admit the raw material. In British Columbia considerable hydraulic piping has been manufactured, and the manufacturers, I am informed, are not afraid of competition if they can get the raw material, the plates and rivets admitted free of duty. I have also put on this list, "Hydraulic motors, Bleichert, Hallidies and Lidgerwood wire rope, tramways and cableways, and diamond prospecting drills." Now, it is unnecessary for me at present to go over the arguments that have been advanced from time to time in this House in favour of admitting mining machinery free. The justice of that was conceded three or four years ago, when the Government placed mining machinery of a class or kind not manufactured in the Dominion of Canada, on the free list. But I will state this: that at no time in the history of British Columbia will the enlargement of the free mining list be of as great service to our province as to-day. In the Kootenay country, in the Tead Mountain, Slocan and Ainsworth districts, the mines are past the prospecting stage; many of them are developed, and I am happy to say are shipping ores. During the last winter over 3,000 tons of ore were hauled on the snow and shipped to American smelters at a cost of from \$25 to \$40 a ton. This year, when railways will tap that section of country, I believe that shipments will increase tenfold. To illustrate the value of some of these mines I will give the returns from a few of the companies. The Mountain Chief Company

shipped over 300 tons, averaging 130 ozs. in silver, and 70 per cent lead; the Blue Bird Company shipped 300 tons, averaging 134 ozs. in silver and 71 per cent lead; the Noble Five Company shipped 350 tons, averaging 150 ozs. in silver and 69 per cent lead; the Dardanelles Company shipped 150 tons, ranging from 284 to 322 ozs. in silver, and from 26 to 30 per cent lead. Of course, these mines shipped only what is called shipping ore, in many case hand-picked; but for one ton of shipping ore now in sight in these claims, there are 100 tons of concentrating ore. In one claim, the Slocan Star Mine, there have already been proved to be over 12,000 tons of concentrating ore. When we have such valuable deposits of concentrating ore in this Slocan district, I think it is the duty of the Government to assist in every possible way the development of these mines by admitting mining machinery free. When we find that \$227,488 worth of mining machinery was admitted free of duty in the last three years, we can see that the manufacturers on the one hand have not been injured, nor on the other hand has the revenue suffered to any great extent. We may reasonably assume that of this amount a large proportion would not have been imported if mining machinery had not been on the free list. I submit to the committee this proposition, for which I ask a favourable consideration, namely, to add the following articles, without restriction or limitation, to the free list:—

The Bridgman ore sampling machine.

All concentrating, refining and amalgamating machinery and appliances for the treatment of gold, silver and copper ores.

Huntingdon's centrifugal roller quartz mill for gold and silver ores.

The Tremaine stamp mill.

Forster's ore breakers.

Water Jacket furnaces for galena and silver ores.

Root's patent spiral rivetted water pipe, and all special lines of piping manufactured for hydraulicing. And steel plates and rivets used in the manufacture of hydraulic pipes.

Hydraulic monitors.

Bleichert, Hallidies and Lidgerwood wire rope, tramways and cableways.

Diamond prospecting drills.

Mr. IVES. Do you claim that wire rope is not made in Canada?

Mr. MARA. Wire rope is made in Canada, but there are aerial tramways suited for mountain districts that are not made in Canada, and no mountain company would purchase an aerial tramway made in Canada when they can get one that is peculiarly suited for their work.

Mr. IVES. Are not diamond prospecting drills made in Canada?

Mr. MARA. Some are, but there are modern inventions for prospecting that are not made in Canada. Only a short time ago one was imported, and the party who im-

ported it would not have gone to Chicago if he could have got what he wanted in Canada.

Mr. WALLACE. The Government's policy has been to put the most liberal construction on the item in the tariff, admitting free mining machinery of a kind or class not manufactured in Canada, while, of course, safe-guarding the revenue as much as possible. There are a great many implements used in mining operations which, of course, are made in Canada, and upon which a duty has to be levied if they are imported. For instance, steam engines are required for operations at the mines, and those steam engines of almost every class and character are made in Canada, and are dutiable if imported, and I believe they can be made as cheaply in Canada as in almost any other country. Then, all such implements as picks, shovels and spades are of course made here. Of the articles which the hon. gentleman has mentioned, a large proportion will, I think, come in free of duty; for instance, ore sampling machines, concentrating and amalgamating machinery, stamp mills, ore breakers and water jacket furnaces; these are not made in Canada, I think. But when it comes to piping and articles of that kind that are made in Canada, and which can be made probably of a superior kind, that would be in contravention of the Act as it now stands.

Mr. MARA. Is there any hydraulic piping made in Eastern Canada?

Mr. WALLACE. It would be more likely to be made in British Columbia, because that is the place it would be in demand. The department has decided, on the advice of the Department of Justice, that the machinery for extracting ore from the rock will be correctly classified as mining machinery. Also the machinery that conveys the ore to the surface, and also the machinery for treating it when it arrives. Those three classes of machinery having been declared free, under this clause as mining machinery, I think a very liberal construction has been placed on the Act; and the fact that, during those three years, a quarter of a million dollars worth of machinery has been imported, and last year about \$88,000 worth, shows that mining operations are being more vigorously prosecuted and that advantage has been taken of this free importation.

Mr. FOSTER. I would suggest to the hon. gentleman whether the amendment he proposes would not tend to narrow the scope of the resolution. I would suggest to my hon. friend that he could have the very same certainty, with out narrowing at all the application of the free clause, if the Controller of Customs would make a list of those items of machinery, as to which there is no doubt, and some of which the hon. gentleman has mentioned in his amendment, and forward such list to the different collectors. This list would include all those articles

Mr. MARA.

which it is certain are not made in the country and be forwarded to the different collectors, so that the instructions to the collectors would be positive and not negative, and whenever a piece of machinery of the kind mentioned was imported, the collector could be in no doubt as to its right to free entry. The hon. gentleman would gain everything he desires to gain, and would not narrow the scope of the resolution by attempting to define, in the law itself, the particular articles which it covers. I think the Controller of Customs would have no objections at all to make out a list and if the hon. gentleman will submit any others that are used in his portion of the country, the Controller could go into the matter with him, and arrive at a positive list of those which could be admitted free.

Mr. MARA. My object was not in any way to limit the scope of the free admission of mining machinery, but rather to let the miner and the capitalist see at a glance that the articles I have enumerated would be admitted free of duty. The trouble heretofore has been that a list was furnished to the collector which was issued by the manufacturer, and that list was so cunningly worded that it covered nearly every article of mining machinery made. When an application was made for free entry, the collector would refer to this list, and ten to one he would find in it an article of the class, but not of the kind which the importer wished to pass free of duty. I therefore thought that by making out a list, the miner could see at once what machinery he could bring in free of duty and so would the capitalist, and both would be saved the uncertainty and expense they have been subjected to in the past. However, if the Government will allow a list to be sent to the different collectors, embracing all classes of mining machinery, not made in Canada, and substitute that list for the present one, I think the proposition is better than mine and would most gladly withdraw my amendment.

Mr. WALLACE. Why not send both?

Mr. MARA. The present list is misleading. For instance, it says in one case machinery for iron and other minerals. If that means anything at all, it means all other minerals.

Mr. FOSTER. A positive list would be far more satisfactory.

Mr. IVES. Would you not meet with this further difficulty, if you mentioned the machines made by these particular makers. This tariff is made, I hope, for a good many years to come, and you will simply have the power to bring in these certain machines, whereas something a great deal better might be made by some other maker and this would be excluded.

Mr. MARA. I simply asked that these articles be added, without restricting or limiting, or in any way affecting the preceding

paragraph, admitting mining machinery of all kinds, not manufactured in Canada.

Amendment withdrawn.

Committee rose, and reported progress.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to : and the House adjourned at 11.30 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, 21st May, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

NEW MEMBER.

Mr. SPEAKER informed the House, that the Clerk of the House had received from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, a certificate of the election and return of Théotime Blanchard, Esq., for the Electoral District of Gloucester, N.B.

FIRST READING.

Bill (No. 114) to incorporate the Colonial Mutual Life Association—(from the Senate).—(Mr. McKay.)

DOMINION GAS AND ELECTRIC COMPANY.

House resolved itself into committee on Bill (No. 77) to incorporate the Dominion Gas and Electric Company.—(Mr. Boyd.)

(In the Committee.)

On section 9,

Mr. MARTIN. I would draw the attention of the committee, and also of the First Minister to the 9th clause of this Bill, which provides :

9. With the consent expressed by by-law of the municipal council having jurisdiction over the roads and streets of any city, town, village or municipality in Canada, and subject to such regulations, privileges, conditions, powers, rights and terms as are agreed upon between the council of any such city, town, village or municipality, and the company, the company may lay down pipes for the conveyance of gas under all or any of the roads, streets and public places of any such city, town, village or municipality, and supply gas through the same ; and may construct, erect, maintain and operate wires along the sides of and across or under any public highways, streets, public bridges, watercourses, or such other places in Canada and supply electric current thereby ; and may by its servants,

agents and workmen enter upon any street, public road, public bridge, watercourse or highway, in any city, town, village or municipality, for the purpose of laying and maintaining such pipes and erecting and maintaining its wires along the sides of or across or under the same ; and may construct, erect and maintain such and so many poles or other works and devices as the company deems necessary for making, completing and supporting, using, working, and maintaining its pipes and systems, and may stretch wires on such poles ; and from time to time as often as the company, its agents, officers, or workmen think proper, may break up, dig, trench and open any part whatsoever of the said roads, streets, highways or watercourses.

This company is intended to carry on its operations in the province of Manitoba and also in certain specified places in the province of Ontario. So far as the province of Manitoba is concerned, the council of no city or town has any authority to give a gas company permission to lay down pipes upon the streets ; so that by this section we are attempting to give control of the streets for certain purposes to the council of a city or town. It occurs to me that the whole section is one which this Parliament should not pass, because, clearly, the control of the streets is vested in the Legislature of the province. In some respects the Legislature of Manitoba has given power to municipal councils to deal with the streets in certain ways by by-laws. For instance, it has given power to the city of Winnipeg to make by-laws in connection with the erection of telegraph and telephone poles upon the streets, but the Legislature has never parted with its control over the streets so far as the putting down of gas-pipes is concerned. It appears very clear that this Parliament has no power to say that any company shall put down gas-pipes upon the streets, and certainly it has no power to give any jurisdiction to a municipality, if that municipality has not already received authority from the Local Legislature with regard to a matter over which the Local Legislature has exclusive jurisdiction. For that reason, I would suggest that this whole clause is not a proper one for this Parliament to pass. It is dealing with a subject that is entirely within the control and jurisdiction of the Local Legislature, and it is a subject which can be very much better dealt with by the Manitoba Legislature than by this House. I do not wish to oppose the incorporation of the company in any way. I have no objection to the company being incorporated, but it appears to me that, having secured its incorporation, it should be left as any other company or any other individual to apply to the Local Legislature for any powers that it may desire with regard to tearing up the streets and laying down gas-pipes.

Mr. DALY. I notice that section 9 of this Bill says : "With the consent, expressed by by-law, of the municipal council having jurisdiction over the roads," and so on ; and subsection (p.) of section 593 of the Municipal

Act of Manitoba, the Revised Statutes, provides, amongst other things :

The council of every municipality may also pass by-laws, &c., for authorizing any corporate gas or water company to lay down pipes or conduits for the conveying of water or gas under streets or public squares, subject to such regulation as the council sees fit.

Mr. MARTIN. I was under the impression that that power had not been delegated by the Legislature of Manitoba, but, apparently, I was in error. However, I would point out that there is nothing to prevent the Legislature of Manitoba taking away that power to-morrow from the municipal councils; and we are undertaking here practically to give jurisdiction to a municipal council whether the Local Legislature give it or not. It may be that that is in force to-day, and it may be that next session the Local Legislature may take that power away from the municipal council. The reason I pointed this out is: that it is a matter entirely for local jurisdiction and the company can really get no power from this Parliament. It gives it no rights, then why should we undertake legislation of that kind? The jurisdiction must come from the Local Legislature, and if the municipal council has the power, as the hon. Minister points out by the section as they appear to have to grant the right to lay down pipes, then they can give to this company that power without any authority from this Parliament.

Mr. DALY. Section 9 reads: "With the consent expressed by by-law of the municipal council having jurisdiction"; so that it must have jurisdiction before it can pass the by-law.

Mr. MARTIN. It appears to me that it would be much better to strike out this clause, but, if it is intended to allow it to stand, I would ask that the following be added to it:—

Provided, however, that this Act shall not affect in any way, any rights, powers or privileges, heretofore conferred on any person or incorporated company, by any Act of the Legislatures of Manitoba or Ontario.

I may say that I have been communicated with by persons interested in the present gas company of Winnipeg, who claim that they have certain powers and privileges under their Acts of incorporation from the Local Legislature. I believe that there is a dispute as to that. They claim certain powers, and it is claimed as against that that their powers are not at all a monopoly. It does seem to me that it would be of no injury to this company, and would be a fair thing to do, to insert a clause of the kind I have mentioned protecting any rights that the others have. Of course if they have no rights there would be no harm done.

Mr. BOYD. As promoter of the Bill I must object to the clause the hon. gentleman

Mr. DALY.

proposes. I may say that the parties he refers to have no rights or monopoly as is proven by their charter. In their Act of incorporation, there is a clause which says :

Nothing in this Act contained shall be deemed to give the said company any exclusive right to supply any portion of the Territory aforesaid with gas or electricity; but notwithstanding anything contained in this Act, any other person or persons, body or bodies corporate, shall be entitled to acquire and exercise any similar powers to those hereby conferred as if this Act had not been passed, subject only to such limitations as shall be imposed by law.

They hold no monopoly, and I presume the parties referred to by the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) are the bondholders. I may say that I hold a communication from the secretary of the company and the directors, showing that the interest on the bonds held by these gentlemen is paid up, and they have no right to complain. The letter says :

OFFICE OF THE MANITOBA ELECTRIC
AND GAS LIGHT COMPANY,
WINNIPEG, 10th May, 1894.

N. BOYD, Esq., M.P.,
House of Commons, Ottawa.

DEAR SIR.—At a meeting of the directors of the Manitoba Electric and Gas Light Company, held this day, the following resolution was passed:—

"The Bill incorporating the Dominion Gas and Electric Company, as the same passed the Private Bills Committee of the House of Commons, and as amended by such committee, having been examined by the directors of the Manitoba Electric and Gas Light Company, it is hereby resolved by such directors that no opposition be offered to the passing of said Bill by the House of Commons, it appearing therefrom that there is nothing contained in said Bill which in any way interferes with, affects, or prejudices the rights, powers or privileges of this company, and that the managing director of the company be authorized to forward a copy of this resolution to N. Boyd, M.P., at Ottawa, as a reply to his communication respecting the effect of said Bill upon this company's affairs."

Pursuant to the direction contained in the said resolution, I have the honour to communicate the same to you. I may add that a copy of the letter sent by Mr. Crane and Mr. McLean to the Hon. Mr. Martin, dated 27th April, was also considered by the directors, and I have been requested by the directors to say that the fear expressed by those gentlemen is quite groundless, and it has occurred to the directors that the action of those gentlemen is somewhat strange, in view of the fact that there are no arrears of interest on the bonds of the company, and there is no default in respect of the same.

Yours very truly,
WILLIAM BATHGATE,
Secretary-Treasurer.

In view of this letter, I object to the clause which the hon. member for Winnipeg proposes to add to the Bill.

Mr. MARTIN. If the company has no monopoly, my proposition cannot affect it.

I simply ask that it be subject to any powers, rights or privileges the bondholders may have. I do not propose to give them any.

Mr. BOYD. I can see no object in doing it.

Mr. MARTIN. So far as the resolution of the company is concerned, I understand that these bonds have been in default. If the interest has been paid, it has been done very recently. Under these circumstances, the bondholders have a very direct interest in the rights and privileges of the company. Of course, it is a matter entirely for the committee. I bring forward the resolution as requested by the bondholders, and if the committee wishes to vote it down, of course I cannot help it. I would move that the following words be added to this section:—

Provided, however, that this clause shall not affect in any way, any rights, powers or privileges heretofore conferred on any person or incorporated company by the Legislature of Manitoba or the Legislature of Ontario.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. As no notice has been given of that motion, it cannot be put.

On section 13,

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). It seems to me that this measure generally is one that falls within the jurisdiction of the province and not within the jurisdiction of this Legislature. I would again call the attention of the committee to the principle I referred to the other evening. I would ask its attention to subsection 16 of section 92 of the British North America Act, which says: "Generally all matters of a local or private nature in the province" are within the exclusive jurisdiction of that province. Now, is not this a matter of a merely local or private nature in the province? Look at the character and the object of the corporation. Then, in the concluding part of section 91 it is declared that "any matter coming within any of the classes of subjects enumerated in this section shall not be deemed to come within the class of matters of a local or private nature" comprised in the succeeding section. Now, I would ask the hon. gentleman who has charge of the Bill to look at any one of the twenty-nine enumerations in section 91, and say whether this measure comes within any of those enumerations. I do not think he can say so. If it does not it comes under subsection 16 of section 92, referring to matters under the exclusive jurisdiction of the province, and, therefore, it cannot be dealt with by this Legislature.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I understand this to be the case of a company upon whom powers have been conferred for doing business in several of the provinces and in the North-west Territories. Therefore, I think it differs from the class of cases as to which the hon. gentleman has raised the objection.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I ask the hon. gentleman to consider whether this corporation, when created, does not savour of realty, and whether it does not have a local habitat to which the rule 'lex loci rei sitae' would apply?

Bill reported.

CONSUMERS' CORDAGE CO.

Mr. ROSAMOND moved that the House resolve itself into Committee on Bill (No. 31) respecting the Consumers' Cordage Co.

Mr. LANGELIER. The company in question was incorporated in 1890 with a capital of one million dollars, and subsequently that capital was increased two million dollars, making a capital of three million dollars. The committee were told that the whole of the capital had been paid up, but it was impossible to find out how it had been paid up. The promoters of the Bill would never say how. And it is well the House should be informed of the way it has been paid up. The capital was not paid up in cash. We were told that it had been paid up in properties. Well, we have an instance in the city of Quebec of the way in which that capital was paid up. We had a large cordage factory there, at one time owned by Mr. Brown, and situated in the division of my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition. When the capital of this company was increased in 1891, Mr. Brown's cordage factory in Quebec was closed up and has been allowed to rot ever since. About a hundred people, who used to obtain employment in that factory for about 30 years, were thrown on the highway and had to leave the country. They are now to be found in the United States, or at all events they are out of Quebec. That is one of the results of the cordage combine. The incorporation of this company was made the means for forming the hugest combine in the Dominion. Instead of extending manufacturing operations and giving employment to more people, it used its corporate powers to close up factories. It has been stated here, without contradiction, that other factories have been closed up. What did that company do? The \$2,000,000 capital which were authorized in 1891, were not issued to the general public, but to the original shareholders, and after having got that capital these original shareholders began to sell it to the public. It appears that they sold about \$500,000 of it. That is to say, they got \$500,000 good, hard cash for capital for which they had given absolutely nothing, and which they obtained through the duty on cordage and the charter they had succeeded in obtaining from the Government. Now they desire to be authorized to issue guaranteed stock for \$1,000,000, and it was stated that they intended to give that stock, not to the general shareholders, but to those who got the capital. I would have opposed the Bill, had it not been amended as it has

been. There was not a word in it to compel the company to give that new guaranteed stock to the bona fide shareholders who paid good money for their shares. The Bill now, however, is in proper shape, and that is the only reason why I do not oppose it. It offers a guarantee to those unfortunate shareholders who bought on the expectation that the duties on cordage would not be reduced, and whose prospects of dividends very much diminished by the reduction in the duty. They now stand a chance of getting reasonable dividends on their money. This Bill is only one instance out of many of the effects of the present tariff in the formation of combines and trusts.

Motion agreed. Bill considered in committee, reported, and read the third time and passed.

CANADIAN RAILWAY ACCIDENT INSURANCE COMPANY.

House resolved itself into committee on Bill (No. 36) to incorporate the Canadian Railway Accident Insurance Company.—(Sir James Grant.)

(In the Committee.)

On section 10,

Mr. EDGAR. I would like to call the attention of the leader of the House to one condition in this clause which is similar to that in another Bill which will come before this House, probably to-day. The hon. Minister will know nothing of the clause by reading it from the printed Bill; it is in the clause as it appears in the Bill in the hands of the Chairman that the difficulty arises. There is a provision here that the affairs of the company shall be managed by a board of not less than seven nor more than twenty directors, and that five shall be a quorum of the board. I think, Mr. Chairman, that is a very dangerous precedent for us to set. Of course, the promoters of the Bill claim that this is an exceptional case, that this is an insurance company, largely for the benefit of railway employees, and they wish to have a large board spread all over the country, of whom five may be a quorum, sitting at Ottawa for the transaction of business. If we make such a precedent in this case it will be hard to refuse a similar concession to others. If no provision was made in the Bill, this would come under the general law, which provides that when more than two persons are authorized to do an act, the majority may decide it. Of course, that is the rule we apply to the directors of limited liability companies, though in some cases the number is reduced. But I think that out of a possible board of twenty, five is altogether too small a quorum, and I would like the Minister of Justice to consider that matter, for I would not like to take the responsibility

Mr. LANGELIER.

of having such a clause go through without the careful consideration of the House.

Mr. MONCRIEFF. This matter was very fully ventilated in the committee. It was represented that the stock of this company is to be widely distributed in small amounts—in fact, the shareholders are limited in the amount of stock they may hold—and it is expected that the stock will be subscribed from one end of the Dominion to the other. It is held to be desirable that men engaged in the railway service in different parts of the country should be represented on the board, and that is the reason why the request was made that the board should consist possibly of as many as twenty members. It was also asked that provision might be made for the directors voting by proxy, any director being authorized to hold two proxies. That, also, was thoroughly considered by the committee, but the sense of the committee was against such a provision, and it was thought better to limit the number of the quorum rather than give any of the directors the right to vote by proxy. Therefore the clause, as at present, was adopted. The shareholders themselves, of course, will have to fix the number of directors, and if they have not more than ten directors, five will be a quorum at any rate. Taking everything into consideration, the committee considered that five directors would be amply sufficient to manage the affairs of the company. Of course, it must be remembered that, though five may constitute a quorum, all the regular meetings of the directors are fixed by by-law, and every director must have notice of the same. There is nothing to prevent more than five attending, for every director has the right to attend. It was thought, as these directors might be scattered, a quorum of five would be sufficient to safeguard the rights of the shareholders.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I understand the point raised by my hon. friend (Mr. Edgar) to be that you are enabling a certain fixed number who may, under certain conditions, be a minority of the board, to act for the board. That is a novel principle, and I would venture to say, one of very doubtful utility. The hon. gentleman says the committee were entirely opposed to allowing the directors to vote by proxy. Of course, the directors are supposed to exercise a proper personal discretion, and they would not delegate their discretionary powers. Just as a trustee is not allowed to delegate his power in an act of discretion; he may delegate a ministerial act, but not one involving discretion. So I take it that the committee decided very properly in this case. If the directors were limited to nine, five would properly be a quorum. But if you authorize the creation of a board of twenty members, a clear majority of the board—I would not say are deprived of their rights, because, as the hon. gentleman says, notice must be

given of meeting—but you make it possible for a minority of the board to decide for the whole body. This, no doubt, will be cited as a precedent, and I doubt very much that it should be adopted without stronger reason than has hitherto been given. It is said we want directors all over the country. For what purpose? Is it a good thing to have directors at many points so distant from each other that, in the practical working of the company, they cannot meet to act upon the discretion which the Act vests in them? If you do, you disregard a principle which heretofore has been jealously watched, that, whatever number of directors there may be, they must act by a majority, that is a majority of the number must be present in order to constitute a legal meeting.

Mr. TISDALE. I think the greatest objection is to the great number of directors. A board of twenty directors would be unwieldy. I agree with the hon. gentleman as to the question of majority. The only case where the minority is allowed to form a quorum is where the stock of the company is owned abroad. In such cases, we have allowed a minority to form a quorum, if they have a certain number of proxies.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I did not know we had ever allowed that.

Mr. TISDALE. Yes; I think in the case of some railway companies. But where the proprietors are all to be in this country, the reasons which have heretofore held good for such a provision would not exist. I think we should reduce the board, and then the number of five would be sufficient. At first sight it may be thought that a larger number in such a company as this, might be advisable, but it produces looseness. What is everybody's business is nobody's business. With ten or eleven directors, every part of the country can be sufficiently represented. Otherwise, I think we ought to apply the rule, and say that the majority of the board shall be present. The whole object of supervision by Parliament is to see that those who pay in their money shall be properly protected; therefore, if they are to have so large a board as that—and it is their desire that they should have—I think we should apply the rule that a majority of the directors should be there, or else we should lessen the number. In my view there could be no objection to letting the number run from seven to twenty, and say that a majority shall form a quorum; then let them suit themselves as to whether they shall make it a less or a greater number.

Mr. DICKEY. I may say on the part of the promoters of this Bill that they felt very strongly that the larger number of directors would be necessary on account of the character of the company. It is proposed, as I understood them, to form a company embracing all the railway in-

terests from Halifax to Vancouver, a sort of co-operative company among the men connected with the railways as employees or otherwise. The object commended itself to the committee as extremely desirable, and we were anxious to meet, as far as we reasonably could, all the wishes of the promoters. They represented that they would require directors at distant points in order to excite interest and obtain the active co-operation of influential men at these different points. With regard to the directors being represented by proxy, that seemed so objectionable that the committee was against it, and we took the largest number of directors that they thought could reasonably be expected to be present at the head office, and gave them the authority of the whole board. Of course, I have myself no interest whatever in the matter; but as the question seemed likely to be dealt with by this committee, I thought it was fair not only to state to the committee the merits of the Bill itself in the opinion of the Committee on Banking and Commerce, but also the real practical difficulty that the promoters of this legislation feel they would have if the general rule were insisted on. I felt myself, and stated in the committee, that the departure from the rule with regard to the majority of the directors, which might be justified on account of the special circumstances of this case, was not to be a precedent unless a company was in an exactly similar position. As members of the committee well know, the practical difficulty of a railway company, when stock is owned out of the Dominion, has led to a representation of their wishes in exactly the same way. It has not been made a precedent in other companies for the reason that they were not in the same circumstances. That rule has worked fairly well, and we propose to apply it here.

Mr. FRASER. I think there is a good deal in what the hon. gentleman has said, were this a Bill in the interest of railway people. But it is simply, like every other Bill of this kind, a Bill enabling a number of capitalists to form an association for the purpose of taking risks.

Mr. DICKEY. I did not so understand it.

Mr. FRASER. It is well known, for example, that on the Intercolonial Railway they have an insurance of their own.

Mr. TISDALE. It is purely a commercial venture, as I understand it.

Mr. FRASER. There is an association for insuring the lives of engineers and others on the Intercolonial Railway. Now, were the employees of railways asking for this Bill, I could see a good deal in favour of the argument of the hon. gentleman. But I see difficulties that might arise from so small a number of directorate sitting as a board. Five men may plunge the whole company into bankruptcy. They may im-

pair the credit of the company. While there is a good deal in what the hon. member for Cumberland (Mr. Dickey) has said, I do not think he has established a case for making one-quarter of the number of directors a quorum, because the company may want directors in various parts of the Dominion to work up the business, and I do not think that is a good reason for appointing a director. That is a rule that ought to apply to every other company. Directors are not appointed for the purpose of getting a company well advertised in any particular locality; that is the work of agents who will present the worthiness of the company. Therefore, as this Bill refers to a class of persons who ought to be protected, I would like that the usual rule should not be so largely departed from. I agree with what the hon. member for South Norfolk (Mr. Tisdale) said, that except in very special cases, as in case of shareholders living outside the jurisdiction of this Parliament, I do not think we should depart so largely from the general rule which prevails in this country.

Mr. EDGAR. It will be observed, as my hon. friend who has just spoken points out, that this is a general company, a general accident company. It has a capital stock to start with of \$500,000, with power to increase it to a million dollars; therefore, on the face of this Bill, I think we can scarcely find any excuse for treating it exceptionally. Another thing which I think will answer the exceptional position taken by the promoters of this Bill, is this: They say that it is desirable to strengthen this company by appointing directors in different portions of the country, at different points of the railways. If they will look at section 2, which we have already passed, they will find that there is full and ample provision for that purpose. That section says:

The head office of the company shall be in the city of Ottawa, in the province of Ontario, and branches, sub-boards or agencies may be established and maintained either within Canada or elsewhere in such manner as the directors from time to time appoint.

Now, there is no difficulty whatever in this company appointing sub-boards or agencies at any point in Canada. These sub-boards, of course, are not like other boards. They are for the purpose, no doubt, of giving local strength, a sort of agencies, and surely it will be a very proper thing to treat this company like any other insurance company. A board that is responsible to the shareholders, to the policy-holders, and to the public, ought, I think, to be treated as any other board is treated. I do not care whether the quorum is five or fifteen, so long as the majority of the directors—

Mr. TISDALE. I understand the promoters are willing to accept that.

Mr. FRASER.

Mr. EDGAR. If the promoters will agree to that, that will settle the whole difficulty.

Sir JAMES GRANT. I am satisfied that the suggestion thrown out is a wise one, and I agree that the majority of the directors should form a quorum.

Bill reported, and read the third time and passed.

IN COMMITTEE—THIRD READINGS.

Bill (No. 38) respecting the Ontario Loan and Debenture Company.—(Mr. Moncrieff.)

Bill (No. 42) to incorporate the Canadian Railway Fire Insurance Company.—(Sir James Grant.)

MANITOBA AND NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY COMPANY.

Mr. TAYLOR moved second reading of Bill (No. 108) respecting the Manitoba and North-western Railway Company.

Mr. MARTIN. I would like to say a word or two with regard to this amendment of the charter of the Manitoba and North-western Railway Company. I have no objection to offer to the company getting a reasonable extension of time to build its railway. I quite recognize the fact that the present time is not one during which railway companies are likely to extend their operations, but it does seem to me that the extension of time for the completion of this railway for the long period of ten years is a mistake. This railway is built now to a place called Yorkton, and their charter provides that they shall extend the line to Prince Albert. In addition to their corporate power for building the railway, they have a very valuable land grant, and under their present charter they are bound to build at least 20 miles each year. It appears to me that it would be a proper concession to make them, that the Governor General in Council might in any year relieve them from the necessity of building the whole or any portion of that 20 miles; but it is not very encouraging, indeed, to those settlers who have gone into the country through which this railway is to pass in anticipation of an early construction of the line, to be told that they may have to wait for the long period of 10 years before the railway will be built. Of course, generally speaking, it makes very little difference about the time for the construction of a railway, because there is nothing to prevent another company from getting charter powers and building over the same territory. But in this case it is practically prohibitory so far as any other railway company is concerned, because the Manitoba and North-western Railway Company have a land grant without which, I fancy, it would be hopeless to expect to build a railway in that part of the country. If the Bill is allowed to pass in its present shape, I do not see myself that would be any special advan-

tage to the railway company, and it would certainly be very discouraging indeed to those who are dependent on the railway being extended. I may say that there is a considerable settlement—not very large possibly, but some settlement—between Yorkton and Prince Albert; settlers who have been in there for some time and are expecting to see this railway built. The desire of the company not to forfeit their privileges on account of the pressing hard times through which we are now passing, would be quite met by an amendment, which is also contained in their proposed amendments: that the Governor General in Council might in any year relieve them from the construction of their 20 miles, or some part of it, without putting in a clause to extend for 10 years the completion of the railway.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the second time.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (No. 107) to again revive and further amend the Act to incorporate the Red Deer Valley Railway and Coal Company—(from the Senate.)—(Mr. Davis, Alberta).

Bill (No. 102) to incorporate the Wolseley and Fort Qu'Appelle Railway Company—(from the Senate.)—(Mr. Davin.)

THOMAS ROY, OF ST. JOHNS, P. Q.

Mr. MONET asked, Whether the Government has in its employment, in the capacity of an officer of customs, one Thomas Roy, of the town of St. Johns, P.Q.; if so, when was he appointed?

Mr. WALLACE. In reply to the hon. gentleman I may say no.

LANDSLIDE AT STE. ANNE DE LA PERADE.

Mr. LOWELL (for Mr. Delisle) asked, 1. Whether the Government have learned through the public press or otherwise, that on the 27th April last, on the 4th May instant and the following days, the parishes of St. Christine, St. Alban and St. Casimir, in the county of Portneuf, and the parish of Ste. Anne de la Pérade, in the county of Champlain, were the theatre and the victims of a cataclysm involving widespread ruin and devastation, along the course of the Ste. Anne River, in the province of Quebec? 2. Are the Government aware that whole farms have been engulfed by the waters, and that many of the farmers are completely deprived of their means of subsistence? 3. Whether it is the intention of the Government to despatch to the localities devastated by this disaster, a geological engineer, with instructions to ascertain the cause of this sudden subsidence of the soil, the nature of the formation in which it occurred, and the losses incurred by the several occupants

of lands along the said river? 4. Are the Government aware that a whole family named Gauthier lost their lives on that occasion? 5. Is it the intention of the Government to insert in the Estimates for this year, 1894-95, a sum of money sufficient to repair, as far as possible, the losses sustained by those who have thus been deprived of their property and effects?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. We have heard with very great regret of the calamity mentioned in the question put by the hon. gentleman. We understand that the locality has been carefully examined by eminent geologists. I am not aware at the present time, of any reasons which would call for a vote of Parliament.

DOCK AT HILTON.

Mr. LISTER asked, When was the work of extending the dock at Hilton commenced by the Government? When was it completed? Does the Government own the land, and land covered by water upon which the dock was constructed? If not, who is or are the owner or owners of the same?

Mr. OUMET. The work of extending the dock at Hilton was commenced by the Government on the 1st of May, 1887, and completed on the 24th August, 1887. The information received from the Department of the Interior would show that the land is either under the control of the Ontario Government, or the Dominion Government. The question is now in litigation.

CAMPBELLFORD SUB-COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Mr. McMULLEN asked, Has H. Dunham, one of the securities for Morton, collector of Customs at Campbellford, paid any money on account of his bond? If so, to whom was the money paid? Was there an action commenced against Dunham? If so, why have proceedings been stopped? Has Dunham been appointed collector of customs at that place? Was he so appointed while his bond was in default? Are the Government aware that the duties of the office are performed by one James Donald, a clerk in the post office, for about one-fourth of the salary, while Dunham lives six miles out of town and in point of education is totally unfit to perform the service?

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Dunham has paid the amount of his bond. The money was paid to the collector of customs at Belleville. Upon the amount of Morton's defaultations being ascertained, the case was referred to the Department of Justice, who communicated with their agent in that district with regard to the recovery of the sum mentioned in the bond. Upon Mr. Dunham hearing of this, he stated that there was no need to take legal action—that he would at once pay the amount. That is

why proceedings were stopped. Mr. Dunham has been appointed sub-collector of customs at Campbellford temporarily, though not until after the Department of Justice had stayed proceedings. The Government are not aware of the matters mentioned in the last question, but they are aware that some of the statements there made are not correct.

Mr. McMULLEN. What ones?

Mr. WALLACE. That in point of education Mr. Dunham is totally unfit to perform the service. I know Mr. Dunham somewhat, and I think that in point of education he is quite fit to perform the service. Further, that he lives six miles out of town is not correct.

Mr. McMULLEN. The Minister is not correctly informed.

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA LAND GRANT.

Mr. MARTIN asked, Whether it is the intention of the Government to issue immediately the patents for the land grant of the University of Manitoba? If not, why not? What has been the cause of the great delay in issuing these patents?

Mr. DALY. The matter is under consideration. The delay has been occasioned by reason of a dispute on the subject.

WELLINGTON STREET AND GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY BRIDGES.

Mr. MULOCK asked, What is the total amount of claims against the Government in respect of the works known as the Wellington Street and Grand Trunk Railway bridges, from the commencement of the works till their completion? What amount has been paid on account of such claims?

Mr. HAGGART. The total amount of claims presented against the Government in respect of the works known as the Wellington Street and Grand Trunk Railway bridges from the commencement of the works till their completion is \$490,724.57. The amount paid on account of such claims is \$394,796.96.

OTTAWA MAIL SERVICE.

Mr. McMULLEN asked, Has a contract been entered into with the Ottawa Street Railway Company for the carriage of the mails from the railway stations to the post office? If so, for what length of time has the contract been entered into, and what is the annual amount paid for the services? Why was the mode of carrying the mails changed from a horse vehicle to a street car? What was the annual cost of carrying the mail by horse service?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. A contract has been made with the Ottawa Electric Street

Mr. WALLACE.

Railway Company for the carriage of mails between the railway stations and the post office at Ottawa. The contract is for four years from the 1st November, 1893, and is for \$4,000 per annum, which includes all additional trips required during the contract period. The service by the cars is much superior to that by wagon. The cars offer greater certainty and promptitude in the delivery of the mails, and greater safety en route. Owing to the large amount of space in the cars, all the mails to be carried on a trip may be put in one car. Mail clerks from the night trains are also less exposed to the severity of the weather than in open wagons. The cost last year was \$3,882.24.

MAIL SERVICE IN NORTH HASTINGS.

Mr. SUTHERLAND (for Mr. Macdonald, Huron) asked: 1. Who has the contract for carrying the mail between Belleville and Tweed, in North Hastings? 2. What amount is paid for the service? 3. When was the contract given? 4. Was the contract let by tender, and if so, who were the tenderers, where their post office address, and what the amount of each tender? 5. If the contract was not awarded to the lowest tender, why not? 6. If the contract was let by private arrangement, by whose recommendation and for what reason?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. The contractor is Mr. Joseph Jackson. The amount of the contract is \$666.70. It was authorized to be made on the 21st of April, 1894. It was not let by tender. It was renewed under authority of paragraph 2, section 61 of the Post Office Act.

FISHING BOUNTY FRAUDS.

Mr. DYER (for Mr. Bowers) asked, 1. What was the termination of the cases pending against John P. McNeil and R. A. McNeil, of Victoria County, N.S., for frauds in connection with bounty claims, as stated in Minister's report of 1892? 2. Were Alex. Maillet and Sylvain Babin, justices of the peace, proceeded against for forgeries and putting in the names of fictitious claimants for bounties in Kent County, N.B. (Minister's report for 1892), and with what result? 3. In what manner did the criminal proceedings commenced as stated in Minister's report of 1892 against fishery officers Jno. Delegarde and Alex. Boyd, for frauds in connection with bounty claims, terminate? 4. Were Hugh J. Larkin, of Gloucester, N.B., and J. H. Gaudet, a justice of the peace, of Tignish, Prince County, P.E.I., proceeded against for defrauding the Crown and executing false claims for bounties, and with what result? 5. What was the result of the criminal proceedings commenced against D. J. Kavanagh of Grandique, Richmond County, N.S., for bounty frauds as stated in report for 1892? 6. If any of these parties were convicted, were they fined or imprisoned?

7. If not, why not, and on whose representations were they pardoned?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. In reply to the first question, John P. McNeil and R. A. McNeil were committed for trial before the Superior Court of Nova Scotia, and the grand jury found no bill. 2. Alexander Maillet, of Kent County, N.B., was proceeded against for receiving cheques on orders knowing them to have been forged. He was found guilty. Sylvain Babin was not tried. Indictments were preferred against him, but having been admitted to bail he left the country and has not yet returned. 3. The case against John Delegarde and Alex. Boyd, of Gloucester, N.B., are still pending. The department is not aware how these cases stand at present. They are in the hands of the agents of the Department of Justice. 4. In the cases of H. J. Larkin and J. H. Gaudet, of Prince Edward Island, the department has not yet been advised of the result of the prosecutions which are in the hands of agents of the Department of Justice. 5. D. J. Kavanagh, of Richmond County, N.S., was committed for trial before the Supreme Court, but the grand jury found no bill. 6. Alexander Maillet was imprisoned for a term of two months.

CANADIAN MILITIA—PERMANENT CORPS—PENSIONS.

Mr. PRIOR moved :

That in the opinion of this House, it is expedient that a scheme should be devised by the Government whereby the permanent corps of the Canadian Militia, and the headquarters and district staffs of the same, may after a certain number of years' service, become entitled to receive from the Government adequate pensions, and thus be placed on a more equal footing with similar organizations in other countries and with members of the Civil Service in Canada.

He said: Last session I had the honour of moving a similar resolution to this, and the reception my remarks received from several Ministers of the Crown, and from members on both sides, embolden me to again bring forward this resolution, in the hope that I may be more successful this year than last. Knowing how very certain I. in common with other members are of success in any matter, when we have got a Minister to say that he will take it into consideration, I am somewhat surprised to find that up to now no Bill has been brought forward to carry out the proposition embraced in this motion. I am afraid that the hon. gentleman who is at the head of the Militia Department (Mr. Patterson), has found that his eloquence was not sufficient to soften the hearts of his colleagues in Council, but I trust he will not be discouraged, but will return to the charge again. I was also greatly encouraged by a word which fell from the lips of the Postmaster General. That hon. gentleman was for many years at the head of Militia and

Defence, and administered that department through some of the most trying times we have ever had in this country, and I, therefore, think that he is an authority which can be quoted without any fear of question. I was very glad, therefore, to hear him state that he was fully in accord with the motion I presented. Even at the risk of being wearisome, I feel obliged to reiterate some of the arguments I put forward last year, when I gave, I think, a very clear statement of the case. I trust, however, that this time I will meet with different treatment, as I hope to hear several gentlemen back me up in the request I am making. The permanent corps of Canada is, as we all know, a corps of Canadian regulars. It is supposed to form a nucleus of the whole militia force, and its duties are to act as schools of instruction for the local corps. The men enlist for three years, and there is really no difference between them and the Imperial regulars. They do the same work, they follow out the same routine, they are amenable to the same discipline, and to a certain extent they receive their pay at the same ratio. But there, I am sorry to say, the similarity ends. The British regular gets far more pay than the Canadian, and at a certain time he has the option of retiring with a good pension. Our men get far less pay than the Imperial troops and have no pension to look forward to. Last year I gave full comparisons between the rates of pay to the Imperial army, the United States army, the North-west Mounted Police, and our Canadian permanent corps. So that this year I do not think it is necessary for me to repeat all the comparisons I made last session, but I must give some of them. I find that in the British army, a lieutenant-colonel of 12 years standing, receives \$133.25 a month, and is allowed to retire, after his 12 years service, on a pension of \$101.25 per month. A lieutenant-colonel in the United States army gets \$225 per month, and a pension at the close of his service of \$120 per month. A commissioner in the North-west Mounted Police gets \$216.80 a month, and can retire after 12 years on a pension of \$52 a month. Whereas a lieutenant-colonel in the Canadian militia receives but \$120 per month, and is allowed no pension on retiring. A lieutenant-colonel in the British army of 20 years service, gets \$133.25 per month, and at the end of that term may retire on a pension of \$121.50 per month. In the United States army, a lieutenant-colonel, of 20 years service gets \$333 per month, and is allowed a retiring pension of \$250 per month. A commissioner in the North-west Mounted Police gets the same pay, \$216.80 per month, but is allowed, after 20 years, a retiring pension of \$86.64 per month. Whereas a lieutenant-colonel in the permanent corps, of 20 years service, still receives the same pay of \$120 per month, and is still allowed no pension. And so on through all the different grades of major, captain, lieutenant,

down to private. The same comparisons hold good with regard to the staff appointments. Men holding those positions in the Imperial service have far larger pay than ours. In fact in some instances the difference is quite absurd. Not only that, but our men have no pensions to look forward to; and as they are generally men getting on in years they have nothing to look forward to, except to being turned out without any means to support them in their old age, their pay being altogether insufficient to allow them to put anything by out of it.

Mr. EDGAR. The hon. gentleman does not tell us about the pay of the privates here compared with the pay in the British army.

Mr. PRIOR. The private in the Canadian militia has more pay than the private in the Imperial army. I do not want to say anything against the North-west Mounted Police. Far from it, because I believe they are one of the finest bodies of men in the world, but they were brought into existence four years later than the permanent corps of Canada, and yet the Government has seen fit to give them pensions. It seems to me that it is an injustice to the permanent corps, who have just as hard work to do and incur the same risks. When hon. gentlemen look at the case in its proper light, they will see that if our mounted police are entitled to pensions, our permanent corps are equally entitled to the same treatment. When you compare the pay given to our permanent corps, both officers and men, with what civilians get, occupying the same station, you will find it is extremely small. The same comparison holds good with regard to the civil servants—men who have not any hard work to do, who have no dangers to encounter, but who get larger pay out of which they contribute to the superannuation fund, and thus make some provision for their old age. Now, in regard to the non-commissioned officers and men of the permanent corps, they are far worse off than the constables in the mounted police; they have no future, they have no pension. The constables have a pension, small, it is true, but still an incentive to men, and something for them to look forward to when they drop out of the force. The strongest argument in support of this proposal, as I said last year, is that by its means a better class of men would be induced to join, and when they joined they would be far more diligent in their duties; they would stay longer, and they certainly would become more proficient. In a very short time after the pension scheme had been inaugurated it would result in a splendid force of non-commissioned officers, and the non-commissioned officers, hon. gentlemen will agree, are really the backbone of any service. The evils of desertions and crimes would be decreased by reason of the fact that it would be only by continuing in the service and by good conduct that the

Mr. PRIOR.

men could possibly gain a pension. Although they would expect hard work, they would still look forward to a reward, and not have the same hopeless lookout they have now. There is a general cry for good non-commissioned officers, as officers generally complain that they cannot get enough really good reliable men for these positions. The expense incident to desertion and crime amount in the aggregate to a great deal. The transport of prisoners, the loss of kits and other little items must amount to a great deal of money in a year. And, as the greater part of that sum would be saved, I believe that fact should be taken into consideration when this scheme is taken up, if it is taken up. Now, I do not want hon. gentlemen to think that I wish to have a lavish expenditure on these men; far from it. But I do know that in the ordinary affairs of life if you want to get a good article you must pay money for it. Sir, it is the same in regard to men; if you want good men you must give them an equivalent for their services, and that these men are not getting at the present time. I believe most heartily in the Government being carried on with economy, but in this case I think that the present policy is one of pennywise, pound foolish—it is not economical, to my thinking. Some people may say: If these men don't like it they can leave. That is a fact; they can leave. The fact is that men join young. Being taken with the glitter of military life they join without thinking much about it. But when they have been in the service three years, and have found what a hard life it is, they begin to think of their future, and to consider what the end of it all is to be. They then find that, although they are living a pretty good sort of life in some ways, they have no prospects for the future, and so the most sensible of them, after they have served a term or two leave, and the instruction they have received and the discipline which has been instilled into them is in great measure lost to the country. I was up in Toronto last Saturday, and it astonished me to see the pride the people took in the military tournament there. If the local corps can do as well as they did there, what should we expect from these men in the permanent corps, who are supposed to be the teachers of the others. If the service is to be carried on in a proper manner, these men who are really the schoolmasters of the local corps should be men of long experience and long service, and I contend, Sir, that this can only be brought about by giving these men a pension. I have, perhaps, no right to say to the Minister of Militia what I intend, nevertheless, to say. The Government should prepare for war in times of peace. We have had peace so long, that the idea of having war, of having any civil insurrection, has almost dropped out of popular thought. But it will come sooner or later. It has always come after a term of peace, and the same state of affairs will recur again. If the Govern-

ment, from any false ideas of economy, fail to keep the force up to a state of proper efficiency, and are thus found wanting when the time comes, public opinion will condemn them. If they wish to economize let them economize in some other direction, but not at the expense of the efficiency of the force, the force to which Canada must look for protection when the day of danger draws nigh. This is a motion, I am glad to say, which can be backed up by both sides of the House, independent of party politics. I look with a good deal of certainty for assistance equally from the Opposition benches as from those on this side of the House. I do not ask for a scheme to be brought forward by which these men should earn an easy provision for their old age. I say: get good men, work them hard, and, if they have not acquired efficiency in due time, kick them out. They are the last men in the world who will object to hard work; but when they have served their country so long that they have arrived at an age when they cannot turn their hands to any other occupation, then this Government and this country are in duty bound to make some provision for their old age. There are only 1,000 of these men, and, out of these, a very large majority will never remain in the force long enough to draw these pensions. Say you have to provide for 25 per cent, which, I think, is above the mark, the money will be well spent in securing efficient men who will remain in the service. Now, Sir, I wish to say a few words in regard to the gentleman who now holds the position of general officer commanding the militia of Canada, and I hope what I say will not be taken as fulsome flattery, because I believe it would be as distasteful to him to receive such flattery as it would be impertinent on my part to offer it. I am convinced, from what I have seen, and from what I have heard from the best men in the service, that the General is heart and soul in his work, and that he is unflinchingly determined to bring the militia of Canada to the highest state of perfection possible. There is no doubt about it, he is a terror to the laggards, to the men who want to wear the uniform for ceremony only; but he is cordially supported by the men who have the welfare of the force at heart. He is a strict disciplinarian, too strict, perhaps, though not so to my thinking. Some of the measures he has brought forward are drastic, but I think he has done more to wake up the militia of Canada to a proper sense of its duty than any man we have had for many a long year. I mention this because I know that the General is anxious that the permanent corps should be brought up to the highest pitch of perfection, and I think the members of this House should do everything they can to help him in what he is trying to do. The Minister of Militia has repeatedly told us that he is in full accord with the General, and I feel sure that he will give us his hearty support. As I said last year, it is not for me

to formulate any scheme; the Minister of Militia and the General can do that if they wish, and I hope they will. At the same time I would suggest that no pensions should be granted to men who have served for less than 12 years, with good conduct, unless disabled by accident or disease contracted in the discharge of their duty; also that those who have held staff appointments, and who have served 12 years in the militia force in any paid capacity, whether as hospital surgeon, district orderly-room clerk or any similar position, should be allowed to participate in the pension scheme. I have not spoken so fully on the subject as I might have done, but any one who is interested in this question can look up my remarks last year where they will find, I think, almost every detail fully explained. I would again express my sincere hope that the Government will take the matter in hand this session; and I also hope that after I sit down, hon. gentlemen on both sides of this House will rise and state what they think of the scheme, and if they can do so, that they will back me up in my efforts to obtain a pension scheme for these men.

Mr. DAVIN. It was with alacrity, and, at the same time, although it may sound paradoxical, with diffidence, that I consented to second this motion; with alacrity, because I had seen the beneficial effects of a similar scheme in a somewhat similar force in the North-west Territories, the North-west Mounted Police. My colleagues and myself had sought, year after year, to impress on the Government the necessity of providing pensions for the North-west Mounted Police, and in 1889, the late Sir John A. Macdonald brought forward a measure which is now on the Statute-book; and, from what I have observed of the effect of that measure, I can reason from analogy as to what consequences would be likely to flow from such a measure as is contemplated by the motion of my hon. and gallant friend from Victoria, British Columbia (Mr. Prior). One does not need to be a military man to realize that providing pensions for the very small portion of the permanent force which his scheme has in view, as the hon. gentleman has explained to us, would be a cheap means of giving efficiency to the whole force. That being so, and it being desirable that those who are not men of war should give their support to this proposal, if their judgments point in that direction, I am very glad here to-day to second the motion, and to express my hope that the hon. gentleman who is at the head of the Militia Department will do something in the direction aimed at by my hon. and gallant friend.

Mr. TISDALE. I regret that, labouring under a severe cold, I cannot say as much in favour of this motion as I would like to do. I am in hearty accord with my hon. and gallant friend who made the motion,

and I will go a little further and say that I believe Parliament should take steps to pension the volunteers who are injured and disabled, as well as those who are in active service. I think Canada has now arrived at such a position in her international development where she might well take this step. She has had the service of her militia for such a length of time as to entitle them to recognition. I add my endorsement to the remarks of the hon. gentleman, and I would like to see the Government take hold of this subject seriously, and work out some scheme of that sort. We should do all we can to encourage the young men of the country to train themselves and prepare themselves for eventualities. As the hon. gentleman has said, they do not know when they may be called upon to go out and risk their lives, and perhaps suffer injuries that would incapacitate them for supporting their families and those dependent on them. I hope the Government will take the earliest occasion to do something in the direction he has advocated.

Mr. PATTERSON (Huron). My hon. and gallant friend from Victoria, B.C. (Mr. Prior), needs no apology for addressing the House upon this important subject. His speeches, indeed, are too infrequent in this Chamber, and when he does favour us with any remarks, his statements are always interesting, and never wearisome. The lucidity of his style attracts the favourable attention of the House, and in whatever he has to say he is listened to with respect by both sides of the House. I may say that there is much force in many of the statements he has made to-day on this important question. Nevertheless, I do not wish the impression to go to the country that the Government are indifferent to the interests of the permanent force. Such an impression would be unjust to the Government, and unjust to this House, because this House, irrespective of party, has dealt liberally with retired officers of the permanent force. We have repeatedly granted large gratuities to officers who have retired from the permanent force, and it is the intention of the department to deal in a similar spirit with the non-commissioned officers and privates of the permanent force. Such appointments as caretakers of drill halls, caretakers of rifle ranges, positions in the military stores in various parts of the Dominion, it has been the object of the department, under my predecessors, and also of myself, to give to old soldiers, to non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the permanent force. In that way we have made, perhaps inadequately, but to some extent, provision for their maintenance, and generally we take an interest in their welfare, showing that we are not unmindful of their services. The House, on several occasions, has granted liberal gratuities to retiring officers of the staff, and officers of the permanent force, showing that although we are not yet prepared to

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adopt a system of pensions, still, members of the House, irrespective of party, appreciate the services of those who have devoted themselves to the military service of the country, and are prepared to recognize any reasonable recommendation which is brought down by the Minister of Militia on that subject. I would ask my hon. friend to oblige me by withdrawing this motion to-day, and I promise him that the matter will receive consideration, and that I will lay it before my colleagues with a view, on a future occasion, to giving him a more definite reply than I am able to give to-day.

Mr. MULOCK. Will the hon. gentleman let us know what his opinion is now?

Mr. PRIOR. As I have been asked by the Minister of Militia to withdraw my motion I will do so, as I think, perhaps, there will be more chance of getting it through on a future occasion than there is at the present time.

Motion withdrawn.

LOANS TO SETTLERS IN MANITOBA.

Mr. LaRIVIERE moved for :

List of persons in Manitoba who have not as yet repaid the loans made to them, in or about the year 1876, for seed-grain, &c., &c., with statement of the amount owing by each person and the interest claimed, up to 1st January, 1894, on each such amount. Also, a list, showing the amounts of mortgages received as collateral security for each loan, with description of land mortgaged, with name of proprietor and name of borrower if he be another person.

He said: In making this motion I desire to offer a few remarks. In 1876 a claim was made on the Federal Government in favour of settlers in Manitoba who on account of the grasshopper plague which prevailed at the time were in a needy condition and sought assistance. Whether the loan that was made to those settlers at the time was a wise proceeding or not, I am not here to discuss to-day, but it was carried out in such a careless manner and in such an unsatisfactory way that to-day we are in many instances troubled with the mortgages that appear to rest on some of the properties involved. The fact of the matter is that the descriptions of some of the properties are so vague that in many instances estates that are appearing before the office which is now settling the question of titles appear to be clouded as regards their title by these mortgages, while holders of real estate are very positive, in some instances, that those properties should not be affected by the mortgages drawn against the properties borrowing at that time. It would be fair that a proper list of all those mortgages should be drawn up and published, so that those who are interested in some of the estates which are involved would know whether the claim

against their property could be maintained or not. In fact, I believe it would be an act of justice on the part of the Government if all those mortgages were wiped out. To-day not only the amount that was supposed to have been borrowed at the time is demanded, but the interest that has accrued, so that the amount is almost doubled; and I am aware that in some cases the amount of the mortgage does not tally with the value of the supplies received by the party who consented to give it. In fact this loan which was made at the time was so mismanaged that in many cases fraud was committed, and to-day the parties not knowing of the existence of those mortgages are finding their properties affected by claims which create a cloud on their titles, and every time they go before the Land Titles office their titles are tested and the whole matter is left in such a condition that those parties have no recourse but to pay a very considerable sum of money in order to clear their titles. I hope the Government will see their way to have that list perfected and published so that the parties interested may ascertain to what extent the mortgages standing against them are of any value whatever. On the other hand, I should like the Government to take into their serious consideration the whole subject and decide whether it would not be proper to wipe out that claim which has existed so long, and it would be an act of justice, because in many instances the properties have been transferred to other parties, and few of those holding them to-day had anything whatever to do with the loan in question.

Mr. MARTIN. I desire to add that not only should the Government prepare the list as suggested by the hon. member for Provencher (Mr. LaRivière), but that list should be placed in the registry office. Under the provisions of the provincial Act, passed at the time the loan was made, the Government did not require to register the mortgage, and it has been found very inconvenient indeed in dealing with properties to have these outstanding mortgages, which are an incumbrance on the property, but which are not to be found except by making application to the department at Ottawa. I may say that the department has helped in the matter as far as possible by withholding the patent, so that if the patent had not been issued it was generally inferred that there was a seed-grain mortgage against the property, but even in this particular, through errors, a number of patents have been handed out for lands on which seed-grain mortgages remain undischarged, and this, of course, caused much confusion. If the hon. gentleman's suggestion is adopted by the Government, and they go further and place the list in the registry office, the local registrars will be very glad to enter up the mortgages against the particular properties affected, and thereby it would be definitely ascertained what the

Government claim is, and the Government should abandon any claim except for those mortgages mentioned in such lists.

Mr. DALY. This question of land mortgages in connection with the seed-grain loan made in 1876 comes under the Department of Agriculture. So far as the Department of the Interior is concerned, all we have to do with it is to see that when such mortgages were given on the land by people getting advances from the Department of Agriculture, the patents were not issued until the balances were paid. So far as my knowledge goes, the list is a limited one, and the outstanding claims at the present moment are not very large. I agree with what the hon. gentleman has said in regard to the difficulty which obtains as to ascertaining whether or not land is encumbered with seed-grain mortgages owing to the defects that appeared to surround the advances at the time they were made. There is no objection to the adoption of the motion, and I agree with the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) that it would be well to forward the list to the Land Titles offices at Winnipeg and Portage la Prairie in order that the people may have notice as to the land covered by these mortgages. In reply to the suggestion made by the hon. member for Provencher (Mr. LaRivière), that the Government should release these people from the payment of their mortgages, it seems to me that it would be very unfair to those who have paid up the money and interest if those who have failed to do so up to this moment should be relieved of their obligation, and I do not think that my hon. friend can look for any relief so far as that portion of the motion is concerned.

Motion agreed to.

SETTLEMENTS OF DISPUTES BY ARBITRATION.

Mr. EDGAR. I rise to move the following resolution:—

That it appears on the 16th June, 1893, the following resolution was proposed by the First Minister, the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone, and was unanimously adopted by the British House of Commons, namely:—

“Resolved, that this House has learnt with satisfaction that both Houses of the United States Congress have by resolution requested the President to invite, from time to time, as fit occasions may arise, negotiations with any Government with which the United States have, or may have diplomatic relations, to the end that any differences or disputes arising between the two Governments which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency, may be referred to arbitration and peaceably adjusted by such means; and this House, cordially sympathizing with the purpose in view, expresses the hope that Her Majesty's Government will lend their ready co-operation to the Government of the United States upon the basis of the foregoing resolution.

Therefore this House believing it to be in the interests of Canada that the present friendly relations between Great Britain and the United States should be cultivated and maintained, views with the highest satisfaction the disposition shown by both countries to promote the peaceful settlement by arbitration of any disputes or differences between them which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency.

I would like, Mr. Speaker, at the outset to disclaim any belief that the millenium has arrived, and although we are now in the last years of the nineteenth century, I am sorry to say that I do not think the millenium is within measurable distance of us. In fact, I am rather inclined to fear that the reverse is the case, because when we look at the continent of Europe and see the vast armaments there, we cannot, I am afraid, hope for anything like immediate peace in the world. Indeed, I do not think that these armaments will cease until that great struggle has come which has seemed to be impending for many years back. Perhaps, we may revert to that branch of this question, but in the meantime I do not propose to introduce to this House any notions which might be considered sentimental about universal peace, or about those dreams of the Parliament of Man and the Federation of the World which have been indulged in. But, Sir, what I do think is reasonable, is to point out to the House that the time has arrived for some practical action by Canada, not to initiate, but to promote the movements already made by Great Britain and the United States in the interests of permanent peace between these two countries. Our position as a dependency would probably forbid us from initiating such a movement; but it has been already initiated by the chief parties concerned, and I assume there is nothing to prevent our helping it forward. Some thoughtful Englishmen believe the influence of Canada in a matter of that kind to be paramount. I listened a few months ago in Toronto to a lecture delivered there by Mr. W. T. Stead on the destiny of Canada. He, of course, did not undertake to look at it from a Canadian point of view, because he was a stranger, and he said that he looked at it only from a London standpoint. Whatever we may think about some of Mr. Stead's views, we know perfectly well that he represents the opinions of a very large class in England, that he controls some very important publications, and whatever Mr. Stead says on a question like this is certainly worthy of our consideration as Canadians. His lecture was republished in the January number of his magazine, "The Review of Reviews," and I will take the liberty of quoting some passages from that lecture as so published and revised by himself. He says:

Looking from the standpoint of London it seems to us that the great question which lies before us
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as a race is the great question as to what are to be the future relations between the British Empire and the American Republic. * * * * This being the case, you can see how immensely important a position Canada holds in our outlook over the universe. Canada is the pivot state, she holds the pass. It depends upon you in Canada what these relations will be. Your destiny, your manifest destiny, is to decide whether the British Empire and the American Republic are in the future to be friends or foes. No, not foes. That is out of the question. I never, even in a nightmare, think of the possibility of an actual war between America and Britain. But we may be a great deal short of friends without being at war. It depends upon you in Canada more than upon any other population in the world whether the Empire and the Republic are to be jealous, nagging neighbours or cordial friends and allies all the world over. The future of civilization and the hope of the world depend upon the answer you will give. It is a great position which you hold. We, in our own country, may be as anxious to be friends with our American kinsfolk as it is possible for mortals to be. We might even make it the great object of our state policy, but you could paralyze and render abortive anything that we might attempt to do. You are the man on the horse in the present instance; we have to take the back seat. You are face to face with the actual questions—questions which arise and constantly will arise, which create friction between the two sections of the English-speaking people. * * * If I could speak so as to be heard by all your politicians and all your voters, I would implore you to remember that it lies with you to decide whether you will be the angel of peace, helping to unite into one the English-speaking people, or whether you will be like another Cadmus sowing the dragon's teeth, from which will spring up armed men to desolate the world. This is the great question which it is your destiny to decide.

Those were the views of Mr. Stead, and if we do not agree with him in all that he says there, we certainly must believe that there is some weight in his statements, and as Canadians we have no reason to be ashamed of the high position and great destiny which he has portrayed for this country. I do not think, after those views expressed by him that it would be presumptuous for us to pass the resolution which I have introduced. But, Sir, only on Saturday last, the American and Canadian papers published in full, an extract from the London 'Times' of the previous day, and I believe that the statements in that article bear very much upon this question. I do not believe that the London 'Times' is to-day the great paramount and unique organ of opinion in England and in the world that it was some decades ago, but at any rate it occupies this position: that it tries always to follow public opinion, if it does not lead it. It watches the drift and trend of public opinion, and it has a vast influence still in the country by following in the wake of public opinion. Therefore, I think that upon this question we may consider that the voice of the 'Times' represents the opinion of a

large proportion of Englishmen. This is the language that the 'Times' used on the 18th of this month :

It seems manifest that of the large problems on the successful solution of which the future of the British Empire will depend, there are very few which are not more or less directly illustrated by Canadian experience, and the probable solutions that Canada will find, whether for good or evil, will largely affect the organic structure of the Empire. It is certain that the influence of Canada on the international relations of Great Britain and the United States have tended more than anything else to a peaceful settlement by arbitration of questions which, under less favourable conditions, might have proved intractable to diplomacy. It is not perhaps altogether fanciful to surmise the beneficent results achieved in this direction. Possibly they will be the germ of future developments almost too vast and far-reaching for the political imagination of living men to conceive. What may be the future of Canada's relations to the United States on the one hand and to Great Britain on the other, no man can yet say ; but none can doubt that the problem here propounded is big with the fate of untold generations.

When we see language like that in the London 'Times,' Canadians can at least feel that at last we are appreciated. How different that language is from what was to be found in the 'Times' and many other English papers shortly after Confederation. We were told plainly enough then that Canada and the other colonies were burdens to the Empire, and that we might leave it if we pleased; and I do not know what might have happened if that sort of sentiment towards the colonies had gone on until this time. Possibly we might have been disposed to take the hint. But it has not gone on; the reverse is the case now. Even when that depreciatory language towards Canada was being uttered, thoughtful Canadians were so confident in the resources and the possibilities of Canada, that they were not unduly depressed by it; and I think that to-day they will not be unduly elated either by the very flattering eulogies we are receiving—because, Sir, nobody knows better than Canadian public men do, the great difficulties that are in our national pathway. I would like, with the permission of the House, to sketch for a moment the position which this question of international arbitration between Great Britain and the United States occupies; and also incidentally the position of the larger question of international arbitration between other nations, which more or less, at any rate by sympathy, will affect our judgment in this case. Now, in October, 1887, an address was presented to President Cleveland and to the United States Congress, signed by 234 members of the British House of Commons; and as that address was the basis of the action that is suggested to-day, I would like to read an extract from it. The address said :

The undersigned members of the British Parliament learn with the utmost satisfaction that vari-

ous proposals have been introduced into Congress urging the Government of the United States to take the necessary steps for concluding with the Government of Great Britain a treaty which shall stipulate that any differences or disputes arising between the two Governments which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency shall be referred to arbitration. Should such a proposal happily emanate from the Congress of the United States our best influence shall be used to ensure its acceptance by the Government of Great Britain. The conclusion of such a treaty would be a splendid example to those nations who are wasting their resources in war provoking institutions, and might induce other Governments to join the peaceful compact.

That action was not without its fruits, because early in 1890, after action by the President and by the Committee on Foreign Relations in the United States Senate, joint resolutions were passed by the Senate and the House of Representatives in terms the substance of which is contained in Mr. Gladstone's resolution which I recited in my proposals to-day, and which is not necessary for me to trouble the House with again. Then, on the 18th of April, 1890, a treaty plan for arbitration was adopted by that remarkable assemblage of nations which was held at Washington—the International American Conference. There were represented on that occasion 17 independent nations of the western hemisphere. Every country in North America or South America, except Canada and Greenland, was represented. Of course we could not be there, as we are not an independent nation; but all the rest of our neighbours on this continent were there; and, as our destiny is absolutely bound up with the destiny of this hemisphere, it is at least of great interest to us to see what those nations did when they met together on that occasion. Sixteen out of the seventeen nations unanimously adopted a plan of arbitration for the settlement of disputes amongst themselves. I will trouble the House with three short extracts from that treaty plan of arbitration which I think will have an important bearing upon our questions. Article 2 provides :

Arbitration shall be obligatory in all controversies concerning diplomatic and consular privileges, boundaries, territories, indemnities, the right of navigation, the validity, construction and enforcement of treaties.

Article 3 provides :

Arbitration shall be equally obligatory in all cases other than those mentioned in the foregoing article, whatever may be their origin, nature, or object, with the single exception mentioned in the next following article.

Now I draw the attention of the House particularly to the exception mentioned in the next following article as being one of vast importance to all treaties of the kind which might affect Canada. Article 4 is as follows :—

The sole question excepted from the provisions of the preceding articles are those which, in the judgment of any one of the nations involved in the controversy, may imperil its independence. In which case for such nation arbitration shall be optional, but it shall be obligatory upon the adversary power.

Having entered into that compact among themselves, these American nations thought it would not be out of place for them to make a recommendation, which they unanimously did make, to European powers having dealings with American countries; and this was adopted at a later meeting as a recommendation from the conference:

That this conference, having recommended arbitration for the settlement of disputes among the republics of America, begs leave to express the wish that controversies between them and the nations of Europe may be settled in the same friendly manner. It is further recommended that the Government of each nation herein represented communicate this wish to all friendly powers.

They did not rest satisfied even with that important work; but before they parted they expressed their opinion upon a matter which is of very great concern to Canada. Remember, Mr. Speaker, that among these nations represented was the United States. They agreed to these resolutions of the conference, which were as follows:—

Resolved by the International American Conference, that it earnestly recommends to the governments therein represented the adoption of the following declarations:—

1st. That the principle of conquest shall not, during the continuance of the Treaty of Arbitration, be recognized as admissible under American public law.

2nd. That all cessions of territory made during the continuance of the Treaty of Arbitration shall be void if made under threats of war or in the presence of an armed force.

3rd. Any nation from which such cessions shall be exacted may demand that the validity of the cessions so made shall be submitted to arbitration.

4th. Any renunciation of the right to arbitration, made under the conditions named in the second section shall be null and void.

It is very satisfactory for us to see that, so far as treaties can do it, the independent nations in the western hemisphere have decided to disown the right of conquest, and whatever effect those treaties may have we find that treaties entered into in time of peace are very seldom broken. Treaties that are broken are those imposed after war upon a conquered people. But when nations meet together, as those American Republics met, formally and in time of peace to frame a treaty, surely we may hope that their decision will be permanent and lasting, and I am sure it is a great blessing for Canada that all the other powers, on this continent at any rate, have discarded the old doctrine of conquest and of appropriating territory the one from the other. Then there was the vote

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which I have recited, in the British House of Commons on the 16th of June, 1893. The resolution was moved on the motion of the First Minister and carried unanimously. That resolution, before it was moved in the House of Commons, had received the support of 2,000,000 of the British people, who had petitioned or passed resolutions at meetings specially called for the purpose of approving it. So that it has not only the moral weight of a resolution passed by the House of Commons unanimously, but the moral weight of the backing of this great mass of people of Great Britain. Then, Sir, we also have something else in this line to encourage us to go on. At the World's Fair in Chicago, a remarkable document was signed on behalf of the forty foreign nations who were, in one way or another, represented at that Fair, and this, if you will allow me to read it, is the most important portion of that memorial:

The undersigned citizens of many countries gathered at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, in the United States of America, recognizing the advantages accruing to those nations which have pursued the policy of arbitrating international disputes and desiring that the like benefits may in the future be enjoyed by all nations, and deeming this a fitting opportunity, do hereby join in this memorial to all our various governments, praying that they will unitedly agree by mutual treaties to submit for settlement by arbitration all such international questions and differences as shall fail of satisfactory solution by the ordinary peaceful negotiations.

And I may say that all the Canadian commissioners appended their signatures to that document. I may say that the Finance Minister of this Government also signed that memorial, as well as some other Canadians of distinction, and last, but not least, it was signed also by one of our most recent and most distinguished citizens, Her Excellency the Countess of Aberdeen—that distinguished lady who is the very embodiment of the spirit of the broadest philanthropy, and whose efforts in the interests of toleration and of charity will do much, I hope, in the future to promote, as they have promoted in the past, feelings of peace and good-will among all nations and all creeds and races with which she may be brought into contact.

It being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

Mr. EDGAR. When you left the Chair at six o'clock, I had pointed out to the House how very far mutual approaches had been made between Great Britain and the United States towards arriving at the settlement of their differences by peaceful arbitration. I showed, too, the adoption of a treaty to that effect by all nations on the continent of North America. I showed also the tendency among all the nations on this continent to propose a settlement of that kind.

of difficulties between themselves and the nations of Europe. I had shown that all of America and Great Britain were moving steadily to-day in that direction. Now, I think, we ought to be hopeful that out of that something practical may be achieved. All the great wars that Great Britain has indulged in or been driven into, at least most of them, have been characterized by her most recent statesman as wars which could have been avoided, and we now see, in looking at the position of Great Britain, how anxious she has been to avoid European wars, because I think I am right in saying that since the battle of Waterloo, Great Britain has not made a declaration of war against a European power except in the one instance of the Crimean war. Since 1822 Great Britain has had eighteen arbitrations with different nations of the world on important international cases, which would otherwise have probably led up to war, and eight of those arbitrations were with the United States. That also is a very encouraging state of affairs. I think that the importance of the position of Canada, in itself entitles us to have a voice, at least so far as it is suggested by this resolution, in this matter. In respect of territory, population and material resources we rank among the very first of the nations of the western hemisphere, because if we take those nations that were represented at the international American congress, seventeen in number, among them, apart from the United States, we find that Canada as to population ranked third. As to revenue she would rank fourth, and as to territory she would rank first. She is ahead of even Brazil in territory, and is only inferior to the United States when you add Alaska to the territory of the United States. We have all these elements of nationality, and we have aspirations for nationality, too, but there is no appreciable section of our people to-day who are now seeking separation from the mother land. I think we are perfectly safe in making that statement. As our strength becomes greater, and our self-governing powers are developed side by side with our strength, we may be well satisfied, for many years to come, with the practical independence which we possess. We are rather the allies than the subjects of Great Britain. We are subjects, it is true, of the same Queen; but we no longer admit that we are subjects of any other British subjects who live in England, Ireland, or Scotland. We use the name of the same sovereign wherewith to govern ourselves and we also use the prerogatives of the Crown to represent the will of the majority of the Canadian people. I think it is difficult to conceive of a better system under which to develop a free and prosperous nationality than the one we have. We will be able to fulfil, after a time whatever destiny the womb of the future enfolds for Canada. We have practically, Sir, no foreign or external relations but those with

the British Empire and the United States. Just look at our foreign trade. Our foreign trade with the whole world during the last year amounted to \$247,000,000. The whole of that foreign trade, except \$30,000,000, was with the British Empire and the United States. We had a trade of \$115,000,000 with the British Empire; and, with the United States, \$102,000,000. Therefore, our commercial intercourse with the whole of the rest of the world outside of these two is comparatively a trifle. And, of course, Sir, it would be hypocrisy of the rankest kind for us to deny our deep interest in the permanence of peace between Great Britain and the United States. A war between England and any other power would enlist our sympathies for the mother land, and, probably, our practical support; and it would be at a cost of some loss to our commerce. But, so long as England shall maintain her naval supremacy, the tide of war cannot roll upon our shores or devastate our homes. Therefore, to give Canada scope for a great development of all the arts of peace such as no country so large and so rich as Canada ever had before in the history of the world, there are two cardinal requirements and two only. One is that peace and friendship between the United States and England should be maintained, and the other is that the British naval supremacy should be maintained. To secure the first all Canadians of course will be of one mind, though we may differ somewhat widely among ourselves as to the best methods of taking full advantage of our commercial relations with the United States, and even with the mother land. How to assist in maintaining the second, the British naval supremacy, is a problem which will some day be of a practical kind for us Canadians, but I do not propose to discuss it at all to-night. I do not propose, either, to take up the time of the House in showing the great interests that England has at stake in maintaining peace with the United States. She can safely be trusted to discuss those interests and look after them. But I would merely point out, in a cursory way that, of the whole trade of Great Britain with all the world—that unparalleled vast commerce—28 per cent of it is with the United States, in spite of the great restrictions that have been placed by that country upon foreign trade; and most of the United States carrying trade also is done by English shipping, for we know that the United States now only do about 12 per cent of their own foreign carrying trade. But, after all, what unites these people as much as anything else is the fact that in language and literature they are almost the same. It is a curious thing, Mr. Speaker, but I believe it to be an undoubted fact that, to-day, the great American magazines have a much larger circulation in Britain than any British literary periodicals have. That shows how these two peoples are bound up in literature as well

as commerce and trade and every other way. I said that to maintain the British naval supremacy was a matter of vast importance to Canada; but it will be observed that, given a permanent peace between England and the United States, the United States then also will be interested in maintaining British naval supremacy, which would confine European wars to the continent of Europe, and would keep the peace on the seas that sweep the shores of the United States as well as those of Canada. I think, Mr. Speaker, that in the interests of Canada and the interests of the Empire, it would be very well for this Canadian Parliament to pass the resolution which I have submitted here to-night.

Mr. DICKEY. I do not intend to go beyond the terms of the resolution itself in the few remarks I shall address to the House. I shall simply direct my attention to the question whether or not it is advisable that this House should pass a resolution of this character. I do not think, Sir, that any person in the House can have any doubt that the passage of a resolution of this kind by the British Parliament or the Congress of the United States—bodies having sovereign powers—would be a highly proper and desirable thing. At the best, or at the worst, it is an expression of good-will between two great peoples. An expression of this sort marks an advanced post of international friendship between two great countries, and makes that a point of departure in any future negotiations between the countries. It also places in the hands of those of the two peoples who are lovers of peace, a very strong precedent and argument in the case of trouble between the two countries, with the attending consequence of inflaming public sentiment. It furnishes them with an appeal from Caesar drunk to Caesar sober, from the judgments of a people roused by passion to the judgments of that people expressed in their calmer and more sober moments. A resolution of this sort is far more practical, and at the same time far more necessary, in a democratic country than in an autocratic country. Democracies of the present day are ruled by precedents, and a precedent such as this, testifying in the most public way to the amity between the two countries, is of vast importance in future dealings between the two nations. It is far from being a matter of mere sentimentality; it is an actual vantage ground, gained by the lovers of good-will among both people. Therefore, I say that the words of Sir William Vernon Harcourt, in the British Parliament, with reference to the resolution quoted in the motion now before the House, were fully justified when he said that the motion was one of the most important that could be proposed to the British House of Commons. But, Sir, it does not follow that because the British House of Commons passed a resolution of this sort, the Canadian House of

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Commons should do the same. But I must say to my hon. friend, the mover of this resolution, that he and I have, I fear, laid ourselves open somewhat to the lash of ridicule in supporting this motion. I think he has offered, and I am offering now, a very fair field for the satirist and humorist. Canada has no diplomatic status whatever; she has no sovereign powers; she has no control whatever over the foreign policy of England, and it is quite open for some humorist of an American paper to represent this motion as either an impudent assumption on the part of Canada, or an ebullition of colonial vanity and arrogance, whichever they please. Canada has no strength whatever. In spite of the assertion of my hon. friend from Victoria, B.C. (Mr. Prior), who addressed us this afternoon, Canada has no strength whatever for offence; she is practically powerless for offence, and therefore it seems to me that for Canada to propose to the American people that they should lay down their arms, is very much like the lamb proposing to the lion that they should enter into a truce and have no more war between them. But it seems to me that in spite of all the humour that can be got from this resolution, views of this sort are in reality superficial. In the first place, Canada occupies now no mean position. She has a population of 5,000,000, which, I am safe in saying, are equal, man for man and woman for woman, to any 5,000,000 on the face of the earth, and not only is that the case now, but we look forward to a very much greater development in the future. More than that, our position is very peculiar at the present time. We are the point of contact, and the only point of contact, between England and the United States of America. Our interests in the past have been matters of controversy between them, and in the future I might almost say that no trouble could arise between England and the United States except on questions in which Canada is concerned. The other colonial dependencies of England are too remote for their interests ever to come in conflict with those of the United States, and therefore on Canada alone a peculiar responsibility devolves in regard to relations between the two countries. Then we must remember that though we are technically only a colony, and though we have no diplomatic status, as I have before mentioned, practically our wishes are respected by the mother country in all that concerns our interests with regard to other powers. I think it is not only seemly, but it is almost necessary, that when the British Parliament, our mother Parliament, and the mother of many Parliaments, lays down a general principle for dealing with affairs of this kind relating to the whole Empire, we, representing that colony which stands between her and the United States, should declare that in all her dealings in foreign matters with the United States, our hearts are with her so far as the question of arbitration is concerned. It is for that reason

that I think this Parliament should not hesitate to adopt a resolution, the principle of which is so good as the one before us. It is also important that we should speak at this time for another reason, namely, that we have just come through an arbitration with regard to the Behring Sea. I suppose some features of that arbitration, some details of it, may not be as satisfactory to Canadians as could be desired, and I think it is most important that in view of that very fact we should reaffirm in the clearest manner our adherence to the principle out of which the Behring Sea arbitration grew. Therefore, I think this time is particularly opportune in which to deal with that question. It should be understood, however, that any resolution of this sort is subject to some limitations. There may be questions upon which no compromise can be made with any power. There are questions that arise between nations similar to those involving personal honour in the individual, and on which no compromise is possible, no arbitration is possible. I say that, Sir, only to guard myself against the supposition by the House that I would consent to submit every question to arbitration. It is not necessary at the present time to point out what those questions might be, but they will suggest themselves to the mind of every hon. gentleman. Personally I should have liked this resolution to be limited entirely to the interests of Canada; I should have liked it to express the view that England, in dealing with the interests of Canada, should adopt the principle which she has adopted for the rest of the Empire. But although the resolution is not exactly worded as I should have liked, I shall not quarrel with it on that ground, but shall have great pleasure in seconding it. I hope the resolution will be passed unanimously, and I hope the leader of the House will see his way of adopting it. It is quite fitting that in the middle of a busy and sometimes acrimonious session, we should lay aside our party differences for a time, and unite in expressing the wish, which I know we all feel, that peace between the two great English-speaking democratic countries in the world, should be long maintained.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I do not quite agree with the hon. gentleman who addressed the House in seconding the resolution, because, while I think the resolution is open somewhat to criticism on the ground that it invites the House to express views upon a question which is at present, for this country, one of sentiment rather than of practical utility, I do not at all admit that it is a resolution which will justly subject the House to any satire or criticism of the character to which the hon. gentleman seemed to think it would be open to. I agree rather with the observations that were made by the hon. gentleman who moved the resolution, that the great interest which Canada has in the maintenance of

peaceful and harmonious relations with the United States amply justifies this Parliament in expressing any opinion whatever upon questions touching the maintenance of those relations. I am sure, Sir, that anything like satire upon a subject of this kind will be exceedingly misplaced. The interest which Canada has in the maintenance of those relations which I have mentioned with the United States covers all the interests of this country, and it is impossible to imagine any interest that this country could have otherwise than in the maintenance of peace with our great neighbour to the south. But in addition to that, there is a great deal of force in what has been said both by the mover and seconder of this resolution in alluding to the fact that the questions in relation to which irritation may possibly arise between Great Britain and the United States are Canadian questions. Therefore, Sir, considering the position in which Canada stands to the mother country, the obligation which the mother country is under from day to day to consult Canada with respect to questions which affect her interests, considering the position of Canada under the circumstances, Canada has a right to be heard, the first right to be heard, with respect to any matter touching the peace of the two countries. The hon. gentleman who moved the resolution, Mr. Speaker, I thought put the matter very modestly and appropriately before the House, especially as he indicated to the House that he formed no rash expectations with respect to this resolution or with respect to the sentiment which it conveys, in so far as this principle has been adopted by other nations. The hon. gentleman was amply justified in forming an exceedingly modest estimate of the results of a declaration of this kind, modestly made in this resolution before this House, but much more forcibly and ostentatiously put forward by some of the other states that have laid down the maxims of peace for the whole world and violated them before the ink was dry. One circumstance that was referred to casually in the debate in the British House of Commons on this question was significant in that point of view. It was remarked that the President of the United States, that is to say, the late President, having on one occasion received a deputation representing a great multitude of Christian ministers in the United States, endorsed very heartily all their sentiments with regard to peace and with regard to arbitration which they had uttered, and after a gentle reminder at the close of his address that the devil was still unchained and roaming about the earth, he got into his carriage and drove off to the United States arsenal, where he inspected the guns of the Government very earnestly for four or five hours. Another circumstance I remember which indicated that one should form an exceedingly modest view as to the results likely to follow the adoption of a resolution of this character was the fact

that while the United States was conferring upon her President ample power to make a treaty of peace, and not only a treaty of peace, but a treaty of perpetual peace, because it was to secure arbitration between all the nations of the earth, while those tidings were being sent across the Atlantic and the co-operation of Great Britain was being invited therein, the agents of the United States were seizing our vessels on remote seas, and extending to our subjects the most cruel treatment to which subjects of a friendly power could be subjected. Another circumstance which makes one a little doubtful about the practical utility of a measure of this kind is, that when the representatives of eighteen states gathered together in the great conference which the hon. member for Ontario (Mr. Edgar) mentioned, when they were received by the United States as a peace-loving power welcoming her sisters assembled within her territory to consider how peace could be, not only best promoted, but forever established on this earth, and to frame a treaty of arbitration which was to be the model of treaties which all the nations on the earth should sign, that treaty was never completed, for before it was actually signed they broke up the conference to engage in war, and have been shedding each other's blood ever since. These circumstances make us not very sanguine as to the results of a measure of this character. But that is no reason why this country, loving peace as this country does, should not declare to the nations of the earth that in relation to those questions in which she is interested, she is willing at any time to submit her interests to the fair judgment of impartial men. It is a pledge, it is the expression of a pledge that in her relations with other countries this country desires and intends to pursue a course which invites the fair judgment of the public men of other countries, and, therefore, I think it not inappropriate that this House should express that sentiment to-night, and should express it despite the opinion of those who undertake to treat this subject with satire or derision as coming from a country not strong in arms, although some day it will be one of the great nations of the earth. I think it not inappropriate at all that such an expression should be made by this House for another reason, and that is with regard to the future. While to-day this country is to a great extent in the position described by the hon. member for Cumberland (Mr. Dickey), Canada constitutes a country having a future in which it will be called upon to play a most important part, for every one who entertains the view generally held by patriotic Canadians believes that the time is coming when this country will be second to none on the continent of America, either in strength or in national importance. It is worthy, too, of consideration as regards our right to express an opinion on this subject that we

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have from time to time practically acted upon the principle which this resolution expresses. With respect to other nations which have pledged themselves so ostentatiously to it, to quote for a moment the words of Mr. Gladstone on the subject: "their professions have greatly outrun their performances," but with respect to Canada our performances have fully equalled, if they have not outrun our professions. We have had it mentioned to-night that no less than eight great international arbitrations have taken place between Great Britain and the United States, and most of those have related to Canadian interests. Not to go back beyond the examples that Canada has given in that regard since the period of Confederation, we have had the arbitrations which arose out of the Washington Treaty, we have had the arbitration with respect to Behring Sea, and we are probably on the eve of another with respect to the compensation which shall be given to the sealers who were injured by the action of the United States Government, and whose rights have been vindicated by the Behring Sea award. Irrespective of those, which are immediately in view, the Canadian Government has indicated as regards other vexed questions which are under investigation a willingness to submit to a tribunal or arbitration for the settlement of disputes which may arise under them. We have in regard to the Alaskan boundary a question which in all probability it would be impossible to settle by any mere construction or interpretation of the treaty itself, no matter whether that interpretation should be strict or liberal, for no man would venture to say where the boundary between Alaska and Canada should be, if it were merely a question to be decided on the treaty itself, even if it were to be decided by a judicial tribunal. And, Sir, it is peculiarly one of the questions which an arbitration may settle, and in respect of it three years ago, an offer of arbitration was made by this country to the Government of the United States. That offer was entertained by the Government of the United States to the extent of agreeing that a close examination of the facts with regard to the two countries should be made by officers representing the two Governments, with a view to the ultimate settlement of the question by negotiation or by arbitration. We have had likewise an attempt to settle in the same way, the boundary line between the two countries in Passamaquoddy Bay: a place where the area in dispute is of far less importance, but where a conflict of interests has already keenly arisen. We have, therefore, the justification that in expressing our views in a resolution of this character we are but enforcing a principle which we have already acted up to. There is one other reason why, in response to what the hon. member for Cumberland (Mr. Dickey) has said, I would urge the House to accept this resolu-

tion and to pass it unanimously, and that is: we have recently come out of an arbitration in which there has been, outside of an exceedingly small circle of dissatisfied persons, a unanimous expression of opinion throughout this Empire as to the satisfactory results that have attended it. It would be a matter of surprise to those outside of this country to have read—I presume they will never have the misfortune to read—some of the expressions which have been made use of in this country, for insincere political purposes, with regard to that arbitration and with regard to that tribunal. If it were possible for me to believe some of the expressions which have been used in this regard I would indignantly ask this House to spurn this resolution to-night. If it were true that we would be justified in treating—as was attempted to be done on one occasion—with the grossest insult, the British Government for its action with regard to this question, Her Majesty's agent who conducted the affairs of the arbitration for Great Britain, the arbitrators, and especially the neutral arbitrators, who, it was said on that occasion, stripped this country of her rights because she was feeble in the assembly of nations; if it were possible for me to believe that the other language of that character which was unworthily used on a public occasion, had a particle of truth or sincerity in it, this resolution ought to be flouted by the House. But I think it appropriate, Sir, in connection with that arbitration that this House should pass and adopt this resolution, if for no other purpose, for the purpose of showing the country with what scorn and contempt it treats observations of that character.

Mr. LAURIER. Mr. Speaker, I am sorry that the concluding portion of the speech of the right hon. gentleman was not in the same spirit in which his first observations were couched, and in the same spirit which animated the observations of the mover and seconder of this address. I am sorry that the good wishes of the hon. member for Cumberland (Mr. Dickey) were not carried out, when he expressed the hope, that in a matter of this kind it would be pleasant for all to have a sort of truce upon our party strifes in order to agree upon one question as to which there should be unanimity of opinion. As to the main subject of this motion I have no observations at all to offer, because it is manifest, from the observations of those who have addressed themselves to the House upon it, that there is unanimity of opinion upon the question, and indeed it would be difficult to conceive that it should be otherwise. But I take exception to the remarks which have just fallen from the lips of the right hon. the Premier in the concluding portion of his speech. Exception has been taken to the award that has been given at Paris on the Behring Sea question. I may say, however,

that if all the criticisms which have been made against this award were justified—and those that have been made within my hearing were justified—even more, if we had failed to obtain in that award the measure of justice that we were entitled to—and I believe to some extent we did fail to obtain it—still unsatisfactory as the award has been; if it had been ten times or a hundred times or a thousand times more unsatisfactory, it would be preferable to the arbitrament of war. There is nobody in this House who, while taking objection to the result of this arbitration, would for a moment suggest, as the words of the Prime Minister would imply, that it would be better to have under certain circumstances the arbitrament of war, rather than the arbitrament of reason such as we have had in that matter. I do not impugn the motives of the court which rendered that award—nobody ever did impugn their motives—nor even would I impugn the conclusions which they came to generally; but there is one thing which cannot be denied, and which the Prime Minister himself must admit: that if we succeeded in that award in maintaining our propositions of law, in scouting at once the United States propositions, not only that the Americans had jurisdiction over Behring Sea, but that they had the right of ownership in the seals which were born on the Pribyloff Islands; if all this is true, on the other hand it is equally true that we signally failed in the latter part of the questions which were submitted to the court. That is to say, we signally failed in this: that upon the regulations which were made, the propositions of the Canadian Government were set aside and the propositions of the American Government were adopted. In this we failed. No one can gainsay that, and the right hon. gentleman cannot find fault if we complain on this side of the House—and we sometimes have complained—that the propositions which were laid down by the Government of which he is the head, and by the hon. the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, who was the official exponent before that court, were not carried out as they were laid down before the court. Everybody would be more satisfied—the Prime Minister himself would be more satisfied, I am sure; the Minister of Marine and Fisheries would be more satisfied, I am also sure—if the propositions which he himself laid down before the court had been adopted, and not the propositions which were laid down by the American Government. I have this only to say—not certainly to impugn the result of the arbitration, not to impugn the motives of the arbitrators, for far be it from me, not even to impugn their deliberate judgment, I will not go to that length, I do not pretend to know enough of the case, because there are many matters involved in this which would have to be gone into; I do not pretend to know enough of the details of the case in order myself to pass

judgment; but I simply say this: that I know what our contention was, I know what were the propositions of our Government, and no one can contradict me when I say that the propositions which were laid down before the court by our Government were not adopted. I therefore take exception to the language of the right hon. gentleman, but I repeat: even had the decision gone altogether against us, still I would not see in that any objection to such a resolution as is now before the House. But every man in this age of light, in this nineteenth century, must admit that in all circumstances the arbitration of such a court as sat at Paris is, even for the party that loses, preferable to the arbitration of war.

Mr. GILLMOR. I had hoped, Mr. Speaker, that we were going to have a calm and pleasant discussion of this resolution, without reference to party feeling. I always have been and am opposed to war, and I expected that the Prime Minister and the leader of the Opposition would make some remarks upon so important a resolution. I have been very much pleased indeed with the speeches that have been made; but I regret a little that anything should have occurred to mar the harmony that should characterize such a discussion. However, it has not been much of an interruption. The subject of this resolution is an interesting subject indeed. I have always looked upon war with the greatest horror, and I think that this Parliament need not hesitate to express itself on this question in view of the fact that the Congress of the United States has adopted a similar resolution, and that the Parliament of Great Britain has done the same. Those two nations know something about the evils of war. How much better it is to settle the disputes between nations by arbitration than by the sword. Mr. Speaker, I consider it not only an honour to this Parliament and to Canada to adopt this resolution, but I think it is in the path of duty to do so. It does not require a very extended knowledge of history to know something of the evils of war. Notwithstanding that there has now been peace in Europe for a long time, Europe is to-day one vast military camp. Notwithstanding that we are living in an age of peace, yet the preparations for war are going on and the public debts are rolling up to an enormous extent, and the people of all the civilized nations are loaded down with them. I do not think these national debts would have been so large if the wars had been fought out as they used to be in feudal times. Then the rich did their part of the fighting and paid the bills; but since the nations have discovered that they can borrow enormous sums of money and tax the people indirectly, so that they will not understand it, to pay for these wars, the debts have gone on rolling

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up. When the barons had to do the fighting and the paying, there were no great national debts for war; but since they have discovered how to make the people do the fighting, and pay the bills, too, there have been no end of wars, and no end of burdens heaped upon the people, and that too in the most civilized nations of the earth, and where the Christian religion, the religion that proclaims peace on earth and good-will to men, most widely prevails. Now, this is a movement in the right direction, and it has originated, I am glad to say, with the English-speaking nations of the earth—the United States on this North American continent, and Great Britain in Europe; and if there is any desire in my heart, it is that Great Britain and the kindred nation on this continent—a nation that contains more than half the English-speaking people of the globe—should always settle their disputes by arbitration. And what does it matter which side wins? I have no doubt that the arbitrators, no matter who they may be, whether Tory or Liberal, will always make the best effort they can to secure justice, and, perhaps, sometimes a little more, for their own country. But at any rate there is no comparison between the results of arbitration and the results of war, and I trust that the time will never come when a war shall be declared between these two nations. They have, during my recollection, settled their difficulties by arbitration, and the awards were matters of no particular importance to either compared with what the results would have been if the difficulties had not been settled in that way. With regard to the burdens that war entails upon the nations, I was looking the other day into some statistics, and I find that when all the nations of Europe are fully equipped and ready for war they will require a force of 20,000,000 of men at a cost of \$10,000,000,000 annually. When we think of that, and then think of the toiling masses in Europe, and the taxes imposed upon them everywhere, does it not behoove us to lend our humble aid to encourage the nations to adopt this good suggestion coming from the two nations that must lead the world—that are leading the world in commerce, and in all that makes life agreeable, and in all that makes men free. I think it is a credit and an honour to Canada, and I am glad indeed, that my hon. friend has seen fit to introduce this resolution. I wish I could say something more interesting on the subject. It is, perhaps, presumption in me to speak at all on an occasion of this kind, but I felt that it was a subject in which every philanthropist, every lover of his kind, was interested, and I was in hopes that more hon. gentlemen on the front benches would have expressed themselves on this subject, and that the resolution would have passed unanimously and harmoniously.

Motion agreed to.

FREE ADMISSION OF CHURCH ARTICLES.

Mr. McCARTHY moved for :

Return of the order, minute or direction authorizing the collector of customs at Woodstock, Ont., to admit free of duty certain goods consisting of vestments or other church articles for the use of the Roman Catholic Church at Woodstock, consigned to the Rev. Father Brady of Woodstock, in the month of February, 1894. 1. The decision upon which the collector acted in admitting such goods free of duty. 2. All correspondence between the Controller of Customs or other person in the Department of Customs relating thereto. 3. Copies of the letters and correspondence which passed between the Rev. J. C. Farthing of Woodstock, and the Controller of Customs, with reference to the admission of such goods and the alleged unfairness with which Mr. Farthing had been treated on the importation by him of a similar class of goods for the use of the Anglican Church at Woodstock, of which he is rector.

He said : The matter to which I desire to invite the attention of the House has reference to the entry of certain goods at the port of Woodstock. Complaint was made to the Customs authorities by the Rev. Mr. Farthing, rector of the Church of England at Woodstock, that certain goods consigned to the Rev. Father Brady, priest of the Roman Catholic Church at Woodstock, had been admitted free, notwithstanding the fact that these goods were dutiable. The correspondence has been partially published, and I am now moving to have the whole of the correspondence brought down. It seems that some years ago, Mr. Farthing had a consignment of the same class of goods made to him, and that he had applied—under the very common opinion which seems to prevail that goods intended for church purposes should be free—for their admission free of duty. He was told that the law did not permit any discrimination of the kind, that these goods were dutiable, and the duty was very properly exacted. It came to his knowledge, however, that in the month of January last, the rival church in the same place had been permitted to take a larger consignment of goods out of the Customs without the payment of duty, and he commenced a correspondence with the Controller of Customs, which I see has been partially, or altogether, as far as he is concerned, published. The correspondence that took place between the Controller and the Customs officer at the port of Woodstock has also been given to the public. Now, this, Mr. Farthing says, is not, by any means, the first time that entries of this kind have been made ; but he explains that on other occasions, vestments and articles for the Roman Catholic Church have been admitted free of duty, while the same indulgence has not been permitted to other churches. And, in point of fact, so far as I understand, there is no justification for their free

admission, in any case. There is no authority for the Controller or the Customs officials to violate the law to permit the admission of goods, except on the terms specified in the Customs Act. In this matter, it appears to me, from the correspondence given to the public that the Controller of Customs seems to cast the blame, if blame there be,—and blame there must be somewhere—upon the Customs officer. I do not know, I am not here to say, whether any blame attaches to the Customs officer or not, but it is hardly fair for the controller of Customs to publish only a portion of the correspondence, and leave the blame upon the Customs officer, without giving the whole of it so as to enable the public to judge whether that blame properly belongs to him or not. I will draw attention here, so that there can be no possible mistake—if the hon. gentleman now thinks proper to make any observations in explanation of this—to what appears to me to call for explanation. It was on the 20th of December last that the Rev. Father Brady applied to the Controller of Customs for permission to allow the entry of these goods free of duty, which goods, I believe, are supposed to be of the value of about \$500. On the 27th of the month, the Customs officer at Woodstock, Mr. Van Ingen, was instructed as follows by this letter from Ottawa :

I inclose you a communication from the Rev. M. J. Brady, of Woodstock, and have to ask you to examine into his application, and admit free of duty such of the articles as are so provided for under the law—communion service is free. Kindly inform Rev. Mr. Brady.

I am, yours faithfully,
N. C. WALLACE.

What Father Brady had asked for permission to enter free, were church goods, namely, a set of mass vestments, one chalice, and one missal. Some correspondence, I should judge—and I invite particularly the attention of the Controller of Customs to my statement—must have taken place between the collector of the port of Woodstock and the department here. That is abundantly clear from the subsequent letters, but nothing further appears to have been done or published, at all events, until the 28th of January. And on the 26th of January, Mr. Farthing, having heard that these goods had been admitted free, remonstrated in a letter which he wrote on that date to the Minister of Customs. After referring, in the first place, to his own application made in 1888, he then goes on to say :

I have often heard of Romanists receiving articles for their church duty free, and during the last few days have learned that the Rev. Father Brady, of this town, has received a number of articles valued at about (\$500) from England, via Hamilton, duty free. These things were shipped in bond to Hamilton. Could it be because our local collector would not sanction Roman favours ? There is presumably but one law in this country, and there are

supposed not to be any religious privileges. Why then, must I, as an Anglican priest, be compelled to pay on things which a Roman priest receives duty free? The day for Protestants to see Roman favours shown has passed.

That letter brought the following reply from the Controller of Customs on the 1st February :—

Your letter of the 26th inst. is carefully noted, and with regard to the articles said to have been admitted free at Woodstock that were imported by the Rev. Father Brady, I shall at once make inquiries. The tariff free list simply mentions "communion plate when imported by and for the use of churches," and "bells imported by and for the use of churches." I may add that these are provisions that apply to every religious sect, and that nobody has an advantage over another.

I would just draw attention to the fact that the Controller must have understood that Mr. Farthing was referring to the entry that had been made at Woodstock, because he says so distinctly. Now, there is a letter, no doubt from Mr. Van Ingen, because it is acknowledged in the letter of the Controller, but this letter has not been produced, and its date is the 10th February. I rather gather that that letter was written from a communication from Ottawa after this remonstrance had been made by Mr. Farthing. That, of course, is a matter merely of surmise. I only suppose it must have been so, for there seems to have been nothing to correspond about from the time of receiving this letter and the 1st of February, except Mr. Farthing's remonstrance. No written document is published until a letter written on the 14th of February, and this letter has been given to the press as having been written by Mr. Wallace, the Controller of Customs :

OTTAWA, February 14th, 1894.

MY DEAR SIR,—Referring to your letter of the 1st ult., returning correspondence forwarded you with my letter of the 27th December, relative to the application of the Rev. M. J. Brady, of Woodstock, for permission to enter free of duty certain communion service. From a complaint that has been addressed to me on this subject, I am reminded of my letter to you above referred to, and upon calling for the file of correspondence touching the case and looking over your letter, I find, what was not previously observed, that the application refers in part to church vestments as well as to communion service.

It was, no doubt, perfectly plain in Father Brady's letter that the articles were "one set of mass vestments, one chalice, and one missal."

The communion service only is provided for free entry. Church vestments are dutiable at the rate of 20 per cent ad valorem under the provision of item 547 of the tariff.

The Controller then goes on to refer to the other items of the tariff :

If you have not communicated your erroneous understanding of the terms of my letter above
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referred to Rev. Mr. Brady, kindly consider it cancelled. If the matter has gone further than this, be good enough to explain particulars to this gentleman and have the matter adjusted.

I am, faithfully yours,

N. C. WALLACE.

To W. H. VAN INGEN,
Collector of Customs, Woodstock.

Now, Sir, I cannot help saying that it does appear to me most extraordinary that on the 14th of February the Controller should have imagined that these goods, which had been received in the latter part of December, or early in January, had not been entered on the terms of that letter. However, this is the language of the communication. Two letters followed, one from Mr. Farthing on the 15th of February, in which he draws attention to the fact that his letter of the 1st remains unanswered, and, again, on the 22nd of February he writes to remind the Controller that no notice has been taken of his letter of the 26th of January. On the 27th Mr. Van Ingen writes to the Controller, but this letter also is not produced. But I know there is such a letter, because I see it referred to in the communication of the Controller of Customs of the 5th of March. Then, on the 28th of February the Controller of Customs writes in these terms. This is the first answer to the letter of Mr. Farthing since the 1st of the month :

OTTAWA, 28th February, 1894.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have to hand your postal card of the 22nd inst., and if the statement you make in effect that your request for refund of duty paid has not been attended to, refers to the question of duty on materials brought in for church purposes, I would say, that from all that has been represented to me on the subject, I do not see how refund can be paid. Only communion services and church bells are free of duty, and consequently any duty paid on other articles cannot be refunded.

I am, faithfully yours,

N. C. WALLACE.

Rev. J. C. FARTHING,
Woodstock, Ont.

It is quite plain that at this time the hon. Controller had quite lost the point of Mr. Farthing's correspondence. That is answered on the 3rd of March by Mr. Farthing in these terms :

THE RECTORY,
WOODSTOCK, ONT., 3rd March, 1894.

To the
Hon. N. CLARKE WALLACE,
Ottawa.

DEAR SIR,—Your favour of the 28th ult. came duly to hand. I note that you refuse to refund the duty paid on articles for my church. In my letter of the 26th of January last, I called your attention to the following facts :—On the 8th December, 1888, I paid for certain articles for my church, duty, \$51.09. On the 8th November, 1889, I paid duty on my hood for my degree ordered to be worn in

the public service of the church, \$3, so that I, as an Anglican clergyman, paid a total of \$54.09, while you admitted over \$500 worth of things, vestments, etc., for the Roman Church here this winter free of duty. The duty would amount to about \$170.

I know perfectly well whereof what I speak, when I say that the Rev. Father Brady received those things through the "Woodstock Custom House free of duty." This is not fair either to me, to my church, or the country at large. You have promised to make inquiry and I have no doubt you have done so, and are therefore aware that this is a fact. As you do not deny it, I presume you admit it is true.

You have much mistaken your man if you think such a letter as yours can silence me. I demand what the law gives me, equal rights with my Roman Catholic fellow-citizen. The same law which compels me to pay duty should compel Father Brady; and the law which now admits his things free should admit mine free or return the duty wrongfully charged. I have given you the opportunity to deal in the matter fairly by me. Since you decline to do so, I have no alternative but to demand through our local member a full parliamentary inquiry, and the whole matter shall be laid before the country through the press. There is but one law, and the day for such favours has passed. The law must be administered to Roman Catholics as to Protestants.

Yours truly,

J. C. FARTHING,
Rector of Woodstock.

It was impossible after this for the collector any longer to misunderstand what Mr. Farthing was driving at, and accordingly, we find that on the 5th of March the following letter is written to Mr. Van Ingen by the Controller:—

OTTAWA, March 5th, 1894.

To W. H. VAN INGEN,
Collector of Customs, Woodstock, Ont.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have your letter of the 27th ult.—

That is the letter I have already referred to as not being produced. If we had it we could tell to whom the blame was to be attached.

—relative to the demand you have made upon Rev. Mr. Brady for payment of duty on church vestments. As church vestments are properly subject to duty, as pointed out to you in my letter of 14th February, the amount exigible must be collected. Kindly have the duty paid.

Yours faithfully,
N. C. WALLACE.

On the 8th of March—though the letter is, evidently by mistake, dated the 8th of February—this letter was sent by the Controller to Mr. Farthing:

OTTAWA, 8th February, 1894.

REV. J. C. FARTHING, M.A.,
The Rectory, Woodstock, Ont.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter of the 3rd instant further with reference to the duty required of you in 1888

and 1889 on articles forwarded you from the Old Country, in the year first mentioned for the use of your church, and in the other for your own personal use, came duly to hand, and upon calling for the correspondence I had previously had with you on the subject, I find that my reply of the 28th ult. does not give us complete information regarding the action I took upon your letter of the 26th January last, as it should have. In such letter you stated that Rev. Father Brady of this town [Woodstock] had received a number of articles valued at about \$500 from England via Hamilton, duty free. These things were shipped in bond to Hamilton.

As you advised me that the goods in question had been shipped in bond to Hamilton, I concluded that entry, therefore, must have been passed at that port instead of at Woodstock, so wrote Mr. Kilvert, our collector at Hamilton, enclosing him your letter and asking for a report as to whether or not free admission had been allowed.

Then, he gives Mr. Kilvert's letter, which I need not trouble the House by reading. It turned out, of course, that the goods were not entered at Hamilton.

Subsequently, however, Mr. Kilvert again wrote me saying he had been making further inquiries into the matter, and found that the Rev. Father Brady who had passed the entries at Hamilton was not the Father Brady you had reference to. Accordingly, I at once instituted inquiry at Woodstock, Ont. The result is, that I found the goods referred to were released at that point under a mistaken interpretation of an old decision, based on the working of the tariff prior to the last general revision, but the collector was immediately instructed to exact duty, and this, I believe, has been done ere this. I am writing him, however, by concurrent mail, asking if no action has been taken upon my specific directions. The matter shall, of course, be adjusted at once, and while I feel that I should thank you for having brought the facts to my attention, I have at the same time to state that I am sorry you have so poor an opinion of one as is indicated by your letter of the 3rd inst. I can, of course, understand the impression that might be formed by you as the result of my letter of the 28th February not being more explanatory, but at the time of dictating it I only had before me your postal card inquiring regarding a claim for refund that you had made, and did not associate with it the other matter that had been dealt with in your letter of the 26th January.

Now, I cannot help but observe that it does appear to me extraordinary that this inquiry should have been made at Hamilton, because in the very first letter we have here written to Mr. Van Ingen, on 27th December, we find that the Collector of Customs had at that time, at all events, clearly before him the fact that the application came from Rev. Mr. Brady, of Woodstock, and it was to the Collector at Woodstock the instructions were given. In the letter of 1st February, following immediately after the first complaint made by Rev. Mr. Farthing, the answer made by the Controller of Customs shows that he perfectly knew to what Mr. Farthing was referring. That letter says:

Your letter of 26th instant is carefully noted, and with regard to the articles said to have been admitted free at Woodstock, that were imported by Rev. Father Brady, I shall at once make inquiry.

For my part I have no desire to prejudice either Mr. Van Ingen or the Controller of Customs. I think we must all agree that in a country like this, the Customs laws, at all events, ought to be administered with fairness and with strictness, and at all events with impartiality. I may say of the gentleman who for so many years was the Minister of Customs, that we all recognized that in the administration of the law he knew neither friend or foe, that while his administration may have been, and I think at some time it was, a little harsh, certainly it was always a fair administration. Now, on this occasion we have, apparently either through the fault of the official at Woodstock, or the fault of his superior here, and upon the expressed wish of the superior here, the free admission of goods to one denomination which were very properly refused free admission to another. I trust that when the correspondence comes down it will be sufficiently clear and explicit, and that we will be able to judge exactly to whom to attach blame; because, either to the official at Woodstock or to the authority here, certainly there is blame to be attached. I do not trouble the House with reading the indignant reply of Mr. Farthing, because it adds no new facts to those which have already appeared. I have merely stated what those facts are, in order that the Controller of Customs may see exactly where I think the publication, so far as made, is short of being satisfactory. I trust that when the papers are brought down we will be able to see, as I have said, to whom the blame is to be attached.

Mr. WALLACE. I notice an extraordinary change, Mr. Speaker, in the style of the address of the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) to-night, and the style of the address which he gave the 'Mail' newspaper some few short weeks ago on this same subject. I presume I am doing the hon. gentleman no injustice when I charge him with being the author of that address given in the 'Mail,' in an article inspired both by craft and malice, an article which was untrue in its wording, untrue in fact, and which was not borne out by the correspondence which was quoted therein. In the well known language of the hon. member for North Simcoe, that article referred to it as the "well sustained charge," the charge that I had given orders to the collector at Woodstock to admit free of duty certain articles which the Rev. Father Brady of that town asked to have admitted free of duty. Sir, the correspondence of the collector shows that there was not a particle of foundation for that charge. That correspondence has already been given, but I shall trouble the House with once more reading the letter received from the Rev.

Mr. McCARTHY.

Father Brady, dated 20th December, 1893, and the whole of the correspondence in connection with that matter:

WOODSTOCK, ONT., December 20th, 1893.

To the Controller of Customs, Ottawa,

DEAR SIR,—A few days ago I received a present to my church here from Lady Herbert, London, England, a package of church goods, namely, a set of mass vestments, one chalice and one missal. I write to you for permission to allow these entrance free of duty. They will be used in this church always for the benefit of my people, and since they are a present, I feel sure you will grant me this request.

I am, dear sir,

Yours most respectfully,

M. J. BRADY,

Parish Priest, Woodstock.

A copy of the letter—and perhaps I should have been a little more courteous to the Rev. Father Brady—I handed over to the collector, with the following:—

December 27th, 1893.

W. H. VAN INGEN, Collector of Customs,
Woodstock, Ont.

DEAR SIR,—I inclose a communication from Rev. M. J. Brady, of Woodstock, Ont., and have to ask you to examine into his application—admit free of duty such of the articles as are so provided for under the law. Communion service is free. Kindly inform Rev. Mr. Brady.

The hon. member for North Simcoe said: It is well known what those articles were. I presume the hon. gentleman himself does not know what portion of those articles are free of duty by the statute, free of duty to every church, and what articles are dutiable. I had not the articles before me for examination; I did not need to point out the law to the collector, so far as I did, because a collector who has been in the service for 37 years is presumed to know what the law is on that subject. But I did so in these words:

Admit free of duty such of the articles as are so provided for under the law. Communion service is free. Kindly inform Rev. Mr. Brady.

The hon. member for North Simcoe states to-night what he stated before, without a shadow of foundation or proof, that those articles were worth \$500.

Mr. McCARTHY. Will the hon. gentleman allow me? The hon. gentleman says: "I stated before." Has he any authority for that? I can assure the hon. gentleman that I never saw, heard or knew of the publication in the 'Mail' until some days afterwards, when I read it there.

Mr. WALLACE. The Rev. Mr. Farthing makes the statement that he had only given out one copy of these letters, and the hon. member for Simcoe held those letters.

Mr. O'BRIEN. Will the hon. gentleman allow me to say a word with regard to—

Mr. WALLACE. No. I think it is too much to have a whole party speaking at once. One at a time is a very good rule. Now, I was saying that the hon. member for North Simcoe declared that these articles were worth \$500, a statement which was without one particle of foundation. He does not give the evidence of any man who ever saw them, he makes a false statement and sends it broadcast through the country. I never saw the articles, it is not my duty to see those articles; the collector at Woodstock sees them. Those goods usually require an invoice, and as these were a present there was consequently no invoice to be had, and the collector had to use his own judgment in valuing those goods. He valued them at \$100, \$60 dutiable and \$40 under the law free. So I am informed. It is a matter with which I had nothing to do, and I did not know about it until recently. The hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) made a broad statement without having a particle of proof, with the evident desire, shown by him on many occasions, to injure those with whom he had worked in the past. What is the reason? Was his action from a high or patriotic motive, or from the lowest? With respect to the correspondence that took place, the hon. gentleman lays great stress on the fact that certain other letters are required. He wants to see the letter of February 27th. That letter I will furnish him, for I have it here.

Mr. McCARTHY. There is first the letter of January 1st.

Mr. WALLACE. We will oblige the hon. gentleman with that, too, if I have it here. That letter, dated January 1st, 1894, is as follows:—

WOODSTOCK, ONT., 1st January, 1894.

N. CLARKE WALLACE, Esq.,
Controller of Customs
Ottawa, Ont.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of December 27th, 1893, enclosing a communication from Rev. M. J. Brady, Catholic priest at Woodstock, Ont., asking for free admission of several church vestments.

In reply, beg to say that I informed Father Brady that church vestments were dutiable at 30 per cent as there was nothing in the tariff exempting such articles from duty.

I have a ruling from the Minister of Customs dated November 5th, 1889, to the Rev. J. C. Farthing, rector of Woodstock, that chasubles, albs and other church vestments are subject to duty.

I have not yet seen Father Brady to inform him of your decision, but will do so as soon as possible.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

W. H. VAN INGEN,
Collector.

Then the hon. member is anxious to get a letter of February 27th, and he said that that letter would clear up all the difficulty.

Mr. McCARTHY. Let us have them in order. There is the letter of February 1st.

Mr. WALLACE. I have no letter of February 1st.

Mr. McCARTHY. You acknowledged receipt of it.

Mr. WALLACE. Nothing of the kind. I have a letter dated February 14th, which mentioned, "Referring to your letter of the 1st ult." I submit the letter of February 22nd, which the hon. gentleman appears to be very anxious to see and which he had the unfairness to refer to all through the country before he came to Parliament and asked for its production. I only received one letter from Father Brady, it being the first and the last. I turned over the correspondence and the business to the collector at Woodstock, and I had no further communication with the Rev. Father either directly or indirectly. Does any part of the correspondence or a single line of it bear out the charge made by the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) that I was incapable of doing him justice and that I was willing to give a favour to one man which I refused to another.

Some hon. MEMBERS. No, no.

Mr. WALLACE. There is not a hint to bear out the hon. member's charge. Then the hon. member further said that I made inquiry at Hamilton, although I knew that the goods were brought in at Woodstock; and he asked why did I go to Hamilton to make inquiries—and he repeated that statement two or three times. The reason I went to Hamilton was this: Mr. Farthing wrote to me from Woodstock. He did not say that goods had been entered at Woodstock; on the contrary he led me to believe that the goods had been entered at Hamilton. Here is a portion of his letter:

Father Brady of this town (Woodstock) has received a number of articles valued at about \$500 from England via Hamilton, duty free. These things were shipped in bond to Hamilton.

The correspondence shows that I wrote to Mr. Farthing and to the collector at Hamilton on the same day. I wrote to Mr. Farthing as follows:—

Your letter of the 26th instant is carefully noted, and with regard to the articles said to have been admitted free at Woodstock that were imported by Rev. Father Brady I shall at once make inquiries. The tariff free list simply mentions Communion plate when imported by and for the use of churches, and bells imported by and for the use of churches.

On February 8th, I wrote to the collector at Hamilton, as follows:—

I inclose you a communication that has been addressed to me by the Rev. J. C. Farthing, of Woodstock, Ont., attached to which is a carbon copy of my reply. Please let me know whether the goods referred to as having been imported by the Rev. Father Brady have been passed through

port or any of your outports, and if so, on what authority was free entry permitted.

Here is a copy of his reply :

HAMILTON, 12th February, 1894.

HON. N. C. WALLACE,
Controller of Customs, Ottawa, Ont.

DEAR SIR,—I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 8th inst., with correspondence inclosed, respecting the Rev. J. C. Farthing's statement that Rev. Father Brady had received a number of articles valued at about \$500 from England via Hamilton, duty free, and in reply, would say that I have caused to be drawn all the invoices and entries put through at this port by Rev. Father Brady (none of which were free entries), and here give you the entry numbers and dates of entry in order in which they were made: No. 7139, 12th November, 1892; No. 9626, 21st December, 1892; No. 11329, 31st January, 1893; No. 12710, 28th February, 1893; No. 13965, 22nd March, 1893; No. 8137, 6th December, 1893; No. 8941, 22nd December, 1893. I have no entries by him from any of my outports, which is proof that no entries have been made there by him. There must be a mistake somewhere, as I cannot conceive it possible for Father Brady or any person else to obtain free entry for \$500 of dutiable goods.

I have the honour to be, sir,
F. A. KILVERT.

That is the correspondence. Does it bear out the alleged well-sustained charge that I had violated the law? There is not a word of truth in that charge. Yet the hon. gentleman paraded the country with this charge and filled the newspapers with it, and came to this House, and repeated it in a very mild way, it is true. Then he said the collector has to be heard from. The collector has written to me and explained his position in the matter :

WOODSTOCK, 20th March, 1894.

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you that I have taken a post entry from the Rev. M. J. Brady for duty on vestments. The only excuse I am able to offer for misreading and misinterpreting your letter of 27th Dec., is that I was alone in my office owing to my officers being sick, and very much worried trying to do three mens' work. Trusting the Department will overlook this, I may say first offence during many years' service.

I have the honour to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) W. H. VAN INGEN,
Collector.

The Hon. N. C. Wallace,
Controller of Customs,
Ottawa.

That is quite true. One clerk I brought to Ottawa, and the other was ill, and therefore the collector, who is an old man, had too much work to perform. Now, Mr. Speaker, I shall leave it to the judgment of this House, and to the judgment of the country whether, in this particular instance, at any rate, the duties of the Customs Department have been neglected here in Ottawa, and whether injustice has

Mr. WALLACE.

been done to any one by me. I can say this, Sir: That the Rev. Mr. Farthing himself in an apology which would seem to have been inspired, partly by the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) and partly by his own desire to honestly state the case, says as follows, in his last letter :—

It is certain if I had not been persistent in pushing the inquiry the duty would never have been paid to this day. While this is so, it would appear from Mr. Wallace's letter of 27th December, to Mr. Van Ingen, as published in the "Mail" that the blame for this violation of the law does not rest upon him, but upon the collector here. This letter is certainly clear, and I feel in the face of this, that I must apologize for having wronged him by thinking he had done so. But if this letter contains his only instructions to the Collector of Customs he is certainly not to blame. * * * However I regret any wrong I have done Mr. Wallace in laying any blame in the matter to him.

So, Sir, I say that I can appeal to this House and to the country as to whether I have acted fairly or not. I can appeal to this House more than that, Mr. Speaker, and I can say: That I never deserted my party when I found that the loaves and the fishes were sliding away. An hon. gentleman in this House was a steadfast member of the Conservative party so long as he could draw immense fees for his firm, and more particularly for himself; but the moment his fees are stopped, and the moment it had been discovered that in all the lawsuits he conducted, directly or indirectly, on behalf of the Dominion Government he had the faculty of losing every time, he turns round and opposes that party. Every lawsuit that he undertook for the Dominion Government in the old country, and, so far as I can hear, that he undertook for anybody else, he lost, and his record of last year in that line is before the people of Canada to-day and it is a record of the great lawyer, an unbroken record of defeats. That is the history of the hon. gentleman; and because the Dominion Government found out that, and another man of ability was preferred before him, we have now, Sir, the gentleman who was a strong advocate of the National Policy turning around and attempting to pick holes in it. We have the hon. gentlemen saying the National Policy is all wrong now, although he said it was all right a year or two ago.

Mr. SPEAKER. I should like to know if this has anything to do with the question before the House?

Mr. WALLACE. It has, in this way, Mr. Speaker. I am comparing my record with the record of the man who is charging me with wrong-doing, and, therefore, I am justified in inquiring into the matter to see whether the man who makes these charges is one who would be justified in wrongfully charging other members of the House. We are justified, I think, in look-

ing at his own record, in this regard. I was going to say, Mr. Speaker, that the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) told us a year or so ago, the reason he left the Conservative party.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think the hon. gentleman had better confine himself to the question before the House.

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Speaker, I bow to your decision. I have no desire to transgress, and would not willingly transgress any rule of the House, and I shall reserve some more remarks I have to make about the hon. gentleman for a future occasion. I shall not make charges behind the back of the hon. gentleman, as he has made charges behind my back; but I will endeavour to meet him face to face, to prove all the charges that I make against him, and to prove them by documentary evidence that he cannot deny. I thank the House very cordially for the opportunity they have given me of making the explanation in this matter. I also wish to say that my collector, Mr. Van Ingen is a gentleman whom I do not know, personally, but his record has been a good one in the past, as a collector, and as he states in his letter, he has been deprived of one of his assistants by illness, and of another, previously, who was transferred, so that the business of the port of Woodstock, therefore, was not looked after as carefully as I had given instructions it should be.

Mr. O'BRIEN. I understood the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) to say—but I, perhaps did not catch his meaning exactly—that there was only one copy of the correspondence which could have been published, the inference being that the correspondence being in the hands of the member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy)—

Mr. WALLACE. I think that when some hon. gentlemen would get hold of the correspondence they could make a good many copies of it.

Mr. O'BRIEN. The hon. gentleman's insinuations are worthy the source from whence they come. I may tell him that the copy of the correspondence was placed in my hands in the first instance by the member for Oxford (Mr. Sutherland). I did not do anything with it myself, as it was not a matter which concerned my constituents, and I had no particular desire to interfere in it. It remained in my hands until, at the request of Mr. Farthing himself, it was taken up by the member for North Simcoe. It never left my possession, and no copy of it was ever made, and therefore the correspondence which appeared in the 'Mail' newspaper did not come through any copy of the correspondence which was placed either in my hands or in the hands of the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy). When the Controller of Customs repeats this statement, that the member

for North Simcoe had published this correspondence, in advance of dealing with the matter in the House, he is making an assertion which is, to my knowledge, absolutely without foundation. He boasts of his own innocence in the matter. Well, Sir, who charged him with anything? The charge was made and the charge was established that a discrimination had been made at the port of Woodstock.

Mr. WALLACE. That was not the charge at all.

Mr. O'BRIEN. That was the charge.

Mr. WALLACE. The charge was made that I had discriminated.

Mr. O'BRIEN. The hon. gentleman will please not interrupt me. He would not allow me to give him an explanation when he was speaking. I say that the charge that was made was: That there had been partial dealing between these two gentlemen, and that charge was established, and that charge is admitted by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) himself, and the only question which remained was: Who was responsible for that? Therefore, a prima facie case was made out, and there were certainly gaps in the correspondence which justified inquiry and justified a demand that the whole correspondence should be brought down. I say the charge was made and established that there was this partial dealing, and the question as to who was responsible for that was a matter that could only be shown by the correspondence. If, in spite of denials that have been made, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) means to say that the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) was responsible for what appeared in the newspapers, then the Controller of Customs is violating the rules of courtesy which should exist, not only between members of this House, but between one gentleman and another. The question is: Who was responsible for what was admittedly a wrong doing? I must say that at first sight it did seem an extraordinary thing, a thing which needed careful and full explanation, that a collector who, under the administration of the hon. gentleman's predecessor in the Customs Department had refused the Rev. Mr. Farthing to have any allowance made upon the articles which he imported, should have assumed this responsibility at a subsequent period, having the ruling of the head of the Customs Department in his possession, and the ruling of a gentleman more versed and better acquainted with the department that the Controller of Customs from his short experience could possibly be. It certainly did seem to be a thing requiring an explanation, that this experienced officer should admit these things free of duty in one case on his own responsibility and under the ruling of the Customs Department, and should in another case and on another oc-

casation act upon an entirely different interpretation of the law. I say that was a thing which required an explanation, and that explanation is what the hon. gentleman has endeavoured to make. How far he has succeeded is, as he says, properly a question for this House. But all who read the correspondence and who heard the hon. gentleman's statement will say in the first instance that it was a very extraordinary thing that a collector of customs should in one case have given, under direction, one ruling, and in another case, without any direction from any quarter, have given an entirely different one. I say that there is a prima facie case made out against the hon. gentleman on his own statement. How far the case will be fully made out by the correspondence it will be for this House to judge when the correspondence comes down. I hope the House will believe that the hon. member for North Simcoe was not in any way responsible for the publication of that correspondence. I only handed it to him this morning; I did not know that any copy was made of it; neither he nor I was responsible for its publication, and, so far as I am concerned, I knew nothing about it until I saw it in the 'Mail.'

Mr. WALLACE. I accept your apology, then.

Mr. McCARTHY. I am really astonished at the heat of the Controller of Customs, because my statement certainly was not unfair. There is not a single word I said that is not borne out by the correspondence. I think that the House will agree with me that it was not an unfair demand I made that the whole of these letters should be produced, so that the blame should be put upon the proper shoulders. If the Controller of Customs took the opportunity—while his subordinate had not that right—in answer to the charges that appeared in the 'Mail,' to publish certain of the correspondence, while he might deem that to be quite proper, it does not seem to me to be fair play to the subordinate by inuendo to seek to attach blame to him without publishing the whole of the correspondence, which would show where the blame really rests.

Mr. WALLACE. I would like to ask the hon. member for North Simcoe if anything that was published in the 'Mail' misrepresented the position of Mr. Van Ingen, or if there was anything in which I did him an injustice?

Mr. McCARTHY. The hon. gentleman will allow me to say, in the first place, that I had nothing whatever to do with the 'Mail'—that Mr. Farthing in his own letter accepts the responsibility for the publication of the letters in the 'Mail.'

Mr. WALLACE. He disclaims all responsibility for the introduction.

Mr. O'BRIEN.

Mr. McCARTHY. So he does—quite right; but he admits the correctness of the letters, and he at the same time says that he is not responsible for the introduction. I can only say, Sir, that it is a matter of the most perfect indifference to me whether the Controller believes me or not. I think I can put my veracity against that hon. gentleman's anywhere where we are both known. I can only say that I never read a word or heard a word of the matter until some days after the publication. It was the reply of the hon. gentleman that first reached my attention, and I then looked back to see the other documents that appeared in the 'Mail.' I have not referred to the matter elsewhere, but I have referred to it here in the presence of the hon. gentleman, which I suppose I have a right to do, and certainly I have not done so unfairly to the hon. gentleman. I have given the hon. gentleman an opportunity of clearing himself, if he can do so, and I trust that when the papers come down we shall have an opportunity of seeing where the blame rests. The hon. gentleman is very angry with me; he says I have attacked him behind his back. I can assure the hon. gentleman that my time is too valuable, and the time of the different meetings which I have addressed is too valuable, for that. I never thought him worth mentioning at any of those meetings, and I am sure his name never passed my lips while I was addressing the electors. When the hon. gentleman attains a more important position in the Cabinet than he occupies at present, he may require more attention at the hands of the members of this House; but at present he occupies a very humble and subordinate position—

Mr. WALLACE. A higher position than you ever occupied.

Mr. McCARTHY. I hope I never shall emulate the hon. gentleman by occupying the position he does, or any such subordinate position in any Cabinet. If his ambition is gratified by it, I suppose nobody else has any right to find fault. If the hon. gentleman will be kind enough to send me that letter of the 1st of January, I would like to read it, and see exactly what it says. Now, here is the letter:

SIR—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of December 27th, 1893, enclosing a communication from Rev. M. J. Brady, Catholic priest at Woodstock, Ont., asking for free admission of several church vestments.

In reply, I beg to say that I informed Father Brady that church vestments were dutiable at 30 per cent, as there was nothing in the tariff exempting such articles from duty.

I have a ruling from the Minister of Customs dated Nov. 5th, 1889, to the Rev. J. C. Farthing, rector of Woodstock, chasubles, albs and other church vestments are subject to duty.

I have not yet seen Father Brady to inform him of your decision, but will do so as soon as possible.

Now, I ask the House whether the collector here did not perfectly understand his duty? He was wrong, it is true; he thought the rate was 30 per cent, while it was only 20 per cent; but are we to gather from this letter that without instruction this gentleman, who had informed Father Brady that these goods were dutiable at 30 per cent, afterwards admitted them free? Are we so innocent as to accept that statement, even from the Controller of Customs? Now, I do not think we have all the correspondence yet. Here we have the instructions of the 27th of December from the Controller, properly enough leaving the matter to his subordinate at Woodstock:

I inclose you a communication from Rev. M. J. Brady, of Woodstock, Ont., and have to ask you to examine into his application and admit free of duty such of the articles as are so provided for under the law. Communion service is free. Kindly inform Rev. Mr. Brady.

The officer says in reply:

I beg to say that I informed Father Brady that church vestments were dutiable at 30 per cent. * * I have not yet seen Father Brady to inform him of your decision.

Where is the decision? because it is upon that decision that these vestments were admitted free. I think, Sir, that we have not got all this correspondence yet, and I hope the Controller of Customs will not fancy that I am unduly suspicious in saying that, because certainly there is a lapse in this part, as there is in the further part, to which I will draw attention. On the 14th of February the hon. gentleman writes:

Referring to your letter of the 1st ult., returning correspondence forwarded you.

I think the Controller of Customs probably meant the 1st of February, although he says the 1st of January.

Mr. WALLACE. Why so?

Mr. McCARTHY. I will just tell the hon. gentleman why, and leave him to judge of my reason. Now, this letter does not return that correspondence, so again we have a letter which has not been produced, and therefore I do think that it is almost impossible to understand how this officer, with the knowledge that these goods were dutiable, referring to the decision of the predecessor of the Controller on that very point, should afterwards have admitted these goods, unless there be a decision, of which, he tells, in one of the letters, he has not yet seen Father Brady to inform him. Let me draw the attention of the Controller of Customs to another fact which is not satisfactory. In his effort to abuse me, he neglected to do what is much more important, clear up some of the discrepancies in the correspondence. Here, in one of his letters, he tells Mr. Farthing that:

The result is that I found the goods referred to were released at that port through a mistake in the interpretation of an old decision.

When was that found? He tells us he has given us all the correspondence. Is there a word in any letter published that the Collector of Customs had allowed this entry to be made under a mistaken interpretation of some old decision. Where is that again? Where is that apology and that explanation from the collector. Now, Sir, for my part, I am perfectly free to say that I thought, from the suppression of part of the correspondence by the Controller of Customs, that if the true facts and all the facts were known the blame would be found to rest on him, and not on the local officer, and I have only to say this, that I am confirmed in that opinion by the halting and lame explanation we have just had, and by the suppression which I think still exists, and I have pointed out why I think so. And until this whole correspondence is brought down, I will rest in that belief. On the other hand, I have no desire at all to blame the Controller of Customs. I quite admit that he is not responsible for the acts of his subordinates. It is quite impossible that he could be held personally responsible here because an officer at Woodstock or elsewhere was mistaken in his duties, but if the violation and misinterpretation of the law was not due to the fault of the collector, why all I have to say is that it is a matter so serious that the country will know how to deal with it. I am not concerned to defend my reputation, either as a lawyer or in any other respect, from the imputation this hon. gentleman has thought fit to make. At the fitting time and place, he promises to renew the charges. All I can say is that when the hon. gentleman is ready to renew the charges, I am quite ready to meet him, either here or elsewhere, wherever he thinks proper to make them, but I shall not interrupt the course of this debate to reply, on a matter concerning which, you, Mr. Speaker, called the hon. gentleman to order, in defence either of my reputation as a public man or still less my reputation as a professional man.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I am sure the hon. member for West Ontario (Mr. Edgar) will agree with me that this is one of the questions to which we ought to apply the principle of his resolution on arbitration. It is quite evident from the range the discussion has taken that it is one of those matters which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency.

Mr. EDGAR. That is quite clear.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It is, I think, but if we have to decide the question by the documents before the House and confine ourselves to the discussion of the resolution before the House, it does seem to me that, if there has been heat on one side, there has been an extraordinary amount of suspicion on the other. Now, here are the simple facts. A case has been discovered

and brought to the attention of the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) in which the collector of Customs charged something like \$40. I think it is—

Mr. McCARTHY. No; the first entry free was the complaint.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes; but the facts appear to be that he charged \$40 less than he should. I admit that that is a very rare offence by a Customs officer; but why should any one suppose that that must have been by the direction of the Controller of Customs?

Mr. McCARTHY. Will the Prime Minister allow me? We do not know to this moment, anything at all about the collection of duty. The complaint that the Rev. Mr. Farthing made was that these goods were admitted free. The Controller has said, and this is the first time it has been said, since this correspondence has taken place, the Customs officer had imposed a duty of \$40 or \$60, but that was unknown to Mr. Farthing or myself. It is the first time I have heard it.

Mr. WALLACE. It was stated in an interview with me that the duty had been collected.

Mr. McCARTHY. Not the amount.

Mr. WALLACE. That is immaterial.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I am endeavouring to call attention to what now appear to be the facts. The collector of customs at a port in Ontario collected \$40 less than he ought, and the suspicion of the hon. gentleman is immediately aroused that this must have been done by order of the Controller, simply because the individual who imported the goods was a Roman Catholic priest. I do not see the logical sequence of that at all.

Mr. McCARTHY. You should have added that the Controller of Customs was the Grand Master.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. That, I dare say, has a great deal to do with the offence of the hon. gentleman in the eyes of the hon. member for North Simcoe, but to my mind it has nothing to do with the question at all, nor does it suggest to any one who is not exceedingly anxious to fasten some charge of impropriety on the Controller, that because the collector at some port may have charged less than he should, the Controller must have set his agency to work for the purpose of inducing a remission of the duty. I think, therefore, that the suspicion which attached to the case in the mind of the hon. member for North Simcoe, and which induced him to contrast the administration by the late Minister of Customs (Mr. Bowell) with the administration of that department by the present Controller, was a little overdrawn, and altogether unwarranted by the circumstances of the case, even if the hon. member for North Simcoe, as I must as-

Sir JOHN THOMPSON.

sume to be the case, had not read the explanations which appeared in the Toronto papers in which the whole correspondence is detailed. But the case was presented to the House furthermore as an attempt on the part of the Controller to shift the blame from himself to the local officer and to leave the officer under the suspicion that the fault was his, whereas that fault was probably with the Controller himself. Now, it was not a case of shifting any blame, because no blame whatever had been traced to the Controller; but, furthermore, we have had published in the papers and read to the House the confession of the officer himself, that it was he who made the mistake and that he made it through being overworked, and overhurried and by inadvertence, and he goes so far as to say, in substance: "I admit that my offence is all the greater because I had a ruling of the late Minister of Customs on this very subject." He adds:

I have the honour to inform you that I have taken a post entry from the Rev. Father Brady for duty on vestments. The only excuse I am able to offer for misreading and misinterpreting your letter of 27th December is that I was alone in my office, owing to my officers being sick and very much worried trying to do three men's work. Trusting the department will overlook this, I may say my first offence during many years' service,

I remain your obedient servant,

W. H. VAN INGEN.

Under these circumstances the House ought to be perfectly satisfied that there was no attempt on the part of the Controller to shift the blame on to the local officer, for we find that officer admitting that it was entirely his fault and explaining how he came to overlook that fact.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). How does the Minister reconcile that with the letter of the 1st January?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The letter of the 1st of January is this:

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 27th December, 1893, inclosing a communication from the Rev. M. J. Brady.

This is the letter of the 27th of Dec.—

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The goods were still being held awaiting the Controller's answer.

Mr. WALLACE. The Controller's answer was given on the 27th of December.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. This is the Controller's letter:

I inclose you a communication from Rev. M. J. Brady, of Woodstock, and have to ask you to examine into his application and admit free of duty such of the articles as are so provided for under the law. Communion service is free. Kindly inform Rev. Mr. Brady.

This was in reference to Rev. Father Brady's application to have the articles admitted

free of duty. The collector did not distinguish between the communion service, which the priest uses, and the vestments which he wears.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. His letter distinguishes very clearly.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. This is the letter of the 1st of January :

WOODSTOCK, ONT., January 1st, 1894.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of December 27th, 1893, including a communication from Rev. M. J. Brady, Catholic priest at Woodstock, Ont., asking for free admission of several church vestments.

In reply, beg to say that I informed Father Brady that church vestments were dutiable at 30 per cent, as there was nothing in the tariff exempting such articles from duty.

I have a ruling from the Minister of Customs, dated November 5th, 1889, to the Reverend J. C. Farthing, rector of Woodstock, "that chasubles, albs and other church vestments are subject to duty."

I have not yet seen Father Brady to inform him of your decision, but will do so as soon as possible.

I have the honour to be sir,

Your obedient servant,

W. H. VAN INGEN.

Collector.

N. CLARKE WALLACE, Esq.,

Collector of Customs, Ottawa, Ont.

The decision he refers to is that of 27th of December. Now, the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) asks me now to reconcile that with the letter which I first read from Mr. Van Ingen, stating that he had made a mistake. I tell the hon. gentleman they are perfectly reconcilable to him who reads them, because the letter of 20th March, which admits he made a mistake, is an apology for having overlooked the law which he knew, when he wrote that letter on 1st January. He says in his letter of 1st of January that he knew the law, that he was aware of the previous ruling, and that the information had been given to the Rev. Mr. Farthing. In the meantime the goods had come; he had admitted all free, communion service and vestments, and the only piece of evidence showing that the Controller interfered at all is when he interfered to tell Mr. Van Ingen that he had improperly decided the matter, and did not charge as much duty as he should have done. That was on the 14th of February.

Referring to your letter of the 1st ult., returning correspondence forwarded you with my letter of the 27th December, relative to the application of the Rev. M. J. Brady, of Woodstock, for permission to enter free of duty certain communion service. From a complaint that has been addressed to me on this subject I am reminded of my letter to you above referred to, and upon calling for the file of correspondence touching the case, and looking over your letter, I find what was not previously observed, that the application refers, in part to church vestments as well as to communion

service, the communion service only is provided for free entry. Church vestments are dutiable at the rate of 20 per cent ad valorem under the provision of item No. 547 of the tariff. As you will see by the provisions of item No. 221 of the tariff, they are specially excepted from 30 per cent classifications. If you have not yet communicated your erroneous understanding of the terms of my letter above referred to to Rev. Mr. Brady, kindly consider it cancelled. If the matter has gone further than this be good enough to explain particulars to this gentleman and have the matter adjusted.

Mr. McCARTHY. Surely the right hon. gentleman must see that that must refer to some letter not produced. "If you have not yet communicated your erroneous understanding of the terms of my letter above referred to."

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I do not know why it is not consistent to read this communication with the ones I have already read, and as referring to them. But if this makes a perfectly clear case, exonerating the Controller even from suspicion—and nothing more was suggested—that, of course, is enough to prove that there must be some other letter, some means by which blame can be made to attach to the Controller of Customs. These fail, I admit, and, as they fail to show the Controller of Customs guilty, of course there must be something else. But we will indulge the suspicion or the belief that the Controller has been wrong when we see some proof of wrongdoing brought to his door. Of course, the correspondence will be brought down. We will see if there is any other letter, and if there are other letters we shall have them here for the purpose of seeing who is to blame in this matter, and for the purpose of seeing whether an officer who made the mistake, who admits in writing that he made the mistake, says it was his first offence, and in view of his previous letter of 1st of January, had no excuse except that he was so hurried as to be doing three men's work—we shall see whether that is genuine or not, or whether there was a dark and bloody scheme on the part of the Controller of Customs to set race and race, religion and religion at war with each other in pursuance of a diabolical plot, which the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) seems to believe him engaged in, as being Grand Sovereign of some order.

Mr. McCARTHY. If the House would pardon me for a moment—would there be any objections if I were to move to add to the resolution :

And if duty has since been exacted upon the said articles or any of them, a copy of the entry or minute in respect thereto, with the amount of duty paid thereon.

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman cannot amend his own motion.

Mr. McCARTHY. Except by consent.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. If you will allow me, I will move it myself.

Mr. SPEAKER. Better have one who has not taken part in the debate.

Mr. DALY. I beg to move this amendment.

Amendment agreed to, and motion, as amended, agreed to.

DISFRANCHISEMENT OF PROVINCIAL OFFICIALS.

Mr. MILLS (Annapolis) moved :

That it is expedient to amend the Electoral Franchise Act, so that it shall not be lawful for any person to vote at any election for a member or members to represent the people in the Parliament of Canada, who, at any time within twelve months before the day of such election was an employee, an appointee, receiving pay or emolument, a holder of a commission for the expenditure of money, or in the receipt of wages or emoluments of any kind, of or from any of the Provincial Governments of Canada which have enacted or many hereafter enact a similar disfranchisement, as to their election, of employees, etc., of the Federal Government.

He said : In making this motion I will be frank enough with the House to say that I would not appear to take this step had not other motions of this kind been already made in several of the provinces of the Dominion of Canada. In fact this is purely and simply a retaliatory motion. I do not believe in curtailing the franchise. I am second to no one in this House in my desire to extend the franchise. I will go to almost any length to give the government entirely into the hands of the people—even to the ladies of our country. Therefore, it is not a principle with me to curtail the franchise from any person in Canada. But when you take all the circumstances into consideration, when you remember that we have Provincial Governments in Canada who have disfranchised certain officials of the Dominion of Canada, I think you will agree that it is not only right, but that it is necessary that this Government should also do something of the same kind in order to bring these Provincial Governments to a sense of their iniquity. "Similia similibus curantur." Now, what are the facts with reference to the disfranchisement of Dominion officials? The Government of United Canada placed a law upon the Statute-book disfranchising certain officials. They did that, I presume, copying the English statute largely. I am not in a position now to say what the object was, but we will take it for granted that it was simply for the purpose of relieving officials from the impression that they were under an obligation to vote for the power which placed them in their positions. After Confederation that Act was copied by the Government of Ontario, of which Sandfield Macdonald was Premier. Then in the Ontario Revised Statutes of a later date, chapter 9, the Act respecting Elections of Members of the Legislative Assembly, declares who shall not vote. It is enacted as follows :

Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature for Ontario, County Judges, Officers of the Customs of
Sir JOHN THOMPSON.

the Dominion of Canada, Clerks of the Peace, County Attorneys, Registrars, Sheriffs, Deputy Sheriffs, Deputy Clerks of the Crown, and Agents for the sale of Crown lands, Postmasters in cities and towns, Stipendiary Magistrates and officers employed in the collection of duties payable to Her Majesty in the nature of duties of excise, shall be disqualified and incompetent to vote at any election. Then it goes on to state the penalties, and it also says :

No woman shall be entitled to vote at any election under this act.

That is the Disfranchisement Act of Ontario, enacted in 1869, and it remains law to this day. The next Provincial Government to disfranchise Dominion officials, was Nova Scotia, which passed an Act in 1871, intituled An Act to secure the Independence of the House of Assembly. It reads as follows :

Be it enacted by the Governor in Council and Assembly as follows : It shall not be lawful for any person to vote at an election for member or members to represent the people in the General Assembly of this province, who at any times within 15 days before the day of election, was an employee or in the receipt of wages or emoluments of any kind of such employee, in the post office, the custom house, the Inland Revenue Department, the Light House service, on the Government railroads, in the Crown Land Office, or the Local Public Works and Mines.

These persons were disqualified. Then it gives the penalty and states how it is to be recovered. The names are not to be registered, and it also provides for the oath. The circumstances which attended the passing of this Act are, no doubt, well-known to Nova Scotian politicians, but it may be well for me to refer to some of them here. In 1871 the Annand-Vail Government was in power in Nova Scotia. The Attorney General at that time was Mr. Smith, who represented Queen's, and was afterwards a judge of the Supreme Court. The Bill was brought down in 1871, and the Attorney General made the following remarks, in which he stated his reasons for introducing the Bill. I quote from Nova Scotia debates :

Honourable Attorney General said the simple reason for passing the present Bill was that the servant was always under the authority of his master. The man who paid another wages had a right to control his actions as a general rule, and this applied more particularly to persons in subordinate situations such as the officers in the Custom House and Railway Departments and in the other departments mentioned in the Bill. It was for the protection of these men that the Act was passed. It was assumed that these men were Nova Scotians, and would not wish to be driven to the hustings to vote for Canadian interests against the interests of their own country.

The bill was intended to protect them from the tyranny of their masters. * * * Before the session closed such laws should be passed that every person who had the smell of Canada upon him would be excluded from this House. * * * The bill would simply prevent

any person in the employ of the Canadian Government, which was foreign to this country, from being walked up to the polls and voting whether he liked it or not.

At that time, Nova Scotia did not consider that the interests of the province were identical with Canadian interests. The extract I have read will give hon. members an idea of the feeling that prevailed at the time of the passage of the Act in 1871. I could quote from a number of other speeches. Mr. Purdy, the leader of the opposition to this bill at that time, who represented Cumberland, and the hon. member for Colchester, raised their voices against the measure, which was also opposed by Mr. Townsend, then another representative of Cumberland, who subsequently became a judge. But frequent appeals were made to the manliness and patriotism of the legislators of Nova Scotia at different times subsequently. It was publicly stated that the Act was a disgrace on the Statute-book, and the Opposition to the Government which put it there frequently brought it up in the House and endeavoured to have the Act repealed, but they were not successful. In 1872, Mr. Allison brought it up and endeavoured to secure its repeal, but it was defended on the same line as its adoption had been advocated by Attorney General Smith. Hon. Mr. Robertson, at that session, when an attempt was made to repeal the Act, spoke as follows:—

As soon as the question of repeal was settled, it became the duty of the people of Nova Scotia to make the best of the Act of Confederation. The local government immediately communicated with the Dominion authorities in reference to financial matters. The central Government at once assumed a position of hostility, and in the election of 1867 the members of the Government went so far as to throw whatever power they had against the local government. The Minister of Customs had even admitted on the floor of the House of Commons that he had requested the men under his control to vote in opposition to the local government of this country. In consequence of this influence being exercised by the Dominion government, it became necessary to pass the Disfranchising Act. It had been stated that so long as an elector was protected by the ballot, he was sufficiently secured against the influence of the government that employed him.

Hon. Mr. Flynn was in the Legislature at that time, who not very long ago held a seat in this House, and he also advocated the non-repeal of the Act. In 1882, the Holmes-Thompson Government came into power. A Bill was then introduced for the repeal of the Act, and it was carried by twenty-eight to seven; but when it came before the Legislative Council, which was a part of the Liberal political machinery in Nova Scotia at that time, the Bill was thrown out. It was urged by those who advocated the disfranchisement of Dominion electors that the electors themselves desired it, and it was said that they had never petitioned the House to have the Act repealed. But it was in consequence of a largely-signed petition being presented in 1882 that the

Government of the day repealed the Act. That petition was signed by members of both parties, and by Dominion officials themselves who desired that their rights and liberties as British subjects should not be taken away from them. But the Legislative Council of that day, being, as I have already said, part of the Liberal political machinery, threw out the Bill, and the Act still remains on the Statute-book. It has, however, always been opposed by Conservatives. In 1883, the question of its repeal was again brought forward, the present Liberal Government being then in power, and Mr. Blair, of Colchester, presented a petition from the rate-payers of Colchester and Pictou, asking that the Act of 1871 and 1872 for the disfranchisement of Dominion officials, should be repealed. It came up for discussion in the Legislature, and Mr. Blair moved the second reading of the Bill. The Act was defended by the Liberal Government, and the motion for the second reading of the Bill was defeated by that Government. The Act remained, and it is now upon the Statute-book. The next provincial government in Canada to take up the disfranchising business was the Provincial Legislature of Manitoba. In the Revised Statutes, pages 9 and 10, it is enacted:

The following persons shall not be entitled to be registered as electors:—

(e.) All officials and employees of the Dominion and Manitoba Governments, in receipt of a salary to the amount of \$350 per annum or upwards, and all regular soldiers and persons enrolled in Military Schools and also all registrars, sheriffs, county court clerks and bailiffs in receipt of fees to the amount of \$350 per annum or upwards, provided that nothing in this section shall apply to Ministers of the Crown or Members of the Dominion Parliament or of a Provincial Legislation.

The Government of Manitoba does not go nearly so far as the Nova Scotia Government did, as the latter disfranchised in the city of Halifax alone nearly 400 persons. Then the Government of Prince Edward Island comes upon the carpet with its Act, which they passed in the Legislature of 1893 after quite a contention in the House. It is as follows:—

An Act to amend an Act passed in the 53rd year of Her present Majesty's reign, intituled: "An Act respecting the Election of Members of the Legislature."

Be it enacted by the Administrator of the Government, Council and Assembly as follows:—

1. It shall not be lawful for any person to vote at any election to be held for the election of a member or members to represent in the Legislative Council or House of Assembly of this province, any electoral district, who at any time within thirty days before the day of election was an employee of or in receipt of wages or emolument of any kind as such employee from any of the following departments of the Government of Canada, that is to say: The Department of Railways and Canals; the Department of Marine and Fisheries; the Department of Customs; the Department of Inland Revenue; the Department of Justice; the Depart-

ment of Finance; the Dominion Government Savings Bank; the Department of Public Works and the Post Office Department.

In 1893 they saw what good work had been done by the disfranchising of the electors in the province of Nova Scotia, by the gross iniquity of the Legislature of that province, and they thought they would see the Legislature of Nova Scotia and go them one better. They therefore took in all the departments of the Dominion Government and made a sweeping disfranchisement of all the officials of those departments. The debates which led up to that Act of Prince Edward Island show the grossest unfairness, and if I had time I would read them to the House. They show that the Act was passed purely and simply to keep the Prince Edward Island Government in power. It was not to protect the officials, not to do any public good, not to advance the liberty of the people, not to advance the country, but simply to keep themselves in power, precisely the same as the Government of Nova Scotia did, and precisely the same as the Government of Ontario did, who by their last Act also made this effort to retain power. Now, in order to show the extent of the operations of the disfranchising Act in Nova Scotia, I will give you a sample of its working in one county only, although it would be interesting to show its effect in all the counties of that province. I have here a list of Intercolonial Railway employees resident in Pictou County who have been disfranchised by the Local Government of Nova Scotia. The largest number of Dominion officials are disfranchised in Halifax, and then the county of Colchester, the county of Cumberland, the county of Pictou and the Island of Cape Breton comes next in order. The other counties, not having any Government railway through them, have not so many disfranchised as have these counties, but the remaining counties, however, have an average of about fifty or sixty disfranchised, which in a large number of local elections that have taken place in these counties would have turned the tables in the other direction. The hon. the Attorney General of Nova Scotia in his two first elections, had it not been for this disfranchising Act, would have been defeated.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). That would depend on how they would vote.

Mr. MILLS (Annapolis). Considering that they all voted in the way the Local Government thought they would vote when they put this Act upon the Statute-book.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). You are assuming that the Dominion Government own the votes?

Mr. MILLS (Annapolis). I assume what I read in the debates of the Assembly to be correct. In order to place this upon record I shall read the entire list of disfranchised officials in the county of Pictou, giving the name, the occupation, and the address of each. They are as follows:—

Mr. MILLS (Annapolis).

LIST of Intercolonial Railway Employees, Resident in Pictou County, Disfranchised by the Local Government of Nova Scotia.

| Name. | Occupation. | Residence. |
|-------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| A. H. McKay..... | Station Master..... | West River. |
| D. D. Fraser..... | Telegraph operator. | do |
| W. A. McDonald.. | Tankman..... | do |
| Jona Langille.... | Section foreman... | do |
| Robert McBeath.. | Section man..... | do |
| John D. Graham.. | do do..... | do |
| John Tupper.... | do do..... | do |
| Alex. McKenzie... | do foreman..... | do |
| Robert Stewart... | Station Master... | Glengarry. |
| Daniel Fraser.... | Section foreman.... | do |
| Wm. McPherson.. | do man..... | do |
| John McKenzie... | do do..... | do |
| J. B. McKay..... | Station Master..... | Hopewell. |
| Andrew Ormiston.. | Section foreman.... | do |
| Alex. Fraser..... | do man..... | do |
| Thos. Chambers... | do do..... | do |
| J. W. Johnston... | do do..... | do |
| N. G. Munroe.... | Station Master..... | Ferrona. |
| A. Colter..... | do..... | River John. |
| W. S. Willett.... | Tankman..... | do |
| John W. Cameron.. | Section foreman.... | do |
| Neil McKay..... | do man..... | do |
| W. E. Egdecomb.. | Station Master..... | Scotsburn. |
| Hugh Fraser..... | Section foreman.... | do |
| Robert Douglas... | do man..... | do |
| Robert McLeod... | do do..... | do |
| M. C. Webster... | Station Master..... | Pictou. |
| L. C. Dorion.... | As. Station Master. | do |
| J. G. McDonald.. | Baggage master.... | do |
| D. A. McMillan.. | Checker..... | do |
| Hector McKinnon.. | do..... | do |
| Pat. Roach..... | Night watchman... | do |
| John McKinnon.. | Yardman..... | do |
| W. P. Brownrigg.. | do..... | do |
| W. F. Oster..... | Conductor..... | do |
| Jas. McDonald... | do..... | do |
| R. A. McDonald.. | do..... | do |
| Ed. Herritt..... | Baggage master... | do |
| D. McKenzie..... | do..... | do |
| J. F. Kelly..... | Brakeman..... | do |
| J. Maloney..... | do..... | do |
| Ed. Murphy..... | do..... | do |
| W. McPherson... | do..... | do |
| W. Calder..... | Night foreman..... | do |
| J. M. Cameron... | Cleaner..... | do |
| D. A. Fraser..... | do..... | do |
| Jno. Hudson..... | do..... | do |
| G. A. Ward..... | Car inspector..... | do |
| M. McDonald.... | do cleaner..... | do |
| Wm. Douglas..... | do do..... | do |
| W. Withion..... | Section foreman... | do |
| Simon McKaracher | do man..... | do |
| John W. McKinnon | Foreman carpenter | do |
| Robert McKay... | Attending draw... | do |
| Roderick McLeod.. | do..... | do |
| A. G. Talbot... | Water service..... | do |
| Murdock McInnes | Attending draw... | do |
| A. Scott..... | Engine driver..... | do |
| A. McDonald..... | do..... | do |
| J. McDonald..... | do..... | do |
| John Gratton..... | do..... | do |
| B. A. Almorán.... | Fireman..... | do |
| Geo. McDonald... | do..... | do |
| J. J. McDonald... | do..... | do |
| F. Gratton..... | do..... | do |
| R. Sutherland... | Station master..... | Pictou L'd g |
| J. D. McDonald... | do..... | Westville. |
| R. Maxwell..... | Trackmaster..... | do |

LIST of Intercolonial Railway Employees, Resident in Pictou County, Disfranchised by the Local Government of Nova Scotia.

| Name. | Occupation. | Residence. |
|-----------------|--------------------|-------------|
| Robert Smith | Section foreman | Westville. |
| John Roy, sr. | Crossing watch | do |
| Jas. McDonald | Station master | Stellarton. |
| D. Mooney | Asst. and operator | do |
| J. J. Ryan | Night operator | do |
| J. H. Murray | Baggage master | do |
| L. O'Hanley | Yardman | do |
| John McDonald | Conductor | do |
| D. McIntosh | do | do |
| A. Calder | do | do |
| Alex. McLeod | do | do |
| Hugh McDormand | do | do |
| John Aikens | Brakeman | do |
| Jas. Baxter | do | do |
| John McDonald | do | do |
| Gordon McLeod | do | do |
| Geo. Crawford | do | do |
| D. McDonald | do | do |
| Mike McGillvray | do | do |
| Isaac Freeland | do | do |
| Geo. E. McKay | do | do |
| R. J. McNeil | do | do |
| Peter Dunbar | do | do |
| Geo. A. McKay | do | do |
| A. W. Haley | do | do |
| A. McGlashen | Cleaner | do |
| Wm. Grant | do | do |
| Jas. Watson | do | do |
| Geo. Blackwood | Foreman, Cleaner | do |
| D. W. Cutter | Cleaner | do |
| Alex. Henderson | do | do |
| Thomas Scott | do | do |
| John Murray | do | do |
| C. E. Davis | Foreman | do |
| E. Sproule | Car Inspector | do |
| Thos. Hibbits | do | do |
| W. Sutherland | do | do |
| H. Murray | Carpenter | do |
| D. Henderson | do | do |
| Archie McLean | do | do |
| Colin McLean | do | do |
| T. Handwell | Car Oiler | do |
| D. F. Fraser | do | do |
| Alex. McDonald | Car Cleaner | do |
| A. McKenzie | Blacksmith | do |
| A. McLeod | do helper | do |
| Hugh McDonald | Brakeman | do |
| A. Fraser | Fitter | do |
| A. Matheson | do | do |
| D. A. Fraser | do | do |
| Jas. Fraser | Section foreman | do |
| Robert Stewart | do man | do |
| D. McDonald | do foreman | do |
| D. McKay | do man | do |
| A. Sproull | Driver | do |
| J. H. Campbell | do | do |
| D. Duncan | do | do |
| A. Stewart | do | do |
| C. Saunders | do | do |
| J. Sproull | do | do |
| A. Sutherland | do | do |
| J. Ferguson | do | do |
| P. Fraser | do | do |
| George Yeo | Fireman | do |
| J. McKenzie | do | do |
| Thos. Scott | do | do |
| J. Fraser | do | do |
| A. Equhart | do | do |

LIST of Intercolonial Railway Employees, Resident in Pictou County, Disfranchised by the Local Government of Nova Scotia.

| Name. | Occupation. | Residence. |
|------------------|------------------|--------------|
| H. Cummings | Fireman | Stellarton. |
| W. Harkness | do | do |
| J. Stewart | do | do |
| R. Ferguson | do | do |
| J. A. Cameron | Station master | New Glas- |
| | | gow. |
| L. A. Dorion | Asst. do | do |
| J. T. McQueen | Ticket agent | do |
| Alex. Chisholm | Porter | do |
| Sam Gray | do | do |
| Geo. Clarke | Baggagemaster | do |
| Geo. D. Chisholm | Yardman | do |
| Alex. McDonald | Crossing Watch | do |
| F. D. Lawrie | Superintendent | do |
| Geo. J. Ryan | Chief despatcher | do |
| J. T. Brind | Despatcher | do |
| K. Stewart | do | do |
| A. F. Musgrove | Operator | do |
| J. J. McLeod | do | do |
| A. F. Gray | Clerk | do |
| R. H. Martin | do | do |
| W. W. Gordon | Conductor | do |
| A. B. Gray | Trackmaster | do |
| P. Riley | Section man | do |
| Jas. Morrison | do foreman | do |
| Angus McDonald | do man | do |
| Angus A. McDon- | do do | do |
| ald | do do | do |
| Hugh McLean | do do | do |
| Richard Smith | do foreman | do |
| Hy. Austen | do man | do |
| J. D. Murray | Station master | Trenton. |
| | | West Meri- |
| D. McKinnon | do do | gonish. |
| Donald McKinnon | Section man | do |
| Angus McVicar | do do | do |
| A. P. Miller | Station master | Merigonish. |
| H. McDonald | Section foreman | do |
| A. F. Smith | do man | do |
| D. Ross | Station master | Piedmont. |
| L. Napier | Section man | do |
| Daniel Ross | do foreman | do |
| Robert Robertson | do man | do |
| D. N. Robertson | Station master | Avondale. |
| J. H. McLeod | do | Barney's |
| | | River. |
| John F. Miller | Section foreman | Meadowville |
| Wm. Cassidy | do man | do |
| Geo. A. Murray | do do | do |
| Fred. Smith | do foreman | Scotch Hill. |
| Thos. E. Murray | do man | do |
| Allan P. Fraser | do do | do |
| John McCabe | do do | Loch Broom. |
| Thos. Gray | do do | Middle |
| | | River. |
| David Horne | do do | do |
| M. A. Fennessy | do do | Fraser's |
| | | Mountain. |
| C. Robertson | do foreman | do |
| J. H. McLeod | do man | Barney's |
| | | River. |
| A. Smith | do foreman | Marshy |
| | | Hope. |
| A. A. Sutherland | do do | do |

Added to the names which I have given are about 25 or 30 lighthouse-keepers and cus-

tom-house officials, the total in the county of Pictou being 215. I read this simply as a sample of what took place in all the counties. The disfranchisement affects the county of Halifax the most, to the number of some 350 or 400. In Colchester the number affected is about 320, and in Cumberland about 200. The county of Antigonish and the other counties in Cape Breton are also affected, by the disfranchisement of not only customs, excise and post office officials, but also railway officials similar to those I have referred to in the county of Pictou. Now, these disfranchisements take away the liberty of the subject from a large number of officials; and if the arguments were good with the Provincial Governments at the time these Acts were placed upon the Statute-books of the different provinces, the very same argument will apply here for the disfranchising of officials of Provincial Governments who have placed these Acts upon their Statute-books. What are the facts with reference to that? They argued, when they placed these Acts on the Statute-books, that the servants should be free from the pressure of the master, that the Dominion officials should not vote in local affairs, because they were under the control and at the beck and call, so far as their voting was concerned, of the Dominion Government—that the Dominion Government took part in the local elections, that they influenced the local elections, not only by calling on the officials to vote, but also by going down to the different counties and endeavouring to influence their vote. What have we now in 1893, with reference to the Local Governments of Nova Scotia, Ontario, the Opposition in Quebec, the Governments of Prince Edward Island and Manitoba, and in fact throughout all the provinces in Canada. They all assembled in convention in Ottawa and pledged themselves to support the leader of the Opposition. They pledged themselves to do their utmost to overthrow the Dominion Government, and passed resolutions, one of which reads as follows:—It was moved by the Hon. A. G. Jones and seconded by D. Monet, M.P., a member of this House:

That the Franchise Act, since its introduction, has cost the Dominion treasury over a million dollars besides entailing a heavy expenditure on both political parties; that each revision involves an additional expenditure of a further quarter of a million dollars; that this expenditure has prevented the annual revision as originally intended, in the absence of which young voters entitled to the franchise have, in numerous instances, been prevented from exercising their natural right; that it has failed to secure the uniformity which was the principal reason assigned for its introduction; that its provisions are less liberal than those already existing in many provinces of the Dominion; and that, in the opinion of this convention, the Act should be repealed and we should revert to the provincial franchise.

How very solicitous they were for the young
Mr. MILLS (Annapolis).

men of the provinces in that resolution. How very solicitous they were, in this convention of 1893, that all the young men of the provinces should have the freedom of the franchise. Were they as solicitous when the Hon. A. G. Jones, by his votes and his speeches in the county of Halifax, did, time and again, advocate the disfranchisement of all the railway officials, all the young men who happened to earn their living as officials of the Dominion Government in the city of Halifax and county of Pictou, or the other counties, to which I have referred, in Nova Scotia. Every one of these officials in the province of Prince Edward Island has been disfranchised by an Act of the Local Legislature of that province. The so-called Liberals—Liberals forsooth—have gone on to deprive people of their franchise in the manner in which these men have been deprived of it. Some hon. gentlemen will say that my resolution is in direct opposition to my remarks. In answer let me say this, that I know well that the best way to make any farmer realize, in the keenest manner, the pungent pestiferous odour of the skunk, is to have that animal in his own barn and not in that of his neighbour. By my resolution we will put that political skunk, the disfranchising of the electors of the Dominion, right under the noses of the Liberals themselves, and see how they will like the smell of it. I do not believe in curtailing the franchise of any man, taking away his right to vote, but the only way which you can drive these men to realize the position they have taken, is by giving them a dose of their own medicine. In my resolution, I think I have made it plain that it is a retaliatory measure. If it ever comes to a Bill, which I hope it will, I will do my best endeavour to incorporate in it the proviso that whenever a Provincial Government repeals its Act disfranchising Dominion officials, our disfranchisement of the provincial officials of that particular province will be repealed. I would like to hear if there is any opposition from the hon. member for Guysboro' (Mr. Fraser), or the hon. member for Yarmouth (Mr. Flint) or the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies). I should like to hear their arguments against this measure and compare them with the arguments of their colleagues in the provinces, and see how the deadly parallel would treat them. They must of a necessity support my resolution, if they vote at all upon it, or else go back upon the record of the Liberal party in the provinces; and I know they will hesitate a long while before doing that. But if they should support my resolution, they will have to go back upon that record. The hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) will have to desert his friend, Mr. Laird, who introduced the Bill in 1893 to disfranchise all the Dominion officials in that island. A great deal could be said with reference to this matter, but I do not intend to weary the House. My own object I believe to be worthy the consideration of

this House. I do not believe in picayune politics. I believe, as near as we can possibly get at it, in broad-minded statesmanship in all these matters, particularly in the matter of the franchise. I believe that every intelligent person in Canada should have the right to vote. But we cannot accomplish everything at once; we have a great many circumstances, and a great many stumbling blocks to overcome, and one of these I have endeavoured to show the House to-night. The patriotism, the manliness of the Liberals of the provinces have been appealed to time and time again, and appealed to in vain; and now, I believe, the only way to accomplish what we desire is to put a retaliatory measure, such as this on our Statute-book. I have other minutes of other things, and intended to make a longer speech, but I do not wish to weary the House. I think I have given the House an idea of my meaning in this resolution, and I consider that the subject is worthy its attention.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I did not know which most to admire, the hon. member's medical quotation or his classical and elegant remark about the character of the legislation. It is well known among medical men that the motto 'similia similibus curantur' is only used by the practitioners of a certain school. I hope the hon. gentleman does not intend to found a new school of political discussion. Let me say at once that I concede the point that every legislature has the right to decide what shall be the franchise of the men who vote to elect its members. The Local Legislature has the right to do so, and this Parliament has the right to do so. But it does seem to me very strange when the hon. member appeals to Liberals and mentions particularly myself and other members from Nova Scotia, and wants us to join him in repudiating what he conceives not to be a liberal doctrine. If we followed the hon. gentleman we should certainly be in a strange position, for it would amount to repudiation of the right of the Local Legislature to regulate the franchise in its own elections. The hon. member has been—I do not say wilfully—quite unfair. Let me read the Act passed by the Nova Scotia Legislature and then let me read his resolution:

It shall not be lawful for any person to vote at any election for a member or members to represent the people in the General Assembly in this province who at any time within fifteen days before the day of election was an employee, or in the receipt of wages or emolument of any kind as such employee—

It will be noticed the Act only refers to employees.

—in the Post Office, in the Custom-house, in the Inland Revenue Department, the Lighthouse service, on the Government railways—

Now, these are five positions in which there are employees under the Government of Can-

ada, and the hon. gentleman forgot to mention that this very Act puts in the same category the only employees of the Local Government, the employees of the Crown Lands Office and the local public works and mines.

Mr. MILLS (Annapolis). I mentioned that.

Mr. FRASER. It puts employees of the Local Government in exactly the same position as those of the Dominion Government.

Mr. MILLS (Annapolis). And the Local employees number thirty or forty.

Mr. FRASER. They are not so fortunate as the Dominion Government in having so many officers at their disposal, but no matter how many there might be, they would be in the same position. If they had ten thousand men as employees the effect of the law would be the same. If the hon. gentleman will hold his breath for a minute he will hear what I have to say and will learn how unfair he was. I say if they had ten thousand men—

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. They would never have touched it.

Mr. MILLS (Annapolis). They would repeal that clause.

Mr. FRASER. Oh, that is generous. It happens that the Local Government have no other employees except the judges of probate, who have no vote.

Mr. MILLS (Annapolis). How about surveyors?

An hon. MEMBER. And registrars of probate?

Mr. FRASER. Would you cut off a country surveyor?

Mr. MILLS (Annapolis). He is paid by the Local Government.

Mr. FRASER. When he is employed to survey a lot of land the party who employs him pays him. Would you cut off a man because he happens to be engaged in work which is under the general direction of the province?

Mr. MILLS (Annapolis). He is an employee of the Government.

Mr. FRASER. I beg your pardon. He may be for certain work; but if he is employed to survey a piece of land the party who employs him pays him. Let us see what is said further in this Act:

But nothing in this section contained shall be construed to extend to any elector who may have contracted to furnish materials of any kind for the Government railroads, or to perform any other specific contract in respect of the same or to any person who may have been employed by the day temporarily to repair the railroad; or to any postmaster, post office keeper, way office keeper or mail courier under the post office.

Look at the breadth of the Act.

Mr. MILLS (Annapolis). How generous they are.

Mr. FRASER. The hon. gentleman would make out that they were skunks. I think that is generous, for a skunk.

An hon. MEMBER. A little high.

Mr. FRASER. I am quoting the language of the hon. member for Annapolis (Mr. Mills). If the hon. gentleman were to meet a real skunk and get off so easily, I think he would regard the animal as generous. Look, by contrast, at the resolution the hon. gentleman wants us to pass:

That it is expedient to amend the Electoral Franchise Act, so that it shall not be lawful for any person to vote at any election for a member or members to represent the people in the Parliament of Canada, who, at any time within twelve months before the day of such election was an employee, an appointee, receiving pay or emolument, a holder of a commission for the expenditure of money, or in the receipt of wages or emoluments of any kind, of or from any of the Provincial Governments of Canada which have enacted or may hereafter enact a similar disfranchisement, as to their election, of employees, etc., of the Federal Government.

That means that any person who in any way does any work for the Local Government must be disfranchised, while under the provincial law those who work for the Government railways are not disfranchised.

Mr. INGRAM. Would that apply to railway men employed as extra hands?

Mr. FRASER. Let me read it again:

—but nothing in this section contained shall be construed to extend to any elector who may have contracted to furnish materials of any kind for the Government railroads, or to perform any other specific contract in respect of the same or to any person who may have been employed by the day temporarily to repair the railroad.

So you see it only refers to those who are employees.

Mr. INGRAM. Why does it not apply to the others.

Mr. FRASER. The hon. member for Annapolis (Mr. Mills) furnished the reason when he said that if these men had voted there would be no Liberal Government in Nova Scotia. He gave us the reason when he said that every man in the two hundred in the county of Pictou to whom he referred would vote Conservative. All he wants is to have the votes of these men overturn the Local Government.

Mr. COCHRANE. That is not the reason.

Mr. FRASER. The hon. gentleman knows nothing about it. He has never been in Nova Scotia and he does not understand what we are talking about.

Mr. FRASER.

Mr. COCHRANE. I want you to explain, and then we will know something about it.

Mr. FRASER. The hon. member for Annapolis has given the reason which I have given.

Mr. COCHRANE. Not at all.

Mr. FRASER. The hon. member for Northumberland is right; there is no reason. Then he answers the hon. member for Annapolis himself that that is no reason at all why these men should be appointed.

Mr. COCHRANE. You give us one.

Mr. FRASER. I will give the very one the hon. member for Annapolis has given, namely, that if every man of them vote against any local government because they are in the employ of the Dominion Government, then they should have no vote. Let me say that so far as I am concerned, I believe no man employed by either government should vote. I believe the best thing Parliament could do in the interest of Canada would be to enact to-morrow that not a single man employed by this Government should have a vote in this country. Our public service would then be somewhat like that of Great Britain before competitive examinations were compulsory, we would have men in our service who would be absolutely free, who would feel that their position did not depend on any government. We would not have men such as I have in my own county, collectors of customs, going to meetings and speaking at meetings. In one case, when I said that it was not seemly, he answered: I am an employee of the Government, I will do this, I will take my office in my hand. That is not an isolated case. I say you will find that men who are employed by the local government will feel the same interest in the local government as the men who are employed by the Dominion Government feel in the Dominion Government. It will always be the case until you apply the principle that no man employed by a government should be allowed to vote unless he gets the position as is done in England. They were not allowed to vote in England, and for the best of reasons. If you wish to have in the civil service men who will do their work well, who will study the business of the department in which they are placed, who will strive to become more efficient in order that they may commend themselves, not only to the Government who appointed them, but to every government which may be in power for the time being, then you must remove them from political struggles and deprive them of the power to vote. Let it be granted for a moment that the hon. gentleman's argument is a good one, let it be granted that if the Attorney General when he first ran, and the Dominion employees were allowed to vote, would be defeated, would that be a good thing for Annapolis?

Mr. MILLS (Annapolis). Certainly.

Mr. FRASER. I will tell you what the people of Annapolis themselves thought of him, for they returned him at the last election by over 200 of a majority.

Mr. PATTERSON (Colchester). Yes, by road boodle.

Mr. FRASER. If a man was returned at first by a small majority, and gained upon the electorate of the county to such an extent that he was returned by over 200, and if there was a body of electors in that county in the pay of any government who could keep out a man like that, I say it would be a calamity to the county, and such a body of electors would be a dangerous element to have voting. I am sure there is not an hon. gentleman opposite who will not admit that. The proper course for us to take is to adopt the correct principle of not asking any of these men to vote. I am sure there is not a man in the civil service who does not wish to excel in that service; there is no man in the service, except those who have been put there for political purposes, who does not wish to do honest and efficient work for the government. Hon. gentlemen opposite may say that that is not the case. Well, I can say that I know some of the best employees in the various departments in Nova Scotia, and they are glad that they have not an opportunity of voting. Nay, more, I think I will say that there is not a young man who wishes to advance in any of the departments in which he is placed, but will do better work when he knows that he cannot vote. What is the history of our civil service in general? It is that political favouritism is at the bottom of many advancements. Now, if these men did not vote at all, if they understood that their preferment depended entirely upon the manner in which they did their work, and the skill they showed in their respective positions, you would have a better civil service than you have to-day. Our neighbours across the border, who had a whole board of these men controlling the elections, are now doing all they can, both Republicans and Democrats, in the direction of taking away votes from men who are employed in the civil service, because they find that they control caucuses and nominate their own men—200,000 of them, just like those 250 in the county of Pictou, and the 400 in the county of Halifax. I am not saying that one party is worse in this respect than another, but it is entirely natural, whatever government is in power, that the officials, even if the government themselves say nothing, will so influence their subordinates that they shall well understand that they must vote for the government.

Mr. MILLS (Annapolis). Does not the ballot protect them?

Mr. FRASER. In a district where party lines are closely drawn, and you know exactly who your friends are and who your opponents are, when there are thirty or forty Dominion Government officials in the county, you can tell pretty well how they voted when the ballots are counted.

Mr. PATTERSON (Colchester). Tell us about the road commissioners appointed by the local government? How did they vote?

Mr. FRASER. If a man holds a road commission this summer, or does work for two or three weeks, are you going to disfranchise him for that? Would you disfranchise that man because he takes public money and disburses it? He does not by any means live on that employment.

Mr. PATTERSON (Colchester). He generally holds it on the eve of an election.

Mr. FRASER. It would look very nice to spend money on the roads in winter. Does the hon. gentleman mean that the elections only take place at a time when these men can do the work? However, I do not deny that there are evil incidents to both the Local and the Dominion Governments in this respect. I do not say that there are not men representing various counties who make the electors believe that they are going to get road commissions if they vote for them. I know it is the case that men on election day are paid their fishing bounties. In the Local election last year officers were going round on election day and paying out fishing bounties, and telling the fishermen to vote against the Local Government if they wanted to get their fishing bounty. That is evening up the thing, as the hon. member says. But even admitting for the sake of argument that this Act of the Provincial Legislature is wrong, is the hon. member for Annapolis going to perpetuate another wrong? Do two wrongs make one right? As representatives of the whole people of this Dominion, I think we should rise above the prejudices of the local governments and take a broader view of this question than they do. Because the local governments do wrong, are we to follow in their footsteps? Is this great Dominion going to engage in a petty warfare—admitting that the whole thing is wrong—with the various provinces, and do a thing which the hon. member himself admits is wrong, simply in retaliation for the acts of the local government? That is statesmanship, is it? There is a good deal to be said in favour of the local government when they passed that Act, because the political feelings to which the hon. member referred, were strong in Nova Scotia at that time, and it was found that every man who was appointed by the Dominion Government was a strong friend of the Conservative candidates.

Mr. PATTERSON (Colchester). If those feelings do not exist now, why not repeal the Act?

Mr. FRASER. Because those feelings continue to this day, they have been nurtured until now. My principle is that the Act is right from a provincial standpoint, and that it covers a principle which should be more largely applied, namely, that neither the employees of Provincial Governments nor of the Dominion Government should be allowed to vote. In Nova Scotia, sheriffs and judges of probate have no vote.

An hon. MEMBER. And what about the County Attorneys?

Mr. FRASER. They are appointed from year to year to conduct the business; but there is no business for them to conduct unless true bills are found by the grand juries of the counties.

Mr. COCHRANE. In Ontario, bailiffs are appointed by the Local Government, and also license inspectors.

Mr. FRASER. We have no license inspectors in Nova Scotia, and our jailers are appointed by the sheriffs. We are a temperance people, and do not require license inspectors to keep the people sober.

Mr. PATTERSON (Colchester). Does the hon. gentleman mean to say there are no license inspectors in Nova Scotia?

Mr. FRASER. They are appointed by local councils, and by town councils.

Mr. PATTERSON (Colchester). The hon. gentleman had better read up recent legislation, and he will find that the appointment of license inspectors is confirmed by the Local Government, and they are beyond the power of municipal authorities.

Mr. FRASER. I beg pardon. The men appointed to carry out the Scott Act in the counties are appointed by the County Councils, and are not subject to the Local Government.

Mr. PATTERSON (Colchester). Will the hon. gentleman tell me what happens in counties where the liquor law is in operation?

Mr. FRASER. Halifax appoints its own inspector.

Mr. PATTERSON (Colchester). Take other counties.

Mr. FRASER. In almost all other counties the Scott Act is in operation.

Mr. PATTERSON (Colchester). I name Colchester, where the license law is in operation, and I refer to the appointment of the inspectors. I challenge the hon. gentleman to deny my statement.

Mr. FRASER. Where the provincial license law is in operation, I do not deny that such is the fact; but it is in operation only in two or three counties. Where the Scott Act is in operation the Government

Mr. FRASER.

have nothing to do with the appointment of the officers.

Mr. AMYOT. In the province of Quebec they appoint them all.

Mr. FRASER. They need many officers there to keep the people in order. But so far as license inspectors are concerned, I should not object to both inspectors and persons holding licenses being debarred from voting. The Local Government in Nova Scotia placed itself in exactly the same position as is occupied by the Dominion Government. The adoption of the Bill submitted would simply lead to reprisals, and the local governments can use their powers with greater advantage than the Dominion Government. The Provincial Governments can pass an Act so that no man in the province of Nova Scotia who receives a dollar from the Dominion Government, shall have the right to vote. The Local Government, in fact, can act with ten times more force than the Dominion authorities, and if this Parliament takes action in the direction suggested by the present Bill, the Local Government will, no doubt, retaliate. The adoption of this Bill would not cause the Local Government to repeal their Act, and the only course to be pursued by this Parliament is to make its own franchise as wide as possible, without regard to the methods adopted by the Local Government. If hon. gentlemen opposite imagine they are going to coerce the Local Government they are much mistaken. They are made of the same metal, and will act in their own interests just as they have done heretofore, and the only thing to bring them to repentance—if that is necessary in the hon. gentleman's view—is for us to go on our way, and if they are wrong to show them that we, in a larger sphere can afford to be right and can set them a better example. This resolution is not founded on correct principles. It is a different resolution altogether from the section of the Act it is meant to strike at. The Act itself is clear, and it places whatever officials they have, whether they be few or many, in the same position as the officers of this Government. I, for my part, believe that no official of the Government should vote. I believe that if officials do not vote we would have better officials, men who would attend to their business better, men who would rise in the several departments better, men who would feel that when the storm raged and the flutter of ballots was over that it made no difference in their position, men who would feel on the day of election as they would on the day after election, whether their friends were returned to power or not, that their position was safe—I am sure this Parliament will not for a moment consider a resolution of this kind, and I am satisfied that we will not crystallize it into law. There are those who may think differently, but I am sure a moment's reflection will show them, that this resolution is neither correct in principle,

nor would it lead to beneficial results. Anger is not the best way to remedy an evil, and retaliation certainly never did. There are no two nations in the world who have retaliated one on the other who ever came nearer on account of that retaliation. If a wrong does exist, this central Government will never remedy it by retaliation. For myself I can only speak for Nova Scotia, and I think that the Act as passed is good so far as that province is concerned, and has not been productive of wrong. The argument of the hon. gentleman, that it has prevented one government from coming into power, and another government from going out, is not a good argument. The people themselves have a right to choose, and certain am I that 50 persons all around in the various countries would not turn out the present Government and put in the Opposition.

Mr. DALY. I was going to address some remarks to the House in reference to the resolution of the hon. gentleman, but as the hour is late and as the House is weary, I will simply move the adjournment of the debate by saying that I would like to have referred to the iniquity,—as the hon. member for Annapolis (Mr. Mills) has termed it,—of the Manitoba Legislature in reference to the disfranchisement in that province, of not only the Government employees, but of regular soldiers and persons enrolled in military schools. I regret to have to say to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Mills), however, that I do not agree with the terms of his resolution. I do not agree with the idea, that because an iniquity has been perpetrated by the Government of Manitoba, or the Government of Nova Scotia, or the Government of Prince Edward Island, that this Government, or this Parliament should retaliate upon these different provinces. On the contrary I would give the advice to the hon. gentleman to turn the other cheek, and to let pass at present any idea of his getting back at the Governments of the different provinces who have seen fit to disfranchise so many of our fellow-citizens who are as well entitled to vote as any person. One remark with reference to the legislation of Manitoba. This clause contained in the Election Act, as cited by the hon. gentleman, is within the provisions of the law, that first gave manhood suffrage to the people of that province. During our local elections we heard on every hustings that the Government of Mr. Greenway were going to give the people manhood suffrage. It is true they said that there should be one man one vote, but on the other hand they disfranchised a large number of people who were entitled to exercise the right of free men. It seems to me an extraordinary thing that these men who expressed a desire to give our people manhood suffrage should at the same time say that certain men, because they were employees of the Dominion Government, and because they wore the uniform of Her Majesty the Queen, should be de-

prived of voting, and should be placed in the same category as those mentioned in subsection "b" of the Act, namely: "lunatics, idiots, and persons of unsound mind, and persons confined in any jail, penitentiary or asylum, or other public institutions as convicts or prisoners." To include the officials of the Dominion Government, and the soldiers of the Queen in such a category as that, was simply adding insult to injury. With reference to the remarks of the hon. member for Guysborough (Mr. Fraser) as to the motto, 'similia similibus curantur,' quoted by my hon. friend from Annapolis (Mr. Mills); I can only say, that the hon. gentleman from Annapolis (Mr. Mills) merely meant to give our friends of the Opposition a little retaliation in homeopathic doses. I am, however, of opinion that no good purpose could be served by this Parliament placing on its statutes, what the hon. gentleman has declared to be, and what I think he was right in declaring to be, the iniquitous enactment of some Local Governments. At this late hour, Mr. Speaker, I move the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. INGRAM. I would like to ask the hon. gentleman if this debate is adjourned now, where will it put the motion?

An hon. MEMBER. It will come up after prohibition.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. At the foot of Public Bills and Orders.

Mr. INGRAM. Then, that will be the last of it. If the hon. the leader of the Government were to move the adjournment of the House it would allow this matter to remain where it is, and several hon. members who wish to discuss it would have an opportunity of doing so.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Then it would go off the paper altogether.

Mr. INGRAM. In that case I would prefer the other evil.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

RETURNS ORDERED.

—Address to His Excellency the Governor General for copies of all correspondence that has passed between the Post Office Department here, or any other Department of the Canadian Government and the Government of the United States on the subject of certain packets of printed papers franked by a member of the United States Congress which were received in this country from the United States, and which, according to a statement made in the House by the Postmaster General, 2nd April, were sent to the Dead Letter Office as not being prepaid by stamps and not being legislative papers or documents. Also, copies of all correspondence that has passed between the Canadian and United States Governments on the subject of franked matter through the mails from one country to the other. Also, copies of all correspondence that has passed between the Post Office Department and individuals

to whom such rejected matter was addressed. Also, copies of all correspondence between the Post Office Department and any of the officers of the Department on this subject, and copies of instructions sent to said officers in connection therewith.—(Mr. Somerville.)

Order of the House for a copy of the account rendered by the Queen's Printer to the Customs Department showing the cost of the 3,550 copies of the Analytical Index of the Customs Tariff published by the Customs Department between the 1st September, 1893, and 1st April, 1894.—(Mr. Somerville.)

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to : and the House adjourned at 12.10 a.m. (Tuesday).

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, 22nd May, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 120) for the relief of Joseph Thompson—(from the Senate).—(Mr. Northrup.)

Bill (No. 119) for the relief of William Samuel Piper—(from the Senate).—(Mr. Northrup.)

ADJOURNMENT—QUEEN'S BIRTHDAY.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved :

That Government Orders have precedence over other business on Wednesday, 23rd May next, after questions to be put by members, and that when the House adjourns on said day it shall stand adjourned until Monday, the 28th May, at 3 o'clock.

Mr. LAURIER. Mr. Speaker, I understand that there is a very general desire that the House should be adjourned from to-morrow until Monday next, and under such circumstances I do not think it would be advisable on my part to offer any opposition to this part of the motion. I see, however, that the hon. gentleman still couples with his motion the taking of to-morrow, Wednesday, for Government business, but I see also that he limits this provision to to-morrow, and that the following Wednesday will be still devoted to private members' business. I suppose the attendance will be rather small to-morrow, and perhaps the hon. gentleman may take his whole motion.

Mr. MULOCK. It may be that to-morrow may not be a convenient day for considering

Mr. DALY.

many of the matters on the Order paper, and I should be glad if it were possible for me to agree with the mover and with my leader in this matter ; but I am not able on this occasion to quite recognize the discipline which, perhaps, ought to obtain. Before this motion is carried I wish to see if it is not possible for the Government to manifest some degree of liberality towards private members, in order to enable them to make some progress with the public Bills that they deem it their duty to submit to the House. I myself feel deeply interested in one measure, and I think that the interest involved in it will not justify any action in regard to legislation on the measure being deferred to another session. I refer to the Bill dealing with ocean freight rates on cattle. This Bill has been before the House since almost the commencement of the session, and not yet has there been an opportunity for me to proceed with it. The whole of private members' days have been occupied up to the present time by a discussion of one or two motions that have been passed over from Monday to Wednesday, and by the Bill respecting the purity of elections, which appears to be of considerable concern to some members of this House. The result has been that a great mass of legislation in the hands of private members, and I would say, so far as my knowledge of that legislation goes, the most important part of it has not received the least attention at the hands of the House. If the Government is determined to deprive members of the power of pressing the Bills that stand in their name, it is due to them that the Government should go through the Order paper and say whether they will take charge of any, and if so, of what Bills. For instance, I do not think you can for a moment say that the matter I refer to, of ocean freight rates on cattle, is one that should be allowed to stand over for another session. When I introduced the Bill on that subject, I specially requested the Government to consider the matter, with the view either of accepting the Bill or dealing with the subject. I was careful to say at the time, and I repeat now, that I presented my proposition with some degree of diffidence, and with the hope that it might result in the Government dealing with the subject. I felt then and I feel now that it is a most difficult thing for a private member, with, I will not say the obstruction, but with the 'vis inertiae' of the House, to press a measure to a conclusion, if the House is not sufficiently interested in the matter to assist him in pressing it forward. Now, I will not take up the time of the House in pointing out the necessity of this legislation. That duty has been done for me by others. It has been made clear to the House and also to the Government, by representations from very many sources, that the matter of freight rates on cattle is a standing grievance. It is an evil that must be remedied, and I presume that Parliament will not

admit that it is not all-powerful to deal with a matter so greatly concerning our national interests. There is in Canada to-day a surplus of stock, owing to the state of the trade last year. We did not export all the cattle we would have exported under more favourable conditions; so that we have not only the crop of this year, but the surplus crop of last year. The country is full of cattle waiting for shipment to Great Britain, the only market for it; and unless before the House rises guarantees are given or some security is afforded that the freight rates will not be increased, the very moment Parliament rises you will have the combination in Montreal repeating the practices they have been guilty of for several years, as I will prove when we come to discuss this question, in order to wring out of the farmers a large portion not only of their earnings, but of their capital, by excessive freight rates. The hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries stated to a member a short time ago that he was waiting to receive from the cattle men comparative statements of the rates at Montreal and the rates at American ports. I presume that he had not been informed of the exact state of the evil. If the information has not been furnished to him by any persons engaged in the cattle trade, I presume it is because of their inability to obtain exact statements from the Montreal shipping agents. But I presume the Government, all-powerful as they are, could have obtained that information, if they so desired. Possibly they have it at the present moment. If they have, they will know, as I know, that there has been a gross discrimination at the port of Montreal against the cattle trade of Canada for at least four years. I have not statistics further back than 1890; but I have them from 1890 forward—though not as complete as I would like to have them, because some of the Montreal vessel agents declined to give me the information. The information I have enables me to state that for the years 1890, 1891 and 1892 gross discrimination has existed against the cattle interest at the port of Montreal as compared with the rates prevailing in favour of American cattle men at American ports. In fact, I can establish by figures—and I will give the tabulated statement when I have an opportunity of going into this matter thoroughly—that in the four years from 1890 to the present time the Canadian farmers have paid to the agents of Canadian vessels plying from Montreal, in excess of what they would have paid if they had got competitive rates, not less than \$1,500,000. If that is true, I challenge the fairness of the Government in taking away from private members the only day on which this matter can be threshed out, except on the understanding that they propose to take it up themselves. That is one great reason why I am not able to assent to the motion now made. There are many other measures on the

Order paper in which I feel an interest, but I press this one specially, and I speak with all anxiety in regard to it. I would beg the Government either to give the House an assurance before we assent to this motion, either that they will themselves take charge of this matter and deal with it, or else that I shall have an opportunity of taking the sense of the House upon my Bill during the present session. I think that is a fair proposition to make, and I trust that I am pressing my case in a fair and conciliatory spirit. It is in that sense I desire to present it; for I feel that it is a matter of that gravity and importance that demands the unbiassed judgment of every member of this House. I would, therefore, beg the Government to undertake to deal with the matter in one or other of these ways before they insist on taking this day. I would be glad to let the Government business go forward. If the desire of the Government is to take to-morrow in order to finish their tariff, that is an excellent reason for taking it; but the reasons I have advanced ought to induce the Government to make restitution to private members by giving us as much time in the future as they will have lost by the Government taking Wednesday. The Opposition have, without any demur, allowed the Government to take several private members' days at the commencement of the session, and for that reason I think we have established an extra claim to restitution, in order that we may have an opportunity to press the Bills in our hands.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) has been dwelling on one particular Bill on the Order paper, the Bill relating to ocean freights; and his mention of my name gives me an opportunity to make my position clear in so far as I have had any connection with that measure. I said across the floor of the House a few days ago to the hon. member for South Grey (Mr. Landerkin), that on the last occasion on which I had the pleasure of meeting the shippers of cattle who were interested in some such legislation as that in charge of the hon. member for North York, that they had promised to furnish me—

Mr. MULOCK. Only one promised.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I understood that gentleman to speak, as each member of the delegation seemed to be speaking, for them all. At any rate, one of those gentlemen representing the shippers of cattle promised to furnish me with very important information—in fact, information on which the hon. gentleman proposes to base this legislation; and we discussed the subject very fully in an informal way. That was the second occasion upon which the question came up. I met, in conjunction with the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock),

these gentlemen on a previous occasion, and we discussed generally the subject. And I am glad to say they appreciated the extraordinary difficulties that surround their own proposition. It was pointed out by myself, and on the whole concurred in by these gentlemen, that it was of great importance that this Parliament should take no action interfering with the business of those conducting these big ocean steamers at the port of Montreal, which would, in the slightest degree, embarrass the shipping interests of that great port, or tend in the slightest degree to injure the port itself by creating the impression that Montreal alone, of the great ports of the world, had a system under which a vessel reaching that port was not free to do business on the best terms possible, according to the ideas of the ship-owners and the condition of the market. That very fair proposition, those interested in the shipping of cattle practically conceded.

Mr. MULOCK. If my hon. friend desires to discuss the proposition I am quite prepared, but I would respectfully submit to him that that is not the whole case, and to make his statement of the case without giving me the opportunity to reply would hardly be fair. I think, therefore, the hon. gentleman ought to confine himself to the subject I alluded to and not to the remedy.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman need not be in the slightest degree alarmed. I am putting the position, as I understand it, so that early in the day, if I am under any wrong impression, I may be corrected. I am not arguing the case at all—far from it. I am not prepared at the moment to say what my conclusions, on examination of the case, will be, as a member of this House and Government, but I seize the opportunity, as the hon. gentleman is pressing on the House the importance of hurrying on with that legislation to suggest certain facts which, in my humble judgment, involve this consideration. Is it wise to press, under present circumstances for legislation of this character? Those interested take the one ground, as I understood them, for this exceptional and extraordinary legislation, interfering with this important interest, that, owing to the peculiar regulations now obtaining, touching the shipment of cattle, which do not surround other branches of commerce—owing to the fact that they are not free to resort to the ports of Boston and New York for the purpose of shipping the cattle—they are placed by legislation as they put it, and by the laws of this country, in such a position that they are at the mercy of the ship-owners in Montreal. That seems to be the chief feature of their case, and the hon. member for South Grey (Mr. Landerkin), I am sure, will confirm me in the statement, which he did not dispute the other day, when I said that it would be very important for the full consideration of this question that we should know exactly what are the rates charged at one port and the

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER.

other. That would involve the question as to whether the charges were comparatively higher at one port than at another, because all those questions of charges—port dues and shipping charges generally—must be considered by this House before we can entertain such an extraordinary proposition as is contained in the Bill fathered by the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock). All I am saying now, without taking up a position upon any side of the question, is this, that that information has not been forthcoming. These gentlemen have had ample opportunity to produce it, and I take it for granted they are endeavouring to obtain it, but from that day when we met in friendly conference, and when, speaking for the Government, I said we were most anxious that the interests of all parties interested should be safeguarded, but that was before I could bring the subject before the Government—and they singled me out to do so—I would require to have particular and specific information, from that day to this, the information has not been given. I am not complaining that I have not received it.

Mr. MULOCK. Why cannot you get it yourself?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. The hon. gentleman puts an extraordinary question. I am dealing with the men directly interested, who are now shipping their cattle and anxious to see legislation pushed on if necessary, and I have every reason, as a business man, to believe that these points are not so exceedingly intense in the opinion of those interested in the shipping of cattle as they were a few weeks ago. But I have said it in Parliament before, and repeat it now, that I, as a member of this House, am waiting for the information which is promised, and which is information the hon. gentleman knows must be in the possession of this House, before we can pass the legislation covered by this Bill. The hon. gentleman knows that this Bill—however, it would not be fair to enter upon that, which would be a point of difference; but I do not think the hon. gentleman stands by any particular clause of the Bill, and has merely brought the subject up in order that it may be dealt with. But we do want the information promised; and as it has not been supplied, there does not seem to be that urgency in connection with the measure that should induce this House to hurry it on a stage.

Mr. McMULLEN. The hon. Minister appears to be quite unaware of the necessity for immediate action in connection with this very measure. Representations have been made to the Government by deputations, backed up by members on this side, and no doubt by members on that side, urging immediate action. Why does that urgent necessity exist? It is because there are in this country at present in the stables of farmers, not less than from seventy-five

to ninety thousand head of cattle ready for shipment, which they are looking for a favourable opportunity to ship to the other side. Is not that a reason why the hon. Minister should secure at once the information he refers to? Why should legislation be retarded because he is dilatory in procuring the necessary information, which, he says, he requires before he can permit this Bill to come before the House? Every day we have petitions from all classes urging upon the Government the necessity for immediate action. I am not going now to criticise the course of the steamship companies. I am not going to say whether they have been exorbitant in their rates or not. I will leave that to the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock), who no doubt will deal with it in a manner to convince the House that, whatever the rates may be for the moment, they have in the past been exorbitant. I am not going to charge the Government with being entirely responsible for the present conditions, but unquestionably it is very unfortunate for the farming interests that the whole shipping trade of the Dominion should be cornered at the port of Montreal. Why, Sir, it is very true that there is no other place from which to ship live cattle.

Mr. FREMONT. Bring them to Quebec.

Mr. McMULLEN. Yes; you may send them to Quebec, but that is like sending them to another door in the same house, for Quebec is controlled by the same shipping companies, and the same cattle dealers that control Montreal. I speak from information which is authentic when I say that cattle dealers have been able to extort from shippers excessive prices by buying up the space in the vessel. It is, perhaps, quite reasonable, from their standpoint, to speculate in that way, but the men of whom the excessive prices have been demanded would have been able to avoid this extortion if they had had the port of Portland, or the port of Boston open to them. These facts have been made known to the Government by deputations who have waited upon them. Still, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries says he has not the information to legislate, while the farmers are at home with their herds in their stables waiting for relief from the present condition of affairs. The Government have been exceedingly tardy in this whole matter. It has been pressed upon them ever since Parliament met. It has been pressed upon them by the hon. member for North York; it has been urged upon them in speeches, not only on this side of the House, but from their own supporters—the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) made some reference to this unfortunate condition of things in the speech he made. I say it is a most unfortunate condition of things that the farmers are hampered in this way. This is one of the best branches of the agricultural industry in the province of Ontario. It has been an important trade, it has been a desirable trade, it is one at which

the farmers can make money if they are not hampered and fettered by restrictions or by the action of any combination of buyers that control vessel-space, and so extort from them money which should form part of the profits of their industry. I exceedingly regret that the Minister of Marine has again evinced his unwillingness to go on. Has he pressed and urged for this information which he thinks so necessary, so that action may be taken and the present unfortunate situation relieved? Unless action is taken soon the opportunity to relieve the farmers from the present condition of things will have passed for this season. The cattle will have been shipped under the present unfavourable conditions, or will have been returned to the pasture. I again express the hope that the Government will not longer permit any delay in this matter.

Mr. SPROULE. I think no hon. member of this House will deny the importance of this question to which reference has been made; nor will any deny the urgency of the present condition of things owing to the advanced season of the year we have reached. But I must confess that I rather agree with the remarks made by the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries with regard to the information that was intended to be supplied by the cattle shippers. If the allegations made by them are correct—and the impression made on the minds of those who heard them must have been that those allegations were correct—they showed a very undesirable state of things at Montreal. When the Minister asked that they should present the information in some specific shape and they agreed to do so, he understood, and I certainly understood, that that information was to be furnished at an early day. I had occasion within two weeks to write to one of these gentlemen in connection with the same subject and called his attention to the fact that I had had a conversation with the Minister with a view to inducing him to introduce legislation to remove the evils that existed, and the Minister's reply was that until the information promised by the cattle shippers was furnished he did not want to go on. I reminded the gentlemen that there was the greatest urgency in the situation, and that it was most desirable that the information should be furnished. I received a reply to the effect that the information had not yet been forwarded, but would be given in due time. It does look a little suspicious, to say the least of it, that this information has not been furnished, though we have had two interviews with the cattle men and some communication with them since that time. If the condition of things exists that they represent as existing, it is most important that some legislation should be enacted to meet the situation. We have the allegation on one side and the emphatic and distinct denial on the other as to the existence of this condition of things. I know it is

very hard for a private member to get the information, and it may be equally hard for the Government to get it. I know that in my efforts to secure it I failed. I do not know who can supply that information better than the cattle men, if they chose to do it. The fact that they have not done it is, to my mind, likely to give rise to the suspicion that there is something in the facts which does not square to the allegations made to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The earnest representations which were made by the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock) are entitled to great consideration indeed. When an hon. member has a Bill upon the paper which relates to an important public interest and presses as strongly as the hon. member for North York does for time to consider it, I am sure the House is willing to lend its attention and to give every possible facility for having the Bill discussed. I understand that the hon. gentleman's request is that one of three courses shall be taken. One is that we shall make restitution for the day that we take to-morrow, and without quarrelling about the phrase, I would say that we would do that by leaving him the following Wednesday.

Mr. MULOCK. That we have, I understand.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The hon. gentleman will agree with me that that would not give him satisfactory assurance that his Bill will be reached, because I take it for granted the day will be occupied by other Bills now standing before it on the Order paper. In the second place he asks that we should see to it that the Bill gets a hearing and comes to a vote in the House. I think it is too early for the hon. gentleman to ask an assurance upon that question. I am not in a position to say what time we will move to take Wednesdays, but when we do take Wednesdays, it may be that a portion of Monday will be allowed for public Bills and Orders. But the hon. gentleman will see that he can make his representations on that subject when we come to move that Wednesdays shall be taken, if, in the meantime, his Bill shall not have been reached. But we will give due consideration to the hon. gentleman's earnest desire to have his Bill dealt with this session. The other alternative the hon. gentleman suggested was that the Government should take up the Bill themselves. I am not prepared to give an assurance upon that subject. What I would prefer is that the hon. gentleman should have an opportunity of moving the Bill, and that it should be in his charge, because I know the deep interest he has taken in the question. I am not prepared to agree with one word the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) has said upon this subject, I am sorry to say. I listened with astonishment while he attempted to cast reproach upon the Govern-

Mr. SPROULE.

ment for having delayed the Bill, when he is perfectly well aware that the Government have not delayed it by one half hour. As I said before, to the hon. member for North York, without promising to treat it as a Government measure, we will do what we can to leave Wednesdays open until his Bill is disposed of, but, even if it should not be reached in that way, to see that an opportunity is given for the discussion of it.

Mr. McMULLEN. The right hon. gentleman misunderstood me if he thought that I said the Government had delayed the Bill. What I said was that they were tardy in securing the information necessary to proceed with the Bill.

Mr. MULOCK. I am glad the First Minister has given these assurances, which I know are given in good faith, and I think I will be safe in saying that I can rely upon his assistance to get the Bill before the House, and to take the sense of the House upon it. I am sure he is speaking with utter frankness and honesty of purpose, and does not intend, by securing my acquiescence in this motion to-day, that the measure in question shall be prejudiced. I accept his utterance in that spirit.

Mr. McCARTHY. The question is as to whether the House should consent unanimously to surrender one of the few days that it has for the disposal of public Bills and Orders.

Mr. LAURIER. For to-morrow only.

Mr. McCARTHY. I understand that; but still, in the early part of the session we all acquiesced in the proposition of the First Minister that all the days belonging to private members should be given up to the discussion of the tariff. Now, the result has been that although the session is two months old, of the public Bills and Orders which are in the hands of private members, practically but three have been reached. One of them has been in committee, and another has not yet even reached that stage. Now, it is useless for any of us, after the assent which has been given by the hon. gentleman who leads the Opposition, to seek to divide the House as to the propriety of giving up to-morrow. I desire to add to what has been said by the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock), and to what has fallen from hon. gentlemen who have already spoken on this subject, that the Bill the hon. member has in charge is one which, whether it is possible for this House to deal with it or not, is certainly of the greatest importance, one that this House should not separate without hearing fully discussed, and if the grievance to which it relates exists to the extent which we are led to suppose, the House should certainly endeavour to find some remedy for it. I desire to withhold any opinion one way or the other as to the possibility even of dealing with this question. I see its enormous difficul-

ties. We must be very careful, in any action we may take here, not to interfere with the shipping of the port of Montreal. The port of Montreal, or the port of Quebec—at all events, the St. Lawrence route—is the great means of exit from this country, and we ought and must encourage the shipping interests in every way we can. But if it be true that any combination or arrangement at Montreal is dealing unfairly with the farmers or the cattle-shippers of this country, we ought if possible, on the other hand, to see and have that remedied. But there is another matter. The Government cannot be unaware—I do not make any charge, because I might arouse my hon. friend who is sitting opposite me—but we know one Bill which is in charge of the hon. member for Albert (Mr. Weldon) has already taken two days to discuss. To many of us—I dare say quite erroneously—but still to many of us it does appear that there has been an apparent design to protract discussion on that measure so as to prevent, possibly, the other measures that are below it on the list, from being reached, and the Government cannot be unaware of the fact that the press have almost unanimously come to the conclusion that one of the Bills which it is intended to block is the Bill which stands in my name.

Mr. OUIMET. Is it in order to say that hon. gentlemen have protracted certain debates in this House in order to obstruct the business of the House?

Mr. LAURIER. The charge was made by the Government themselves.

Mr. SPEAKER. If the hon. member is charging any member with obstructing the business of the House he is clearly out of order.

Mr. McCARTHY. I was particularly careful to say that it was the press who made that charge, and I do not see how we can stop the press from saying so. I do not dread my hon. friend to the left, but I do dread my hon. friend opposite, if I make any charge of that kind. I am glad to see, however, that the hon. Minister is so careful about points of order. He does not always indicate so great a care for the observance of the rules of order of this House.

Mr. OUIMET. I may have some care for the honour and dignity of members.

Mr. McCARTHY. Then all I have to say is that the Government, having full knowledge that this is supposed to be the object, I think it only fair to draw their attention to the fact that a conclusion will be drawn not adverse to that view, if this course is persisted in of taking from us day after day on every pretext. Surely we have a right to introduce these Bills with some hope of reaching them in an ordinary session, or we have not. This is an ordinary session. The last session, of course, was not an ordinary session, owing to the ab-

sence of the First Minister for causes which I do not blame at all, and which I perfectly understand, and therefore it was impossible for measures of this kind to be dealt with. But this is an ordinary session, and I am in charge of a Bill which excites a good deal of interest in the country, and which I shall endeavour to press to a conclusion. I just rise for the purpose of drawing attention to the probable conclusion that the public will draw from the conduct of the Government in abridging the time at the disposal of private members.

Mr. AMYOT. I presume I am the member designed by the hon. gentleman who has just spoken. I do not see why he draws attention to my humble individuality. I may tell him that for my part I do not intend to obstruct the business of this House in any way, and I do not feel open to the charge of having done so.

Mr. McCARTHY. I did not at all mean to charge the hon. gentleman with having obstructed the business of the House in any way. I felt sure that if I suggested that any member did that, I would bring down wrath on my devoted head.

Mr. AMYOT. The hon. gentleman, says he meant nothing, he only got the press to speak for him. I suppose he means now that the press insinuated that I was obstructing.

Mr. McCARTHY. No, no.

Mr. AMYOT. I wish to say that I was not obstructing, and I defy the hon. member who has just spoken, or any other hon. member, to quote one word of what I said in that discussion which was useless and not pertinent to the subject. Now, let me say to him—and I speak in the name of a great many members of this House—that we have great respect for the sentiments of our confrères. We respect the sentiments of any hon. member who is elected to represent a county in this House, and who makes a sacrifice of his personal affairs to come here and sit daily and deliberate with his fellow members; but with respect to those who attend to their personal affairs out of this House, and who only come here when they have mischief to make, if their measures fail to pass, we do not care, and that is the position of the hon. gentleman. He goes and attends to his private business throughout the country, and when he comes here it is for the purpose of introducing mischievous motions and trying to press them upon the House—motions that are calculated to breed disorder and destroy the harmony that prevails in this country. Whenever there is a chance for his motions to come before the House, then we see him in his place, but at no other time. So he may be sure that although we do not resort to obstruction, when we see that his measures fail to reach maturity, a great many of us are happy.

Mr. CURRAN. The hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) intimated that it might be supposed that there was some desire on the part of some persons in this House that his Bill should not be reached. Now, I would call the attention of the House to the fact that his Bill was called a few days ago, and his hon. friend from Winnipeg (Mr. Martin) asked that it should stand, although that was not necessary. But still, the Bill was called, and if the hon. gentleman had been in the House here attending to his business like the rest of us, his Bill would have gone on. But he being absent, of course, he cannot blame anybody but himself if he has lost his turn.

Mr. McCARTHY. Just allow me to say—although I know I am out of order in speaking again—that on the day referred to I was absent on account of sickness in my family, which prevented my attendance here.

Mr. McMILLAN. I desire to urge on the Government that they should take as broad a view as possible of all questions connected with the cattle trade. What should be done is to place immediately at rest the cattle interest, and to remove the state of uncertainty at present existing. So far as the steamship lines are concerned, I may say that I have shipped cattle during eight or nine years by one line; I have always received a decided answer and practically have never failed to get space when I wanted it. We always ship by the Donaldson line, and I repeat that I have never failed to get space during eight years, except on one occasion. It may be that private individuals would not be able to obtain the information referred to, the amount steamships have charged in times past. The companies might not feel inclined to furnish that information to private individuals, and it should be the duty of the Government to collect it, especially as it would be a matter of interest and importance to those engaged in the trade. I think the Government should, as early as possible, set the question at rest, either by taking action immediately or by stating definitely that they would not take any action in the matter.

Motion agreed to.

SUPPLY.

Mr. FOSTER moved that the House resolve itself into Committee of Supply.

Mr. LAURIER. I was under the expectation that the Minister of Finance would ask the House to resolve itself into Committee of Ways and Means in order to dispose of the tariff, and I think the extra day, tomorrow, was given to the Government in order that the consideration of the tariff might be concluded this week; otherwise, the House might have arrived at another conclusion. There was no other reason than that for giving the Government another day.

Mr. AMYOT.

However, the hon. gentleman has moved the House into Committee of Supply. Before we proceed into committee, we are entitled to know what is the intention of the Government with respect to the business of the House. I observe that the Prime Minister has given notice of four Bills which he intends to bring up to-morrow: an Act to amend the Criminal Code, 1892, an Act to amend the Revenue and Audit Act, an Act to amend the Dominion Elections, and finally, an Act to amend the Electoral Franchise Act. I think we are entitled to know, before we proceed further, if these are the only measures which the Government intend to introduce during the present session. There has been a rumour in the press that the Government contemplated a redistribution of seats in the province of Quebec. We had a redistribution two years ago, but this report has been current in the newspapers for some time, and we wish to learn whether the Government intend to bring in a new Redistribution Bill. I will not say anything as to the propriety of introducing such a measure, but I desire to obtain from the Government information on these two points, whether they have any other measures to bring before the House, or whether the measures of which notice has already been given are the measures they intend to submit, and especially whether they intend to introduce a measure for the redistribution of seats in the province of Quebec.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I do not like to hear the hon. gentleman's question put in that way, because it implies that he is tired of remaining here and wishes to have the end of the session in view. I am sure that that is not the feeling we entertain, for we desire his presence, and the presence of his friends for a few weeks yet. The Bills of which the Government have given notice are not the only Bills we propose to introduce. We intend to submit a Bill respecting the French treaty, a Bill respecting the ocean steamship service on the Atlantic, and a Bill respecting joint stock companies, to come from the Senate. I have not in my memory, at the present moment, any other Bills which we have formed a definite intention of introducing. The subject respecting which the hon. gentleman has desired information more especially, is a very interesting one, and one we should like to deal with if the session were long enough, but it depends on the length of the session.

Mr. LAURIER. I understand now.

Mr. CHARLTON. I think it is to be regretted that the Government have not proceeded with Ways and Means. There is a feeling in the country that the tariff should be settled, and the course of the Government with respect to this measure is certainly one which does not reflect the very highest degree of credit upon the Admin-

istration. The Government met the House, and in the Budget speech, the Finance Minister pronounced the policy of the Government with respect to the tariff, and it is evident, by what has since transpired, that the hon. gentleman had arrived at a conclusion without due consideration, and without having sufficiently consulted the interests of the various manufacturing lines in the country. Sir, the conduct of the Government since that time has been marked by irresolution and indecision. Great changes have been made in the tariff. Generally, the Government have gone back from the position taken by the Finance Minister when he delivered his Budget Speech, to the position of the Government before the tariff was introduced. The Government and the Finance Minister by this time should be ready to tell the people the reason of the delay. They surely have been waited upon by all the deputations required in order to be able to know what measures should be definitely adopted. It is unnecessary to inform the hon. member that the business of the country suffers to-day in consequence of this state of indecision in which the Government seems to be, and the state of uncertainty which exists as to what the character of the tariff finally shall be. We have an instance of the effect of this kind of dilly-dallying with an important question like this in the United States, where the business of the country is totally prostrated, awaiting the settlement of the tariff measures, and we have the fiercest denunciation of the United States Senate for the delay that has occurred in that body in arriving at a decision in respect to the Tariff Bill. The effect of this indecision and uncertainty has been most disastrous in a lesser degree from the delay of the Government here with respect to the tariff. It was suggested that when the Government asked that to-morrow should be taken, on the eve of the adjournment for the Queen's Birthday until Monday, that the Government were anxious to complete this measure, and did not desire that the country should wait until after the adjournment in a state of uncertainty. Why are not the Government ready and prepared to complete the tariff? Why do they propose to go into Committee of Supply, with the tariff dangling between heaven and earth? I repeat the country wants this measure settled, the Government should be able to settle it, the Government should know their own minds and have resolution and firmness enough to finally and definitely decide what the tariff should be, and let the country know the result; and I look upon this move of the Government to postpone the consideration of the tariff and allow the House now to resolve itself into Committee of Supply as an indication of irresolution, lack of knowledge on their part, and every circumstance connected with the postponement will have a most prejudicial effect on the country. The people will take it for

granted that the Government are still unable to decide what shall be done, waiting for more light, for more influence to be brought to bear, waiting to see what the pressure will be, and, in view of this action, the people of the country will expect further changes to be made. The Government should go forward with the tariff measure and complete it.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think the outlook as black as the hon. gentleman would make it appear. I do not propose to go over a second edition of the little history recited a day or two ago; there is no occasion for it. The hon. gentleman seems to-day to develop all the zeal of a new convert. After having made every effort to prevent items being discussed and dealt with—and no member has engaged in more useless discussion than the hon. gentleman, especially by dealing with reciprocity, which is dear to his own heart—the hon. gentleman now finds that a mistake has been made, and he cannot bear any delay after the tariff is practically settled. Let me set the hon. gentleman's heart at rest, and the country's heart at rest, if that palpitates now with uncertainty and dread—the tariff is practically decided. We have gone through committee, there are one or two items yet to be discussed, which are not of very great moment. There is, however, something which is of some moment, and I propose to take sufficient time to see that it is properly done.

Mr. LAURIER. Hear, hear.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, that is, that the various items, numbering 800, or 1,000, or more altogether, which we have gone over in committee shall be reprinted and shall be carefully gone over to see that they expressed themselves as they ought to do, and to see that there is no inconsistency, and that there are no errors in them. I am engaged at that work now. My hon. friend need not have any very great anxiety, and I am sure the country will not have any very great anxiety, for the amount of change which will be made in the tariff after this is very little indeed.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Are we to understand that the hon. gentleman does not propose to introduce any further changes of moment in the tariff?

Mr. FOSTER. Of no great moment.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I would rather hear a more definite assurance, because what he may consider of great moment, and what the people engaged in business may consider of great moment, may differ very considerably.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think they will.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It is so far satisfactory to have that assurance, but I am bound to tell the hon. member that

the fact that he requires at least another week before he is prepared to finish his tariff, and that after it has been revised and re-revised and re-revised, goes conclusively to prove the injustice of the charges made by himself and some of his friends and his press, that it was the fault of the Opposition that the tariff could not be put through several weeks earlier. Why, he wants a whole week now to make sure that there are no more clerical errors, and that the various changes that he has introduced really express his meaning. Considering the enormous amount of changes that the hon. gentleman has made, I am not quite sure but that there is a good deal to be said for that view of the case. But most assuredly one thing is clear, and that is: that any delay in bringing the tariff to completion has been due to the immense number of changes the hon. gentleman has introduced, and in no way to the examination which we were obliged to subject him to, in order to ascertain what he really meant or really thought. We know very well that the hon. gentleman's second thoughts or his third thoughts or his fourth thoughts vary enormously from his first thoughts, and we all know the reason why. However, I am glad to hear, and I take special note of the assertion, that the hon. gentleman proposes no more changes of what he calls great moment, and that they will be very few, did I understand him to say?

Mr. FOSTER. Very few.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Well, that is good as far as it goes.

Motion agreed to, and House resolved itself into Committee of Supply.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. McMULLEN. It is well, before we start in Committee of Supply, that we should distinctly understand from the Government and from the Finance Minister the course which shall be adopted. For the last two or three years when questions were put, we have frequently got answers from members of the Government that the information would be given in concurrence. We know very well that concurrence in this House has virtually been turned into a farce, and that the items are rushed through at the end of the session and little or no information given. For my part I want it to be understood by every Minister of the Crown, that where just and reasonable information is asked for, we shall expect that information on going through the items in committee, and I hope that the request shall not be made that it shall stand over for concurrence. Last year there was some little sympathy for the Minister of Militia, who was newly installed in his department, and we did not wish to be arbitrary in requiring minute replies as regards the public expenditure of that department. This year there are none of the Ministers very green in the business of the

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT.

department over which they preside and they ought to be able to give the information.

An hon. MEMBER. Some of them are orange.

Mr. McMULLEN. It does not matter whether they are orange or green, if we get the information we ask. We certainly shall insist this year that we must have at least a courteous answer.

Mr. FOSTER. You always get that.

Mr. McMULLEN. And an intelligent answer, which we do not always get to questions which are put. It is just as well to have that understanding before we start with Supply.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Question.

Mr. McMULLEN. I am debating the question.

Mr. FOSTER. You are laying the foundation, as it were?

Mr. McMULLEN. Personally, I do not want to be charged with keeping this House sitting in the dog-days. I do not think there is a member on this side of the House that wants that, but the Opposition have a duty to perform here. The country expects that we shall fully criticise the Estimates, and see that explicit and clear information is given to the House as to the public expenditure. We would be recreant to the duty we are supposed to discharge to the country if we neglected to extract from the Government, even if it does take some little time and some little trouble and a considerable amount of patience, the information that the country is entitled to. I hope that as we proceed with these items the members of the Government will be ready to give every information which is necessary, and I hope that no request will be made to defer that information until concurrence.

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| Charges of management..... | \$164,550 |
| Inspector | 1,700 |

Mr. McMULLEN. Who is the inspector?

Mr. FOSTER. The inspector is Mr. George Crookshank, who goes from one end of the country to the other and investigates the books and the management of the different offices of the Receiver General and the Dominion savings banks. We formerly had an inspector and an assistant inspector, and we now have simply an inspector.

Mr. MULLOCK. What is the cause of the difference in the expenses between the offices of the Receiver General at Toronto and at Montreal?

Mr. FOSTER. Montreal is a very important office in the first place, and it is carried on in a little different way. We have in Montreal an arrangement with Mr. Barbeau by which we pay a certain sum for the whole office. In Toronto we have a set of officers.

Mr. MULOCK. You have an inspector for Ontario. Is there also an inspector for Quebec ?

Mr. FOSTER. No ; an inspector for the Dominion. He is stationed at Ottawa, but travels over the whole Dominion.

Mr. McMULLEN. How many clerks are now in the office at Toronto ?

Mr. FOSTER. I believe four.

Mr. McMULLEN. Who is the head ?

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Campbell.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Is the amount paid to the Assistant Receiver General at Montreal the same as the amount paid to the City and District Savings Bank ?

Mr. FOSTER. It is the same. The City and District Savings Bank does our business.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) How do you pay it ?

Mr. FOSTER. By a lump sum arrived at by agreement years ago. The business there is very large, and costs us less than the Toronto business.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) That might be a reason for altering the arrangement in the other place.

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What precise functions do you assign to these gentlemen now ?

Mr. FOSTER. They have just the same duties as they always have had—to keep the cash and take in the official notes. There has been no change.

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| Assistant Receiver General's office, Halifax..... | \$8,300 |
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Mr. FORBES. Who is acting as receiver there ?

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Wallace.

Mr. FORBES. Do the Government propose to superannuate him ?

Mr. FOSTER. There is no proposition before the Government for that purpose.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. How does it come that you require so much more for Halifax than for either Toronto or Montreal ?

Mr. FOSTER. The Halifax office is not in our own building ; we have to rent a building there.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Surely there is room enough in the public buildings at Halifax. I see that at Toronto, besides the Assistant Receiver General, there is an accountant, a teller and one clerk, while at Halifax there is the Assistant Receiver General, two accountants, two tellers and a clerk. Now, if four officers can discharge the work at Toronto, I do not see why six

are required at Halifax. I imagine that it cannot be that it takes six Nova Scotians to do as much as four natives of Ontario ? and yet this is the apparent inference to be drawn.

Mr. FOSTER. If the hon. gentleman will look at the Public Accounts he will find that the transactions are very much larger in Halifax and St. John than they are in Toronto. At the end of 1892 the balance at Halifax was \$2,632,000, and the cash deposits in the year \$452,000, and the total at the end of the year \$3,164,000. In Toronto the cash balance was only a little over half a million, and the deposits \$130,000. The transactions are innumerable more.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) That must necessarily be so, because in Halifax and St. John these offices have the savings bank business. For \$5,000 the business of the Receiver General is done in Montreal. What is the nature of the business that would justify the expenditure of \$7,000 or \$8,000 in Toronto ?

Mr. FOSTER. They have there a much larger business transaction with the banks in specie.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Outside of the savings department, I should imagine the business would not require much clerical assistance.

Mr. FOSTER. There are a great many transactions in notes and specie, whilst in Halifax and St. John the larger part of the business is the receipt and paying out the deposits.

Mr. MULOCK. The Minister may have good reasons for the cost at Halifax being greater than the cost of Toronto, but when we turn to the Halifax and St. John's returns, the discrepancy is extraordinary. The cost of managing the Halifax office exceeds that of managing the St. John office. The Minister implied that the cost of management is in proportion to the volume and the character of the business, and I presume it is reasonable to conclude that the transactions at Halifax and St. John are very much of a like character, and yet it takes less to run the St. John office than the Halifax office. In round numbers, the balance to the credit of St. John's office last year was \$3,564,000, while that at Halifax was only \$2,600,000, and the deposits in St. John last year were \$130,000 more than those at Halifax. In fact, according to these returns the volume of business of all kinds done at the Receiver General's office in St. John last year was very considerably greater than that done at Halifax, although the cost of running the Halifax office is 20 per cent greater than that of running the St. John office.

Mr. FOSTER. The number of depositors in Nova Scotia was 23,818, in New Brunswick 16,372, and in Manitoba 3,726. On-

tario, on the other hand, has 1,632 depositors, British Columbia 3,009 and Prince Edward Island 6,482.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) You see that the disproportion of Winnipeg to the others is most enormous. This seems to require some examination on the part of the hon. gentleman with a view to reduction of expenditure.

Mr. CHARLTON. I know that the Minister of Finance has economical characteristics, and desires to carry on the business of the country without undue expense, but it does strike me that the clerical force in these offices is very much in excess of what it would be in any private business of similar proportion.

Mr. FOSTER. That may be true; it is true of all Governments.

Mr. CHARLTON. But in view of the present state of affairs, in view of the depression existing and the amount of debt and taxation we are carrying, there is great necessity for curtailing expenses. In case of our obtaining reciprocity with the United States or passing a prohibitory liquor law we should be deprived of part of our revenue, and we ought to reduce our expenses so as to be prepared for such changes. Men should be engaged who are competent for their work, and no more of them than are necessary should be employed. I believe that this principle is not sufficiently studied in any department, and this is a good time to commence.

Mr. FOSTER. These offices have special attention, and I believe they are run economically. It is sometimes difficult to make disposition of the officers who are already there. Take, for instance, St. John. Since one of the officers went out we have done with one clerk less. In Prince Edward Island a vacancy occurred a few weeks ago; I do not propose to fill that office. Those who are there, I think, can very well do the work, and I am making that disposition of them. When we made the change in British Columbia, and promoted the present officer, we did away with one clerk, and did not appoint any one in the place. I may say that if a vacancy occurred in Halifax or Winnipeg, I would not fill that vacancy. But the officers now there have been there for a long time, and, as my hon. friend knows, we do not like to be violent in these matters.

Mr. CHARLTON. If we have men in any office more than are needed, our system ought to allow of their being provided with employment elsewhere. Our superannuation system and the Civil Service regulations stand in the way, I know. Still, there should be some system by which every man should yield a return for the salary that is paid him.

Mr. McMULLEN. The Finance Minister has made two very important admissions. He has admitted that where vacancies have

Mr. FOSTER.

occurred in these offices he has been quite able to carry on the business of the country without filling those vacancies—in other words, that more men were employed than were required. He has admitted also that in some offices, if vacancies were to occur, he would make no new appointment. This was an admission that we still have more officers than are necessary. For years past we have complained of the increase of clerks in the different departments and Government offices throughout the country. We have reached a stage now where it is most necessary that we should cut down the number of clerks to the actual requirements of the service, and not appoint men because they assert some claim on political grounds upon the Government. I quite agree with the remarks of the hon. member for North Norfolk that we must cut down expenses. We have heard the Finance Minister say in former years in justification of this or that expenditure, that it involved no increase. The time has come when we should insist upon a decrease. In view of the outcry for tariff reduction and the cutting down of taxation, we should begin to prepare to meet that public demand by cutting down the annual expenditure—that is the best way in which to relieve the people. We should reduce the number of officers by cutting off those men who are unnecessary, and I believe there are hundreds of them, and these admissions of the Finance Minister confirm me in that opinion.

Assistant Receiver General's
Office, Winnipeg..... \$6,000

Mr. MULOCK. I asked the Finance Minister to tell us what public services were rendered by these offices. Take Winnipeg as an example—what business is done there?

Mr. FOSTER. The business, in the first place, is that of receiving moneys from those who wish to deposit, and paying it to those who wish to withdraw—a savings bank business. The other part of the business is that done by the Assistant Receivers General.

Mr. MULOCK. What is that?

Mr. FOSTER. They supply notes and specie when called for by the banks. They take in the old notes and return them to us, and give out new ones. They are the medium of communication between the Government here and the banks in the various cities, and they save time in this communication.

Mr. MULOCK. With regard to the latter branch of the business, namely, giving out legal tenders, it appears to me that can be managed through the banks of the country. I fail to see the necessity for the Government maintaining a separate office for any such work as that. In fact, I think the public would be infinitely better served if the Government could make arrangement by which that branch of the business could be done through the several banks. As to

the savings bank business, is that business carried on for the benefit of those who deposit, or is it to enable the Government to borrow money cheaply? The Minister says the offices are conducted cheaply. I venture to question the accuracy of that assertion. For instance, Winnipeg received last year deposits aggregating \$238,000, while the withdrawals were \$299,000. Do you think any joint stock company could exist by conducting that volume of business at an expense of \$6,600 a year, with, I suppose, other expenses, such as office rent, and so on?

Mr. FOSTER. Everything is included in that.

Mr. MULOCK. Well, I will venture to say there is not a branch of business of a monetary character that could carry on successfully a volume of business amounting to \$200,000 both ways, and pay interest on that fund, in addition to this \$6,600 for expenses, and there is not a person versed in monetary institutions who would for a moment acquiesce in the statement that that business was done economically.

Mr. FOSTER. It is a charge of about 1 per cent.

Mr. MULOCK. Don't you pay 4 per cent on the money?

Mr. FOSTER. 3½.

Mr. MULOCK. So it costs the Government 4½ per cent?

Mr. FOSTER. Not for the whole. That is this particular office.

Mr. MULOCK. Well, it will average 1 per cent. Now, I question the wisdom of maintaining an office for any such purpose as that.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) It is 2½ per cent on the cost.

Mr. MULOCK. What interest does it cost the country? Take Winnipeg, for instance. What interest does it cost the country for the \$238,000 deposits which you pay 3½ per cent interest upon, and in order to get which you have to pay in working expenses \$6,600 a year besides? If that is business, I should be very sorry to have any interest in it.

Mr. FOSTER. The interest paid was 3½ per cent.

Assistant Receiver General's
Office, Charlottetown \$4,800

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I understood the Minister did not propose to take so much this year on account of the death of the first assistant.

Mr. FOSTER. That was Mr. Foley; his salary was \$1,100. We will reduce that item to \$4,000.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Is that a sufficient reduction?

Mr. FOSTER. I think it is only fair to give an increase of salary to the others who do the work.

Mr. MULOCK. That means that because an officer drawing \$1,100 dies, the survivors are to get nearly half of that.

Mr. FOSTER. I did not say I was going to increase the salaries of the survivors to that extent; I said I was going to increase them. The hon. gentleman is altogether too suspicious.

Mr. MULOCK. If the hon. gentleman cannot tell us what he wants the money for, he ought not to vote it.

Mr. BERGIN. You are taking up more time than the \$500 are worth,

Country Savings Banks, New
Brunswick, Nova Scotia and
Prince Edward Island—sal-
aries \$11,350

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I thought they were going to be gradually dispensed with?

Mr. FOSTER. So they are. There is a decrease here, owing to two having been transferred. As they fall in, by death or resignation of the officer, they have been transferred to the Post Office Department.

Mr. McMULLEN. Is the business in the savings banks increasing or decreasing?

Mr. FOSTER. If the hon. gentleman will look at the transactions he will see that in the whole of Nova Scotia the balance held was \$7,200,000, and the balance held on the 30th June, 1893, was in excess of the balance held on the 1st July, 1892. The transactions were \$2,700,000 in deposits and withdrawals.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Only an increase of about \$100,000?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Looking at the question generally, it seems to me that the time has come when the hon. gentleman ought to consider the propriety of reducing the rate of interest, at any rate, on the large deposits. I notice from the returns which I moved for some time ago, taking, for instance, the Government savings banks, that we had 4,607 depositors holding deposits to the amount of \$8,676,586, which is about half the total amount of deposits. The result of that is that one-half of our deposits are held in sums very nearly averaging \$2,000. It is quite clear that parties who are able to hold \$2,000 in cash available at 10 days' notice, or whatever notice the hon. gentleman now requires, are not a class of persons in whose behalf any plea can be advanced that they are in need, and our dealing with them ought to be regulated on business principles. It does appear to me that when we can borrow money at about 3¼ per cent it is not good business to borrow from these persons at 3½ per cent. I am dis-

posed myself to make considerable concession in favour of small depositors holding under \$500, if the Minister chooses to take that standard. It does appear to me that in the case of these large depositors there is good ground for placing the interest at some rate fairly commensurate with what the Government can borrow. Now, the Government say that they can borrow at $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, or thereabouts, on long time, without the necessity of keeping any reserve, and it is to be remarked in connection with all these savings banks, that if the Government conduct their business on proper principles, a certain amount, more or less, ought to be held in reserve to meet such contingencies as have occurred several times within our recollection, and even within the last two or three years. I should like to know what the hon. gentleman's view is on that subject. It appears to me that on the larger deposits we are paying more than the money is worth in open market, and that it is not a very prudent thing on our part to be doing that which would encourage people to hold large sums in that particular fashion.

Mr. FOSTER. It must be borne in mind that even those depositors of whom the hon. gentleman has spoken as having somewhat large amounts have secured them by making repeatedly small deposits. Each depositor is allowed a maximum of \$3,000, and I have no doubt that the large proportion of those depositors are persons receiving wages, who have gradually added to their deposits for a series of years until they hold the amount opposite their names. You could not call them rich people. These banks are not the media by which wealthy people aggregate their savings. So if the matter is looked at in that way, it is hardly fair to say that these are not the deposits of people making small savings. As regards the rate of interest the hon. gentleman will remember it was reduced from 4 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent three years ago. I think it is only fair we should keep the present rate of interest on savings deposits as an incentive to thrift and to safety, and give a little more interest than that at which it is possible to borrow money abroad. Of course if you borrow abroad there are expenses in connection with the loan, the payment of interest and the sinking funds on the old loan; so that the disparity is not very large between the rate at which we are able to borrow money and the amount paid as interest in savings banks. Of course there is the cost of management to be calculated, but at the same time it must be remembered that these banks have a good effect on our people in giving them a sure place in which to deposit their earnings, and as contributing to thrift and stability in that way. The margin between what the money has hitherto cost in Great Britain and the rate we pay, taking all the cost of charges into account, is, under present conditions, about one-quarter

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT.

per cent. I do not think it would be wise at the present time to lower the rate of interest. We have reduced the amount of deposits, and no doubt have kept out a certain amount in that way. We are under no obligation to maintain a place for safe keeping of savings or for exchange, as the savings bank was at one time for people of comparatively large means.

Mr. MULOCK. What is the amount allowed to be deposited?

Mr. FOSTER. The maximum amount is \$3,000.

Mr. SPROULE. The hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) has expressed himself in favour of reducing the rate on deposits in the post office and other savings banks. I think it should be allowed to remain at the highest figure the country could afford, because the return shows that the amounts of deposits held are the results of small savings placed in the bank at different times. Although in some cases the amounts that have accumulated for a series of years may appear to be somewhat large, they represent the savings of poor people. We are acting in the right direction when we make it an object for the poor people to economize and save their money. No doubt many of them have difficulty to know how to invest their money with safety, and at the same time procure a good return. The reduction from 4 per cent was, I think, an error, even though the country may be able to borrow money at a lower rate. We should always hold out strong inducements to poor people to put their money away in savings banks.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I call the attention of the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) to the fact that I expressly excepted the vast bulk of the depositors. Perhaps the hon. gentleman does not know that fully nine-tenths of the deposits are those of persons who deposit a sum from \$100 to \$500. Those I did not propose to interfere with. I notice that out of 114,000 deposits in the post office savings bank, 99,657 are below \$500, and the average is something like \$100. I also notice that in the Dominion savings banks, out of 55,000 deposits, 45,000 deposited from \$100 to \$500. The point which I take, and which has not been answered, is this: that in the case of parties depositing on an average \$2,000 each, which appears to be the amount in the Government savings banks at all events, it was very questionable whether they were parties who should obtain a larger rate than that at which the Government could borrow money. I know of no case in which a larger rate is allowed for money borrowed at very short notice, ten days or thereabouts, than for money borrowed for periods of 30, 40 or 50 years, as has been the case of most with our new loans. While I have no objection whatever that the Gov-

ernment should borrow here as cheaply as they can in England from parties having considerable sums of money to invest, it is very questionable policy to pay persons of the character to which I have referred, a larger sum than they could obtain otherwise on the open market. I must mention further that beyond all question so long as $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent is the rate of interest in the Government savings banks, it will be quite impossible for men of business dealing with the banks to obtain money at a low rate of interest. The banks in the country are obliged to pay as much as the Government pay, and in that way the Government may be the means of keeping the rate of interest all over Canada at a higher rate than it otherwise would be. It is true that it is in the general public interest that parties of slender means should have a perfectly safe place in which to deposit their money, and I am willing to make very considerable concessions in that direction, but it is not in the general public interest, not in the interest of the agricultural or mercantile community, or of the public at large that the rate of interest all over the country should be artificially maintained. It would greatly benefit our manufacturers, in whom the hon. gentleman take an interest, and I take an interest, although from a wider standpoint, if they were able to obtain money at a lower rate of interest than at the present time. One of their complaints has been that they were charged so high a rate of interest that they were unable to manufacture as cheaply as the people of other countries who obtain money at low rates. That is true. The rate of interest is an important factor in the cost of production, and it is on these grounds that I considerably doubt the wisdom of the Government borrowing \$25,000,000, \$30,000,000, or \$35,000,000 at a considerably higher rate than money is worth in the open market, according to the statement of the Finance Minister himself. All through I find that a very large percentage of the money we borrow is held in sums averaging \$2,000 or \$1,500. With respect to one thing the Minister stated, I may observe, it is not a very uncommon thing for persons to avail themselves of this \$3,000-limit to a much greater extent than he supposes. It is not very difficult for a man, if he chooses to do so, to place money in the names of separate members of his family, and so have a very large sum on deposit. So long as we maintain this rate, irrespective of other considerations, there is no doubt we are raising the rate of interest all over the country more or less. We are disturbing the natural course of trade and increasing the cost of production. That is a more serious matter than the additional half per cent which we may find it expedient to pay to these depositors. The Minister knows that his action must control the banks at large; and looking at the difficulty of making good

investments in Canada now, looking at the well-known fact that the price of our best bank stocks is such that the return on investments in banks, where there is always a more or less appreciable element of risk, hardly exceeds $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, if my memory is correct; it does appear to me that the question deserves the serious consideration of the Finance Minister; as to whether for large deposits—I am not raising the question of small deposits at all—the rate of interest should not be reduced to at least 3 per cent, which I think is about what the money is fairly worth.

Mr. SPROULE. How is the hon. gentleman going to draw a distinction between a small deposit and a large one?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. It certainly is a little irregular in one sense, but there is no reason in the world, that for reasons of public policy the House could not decide to give $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on deposits up to \$500 or even \$1,000 and 3 per cent on those that exceed that sum. That could be done by a regulation of the department.

Mr. SPROULE. I do not know by what mode of reasoning the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) comes to the conclusion that the giving of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent is likely to keep up the rate of interest in the banks. The Montreal Bank, or other banks, will not allow more for deposits than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, but if you come to borrow from them they will charge you 6 or 7 or 8 per cent. You give them the liberty of charging whatever they like to borrowers, while at the same time you want to compel those who are depositing money in the Post Office savings banks to accept a low rate of interest. Supposing that that might be accomplished by the means propounded by the hon. gentleman, it would be a very unfortunate thing if we were to attempt to accomplish it in that way. We would be only putting a greater power in the hands of the banks, and we would be doing away with that which ought to exist in every country, namely: offering a strong inducement to poor persons to lay by a little money when they have it in some safe place, where it may realize interest to them or their heirs in the future.

Mr. COCKBURN. I think it would be a pity that we should regard these banks of deposits and savings banks as pauper institutions. It never was the intention of the Government that we should so regard them, but when the hon. gentleman speaks of doing an act of charity to the poor man and paying him more for the use of his money than it is currently worth, then we are entering on a very dangerous principle indeed. The member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) has very plainly explained the situation: that if we are to give more for the money than it is worth, we have to take it out of the pockets of other

people, and we have to visibly appreciate the cost of manufacturing and the rate of mortgages. We have had brought before us this session in various speeches, the difficulties under which manufacturers labour in Canada in having to pay a comparatively increased rate for the money which is invested in their business. Money to-day is only worth 3 per cent in the banks of Canada, and if we give interest at the rate of 3½ per cent, we insensibly force the banks to pay the same amount. They will pay the 3½ per cent, but they have to take the extra half per cent out of the pockets of the manufacturers and the farmers. I trust that some such scheme may be adopted as proposed by the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) with regard to sums which clearly do not belong to the poorer classes. Where we are not really dealing with a class who require incentives to save, we should place them on the footing so as to accept the bank rate of interest at the time, which happens now to be 3 per cent. Even for the poorer classes I do not know that there is justice in treating them as we are treating them, and giving them more for their money in the savings bank than they could obtain elsewhere. However, that amount is so small that I am not prepared to dispute it. It is a question, to my mind, whether it is in the interest of the commerce of the country that the Government should maintain institutions of this kind at all. As far as I can see they are interfering more or less with the banking institutions and the industries of the country. As banks are now situated, they have enough difficulties to contend against without having the rate of interest forced beyond what is really the level, as determined by the amount of money in the market at the time for disposal and the active demand for its use.

Mr. SPROULE. The logic of the hon. gentleman amounts to this if it amounts to anything: that you would compel the poor man to lend his money at 3 per cent, when the bank with which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Cockburn) is connected, will not lend money at less than 6 per cent. We, in this Parliament, give the bank a charter and power, and it lends its money at not less than 6 per cent, but he as the representative of a banking institution would compel the poor man to lend his money at 3 per cent while the banks, by the power we give them, could compel the borrower to pay 6 per cent.

Mr. COCKBURN. My hon. friend (Mr. Sproule) is asking a most extraordinary question. He wants to put the bank in the same position as the Government. The Government has no discount business, but if the bank accepts a note of my hon. friend, or any other gentleman in the House, it takes all the attendant risks of commerce and trade. Look at the various banks and

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you will find how heavy have been their losses within their history, and again and again they have had to trench on the capital originally contributed. The Government has no risk whatever. It pays the 3½ per cent, but it does not lend this money to the trade and commerce of this country, and it does not develop the industries of the country with that money. It is not a business which the Government have a right commercially to embark in. They are, however, in it, and I am perfectly willing they should remain there, but I deny their right altogether to give to people who have \$2,000 or \$3,000 or more in the savings banks one cent above what is the current rate of interest. It is not a commercial transaction, and any business of this kind should be dealt with simply and solely on the basis of a commercial transaction. It ought to be commercial in its management and in the whole dealing with it. If we are to get into the idea that every man or every woman who puts money into a Government savings bank is a pauper, and is to get more for his or her money than it is worth, then I would rather see the extra money-interest doled out as a charity.

Mr. SPROULE. The hon. gentleman was unfortunate in drawing attention to the position of the banks. He says that the banks run great risks and loss, but I would ask him, what are bank stocks standing at to-day in Canada? Some of them, if I remember right, are 214 per cent and others between 150 and 200 per cent, appreciated, showing that they are making out of their money by virtue of the very power which we give them in this Parliament, and the manner in which they are able to exercise that power. They are paying much higher dividends than the poor man is getting for the money he puts in the post office savings banks. They are satisfied with that, but they are not satisfied that the poor man should get any more than 3 per cent, although they themselves are receiving dividends of 6, 7 and 8 per cent. I say that the proposition made here would compel the poor man to lend his money at a low rate of interest. This is the only inducement held out to him when he can save a little, to invest his money in good security and to exercise economy. If you take away that premium on economy he would not have the inducement to put his money by so that it shall earn a little return for him, even though that return be smaller than is earned by the banks of the country.

Mr. COCKBURN. The poor man is not debarred from making a deposit in a regular savings bank.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I think the hon. gentleman does not quite understand the point I was bringing up. It is one that requires a good deal of attention at the hands of the Government and the House. We have borrowed about \$40,000,000 at call, from the people of Canada.

* That money is not in the hands of the Finance Minister. It has been used for a great variety of miscellaneous purposes, including the putting down of the North-west rebellion, the construction of the Tay Canal and other matters which are not particularly productive assets. Whereas, in England, unless my memory is at fault, anything borrowed through savings banks is invested by the Government and held as a trust, we use the money, we spend it, and we have nothing to show for it, except a number of entries on our books. If this money were demanded of us, the first thing the Finance Minister would have to do would be to go and borrow it in the English market; there is no other place where he could get it. Now, it is a matter of very great interest to the farmers of this country, particularly in the present depressed state of things, that they should obtain as low a rate of interest on the great amount of mortgages they are obliged to pay interest on as possible; and there is no doubt whatever—there is no use of hon. gentlemen denying so plain a fact—that if the Government raise the rate of interest on deposits beyond its legitimate figure, in so doing, whether they intend it or not, they raise the rate of interest on mortgages all through the country, or prevent it falling, which is pretty much the same thing. My own impression is that if we had not gone into this business, money might be borrowed a good deal cheaper at present by the farming community, and also by the manufacturing community, than it can be to-day. We are not concerned with the effect on the banks so much as with the effect on the great producing classes of the country. That is the reason that I have called the attention of the Finance Minister to the fact that the large amount of money now deposited is deposited by persons who cannot be described as very needy persons. I do not believe that persons who have, on the average, \$2,000 or \$1,500 of cash to their credit come exactly within the class whom the hon. gentleman desires to encourage. But, apart from that, I do say that in order to have a low rate of interest on mortgages and on money lent to the manufacturers, the Government will have to lower the rate they are now paying on the money deposited in the savings banks.

Mr. McMULLEN. The Finance Minister intimated last year and the year before that as the people now in charge of the savings banks in the Maritime Provinces dropped off, or resigned, the business would be transferred to the post office savings banks. Now, I notice that a number of those in charge of the savings banks in the Maritime Provinces are getting very liberal salaries already for other purposes. For instance, Mr. D. Ferguson, in New Brunswick, gets \$1,200 as collector of customs, and \$400 as savings bank agent; Mr. C. M. Brough, at St. Andrews, gets \$1,200 as col-

lector of customs, and \$400 as savings bank agent; Mr. Street, at Fredericton, gets \$1,500 as collector of customs, \$400 as savings bank agent, and \$250 of commission on excise collections.

Mr. FOSTER. It might be well just to refresh the memories of hon. gentlemen opposite by turning to 1878 and seeing what the expenses of these different Assistant Receiver Generals' offices and savings banks were at that time, when there certainly were not one-half the transactions involved that there are at present. Among the amounts voted in 1877, I find that there was a financial inspector at \$2,600; we have a financial inspector at \$1,700. At Toronto they paid \$8,000; we pay \$7,100. At Montreal they paid \$5,500; we pay \$5,600. At Halifax they paid \$10,000; we pay \$8,300. At St. John they paid \$11,000; we are paying \$6,600. At Winnipeg, or Fort Garry as it then was, they paid \$6,500; we are paying \$6,600. At Victoria, B.C., they paid \$7,000; we are paying \$4,000. At Charlottetown they paid \$4,000; we are paying \$4,000. The savings banks in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and British Columbia cost them \$12,000, while they cost us, with a great many more, and much larger transactions, a little over \$11,000. The talk about economy is good in its way, but the proof of the pudding is in the eating of it; and with transactions very much less, they spent on this service, in 1877, a great deal more money by thousands of dollars than we spend to-day.

Mr. McMULLEN. There are members in this House who were not in the House in 1878, and the hon. Finance Minister cannot expect that we are going to accept as a justification of the present expenditure a statement of what the expenditure was in 1878. Whether the expenditure of 1878 was extravagant or not, I do not know. We are dealing with matters as we find them to-day, and in the present condition of this country, in the face of the fact that wheat sold in 1878 at \$1.25 a bushel, whereas it is selling to-day at 60 cents a bushel; in view of these things, the people of this country are crying out loudly for a reduction of taxation, and we hold that the Finance Minister, in order to meet that demand should apply the pruning-knife and cut down the expenditure. If he does not do so, the people will hold him to account. In past years the prospects of this country were very much brighter than they are to-day. In 1878 we had not the National Policy that has restricted and crippled the trade of the country, and brought the people into the extraordinary condition of depression they are in to-day. They were not subjected to the extortions of the National Policy for fifteen years at that time. The National Policy was brought into existence after that time, and the result is that the people feel the debt under which they are suffering and the burdens to which

they are subjected. Take the condition of the country to-day, one-half of the entire customs revenue goes to pay interest on borrowed money, a hundred millions of which the Government have borrowed within the last fifteen years. That is the condition of things under which we are suffering, and we are now asking on behalf of the struggling masses, for a reduction in our taxation, and because we do that the Finance Minister gets up and jauntily tells us look back to 1878 and see how things were conducted then, and what money we spent then. I am not here to defend those who were here in 1878—they are well able to do that for themselves—but to criticise public expenditure and deal with the matters as they are to-day, and to call upon the Finance Minister for a reduction in taxation, and to relieve the people by cutting down the expenditure where that can be done. I contend there is ample facility in these items to make considerable reductions.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. So far as the people of Canada are concerned, if they could get back to the expenditure of \$23,500,000 per year, which was the expenditure in 1878, they could exceedingly well afford to spend a matter of \$8,000 or \$9,000 more on the various items the hon. gentleman has referred to, always supposing that those who held office in 1878 were responsible for the putting into offices the parties who are drawing those salaries. My recollection of the matter is this: When we came into office, we found those various salaries existing. There was very little increase, if any, in the period from 1874 to 1878, and that is a matter which I shall look up presently. All I can say is this, that had the Administration of which I was a member remained in office, the total expenditure of Canada would be less by ten million dollars a year than it is to-day, and the general condition of the people would be immeasurably better. It was not our policy to give any citizens of Canada the opportunity of heaping up huge fortunes at the public expense. But it was our policy to see that every man in Canada had a fair chance and a fair field. The value of lands in Canada was at least 30 per cent greater then than it is to-day. The condition of the general public in Canada, speaking of the agricultural and producing classes, was immensely better than it is to-day. I dare say it is true that you will find a considerable number of towns and villages in Canada, in which, under the stimulus of a much larger rate of interest than could be obtained elsewhere, a certain portion of the population put money on deposit; but you could not, in our time, see the spectacle of half a score of farms put up in any country town in Ontario without a single bidder, while there were hundreds of thousands and sometimes millions of dollars lying available in the various banks and savings institutions in the vicinity. Nor did we see in those days the absolute and complete cessation of in-

Mr. McMULLEN.

crease in population in the most prosperous sections of what ought to be one of the most prosperous countries in the world. We did not find then the population of New Brunswick—to bring matters home to the hon. gentleman—increased at the rate of sixty souls in ten years. We did not find the population of the county he represents decreasing by eight or nine thousand in the course of ten years. Nor did we see the rate of expenditure increasing on an average at the rate of one million dollars a year. And yet hon. gentlemen tell us to go back to the expenditure of 1873-74. If we could, none of us would be in a position to complain of any increase that may have taken place in these small institutions to which he is referring.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. How does the hon. gentleman explain that large charity to Fort Garry?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I will explain it, perhaps not to the hon. gentleman's satisfaction, but easily enough. There was no doubt that in Manitoba and in British Columbia, in those days, the expenses of living were vastly greater than in the older provinces.

Mr. FOSTER. How about St. John?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. And a superior allowance no doubt was made and continued for some years to equalize the expenses of the office. In Halifax, in 1873, the expenses actually paid, according to the Auditor General's Report, for the Receiver General's office—

Mr. FOSTER. What is the total?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I am endeavouring to make it out, because the expenditure is not put down in precisely the same shape. It appears to be \$9,000 in 1873. It was \$10,000 in 1878, and I remember that the hon. gentleman's predecessors, before they left office in a hurry, for certain reasons, at or about October, 1873, added most enormously to almost all salaries. They added 15 per cent all round. If the hon. gentleman will add 15 per cent to \$9,130, or thereabouts, he will see that they added, before they left office, an increase quite equal to that which he states. I find some difficulty in ascertaining from this, because it is not made up precisely in the same way, exactly what the expenses were, but apparently they were not greater in most of these cases. I take Halifax as a sample brick. The expenditure was not less than what we actually incurred in 1878. I forget what the hon. gentleman stated the expenses were in Victoria.

Mr. FOSTER. Seven thousand dollars. I see here, apparently, and they seem to cover about the same matters, that the expenses in 1873 were \$6,969.13, so that apparently, in 1873, without taking into account this 15 per cent increase I have referred to,

the expenditure in Victoria was within the nearest fraction of whatever the expenditure may have been in 1878. I suppose the hon. gentleman taking the actual expenditure, and not the sum for which the vote was taken.

Mr. FOSTER. I have given votes in both cases, under the impression that, of course, you would not ask for more than you spent.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. As a rule we undoubtedly did not ask for more than we spent, and, as a rule, we kept the expenditure well within the Estimates. But I do not see that there is any material difference, judging from the specimens I examined between 1873 and 1878. In one case I find \$6,969, to which you may add 15 per cent under all the circumstances I have described. And in another case the amount is \$9,000, to which you may add a similar proportion.

Mr. FOSTER. For these services you had more than \$10,000 in 1878, about what we now ask.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. There may have been a larger vote, and possibly there may have been a larger expenditure. What I say is that the expenditure had been fixed for us in 1873, and we did not add to it during our four or five years of office. If the hon. gentleman wants to compare expenditure in 1873 or 1878 or any years between with those of to-day, and carry that to comparison upon broad lines, he will find the figures interesting. Our total expenditure for civil government in 1878 was \$823,369. The hon. gentleman is asking in these present Estimates for \$1,475,425. If he wants to make a comparison there is a very fair test of general economy and desire to save the people's money, as manifested in the period he refers to. Let the people compare these figures, and let them likewise compare the sum total which the hon. gentleman finds it necessary to ask for, and the total of any year during our term of office. The fact is it was necessary, in British Columbia and Manitoba, to spend a little more money in those days than it is now. We had determined, as soon as it was possible to reduce that expenditure, but it was not possible, while doing justice to our officials, to reduce it at that particular moment. If the people will compare the figures they will not find that they have profited much by the exchange they have made, so far as regards either the general wealth of the people or the average amount of the expenditure.

Mr. FOSTER. I am sorry I gave the hon. gentleman so bad a quarter of an hour trying to wiggle out of a position which he finds so uncomfortable. These figures throw an instructive side-light upon the hon. gentlemen's management when in power, as contrasted with their professions when out of power. The hon. gentleman went to

Fort Garry and met on a trip across the mountains in their efforts to explain away the figures, and said that living was a little higher there. But he took good care not to go down to Halifax and St. John, where his expenditures then were \$2,000 and \$3,000 more than they are under the present Administration to-day, and where the expense of living certainly was not higher. The hon. gentleman spent, for the management of infinitely smaller deposits and transactions, about \$12,000 or \$13,000 more than we spend to-day. The hon. gentleman wishes this country to go back to the period of 1878. He would give us to understand that by that change he would lead us back into some beautiful Eden, where all is peace and prosperity, while now we are travelling in the shade and darkness. I want to draw his attention to the utterance of a celebrated authority describing those times :

There has been an enormous shrinkage in the lumber trade from \$28,000,000 to \$13,000,000 in another. There has been a great shrinkage in bank stock and some of these institutions have gone altogether. The depression in real estate has been general and long-prevailing and entails an enormous loss. Our exports have fallen off because we have been so poor that we have not been buying much.

I spare the hon. gentleman the affliction of reading more. But every phrase here is a picture of that time, and they were uttered by no less an authority than Sir Richard Cartwright.

Mr. McMULLEN. The hon. gentleman opposite criticised the Government of that day as being flies on the wheel, and what are they now? Look at the condition of the country, and how are the men now in power trying to help those who are struggling in difficulties?

Committee rose, and it being Six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

House again resolved itself into Committee of Supply.

(In the Committee.)

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| Country Savings Banks, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island—contingencies..... | \$1,750 |
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Mr. McMULLEN. What is that supposed to cover?

Mr. FOSTER. That is in connection with all the savings banks throughout the country—stationery, a little postage, and that sort of thing.

Mr. McMULLEN. It appears to me that some of those people are anxious to pick up every little item they can. In some places they charge as much as \$10 for winding a clock, when they get salaries of \$1,700 or \$1,800 a year.

Commission for payment of interest on public debt, purchase of sinking funds and transfer of stock \$30,350

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. How are you going to divide that up? Does that all go to the Bank of Montreal?

Mr. FOSTER. Most of it goes to the Bank of Montreal.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Does any of it go to the old house of Glynn, Mills & Company?

Mr. FOSTER. That is all transferred to the Bank of Montreal.

Brokerage on purchases for sinking funds. \$5,200

Mr. FOSTER. There is an increase of \$100, as the sinking fund is larger each year.

Mr. McMULLEN. Who receives this amount?

Mr. FOSTER. That is a payment to the brokers who purchase for the trustees of the sinking fund, in London.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Who are the trustees just now?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not remember their names; they were appointed two years ago.

English Bill stamps, postage, telegrams, &c. \$4,000

Mr. FOSTER. There is an increase of \$1,000. There was a short estimate last year, the amount paid out was just about \$4,000, and we estimate for the whole this year.

Mr. McMULLEN. Who handles this?

Mr. FOSTER. Those stamps are the Government stamps that have to be paid on the transaction, under the English laws. It is our agents who pay that out.

Mr. McMULLEN. Does a part go to the Bank of Montreal, and a part to the other agents?

Mr. FOSTER. We have only one agent, the Bank of Montreal.

Printing notes. \$50,000

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Where are those printed?

Mr. FOSTER. They are printed by Burland, on Wellington street, in Ottawa.

Mr. McMULLEN. I think the Minister stated to the House last year that he had entered into a new arrangement with these people.

Mr. FOSTER. The contract was entered into two years ago.

Mr. McMULLEN. Then the same contract is running. Is it under that contract that this increase has been made?

Mr. McMULLEN.

Mr. FOSTER. The increase is due to the fact that the number of notes to be printed has run up from 18,000,000 to 20,000,000.

Civil Government. \$1,265,831
Governor General's Secretary's Office. \$10,862 50

Mr. McMULLEN. There is \$200 of an increase here.

Mr. FOSTER. There are three statutory increases, and one short estimate for last year.

The Office of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada. \$32,375

Mr. McMULLEN. There is considerable increase here.

Mr. FOSTER. There are three statutory increases and six additional third-class clerks, two at \$800, one at \$600, two at \$450, and one at \$400, less one second-class clerk. This is not really an increase in the force, but it is taking those who were on temporary for a number of years and putting them upon the permanent list.

Mr. McMULLEN. I see there is a draughtsman and accountant; what does he do?

Mr. FOSTER. The draughtsman is there for the purpose of draughting Orders in Council in which plans and the like of that occur. Copies have to be made of these, and a draughtsman is necessary.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The plans required should be prepared by the draughtsmen in the department from which the plan emanates, and not by a draughtsman in the Privy Council office.

Mr. IVES. In many cases two or three duplicates are required. Frequently copies are asked for by the public. The draughtsman is also the accountant of the department, and issues all requisitions for stationery.

Mr. McMULLEN. Is \$1,400 all the salary he receives as accountant and draughtsman?

Mr. IVES. Yes.

Department of Printing and Stationery. \$27,429 50

Mr. FOSTER. There are fifteen statutory increases, and the salary of an additional third-class clerk, F. J. Farrell, at a salary of \$800.

Mr. McMULLEN. What are the duties of the additional clerk?

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Farrell has been on the temporary list for a series of years. He is a good clerk, and has been made permanent at a salary of \$800.

Department of the Interior. . . . \$102,344

Mr. FOSTER. There are forty-seven statutory increases, and two additional third-class clerks, at a salary of \$400 each.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Were those parties brought from the North-west?

Mr. FOSTER. No. There are decreases amounting to \$1,950, leaving the net increase \$1,197, which is less than the statutory increases.

Mr. McMULLEN. Has any change taken place with respect to the Land Board in Winnipeg? I cannot understand why it is necessary to keep up such a large staff in connection with the department. There could be a very considerable saving effected if the Minister set to work to cut down the expenses. The business of the department cannot possibly be as large as it was some time ago, when there were large sales of land in the North-west. It is true the department has land matters in Manitoba and the North-west, Indian matters and immigration under its charge, but immigration expenditure has been so unsatisfactory for years past that it should be cut down. The idea of spending money with this object to the extent it was expended in years past is the grossest piece of folly that possibly can be perpetrated. Our last census proved that to a demonstration. That portion of the expenses of the Department of the Interior should be unquestionably cut down. The disposal of the lands in the North-west have been very, very slow, and I should fancy that the duties of the officers are not so extensive in this branch as they were some years ago. Why are not the expenses cut down here, and if there are clerks wanted in other departments let them be sent to work there. I would like to know if it is a necessity—I suppose the Minister will get up and say it is—to keep all these men employed and to give them increases of salary in view of the falling off in the work of the department. Here we have, in connection with the Indian Department, Hayter Reed taken down from the North-west, who occupied a kind of go-as-you-please-high-dandified-with-coach-and-four-and-servants-to-attend-upon-him position up in the North-west. The man whose place he filled has been removed to make way for him, but we will come to that later on. In my opinion, there should be some effort made to cut down the expenditure in the Department of the Interior. I would like to have some explanation of how it is that in the face of the decreasing amount of business in that department, it is necessary to keep up the present large staff.

Mr. DALY. The hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen) has gone over such an extent of ground that it would be impossible to answer him in any limited time.

Mr. McMULLEN. We will give you all the time you want.

Mr. DALY. He has mixed up the Department of the Interior with the Indian Department, and the Indian Department with the Department of the Interior. I can say in answer to the hon. gentleman's query, that in 1887-88. there were 161 clerks in the

Department of the Interior at Ottawa. Since that time we have added to the department the immigration branch, and four clerks were brought over from the Agriculture Department; but, notwithstanding that, there are only 129 clerks in the Department of the Interior to-day as against 161 in 1887-88, or a reduction of 32 since that year. I can also tell the hon. gentleman that the business of the department is increasing all the time, and if he looks at the departmental report, page 15, he will see that the letters received last year in the department at Ottawa, were 50,794, the letters sent, 48,155—total, 98,939, an increase of about 14,000 over the year before that. Notwithstanding what the hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen) said, the business of the department in the North-west is increasing, year by year, but we are not increasing the staff, and as the business increases the work of the officers of the department is doubled. I do not think that any person who has any idea of the amount of work that is being done can complain of the staff as at present. There was, no doubt, room for complaint some years ago, but the staff having been reduced by 32 since 1888, the hon. gentleman will see that every effort is being made to make such a reduction as will permit of the work of the department being carried on. The hon. gentleman has referred to Mr. Reed having been brought down here from Winnipeg. Mr. Reed is not an officer of the Department of the Interior at all. He is Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, and is head of that department. Mr. Reed's office was abolished, and, by reason of his being brought down here, we have saved some \$12,000 to the people.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) How?

Mr. DALY. It is not in these Estimates, but as I expected to be questioned in reference to it I will explain it. The difference between Mr. Van-koughnet's allowance and salary is \$1,000. The difference between the allowance and salary of Mr. Sinclair, who is also retired, is \$800. The saving in civil government by such, as per estimate, is \$1,385. The saving in the Regina office in salaries is \$7,960. The saving in travelling expenses is \$700; and the saving in the commissioner's allowance, \$600, which gives a total saving of \$12,445. That saving has been made since we met here last year, so that I think the hon. gentleman will understand that during the short time I have had an opportunity of administering the affairs of the department I have endeavoured to cut down the expenses as much as possible. He will find that in every increase in the estimates of the Department of the Interior, they are statutory increases. Every member of this House is as much responsible for these increases as the Minister who is in charge of the department, and these men having become members of the

civil service they are entitled, from year to year to the increment allowed under the Civil Service Act.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). It is interesting to compare the year 1878 with the present year, and to see how the departmental expenses of that period contrast with the departmental expenses of the present time. Hon. gentlemen on the Treasury benches cannot show that there has been any very great change in the circumstances of the country, or any additional duties imposed upon the various departments of the public service at the present time, compared with the departmental services in the period I have mentioned. I will begin with the office of the Governor General. The Government, in these Estimates, are asking for \$10,862 for that office, and the expenditure for the year 1878-79, was \$7,950, a very considerable increase now. In the Privy Council Department the Estimates ask for \$32,375 for the coming year, while the expenses in 1878-79 were \$15,000, so that there is \$2,375 over and above double the expenses that existed in 1878-79. The Prime Minister asks for the Department of Justice at the present time—not including the penitentiary branch—\$24,055, and in 1877-78 the expenses of that department were \$11,600, or less than one-half of the expenses to-day. In the penitentiary branch, the amount estimated for is \$6,525, and the amount asked for in 1877-78 was \$3,850, so that the record of that branch is very nearly double the amount asked for at the former period. In these Estimates, the hon. Ministers are asking for the Department of Militia and Defence, \$43,850, and in 1877-78, the amount required was \$35,750, an increase now of nearly \$8,000. In the Department of the Secretary of State, the amount now asked for is \$43,100, and the expenditure in 1878 was \$31,990, and that, I think, included the Mounted Police force. The Department of Printing and Stationery, which hon. gentlemen opposite organized, costs \$27,429; the cost of the stationery branch was included in the \$31,900 asked for by the Department of the Secretary of State. The Department of the interior, including the Department of Indian Affairs, cost in 1877-78, \$42,760, and the Government are now asking \$153,701, or very nearly four times as much. For the Department of Finance the amount asked for in 1877-78, was \$49,800, and the amount asked for now is \$49,742, very nearly the same amount, or a difference in favour of the present period of less than \$60. The Department of Customs in 1877-78, cost \$28,450; now it costs \$37,812, a difference of nearly \$10,000. The Department of Inland Revenue in 1877-78 required \$26,967; hon. gentlemen are now asking in round numbers \$40,000. For the Post Office Department in 1877-78 the sum required was \$85,950; to-day \$212,850 is required, an increase for that department of very nearly threefold. The Department of

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Agriculture, which in 1877-78 included the immigration branch, in that year cost \$28,290; to-day the amount required is \$53,512, or very nearly double. The Department of Marine and Fisheries in 1877-78 cost \$25,000; to-day the hon. Minister is asking \$52,952, or a difference of more than 100 per cent. The Department of Railways and the Department of Public Works in 1877-78 were joined, and their combined cost was \$48,884; to-day the cost of those two departments is \$51,055 and \$50,512 respectively, or a little over \$101,000, an increase of more than 100 per cent. So that when the hon. Minister of Finance declares, as he did in the early part of the evening, that the Government to-day is more economical than the Government in 1878, citing a particular instance as an evidence of that greater economy. I refer to all these matters in detail to show that there has been an increase in the inside service of something more than 100 per cent. The committee will, therefore, see that the affairs of this country are not economically managed. I have no doubt that economy could be practised to such an extent as to bring down the expenditure very nearly to the position it occupied in 1877-78. The only difference, perhaps, would be in the Post Office Department, postal services having been extended over a very considerable extent of country where post offices did not exist before. It may be also that additional expenditures to a small extent would be required on account of certain land offices in the North-west. But there is no justification for this enormous increase in every branch of the public service, and I call the attention of the House to these figures to show hon. gentlemen that there is very great room for economy, and that that economy might be practised without any diminution in the efficiency of the public service. If we were to compare the expenditure of 1873 with the expenditure of 1878, we would find that, although in the meantime the province of Prince Edward Island had been brought into the Union, treaties had been made with the Indians, our authority had been extended over the whole of the North-west, and the means of communication became far more expensive on that account, there was no increase at all in the expenditure in 1878 as compared with that of 1873; and yet, when you compare 1878 with the present year, although there has been no corresponding increase in the wealth, the population or the territory of the country, the cost of government has grown in an enormous ratio. If the expenditure bore the same ratio to population that the expenditure did at the former period, we would require to have ten millions of people in the country to justify the expensive organization that exists in this city at this moment. I call the attention of the Minister to this fact, and I say that every department of the Government in this city requires careful supervision. It is evident that there must be an enormous

number of persons engaged in the public service whose services are not required, that the Government have yielded to the importunities of parties from time to time and have added persons to the public service who are not required, and who are simply in the way of those who are capable of and willing to perform the duties that devolve upon them. And it does seem to me that, looking at the circumstances of this country, bearing in mind the large number of people who are leaving to better their condition elsewhere, bearing in mind the great diminution that has taken place in the value of real estate everywhere, and which has tended largely to straiten the circumstances of those who were involved, and who find, in consequence of increased taxation and diminished incomes, their difficulties greatly increased—it does seem to me, in view of these circumstances, that the Government itself should set an example of economy which every class of our population at present, except those under the fostering care of the Administration, are obliged, in their own interest, to exercise. And the people will never be contented, when they become aware of the fact that the cost of government in the city of Ottawa, while the wealth of the country has been very nearly stationary, while the population has been very nearly stationary, while the circumstances of the large number of the population have become more straitened, that the cost of Government should continue to increase, as it has during the past fifteen years. It is time to call a halt. Hon. gentlemen are proposing in certain cases to add enormously to the public debt at this moment. Great public enterprises that will cost an untold sum are in contemplation, while the country finds the greatest possible difficulty in meeting existing obligations. My hon. friend has said that one-half of the customs revenue collected under this very burdensome tariff is required to pay the interest on the public debt. That is the condition of things. You are producing in Canada a condition of things that does not much differ from that of Ireland, when a large portion of the income of the population was sent to pay an absentee landlord class. You are collecting over ten million dollars of money a year to send abroad to pay the interest on public works that are unprofitable, that have added nothing to the wealth of the country, that have not increased the value of real estate which the farmers and others hold. And that being the case, instead of persisting in a policy of extravagance indicated by the condition of the public departments, we ought to begin, and begin seriously, to practice economy.

Mr. DALY. I just want to say a few words in reply to the hon. gentleman's statement with reference to the cost of carrying on the Department of the Interior in 1878 and at present, and I have no hesitation in making a comparison, as the hon. gentleman has seen fit to do so, and show him that if there

is a large increase in the civil list of the Department of the Interior in Ottawa, that increase is justified by the increase of business. For instance, taking from the years 1874 to 1878, inclusive, the total number of letters received in the Department of Interior was 34,613, as against 98,939 received last year alone. That is one evidence of the increase. In 1874, 13,076 entries were made; in 1875, 499; in 1876, 347; in 1877, 845; in 1878, 1,778, as against 4,067 in 1893 alone, or as many entries in 1893 as were made from 1874 to 1878. In addition, the total cash sales from 1873 to 1877 amounted to \$57,000, as against \$93,000 in last year alone, being a difference of \$36,000 last year over the total sales from 1872 to 1878. In addition, the timber dues from 1872 to 1878 amounted to \$5,862, as against \$105,000 last year. In 1875-76, the net revenue of the Department of the Interior was \$8,867, as against \$374,000 last year. It seems to me these figures would illustrate to any person that the business of that department has materially increased, and having increased in that ratio necessarily more people are required to carry it on.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). What is the revenue from?

Mr. DALY. That is from Dominion lands. Homestead fees, \$37,689; improvements, \$7,000; cash, \$93,000; scrip, \$77,000; map sales, \$975; surveyors' examinations fees, \$82; miscellaneous, including trust, \$18,000; inspection and cancellation of entries, \$79,000; timber dues, \$105,000; grazing lands, cash, \$7,000; Rocky Mountain Park, \$8,493; and several other items, giving a gross revenue of \$392,000, from which we must deduct refunds, \$18,000, leaving \$374,000 as the total receipts of the department.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. In any case it appears to be a very remarkable thing that we require an expenditure of \$102,000 when \$380,000 are the total receipts from all the property remaining to us in the North-west, from which I may remark there ought in all reason to be deducted two items I find here, namely, Dominion lands chargeable to income, \$137,000, and Dominion lands chargeable to capital, \$100,000. If you add together and include the Minister's salary which does not figure here, the three items of the Department of the Interior, Dominion lands chargeable to income, and Dominion lands chargeable to capital, you get a total of about \$350,000 annual expenditure on Dominion lands alone, from which we receive the enormous amount of \$374,000, so that the net profit at present obtainable from the administration of the North-west are about \$28,000. Now, the hon. gentleman will recollect that he is bound by the solidarity which ought to prevail between himself and former members of the Administration to which he belongs, to account to us for \$58,300,000, with interest from the 31st December, 1890, which we will put at 3½ per cent

to please the Finance Minister. How long will it take, at the present rate of annual profit, to recoup the people of Canada for the \$58,000,000 promised them four years ago? I must say it appears to me that if ever a department showed the way how to destroy a great inheritance, it is the Department of the Interior, whether under the hon. gentleman's administration or that of his predecessors does not matter much to us. We ought to be in receipt, I believe, of a very considerable income from this source if the property was administered as such a huge territory as is still retained should be administered. But the actual fact is that it is as much as the hon. Minister can do to show such an amount received from all sources—many of them receipts on capital account which should be credited to capital—as will equal the amount of the annual expenditure. I cannot for the life of me see how \$102,000 can be required for the Department of the Interior. The department must have been brought to a fine point in the noble of circumlocution. I cannot at all understand what on earth is the necessity, looking at the amount of business done and looking at the number of people whom, unfortunately, we know to be the total settlement in the North-west for 98,000 letters, if that be the number, can be written for any real business purpose. This number might be made up if a vast proportion of them are written, if I suspect they are, from clerks in one branch of the department to clerks in other branches, and so on round and round. But that there should be a correspondence of a hundred thousand letters a year, or thereabout, for any useful purpose, does appear most incredible, particularly when we remember that the hon. gentleman has scattered through the country a number of officials with whom such settlers as there are ought to be able to communicate without the trouble of writing letters. I would like to know from the hon. gentleman how many settlers, according to his estimate, were really brought into the North-west altogether last year.

Mr. DALY. According to the statement which the hon. gentleman will find on page x. of the report of the department, from the States alone there were 1,269 families, representing a total of 3,279 souls, who made 810 entries. These are from the United States alone. If the hon. gentleman will wait for a moment I will give him the full information. I did not expect to be interrogated on a matter of this kind in the discussion of the estimates of civil government. The information is all contained in the Department of the Interior.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The hon. gentleman will see that my inquiry is pertinent to this subject.

Mr. DALY. Yes; but it is not an inquiry that one would expect under this par-

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ticular item. The total number of entries—and that is the only estimate we undertake to give—was 3,890, and the total number in the families of those who made the entries was 14,688, that is on page xii. of the report of the Department of the Interior.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. How many of these does the hon. gentleman estimate to have come from the older provinces?

Mr. DALY. From Ontario, 844; from Quebec, 121; from Nova Scotia, 42; from New Brunswick, 9; from Prince Edward Island, 7; from British Columbia, 29; from Manitoba, 246; from the North-west Territories, 86; provinces not given, 238.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That would be about 1,500, as I understand, from the older provinces, and 2,300 from elsewhere.

Mr. DALY. The total from the other provinces was 1,850 entries.

Mr. McMULLEN. How many from the United States?

Mr. DALY. From the United States 580. English 380, Irish 50, Scotch 94, French 151, Belgian 67, and so on. The information is all in the report.

Mr. McMULLEN. While we are on this branch of the subject, respecting these 580 entries from the United States, I am under the impression that a great many of the agents that were supposed to be at work in the United States made up a good deal of this immigration in order to show that they had been at work. They had to do something that would look like justification for the department in paying them their money. I have had communication from some parties in the North-west with regard to this immigration from the United States, and they declared that it was a positive farce. These immigrants were brought in from the United States, they were supposed to homestead, and they did make entries under the pressure brought to bear by these agents. The agents had been in the United States living comfortably and enjoying a fine time, and, to show that they were doing something for their money, they got a few people to go in and make homestead entries and become nominal residents of the country. Then they turned around to the department and said: See what fine work I have done; here are people I have brought in from Illinois, Missouri, or other states; I have located these as settlers, in proof of which I show you their homestead entries. And many of these so-called settlers were not forty-eight hours in the country; they had a good time and a free ride; they had an opportunity of seeing the country, had plenty to eat, and, probably, were helped back afterwards. It is unfair that the money of the country should be spent in that frivolous way. There

is one of these immigration agents concerning whom I shall take the opportunity to say a word at a more fitting time. This man is supposed to be in the United States to work up immigration. He is paid \$3.50 a day as travelling allowance as well as his salary. I can prove that one-third of his time he was here in Ontario driving his family around and enjoying himself, and he drew for salary and travelling expenses last year over \$3,300. This man has made a great flourish of trumpets of the work he has done. He got a train covered with evergreens, and with a great display of flags and a great hurrah about the enormous influx of the people from the United States, and so he goes to the Government and says: Don't I deserve to be kept in my situation; just look at the homesteaders I have brought in. And these homesteaders simply laugh at the whole thing. It is folly to spend the public money in this way. The hon. gentleman should make inquiry, because I think I can bring cases under his notice to show that this farce about a large influx of settlers from the United States has been played exactly as I said. Some have come in, I dare say they have, but I say that in many cases those fellows have been picked up, miserable, good-for-nothing tramps have been picked up, put on the trains, brought in here and settled as homesteaders, and in a few hours they are out of the country and away. We will have an opportunity later on of discussing this whole business when we get into the emigration items, when I shall draw attention to this case, and to other similar cases. There is one man who lives in Chatham, who has been drawing a yearly allowance as an immigration agent, and enjoying himself splendidly. Of course he will say he has been doing something, he will say that he has been to the United States. One man made the grand tour to the Chicago Exposition. He drew his mileage there, and his living allowance, and all the rest of it, and took advantage of the opportunity to see the exhibition and have a good time generally under the guise of an immigration agent. I say it is a farce, and a folly, and nonsense to conduct affairs in this way.

Mr. DALY. I can only say that I cannot see anything of a farce, or a folly in connection with the work that has been carried on by the Government through the Department of the Interior in bringing back to this country, as we are bringing back in thousands, Canadians and old country people who desire to return and live in this country of ours. Now, Sir, I flatly contradict the statement the hon. gentleman has made as to our bringing in tramps, or people of that class. On the contrary, the men that we have brought in here are men who, if their circumstances are inquired into, will be found to be men of very respectable character. I venture to say that not a single man has gone into Alberta from the states of Wash-

ington, Idaho, Oregon, or any of those western states, who has not been perfectly able to support himself and family for from a year to two years, at all events. People who have seen them coming in upon the trains, and those who have visited them in their homes after they have got there, say that they are a remarkably fine lot of people; and I am sure they will be delighted to hear the character the hon. gentleman has given them. I want to say on behalf of these people who are not here to speak for themselves, that they are just as respectable in every way as the hon. gentleman himself. I want also to state that this work has been carried on by us as vigorously as possible with the means at our disposal; and as the officer in charge of the department, I would be derelict in my duty were I not to encourage those people to come back here who are only too anxious to come. I regret that the condition of most of the people over there is such that they have not the money to leave, otherwise we would have thousands more of them. But I say here emphatically, and I court inquiry into the matter, that the class of men who have made the homestead entries of which I speak are thoroughly respectable men. In speaking before I made a mistake in my figures. There were 818 entries made last year by people from the United States, and you will find every one of these men upon their homesteads to-day, unless they have died in the meantime. The idea expressed by the hon. gentleman that men are brought over here by agents, and make their entry and then turn around and go back again, is, in the words of the hon. gentleman himself, a farce. No such instances have occurred. The hon. gentleman has been misinformed by some person who is desirous of doing an injury to the Government, and of doing an injury to my department. I want to say again that there are no better settlers in that country to-day than the people whom the agents of this department, and the agents of the Canadian Pacific Railway have induced to come over and take up homesteads in our far west and become citizens again, as many of them are doing under the flag of Great Britain.

Mr. McMULLEN. Any statement that I have made I think I shall be in a position to prove when we come to deal with the items on immigration. If you will turn up the Auditor General's Report at page 369, you will see that we have spent, in trying to repatriate people who have gone to the United States, over \$55,000, which money has been paid to men to travel through the United States. Take, for instance, the state of Michigan, a very large amount was paid out in this state, a large amount was paid in the state of Minnesota, and a large amount in Nebraska. An agent is appointed in each one of those states to travel up and down and see if he cannot get men to come back to Canada. There have been agents in

North Dakota, South Dakota, Washington, Idaho and Wisconsin, who have been appointed for the purpose of trying to get people to come back to Canada. I say there have been cases that will bear out the identical statement I have made to the House, that men were brought in here and stopped a few days and returned to their own country, and looked upon the whole thing as a farce.

Mr. DALY. I would ask how the hon. gentleman expects us to get these people to come over here unless we have agents to go there and do the work they have been doing? Does he imagine that these men are aware of the fact that we offer free homesteads in that country to whoever will settle upon them? They are in utter ignorance of these things, and the only way we can inform them is through agents. We propose to keep this work up in the future and send agents over there who will endeavour to reach these people. But we do not expect to expend as much in the United States in the future, for the reason that the people there are now becoming aware of the facts through the work of these agents. I want to say, however, that we have really not had as many agents there as we ought to have had, because, from inquiries that are constantly being made to the department, it would be almost necessary to fill every county of the western states with agents in order to give these people the information that they are continually asking for by letter in reference to the conditions we offer them of homesteading in the North-west.

Mr. McMULLEN. What has been the experience of this country with immigration in the last ten years? We have expended over three millions and a half of money in trying to bring people into this country, and when we take our census, we find that these people are not here, they are not to be found. We have not even kept our natural increase, and the idea of spending three to four millions of the people's money in trying to bring in men that will not stay here, is a farce, and is something that the people will not much longer tolerate. We should abandon our policy of immigration if we cannot show any better results than are shown during our experience of the last ten years. Still we are going on spending \$250,000 or \$300,000 a year with the results I have mentioned. We have been sending men across the line as immigration agents who have been dancing around, having a good time travelling from one place to another, and not only that, but many of them remaining at their homes in Canada while they still draw their \$3.50 a day for living allowance. They are not in the States, they are here drawing that money under the guise of repatriation agents. I say that our whole immigration policy should be recast from top to bottom. Stop this farce, and let the people come here through the inducements we offer them when they get here. If the

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hon. gentleman had adopted a land policy in the North-west that would have encouraged actual settlement, that would have kept the lands out of the hands of land-grabbers, men who take up land and hold it, but will not sell unless at advanced prices—if the Government had kept the land for the settler, and the money for the treasury, instead of dividing it up among their camp followers, we would have more people there to-day than we have got.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I was going to call the attention of the House to the defence made by the Minister of the Interior to the charge made against him that extravagance reigned in his department. The hon. gentleman thought it sufficient to say that there had been a small reduction made in the staff during the last year. So far, so good. But has the hon. gentleman attempted to grapple with the main charge made against his department by the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills)? The charge is a very serious one when we come to analyze it, for we find that the Indian Department, and the Department of the Interior together cost, in 1878, \$42,000, while it has now increased to \$153,000, or four times as much. To-day, the cost of the Indian Department alone is \$14,000 more than the cost of the Interior Department and Indian Department together in 1878. We do not want to enter into details in order to convict the hon. gentleman and his Government of crass extravagance. The hon. gentleman will contend that he can justify such an increase in the Indian Department on the ground of increased work.

Mr. DALY. I do, most assuredly, and I will give the hon. gentleman the facts.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) There may be a few more Indian bands receiving treaty money than did then. The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) questions, however, whether that excuse can be offered. The fact that in 1878 the Indian Department and the Department of the Interior together were run for an expenditure of \$42,000, and now cost \$153,000, calls for more than a passing answer such as that given by the hon. Minister. I had not examined the figures as the hon. member for Bothwell had done, he having carefully collected and compared the expenditures of 1878 and 1893, but I listened very carefully to his statement, and I found that with the exception of one department of the public service, every department has increased from 40 per cent to 150 per cent during that time. Can that increase be explained by any advancement in wealth and population in the country? We know that our population has not increased in anything like the ratio that was expected, and there is, in fact, no justification whatever for the enormous increases made. Take the Department of Railways and the Department of Public Works. A few years ago we were told that the time had come when

the Government would cease building railways as public works, and I believe the Government have practically ceased to do so now. But what is the fact in regard to expenditure? The Railway Department and the Department of Public Works spend \$110,000 on the civil service at Ottawa, as against \$48,000 in 1878. Can that be justified, palliated or excused? It is a part and parcel of the unbridled extravagances on which this country entered about 1881-82, and has been carried on ever since. I admit that spasmodic attempts have been made in one or two departments to retrench expenses, and for those efforts I commend hon. gentleman opposite. A year ago, the Government appointed a commission, and I call attention to the conclusions at which the commissioners arrived in their report. They assert:

In concluding their criticism of the public expenditures, your commissioners beg to mention one of the most striking features of the whole subject, and that is the large number of officials employed by the Government, apparently out of proportion with the resources and population of the Dominion.

Then they proceed to say:

This number is constantly on the increase, and the increase of course is largely in newly developed territories. Your commissioners view with pleasure the contemplated transfer of the immigration service to the control of the Department of the Interior, whereby no doubt a great reduction of expenditure will be effected.

They go on to suggest that instead of each department having its own officers in districts newly opened up, one officer should discharge land, immigration, Indian and other business. I have never heard that the Government intend to carry out either this or any other suggestion made by the Civil Service Commission. With the exception of the Department of Finance there has been no department of the Government which has retained its expenditure at anything like the amount which sufficed in 1878. That is surely a proper and fair test to apply. If there is a department in which a small increase might be justified, it was that of Finance. The new policy involved extra expenditure, but, notwithstanding the increase of work since 1878, the department has been so conducted on business principles that to-day we find the expenditure is not largely in excess of 1878. If that is the case in the Finance Department, it should be the case in other departments, and the Minister who largely took charge of Interior and Indian Affairs has hardly justified his appointment by the paltry reduction which he explained to us has been made by the transfer of Mr. Hayter Reed from Winnipeg to Ottawa and the consequent economy which has resulted from the change. The figures given by the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) are startling, and the Government have not attempt-

ed to offer the vestige of a defence, except in regard to the Post-office Department, where we acknowledge there must be an increase, but every increase in the Post-office service is for the benefit of the people and must necessarily involve certain increases. To that extent the increases in the Post-office Department can be justified. Other increases cannot be justified, and the Government have not attempted to justify them, and they appear to be following, although not quite at the same rate, the extravagance that prevailed from 1880 to 1890.

Mr. DALY. If the hon. gentleman had listened with the same attention to the remarks I made as he devoted to the remarks addressed to the committee by the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills), he would have been a little enlightened.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I paid very close attention to your remarks, but you evaded the issues.

Mr. DALY. I pointed out that in 1878, when the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) presided over the department, which was then a twopenny halfpenny affair, with about twelve clerks, there were 845 entries.

Mr. MULLOCK. You seem to think that spending money adds to the dignity of the department.

Mr. DALY. While in 1893 there were 4,067. In 1877, when the hon. gentleman presided over the department, the number of letters received was 3,137; number sent, 3,677; total, 6,814, as against 50,794 received last year, and 40,874 sent; or a total of 98,938. From 1872-73 up to 1878, the total cash received from sales of land was \$57,000 as against \$93,000 last year. I also showed that the total timber dues received from 1872 to 1878 was \$52,000 as compared with \$105,000 last year. I would ask any hon. gentleman listening to these figures whether they do not indicate increased work. In addition, I desire, in reply to the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) to say, that although the total receipts, \$374,000 do not appear to be large, it must be remembered that we have not received any money from pre-emptions for three years. In 1890 we abolished the pre-emption system, from which a large revenue was received yearly. The pre-emption fees in 1888-89 amounted to \$10,000; in 1882-83 to \$54,000. We only received \$93,000 last year on cash sales as against \$108,000 the year before, because, as I said, we have abandoned the pre-emption system. In regard to the Department of Indian Affairs, in 1884 the total expenditure was \$92,000. In that year, the department only paid \$47,000 in annuities. In 1878 the annuity payments ran up to \$148,000. In 1892, it ran up to \$124,000, and last year it was \$123,000. That is regulated by our treaty with the Indians.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) It ran down apparently.

Mr. DALY. Yes; it ran down because there has been a decrease in the Indian population. Then, as to implements and tools, no such things were purchased from 1874 to 1881, at all. The first expenditure was 1882, when the department expended \$11,279, and that expenditure now is \$10,738. In 1874, the department only expended \$3,647 for cattle; in 1875, \$21,000; in 1876, \$19,000; in 1877, \$16,000; and 1878, \$31,000; and it ran up in 1881 to \$76,000, but all we expended last year for cattle was \$1,490. Then, as to destitute Indians, we expended only \$18,000 in 1874, which ran up in 1878 to \$48,000, and that expenditure has run up as high as \$570,000 in 1886, but it is now down to \$202,000. For clothing in 1877, only \$1,930 was expended, against \$3,629 in 1893.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman has mentioned the year 1874 several times. Is he quoting the figures for 1874, or 1878?

Mr. DALY. I gave the figures for 1874 in four instances.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I do not see the object in comparing the year 1874.

Mr. DALY. I want to show you how the expenditure increased from 1874 to 1878. As to schools in 1874, there was expended only \$1,460, and in 1877, \$1,341, but that ran up in 1886 to \$66,000, and last year to \$218,000.

Mr. DEVLIN. Is that the total grant for education?

Mr. DALY. The total grant for education for Indian children in Manitoba and the North-west. The surveys in 1879, cost \$31,000, and that was reduced to \$3,921 in 1893. The general expenses of the department in 1878 were \$124,612, as against \$144,000 for the last year, showing the period from 1878 to 1893—although the expenditure had risen between the years 1878 to 1886—it is on the decline for the years 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, and 1893, until it is below the items I have mentioned in almost every instance. I do not wish to weary the House with any more figures, but I am satisfied that if these were published in full in 'Hansard,' hon. gentlemen would see that the strictest economy has been exercised in the department, consonant with carrying out its obligations, and they would also see that the business of the department has increased one hundred-fold since the hon. gentleman (Mr. Mills) presided over it.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. Minister might have saved himself the trouble of referring to the particulars of the year 1874, because in that year we had next to no dealings with the Indians in the North-west Territories.

Mr. DALY. They cost \$92,000 that year.

Mr. DALY.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman knows too, that since 1877 no treaty has been made with the Indian population in our North-west Territories.

Mr. DALY. Except one.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Merely the bringing in of a small number of Indians, but the last treaty of any consequence was that made by Mr. Laird in the year 1877. I took the year 1878 as a year when the expenditure on Indian account extended to the same Indian population as to-day, and we had the same Indian communities to deal with then as we have at the present time. I have not undertaken to deal with the outside work at all, because I shall have an opportunity of doing that later. I pointed out two years ago that so far as the Indian population in the North-west Territories is concerned it was costing the country \$7 to pay an Indian \$5. That is, that we appropriated \$12, \$7 of which went to certain officials and \$5 of which went to the Indians. I do not consider that a successful operation, but I will not discuss it until the Estimates come on. But, Sir, I was calling attention to the actual cost of the department here. No doubt the establishment of schools amongst the Indians, and getting the Indian population on their reserves, and the appointment of a large number of agents, will multiply the number of letters and communications sent to the department, but that is not after all, a test of the amount of work that is being done in the department. So far as the lands branch is concerned the hon. gentleman knows that for years the Government boasted of the number of acres which they every year surveyed, that some of these lands have been surveyed three or four times, and that men were employed for that purpose.

Mr. DALY. Are you referring to the Department of the Interior or to the Indian Department, because you are getting them mixed?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I am referring to the Department of the Interior. I am speaking of the whole of the department under the hon. gentleman now.

Mr. DALY. They are separate departments.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). They are at the present time, but they were not in 1878. The hon. gentleman knows well that at the present time the work in the department of mapping and of making plans of surveys made, is not greater than it was before, unless the hon. gentleman is doing the work over again, but that I supposed was long since abandoned. I have called the attention of the House and of the Government to this fact: that the Indian branch to-day cost \$51,000, while in 1878 it cost only about \$14,000—I am speaking of the inside service—and that the whole Department of the In-

terior for Lands and Indians cost in 1878, \$42,760, but that to-day it costs \$153,701. Now, I say there is no increased work in the department to warrant so large an expenditure. I am not finding fault with the hon. gentleman. I am undertaking to do him a service and the country a service in calling attention to what I regard as a most unnecessary expenditure, and I also call attention to these facts in consequence of the observations on comparative expenditure and of economy made by the Finance Minister at an earlier period. If the hon. Minister will compare the work of the year 1878 with that of the year 1873—and there was a great difference in the increased population, and in the area over which the administrative work of the Government extended during these two periods—he will find that in almost every instance there was a diminution in the expenditure of almost every department. Thus in 1873 the Privy Council office cost nearly \$16,000 and in 1878 \$15,000. The Department of Justice in 1873 cost upwards of \$17,000, and in 1878 \$11,600. The Department of Militia and Defence, in 1873, cost \$37,000, and in 1878 a little less than \$32,000. And so I might go on with other branches. I call the hon. gentleman's attention to this fact, that in 1878 the maintenance of the North-west Mounted Police branch at Ottawa cost \$2,700, while to-day it costs \$9,912.50. I say there is no justification for that increase; there is no reason why the expenditure should be larger to-day than it was in 1878. In every one of these instances, while the cost of the Administration of government here was less in 1878 than it was in 1873, it is to-day more than double what it was in 1873, and I mention that one branch because the nature of the service is such that the work must be very nearly stationary. Does not every hon. gentleman on the Treasury benches see that in this matter a very great economy might be practiced with great gain to the public and no diminution in the efficiency of the public service?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I just want to call the attention of the committee to the authority that the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) quoted, I do not think he has carefully examined the report of the Civil Service Commissioners, for it does not help him in his contention, which is made I think in a rather superficial manner; because he says he wants no details, he wants to look simply at the bulk figures of 1878 and the bulk figures of 1894, from which he finds that the cost of civil government has doubled; that is enough for him, that shows the extravagance, the waste of public money, and so on. If I understood him, he said that the Civil Service Commissioners in their report attested to the large number of officials in the departments, out of all proportion to the resources and population of the Dominion. That was his point, and citing

this report, he seemed to make it, so far as their authority seemed to substantiate it. But what did the commissioners say? I call the attention of the committee to this, because their report punctures most decisively the whole argument of the hon. gentleman, so far as it is based on bulk figures. This is the passage to which I think the hon. gentleman referred:

In concluding their criticism of the public expenditures, your commissioners beg to mention one of the most striking features of the whole subject and that is the large number of officials employed by the Government, apparently out of proportion to the resources and population of the Dominion.

The commissioners were showing that that was merely the view obtained on the first blush of the investigation into the subject; for they go on to say:

This number is constantly on the increase and the increase of course is largely in newly developed territories. Your commissioners view with pleasure the contemplated transfer of the immigration service to the control of the Department of the Interior, whereby, no doubt, a great reduction of expenditure will be effected.

I take it from that passage that the commissioners do not support the argument the hon. gentleman based upon it. But there is another passage which seems to make my view the correct one. At the beginning of this subject the commissioners say:

The expense for Civil Government is the next in order. But as this has been fully dealt with in another report, in which this service formed the chief topic, your commissioners have only to note that the main source of the increase in the vote for Civil Government arises from the annual statutory increases of salary authorized by the Civil Service Act, and that there does not appear to be any disposition to increase the staff. In fact, in some cases the staff has been reduced.

One reference more to this report, and I shall sit down, because I have no desire unduly to hasten my own bad quarter of an hour; I refer to it to show that fallacy of the hon. gentleman's bad reasoning. The hon. gentleman says that the item of civil government has doubled, and that settles the matter. Take, for instance, the appropriation for my own department. It has doubled over that for 1878; and the hon. gentleman, while he had an excuse to offer for the Post Office Department, did not strengthen his position by showing that there was one for the Department of Marine and Fisheries. Now, let us see what the commissioners say about this department. Under the heading of "Ocean and River Service, Lighthouse and Coast Service, Marine Hospitals, and Steamboat Inspection," they say:

All under the control of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries and involving an expenditure of \$749,000. Your commissioners, in looking over the outlays for some years back, are pleased to mention that they find a large measure of effectiveness has

been introduced into these services, and expenses that have been found of little advantage to the department have been dropped. All the supervision for the whole outlay is exercised at Ottawa.

And so on. Now, I am not arguing that any undue credit should be given for that; but there is a case where the commissioners find that the expenditures of the department are well in hand, and that there is no reflection at all for this increase of staff. It may be that the work in that and other departments could be done for less; it may be that a close examination would show that it could; but I take issue with these hon. gentlemen in saying that in this or any other country any just complaint can be grounded upon a glance at the bulk sum of cost of management, either of a department on any other business.

Mr. IVES The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills), I think, made a very unfair comparison in speaking of the expenditure at Ottawa for the North-west Mounted Police for 1878, and the expenditure for the current year. In 1878 the force consisted of some 300 men, under the command of Col. McLeod, in a country that was comparatively inaccessible, and the whole management of the force, the purchase of supplies and everything else, was done in the west. The only work done in Ottawa was done by Mr. White, the present Controller, at a salary of \$1,700, with one clerk. He was simply the means of communication between Sir John Macdonald, the head of the force, and Col. McLeod, who had the control and management of the force in the North-west Territories. At the present time, I need not say, the force is considerably increased above what it was in 1878; but that is not the point. Now, the whole business is managed in Ottawa, the supplies being kept here and distributed from here. The books are kept here. Every account is kept and audited here. Every account and voucher is authorized to be paid here, and the whole business of the North-west Mounted Police Department is transacted in Ottawa. So there can be no possible comparison as to the expenses of Civil Government then and now. And I venture to say there is no expenditure of the same amount of money more carefully watched or more prudently and economically managed than that of the North-west Mounted Police, and I fancy when the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) looks into the matter, he will find that he lighted on a very unfortunate example to illustrate the extravagance of Civil Government now as compared with 1878. Coming to the Privy Council, it is impossible to give comparisons very far back, but comparing 1891 with 1893, the last year of which we have an authentic record, the clerical work of the office has nearly doubled.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Other work transferred to it.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER

Mr. IVES. No; not to a very great extent. The work has increased by reason of the increased work done by the Privy Council. Whether a larger amount of work comes to the Council now than formerly, I am not able to say. Whether the work done formerly by departmental order is now done by minute of Council, I cannot say from my experience.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). There is a clear distinction between the two.

Mr. IVES. But I can tell the hon. gentleman that the number of entries in the register in 1891 was 3,600, and in 1893 4,200. The Orders in Council increased from 2,800 in 1891 to 3,700 in 1892. The number of folios of Orders in Council in 1891 was 11,300, and in 1893 nearly 16,000. The number of folios copied by the clerks increased from 70,000 in 1890 to 84,470 in 1893. And in the first four months of this year, the number of folios copied in the Privy Council amounted to 50,000. So far from there being an excess of clerks, I had during the past year to keep that part of the staff which does the copying at work until six o'clock every evening, and they have not even had the usual Saturday half holiday, which other members of the service enjoy. So far from the force of the Privy Council office being too large, it is a question whether, if the work continues to increase, as it has done, additional aid will not be required. Since I have had charge of the office I have either dismissed or made permanent all of the so-called permanent temporaries that I found there, who had been there for years, and were familiar with the work, but were still temporary clerks. Their services have either been dispensed with or they have been made permanent at a smaller salary than they were receiving per day. So far as I can see, as a business man accustomed to business management, I do not think the service could be performed with a man less than we now have.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Possibly not a bad way of getting at the real merits of the question in dispute, which is, I take it, whether we are employing more civil servants than we require or not, would be to compare the number of men in actual employ in the permanent civil service in 1878 and 1894. The total number of servants required for all purposes in 1878 was from 385 to 390, and the total number now required amounts to 823, more or less. It does appear to me that the difference between 387 and 823 permanent employees—and I observe there are allowances for extra clerks, rather particularly in the Privy Council, by the way—is not to be accounted for on any possible ground except that there has been a most unfortunate multiplication of civil servants in Ottawa. There might be an excuse for an increase of a 100 or 150 possibly, although I doubt it, looking at the work now done and comparing it with that

formerly done. But to tell us that it has been necessary to increase the number from 380 to 820 is to tell us what no man who knows anything about the relative position of the country then and now can possibly believe. The plain truth is this: that everywhere there has been for years back a disposition to increase without reason the number of officials. I do not believe that there is any other English-speaking country where such an enormous number of men is employed for so comparatively a small amount of expenditure, because after all the actual amount of expenditure that goes to these various departments is not very large when you come to deduct the fixed charges. You are required to expend \$1,475,000 a year and to employ 800 men to assist you in doing that, not to speak of the fifteen or sixteen gentlemen at the head of departments, who contribute certainly to increase the expenditure, if they do nothing else. The actual fact is this: that from first to last we have been guilty of very great extravagance, based on the expectation that this country was going to increase in a much bigger ratio than it has. For a population of barely 5,000,000, we have a larger expenditure than any English-speaking country of equal population. We have a larger number of civil servants than I believe would be tolerated in any other country having a federal system like ours, because it must be remembered that, in addition to all employed in Ottawa, there is not a province which has not its own civil staff besides, doing a great deal of the work that in other countries devolves on the central Government. The mere fact that nearly 500 men have been added to the permanent civil list of Canada within the last fourteen or fifteen years is by itself the strongest possible demonstrative evidence that the departments are enormously overcrowded, and that under any proper business administration we could get along with certainly one-third less.

Mr. CAMPBELL. In my opinion the remarks of the last speaker and of the hon. member for Bothwell are quite to the point. There is no doubt at all that we, 5,000,000 of people, are expending altogether too much money for the work done. I find that in the last fourteen years the expense of running the country has increased by about 70 per cent. In other words it has cost us \$170,000,000 to carry on the affairs of the country in the last fifteen years more than it would have cost us had the expenditure remained as it was in 1878. In round numbers, \$170,000,000 have been spent in simply carrying on the affairs of the country, more than would have been spent had the expenditure remained as it was in 1878. Now, I do not mean to say for a moment that the expenditure should remain stationary. We do not expect that. The expenses must increase somewhat as years go by. But it seems to me that the expenditure in every department has gone up

at too high a rate altogether. Take any department and you will find that the expenditure has almost doubled in the last fourteen years, and I believe a great amount of money is wilfully wasted. If proper supervision was exercised by the Ministers in charge, if the account were properly checked over by those who are paid for this service, a vast amount of this money would be saved. For instance, in reference to immigration agents, the Minister of the Interior told us that he had many of them in the United States. Hon. members will recollect that two or three years ago we had a case before the Public Accounts Committee. A former member of this House had been sent as an immigration agent to the United States. He sent in his account to the department and was paid. Yet, before the committee it was proven by his own evidence that not one solitary dollar's worth of work had been done to represent this account. The very days when, according to the account, he was supposed to be in Dakota seeking to get emigrants for the North-west, he was actually in the town of Chatham. And so it was proven that the country had not received a dollar's worth of value for the \$1,800 paid to him. I believe that in the cases of a great many more agents, nominally travelling over the United States and other countries endeavouring to bring emigrants into the North-west, if their accounts were properly audited, it would be found that the department was being imposed upon, and was not receiving value for the moneys spent. I am not much in favour of spending hundreds of thousands of dollars every year in promoting immigration to this country. I think there are so many people in this country now out of employment and unable to obtain a day's wage for a day's work, that it is wrong to spend the people's money to bring immigrants in to compete with those who are here. We find that the \$3,500,000 spent to promote immigration here has been literally wasted. If the immigrants ever came they did not remain. I object to spending any more money for immigration, and I believe it would be a wise thing for the Government to lop off these mouldering branches and stop this wilful waste of money upon immigration agents in England, Scotland and the United States. The whole expenses of this Administration should be reduced. I do not see why, with 5,000,000 of people, \$37,000,000 is required to govern and carry on the affairs of the country. I think that one way in which expenditure could be reduced is by having a smaller number of heads of departments.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I do not propose to continue the discussion upon the line it has so far taken. But I rise to take exception which the twist the hon. Minister of Marine tried to give my remarks. The hon. gentleman tried to make out that I was unwilling to go into details, and relied upon

generalities. I think it is impossible for a member of the Opposition to criticise intelligently and successfully individual items of expenditure in a department. If you take exception to the salary of John Smith or Wm. Brown, the debate is concluded when the Minister says that in his opinion he cannot get along without this officer.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. My difficulty is that that does not conclude the debate.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I did not rely upon any information I possessed myself; I did not rely upon what was stated to me by any political friend to prove that the allegations of the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) in the comparison he made of the expenditure on civil service at Ottawa in 1878 and 1893 were thoroughly borne out by the facts. But I quoted the opinions of the commissioners appointed by the hon. gentlemen opposite themselves. I read the concluding paragraph, and that paragraph furnishes a complete answer to everything that has been said by the Minister of Marine or the Minister of the Interior. I will read that one sentence again:

In concluding their criticism of the public expense, your commissioners beg to mention one of the most striking features of the whole subject, and that is the large number of officials employed by the Government apparently out of proportion to the resources and population of the Dominion.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Read the next sentence.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I did read it. I read the whole paragraph. It goes on to say:

This number is constantly on the increase, and the increase of course is largely in the newly developed territories.

That does not alter the fact that "the most striking feature of the whole subject" is "the large number of officials employed by the Government, apparently out of proportion to the resources and population of the Dominion." The commissioners go into details and point out how expenditure can be reduced. They recommend, for instance, the abolition of the land office in Winnipeg, and there are other suggestions that I need not dwell upon. I am showing that, while the Government have increased the civil service expenditure 50 or 100, or, in some departments, 150 per cent, the commissioners appointed by themselves declare that this employment of officers apparently out of proportion of the resources and population of the Dominion is the most striking feature of the whole subject. That report is the most severe condemnation of the expenditure of the Government that possible could be contrived.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. What do they say is the main cause of the increase? At page 60 they say that the in-

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

crease is mainly due to the annual statutory increases of salary.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman is not serious in contending that.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I never was more so.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Take a case like that of the Department of the Interior and Indian Affairs combined, where the increase has been from \$47,000 in 1878 to \$153,000. Surely it will not be suggested that the main cause of this is a statutory increase.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I was only answering the hon. gentleman. It will not do to read a few sentences on page 70 alone. The report, including the declaration on page 60, must be taken as a whole. This is given as the opinion of the commissioners, but, of course, it goes for what it is worth; I do not say it is conclusive. But they make the statement that the result of their examination is that the main source of increase in the vote arises from the annual statutory increases in salary.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I am pointing out to the hon. gentleman that while he cannot be responsible, and is not held responsible, for the statutory increases, those statutory increases have no appreciable proportion to the enormous increases which we have pointed out in every one of the departments except in the Department of Finance. I say that the fact that that department stands out in bold relief, is the strongest rebuke which can be given to the other departments of the public service, because, owing to the enormous increase in the financial receipts and expenditures of the Government since then, if there was a department in which a small increase of the civil service expenditure might be justified, it was that department. That department has remained almost stationary.

Mr. DALY. It is the smallest department in the service.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) It may be the smallest in numbers, and I would advise the hon. gentleman to bring his department into lines with it.

Mr. DALY. There is but little business done in the Finance Department compared with the Department of Interior.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Well, if the Minister of Finance and his deputy are drones, the Minister of the Interior will have to settle with them. The general impression in the House is that there is some work to be done in the Department of Finance, at least while the tariff is on. But I was pointing out the fact that while in that department, which is one of the first departments in the public service, by judicious management and economy, the expenditure has been kept almost at the figure it was in 1877, the hon. gentleman presides over

a department where the expenditure has been more than trebled. The hon. gentleman has given no justification or excuse for that expenditure, and all he has said was that he himself was trying to cut it down, that he had made an effort in that direction by reducing the number of employees from 161 to 129 in one branch of this department. So far so good; but he has not attempted to grapple with the true inwardness of the figures which are given in the Public Accounts, with the conclusion which his own commissioners drew and published and which is in the public records. The striking feature of the whole subject consists in the disproportion which exists between the expense of that department and the resources and population of the Dominion.

Mr. DALY. I do not like to weary the House, but as the hon. gentleman has directed his remarks to me, I must say a few words more. I am sorry to think that no matter what I might say, I could not convince the hon. gentleman; he does not want to be convinced. But I will tell him for his information that one small branch in my department, called the timber branch, where the salaries do not aggregate, I suppose, \$10,000 a year, does more work than did the whole Department of Interior in 1878. There are more letters being received, more actual clerical work being done, and more money being received, than at the time the hon. gentleman from Bothwell was Minister of the Interior. The facts and figures are here, showing that the timber lands and grazing branch of the Department of Interior, with salaries that do not run, at all events, to \$12,000 a year, do more work today and take in more money than did the whole department at the time the hon. gentleman from Bothwell was Minister of Interior.

Mr. DEVLIN. The cost of the department is 100 per cent more.

Mr. DALY. I think the work of the department has increased in a greater ratio than that, and it requires so many more people to conduct the business. In answer to the hon. member for Kent (Mr. Campbell), and to the hon. member for North Wellington, I want to say, that I think it would have been well for them to make inquiry before making the charge they have made against the Department of Interior, namely, that a Mr. Smith of Chatham was engaged in immigration work. I want to say to the hon. gentleman that Mr. Smith of Chatham has never been employed in the Department of the Interior at any time. He was not employed as immigration agent.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, he was.

Mr. DALY. He may have been employed by the Department of Agriculture some two or three years ago. The hon. gentleman

and the hon. member for North Wellington tried to convey to the House and to the country the idea that a Mr. H. H. Smith, whose name appears in the Auditor General's report last year, was Mr. Smith of Chatham. The member for North Wellington said this gentleman, instead of doing the work in Nebraska for which he was being paid, was driving his team around Chatham. Now, I want those gentlemen to understand that Mr. Smith of Chatham was never in the employ of the Department of Interior, that he never did any immigration work for that department, and never received a dollar of public money since I have been Minister.

Mr. CAMPBELL. He received \$1,825.

Mr. DALY. That was three years ago. Now, these hon. gentlemen are bringing up a question that was ventilated in the Public Accounts Committee three years ago, in order to make a charge against the present administration of the Department of Interior. Let me say that I am prepared to give them any information they want, but I ask them to take pains to inform themselves a little better before making an attack upon my department such as they did make a few minutes ago.

Mr. McMULLEN. The remarks of the hon. gentleman are quite uncalled for. He knows perfectly well that Mr. Smith was then an immigration agent.

Mr. DALY. But you said that the name of Mr. Smith, of Chatham, was in the Auditor General's Report of 1894, as an immigration agent.

Mr. McMULLEN. The hon. gentleman has got a little agitated to-night, but I hope he will try and keep cool. I mentioned Mr. Smith's case as an evidence of what had transpired in years past, and as showing that the hon. gentleman is repeating that experience in the case of the men that he has now. The hon. gentleman says I tried to show that Mr. Smith had been employed in the Department of Interior. Now, I would advise him to be careful and not get outside the traces, because we are not through with his department yet. When we get to the immigration items I shall be prepared to give him some more figures. My reason for referring to immigration matters was based upon the experience we had with an immigration agent three years ago, who claimed to be doing work in the United States when he was actually at home, and I said I would be able to point to another gentleman now engaged in his department, and who is repeating the same dodge. I do not wish the hon. gentleman to convey the idea to the committee that I was in total ignorance of matters connected with immigration in his department, and I think by the time we have got through with those items he will acknowledge that I know

something about it. I give the hon. gentleman credit for making an effort to reduce the expenditure in respect to the number of clerks, and I hope he will continue in that course. If there is any department in which considerable reduction can be made it is in the Department of Interior, and the more so since it has had the immigration branch attached to it. I think the expenses in that department can now be cut down one-half.

Mr. HAGGART. As there has been an attack directed against the Public Works Department and the Railway Department, I will take this opportunity of saying a few words in reply. The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) states that the comparative expenditure in my department cannot be known, because in 1878 it was included in the Public Works Department. He says that the expenditure in the Railway Department is now in excess of the total expenditure in Public Works and Railway Departments at that time. That is a very misleading statement, and the hon. gentleman, as an old member of this House, ought to have known better than to make it. Now, I state that the civil service expenditure in headquarters here, even the larger amount that is expended this year, is less than it was in 1878. The hon. gentleman knows that the total amount I ask for the inside work of my department this year is \$50,000. He knows again that I ask for \$17,000 for extra service clerks. Does he mean to say that the expenditure in 1878 at headquarters here in the Department of Railways and Canals was less than \$67,000? Does he not know that in 1878 the expenditure at headquarters was a charge to the particular work that was being done in different parts of the country? That system has been altered. I have not the figures at hand, but I venture to say that the expenditure of my department is less now than it was in 1878. I will have the figures prepared, and will submit them when the item of canal expenditure comes before the committee, and I will show the country that neither in 1878, nor at any time in the history of the department, was it as economically managed at headquarters as it is at the present time.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. When we come to the hon. gentleman's department we can get the figures and analyze them. My recollection is that the department formerly included public works, and that Mr. Mackenzie was carrying on the construction of the Intercolonial Railway.

Mr. HAGGART. Not at all.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Yes he was at that particular time. Further, that a very considerable number of other matters were at that time included in the department, which are not now connected with it. The people will judge for themselves whether

Mr. McMULLEN.

a set of gentlemen who required the services of 826 men, which I find to be the exact figure, to do work done quite as well, if not better, by 380, or 390 in 1878, can claim the title of an economical Government. They require about 500 more permanent employees to do the work we did, or something like two and a half times as many. As the Minister of the Interior seems to be in a disposition to give the committee an insight into his methods of economy, I should like to know how he economized in granting \$2,200, or \$2,400 as a superannuation allowance to Mr. Vankoughnet? As I understand Mr. Vankoughnet had not attained 60 years of age, I think he was 57 or 58, and we have every reason to believe that he was in full possession of all his faculties. It appears to me a very extraordinary action that the hon. gentleman should have compelled his resignation, or dismissed him, or induced to resign an officer considerably under 60 years of age, and thereby saddled the country with an annual expenditure of \$2,200 or \$2,400 as a superannuation allowance. I think this is the time when the hon. Minister should explain why he made that change as regards an important officer in his department.

Mr. DALY. I do not think the hon. gentleman could have been in the House a short time ago when I gave figures showing the saving effected by the superannuation of Mr. Vankoughnet. But what I presume the hon. gentleman wants to know is, why Mr. Vankoughnet was superannuated? The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills), by an order of the House, had the correspondence brought down, which passed between Mr. Vankoughnet and myself, and it speaks for itself.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Has it been printed yet?

Mr. DALY. It has been laid on the Table. It consists of a letter from myself to Mr. Vankoughnet, and his reply, also an Order in Council superannuating Mr. Vankoughnet, and a supplementary Order in Council giving him two days pay. It was short, sweet, and to the point. I requested Mr. Vankoughnet's resignation for the reason stated in the letter. He saw fit not to place his resignation in my hands, and consequently he was superannuated. The reasons were apparent to myself, that the administration of the department had not been carried on in the way it should have been carried on, under Mr. Vankoughnet as the executive head. In addition, I came to the conclusion that as the greater portion of the work of the department is confined to the Indians of Manitoba, the North-west and British Columbia, it would be well, in order to save the expense that was being entailed by keeping on the Regina office, that a gentleman who was as conversant as Mr. Reed was with the policy pursued by the Government towards these Indians, should be placed at the head of the department. Mr. Reed had previously occu-

pied the position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and had been connected with the department for thirteen years. From a large experience in the department, and from his position as Assistant Commissioner for some years, and Commissioner for a number of years, and as having inaugurated the policy carried on in the North-west and Manitoba in respect to the Indians, and the principal work of the department being connected with North-west Indian matters. Mr. Hayter Reed was peculiarly fitted to fill the position. He was brought down here, and now occupies the position of Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, and the affairs of the department are being well carried on under his administration. By the removal of Mr. Reed to Ottawa we have saved the difference between Mr. Vankoughnet's superannuation allowance and salary, say \$1,000, the difference between Mr. Sinclair's salary, he being chief clerk of the department, and being succeeded by the gentleman who occupies the present position, of \$800, saving in civil government payment \$1,385, saving at the Regina office of salaries amounting to \$960, travelling expenses incurred by the Commissioner, \$700; the Commissioner's allowance, \$600, making a total of \$12,445 saving by the superannuation of Mr. Vankoughnet and Mr. Sinclair, and doing away with the office of Commissioner, and bringing Mr. Reed to Ottawa. I may say in justice to Mr. Sinclair that he was superannuated at his own request, after 35 years service. He would have been continued in the department if he had so desired, but he retired voluntarily. We have not only saved \$12,445, but in my opinion, from time to time as the work of the department will admit, we will save additional amounts by reducing the staff at the Commissioner's office. It will be patent to any one, who has to do with the Indians, that in order to properly conduct their affairs, there must be some person in authority at headquarters at Regina in case of emergency. The Assistant Commissioner, Mr. Forget, remains there, at his former salary. The department is at the present moment being well conducted under the administration of Mr. Reed, of whom I cannot speak too highly as an administrative officer, and one who has not only the interest of the Indians at heart, but one, who during his long administration of affairs, has manifested his desire to secure every economy consistent with carrying out the policy of the Government. The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) stated that he had called the attention of the House two years ago to the fact that it took so many dollars expenditure as agents' salaries to make the expenditure of so many dollars more to the Indians. The hon. gentleman must know that we have not different agents appointed for the simple purpose of spending money, and that our agents in the North-west are not appointed for the purpose of

paying annuities, but for watching over the affairs of the Indians, who, like children, require all possible supervision, and if they are left to their own desires they soon return into the uncivilized condition in which they were before the department undertook to bring them into the condition which I am glad to say they occupy now, as near a state of civilization as possible. I think I have explained to the House, as succinctly as possible, the reason that Mr. Vankoughnet was superannuated, and the economy effected by that superannuation.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I am not going to discuss Mr. Vankoughnet's case at the present time, because I propose to submit a motion to the House respecting Mr. Vankoughnet's superannuation at a fitting opportunity; so I defer that discussion. The hon. gentleman has undertaken to show how \$12,000 have been saved by superannuation; but he will have some difficulty in substantiating that statement. On the contrary, the saving could have been effected wholly independent of Mr. Vankoughnet's superannuation. The question that the House has to consider is this: whether one occupying the position of Mr. Vankoughnet, at Mr. Vankoughnet's time of life, and with Mr. Vankoughnet's experience, and against whom no charges were made, was fairly treated in being dealt with as he has been dealt with by the department. Then the Minister of Railways and Canals says, that he will undertake to show, so far as his department is concerned—although his department and the Public Works Department to-day are paying \$101,000 to the inside service for clerks, exclusive of the pay for extra clerks—that nevertheless his own particular branch is paying less for its management than was paid in 1878 when the two departments combined were charged with \$48,000. I am not going to combat the figures which the hon. Minister has not on the present occasion given. He says his contingencies were \$17,000, but he will see that the appropriation for contingencies for the whole Department of Public Works in 1878 was \$11,000, so that if the whole of that contingency sum was expended in the payment of extra clerks for extra work there would still be \$6,000 less than his department requires to-day. The hon. Minister says that Mr. Mackenzie charged to particular public works the service that was being performed in the department by officers belonging to the department, and which he now pays out of the salaries that are specially appropriated. When the hon. gentleman submits his figures we shall have an opportunity of making a comparison. It must be remembered that Mr. Mackenzie was engaged in the completion of the Intercolonial Railway, that he was engaged in making exploratory surveys in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway, that he was engaged in the construction of certain

portions of that railway under the supervision of the department, and the officers that were employed in connection with these works would be officers who, if it were a private corporation engaged in the construction, would have to pay them out of the moneys appropriated for the public work and undertaking, and there is nothing of that sort so far as I know that the hon. Minister is engaged in at the present time. However, I shall not anticipate the figures of the hon. Minister. I will follow his example and I will say, that so far as he is concerned, sufficient for the day is the evil thereof. If the hon. gentleman can show that he has incurred no larger expenditure than was incurred before, he will show that there has been no increase in the cost of his department, but I must say that as a matter of experience my confidence is of slow growth, and until he establishes that fact, I will be inclined to question—not the accuracy of his intention—but the accuracy of his statement, because I think he will find that he is undertaking to charge to the period of 1878 expenditures against the department that are not charged against the department at the present moment.

Mr. HAGGART. The hon. gentleman is mistaken, because it was not the contingencies of my department that I mentioned at all, but the vote for paying the clerks who are not in the civil service. I will remind the hon. gentleman that the Intercolonial Railway was running in 1878, and I will remind him, too, that one of the items charged to my account last year in the civil service estimates was \$6,000 for the salaries of the chief engineer of the Intercolonial Railway. In Mr. Mackenzie's time that was not charged to the inside service, but to the Intercolonial Railway.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) He had a general superintendent in the Maritime Provinces then, as you have now.

Mr. HAGGART. The salary of the engineer in 1878 was not charged to the civil service.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Not Mr. Pottinger's salary.

Mr. HAGGART. I am saying that Mr. Schreiber's salary as chief engineer of the Intercolonial Railway, or a portion of his salary, is charged in last year's account to the civil service. There was the same expenditure upon the canals, and the amount that is charged at headquarters here is charged out of that \$17,000 that I received for paying my clerks. In Mr. Mackenzie's time it was charged to a particular vote. I will not anticipate, but I am certain—I am more than certain—that the expenditure during Mr. Mackenzie's time—

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Do not anticipate.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

Mr. HAGGART. I am certain that in 1878 the amount of money expended in the Railway and Canals Department at headquarters was away in excess of what it is in the present year.

Mr. McMULLEN. Can the Minister inform me as to whether Mr. Reed, when in the North-west, contributed to the Superannuation Fund or not?

Mr. DALY. I think so. He was a permanent officer at the same salary that he has now; in fact a larger salary, because he had \$600 in addition.

Mr. McMULLEN. Did he contribute to the Superannuation Fund?

Mr. DALY. I think he must have done so, he has been a member of the civil service since 1880 or 1881.

Mr. DEVLIN. Did I understand the Minister of the Interior to say to-night that through the means of these immigration agents thousands were coming back annually into Canada?

Mr. DALY. I said thousands came back last year, and thousands are coming back at this present moment. There is not a train that arrives at Calgary that does not bring many immigrants.

Mr. DEVLIN. In what province are they settled?

Mr. DALY. In the North-west Territories.

Mr. DEVLIN. Are they all Canadians coming back from the United States?

Mr. DALY. I said that there were a great many Canadians and old-country English, Irish, Scotch, Germans and Scandinavians, and very few Americans; the very best of settlers.

Mr. DEVLIN. Can the hon. gentleman say from what European country the largest proportion of immigrants is being received now?

Mr. DALY. As far as my memory goes, we are getting this present year, so far, more from England and Scotland than from any other country.

Mr. DEVLIN. Did I understand the hon. gentleman to say that this Government gives the North-west Government \$220,000 annually for education?

Mr. DALY. No. The question of education was not under discussion. The sum I mentioned was expended for Indian schools.

Mr. DEVLIN. I understood the hon. gentleman to say that that sum was voted generally for education in the North-west Territories.

Mr. DALY. Oh, no. I was quoting figures in connection with the management of the

Indians in the North-west Territories, and in Canada generally; and in answer to the hon. gentleman I said that that was the total amount for Indian schools. There was no reference to North-west schools. We have not had North-west schools under consideration at all to-night.

Department of Agriculture....\$53,512.50

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Who are these whose names are mentioned?

Mr. FOSTER. These are the temporary employees who have been in the department for eight or ten years, and who are put on the permanent list to fill death vacancies.

Mr. DEVLIN. Who is the deputy of that department?

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Lowe.

Mr. MULLOCK. Is it not time that you superannuated him?

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, no; he is young yet.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I do not think trouble will arise from this side of the House when you make up your mind to do it.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. He has all his faculties.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Are you sure of that?

Department of Public Works.. \$51,055

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I wish to ask the hon. Minister of Public Works with reference to the dismissal of Mr. Barclay Snow, who, I understand, was a civil engineer in his department—when he was dismissed, and why?

Mr. OUMET. The services of Mr. Snow were dispensed with last summer. He had been employed until then, and his official work being completed, no more was given him.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) What was his special work?

Mr. OUMET. It was making copies of plans of River St. John, and that work being completed there was nothing for him to do.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Was there any charge made against him as regards his efficiency?

Mr. OUMET. No.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The department was satisfied of that?

Mr. OUMET. The department were satisfied that the work he was doing was of no use.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) How many years had he been engaged in this useless work?

Mr. OUMET. I could not say, exactly.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Some ten or twelve years?

Mr. OUMET. I do not know that he had always been doing the same work; but at the time the chief engineer advised me that there was no use continuing the work, and it was terminated.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I have had submitted to me a certificate which this dismissed official received from Mr. Perley, who was, for many years, the chief engineer of the department, testifying to the efficiency with which he discharged his duties. I would like the hon. gentleman to give an idea of how long he was employed on that useless work.

Mr. OUMET. I do not say that the work he had been doing was useless, but at the time his services were dispensed with, it was deemed useless to proceed with the work he was engaged upon.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Has the staff of the department been reduced in consequence of his dismissal?

Mr. OUMET. Yes; his place was not filled.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) But a place was filled?

Mr. OUMET. By whom?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Was not a person named Desrosiers appointed?

Mr. OUMET. No; Desrosiers was employed as an assistant on the ship-channel work. He is a draughtsman. The work is not of the character which the other gentleman was doing. Charts had to be prepared for the ship-channel, for which a special survey was made, and he was attached to that staff, and has been employed as a draughtsman on that staff ever since. He has gone back to that work in the ship-channel.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I am instructed that he is doing the same work that Mr. Snow did. Mr. Snow is a draughtsman, and I have had submitted to me quite a lot of his work. As far as my inartistic eye could judge, it is very well done, and I understand from gentlemen in the profession that, as a draughtsman, he was a very efficient officer. He has certainly very high testimonials from Mr. Perley, formerly his chief engineer. And I understand the hon. gentleman has employed another man in his place, Mr. Desrosiers, who is doing the same work.

Mr. OUMET. It is not work that Mr. Snow could be sent to do. It is work that has to be done by a young man. It is very hard work, and I do not think Mr. Snow could be sent down there.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Why not?

Mr. OUMET. Because he is an old man, too old to do that kind of work.

Mr. DAVEIS (P.E.I.) Mr. Desrosiers. I am instructed, is an official who was dismissed from the Railway Department.

Mr. OUMET. I think he had been discharged by the Department of Railways and Canals.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) He was taken on by the hon. gentleman, and Mr. Snow was dismissed to make room for him.

Mr. OUMET. That is not the case. The services of Mr. Snow were not dispensed with in order to give work to another man.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) As a matter of fact, he was dismissed, and following on his dismissal, Mr. Desrosiers, an official who had been dismissed from the Railway Department, was taken on, and is now doing the work which Mr. Snow was doing. Why was Desrosiers dismissed?

Mr. OUMET. He was discharged, with a large number of others temporarily employed as engineers. Mr. Desrosiers was not dismissed for incapacity, but his services were dispensed with just the same as Mr. Snow's were.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) He seems to be a man, whose services, in the opinion of the head of the department could be easily dispensed with. He was evidently not one of the most efficient officers or he would have been retained.

Mr. OUMET. Mr. Perley is not now the adviser of the department, as the hon. gentleman must know better than anybody else, for he had more to do with that than anybody else.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) That has nothing to do with the question. The only introduction that I made of Mr. Perley's name was this: that he gave to Mr. Snow a certificate testifying to the efficiency with which he discharged his duties. The hon. gentleman's own adviser also gave a letter to Mr. Snow when he was dismissed, testifying to the fact he had discharged faithfully the duties of his office. If the hon. gentleman had not taken on another man immediately afterwards, no complaint would be raised here. But here is a man dismissed, without any charge against him, and his place is immediately filled up by an official who was dismissed from another department.

Mr. OUMET. I do not think the facts have any connection with each other. Snow's services were dispensed with when they were no longer needed, he being in the temporary employ of the department, and the other man was taken on later, as temporary employees are taken on for special services of that kind, and he is attached only temporarily to the department.

Mr. McMULLEN. I have heard around the streets in Ottawa, on more occasions than one, rumours with regard to changes taking place in the Department of Public

Mr. OUMET.

Works since the hon. gentleman was put at its head. It is charged that men, such as Mr. Snow, who, I believe, is an Englishman, have been weeded out, and the political and national friends of my hon. friend put in. That is to say, friends of his own take the place of the men dismissed from the department, and we have in this case an evidence of the report being true.

Mr. OUMET. I can assure the hon. gentleman that nothing of the kind has happened in my department, and I may say, moreover, that this gentleman has no connection with me, politically or otherwise, and I may add that I do not think I know him by sight. He was recommended to me as a fit person to be attached to that survey, which survey is under the supervision of a permanent employee of the department, Mr. Cowie, who is the special engineer in charge of the work. He is not employed because he is a friend of mine, political, national, or religious.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Did the hon. gentleman give Mr. Snow the opportunity to refuse to engage in this service?

Mr. OUMET. I am not aware that that was done.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) How many years was Mr. Snow in the public service? Twelve years, I believe. Is it the practice of the department to give any consideration to these temporary officials when they are discharged?

Mr. OUMET. Not that I know of, and the law does not warrant anything of the kind. If any indemnity or gratuity is given to any of these officers by reason of age or otherwise, it must be made by a special vote of the House. I may say that three other engineer's services were dispensed with at the same time—Mr. Michaud, Mr. Raza and another, and for the same reason—not that they were not fit to perform their duties, but that the department did not require their services any further.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Were any of these taken back?

Mr. OUMET. No.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Had any of them been as long as twelve years in the service?

Mr. OUMET. I am told that Mr. Raza had been over twenty-five years in the service, and was incapacitated by age and infirmity.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I know that under a former Minister the services of Mr. Kingsford, who had been in the service for many years were dispensed with in the same way.

Mr. OUMET. I am not aware of that.

The Department of Geological
Survey..... \$51,925

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. There is considerable increase here.

Mr. FOSTER. Statutory increases only—there is the same number of employees.

Mr. FLINT. What work does the Geological Survey intend to take up this season? Has the Minister any memoranda on that subject?

Mr. DALY. I will give the hon. gentleman that information on the main vote. This is for the headquarters' staff only.

Mr. FORBES. Has the report been made yet upon the explorations in the North-west by Mr. Tyrrel?

Mr. DALY. That will not be printed until next year.

Department of Trade and Commerce. \$7,450

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I observe, as I expected, that this department is gradually assuming the proportions to make it a considerable charge upon the public revenue. It began with \$6,000; now we are up to \$7,450, and this, no doubt, is one of those infant industries which the Minister will find it highly necessary to protect.

Mr. FOSTER. This involves no extra charge on the revenue; the man who goes to the Department of Trade and Commerce is from my department.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Who is he?

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Nutting. There is one less in my department.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That department was the one I organized myself, so I can understand that it is very economically managed and not likely to increase. But whether this officer came from the hon. gentleman's department or not, it is very clear that the Department of Trade and Commerce is following the custom of its predecessors—it is growing and growing pretty rapidly. What does this department do? I should like to have a little explanation on the subject.

Mr. FLINT. I would like to know if this department knows what its duties are yet? At the last meeting of the committee it was understood that the main of the work of the department would be to discover what its duties were. I think that this would be a good time for the Minister to explain what those duties have been found out to be.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Perhaps it is making clerical errors.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think that is its chief occupation. I scarcely know what the hon. gentlemen want. It is a very modest estimate—there are only five clerks and one of these lent by my department. The duties of the Minister are very onerous and his indefatigable deputy is at work as usual with not a very large staff. They have the whole

of the steamship subsidies under their charge, and this is no small matter. They have also the statistics of trade and commerce, a very elaborate volume, a copy of which has just been laid on the Table, containing most useful information of a very varied character. This and the general outlook upon the extension of trade and commerce—

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) "General outlook" is good.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. If the Minister has charge of the general outlook in regard to trade and commerce he has much to account for, as the general outlook now is far from satisfactory.

Mr. FOSTER. It is getting better.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Owing, I suppose, to the exertions of the Minister of Trade and Commerce. I should like to know in what respect. I shall not object to this item passing after the very lucid explanations of the hon. gentleman; but the High Commissioner, whose vote comes next, is a choice morsel which our friends, no doubt, will like to roll under their tongues.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) On one occasion an inquisitive man asked what an archdeacon's duties were, and received the reply that they were to discharge archi-diaconal functions. The hon. gentleman has given us about as lucid an explanation of the duties of the Minister of Trade and Commerce.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Mr. Chairman, I suggested, when this item was under consideration before, that if the Government were to make arrangements for the distribution amongst the members of a few copies for each of the report of the consuls in the English service to the Foreign Office, they would do a great deal towards extending the foreign commerce of this country.

Mr. FOSTER. I will mention that.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). These reports are most valuable. They contain an immense amount of information and, put into the hands of manufacturers, they would suggest to many of these gentlemen markets for the products of their industries which they would not be likely to learn of otherwise. If three copies of each one of them were put in the hands of each member, he could distribute them where they would be of great service.

Mr. McMULLEN. The hon. Minister said that the report of the Minister of Trade and Commerce had been circulated.

Mr. FOSTER. It was laid on the Table three or four days ago.

Mr. McMULLEN. We have not seen it yet. Upon this item I must take exception, in the first place, to the office ever having been created. I do not see why it was created unless it was for the purpose of giving a resting place for the balance of his life to

the hon. gentleman who now occupies the position, drawing \$7,000 a year for virtually doing nothing. He took a pleasant trip to Australia, he came back and made a speech to the Board of Trade in Toronto, the whole purport of which was that there was an opportunity of opening up a market for Canadian machinery in Australia. He did not appear to have any anxiety to do anything in the interest of the farmers when he was in Australia. The hon. gentleman has been an unswerving supporter of the Government for the last fifteen years, and it looks very much as if this office had been created expressly for the purpose of affording him a resting place for the balance of his life. He has not done anything that we have heard of, except to make this visit to Australia. We will see, however, when we get his report, but if his report bears no more evidence of work being performed than we have seen before us for the last year, we are getting a very poor return for the salary we pay him.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Has the report of the High Commissioner of this year been brought down?

Mr. FOSTER. There is a full report in the Report of the Trade and Commerce, which has been laid on the Table.

Committee rose, and reported resolutions.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON moved the adjournment of the House.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What business do you propose to take up to-morrow?

Mr. FOSTER. The Estimates.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I suppose there are a large number of gentlemen on both sides of the House who are anxious to go away to-morrow after six o'clock. Perhaps we had better have an understanding that they may do so.

Mr. FOSTER. The leader of the House is away, but I think I may say that that will depend a good deal upon the diligence with which we work to-morrow. I am willing to work very hard to-morrow afternoon for the sake of getting off after six o'clock.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 11.35 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, 23rd May, 1894.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

REPORT.

Report of the Department of Printing and Stationery for the year ending 30th June, 1893.—(Mr. Costigan.)

Mr. McMULLEN

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 121) to amend and consolidate the Acts respecting the North-west Mounted Police Force.—(Mr. Ives.)

Bill (No. 122) further to amend the Petroleum Inspection Act.—(Mr. Wood, Brockville.)

Bill (No. 125) further to amend the General Inspection Act.—(Mr. Wood, Brockville.)

FRAUDULENT SALE OR MARKING.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville) moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 123) in restraint of fraudulent sale or marking.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Will the hon. gentleman explain what that Bill is for, and how far it goes?

Mr. WOOD (Brockville). This Bill simply adds a section and a schedule to the Act of 1891. It adds to the list of articles coming under the Inspection Act. The schedule to the Act embraces, in addition to the articles already enumerated, Paris green, honey and vinegar. It is not proposed to prohibit the sale of the article of so-called honey, which, it is said, is made of glucose, a cheap kind of food fed to bees in the United States and imported as honey; but it is proposed to prohibit its sale as honey. With regard to Paris green, it is felt, after some communication with the parties interested, that it is an injustice to those who have to purchase—especially poor people—Paris green, to find that they have bought an adulterated article which is useless for the purpose intended. It is proposed to place that also in the list of articles, as to what specimens or samples may be had to send to our analysts for the purpose of being analysed. Vinegar also is included.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

THE CULLERS' ACT.

Mr. WOOD (Brockville) moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 124) further to amend the Cullers' Act. He said: This is a very simple amendment to the Act of 1889. It was found that in the Act of 1889 the word "counted" was included. It should not have been included, because the word itself has no reference to the culling of square timber. It left a doubt in the Act which was seen by the exporters and taken advantage of. It is proposed to remedy that defect.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

CRIMINAL CODE.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 126) to amend the Criminal Code of 1892. He said: Some of the amendments are not important as regards their effect, but arise in consequence, sometimes of typographical errors and sometimes of that very objectionable class called clerical errors; and in addition there is a provision with regard to the province of Quebec, au-

thorizing a change of venue in cases coming before the court, in terms which are postponed, and one or two provisions of that character not necessary to explain at any length.

Mr. EDGAR. Would not this be a fit Bill in which to introduce whatever changes the hon. gentleman may think necessary in connection with the criminal procedure, as to grand juries, because there is a Bill on the Order paper relating to that subject which may not be reached?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I should be very glad if any amendment of that kind be considered in the progress of the Bill.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

REVENUE AND AUDIT ACT.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 127) to amend the Consolidated Revenue and Audit Act. He said: The fact is that the revenue was collected hitherto, until a very recent period, by officers of the Inland Revenue and Customs, and enactments were made for the protection of officers who were engaged in the collection of that revenue. By legislation portions of the revenue have since been assigned, for their collection, to other departments and the officers of these are without the protection which they would have if they were acting as officers of the Customs and Inland Revenue Department. It is proposed to give them the ordinary protection which officers engaged in the collection of revenue and the administration of the law generally are given.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

DREDGE 'PRINCE EDWARD.'

Mr. PERRY asked, Has the Dominion dredge 'Prince Edward' left Murray Harbour, Prince Edward Island? Has she commenced dredging? If so, where is she working?

Mr. OUMET. The Dominion dredge 'Prince Edward' has not left Murray Harbour yet, but is under orders to proceed to Grand River, in King's County.

REVISING BARRISTER, PRINCE COUNTY, P. E. I.

Mr. PERRY asked, Has a revising barrister been appointed for Prince County, P.E.I., instead of Judge Kelly, deceased? If so, who is he, and what is the date of his appointment?

Mr. COSTIGAN. No one has been appointed. It is the intention of the Government to appoint a revising barrister immediately.

SHEIK'S ISLAND DAM.

Mr. LISTER asked, Has a contract been made by the Government with Messrs. M. P.

& W. H. Davis or any other person for the construction of a dam or dams at Sheik's Island in the St. Lawrence River for the purpose of making the Sny Channel navigable? Were tenders by advertisement invited, for the construction of the work? If so, who tendered? Did M. P. & W. H. Davis tender for the work? If so, were they the lowest tenderers? What is the estimated cost of the said works, and was authority obtained from Parliament for their construction before a contract was awarded? How much work has been performed, and how much money paid out by the Government on account of the dam or dams? Did not the Chief Engineer of Canals, Mr. John Page, report against the proposed blocking of the Sny Channel, and if so, what engineer or engineers recommended the construction of dams at Sheik's Island? Has any information or communication been received, directly or indirectly, by the Government from the Government or War Department of the United States with respect to the probable disturbance of the level of the St. Lawrence River by the blocking of the Sny Channel?

Mr. HAGGART. A contract has been made with Messrs. William Davis & Son for the construction of the dams at Sheik's Island in the St. Lawrence River for the purpose of making Sny Channel navigable. Tenders were not invited by advertisement. By invitation Messrs. William Davis & Son offered to do the work at his prices under contract 4, Cornwall Canal. The estimated cost of the work is:

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| Land | \$ 30,000 |
| Construction | 384,000 |

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| Total | \$414,000 |
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Authority was obtained for the enlargement of the canals before this contract was awarded, and this work forms an important part of the enlargement of the Cornwall Canal. The work performed consists of:

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|-------------------------|----------------|
| Excavation earth..... | 10,540 c. yds. |
| " rock..... | 561 " |
| Stone filling..... | 4,376 " |
| Materials delivered.... | 3,390 " |

The amount of money paid out, \$11,440. Mr. Page did report against the proposed damming of the Sny Channel. Walter Shanty, Samuel Keefer, Collingwood Schreiber, and Tom Rubidge reported in favour of the construction of the dams. No correspondence or communication has been received, directly or indirectly, by the Government from the Government or War Department of the United States with respect to the probable or improbable disturbance of the level of the St. Lawrence River by damming the Sny Channel.

BOARD OF CUSTOMS.

Mr. RIDER asked, 1. Is there a duly constituted Board of Customs, and how often does the said Board meet? 2. Who constitute the Board of Customs; what are

their individual duties, and what are the salaries of each of those engaged in that particular service? 3. Has the Board of Customs ever rendered any decisions, and has any of its decisions ever being appealed from?

Mr. WALLACE. There is a duly constituted Board of Customs. 2. At the present time it is meeting daily. 3. The members of the Board of Customs, their individual duties, and their respective salaries are as follows. I may say that these are the salaries which these gentlemen receive, not as members of the Board of Customs, but for their other duties as Custom-house officers of the department. For being members of the Board of Customs they received no additional salary, and no payments are made to them on that account, except for their travelling expenses and necessary disbursements:—Thomas J. Watters, Chairman of the Board, also acting Commissioner of Customs, salary, \$2,900; George W. Jessop, Assistant Dominion Appraiser and clerk to the Board, salary, \$1,200; Thomas Macfarlane, Chief Analyst, salary, \$800; James J. Bremner, Customs Inspector of sugars and groceries at Halifax N.S., salary, \$2,000; Allan McBeath, Appraiser of dry goods at St. John, N.B., salary, \$1,200; J. D. L. Ambrose, Appraiser of drugs, &c., at Montreal, salary, \$1,800; Thomas F. Blackwood, Hardware Appraiser at Toronto, salary, \$1,700; A. R. Milne, Collector of Customs at Victoria, B.C., salary, \$2,000; George H. Young, Inspector of Customs at Winnipeg, salary, \$2,000. All the members of the Board are at present meeting, except the last two, Mr. Milne, of Victoria, and Mr. Young, of Winnipeg. 4. Yes, the Board has rendered decisions, and in some cases there have been appeals made therefrom.

GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS.

Mr. McMULLEN asked, What was the number of miles of Government railways operated by the Department of Railways during the fiscal year ending the 30th June, 1893; the number of stations, the number of station porters, the number of station masters and assistants, the number of telegraph operators and assistants, the gross number of employees engaged in the operating of the lines, including all labourers, mechanics and all classes of employees, including the railway staff at Ottawa?

Mr. HAGGART. The number of miles of Government railways in operation in the year 1892-93, was the same as in the previous year, 1,375 miles. The number of stations was 256, also the same as for the previous year. The number of employees was somewhere in the neighbourhood of 3,600, being considerably less than a few years ago. The service continues to be well performed, and the road and rolling stock are being well maintained. It is my full expectation to be able

Mr RIDER.

to report the earnings as fully covering the expenses for the fiscal year, which will close on the 30th of June next.

NORTH-WEST MOUNTED POLICE.

Mr. IVES moved:

That the House will, on Monday next, resolve itself into Committee of the Whole to consider the following resolution:—

That it is expedient to provide, with respect to the North-west Mounted Police Force, that the maximum pay of veterinary surgeons shall be \$1,000 instead of \$700 per annum, that the maximum pay of four staff-sergeants shall be \$2 instead of \$1.50 per diem, and that twelve buglers may be appointed at a rate of pay not exceeding 40 cents per diem; and also to provide that all pay due to deserters at the time of their desertion from the force shall form part of the fund applicable to the payment of rewards for good conduct or meritorious services, to the establishment of libraries and recreation rooms and such other objects, for the benefit of the members of the force, as the Minister approves.

Motion agreed to.

SUPPLY—THE CATTLE TRADE.

Mr. FOSTER moved that the House again resolve itself into Committee of Supply.

Mr. MULOCK. Mr. Speaker, before the motion was put I was going to ask the Controller of Customs to give information as to which of the returns is correct in regard to the cattle trade. The Controller of Customs will remember that some time ago I called the attention of the House to a discrepancy in these figures. It is now a month ago that the Controller of Customs promised to explain away this discrepancy, which is one of very considerable magnitude. For example, the report presented by the Department of Agriculture declares that the number of head of cattle exported to Great Britain in 1890 was 122,182, while the Trade and Navigation Returns state the number exported at 104,133, a discrepancy between the two of 18,049. For the year 1891 the report of the Department of Agriculture show exports of 108,947 head of cattle sent to Great Britain, while the Trade and Navigation Returns for that year give the number as 99,967, a discrepancy for that year of 8,980. Again, in the year 1892, the Department of Agriculture gives the exports of cattle to Great Britain at 98,755, the Trade and Navigation Returns for the same year giving 93,206, a difference of 5,549 head. For 1893 the Department of Agriculture declares that the number exported was 83,322, while the Trade and Navigation Returns place the number at 89,572, a discrepancy of 6,250. For these four years the differences between these two accounts aggregate 38,814, an inaccuracy somewhere of 10 per cent. If this is an indication of the way in which the Trade and Navigation Returns, as a whole,

are made up, it is quite clear that they are practically valueless.

Mr. FOSTER. Which of the reports is wrong ?

Mr. MULLOCK. I do not know which is wrong. Surely these figures are reconcilable. The facts must be the same.

Mr. FOSTER. Is the hon. gentleman sure that one is not for the calendar, and the other for the fiscal year ?

Mr. MULLOCK. Perfectly sure, if one may depend upon the statements in the reports themselves. I have not the report of the Department of Agriculture here, but that report was presented at the beginning of the session, and it was stated that the figures given were for the calendar year.

Mr. DALY. I beg your pardon—it says for the fiscal year. I will send the report across to the hon. gentleman.

Mr. MULLOCK. This is not the page to which I refer. If you will look at page x you will see, under the heading "Exportation of live stock" the following :—

The exportation of live stock for 1893 to the United Kingdom from Canadian seaports inspected before sailing by the veterinary officers of my department was : cattle, 80,899 ; sheep, 1,781. Of the above cattle, 80,495 were shipped from Montreal, &c.

Then comes what I particularly refer to :

The following table gives comparisons for the last ten calendar years.

On the 12th of April I put this question to the Ministry :

What was the total number and value of live cattle exported to the United Kingdom in the calendar years 1890, 1891, 1892 and 1893 ?

Mr. FOSTER. To what Minister was that question put ?

Mr. MULLOCK. I asked the question in the House on the 12th of April last, and it was answered by the Controller of Customs. My question was : What was the total number exported during each of these calendar years, and I received from the Controller of Customs the figures I have quoted. So that these figures presented by the Minister of Agriculture in his report, and by the Controller of Customs in answer to the question put on the floor of this House, are for the same period of time, for the calendar years 1890, 1891, 1892 and 1893. This is the information required ; I want it for purposes of computation. I am in an embarrassed position, not knowing what set of figures to take. It is not creditable to the department. I do not wish to be unreasonable, but I must say that it is not calculated to create confidence in the accuracy of the statistics emanating from the department, when discrepancies of this magnitude exist, and which now, after months of delay, have not been ex-

plained away. As I want to deal with this question later on, I now press this upon the attention of the House.

Mr. DALY. What is the page of 'Hansard' ?

Mr. MULLOCK. Page 1266, April 12th. I think the Controller of Customs will agree with me that the figures do not tally, in fact I believe he is trying to explain away the discrepancy. But I want him to hurry up or else the session will be over before the explanation comes. Before I take my seat I wish to ask when we may expect the return that was granted on 7th May, asking for all papers connected with the fast Atlantic service ? That return has not yet been brought down. I would like to ask the Minister of Justice if the return presented in respect to the Kingston penitentiary contains all the reports and correspondence in connection with that matter ?

Mr. WALLACE. In reply to the hon. member for North York, I wish to say that we are not endeavouring to explain away anything, we are endeavouring to ascertain what are the exact facts of the case. I told the hon. member that I would communicate with the Department of Agriculture and have a joint investigation made at the port of Montreal, where almost the entire export of cattle takes place, and that I would inform the House as to the result of that investigation. Officers were appointed to make this investigation by the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Customs jointly. That report has not yet been received, but I expect it daily, and when it is received, I will submit it to the House.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. In reply to the question asked me, I understand that the returns presented with regard to the Kingston penitentiary include all the papers on the subject of the investigations there, but if the hon. gentleman finds anything missing, or will direct my attention to anything which may have been overlooked, I would be glad to supply it.

Motion agreed to, and House again resolved itself into committee.

(In the Committee.)

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| Contingencies, rent and insurance on office, income tax, fuel, light, stationery, &c., and the amount (\$2,000) required towards the contingent expenses (water, light, fuel, carriage hire and railway fare) of the High Commissioner, and \$1,200 for contingencies (rates, taxes, insurance, ground rent, &c.) of the official residence, including the income tax on the High Commissioner's salary..... | \$10,750 |
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Mr. McMULLEN. Before voting this resolution, I think we should have some state-

ment of the services that have been performed by Sir Charles Tupper during the last year. If the High Commissioner is really intended to give a return in the way of services to this country for the enormous amounts that are paid to him from year to year, we ought to know what he is doing there. In the matter of immigration, we do not find that he is rendering any very desirable service; we do not find that in the matter of negotiating treaties he is rendering any very desirable service. We know that in connection with the French treaty, the hon. gentleman danced across the sea from England to France several times, and eventually, after a long and protracted effort, he accomplished the negotiation and completion, so far as he was concerned, of a treaty, and sent it over here for ratification. The Government have thought so little of that treaty that from that time to the present, they have taken no notice of it; although, I believe, the First Minister did once intimate to the House that they intended, at some future day, to ratify that little treaty. That is the only thing I know of that the hon. gentleman has done in the way of service to this country. Now, I can remember well that when the proposition was made to send Sir Charles Tupper home to England, and to buy an official residence for him in London, at a cost of some \$50,000, we were told that he was going to render very desirable service to this country as financial agent. It was said then that the contract with our financial agents was not terminable by the Government at notice, and that it was only after the arrangement that then existed had expired, that we could utilize the services of the High Commissioner in London. We were told that in this respect he was going to render considerable service to the country, and that he would far more than recoup the country for his salary by the services he would render in the position of financial agent, the amount he would save the country by way of commissions. Now, we have been completely disappointed in reaping any advantages from his appointment in that capacity. The Finance Minister admitted to the House two years ago, after visiting Europe, and after trying to make arrangements, that he was forced to make an arrangement with the agency there of the Bank of Montreal, and that he was not able to utilize Sir Charles Tupper in the slightest degree as financial agent in London. Afterwards we were told that it was desirable to have him there in connection with the cattle trade. Well, we know he has been an absolute and utter failure in that respect. Whatever efforts he has put forth to secure to Canada a continuation of the privileges we enjoyed of having free access to the English market for our cattle, and the privilege of sending them freely from place to place in that country where they might bring the best prices, we know that, even with Sir Charles Tupper

on the ground, and notwithstanding the great necessity that existed for carefully guarding that particular privilege, our cattle were scheduled, and remain so to this day. We occupy no better position in that respect than the United States. Cattle from the United States are just as free to the ports of Great Britain to-day as Canadian cattle, notwithstanding the fact that we have Sir Charles Tupper there, and notwithstanding all the promises that were made to us that he would secure and preserve to us those advantages. I have carefully read over a report that has been recently submitted to this House by the Minister of Agriculture, outlining the incidents that led up to the scheduling of our cattle. Any person that will read over the different Orders in Council, and will remember the action taken by the Government, and the indifference displayed by the High Commissioner must agree that we are ourselves responsible for the condition of things that now exists. On turning to the report I find one or two cases in which the animals were supposed to have been diseased, and samples of their lungs were taken and sent to Canada, but they arrived here in such a decomposed condition as to be totally unfit for investigation. There was no possibility of making such an analysis as to enable any veterinary to decide whether the animals were affected with pleuro-pneumonia or not. These were Canadian animals supposed to be diseased, and such carelessness had been displayed in putting up the samples that the spirits had evaporated. With Sir Charles Tupper in London, there should have been a more determined and zealous effort made to continue the privilege we enjoy in regard to the cattle trade than has been put forward up to the present time. I have carefully gone over the expenses connected with the office of High Commissioner, and also those connected with his relations. I do not want to say but that a High Commissioner may be a necessity, but the present High Commissioner, with all the expenses connected with him, makes the office cost too much. I can give to any hon. member the page in the Auditor General's Report which will prove the statements I am about to make. In 1889, Canada paid the High Commissioner and members of his family \$33,780.26; in 1890, \$31,434.17; in 1891, \$42,044.83; in 1892, \$28,872.42; in 1893, \$20,338.50, or in five years the country paid the High Commissioner, the Commandant at Kingston, the Minister here and the relatives of the family, so far as I can trace them, \$165,270.80. The High Commissioner is, no doubt, in a position to dictate to the Government and the people of the country the amounts to be paid. It would not be so bad if, while we are paying these magnificent sums, if the country were getting full value for the outlay, but it is not getting value. The Auditor General's Report of the present year shows an expenditure under this head of over \$32,000, including claims fairly

Mr. McMULLEN.

chargeable to the Tupper family. I admit it was quite a difficult thing to find these items, for they are scattered up and down the report under different heads, such as emigration, Behring Sea, and in every corner of the volume, and this is done apparently for the purpose of confusing the public so that the public eye may not possibly catch and gather together the enormous amount the family costs the country. We are keeping Sir Charles Tupper in London at an enormous expense, and we are paying those who are related to him, and we should obtain better service in the future than we have in the past. It is a mere farce keeping the High Commissioner virtually doing nothing. Nothing has been done by him with respect to the cattle trade—the whole matter has been bungled. As a financial agent, nothing has been done by him. The people of Canada cannot afford to keep in London a Canadian political Beshazzar, drawing from \$16,000 to \$18,000 a year. I am not including expenses of the London office, and have only taken the sums drawn by him, paid for travelling expenses, for taxes on official residence and other items directly chargeable to himself and his relatives. We must commence and cut down the expenses of the London office, and if we obtain no better services from the High Commissioner than have been rendered by him during the last few years, Parliament had better abolish the office, sell the residence, bring the money to Canada and let us try and pay our debts with it, instead of keeping the High Commissioner there when he is virtually no use, and the country is receiving no benefit.

Mr. MULOCK. The hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) has given the committee some very large figures, and if they are correct, and the hon. gentleman's quotations of figures are generally correct, they suggest a field for inquiry, and perhaps for economy. It appears that the High Commissioner has cost this country \$165,270 in five years.

Mr. McMULLEN. I refer to the High Commissioner and his family.

Mr. MULOCK. So in fifteen years the High Commissioner and his relations will have cost this country about \$500,000. Under these circumstances there is no wonder that those interested consider the country prosperous. I should like to ask the member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen), if he could tell us, with his skilfulness in handling figures, how much this sum averages every day of the year?

Mr. FOSTER. Or every hour of the day.

Mr. McMULLEN. I can give it to the hon. gentleman. I carefully calculated the average during five years, and excluding Sunday, the amount is \$105.60 per day.

Civil Service Board of Examiners..... \$4,000

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Considering the Government do not appear to provide offices for those who pass the civil service examination, this item appears to be a very questionable expenditure.

Mr. FOSTER. You said last night that we were doing so.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I am afraid a considerable number of those individuals did not pass the civil service examination, nor could pass it, and probably the only really practical use for this board would be to turn the members loose in the departments and pass the 826 clerks through a course of examination. My impression is that this would weed out a considerable number of gentlemen now engaged, either in serving the country or drawing their salary, after the pattern of the High Commissioner. I do not myself think that there is any great use keeping up this system so long as it leads to nothing. There are an enormous number of persons who are said to have qualified but who will never be appointed, and it seems to me that the Government by maintaining this, without giving, as they do in other countries, a number of commissions to those who distinguish themselves in these examinations, is simply throwing away the money. I fail to see what good service is rendered by this Civil Service Commission, and as the hon. gentleman has more experience now than he had at one time about it, I would like to know what useful purpose he supposes it does serve.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman knows as well as I do the law of Parliament under which we have been acting for a number of years governing the conditions for the appointment of officials in the service of the country. Parliament came to the conclusion that the entrance door to the civil service should be through examination, and the Civil Service Commissioners are the persons appointed to carry out these conditions of Parliament. It is true that we do not furnish offices for every person who passes the examination, but Parliament never contracted to do that, and I dare say there are some thousands upon the list who have passed who have not received appointments inasmuch as it is only necessary to appoint those who from time to time are required to fill vacancies or to take up the extended service of the country. These commissioners are the machinery to carry out the law, and so long as it is necessary to carry out the law of Parliament we must have that machinery. These gentlemen also conduct the examinations in the public departments to certify to the capability of clerks for promotion. It is scarcely fair to say that because there are a large number who have passed and who have not been appointed, that persons who may wish to enter the service at the present time should be debarred from the privilege of passing their examination. A large number

who have passed and who have not received appointments are not now eligible because numbers of them have drifted off into every other conceivable profession in life. I may say that the fees go a long way to pay the expenses of this board.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) How many thousands are there on the list who have passed the examinations?

Mr. FOSTER. I cannot tell exactly, but I should think there are a couple of thousand or more.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I should think there are three times a couple of thousands. Can the Minister assure the House that all the parties who have been appointed to commissions under Government within the last year have passed the civil service examination?

Mr. FOSTER. In all cases the law has been strictly complied with.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. And none have been appointed to the civil service except those who have passed this examination?

Mr. FOSTER. Either those who have passed or whom Parliament has declared to be eligible otherwise.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. In what way has Parliament declared that? There are examinations in the first place, and there are also appointments that are made by Parliament in passing the Estimates, and which are explained to the House.

Mr. FOSTER. There are cases in which the law expressly provides for the appointment of technical officers, without examination, and graduates of universities are exempted by law. The hon. gentleman will find that the law has been strictly observed.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The hon. gentleman says that Parliament has sanctioned all these appointments made in the Estimates. I do not understand that Parliament has done anything of the kind. We have no means of knowing whether men who may be appointed have or have not complied with the regulations of the law.

Mr. FOSTER. If they do not come under the law they must be expressly named or the salaries will not be paid to them.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Is the hon. gentleman prepared to say that that has been done? What particular gentlemen have been appointed during the past year that have not passed the civil service examination?

Mr. FOSTER. None, except those who are named in the Estimates of last year, and who are consequently eligible, or those who come under the conditions of the civil service law.

Mr. FOSTER.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Are we to understand that all these gentlemen whose names I see in the Estimates would not be eligible under the civil service examinations? In the Customs Department there are two or three names.

Mr. FOSTER. We dropped them out, but had we not done so, it would have been a case in point. There are not many names in the Estimates; there are two in the Agriculture Department, James Skead and J. R. Dewhurst, and they have to be named in order to get their salaries. I explained before that they were on the temporary list for a number of years, and being good officers they were put on the permanent list. Unless they were named the Auditor General would not pay their salaries without seeing that they had a civil service certificate, and then he would only pay them the minimum salary.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Is it part of the Auditor General's function to make certain that every person appointed has a civil service certificate?

Mr. FOSTER. Certainly, and it is the function of the Treasury Board.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Of course it would be a function of the Treasury Board, but I was not aware about the Auditor General. I am glad to hear it, because I think there is a much better chance of right being done.

Mr. FOSTER. It would be sure if it passed the Treasury Board, but that makes the assurance greater.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Yes, I should think so, very considerably greater, judging from the operations of the Treasury Board in other cases. We all understand that in the case of technical officers and men appointed for special qualifications we could not expect this to apply. How many passed the civil service examination last year and how many were appointed?

Mr. SPROULE. I would like to say a word or two in connection with this item. The Civil Service Act was devised for the purpose of ensuring the qualification of those engaged to do work in the service; and, partly under the provisions of the Act and partly under regulations, it was provided that when promotions took place in the various departments, they should be made according to the seniority of those who have passed the examination and who have been recommended by their senior officer. I have been informed that that is not always done. It is very unfair to those in the service if they are not put upon an equal footing in regard to promotion when they are equally eligible and competent. I know that from time to time, when we write to the various departments in the interest of young men, we are met by the objection that there are many seniors

whose claims must be met before those in whose behalf we wrote can be considered. But we find afterwards that juniors are promoted over their heads, while if the rules were strictly carried out that would not be done. That is unfair to the young men in the service, and should not be done. If such a regulation is in existence it should be strictly carried out.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I understand that these gentlemen for whom this money is voted reside in Ottawa. How are the examinations conducted in the other cities of the Dominion?

Mr. FOSTER. In the first place, a list of the places where examinations are to be held is advertised and well known. In each of those places an examiner is appointed, and to him the papers prepared here are sent. He receives the sealed papers, and on the day of the examination he gives out the papers, supervises the examination, and after the examination collects the papers and returns them to Ottawa, where they are examined by the board. That is found to be much more economical than to have members of the board travelling to different places.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) That is as I understand. I believe that these scrutineers appointed at outside places are paid four or five dollars per day each?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, \$4 or \$5.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I heard that it was stated in the House that at the last examination at Montreal some of these scrutineers had accepted bribes from some of the parties being examined. I would like to know if that is so, and who they were?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I do not think that was stated.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I do not make the statement that it was. The information was given to me that it was stated across the floor of the House; I was not present.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. I think the statement was that certain candidates were personated.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I beg to ask upon whose recommendation these scrutineers at Montreal were appointed, and who they were?

Mr. MULOCK. While that information is being sought, I desire to ask a question or two with regard to the personation that took place at Montreal, and what steps the Government propose to take in order to prevent a repetition of it. I remember observing the results of the investigation, and I thought that the guilty parties were let off very lightly. I think we had a clause inserted in the Criminal Code a couple of years ago expressly with reference to such

cases. Personation amounts to forgery; it means, of course, that one man signs another man's name to the answers. As the candidates are gathered together from all parts, there ought to be some means of permanently identifying them. For instance, we might require a very substantial exhibition of each candidate's handwriting, which might be filed, and with which, if need be, the answers might be compared. But, beyond that, should the candidate afterwards apply for a position in the service, his handwriting should be compared with the handwriting given before his examination. All these safeguards ought to be adopted to prevent any one profiting by fraudulently obtaining a certificate of having passed the examination. Will the Government say what steps they took to have the guilty persons tried, and, further, whether some of these persons were not in the service of the Government, and whether they are not still in the service of the Government?

Mr. COSTIGAN. During the examinations at Montreal proceedings were taken against the persons charged with personating, and fines were imposed upon them by the authorities, except, I think, in two cases, in which the parties had left the country. If men in the service are affected, I presume they are not longer in the service. The board sends to the Secretary of State information as to the facts they have found. Then the other departments are notified of the facts by the Secretary of State's Department so that they may govern themselves accordingly. The information is sent to the departments, with the view of no applications being entertained from these men for positions, or, if they are employed, that they may be removed from the service.

Mr. MULOCK. I would ask the hon. Secretary of State to give us the information at a later date. I understand that some of those who personated candidates were at that time in the actual employment of the Government. If that is the case, I would ask if they have been dismissed, or if any of them are still in the service of the Government?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I could not answer that.

Mr. MULOCK. It occurred to me, when I saw it stated in the press that that discovery ought to terminate their employment, but I saw it stated in a paper that they were not dismissed or fined.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The persons who were prosecuted were not in the employment of the Government. They were students outside who accepted a fee for personating.

Mr. MULOCK. In connection with the item itself, I see that Mr. Keyes, as clerk, is down for \$800 or \$900. A few years ago

his salary was much less—\$200 or \$300. I would like to know why that is increased? The board consists of three examiners, one of whom, Mr. LeSueur, is the secretary, and receives a salary as such. Why, then, should a clerk be required in addition? The board has duties to perform only for a short period of the year, the examinations are held but once a year, and it seems to me you are manning this board rather extensively. The secretary, I believe, is a superannuated officer, and this is a little *douceur*—

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. LeSueur, not *douceur*.

Mr. MULOCK. I do not see why you want a clerk at \$800 or \$900 a year, when during nine months there is probably nothing whatever for him to do.

Mr. FOSTER. He is in the civil service and his salary is increased by the statutory allowance. He has not had any increase of salary of late.

Mr. MULOCK. In the Auditor General's Report for 1884-85, Keyes, as clerk of the board, is put down for \$249, and this year is \$900.

Mr. FOSTER. You go back to 1884?

Mr. MULOCK. Certainly, to show how these increases pile up.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I made a statement a moment ago, rather serious in its nature, concerning a fact which was brought to my notice, but of which I have no personal knowledge—not having been in the House at the time. I said that I understood that one of the Ministers had acknowledged that one, if not more, of the scrutineers appointed in Montreal had accepted bribes.

Mr. FOSTER. I never heard that.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Of course, I did not pledge myself to it, but at page 2202 of 'Hansard' I find the following question and answer:—

Mr. SOMERVILLE asked, What are the names of the candidates who went up for examination at the recent civil service examinations at Montreal, who have been disqualified for irregularities; giving the nature of irregularity in each case? What are the names of the scrutineers at said examinations, and is the Government aware that the scrutineers accepted bribes for overlooking irregularities?

Mr. COSTIGAN. 1. Edwin A. Morse, G. U. Rondeau, J. A. Forbes, Alphonse Bourassa, Rudolph T. Germain. The offence proved against each of these men is that of being impersonated by persons whom they employed for that purpose. 2. J. A. Desilets and Joseph A. Beaulieu. Desilets acknowledged that he received money from Rondeau to keep silence. Beaulieu did not appear when called upon for evidence.

Mr. FOSTER. Were those scrutineers?

Mr. MULOCK.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Yes, they were the two scrutineers, and one is stated by the Secretary of State to have acknowledged that he received money from one of the candidates to keep silent. I want to know on whose recommendation these two scrutineers were appointed, whether it is true that they received bribes, and what action the Government have taken in the matter?

Mr. COSTIGAN. The scrutineers are appointed by the board of examiners on their own judgment. The board have to hold examinations throughout the Dominion, and it is quite impossible that they should be able to attend all the examinations. Therefore, after dividing themselves up as far as their numbers allow, they arrange for people to appear for them where they cannot be present, and appoint scrutineers to assist in the examinations. I instructed the board to prosecute these men implicated in the fraud, and I presume that proceedings are going on against them.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman does not know if proceedings have been taken?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I take it for granted they have, because I know that the chairman of the Civil Service Board was most anxious that proceedings should be taken to put a stop to these irregularities, and he had instructions from my department to go on and take proceedings.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I assume, after what the hon. gentleman has said, that proceedings have been taken, because it is disgraceful in the extreme that a gentleman appointed to act as scrutineer should have accepted a bribe. Does either of these men hold any Government appointment?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Not that I am aware of.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I must ask the hon. gentleman to obtain information whether any, and what steps have been taken?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). And I would ask the hon. gentleman to write to the chairman and ascertain how these parties came to be appointed, and upon whose recommendation they were appointed.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. We ought also to understand distinctly what the Government propose to do, because it appears to me that is just about as grave an offence of a minor kind has been committed by the sub-examiners as can well be imagined. It was unquestionably the duty of the Government to have taken action at once. These civil service examinations will be very much worse than a farce if such things, as are said, are permitted to exist, without the Government, in its official capacity, punishing the parties.

Mr. MULOCK. Mr. Chairman, I asked the Government what steps were taken to

punish the personators and others implicated in these frauds at Montreal. The Secretary of State and others say that the local authorities took proceedings. It appears to me that it was the duty of the Government to set the law in motion, and to see that the law was effectually vindicated by the punishment of the guilty parties. I have never yet been able to discover whether the Government took any active steps in this matter, or whether the local authorities, of their own motion, took the proceedings in question. There is no doubt in my mind that the duty of the Government in such a case is to be the active prosecutors of the offenders. Was that the attitude of the Government, and, if so, what steps did they take to see that the charges were thoroughly investigated and justice done?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I do not see how I can give the hon. gentleman any more information than I have already given.

Mr. MULOCK. You have given me none yet.

Mr. COSTIGAN. I stated that the Civil Service Board reported to the Department of the Secretary of State that these illegal proceedings had taken place during the examinations at Montreal, and urged very strongly that steps should be taken to prevent the recurrence of such offences. Instructions were at once given to the board to have all the parties prosecuted, and I presume prosecutions are going on in all these cases.

Mr. MULOCK. The Secretary of State has not a very extensive department to preside over, and I think he ought to have given more attention to the matter than he appears to have done. He is the responsible head of the department, and the board are his executive officers. When a crime of this kind was committed against the public service it was his duty to have taken active steps to vindicate the law, and to see that proper punishment followed the discovery and conviction of the offenders. But he is not able to tell us what was done. The action of the civil authorities resulted in most insufficient punishment, and this result could hardly have been arrived at except by a colourable prosecution. Steps must have been taken to let the parties down easily, or the local authorities would not have allowed men guilty of forgery and fraud to escape with a mere pecuniary fine. The public were shocked at the idea of forgery and fraud being punished by a mere pecuniary fine, and a small one at that. Such a result is explicable only on the theory that the Government took no earnest steps to have proper punishment meted out. Can the Minister say what steps were taken to impress upon the proper authorities the desire of this Government that these cases should be carefully tried and the guilty parties properly punished?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I do not know that I can satisfy the hon. gentleman with the discharge of my duties as Secretary of State. I think it likely he would expect me to go further than I would consider it my duty to go. In the first place, not being a lawyer I could not take upon myself—

Mr. MULOCK. But there are eight or nine lawyers in the Government.

Mr. COSTIGAN. That is true, but the hon. gentleman is speaking of my action as Secretary of State. I think it likely I could not satisfy the hon. gentleman with what I did. I do not understand that it is any part of the duty of Secretary of State to attempt to impress upon the courts that they should carry out their duty in a certain way. My duties ceased when steps were taken to try the case, leaving the courts of this country to carry on their own proper work, to reach a conclusion and punish the guilty parties. It seems to me it would be very improper for me to indicate to the courts how the case should be tried.

Mr. MULOCK. I asked the hon. gentleman, did the Government of Canada retain counsel to prosecute the offenders?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I am not in the position to give the hon. gentleman any information with regard to the proceedings in criminal matters. That is no part of my duty; it does not belong to my department.

Mr. MULOCK. It must belong to some department. Perhaps the Minister of Justice will take the responsibility.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The responsibility of what?

Mr. MULOCK. I was asking the hon. Secretary of State if, in these investigations before the Montreal courts, the case was fully presented to the court. I am asking for information, because the sentences passed upon the offenders seem to me extremely light. The offence of impersonation is forgery, which is certainly not a venial offence, yet, in some cases, it was punished by a merely trifling pecuniary fine. I am not saying that we can have a system of examination that will be actually effective against fraud. I know something of examinations, and I know that there are difficulties in the way. But I do not think that the department is being as carefully watched over as it ought to be. I would make a suggestion with regard to the appointment of sub-examiners. I have had something to do with the appointment of sub-examiners for the last fifteen years, and in that time impersonation has taken place at only one place outside the main centre, and I do not think that in all that time, in connection with the institution to which I refer, there have been as many questions of fraud as arose in this one examination in the city of Montreal. We recommend the appointment, as sub-examiners, of per-

sons who have themselves been examined. We secure, if possible, the services of teachers who are familiar with examinations and understand the requirements of them, and who are, as a rule, very accurate in the discharge of their duty. I believe the appointment of that class of men will be found one safeguard against fraud. As to the question I have asked the Secretary of State, I would like to know if the Minister of Justice can give details of the action of the Government with reference to the prosecution of these offenders?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The practice of my department in prosecuting in cases of this description is this: The cases are reported to my department from the department in connection with whose operations the offence has been committed. Immediately the matter is put in the hands of our agent in the locality with instructions to proceed according to the law applicable to the case. The cases under discussion were reported to my department by the Secretary of State, and the offenders were prosecuted by our agent in Montreal. I know that the cases were fully presented. I know also that when sentence was suspended efforts were made by the friends of the accused persons to obtain lenient sentences, and intercession was made with the Government to obtain its assent that such should be the case. In justice to those who made intercession, I have to say that they discontinued any effort of that kind when the gravity of the offence was described to them. The case went to the magistrates with the agents of the department insisting upon the offence being as severely dealt with as the authority of the magistrates would allow. I think the penalties were unduly light; I think the offences should have been punished in every case by imprisonment. That was our desire and the contention of our agent. I do not remember whether instructions have come for the prosecution of the others or not, but I presume they have from the statement of the Secretary of State the other day. With regard to the examiners or scrutineers, I agree with what the hon. gentleman has said. Certainly, if it be a fact that these scrutineers received money, or connived in any way at the suppression of the offence, they are the last persons in Canada who ought to be intrusted with any examinations in future, and they ought to be the first to be prosecuted. The hon. gentleman will see that there is a greater difficulty on the part of the scrutineers than in the examinations to which he referred, where, I presume, the candidates are pretty well known; whereas in a city like Montreal, hundreds of persons may present themselves who are totally unknown to the scrutineers. But that is all the more reason why, when scrutineers connive at fraud, they should be severely dealt with.

Mr. MULOCK.

Mr. MULOCK. I am satisfied with the information the Minister has given, and if the Secretary of State had been good enough to say that he had handed the matter over to the Department of Justice, I would not have made the observations I did. I am satisfied now that he has taken the proper course in transferring that branch of the trouble to the Department of Justice; and I am satisfied now that the action of the court was not attributable to any lack of vigilance on the part of the Government, but rather to an error of judgment, perhaps, on the part of the convicting magistrate.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) There is just this remark I wish to make. I can hardly think the civil service examiners can be held absolutely free from blame in this regard. It seems to me that in this grave and important matter where, I am told by the Secretary of State, the duty and responsibility of appointing sub-examiners rested entirely with themselves, and not upon the recommendation of any member of the Government, or supporter of the Government, when those appointees on their part were found to be guilty of conniving with the parties being examined, and when they were found to have admitted the fact that they had received bribes for the purpose of covering up the offence of personation, that fact should have been reported to Parliament by the civil service examiners. I have no hesitation in saying that in suppressing that fact, the civil service examiners have neglected their duty, and are open to severe reproach. I hope, now that the hon. member for North Brant (Mr. Somerville) has succeeded in unearthing this fact—which would not have been known to Parliament if he had not put a formal question—the Secretary of State will take care and hand over to the Minister of Justice the names of those two parties who have been guilty of an offence equally as gross and deserving of as much punishment as those who personated the candidates.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, but my hon. friend should be more careful, before he makes a statement of that kind, to read the report of the examiners in question.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I have read it.

Mr. FOSTER. If my hon. friend had read the report of the examiners, which has been laid on the Table of the House, he would have found the deputy reporting to Parliament in this language:

IRREGULARITIES.

The board regret being under the necessity of stating that the disposition on the part of some of the candidates to use improper means of insuring success at the examinations was again markedly exhibited at that of last November. At two places attempts at personation were discovered and frustrated, but in another case the fraud was accomplished—though afterwards detected, and in some measure punished. The matter is not, however,

fully disposed of, but is in the hands of the Department of Justice for further action. It is now evident that in order to check the evil the penalties provided by the Civil Service Act should be inflicted.

That is really a presentment of the case to Parliament, not in detail but in brief; and the statement is there made that irregularities occurred, that he had reported these irregularities, and that the case was in the hands of the Department of Justice.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The Minister of Finance will see that he has not caught me tripping in the slightest degree. I was very careful to read the report over once or twice, and after having read it through once or twice. I saw that the civil service commissioners did report irregularities, but they took care to limit the irregularities to cases of personation, whereas now we find that the irregularities did not consist simply in cases of personation, as they reported to Parliament, but they consisted in a further and a graver irregularity, namely, that the sub-examiners appointed by themselves, had accepted bribes to cover up the irregularities. This grave offence committed by their appointees, was never brought to the notice of Parliament until the hon. member for North Brant asked the question on the 30th day of April, from private information he had received, and got an answer from the Secretary of State. Therefore, I repeat that the civil service examiners, in reporting that irregularities had occurred in the matter of personation, and in concealing the fact that their own appointees had accepted bribes to cover up those irregularities, have been guilty of a grave dereliction of duty.

Mr. FOSTER. That point certainly was not mentioned, and could not be taken from the paragraph.

Mr. FLINT. Before that item passes there is a matter in connection with it to which I would like to call the attention of the Minister of Finance. It seems to me it would be convenient for these young men to pass their examinations in other centres than those mentioned in the Auditor General's Report. Now, in the case of Nova Scotia, Halifax is the only place, I believe, where the civil service examiners hold their examination, and the expense of the deputy examiner at that point is put down at something over \$50. I do not know how many persons were up for examination, but presumably quite a large number from the whole province, and the expense seems to be quite reasonable.

Mr. MULOCK. How long did it last?

Mr. FOSTER. One or two days.

Mr. FLINT. It seems to me the Government might very well permit an examination to take place in Yarmouth and another in Pictou. I know that these young men have complained lately of the expense they are put to in going to Halifax, and the loss of

time, &c. If examinations were held at these two places I have mentioned, I think the extra expense would be very trifling, while it would be a great convenience to persons who cannot afford the time and expense of going so far from home as Halifax to attend these examinations. I think the usefulness of the examinations would be increased, and a favour would be conferred on those who aspire to positions in the civil service by permitting examinations in other places besides the capital of the various provinces. I speak of Nova Scotia, because I am more familiar with that province, and I should think that an examination at Pictou and another at Yarmouth would be no disadvantage, and would entail no extra expense. Now, in some cases the candidates have to take a second examination in some branch in which they have not come up to the standard, and for that purpose they have to go all the way to the capital, at a considerable expenditure of time and money. Now, if the Government were to appoint for that purpose some judicious person from Yarmouth, say the Inspector of Education for the district, or some other person of high standing as an educationist, I think it would be an improvement, and very much in the interest of those who are seeking these examinations. I would respectfully ask the Minister if he would make a note of this, and see if some such arrangement could be made for future examinations, holding them in some other places besides the capitals of the various provinces.

Mr. FOSTER. There are difficulties in extending the places for examination, as my hon. friend will readily see on reflection. There are now 14 such places in which examinations are held. If examinations are to be extended to Pictou and Yarmouth, in Nova Scotia, claims will be made to have them extended to other towns in Nova Scotia, and to other towns in the other provinces. I think the Government has done about what is best when it places facilities for examination within the reach of each province by taking the capital of the province. In the case of the larger provinces, other towns are taken; in the province of Quebec we take Montreal and Quebec, and in Ontario there are four places. Of course, it would be more easy for the aspirants, but we must have regard to the question of expense, and I think that very fair facilities are afforded already at the places we have chosen. Of course, there is some expense in connection with attending these examinations, but people must consent to it unless you have an examination at every door.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) If the Government determine to continue this system of examinations—which now has reached such proportions that I would almost say it need not go any further—but if they do determine to continue it at this large expense, it seems to me there is an improvement demanded. They return a list of candidates who have

passed the preliminary examination and also list of candidates who have succeeded at the qualifying examination, but they give not the slightest idea as to what percentage of marks the candidates have obtained. I do not know what percentage is adopted as necessary to pass. Suppose the percentage is 60: a candidate may obtain that percentage while others may get 85 or 95, and neither the Government nor the public have the slightest idea that there is any difference between the candidates. Everybody knows that the practice in schools and colleges is to publish the results of the examinations in such a form as to classify the successful candidates.

Mr. FOSTER. They are not given here, but the Government know the percentage of marks obtained in every case.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Would it not be fair to publish them?

Mr. FOSTER. It might be.

Mr. MULOCK. How does the hon. gentleman account for the increase from \$248 to \$875 paid to Mr. Keyes?

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman went back to 1884, and I cannot answer him in regard to that year. Mr. Keyes is a member of the civil service, and for five or six years has been simply getting the statutory increase. The probabilities are that before that time, when he was receiving the small amount referred to, he was not on the civil service list. He has been made a clerk since then; he no doubt entered at \$400, and the sum in question represents the accretions every year.

Mr. MULOCK. Has he any position outside the civil service?

Mr. FOSTER. I think not.

Mr. MULOCK. There is already a secretary of the board, and for what purpose is a clerk required?

Mr. FOSTER. There is a great deal of correspondence to be carried on. No less than 990 candidates presented themselves for examination, and this fact indicates the volume of the correspondence.

Mr. MULOCK. What duties does the secretary discharge?

Mr. FOSTER. There is, as I have said, a vast amount of correspondence, and there are other matters to be attended to.

Mr. MULOCK. I know a little in regard to work of this class. The charges for salaries of staff for this little trumpery work are out of all proportion to the labour performed. A clerk is added to the secretary to look after examinations which occupy two or three months in the year. This expenditure cannot be defended. The secretary is a superannuated officer, and a clerk is appointed to do the work for him. That is the way public money is thrown away. I

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.)

submit that here is a waste of public money established, and a transaction that is not defensible, and in fact the Minister has not defended it.

Contingencies—Governor General's Secretary's Office \$13,500

Mr. FLINT. I think a great improvement could be made in the arrangement in the Auditor General's Report, and in the indexing of it. It has grown to be an enormous volume, containing not only the details of expenditure, but a large amount of correspondence. I think it is obvious to any hon. member undertaking to search the work that some of the arrangements might be made to facilitate the work of the committee. I have no plan in mind, but I think the correspondence might be put in a separate volume, and the index much enlarged and made more full. This would facilitate the labours of the committee, and the efforts of those undertaking to understand the details of the accounts. A short time ago I was a long time finding an item, owing to the way in which the book was indexed, but at last I found it. I throw out the suggestion to the First Minister, and I hope next session we will have an improvement in the arrangement of the volume.

Contingencies—The Queen's Privy Council for Canada . . . \$10,500

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I observe that a huge amount was required a year ago for extra clerks and messengers in the Privy Council Department, the cost amounting to \$8,000. Looking at the sum which is required for the Privy Council, it appears to me that allowances of that kind are considerably in excess of what is required. We are to pay \$32,000 for the work of the Privy Council, and that should be sufficient without spending \$7,000 or \$8,000 more for extra clerks, as appears to have been done last year.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The work of the Privy Council has been greatly increased, and is greatly increasing from year to year. As those hon. members who have been members of the Cabinet know, a great many matters which might be disposed of by the departments come to the Privy Council to receive the consideration of the whole Cabinet.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). That is bad practice.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It is an indispensable practice, I think. We cannot expect it to be otherwise with a Cabinet formed of representatives of different provinces, who are expected to account to their constituents and to the whole people of this province for every branch of the public service. If we were a closely combined community, of course the Ministers would simply represent departments and not provinces, but, as the hon. gentleman can well imagine, in the province of Nova Scotia we are expected to explain to our people the policy of every one of the

departments of the public service. We are continually written to about every department, and not merely in relation to our own departments. For that reason there is a natural desire on the part of the Ministers to know all the important business that is being transacted in the different departments. That has caused a very great increase in the work of the Privy Council office, and increased contingencies in regard to the employment of clerks have been found to be indispensable.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. In what particular way does that come about?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Principally in making copies of Orders in Council for transmission to the Colonial Office, the High Commissioner's office, and also for the Auditor General, when they relate to money matters, and the prompt transmission of those is always a matter of great importance, especially those relating to matters of finance dealt with by the Auditor General.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The practice to which the hon. Minister has referred is not good practice. The work which requires the consensus of the whole Government, and that which can be done departmentally, ought to be kept distinct. How far a Minister of a department may consult his colleagues with respect to matters which he can deal with, but are of such importance that the Government as a whole should be informed of them, is a wholly distinct question. The practice in England, as I understand it, is, that by the use of despatch boxes everything that a Minister can deal with that is a matter of general importance but which he, nevertheless, can dispose of departmentally, he puts his report in a despatch box, sends it to the next Minister, and it goes around the entire Cabinet. It is open to the criticism and observation of his colleagues, and he may make it a subject of discussion in Council, with a view of getting their advice and assistance, but not with a view of having them deal with it as a Government, instead of departmentally. The responsibility of it is still with him, and it should be dealt with by him, and it certainly would be a very unfortunate practice if we were to depart so widely from the departmental system which prevails in the United Kingdom. I think that what belongs to the Government as a Government, and what belongs to each Minister to be dealt with departmentally is wholly distinct, and while it is very important that all his colleagues should be informed with regard to important matters which might be made a subject of discussion as affecting the general public policy of the Government, departmental matters could be transacted by following the English practice in the particulars I have mentioned without undertaking to deal with them officially in the Privy Council office. If that practice were adhered to there would

be nothing to be done clerically in the Privy Council office. It would be there simply as a matter of informal discussion.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. There are two sides to the question the hon. gentleman has raised; but it does appear to me that the public service would be much better served in reality by allowing a wider latitude to individual Ministers and holding them individually responsible. I am aware that in certain places it may be necessary for some hon. gentlemen to keep a very sharp supervision over some of their colleagues, but I do not know that it is entirely calculated to increase the efficiency of the public service that that should be elevated into a regular right and a regular form of procedure. It appears to me that the duty of the Privy Council is in danger of being diverted with the consideration of a multitude of petty details, and that matters of grave importance affecting the whole nation would receive much less attention than they ought to receive if the practice that the hon. gentleman has just sketched out for us is adhered to to the extent that he appears to indicate. For my part I greatly prefer the idea of holding Ministers responsible in a higher degree than they have been held responsible for the administration of their departments. In bringing every little petty affair before the fourteen or fifteen gentlemen who compose the Cabinet, for formal decision, it does not strike me as likely to conduce to good government in the long run.

Mr. McMULLEN. I see that there is \$172 charged in the Auditor General's Report for goods supplied from Kavanagh Bros. I would like to know what kind of goods they were. There is also \$240 for lunches for the Cabinet.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That is not very excessive.

Mr. McMULLEN. I suppose they must work and eat at the same time, but I think we ought to change the name of this item and call it charity.

Mr. FOSTER. There is not much charity about it on Mr. Kavanagh's part.

Mr. McMULLEN. We know that the Good Book says that charity should cover a multitude of sins.

Mr. FOSTER. It says it does cover a multitude of sins.

Mr. McMULLEN. Well, I would like to have some explanation of these items.

Mr. FOSTER. Members of the Government have a great deal of work to do in the Privy Council, and it takes a great deal of time for them to disband on these occasions and go away for lunch. The custom of our predecessors has been kept up by the present Government in this respect, although we follow them a long way off. As my hon.

friend (Sir Richard Cartwright) has said, this is not a very extravagant amount. There must be mustard and pepper.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Strictly temperance lunches, I suppose ?

Mr. FOSTER. Strictly temperance. I never take anything else.

Mr. McMULLEN. Well, that is all right.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen) gives you absolution in that case.

Mr. FLINT. The whole charges for the Privy Council amount to \$12,656 for contingencies, and of that \$7,913.99 is charged for extra clerks and messengers. That is by all odds the largest amount in the whole appropriation. It seems a large amount to pay for extra clerks and messengers, and it appears to me that these might be put on as permanent, and have a regular appropriation for them.

Mr. FOSTER. We have taken six of these off the temporary list and have in the present estimate put them on the permanent list, so that will be diminished next year.

Contingencies—Department of
Justice—Penitentiaries Branch \$9,000

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I see a charge here for a private secretary for the Solicitor General. Is it possible that the Solicitor General has a private secretary ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Yes.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Would the Minister of Justice tell us what duties are assigned to the Solicitor General that he needs a secretary ?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The duties of the Solicitor General are those which were explained when the office was brought into force. He assists in the administration of the department and he attends to the cases the department has, as counsel, in so far as is practicable. In a great many cases, provision had been made for counsel when the Solicitor General took office. In many cases, it is required that provision be made for local counsel ; but the Solicitor General has already attended, in the last year, to several of our most important cases in the Supreme Court of Canada.

Contingencies—Department of
Secretary of State..... \$7,000

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Here is a charge of \$1,600 for extra clerks. We are allowing \$43,000 for the Department of the Secretary of State, and are employing thirty-five persons to do the work, and I fail to see why they should not be able to discharge all the work of that department without extra clerical assistance.

Mr. FOSTER.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. The practice, ever since I have know anything about the Department of the Secretary of State, has been to have a great deal of the merely clerical work done by extra clerks ; and I may say for the present Secretary of State that since his appointment to the office I believe he has not added one to the staff.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That may be, but it appears to me that thirty-five persons ought to be amply sufficient to discharge all the work. I do not think that the head offices of very important banks require more than thirty-five persons, and they certainly would have as much work to do as the Secretary of State's Department.

Mr. COSTIGAN. This is just the amount that has been voted for several years to pay officers who have been in the department as extra clerks for eight or ten years, and some of them for a longer time. They are not temporary clerks in the ordinary sense, hired for two or three months, but they are really a part of the staff who have never been appointed upon the permanent list.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. That simply explains nothing. What we wanted to know was, why, with thirty-five gentlemen on his staff, the Secretary of State should be obliged to have besides men who are not on the permanent list ? This fashion of having men, one foot in and one foot out of the service, is not a good one. If they are required permanently, it were better that they should be appointed on the permanent staff, or we ought to know what special reason there is for utilizing them. The hon. gentleman has thirty-five people on his permanent staff to whom we pay \$43,000. That ought to be sufficient to get through with the work of the department.

Mr. COSTIGAN. The hon. gentleman might just as well ask why I could not get along with twenty-five instead of thirty-five. There are thirty-five permanent officers, and this \$1,600 is paid in addition to men who have never been put on the permanent staff, but who work regularly the year round, and have been doing so for years. The hon. gentleman asks why not put them on the regular staff. Well, some have never passed the examination, some are over the age of 35, and, therefore, not eligible for permanent appointment, according to the strict interpretation of the Act, but all are part and parcel of the department, doing regular work.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Does this \$1,600 include the \$1,297 which we see in the Auditor General's Report as outside vote ?

Mr. COSTIGAN. The \$1,600 covers the whole payments made to clerks, outside of the regular salaries voted.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) On page 50 of the Auditor General's Report we see \$41,534 spent for civil government, and then there

in an outside vote of \$1,297 consisting of payments to extra clerks. Is that \$1,297 in addition to the \$1,600, or included in it?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. It is not outside service, but an outside vote, and is for the collection of old records.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) If the hon. gentleman will take the Printing Bureau, he will see what I mean more clearly. For civil government there is \$23,704, and outside vote in addition, \$12,190, consisting to a large extent of extra clerks.

Mr. FOSTER. The item of civil government contingencies shows what is paid out for extras under civil government. But there are other outside votes in cases where there are extra clerks employed, which do not come under civil government.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) What is the difference?

Mr. FOSTER. They are not paid out of civil government contingencies, but out of the vote for the Printing Bureau. The Printing Bureau must be run, and they have clerks to run it, but that is not paid out of the sum voted for civil government, but out of the general vote.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) It ought to be paid in such a way that one can tell what extra clerical assistance is paid for in the department, whether it comes out of civil government or an outside vote.

Mr. FOSTER. Here you have a vote which Parliament analyses and passes for carrying on the work of the Printing Bureau. We pass an amount for the printers, the typesetters, the binders, messengers, carters and the whole staff. That is included and paid out of the vote for the Printing Bureau. But we are now discussing an amount for civil government contingencies, which is quite different. These \$1,600 shows the extra work for civil government contingencies, but does not show the number of men employed to run the Printing Bureau. To run that bureau we must have hundreds of men. But the Auditor General puts parallel lines, and gives you what is paid out by each department under each head. Take the Secretary of State Department: first, out of civil government contingencies, and second, what is paid for clerk hire, carters, &c., in running the Printing Bureau. He gives the two, side by side. One is civil government, and the other is an outside vote.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Take the Department of Printing and Stationery, which has a vote of \$4,200. The Auditor General subdivides that to show the different services. One of these is clerical and other assistance, \$1,200, and the supposition of the House would be that this shows the total number of extra clerks required in the department, and the total cost of that work. But, when we turn to the report under the head of

printing and stationery, we find no fewer than eight extra clerks employed in that department.

Mr. FOSTER. That is in the Printing Bureau.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I am speaking of the Printing Bureau as an example. What I say is that this \$1,200 for clerical and other assistance does not cover, as one would suppose it did, the whole expenditure for clerical assistance in the department.

Mr. FOSTER. That is in the department, and not what is spent in the Printing Bureau.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). If the hon. gentleman will take pages "l" and "li," he will see that there are two columns, and in the outside one appears the item: Campeau, L. M., extra clerk, one month to July 31, \$33.33. That is not included in civil government.

Mr. FOSTER. Certainly not.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). But what can a clerkship be if the expenditure upon it is not included under the head of civil government?

Mr. FOSTER. That is for a different work, as I understand it—for classification of records.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). But I do not see why this should not be included under civil government.

Mr. FOSTER. There is a special vote by Parliament for the classification of records, and two men have been put upon that work. But the Auditor General groups this item with others under the head of the Secretary of State's Department.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). But why are these not under the charge of Mr. Brymner?

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Mr. Brymner has charge of the archives.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). You distinguish between archives and records. These are legal documents, I suppose?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Some are legal and some historical.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). These historical documents ought to be in the archives, but if they are legal records by which any title or interest is affected, it is quite right to have them in the Secretary of State's office.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. But they have to be classified to discover what they are.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I should have thought that that would have been done before they reached the department.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON. They are, sometimes, in great confusion.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Then this charge should be made partly to the Secretary of

State's office, and partly to the Archives office.

Mr. FOSTER. The work is carried on in the Secretary of State's offices, and the records are there.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) This example from the Secretary of State's Department only confuses the issue, because here you have a specific vote for a special purpose—the classification of records.

Mr. FOSTER. You are looking into the Auditor General's Report. We are not responsible for the way he arranges his report. If he chooses to group a number of things in order to give a general view of the expenditure, that is his business.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) But that is not the point. When we vote a certain sum for clerical and other assistance, the House is led to suppose that this covers the cost of such work in the department. But when we turn to the expenditure, we see that this is not the total sum paid out for clerical assistance, that it is not more than one-third of it. Therefore, you have this service of extra clerical work appearing in such a form in the record that we cannot tell how much the service costs us.

Mr. FOSTER. It appears to me as clear as the nose on a man's face. We put in the estimates so much for extra clerical work in the Secretary of State's Department. But Parliament finds that there are some old records in the Secretary of State's office and they give a vote of \$2,000 to have those records classified and put in shape. That is done under the supervision of the Secretary of State, and the Auditor General puts this expenditure down here because he wants to show every man who is employed, whether under civil government, on the classification of records, or any special vote—everything. The proper way to correct this is to have this item classified, not under the head of the Secretary of State's office, but under the head of the classification of old records.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) You are going back to the Secretary of State's Department.

Mr. FOSTER. I take an example to show that you are wrong.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) But take the example I have given. There is no question of the classification of old records in the case of the Printing Bureau. You have \$1,200 for clerical and other assistance, and you have charged here one extra clerk, \$912.50; another, \$936, and so on. So that the money from which these men are paid must be voted under some other head.

Mr. FOSTER. This case is on all fours with the other. Here is an establishment that carries on printing and stationery as a branch of civil government. It has

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell).

twenty-four clerks whose salaries appear under the head of civil government. Parliament says: You may employ \$1,200 worth of extra clerks for the necessary work of the department. The Queen's Printer has an immense establishment in which the Government documents are printed, and from which they are largely distributed, and there is a vote given of so many thousand out of which the Queen's Printer has to pay the printers, the clerks, the messengers—the whole expenses of running the establishment. It is not at all right that this should be debited to the item of civil government; it should be under the head of printing and stationery, which is an outside vote. To have these items appear as they do is the Auditor General's way of making up his report. But were they to appear under their head, they would not be misleading. If you take the expenditure under the head of Printing Bureau, you see exactly what is paid for paper, what is paid for printing, what is paid for carters' work, what is paid for messengers' work, and what is paid for each clerk hire. They must have clerks there as well as in other departments.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). But this is quite a distinct case, as the hon. gentleman will see, from that of the clerks engaged in the classification of records, for in that case you have a special vote. But the expense that the hon. gentleman mentions, that of the distribution of the statutes and papers from the department of the Queen's Printer, is a work which is going on continually, and the salary of any clerk employed there would naturally appear as an item under civil government.

Mr. FOSTER. Not at all; they are not on the civil service list.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. gentleman will see that there ought to be no distinction.

Mr. FOSTER. That is an argument as to whether they should all be on the list or some be temporary.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). It is not a question of being temporary. There is a part of the cost of civil government being charged against some other than its own proper item, and I think that is done where you put a clerk, as, for instance, in the case of Laberge, in the outside service, if he is employed within the Queen's Printer's office for the purpose of doing clerical work. That is permanent work, and he must go on for ever.

Contingencies—Department of
Interior..... \$19,800

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) There is an increase here of \$1,800.

Mr. DALY. If the hon. gentleman will look at page 86 of the Estimates, he will see a decrease—to pay salaries of extra clerks

at head office, \$1,000. They have put it in the increase column, whereas it should be put in the decrease column. We have taken \$1,000 from that vote and added \$800 to it, and placed them together here. That accounts for the increase.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) It accounts for part of it.

Mr. DALY. That accounts for the \$1,000. I may say that the contingencies of the department are the same as they were three years ago, notwithstanding the fact that immigration has been added to that department. The total of \$19,800 is less than the contingencies were three years ago.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) But you asked for \$1,800 more than you asked for last year.

Mr. DALY. It is actually only \$800 more than was voted for the same service last year. That accounts for the \$1,000, but we found that we required \$1,800 for extra clerical assistance. We may not use it, it may not be required, but there was no item last year in the Estimates for it at all.

Contingencies—Department of
Customs..... \$7,000

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) What is this \$1,000 increase for?

Mr. FOSTER. They were short last year, I think, and we had to add an extra \$1,000 to get them through.

Contingencies—Department of
Inland Revenue..... \$7,000

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) There is an increase of \$1,000 here.

Mr. FOSTER. The contingencies were, as I said, short last year, and there will be a little more expense in connection with the electric light Bill.

Contingencies—Department of
Marine and Fisheries..... \$10,500

Mr. McMULLEN. I see an increase of \$500 here. At present I am merely going to remark that the Minister of Marine and Fisheries took some members of this House to task in the Public Accounts Committee for not having inquired into the expenditure under the head of Railways, and we must not allow items to pass in the future without inquiring about them. The Minister of the Interior, along with the Minister of Railways, taunted the Opposition with not discharging their duty. After this, we must try and discharge our duty by inquiring into every expenditure of this kind.

Mr. FOSTER. I will call the attention of the Minister of the Interior to the remarks of the hon. gentleman, and doubtless he will explain on concurrence.

Committee rose, and reported resolutions.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and the House adjourned at 6 p.m.

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FOURTH SESSION—SEVENTH PARLIAMENT, 1894.

Abbreviations of well known words and Parliamentary expressions are used in the following :—1°, 2°, 3°, First Reading, Second Reading, Third Reading ; 3 m. h., 6 m. h., 6 w. h., Three Months' Hoist, Six Months' Hoist, Six Weeks' Hoist ; *, without remark or debate ; Acts., Accounts ; Adjn., Adjourn ; Adj., Adjourned ; Amt., Amendment ; Amts., Amendments ; Amalg., Amalgamation ; Ans., Answer ; Ass., Assurance ; B., Bill ; B. C., British Columbia ; Can., Canada or Canadian ; C. P. R., Canadian Pacific Railway ; Com., Committee ; Co., Company ; Conc., Concur, Concurred, Concurrence ; Consd., Consider ; Consdn., Consideration ; Cor., Correspondence ; Deb., Debate ; Dept., Department ; Depts., Departments ; Div., Division ; Dom., Dominion ; Govt., Government ; His Ex., His Excellency the Governor General ; Hse., House ; H. of C., House of Commons ; Incorp., Incorporation ; Ins., Insurance ; I.C.R., Intercolonial Railway ; Man., Manitoba ; Mess., Message ; M., Motion ; m., moved ; Neg., Negatived ; N.B., New Brunswick ; N.W.T., North-west Territories ; N.S., Nova Scotia ; O.C., Order in Council ; Ont., Ontario ; P.E.I., Prince Edward Island ; P.O., Post Office ; Par., Paragraph ; Prop., Proposed ; Q., Quebec ; Ques., Question ; Recom., Recommit ; Ref., Refer, Referred, Reference ; Rep., Report, Reported ; Reps., Reports ; Res., Resolution ; Ret., Return ; Ry., Railway ; Rys., Railways ; Sel., Select ; Sen., Senate ; Sp., Special ; Stmt., Statement ; Sup., Supply ; Suppl., Supplement, Supplementary ; Wthdn., Withdrawn ; Wthdrl., Withdrawal ; Y. N., Yeas and Nays ; Names in *Italic* and parentheses are those of the mover.

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Allan, Mr. H. W., *South Essex.*

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— Mr. *Tarte's* Charges (remarks) 6227 (ii).

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Dom. Gas and Electric Co.'s incorp. (B. 77) 1^c*,
1219; in Com., 3079 (i).
Man. and North-western Ry. Co.'s B. 108 (Mr.
Taylor) in Com. (Amt.) 4041 (ii).
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Richard Cartwright) to M. for Com., 1093 (i).

Boyle, Mr. A., *Monck.*

St. Catharines and Niagara Central Ry. Co.'s
Subsidy, in Com. on Res. (Mr. *Huggart*) 6271.
(ii).
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Com. on Res., 6271 (ii).

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Ways and Means—The Tariff :
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Brodeur, Mr. L. P., *Rouville.*

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1794 (i).
—— Irregularities (M. for Sel. Cou.) 4053; neg.
(Y. 40, N. 68) 4070 (ii).
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Thompson*) 5096; on conc., 5161 (ii).
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—— Dismissal (M. for Cor.) 2734, 2751 (i).
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(Ans.) 518 (i).
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Wood, Brockville) in Com., 5471 (ii).
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4174. Customs (Board, &c.) 5086; (Miscellaneous
5000; (Ont.) 5075; (Que.) 5069.
Legislation: House of Commons (Translators) 5222.
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Brown, Mr. J. P., *Chateauguay.*

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plaints against (Ques.) 2131 (i).
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Bruneau, Mr. A. A., Richelieu.

- Coal (Govt.) Sales at Sorel (Ques.) 3273 (i).
 Fishery Overseer Giguère, Appmt. (Ques.) 3274 (ii).
 Hus, Ed. P., Lighthouse-keeper (Ques.) 1711 (i).
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 Privilege (Ques. of) A. Turcotte, M.P., ref. to
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 ——— Priv. and Elec. Com., 4th Rep., on conc.,
 5917, 5926 (ii).
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Richard Cartwright) to M. for Com., 697 (i).

Bryson, Mr. J., Pontiac.

- Govt. Business, precedence on Mondays, on M.
 (Sir *John Thompson*) 4814 (ii).
 Ottawa and Gatineau Valley Ry. Co.'s (B. 72)
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 Com. on Res. (Mr. *Haggart*) 6283 (ii).
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 6472 (ii).

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 ——— Sales on Indian Reserves, on Amt. (Sir
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- St. Lawrence Canals, Enlargement, on prop. Res.
 (Mr. *Denison*) 2184 (i).

Cameron, Mr. H., Inverness.

- Atlantic S.S. Service, Fast, Terminus (Ques.) 4196.
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- Atlantic S.S. Service, Fast, B. 161 (Mr. *Foster*)
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 McQueen, Fishery Overseer, Dismissal (M. for
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- St. Clair and Erie Ship Canal Co.'s incorp. B. 21
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Mullen) to Com. of Sup., 4335 (ii).

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Richard Cartwright) to M. for Com., 709 (i).
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Cargill, Mr. H., East Bruce.

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 Barwick, F. E., Emplmt. by Govt. (Ans.) 4050.
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 Cape Breton Mail Service, Tenders (Ans.) 844 (i).
 Civil Servants, non-payment of Salaries, on M.
 for Com. of Sup. (remarks) 6308 (ii).
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Brodeur) for Sel. Com., 4062 (ii).
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son) in Com., 6480 (ii).
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 3605 (ii).
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 4726 (ii).
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 tion (Ans.) 842 (i).
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 Hull (Que.) Postmaster, Name, &c. (Ans.) 1222 (i).
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 ——— Postage, Reduction of Rates, on prop. Res.
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 ——— Postage, Reduction of Rate (Ans.) 520 (i).
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- Mail Matter (Unpaid) from U. S. (Ans.) 519 (i).
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 Pelletier, Jules, Emplmt. by Govt. (Ans.) 516 (i).
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Carroll, Mr. H. G., Kamouraska.

- Gauvreau, Dr., and SS. *Labrador* (Ques.) 3606 (ii).
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- Atlantic SS. Service, Fast, B. 161 (Mr. *Foster*) in Com. on Res., 5721, 5773; on M. for 2^d, 5960; in Com., 5971 (ii).
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Militia and Defence, Deptl. Rep. (remarks) 1787.

N. W. Mounted Police Acts Amt. B. 121 (Mr. *Ives*) in Com., 4659 (ii).

Permanent Militia Corps, concentration (Ques.) 4310 (ii).

Public Accounts Com., Powers and Functions (remarks) 2644 (i).

Shipping Master, Montreal, Appmt. (Ques.) 2294, 2413 (i).

St. Thomas P. O., Postmaster and Employees (Ques.) 2294 (i).

— Box Rents, &c. (Ques.) 4477 (ii).

Superannuation, Abolition, on Amt. (Mr. *McMullen*) to Com. of Sup., 4355 (ii).

SUPPLY :

Administration of Justice (Miscellaneous) 6241.

Arts, Agriculture, &c. (Experimental Farms 4290, 5463; (Statistics) 5462.

Casey, Mr. G. E.—Con.

SUPPLY—Con.

- Canals—Income* (Miscellaneous) 6459 (ii).
Civil Government (Agriculture) J. B. Jackson, 6240.
Collection of Revenues: Post Office (Mail Service) 4187.
Immigration (Expenses) 4806.
Legislation: House of Commons (Leather Trunks) 6244; (Voters' Lists) 3495.
Militia (Clothing, &c.) 6244; (Inspection of Stores) 6246; (Modern Firearms) 6248.
Public Works—Capital: Harbours and Rivers (Que.) 4418. *Income: Buildings* (Man.) 4438; (N.S.) 4421; (Ont.) 4437; (Que.) 4436; (Repairs, &c., Ottawa) 4440. *Harbours and Rivers* (N.B.) 4468; (Ont.) 4471.
Quarantine (Cattle) 5464.
Railways—Capital: I.C.R. (Cape Breton and New Glasgow) 6355.
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 — Commissioners' Instructions, &c. (Ques.) 1566 (i).
 — Cost of Inquiry (Ques.) 1792 (i).
 — Inquiries respecting (Ques.) 1970 (i).
Timber Sales on Indian Reserves, on Amt. (Sir *John Thompson*) 1413 (i).
Toronto Drill Shed, in Com. of Sup. (remarks) 4421 (ii).
Treaty with France Ratification B. 147 (Mr. *Foster*) on Amt. (Mr. *O'Brien*) to M. for 2^d, 5624; on Amt. (Mr. *Edgar*) 5663 (ii).
Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to M. for Com., 1074 (i).
 In Com.: Res. 1 (Customs Acts Amts., definitions, &c.) 1328, 1333, 1352. Res. 3 (albumenized paper) 1900; (axles, &c.) 2516; (books) 1905, 1924; (cases for jewels) 2515; (coal oil, &c.) 2248; (copper wire) 2514; (diamonds) 2687; (eggs) 2688, 3573; (enamelled ware) 2514; (farm products) 1520; (flax fibre) 2688; (galvanized wire) 3581; (hides, skins, &c.) 2689; (Indian corn) 2690; (iron, &c., angles) 2505; (iron, &c., forgings) 2505; (iron manufactures) 2694, 2706; (iron, scrap) 2349, 2378; (laces, &c.) 2648; (nitro-glycerine) 3026; (paintings, &c.) 1928; (rice) 1717, 3578; (rope) 2662; (salt) 3026; (sewing thread) 2651; (tacks, &c.) 2511; (twine) 2664; (velvets, &c.) 2647; (wheat) 1763; (wire nails) 2508; (wool, &c.) 2668, 2672; (wool manufactures) 3041.
Witnesses on Oath, Examination, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to Com. on Ways and Means, 1881 (i).

Charlton, Mr. J., North Norfolk.

- Address, The, on conc.,** 104 (i).
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Atlantic S.S. Service, Fast, B. 161 (Mr. *Foster*) in Com. on Res., 5760; on 2^d of Res., 5776; in Com. on B., 5991 (ii).
Blue-books and Deptl. Reps., Dates of Publication (M. for Ret.) 147 (i).

Charlton, Mr. J.—Con.

- Bribery and Disfranchisement B.** 6 (Mr. *Weldon*) in Com., 2918, 3372 (i).
Cattle Ranch (Govt.) **Fort Macleod** (M. for papers, &c.) 449 (i).
C.P.R., Drawbacks on Iron and Steel Bridges B. 166 (Mr. *Haggart*) in Com. on Res., 6012; on Amt. (Mr. *Mulock*) 6370 (ii).
 — **Land Grants B.** 159 (Mr. *Daly*) in Com., 6036 (ii).
Columbian Exhibition, Can. Exhibit, Employees' Salaries, &c. (M. for Ret. *) 1399 (i).
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 — **Contract** (M. for Cor., &c.) 452 (i).
Customs Acts Amt.—Export Duty on Logs—(B. 9) 1^o, 137; on Order for 2^d (re-marks) 2339 (i).
 — **Board, Number of Sittings** (Ques.) 155 (i).
 — **Seizures in Out., 1891-92** (Ques.) 845 (i).
 — **Refund of Fines** (Ques.) 156 (i).
Dillon, Jas. St. George, Relief B. 148 (Mr. *Sutherland*) on M. for 2^d, 5528 (ii).
Dom. Lands B. 160 (Mr. *Daly*) in Com., 6065 (ii).
 — **Sales to Settlers, on M. for Com. of Sup.** (Amt.) 3593; neg. (Y. 47, N. 100) 3970 (ii).
 — (Explanations) 3908, 3936 (ii).
 — **Notes Act Amt. B.** 165 (Mr. *Foster*) in Com., 6263 (ii).
Expenditure of the Dom. on M. for Com. of Sup. (Amt.) 6190; neg. (Y. 42, N. 87) 6211 (ii).
 — on Elections, on Amt. (Mr. *Edgar*) to M. for Com. of Sup., 5207 (ii).
Exports to the U.S. (M. for Ret.) 453, 1831 (i).
Fisheries Act Amt. B. 145 (Sir *Charles Hilbert Tupper*) on M. for 1^o, 4564 (ii).
Franchise, Electoral, Act Repeal (B. 3) 1^o, 79.
Fraudulent Sale or Marking Restraint B. 123 (Mr. *Wood, Brockville*) in Com., 5171 (ii).
Govt. Business, precedence on Wednesdays, on prop. Res. (Sir *John Thompson*) 3441 (ii).
Imports under Orders in Council (Ms. for Rets.) 2763, 2782 (i).
Indian Act Amt. B. 116 (Mr. *Daly*) in Com., 5541.
 — **Corn, Imports** (M. for Ret. *) 452 (i).
Iron and Steel Imports since 1886 (M. for Ret. *) 452 (i).
Land Grant to Rys. in Man. and N.W.T. (Ques.) 754, 948 (i).
 — to Religious Sects, &c. (M. for Ret. *) 449.
Lands in the Territories Consolid. B. 162 (Mr. *Daly*) in Com., 6079 (ii).
Logs, Export Duty, on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks) 4202 (ii).
Lord's Day Observance (B. 2) 1^o, 79; 2^d m., 2298 (i); in Com., 3406, 3637; 3^d m., 4071; in Com., 4072, 4083 (ii).
Lotteries Act Prevention (B. 16) 1^o, 366 (i).
N.W.T. Acts Amt. B. 149 (Mr. *Daly*) in Com., 5166 (ii).
Pontiac Pacific Junction Ry. Co.'s Subsidy, in Com. on Res. (Mr. *Haggart*) 6284 (ii).
Printing Com., 2nd Rep., on conc. (remarks) 2488.

Charlton, Mr. J.—*Con.*

Privilege, (Ques. of (Mr. *Sproule*) Speech at Jarvis, Ont. (remarks) 847 (i).

—— (Ques. of) ruled out of Order (Mr. *Speaker*) 1223 (i).

Public Debt, Gross and Net (Ques.) 5691 (ii).

Order (Ques. of) latitude of Deb., 4341 (ii).

Questions put by Members, on M. to adjn. Hec. (remarks) 756 (i).

Railway Passenger Tickets, Sale, B. 163 (Mr. *Huggart*) on M. for 1^o, 6045 (ii).

Sault Ste. Marie Canal, Date of Completion (Ques.) 683 (i).

Seduction and Abduction Provision (B. 18) 1^o, 447 (i).

Shipping Master, Montreal, Appmt. (remarks) 2296 (i).

Soulanges Canal, Transfer of Goodwin's Contracts (M. for Cor. *) 449 (i).

St. Catharines and Niagara Central Ry. Co.'s Subsidy, in Com. on Res. (Mr. *Huggart*) 6270 (ii).

Subsidies (Land) to Rys. B. 168 (Mr. *Daly*) in Com. on Res., 6073 (ii).

—— (Money) to Rys. B. 169 (Mr. *Huggart*) in Com. on Res., 6270.

SUPPLY: on M. for Com. (remarks) 3176 (ii).

Arts, Agriculture, &c. (Columbian Exhibition) 5498.

Charges of Management (Asst. Receiver, Halifax) 3183.

Collection of Revenues: Post Office (Mail Service) 5479.

Miscellaneous (Liquor Traffic Commission) 5537: (Surveys of Timber Berths) 5501.

Public Works—Income: Buildings (Ont.) 4437: (Que.) 4435: (Repairs, &c., Ottawa) 4440.

Trade and Commerce (Commercial Agencies) 5486: (International Bureau, Brussels) 5486.

Tariff Investigation, Rep. of Proceedings, &c. (M. for Ret.) 1034 (i).

Tay Canal, on M. for Com. of Sup. (Amt.) 4103; neg. (Y. 58, N. 101) 4121 (ii).

Thompson, Joseph, Relief B. 120 (Mr. *Northrup*) on M. for 2^o, 3602 (ii).

Timber Licenses granted since 1888 (M. for Stmt. *) 452, 1977 (i).

—— Sales on Indian Reserves, on Amt. (Sir *John Thompson*) 1422 (i).

Treaty with France Ratification B. 147 (Mr. *Foster*) on Amt. (Mr. *Edgar*) to M. for 2^o, 5683; in Com., 5699 (ii).

Voters' Lists, Cost of Revisions (Ques.) 1030 (i).

—— Revisions since 1885 (Ques.) 752 (i).

Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to M. for Com., 387 (i).

In Com.: Res. 1 (Customs Acts Amts., definitions, &c.) 2663, 1331, 1364, 1372, 1387. Res. 3 (axes, &c.) 2794; (axes, &c.) 2304; (barbed wire) 2394; (buttons of hoof) 2682; (buttons, pearl) 2682; (canned goods) 2218; (coal) 3570; (codfish) 2635; (coffins, &c.) 2399; (damask) 2666; (elm logs) 2993; (farm products) 1505, 2399; (fertilizers) 2683; (fruit) 1780; (goods, unenumerated)

Charlton, Mr. J.—*Con.*

*Ways and Means—The Tariff—*Con.**

2684; (herrings) 2634; (hubs for wheels) 2989; (iron, scrap) 2368; (iron, &c., not welded) 2997; (logs, &c.) 2830; (mackerel) 2684; (mutton) 1490; (opium) 1477; (oysters) 2685; (peaches) 1782; (photographic dry plates) 2683; (pianofortes, &c.) 2405; (potatoes) 1504; (railway cars, &c.) 2402; (rice) 1737; (salmon) 2685; (sawed boards &c.) 2988; (starch) 1775; (staves, &c.) 2989; (stereotypes) 2824; (sugars, &c.) 2403; (syrups) 2408; (tomatoes, &c.) 2218; (trees, fruit) 1776; (wheat) 1739, 1775; (wool, &c.) 2668, 2677.

Concurrence (barley) 4015; (carpets, &c.) 4023; (sugar) 4026; (travellers' baggage) 4029.

Chesley, Mr. J. A., St. John City and County.

Atlantic SS. Service, Fast, in Com. on Res., 5767 (ii).

Ships' Safety Act Amt. B. 98 (Sir *Charles Hilbert Tupper*) in Com., 4572, 4576 (ii).

SUPPLY:

Public Works—Income: Dredging (Plant) 4606.

Ways and Means—The Tariff:

In Com. (iron, scrap) 2359.

Choquette, Mr. P. A., Montmagny.

Bribery and Disfranchisement B. 6 (Mr. *Weldon*) in Com., 2881, 3371.

Contract for Supplies, Quebec Citadel (Ques.) 751.

Dillon, Jas. St. George, Relief B. 158 (Mr. *Sutherland*) on M. for 3^o, 6292 (ii).

Druid, Govt. Str., Cost of Repairs (Ques.) 2132.

Gibson vs. Queen, in Com. of Sup., 4124 (ii).

I.C.R., Lumber, &c., Supplies, Value (Ques. 4888 (ii).

—— Robberies at Rivière du Loup (Ques.) 4195.

—— Sales of Newspapers, &c., Tenders (Ques. 1031 (i).

Pelletier, Eugene, Emplmt. on Experimental Farm (Ques.) 3440 (ii).

Quebec Observatory, W. A. Ashe's Successor (Ques.) 4308 (ii).

St. Roch (Que.) P. O., Lease of Property (Ques. 597; (M. for Cor.) 2782 (i).

Soulanges Canal, Changes in Contract (M. for Ret.) 3294.

SUPPLY:

Agriculture (Year-book) 4129.

Civil Government (Justice) Messrs. Power and Fraser, 6234.

Collection of Revenues: Post Office (Mail Service) 4168. Canals (St. Peter's) 5453.

Miscellaneous (Liquor Traffic Commission) 5540.

Railways—Capital: I. C. R. (St. Charles Branch) 3509.

Supreme Court Judges' Superannuation B. 81 (Sir *John Thompson*) in Com., 4969 (ii).

Turcotte & Provost, Supplies for Quebec Citadel (M. for Ret. *) 2782 (i).

Turcotte, Mr., M.P., Rep. of Com. on Priv and Elec. (remarks) 3870 (ii).

Christie, Mr. T., *Argenteuil.*

Lord Day's Observance B. 2 (Mr. *Charlton*) on M. for 2^d, 2328 (i).

Prohibition of Liquor Traffic, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Flint*) 2470 (i).

Subsidies (Money) to Rys. B. 169 (Mr. *Haggart*) in Com. on Res., 6282 (ii).

Treaty with France Ratification B. 147 (Mr. *Foster*) on Amt. (Mr. *O'Brien*) to M. for 2^d, 5614 (ii).

Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to M. for Com., 1136 (i).

In Com.: Res. 1 (Customs Acts Amts., definitions, &c.) 1390. Res. 3 (books) 1916.

Coatsworth, Mr. E., jun., *East Toronto.*

Bribery and Disfranchisement B. 6 (Mr. *Weldon*) in Com., 3373 (ii).

Civil Service Examinations, on M. (Mr. *Brodour*) for Sel. Com., 4070 (ii).

Clifton Suspension Bridge Co.'s Act Amt. (B. 41) 1st, 751 (i).

Cruelty to Animals prevention (B. 4) 1st, 79 (i); in Com., 3648, 4091, 4526, 4530, 4543 (ii).

Customs Collector, Montreal, Appmt to Vacancy (remarks) 4315 (ii).

Downey, Caroline Jane, Relief (B. 105) 2^d agreed to (Y. 76, N. 31) 2597 (i).

Geological Survey Repts. (Ques.) 2297 (i).

Govt. Contractors and Labourers' Wages (prop. Res.) 3606 (ii).

Insurance Act Amt. B. 111 (Mr. *Foster*) in Com., 5864 (ii).

Logs. Export Duty, on M. for Com. of Sup. (Ques.) 4208 (ii).

Letter Postage, Reduction of Rates (prop. Res.) 2193 (i).

Lord's Day Observance B. 2 (Mr. *Charlton*) in Com., 3410; (Amt. to Amt.) 4083 (ii).

Prohibition of Liquor Traffic, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Flint*) 2472 (i).

Public Accounts Com., Examination of Geo. Bailey (M.) 2211 (i).

—— Meeting (remarks) 3304 (ii).

Public Works under Contract, Workmen's Wages (prop. Res.) 3295 (ii).

St. Lawrence Canals, Enlargement, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Denison*) 2148 (i).

SUPPLY :

Legislation: House of Commons (Voters' Lists) 3495.

Public Works—Income: Harbours and Rivers (Ont.) 6507.

Railways—Capital: I. C. R. (Rolling Stock) 3506.

Sweating System, Toronto, on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks) 6301 (ii).

***Ways and Means*—The Tariff :**

In Com. (elastic webbing) 2648; (collars of cotton, &c.) 2563; (twine and cotton cordage) 2661; (velvets, &c.) 2645.

Cochrane, Mr. E., *East Northumberland, Ont.*

Franchise (Electoral) Act Amt. B. 143 (Sir *John Thompson*) in Com., 6525 (ii).

General Inspection Act Amt. B. 125 (Mr. *Wood, Brockville*) in Com., 3543 (ii).

Ways and Means—The Tariff :

In Com. (wheat) 1742.

Cockburn, Mr. G. R. R., *Centre Toronto.*

Electric Light Co.'s, Legislation respecting (Ques.) 1116 (i).

Erie and Huron Ry. Co.'s (B. 81) 1st, 1219 (i).

Statistical Year Book, Delay in Publication (Ques.) 289 (i).

St. Lawrence Canals, Enlargement, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Denison*) 2169 (i).

SUPPLY :

Charges of Management (Savings Banks) 3190.

Treaty with France Ratification B. 147 (Mr. *Foster*) on Amt. (Mr. *O'Brien*) to M. for 2^d, 5614 (ii).

Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to M. for Com., 1120 (i).

In Com. (books) 1913; (coal oil, &c.) 2288; (lard, &c.) 1495; (wall paper) 1938.

Colter, Mr. N. R., *Carlton, N.B.*

Exports *via* Niagara and Fort Erie (Ques.) 5529.

Imports *via* Niagara and Fort Erie (Ques.) 5529.

Maduxnakeag, Fishway in Stream (Ques.) 158 (i).

Reform Baptist Church of Can. (Alliance) incorp. (B. 84) 1st, 1219 (i).

SUPPLY :

Fisheries (Hatcheries) 5024.

Public Works—Income: Harbours and Rivers (N.B.) 4466.

Weston P. O., Establishment (Ques.) 520 (i).

Corbould, Mr. G. E., *New Westminster.*

County Court Judges, B. C., in Com. on Res., (Sir *John Thompson*) 3559 (ii).

Fraser River Floods (remarks) 3599 (ii).

Interest Act Amt. B. 129 (Mr. *Foster*) in Com., 4947 (ii).

SUPPLY :

Fisheries (Fish-breeding) 4749.

Public Works—Income: Harbours and Rivers (B.C.) 4473.

Corby, Mr. H., *West Hastings.*

Resignation tendered (remarks) 4811 (ii).

Costigan, Hon. J., *Victoria, N.B.*

Civil Service Act Amt. (B. 54) 1st, 5154 (ii).

—— Examinations, Irregularities at Montreal (Ans.) 1794, 2134 (i).

—— on M. (Mr. *Brodour*) for Sel. Com., 4064 (ii).

—— List (presented) 149 (i).

Laprairie-Napierville Electoral Lists (Ans.) 2938.

Returns, on Inquiry (remarks) 5467, 5531 (ii).

—— Ordered, List (presented) 6258 (ii).

Revising Officers in Man., Appmt. (Ans.) 3605.

Secretary of State's Deptl. Rep. (presented) 149.

Costigan, Hon. J.—Con.

Subsidies (Money) to Rys. B. 169 (Mr. *Haggart*)
in Com. on Res., 6417 (ii).

SUPPLY :

Civil Government (Civil Service Examiners) 3254 ;
(Secretary of State) 3268.

Collection of Revenues: Excise (Extra Duty), 4758.
Legislation: House of Commons (Printing &c.)
3500.

Miscellaneous (Parliamentary papers) 4886 ;
(Printing Bureau, Plant) 5042.

Voters' Lists, Cost of Printing (Ans.) 1795 (i).

—— Cost of Revisions (Ans.) 1030 (i).

—— Revisions since 1885 (Ans.) 752 (i).

Craig, Mr. T. D., East Durham.

Cruelty to Animals prevention B. 4 (Mr. *Coatsworth*)
in Com., 3654 (ii).

Prohibition of Liquor Traffic, on prop. Res. (Mr.
Flint) 2466 (i).

N.W.T. Act Amt. B. 149 (Sir *John Thompson*)
on Amt. (Mr. *McCarthy*) to M. for 3^o, 6130 (ii).

Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir
Richard Cartwright) to M. for Com., 818 (i).

Curran, Hon. J. J., Centre Montreal.

Bribery and Disfranchisement B. 6 (Mr. *Weldon*)
in Com., 2923 (i), 3397 (ii).

Criminal Code (1892) Amt. B. 126 (Sir *John*
Thompson) in Com., 5176 (ii).

Judiciary of Quebec, on M. for Com. of Sup.
(remarks) 5817 (ii).

Lord's Day Observance B. 2 (Mr. *Charlton*) in
Com., 3428 ; on Amt. (Mr. *Mara*) to recom.,
4080 (ii).

Order, Ques. of (Mr. *Outinot*) Obstruction, 3175 (i).
Ways and Means—The Tariff :

In Com. (collars of cotton, &c.) 2561 ; (iron, tubing)
: 525 ; (wool manufactures) 3037.

Daly, Hon. T. M., Selkirk.

Boundaries of Prov. of Que., on M. for Cor.,
1569 (i).

Buffalo Breeding Ranch at Fort Smith (Ans.)
2039 (i).

Can. Agency, Chicago (Ans.) 5369 (ii).

C. P. R. Co.'s Land Subsidy (B. 159) 1^o, 5691 ;
2^o m., 6032 ; in Com., 6035, 6266 (ii).

Cape Canso Survey (Ans.) 1795 (i).

Carlyle, C. S., Services re Immigration (Ans.) 753.

Cattle Embargo by Great Britain, on M. for
Ret., 1825 (i).

—— Trade, on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks)
3245 (i).

Cheese Weighing at Montreal (Ans.) 2414 (i).

Cruelty to Animals prevention B. 4 (Mr. *Coatsworth*)
in Com., 3662 (ii).

Deaf and Dumb, Man. and N.W.T., Education
(Ans.) 3605 (ii).

Disfranchisement of Provincial Officials, on prop.
Res. (Mr. *Mills, Annapolis*) adjmt. of deb. (M.)
3161 (i).

Daly, Hon. T. M.—Con.

Dom. Gas and Electric Co.'s B. 77 (Mr. *Boyd*) in
Com., 3078 (i).

—— Lands, Sales to Settlers, on Amt. (Mr.
Charlton) to M. for Com. of Sup., 3873 (ii).

—— Lands (B. 160) 1^o, 5691 ; in Com., 6065 (ii).

Experimental Farms, Employees (Ans.) 4478,
4718 (ii).

Freight Rates in N.W.T., on M. for Com. of
Sup. (remarks) 5383, 5406 (ii).

French Canadians, Repatriation (Ans.) 3439 (ii).

Game Preservation in N.W.T. (B. 115) 1^o*, 3003 ;
in Com., 3537 (ii).

Gauvreau, Dr., and SS. "Labrador" (Ans.) 3606.

Geological Survey, Lunenburg County (Ans.)
1397 (i).

—— Publication of Reps. (Ans.) 2297 (i).

—— Summary Rep. (presented) 127.

Half-Breed Lands in Man., on M. for Ret. 1404.

Homestead Exemption Act (N.W.T.) Repeal (B.
104) 1^o, 2289 (i) ; 2^o m., 4590 (ii).

Immigration Agents' Work, on M. for Ret.,
2415 (i).

—— Inspection at Quebec, on M. for Cor.,
1435 (i).

Indian Act Amt. (B. 116) 1^o*, 3003 (i) ; in Com.,
5540 (ii).

—— Affairs, Deptl. Rep. (presented) 127 (i).

—— Deptl. Reps., Distribution to Indians, on
prop. Res. (Mr. *Paterson, Brant*) 2780 (i).

Industrial Schools, N.W.T., Number, &c. (Ans.)
2567 (i).

Interior, Deptl. Rep. (presented) 150 (i).

Irrigation in N.W.T. 1^o, 3669 ; (B. 134) in Com.,
4949, 5063, 5096 (ii).

Land Grants to Man. University (Ans.) 3091 (i).

—— on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks) 3478 (ii).

—— to Militia, Active Service in N.W.T. (B. 54)
1^o*, 841 (i) ; 2^o and in Com., 4892 (ii).

—— to Rys. in Man. and N.W.T. (Ans.) 755,
948 (i).

Land in the Territories consolid. Act Amt. (B.
162) 1^o*, 5887 ; 2^o and in Com., 6077 (ii).

Legge, Joshua, Services (Ans.) 1790 (i).

Loans to Settlers in Man., on M. for Lists, 3102.

Man. and North-western Ry. Co.'s B. 108 (Mr.
Taylor) in Com., 4045 (ii).

McCormick's Islands, Ownership, on M. for
Cor., 1983 (i).

Mississauga Indians, Amount in Indian Trust
Fund (Ans.) 597 (i).

Moore, J. C., Emplmt. by Govt. (Ans.) 4050 (ii).

National Park, Sale of Town Lots (Ans.) 2567 (i).

N.W. Mounted Police Act, Amt. B. 121 (Mr. *Ives*)
in Com., 4672 (ii).

N.W.T. Representation Act Amt. (B. 5) 1^o, 79 ;
in Com., 2490, 2788 (i).

—— (B. 133) 1^o, 3668 ; Order for 2^o dschg'd.,
4890 (ii).

Daly, Hon. T. M.—Con.

- N.W.T. Act Amt. B. 149 (Sir *John Thompson*) 1°, 4890; in Com., 5166; on Amt. (Mr. *McCarthy*) to M. for 3°, 6113 (ii).
 Sault St. Louis Seignior (B. 97) in Com., 4893.
 Seignior of St. Louis (B. 97) 1°, 2130 (i).
 Settlers in N.W.T. from U.S., on M. for Ret., 2418 (i).
 St. Lawrence Canals, Enlargement, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Denison*) 2162.
 — River Islands, Sale (Ans.) 1791, 2342 (i).
 Subsidies (Land) to Rys. (B. 168) prop. Res., 5935; in Com., 6067; 1°* of B., 6154 (ii).
 — prop. Res., 6253; in Com. on Res., 6377.
 — (Money) to Rys. B. 169 (Mr. *Huggart*) in Com. on Res., 6404 (ii).
 Superannuation, Abolition, on Amt. (Mr. *McMullen*) to Com. of Sup., 4352 (ii).

SUPPLY :

- Administration of Justice* (Man., additional Judge) 6241; (Supreme Court) contingencies, 3343.
Arts, Agriculture, &c. (Columbian Exhibition) 5498; (Exhibition, N.W.T.) 6251; (Experimental Farms) 5462. (Reps.) 6251; (*Patent Record*) 5461; (Statistics) 5462.
Civil Government (Geological Survey) 3237; (Indian Affairs) J. J. Campbell, 6232; (Interior) 3201, B. L. Yorke, 6233, contingencies, 3272.
Collection of Revenues: Ordnance Lands, 4777, 6464.
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Indian Affairs (B.C.) 4880, 5461; (Inspector of Agencies) 4828; (Man. and N.W.T.) 4842, 4848, 4879; (N.B. and N.S.) 4841, 5460; (Ont. and Que.) 4824, 6515; (School Funds) 4828; (Schools) 4826, 4853, 4863.
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Public Works—Income: Buildings (B.C., P. O., Victoria) 6499; N.W.T. (Lieut. Gov.'s Residence) 6485. Roads and Bridges (N.W.T.) 6509.
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 Tassé, Senator, Expenses at Chicago Exhibition (Ans.) 6048 (ii).
 Thousand Islands, Ret. (Ans.) 2342, 2692 (i).
 — Sales, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to Com. of Sup., 4402 (ii).
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- Timber Licenses granted since Jan., 1888, on M. for Stmt., 1980 (i).
 — Limits in Shell River District, Rent, Arrears (Ans.) 1969 (i).
 — on Indian Reserves, Disposal, on M. for Cor., 1984 (i).
 — Sales on Indian Reserves, on Amt. (Sir *John Thompson*) 1413, 1420 (i).
 Winnipeg Standard, Advertising (Ans.) 754 (i).

Davies, Mr. L. H., Queen's, P. E. I.

- Adjmt., Queen's Birthday (remarks) 2942 (i).
 Atlantic Fast SS. Service, Terminus (remarks) 4051 (ii).
 Behring Sea, Res. B. C. Legislature *re* British Sealers (Ques.) 2134 (i).
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 Carlyle, C. C., Services *re* Immigration (Ques.) 753 (i).
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 Davis, Messrs., Security for Contract (remarks) 3604 (ii).
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 Ellis, John V., Sentence of Supreme Court of N.B. (M. for Ret. *) 452 (i).
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 — Imprisonment (remarks) 3450 (ii).
 Eastern Harbour (C.B.) Lighthouse, Construction (Ques.) 2412 (i).
 Fisheries Act Amt. B. 145 (Sir *Charles Hibbert Tupper*) on M. for 1°, 4560 (ii).
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- Govt. Contractors and Labourers' Wages, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Coatsworth*) 3607, 3629 (ii).
 ——— Steamer "Curlew," &c. Construction (M. for Ret. *) 3300 (ii).
 Grand Etang (C.B.) Wharf, Tenders, &c. (M. for Ret. *) 2424 (i).
 Halifax Drill Shed, in Com. of Sup., 4426 (ii).
 Holidays, Public, B. 106 (Sir *John Thompson*) in Com., 4594 (ii).
 I.C.R., Freight Rates (M. for Ret.) 145 (i).
 ——— Employees Discharged (Ques.) 156 (i).
 ——— Harris Property, St. John, Amount Paid (Ques.) 158 (i).
 ——— (M. for papers, &c. *) 451 (i).
 ——— St. Charles Branch, papers *re* Judgment (remarks) 3602 (ii).
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 Marine and Fisheries Deptl. Rep., Delay in Distribution (Ques.) 289 (i).
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 N.W.T. Act Amt. B. 5 (Mr. *Daly*) in Com., 2492.
 N. W. Mounted Police Acts Amt. B. 121 (Mr. *Ives*) in Com. on Res., 4593; in Com. on B. 4648 (ii).
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 ——— 1st and 2nd Reprs., on Amt. to Amt. (Sir *Charles Tupper*) 1657 (i).
 ——— Examination of Auditor General (M.) 2486 (i).
 ——— Meeting (remarks) 3304 (ii).
 ——— Printing Evidence (remarks) 4567 (ii).
 ——— Powers and Functions (remarks) 2625, 2642 (i).
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 ——— Safety Act Amt. B. 98 (Sir *Charles Hibbert Tupper*) in Com., 4576 (ii).

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- Steam Boiler and Plate Glass Ins. Co. of Can. incorp. Act Amt. (B. 35) 1°, 750 (i).
 Superannuation, Abolition, on Amt. (Mr. *McMullen*) to Com. of Sup., 4368 (ii).
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 Steamboat Inspection Act Amt. (B. 137) on prop. Res. (Sir *Charles Hibbert Tupper*) 4568 (ii).
 Voters' Lists, Cost of Printing (Ques.) 1795 (i).
Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to M. for Com., 860 (i).
 In Com.: Res. 1: (Customs Acts Amts., definitions, &c.) 1328, 1337, 1366, 1393. Res. 3 (axes, &c.) 2798; (books) 1915; (brass, &c. nails) 2512; (cloth, not rubber or waterproof) 3333; (coal oil, &c.) 2223; (collars of cotton, &c.) 2561; (condensed milk) 1503; (cotton, gray) 2549; (cotton, printed) 2560; (fire-brick) 3336; (fish-plates) 2507; (galvanized wire) 3583; (Indian corn) 1547; (iron bars) 2505; (iron bridges) 2507; (iron forgings) 2505; (iron, scrap) 2354; (iron tubing) 2516; (lead bars, &c.) 2513;

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(lead pipes, &c.) 2512; (live hogs) 1481; (medicinal preparations) 950; (newspapers, &c.) 2722; (opium) 1478; (phosphate fertilizers) 2999; (syrups) 2408; (tacks, &c.) 2511; (wall paper) 1928, 1941; (wire nails) 2500.

Welland Power and Supply Co.'s B. 49 (Mr. *McKay*) in Com., 2724 (i).

Winter Service, P.E.I., and Mainland, on M. for Ret., 4512 (ii).

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— on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to M. for Com. on Ways and Means, 1885 (i).

Woodstock (N.B.) Preventive Officer, Name, &c. (Ques.) 2133 (i).

Davin, Mr. N. F., Assiniboia.

Atlantic SS. Service, Fast, in Com. on Res., 5741 (ii).

Binder Twine, Newspaper Advertising (remarks) 6521 (ii).

Brandon and South-western Ry. Co.'s Act Amt. (B. 47) 1^o*, 841 (i).

Bribery and Disfranchisement B. 6 (Mr. *Weldon*) in Com., 2576 (i).

Buffalo Breeding Ranch at Fort Smith (Ques., 2039 (i).

Cattle Trade with Great Britain, on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks) 4911 (ii).

Cruelty to Animals prevention B. 4 (Mr. *Coatsworth*) in Com., 4536 (ii).

Dom. Lands, Sales to Settlers, on Amt. (Mr. *Charlton*) to Com. of Sup., 3935 (ii).

Ellis, Mr., Imprisonment, on Amt. (Mr. *Davies, P.E.I.*) to Com. on Ways and Means, 3837 (ii).

Freight Rates in N.W.T., on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks) 5371 (ii).

Govt. Contractors and Labourers' Wages, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Coatsworth*) 3617 (ii).

Indian Act Amt. B. 116 (Mr. *Daly*) in Com., 5543 (ii).

Judiciary of Quebec, on Mr. *Tarte's* Charges (remarks) 6227 (ii).

Land Grants, Man. University, on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks) 3480 (ii).

Lord's Day Observance B. 2 (Mr. *Charlton*) in Com., 3409.

Man. and N.W.T. Schools, on M. for Cor., 1601.

Militia Pensions, Permanent Corps, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Prior*) 3098 (i).

Mounted Police, Medals and Scrip (Ques.) 2040 (i).

N. W. Mounted Police Acts Amt. B. 121 (Mr. *Ives*) in Com., 4651 (ii).

N.W.T. Act Amt. B. 5 (Mr. *Daly*) in Com., 2496, 2789 (i).

— (B. 86) 1^o, 1396 (i).

— B. 149 (Sir *John Thompson*) on Amt. (Mr. *McCarthy*) to M. for 3^o, 6138 (ii).

Order (Ques. of) relevancy of deb., 4988 (ii).

Davin, Mr. N. F.—Con.

Schools in Man. and N.W.T., on M. for Cor., 173 (i).

Superannuation, Abolition, on Amt. (Mr. *McMullen*) to Com. of Sup., 4341 (ii).

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Public Works—Income : Buildings (N.W.T., Lieut.-Gov.'s Residence) 6486.

Timber Sales on Indian Reserves, on Amt. (Sir *John Thompson*) 1411 (i).

Treaty with France Ratification B. 147 (Mr. *Foster*) on Amt. (Mr. *Edgar*) to M. for 2^o, 5674.

Trent Valley Canal Commission, on M. for Rep., 1799 (i).

Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to M. for Com., 522 (i).

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Wolseley and Fort Qu'Appelle Ry. Co.'s incorp. (B. 102) 1^o*, 2289 (i).

Davis, Mr. D. W., Alberta.

Alberta Southern Ry. Co.'s incorp. (B. 101) 1^o*, 2211 (i).

Calgary Irrigation Co.'s (B. 53) 1^o*, 841 (i); 2^o m., 4855; on Sen. Amts., 4888 (ii).

Gleichen, Beaver Lake and Victoria Ry. Co.'s incorp. (B. 57) 1^o*, 946 (i).

N.W.T. Ordinance 32, 1893 (B. 23) 1^o*, 596 (i).

Red Deer Valley Ry. and Coal Co.'s (B. 107) 1^o*, 2783 (i).

Rocky Mountain Ry. and Coal Co.'s incorp. Act Amt. (B. 80) 1^o*, 1219 (i).

SUPPLY :

Indian Affairs (Man. and N.W.T.) 4850.

Trust Corporations of Can. incorp. (B. 96) 1^o*, 2211 (i).

Dawson, Mr. G. W. W., Addington.

Dam at West Rideau Lake, Floods (Ques.) 1220.

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Collection of Revenues : Canals (Rideau, Sweetman's Claim) 6463.

Sweetman, Thos., Compensation for Damages (Ques.) 1221 (i).

Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to M. for Com., 826.

Delisle, Mr. A., Portneuf.

Lebel, Esdras, Emplmt. by Govt. (Ques.) 448 (i).

Montmagny P. O., Emplmt. of John Langlois (Ques.) 687 (i).

Pelletier, Eugène, Emplmt. by Govt. (Ques.) 447.

— Jules, Emplmt. by Govt. (Ques.) 516 (i).

— Odilon, Emplmt. by Govt. (Ques.) 447, 515 (i); 3440 (ii).

St. Anne de la Pérade Landslide (Ques.) 3089 (i).

Tremblay, Joseph, C. E., Emplmt. by Govt. (Ques.) 515 (i).

Denison, Mr. F. C., West Toronto.

C.P.R., Land Grants B. 159 (Mr. *Daly*) in Com., 6035 (ii).

Denison, Mr. F. C.—Con.

Dillon, Jas. St. George, Relief B. 148 (Mr. *Sutherland*) in Com., 6048 (ii).

Downey, Caroline J., Relief (B. 105) 1*, 2341 (i).

Insurance Act Amt. Bill 111 (Mr. *Foster*) in Com., 5877 (ii).

Letter Postage, Reduction of Rates, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Coatsworth*) 2205 (i).

N. W. Mounted Police Acts Amt. B. 121 (Mr. *Ives*) in Com., 4655 (ii).

N.W.T. Act Amt. B. 149 (Sir *John Thompson*) on Amt. (Mr. *McCarthy*) to M. for 3°, 6135 (ii).

Powell, Col., Suspension, on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks) 6175 (ii).

Order (Ques. of) relevancy of deb., 4701 (ii).

St. Lawrence Canals, Enlargement (prop. Res.) 2137, 2180 (i).

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Ways and Means—The Tariff :

In Com. (putty) 2093; (wheat) 1754.

Desaulniers, Mr. F. S. L., St. Maurice.

Administration of Justice in Arthabaska (Ques.) 2293 (i).

Devlin, Mr. C. R., Ottawa County.

Cluff, W. H., Emplmt. in P.O.D. (Ques.) 1398.

Customs Collectorship, Montreal, Appmt. to Vacancy, on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks) 4313 (ii).

Hull *Despatch*, Payments by Govt. (Ques.) 4050, 4307 (ii).

Labour Statistics, Establishment of Bureau, on M. for Ret., 2189 (i).

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Loiselle, B., Postmaster, Dismissal, on M. for Cor., 273 (i).

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Man. and N.W.T. Schools, on M. for Cor., 2068.

Moore, J. C., Emplmt. by Govt. (Ques.) 4049 (ii).

N. W. T. Act Amt.—Dual Language—B. 10 (Mr. *McCarthy*) on M. for 1°, 139 (i).

North Wakefield Mail Contracts (Ques.) 2870 (i).

Order (Ques. of) Member reading Speech, 860 (i).

Ottawa River Bridge, Hull and Nepean Point (Ques.) 2413 (i).

Pontiac Judicial District, Appmt. of Judge (Ques.) 517 (i).

— Pacific Junction Ry. Co.'s Subsidy, in Com. on Res. (Mr. *Haggart*) 6285 (ii).

Schools in Man. and N.W.T. (M for Ret.) 2414.

Spanish River, Algoma, Dredging (Ques.) 2939 (i).

— Improvements (M. for Ret. *) 3301 (ii).

Slide Master at Fort Coulonge (Ques.) 5774 (ii).

Subsidies (Money) to Rys. B. 169 (Mr. *Haggart*) in Com. on Res., 6285 (ii).

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Public Works—Income : Harbours and Rivers (Que.) 6501. Miscellaneous (Rea, Jos.) 6512.

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Timber Limits on Indian Reserves (M. for Cor. *) 3301 (ii).

— on Indian Reserves, Disposal, M. for Cor., 1983 (i).

— Sales on Indian Reserves, on Amt. (Sir *John Thompson*) 1425 (i).

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In Com. (saw-logs) 2962.

Dickey, Mr. A. R., Cumberland.

Arbitration, Settlement of Disputes, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Edgar*) 3111 (i).

Bribery and Disfranchisement B. 6 (Mr. *Weldon*) in Com., 2891 (i), 3374 (ii).

Can. Ry. Accident Ins. Co.'s B. 36 (Sir *James Grant*) in Com., 3085 (i).

Electric Light Inspection B. 118 (Mr. *Wood, Brockville*) in Com., 5050 (ii).

Fisheries Act Amt. B. 145 (Sir *Charles Hibbert Tupper*) in Com., 5574 (ii).

Franchise (Electoral) Act Amt. (B. 55) 1°, 841 (i).

Insurance Act Amt. B. 111 (Mr. *Foster*) in Com., 5878 (ii).

Treaty with France Ratification B. 147 (Mr. *Foster*) on Amt. (Mr. *O'Brien*) to M. for 2°, 5605 (ii).

Dugas, Mr. L. E., Montcalm.

Can. Tobacco, Excise Duty (Ques.) 685 (i).

— Reduction of Duty, on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks) 6437 (ii).

Dupont, Mr. F., Bagot.

Bribery and Disfranchisement B. 6 (Mr. *Weldon*) in Com., 2571, 2900 (i).

Lord's Day Observance B. 2 (Mr. *Charlton*) in Com., 3643 (ii).

Prohibition of Liquor Traffic, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Flint*) 2479 (i).

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SUPPLY :

Public Works—Income : Buildings (Repairs, &c., Ottawa) 4445.

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Dyer, Mr. E. A., Brome.

Fishing Bounty Frauds, Prosecution (Ques.) 3002.

Edgar, Mr. J. D., West Ontario.

- Arbitration, Settlement of Disputes (prop. Res.) 3102 (i).
- Atlantic SS. Service, Fast, B. 161 (Mr. *Foster*) in Com., 5977 (ii).
- Calgary Irrigation Co.'s B. 53 (Mr. *Davis, Alberta*) on M. for 2° (objection) 4855 (ii).
- C.P.R., Drawbacks on Iron or Steel Bridges, in Com. on Res., 6025 (ii).
- Can. Ry. Accident Ins. Co.'s B. 36 (Sir *James Grant*) in Com., 3083 (i).
- Cattle, Ocean Freight Rates B. 8 (Mr. *Mulock*) on M. for 1°, 134 (i).
- Copyright, Papers respecting (remarks) 10 (i).
— (M. for Cor. *) 149 (i).
- Corby, Mr., M.P. for W. Hastings, on Resignation (remarks) 4812 (ii).
- Criminal Code, 1892, Amt. B. 126 (Sir *John Thompson*) in Com., 5178; on Sen. Amts., 6359.
- Cruelty to Animals prevention B. 4 (Mr. *Coatsworth*) in Com., 3653 (ii).
- Customs Collectors, Mercantile Pursuits (Ques.) 1972 (i).
- Dillon, Jas. St. George, Relief B. 148 (Mr. *Sutherland*) on M. for 2°, 5528; on M. for 3°, 6294 (ii).
- Dom. Irrigation Act Amt. B. 134 (Mr. *Daly*) on M. for 1°, 2369 (ii).
- Duty on Cotton Goods (remarks) 1031 (i).
- Expenditure on Elections, on M. for Com. of Sup. (Amt.) 5179; neg. (Y. 65, N. 102) 5213 (ii).
- Franchise, Electoral, Act Amt. (B. 12) 1°, 180 (i).
- Govt. Contractors and Labourers' Wages, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Coatsworth*) 3610 (ii).
- Graham, John, Special Examination for promotion (Ques.) 842 (i).
- Grand Jurors (Ont.) Reduction of Number (B. 24) 1°, 596; 2° m., 2339 (i); in Com., 4512, 4514; prop. trans. to Govt. Orders, 4567 (ii).
- I.C.R., Passenger and Freight Rates (Ques.) 949.
- Insurance Act Amt. B. 111 (Sir *John Thompson*) in Com., 5853; on 2° of Amts., 6061 (ii).
- Loiselle, B., Postmaster, Dismissal, on M. for Cor., 2744 (i).
- Military College, Ret. respecting (Ques.) 952 (i).
- Personal Explanation, Sir A. P. Caron's Speech *re* Election Expenditure (remarks) 5472 (ii).
- Pig Iron Bounty, Amounts paid (M. for Stmnt. *) 451 (i).
- St. Clair and Erie Ship Canal Co.'s incorp. B. 21 (Mr. *Tisdale*) on M. for Com., 2119 (i).
- SUPPLY :**
- Collection of Revenues: Adulteration of Food (Expenses) 4775. Excise (Extra Duty) 4753; (Methylated Spirits) 4767; (Preventive Service) 4765; (Salaries, &c.) 4751.*
- Scientific Institutions (Meteorological Services) 4734.*
- Sweating System in Toronto, on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks) 6290, 6296 (ii).

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- Tariff, The, Analytical Index, Publications, &c. (Ques.) 753 (i).
- Tea and Coffee, Imports under New Tariff (remarks) 755 (i).
- Treaty with France Ratification B. 147 (Mr. *Foster*) on M. for 2° (Amt. to Amt.) 5633; neg. (Y. 51, N. 119) 5684; in Com., 5697 (ii).
- Turcotte, Mr., M.P., on M. (Mr. *Bruncau*) to ref. Stmnt. to Sel. Com., 2935 (i).
- Rep. of Com. on Priv. and Elec., 3866, 3871.
- 4th and 5th Repts. (Ques.) 5575 (ii).
- on conc., 5890; Amt., 5904; neg. (Y. 54, N. 84) 5932 (ii).
- Ways and Means*—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to M. for Com., 1011 (i).
- In Com.: Res. 1 (Customs Acts Amts., definitions, &c.) 1336, 1373, 1378. Res. 3 (blasting powder) 3026; (books) 1918; (British copyright works) 1927; (cement) 2124; (cordage) 2654; (collars of cotton, &c.) 2562; (cotton batts) 2531; (cotton clothing) 2828; (cotton, gray, &c.) 2534; (cotton, printed) 2555; (cotton warps) 2532; (cotton, white) 2554 (i); (nuts, &c., iron or steel) 3321; (opium) 1479; (oysters) 2686; (sails) 2667; (sewing thread) 2649; (wheat) 1760; (wool manufactures) 3040.

Edwards, Mr. W. C., Russell.

- General Inspection Act Amt. B. 134 (Mr. *Wood, Brockville*) in Com., 3549 (ii).
- Timber Licenses granted since Jan., 1888, on M. for Stmnt., 1979 (i).
- Ways and Means*—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to M. for Com., 1202 (i).
- In Com. (saw-logs) 2973 (i).

Fairbairn, Mr. C., South Victoria.

- Cattle Disease in County of Grey (remarks) 598 (i).
- Transit through Canada, on Amt. (Mr. *Edgar*) to M. for Com. of Sup., 5364 (ii).
- Embargo in Great Britain, Removal (Ques.) 448.

Fauvel, Mr. W. Le B., Bonaventure.

- Admiral SS., and N. B. Mail Service (Ques.) 687 (i).
- Assignees under Insolvent Act, 1875 (M. for Ret.) 3300 (ii).
- Civil Service Examinations, Personation (Ques.) 1794 (i).
- Customs Collector at Gaspé (Ques.) 4477 (ii).
- Insolvent Act (1875) Official Assignees (Ques.) 1792 (i).
- Pelletier, Jules, Emplmt. by Govt. (Ques.) 516.
- Odilon, Payments for Services (Ques.) 515.
- Subsidized SS. and Govt. Rys., Rates, Passengers, &c. (Ques.) 1117 (i).

SUPPLY :

- Fisheries (Legal Expenses) 5029.*
- Lighthouse and Coast Service (Signal Service) 4716.*
- Ocean and River Service (Removal of Obstructions) 4697.*
- Tremblay, Joseph, C.E., Emplmt. by Govt. (Ques.) 515 (i).

Fauvel, Mr. W. Le B.—Con.

Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to M. for Com., 1101 (i).

Featherston, Mr. J., Peel.

American Swine in Bond for Slaughter (Ques.) 1221 (i).

Cattle Embargo in Great Britain (Ques.) 288 (i).

— by Great Britain, on M. for Ret., 1819 (i).

Exports *via* Niagara and Fort Erie (Ques.) 5529.

General Inspection Act Amt. B. 125 (Mr. *Wood, Brockville*) in Com., 3548 (ii).

Imports *via* Niagara and Fort Erie (Ques.) 5529.

Ocean Freight Rates B. 8 (Mr. *Mulock*) on M. for 1^o*, 135 (i).

SUPPLY :

Quarantine (Cattle) 4391.

Ways and Means—The Tariff :

In Com. (rice, &c.) 3576.

Flint, Mr. T. B., Yarmouth.

Atlantic SS. Service, Fast, B. 161 (Mr. *Foster*) in Com., 5995 (ii).

Breweries, Distilleries, &c. (M. for Stmtnt.*) 3301.

Bribery and Disfranchisement B. 6 (Mr. *Weldon*) in Com., 3395 (ii).

Census, The, in Com. of Sup., 4144 (ii).

Commercial Relations with France (M. to adjn. Hse.) 1463 (i).

Cruelty to Animals prevention B. 4 (Mr. *Coatsworth*) in Com., 3649, 4090, 4535 (ii).

Dimock, Mr., Services *re* Chicago Exhibition (Ques.) 1565 (i).

Fisheries Act Amt. B. 145 (Sir *Charles Hibbert Tupper*) on M. for 1^o, 4563; in Com., 5569 (ii).

Game Preservation, N.W.T., B. 115 (Mr. *Daly*) in Com., 3537 (ii).

Halifax Drill Shed, in Com. of Sup., 4418 (ii).

Insolvency Law (New) Distribution of copies (Ques.) 448; (remarks) 755 (i).

Liquors, Distilled and Fermented (M. for Stmtnt.) 3297 (ii).

Liquor Traffic, Evidence and Rep. of Commission (Ques.) 287 (i).

New York, New England and Can. Co.'s incorp. (B. 71) 1^o*, 1218 (i).

Prohibition of Liquor Traffic (prop. Res.) 2432 (i).

Seamen's Act Amt. B. 13 (Sir *Charles Hibbert Tupper*) in Com., 2726 (i).

Ships' Safety Act Amt. B. 98 (Sir *Charles Hibbert Tupper*) in Com., 4589 (ii).

Superaunation, Abolition, on Amt. (Mr. *McMullen*) to Com. of Sup., 4323 (ii).

SUPPLY :

Administration of Justice (Arbitrators, Official) 3340.

Arts, Agriculture &c. (Year-book) 4144.

Civil Government (Civil Service Examiners) 3261; (Geological Survey) 3237; (Gov. Gen. Sec.'s Office) contingencies, 3264; (Trade and Commerce) 3237.

Collection of Revenues: Excise (Customs' Collectors) 4767; (Preventive Service) 4759.

Flint, Mr. T. B.—Con.

SUPPLY—Con.

Fisheries—(N.S., Salaries, &c.) 4738.

Govt. of N. W. T. (Lieut.-Gov's. Expend.) 4920.

Immigration (Merrick and Connolly) 5464.

Mail Subsidies, &c. (St. John, &c., and W. Indies, &c.) 5456.

Mounted Police (Buildings, &c.) 4641; (Forage) 4634; (Renewals of Arms) 4636; (Scouts, Charges, &c.) 4638; (Subsistence) 4632.

Ocean and River Service (Tidal Observations) 4696.

Public Works—Income: Buildings (N.S.) 4418; (Repairs, &c., Ottawa) 4442. Harbours and Rivers (N.S.) 4448, 5458. Miscellaneous (Art Gallery) 4476.

Quarantine (Public Health) 4374.

Steamboat Inspection (Expenses) 4737.

Treaty with France Ratification B. 147 (Mr. *Foster*) on Amt. (Mr. *O'Brien*) to M. for 2^o, 5601 (ii).

Ways and Means—The Tariff :

In Com. (albumenized paper) 1899; (cordage) 2659; (India-rubber boots) 2127; (cotton clothing) 2828, 2830; (cotton, white) 2555.

Forbes, Mr. F. G., Queen's, N.S.

Bounties to Fishermen in Victoria County (Ques.) 949 (i).

Bribery and Disfranchisement B. 6 (Mr. *Weldon*) in Com., 2892 (i), 3373 (ii).

Broad Cove and Orangedale Ry. (Ques.) 1710 (i).

Census, The, in Com. of Sup., 4150 (ii).

County Court Judges, B. C., in Com. on Res. (Sir *John Thompson*) 3566 (ii).

Cruelty to Animals prevention B. 4 (Mr. *Coatsworth*) in Com., 4536 (ii).

Customs Collector at Louisburg (Ques.) 3275 (ii).

Electric Light Inspection B. 118 (Mr. *Wood, Brockville*) in Com., 5053, 5058 (ii).

Ellis, Mr., Imprisonment, on Amt. (Mr. *Davies, P.E.I.*) to Com. on Ways and Means, 3837 (ii).

Fisheries Act Amt. B. 145 (Sir *Charles Hibbert Tupper*) on M. for 1^o, 4564 (ii).

Halifax Drill Shed, in Com. of Sup., 4419 (ii).

Hickey, Geo., Emplmt. as Canal Inspector (Ques.) 5044 (ii).

Industries in Queen's and Shelburne Counties (Ques.) 1789 (i).

— Description, &c. (M. for Ret.*) 1991 (i).

— Lunenburg, Description (M. for Ret.*) 1991 (i).

Lord's Day Observance B. 2 (Mr. *Charlton*) on Amt. (Mr. *Bennett*) to recom., 4086 (ii).

Queen's Co. Revising Barrister (Ques.) 1222 (i).

Returns, on inquiries (remarks) 4102 (ii).

Shelburne Revising Barrister (Ques.) 1222 (i).

SUPPLY :

Administration of Justice (Admiralty Court) salaries, 3346; (Supreme Court) Library, 3345; Reports, 3344.

Arts, Agriculture, &c. (Year-book) 4150.

Charges of Management (Halifax, Asst. Receiver) 3061.

Forbes, Mr. F. G.—Con.**SUPPLY—Con.**

Civil Government (Geological Survey) 3237.
Collection of Revenues: Excise (Extra Duty) 4751 ;
 (Preventive Service) 4764. *Ordnance Lands*
 (Grand Falls, N.B., &c.) 4777. *Post Office* (Mail
 Service) 4181. *Weights and Measures* (Salaries)
 4770.

Fisheries (Hatcheries) 5025; (Legal Expenses)
 5035.

Lighthouse and Coast Service (Maintenance) 4715 ;
 (Salaries, &c.) 4699.

Ocean and River Service (Tidal Observations)
 4695.

Public Works—Income: Buildings (N.S.) 4419.
Dredging (Plant) 4605. *Harbours and Rivers*
 (N.S.) 4457.

Railways—Capital: I.C.R., 3504 ; (Dartmouth
 Branch) 3518 ; (Halifax, increased accommoda-
 tion) 3505 ; (Original construction) 3509 ; (St.
 Charles Branch) 3515.

Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir
Richard Cartwright) to Com., 663 (i).

In Com. (cordage) 2654 ; (galvanized wire) 3590.

Fréchette, Mr. L., alias Côté, Mr. J., Mégantic.

Privilege (Ques. of) Editorial in *l'Electeur*, 2411.

Rocheleau, J. P., Complaints against (M. for
 copies*) 1991 (i).

Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir
Richard Cartwright) to M. for Com., 656 (i).

Frémont, Mr. J. J. T., Quebec County.

Bribery and Disfranchisement B. 6 (Mr. *Weldon*)
 in Com., 2886 (i).

C. P. R., North Shore Section, Improvements
 (Ques.) 948 (i).

Hurons of Lorette and Seigniorship of Sillery (M.
 for Ret.*) 1036 (i).

Foster, Hon. G. E., King's, N.B.

Adjmt. for Easter, on M. (remarks) 78 (i).

Admiral SS. and N.B. Mail Service (Ans.)
 687 (i).

*Agricultural Implement Industries, Persons Em-
 ployed* (Ans.) 685 (i).

American Swine in Bond for Slaughter (Ans.)
 1221 (i).

Atlantic Fast Mail Service (Ans.) 1219 (i).

— prop. Subsidy (Ans.) 683 (i).

— Terminus (Ans.) 4051. (ii).

— Subsidy (prop. Res.) 3450 ; (B. 161) in Com.
 on Res., 5710 ; on 2° of Res., 5776 ; (B. 161) 1°*,
 5777 ; 2° m., 5936 ; in Com. on B., 5971 (ii).

Auditor General's Rep. (presented) 127 (i).

Binder Twine, Free Entry, on prop. Res. (Mr.
Mulock) 146 (i).

Bounty on Pig Iron (prop. Res.) 6472 ; in Com.,
 6474 (ii).

BUDGET, THE, Annual Stmt., 182 (i).

— See "WAYS and MEANS."

Foster, Hon. G. E.—Con.

Business of the House (remarks) 1224 (i).

Cattle (Can.) Slaughtered in Great Britain (Ans.)
 2040 (i).

— Disease in County of Grey (Ans.) 598 (i).

— Embargo in Great Britain (Ans.) 288, 448.

— Trade, on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks)
 3245 (i).

C. P. R., Drawbacks on Iron or Steel Bridges, in
 Com. on Res., 6013 ; 1°* of B., 6065 (ii).

Chartered Banks, List of Shareholders (presented)
 1714 (i).

— Unclaimed Balances, Rep. (presented)
 4039 (ii).

Coal Oil Duties, Repeal, &c. (Ans.) 1970 (i).

Commercial Relations with France, on M. for
 Cor., 1456 (i).

Consolidated Fund, Receipts and Expenditure
 (Ans.) 6356 (ii).

Customs Board, Decisions, &c. (Ans.) 4196 (ii).

Customs and Excise Acts Amt. (B. 135) 1°*, 4038 ;
 2°, 6155 (ii).

Dairying for Profit, Pamphlet, Distribution
 (Ans.) 3765 (ii).

Dimock, Mr., Services re Chicago Exhibition
 (Ans.) 1565 (i).

Dominion Notes (B. 165) in Com. on Res., 6030,
 6029 ; 1°* of B., 6053 ; in Com. on B., 6262 (ii).

Duties on Fishing Nets under New Tariff (re-
 marks) 1119 (i).

Estimates, The (1894-95) Mess. from His Ex.
 (presented) 144 (i).

— Suppl., 1894-95 (presented) 5850 (ii).

Exchange Bank, Sums due Govt. (Ans.) 368 (i).

Expenditure of the Dom., on Amt. (Mr. *Charlton*)
 to Com. of Sup., 6200 (ii).

Experimental Farm Rep. (presented) 1714 (i).

Exports to the U.S., on M. for Ret., 453 (i).

Farm Implements, Free Entry (Ans.) 1971 (i).

French Commercial Treaty (Ans.) 80 (i).

*Grant, John G., Landing-waiter at Barrie, Dis-
 missal* (Ans.) 4196 (ii).

Govt. Business, on M. for Com. on Ways and
 Means (remarks) 3008 (i).

Insurance Act Amt. (B. 111) in Com., 5851 (ii).

Interest on Dom. Stock, non-payment (Ans.)
 5775 (ii).

Legge, Joshua, Services (Ans.) 1790 (i).

*Liquor Traffic, Evidence and Rep. of Commis-
 sion* (Ans.) 287 (i).

— *Maple Sugar, Classification under Tariff* (re-
 marks) 454, 1119 (i).

Member for Winnipeg, Ques. respecting (remarks)
 1565 (i).

Mess. from His Ex. (presented) 144 (i), 5850 (ii).

Palmer, Engineer, Claims (Ans.) 283 (i).

Pelletier, Eugène, Emplmt. by Govt. (Ans.) 448.

— *Emplmt. on Experimental Farm* (Ans.)
 3440 (ii).

Printing Com., 2nd Rep., on conc. (remarks)
 2488 (i).

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- Prohibition Commissioners, Names and Expenditure (Ans.) 1031 (i).
 ——— Commissioners' Rep. (Ans.) 3765 (ii).
 ——— Commission, Translation of Rep. (Ans.) 6258 (ii).
 Public Accounts Com., Meeting (remarks) 755 (i), 3304 (ii).
 ——— Rep. (presented) 127 (i).
 ——— Powers and Functions (remarks) 2630 (i).
 ——— Debt, Gross and Net (Ans.) 5691 (ii).
 Returns, on inquiries (remarks) 4102 (ii).
 Senate and House of Commons Indemnity (B. 146) (prop. Res.) 5935; Res. conc. in and 1^o of B., 6053; in Com., 6260 (ii).
 Shoe Industry in P.E.I. (Ans.) 3440 (ii).
 Statistical Year-book, Delay in Publication (Ans.) 289 (i).
 Straits of Northumberland Tunnel, Borings (Ans.) 284 (i); 4195 (ii).
 Subsidies (Money) to Rys. B. 169 (Mr. *Haggart*) in Com. on Res., 6400 (ii).
 Sugar Refining Industry, Number Employed (Ans.) 283, 684 (i).
 Superannuation Fund, Number of Contributors (Ans.) 753 (i).
 ——— Abolition, on Amt. (Mr. *McMullen*) to Com. of Sup., 4363 (ii).

SUPPLY: ON M. FOR COM. (remarks) 3175 (ii).

Agriculture (Archives) 4124; (*Patent Record*) 4125; (Year-book) 4126.

Arts, Agriculture, &c. (Dairy Commissioner) 4296; (Experimental Farms) 4276; (J. B. Jackson) 6234.

Charges of Management (Charlottetown, Asst. Receiver) 3186; (Halifax, Asst. Receiver) 3181; (Winnipeg, Asst. Receiver) 3184; (Bill S'amps, &c.) 3199; (Brokerage) 3199; (Country Savings Banks) 3186; (Inspector) 3180; (Printing Notes) 3199; (Public Debt) 3199.

Civil Government (Agriculture) 3233; (Civil Service Examiners) 3250; (Customs) contingencies, 3273; (Inland Revenue) contingencies, 3274; (Geological Survey) 3237; (Gov. Gen. Sec.'s Office) 3200, contingencies, 3266; (Marine and Fisheries) contingencies, 3274; (Privy Council) 3200; (Printing and Stationery) 3200; (Sec. of State) 3269; (Trade and Commerce) 3237.

Legislation: Senate (Deceased Senators indemnities) conc., 6359.

Miscellaneous (Intercolonial Conference) conc., 5777; (Prohibition Commission) 6516.

Quarantine (Cattle) 4374; Salaries, &c. (organized districts) 4371.

Supply (B. 171) 1^o, 2^o and 3^o, 6523 (ii).

Tariff Amendments (Ans.) 1220 (i).

——— Commissioners' Instructions, &c. (Ans.) 1566 (i).

——— Controllers' Visits (Ans.) 1971 (i).

——— Cost of Inquiry (Ans.) 1792 (i).

——— Emplmt. of Sec. (Ans.) 1968, 1970 (i).

——— Finance Minister's Visits (Ans.) 1972 (i).

——— Investigation, Rep. of Proceedings, &c., on M. for Ret., 1034 (i).

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Tariff, Ministerial Inquiries, Places Visited (Ans.) 2620 (i).

——— Resolutions, Old and New, Printing (Ans.) 448 (i).

——— Ret. respecting (Ans.) 1569 (i).

Tea and Coffee, Imports under New Tariff (Ans.) (remarks) 521, 755 (i).

Tea Importations under New Tariff (Ans.) 4039.

Treaty with France Ratification (B. 147) 2^o m., 5576; 2^o agreed to (Y. 120, N. 41) 5688; in Com., 5695 (ii).

Tuberculosis, Legislation respecting (Ans.) 80 (i).
Ways and Means—Annual Stmt., 182 (i).

——— Resolutions (presented) 247 (i).

——— Amended Resolutions (presented) 1322 (i).

Ways and Means—The Tariff:

In Com.: Res. 1 (Customs Acts Amts., definitions, &c.) 1327, 1337, 1373-1383. Res. 3 (acetic acid, &c.) 1949; (adzer, &c.) 2794; (albumenized paper) 1898; (articles for Govt. use) 2687; (axle springs, &c.) 2516; (bananas) 2689; (barbed wire) 2395; (beeswax) 1498; (blasting powder) 3025 (i); (bolts and rivets) 5849 (ii); (books) 1903, 1919; (books, prohibited) 2996; (brass, &c.) 2512; (British copyright works) 1927; (British gum) 2089; (buckthorn, &c., fencing) 2397 (i); (bullion) 3334 (ii); (buttons of hoof) 2682; (buttons, pearl) 2682; (cane, &c.) 2826 (i), 3337 (ii); (cartridges) 2684; (cases for jewels) 2515; (celluloid) 2821; (cement) 2121; (champagne, &c.) 1474; (chrome steel) 2514 (i); (cloth, not rubber, &c.) 3332; (coal) 3570 (ii); (coal oil) 2227, 2238; (cocoa, &c.) 1784; (cocoa paste) 3068; (coffee) 1783 (i); (coffee, green) 3334 (ii); (coffins, &c.) 2399 (i); (communion plate) 3336 (ii); (condensed milk, &c.) 1502 (i); (copper, &c.) 3335 (ii); (copper wire) 2514; (cordage) 2652; (corset clasps, &c.) 2398; (cotton batts) 2531; (cotton clothing) 2823; (cotton, gray) 2533; (cotton, printed) 2555; (cotton warps) 2532; (cotton, white) 2554; (damask) 2666 (i); (cyanide of potassium) 3335; (degras) 3335 (ii); (diamonds) 2687; (drain tiles) 2094; (earthenware) 2093, 2221 (i); (eggs) 3573 (ii); (elastic webbing) 2648; (elm logs) 2993; (emery wheels) 2516 (i), 3309 (ii); (enamelled ware) 2513; (eyelets, &c.) 2723; (farm wagons, &c.) 2399; (fertilizers) 2683 (i); (fire-brick) 3335 (ii); (fish, pickled) 2685; (fish plates) 2508; (flaxseed) 2722 (i); (frames, &c.) 5848; (fowls) 3335 (ii); (fruit) 1780 (i); (galvanized iron, &c.) 3580; (glass bulbs) 5848 (ii); (glass carboys, &c.) 2095; (glue) 1502; (grapes) 1781; (gun and sporting powder) 3026 (i); (hoofs, horns, &c.) 3336 (ii); (horse clothing) 5848 (ii); (Indian corn) 1551, 2690; (iron angles) 2505; (iron, &c., bars) 2505; (iron, &c., beams) 2692; (iron bridges) 2507; (iron, &c., forgings) 2505 (i); (iron, &c., hoops) 3571 (ii); (iron, manufactures) 2695; (iron, &c., nuts) 2531 (i); (iron ore, &c.) 3311 (ii); (iron, rolled) 2821; (iron, scrap) 2342; (iron tubing) 2521 (i); (knife blades) 3324 (ii); (lamp chimneys) 2097, 2099 (i); (lamp springs) 5848 (ii); (lard) 1493; (lead bars, &c.) 2513; (leather) 3022 (i), 3311 (ii); (linseed, &c., oil) 2090; (live hogs) 1481 (i); (logwood) 5849 (ii); (lumber, manufactured) 3025; (malt) 3002; (maps, &c.) 1927 (i);

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(maple sugar) 5848; (marble slabs, &c.) 3306 (ii); (medicinal preparations) 1949; (mining machinery) 3075; (molasses) 2403, (i), 3326; (mosaics, &c.) 3338 (ii); (mutton, &c.) 1487; (newspapers, &c.) 2722; (nitro-glycerine) 3026; (nuts, &c.) 1784 (i); (nuts, &c., iron or steel) 3321, 3315 (ii); (oatmeal) 1715; (oats) 1563; (olive oil) 2090; (opium) 1476; (oranges, &c.) 1782; (oysters) 2685; (paintings, &c.) 1928; (paints, &c.) 2091; (paraffine wax) 2089; (peaches) 1782; (photographic dry plates) 2683; (piano-fortes, &c.) 2403; (pine clapboards) 2989, 2996; (plaster of paris) 2222; (plumbago) 3024; (potatoes) 1504; (putty) 2093; (remarks) 3008; (rice) 1716, 1733 (i), 3338 (ii); (rove) 2663; (sails) 2666, 2355; (salt) 2630, 2999; (sawed boards) 2980; (sewing threads) 2649; (shingles) 3025; (shirts) 3064; (shovels, &c.) 2817; (slates, &c.) 2223, 3068 (i), 3306 (ii); (soap, &c.) 1498; (spices) 1784; (starch) 1775; (stearine) 2212 (i); (steel, milled, &c.) 3311; (steel pipes, &c.) 3337 (ii); (steel rails) 3069; (stereotypes) 2821; (sugar, &c.) 2403, 3000 (i); (surgical dressings) 3330; (switches, &c.) 3337 (ii); (tacks, &c.) 2511; (tallow, &c.) 1497; (tarred paper) 1948; (tea and coffee) 2076, 2081, 2079; (tea and green coffee) 3000; (tomatoes, &c.) 2218; (trees, fruit) 1776; (unenumerated goods) 2684; (vaseline) 2091; (velvets, &c.) 2646 (i); (verbal corrections) 3305 (ii); (wall paper) 1928; (wheat) 1739; (wire cloth) 2514; (wire iron, &c.) 2819; (wire nails) 2508; (wood pulp) 2515; (wool, &c.) 2668; (woollen yarns) 3062; (woollen clothing) 3063; (window shades) 3064 (i), 3330 (ii); (wool manufactures) 3028, 3054; (women's, &c., dress goods) 3066 (i); (yarns, &c.) 3337 (ii).

Concurrence (Ms.) 3971, 4034; (acetic acid) 4017; (Admiralty charts) 4030; (animals, &c.) 4016; (barley) 4015; (carpets) 4028; (eggs) 4016, 4033; (iron manufactures, &c.) 4030; (lard, &c.) 4014 (ii); (medicinal preparations, &c.) 3017 (i); (opium, crude) 4013; (patent medicines) 4018; (plate glass) 4018; (rye flour) 4014; (shovels, &c.) 4019; (sugar) 4027; (salmon) 4029; (surgical dressings) 4028; (tomatoes) 4016; (wire, steel) 4033 (ii).

Fraser, Mr. D. C., Guysborough.

Bounties to Fishermen in Victoria County (Ques.) 949 (i).
Breakwaters, Guysborough Co. (Ques.) 157 (i).
Bribery and Disfranchisement B. 6 (Mr. *Weldon*) in Com., 3297, 3372 (ii).
Broad Cove and Orangedale Ry. (Ques.) 1710 (i).
Can. Ry. Accident Ins. Co.'s B. 36 (Sir *James Grant*) in Com., 3086 (i).
Cape Breton Mail Service, Tenders (Ques.) 844.
Cape Canso Survey (Ques.) 1795 (i).
County Court Judges, B. C., in Com. on Res. (Sir *John Thompson*) 3560 (ii).
Cruelty to Animals prevention B. 4 (Mr. *Coatsworth*) in Com., 3656 4524, (ii).
Disfranchisement of Provincial Officials, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Mills, Annapolis*) 3153 (i).
Ellis, Mr., Imprisonment, on Amt. (Mr. *Davies, P.E.I.*) to Com. on Ways and Means, 3732 (ii).

Fraser, Mr. D. C.—Con.

Fisheries Act Amt. B. 145 (Sir *Charles Hibbert Tupper*) on M. for 1°, 4562; in Com., 5567 (ii).
Fishery Bounties, Payments (Ques.) 157 (i).
Govt. Contractors and Labourers' Wages, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Coatsworth*) 3610 (ii).
Guysborough C'ty, Public Works (Ques.) 283 (i).
—— Industries, Employees (Ques. 1972 (i).
—— Industries Established (M. for Ret. *) 3300 (ii).
—— Industries Ret. (inquiry) 5466 (ii).
Inverness County Mail Contract (Ques.) 597 (i).
Isaac's Harbour, Appmt. of Lighthouse Keeper (Ques.) 845 (i).
Lobster Curing Licenses, in Com. on Res. (Sir *Charles Hibbert Tupper*) 5559, 5565 (ii).
Lord's Day Observance B. 2 (Mr. *Charlton*) in Com., 3428 (ii).
Mail Service in N.S., Increased communication (Ques.) 519 (i).
Medals, Good Conduct (Ques.) 1792 (i).
N. W. T. Acts Amt. B. 149 (Mr. *Daly*) in Com., 5167 (ii).
Nova Scotia Steel Co.'s incorp. (B. 131) 1°, 3668 (ii).
Port Hawkesbury Customs Collector (Ques.) 2131.
Public Accounts Com., Powers and Functions (remarks) 2644 (i).
Public Works in N.S., Amount expended (M. for Ret. *) 366 (i).

SUPPLY:

Collection of Revenues: Adulteration of Food (expenses) 4774. Customs (Provinces generally) 5079. Excise (Extra Duty) 4752; (Methylated Spirits) 4769; (Preventive Service) 4762; Post Office (Mail Service) 5481.
Fisheries (Fish-breeding, &c.) 4747; (Salaries, &c.) 4741 (ii).
Immigration (Agents' Salaries, &c.) 4787 (ii).
Indian Affairs (Man. and N. W. T.) 4856, 4879 (ii).
Mounted Police (Scouts, &c.) 4637 (ii).
Public Works—Income: Dredging (N.S. and P.E.I.) 4612; (Plant) 4595; (Vessels, repairs) 4607 (ii).
Railways—Capital: I. C. R. (Accommodation at Feron) 5065; (Bedford Branch) 5066 (ii).
Trade and Commerce (Commercial Agencies) 5488.
Vinton Postmaster, Name, &c. (Ques.) 2732 (i).
Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to M. for Com., 1273 (i).
In Com. (axes) 2809; (flax seed) 2723; (iron manufactures) 2718; (newspapers) 2722 (i).

Gibson, Mr. W., Lincoln and Niagara.

Canal Employees, Payment of Wages, on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks) 5273 (ii).
Curran Bridge, Contracts, &c. (M. for Ret. *) 450.
—— Papers respecting (Ques.) 1875 (i).
Electrical Measurement provision B. 117 (Mr. *Wood, Brockville*) on M. for 1°, 3003 (i).
Oakville Pier and Lighthouse, Rebuilding, Cost (Ques.) 2622 (i).
St. Clair and Erie Ship Canal Co.'s incorp. B. 21 (Mr. *Tisdale*) on M. for Com., 2129 (i).

Gibson, Mr. M.—Com.

SUPPLY :

Canals—Capital (Cornwall) 3527, 5114; (Galops) 3532; (Lachine, construction) 5497; (Soulanges) 3519 (ii).

Collection of Revenues: Adulteration of Food (Expenses) 4772; (Weights and Measures) 5477.

Ways and Means—The Tariff :

In Com. : Res. 1 (Customs Acts Amts., definitions, &c.) 1334, 1362 Res. 3 (cement) 2122; (coal oil, &c.) 2261; (copper, &c.) 3335; (glass, &c.) 2104; (nuts, &c., iron or steel) 3313; (salt) 2999; (slates, &c.) 3307; (steel milled, &c.) 3312; (wall paper) 1935; (window shades) 3330 (i).

Gillies, Mr. J. A., Richmond, N.S.

Atlantic SS. Service, Fast, B. 161 (Mr. Foster) in Com., 5984 (ii).

Boynton Bicycle Electric Ry. Co.'s incorp. (B. 85) 1st, 1219 (i).

— Pet., Rep. of Standing Orders Com. (M. to ref. back) 1113 (i).

Fast Atlantic SS. Service, Terminus (Ques.) 4051.

Fisheries Act Amt. B. 145 (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper) on M. for 1^o, 4563 (ii).

Montreal Park and Island Ry. Co.'s B. 68 (Mr. Girouard, Jacques Cartier) in Com., 5288 (ii).

Purse Seining, Trawling, &c. (Ques.) 5233 (ii).

SUPPLY :

Public Works—Income: Buildings (N.S.) 6465; *Dredging* (N.S. and P.E.I.) 4613; *Harbours and Rivers* (N.S.) 6499 (ii).

Supreme Court Judges' Superannuation R. 89 (Sir John Thompson) in Com., 5001 (ii).

Gillmor, Mr. A. H., Charlotte.

Arbitration, Settlement of Disputes, on prop. Res. (Mr. Edgar) 3119 (i).

Exports to U. S., on M. for Ret., 1864 (i).

Fisheries (Fish-breeding, &c.) 4750 (ii).

Granite Imports (Ques.) 3872 (ii).

Mail Matter (Unpaid) from U. S. (Ques.) 517 (i).

Ships' Safety Act Amt. B. 98 (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper) in Com., 4579 (ii).

Ways and Means—The Tariff :

In Com. (axes) 2808; (coal oil, &c.) 2233 (farm products) 1517; (live hogs) 1483 (i).

Girouard, Mr. D., Jacques Cartier.

Judiciary of Quebec, on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks) 5824 (ii).

— Mr. Tarte's Charges (remarks) 6212 (ii).

Montreal Park and Island Ry. Co.'s (B. 68) in Com., 5295, 5484; recom., 5521 (ii).

Richelieu and Ont. Nav. Co.'s (B. 62) 1st, 1030 (i).

Treaty with France Ratification B. 147 (Mr. Foster) on Amt. (Mr. O'Brien) to M. for 2^o, 5623 (ii).

Turcotte, Mr., M.P., Priv. and Elec. Com. 4th and 5th Repr. (presented) 5574 (ii).

— 4th Rep. of Com., conc. (M.) 5887; M. agreed to (Y. 82, N. 43) 5933 (ii).

Ways and Means—The Tariff :

In Com. (nuts, &c., steel or iron) 3316 (i).

Girouard, Mr. J., Two Mountains.

Can. Agency, Chicago (Ques.) 5368 (ii).

Dairying for Profit, Pamphlet, Distribution (Ques.) 3765 (ii).

Fishways in Argenteuil County (Ques.) 950 (i).

French Canadians, Repatriation (Ques.) 3439 (ii).

Mille Isles River Fisheries (Ques.) 1794 (i).

North River Fisheries (Ques.) 1793 (i).

Tobacco (Can.) Reduction of Duty, on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks) 6437 (ii).

Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir Richard Cartwright) to M. for Com., 1107 (i).

Grandbois, Mr. P. E., Temiscouata.

Ste. Emilie Ry. Co.'s incorp. (B. 83) 1st, 1219 (i).

Grant, Sir James, Ottawa City.

Address in Answer to His Ex.'s Speech (moved) 11 (i).

Atlantic SS. Service, Fast, B. 161 (Mr. Foster) in Com. on Res., 5742 (ii).

Can. Providence Association incorp. Act Amt. (B. 76) 1st, 1219 (i).

Can. Ry. Accident Ins. Co.'s incorp. (B. 36) 1st, 750; in Com., 3088 (i).

— Fire Ins. Co.'s incorp. (B. 42) 1st, 751 (i).

Chaudière Electric Light and Power Co.'s (B. 75) 1st, 1219 (i).

Geological Museum, New Building (Ques.) 2136.

Lachine Canal Bridges, Expenditure, on Amt. (Sir Richard Cartwright) to Com. of Sup., 6349.

Ottawa Electric Co.'s incorp. (B. 74) 1st, 1219 (i).

St. Lawrence Canals, Enlargement, on prop. Res. (Mr. Denison) 2154 (i).

SUPPLY :

Indian Affairs (Man. and N.W.T.) 4875 (ii.)

Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir Richard Cartwright) to M. for Com., 952 (i).

Grieve, Mr. J. N., North Perth.

Customs Officers, Uniforms (Ques.) 1118 (i).

— Statutes, Publication of Index (Ques.) 1118 (i).

Letter Postage, Reduction of Rate (Ques.) 520 (i).

Mail Service, Ottawa County (Ques.) 2132 (i).

Owen Sound Postmastership (Ques.) 519 (i).

Registered Letters, Reduction of Fee (Ques.) 520.

Stratford Public Buildings, Loss by Fire (Ques.) 2039 (i).

SUPPLY :

Arts, Agriculture, &c. (Experimental Farms) 4282.

Ways and Means—The Tariff :

In Com. (shovels) 2818; (stereotypes) 2822 (i).

Guay, Mr. P. M., Lévis.

Judges' Salaries, Increase (Ques.) 518 (i).

Lighthouses, Ste. Emilie Parish (Ques.) 156 (i).

Loiselle, B., Dismissal (Ques.) 518 (i).

Man. School Case, Judicial Com. of P. C., Decision (Ques.) 518 (i).

— Question, Roman Catholic minority (Ques) 1712 (i).

Guay, Mr. P. M.—Con.

- Montreal Division P.O. Inspectorship (Ques.) 517.
 Quebec Observatory, W. A. Ashe's Successor (Ques.) 4308 (ii).
 Readjustment of Counties in Que. (Ques.) 1793.
 Voters' Lists, Revision for 1894 (Ques.) 2732 (i).

Haggart, Hon. J. G., South Lanark.

- Bounty on Pig Iron (B. 170) Res. conc. and 1st of B., 6516 (ii).
 Broad Cove and Orangedale Ry. (Ans.) 1710 (i).
 Canal Employees, Payment of Wages, on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks) 5274 (ii).
 Cape Breton Ry., sub-Contractors' Claims (Ans.) 2297 (i).
 Caraquet Ry., Gross Earnings, 1891-92 (Ans.) 2566 (i).
 C.P.R., North Shore Section, Improvements (Ans.) 948 (i).
 — Drawback on Iron, &c., Bridges (B. 166) prop. Res., 5369; in Com., 5536, 6010; 2^d M., 6359 (ii).
 Chignecto Marine Ry., Amount Paid to Date (Ans.) 754 (i).
 Coal (Govt.) Sales at Sorel (Ans.) 3274 (ii).
 Cornwall Canal, Sheik's Island Dam (Ans.) 155.
 Curran Bridge, Papers respecting (Ans.) 1875 (i).
 Dam at West Rideau Lake, Floods (Ans.) 1221.
 Davis, Messrs., Security for Contract (Ans.) 3604.
 Duvar Road Flag Station, P. E. I. Ry. (Ans.) 2038 (i).
 Electric Light Inspection B. 118 (Mr. Wood, Brockville) in Com., 5057 (ii).
 Govt. Contractors and Labourers' Wages, on prop. Res. (Mr. Coatsworth) 3621 (ii).
 Hickey, C. E., Supt. Williamsburg Canal (Ans.) 2135 (i).
 Hickey, Geo., Emplmt. as Canal Inspector (Ans.) 5044 (ii).
 I.C.R., Employees Discharged (Ans.) 157 (i).
 — Freight Rates on Grain (Ans.) 2293 (i).
 — Harris' Property, Amount Paid (Ans.) 158.
 — Lumber, &c., Supplies, Value (Ans.) 4889 (ii).
 — Memramcook and College Bridge Station Receipts (Ans.) 2038, 2131 (i).
 — Passenger and Freight Rates (Ans.) 950 (i).
 — Robberies at Rivière du Loup (Ans.) 4195.
 — Sales of Newspapers, &c., Tenders (Ans.) 1031 (i).
 — Sales of Scrap Iron (Ans.) 4477 (ii).
 Inspector, Appmt. (Ans.) 4718 (ii).
 Insurance Act Amt. B. 111 (Mr. Foster) in Com., 5878 (ii).
 Lachine Canal Bridges, Expenditure, on Amt. (Sir Richard Cartwright) to Com. of Sup., 6317.
 — Cost of Widening (Ans.) 5774 (ii).
 Lemay, Victor, Deceased (Ans.) 2871 (i).
 Little Rapids Lock, in Com. of Sup., 4158 (ii).
 Loiselle, B., Postmaster, Dismissal, on M. for Cor., 2742 (i).

Haggart, Hon. J. G.—Con.

- Lord's Day Observance B. 2 (Mr. Charlton) in Com., 3637 (ii).
 Man. and North-western Ry. Co.'s B. 108 (Mr. Taylor) in Com., 4049 (ii).
 Mill River (P. E. I.) Flag Station, Removal (Ans.) 283 (i); on inquiry for Ret. (remarks) 3303 (ii).
 — Ret. (remarks) 5466 (ii).
 Pontiac Pacific Junction Ry. Co.'s Subsidy, in Com. on Res., 6282 (ii).
 — on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks) 5426 (ii).
 Public Accounts Com., 1st and 2nd Repts., on Amt. to Amt. (Sir Charles Tupper) 1675 (i).
 Railway Act Amt. B. 14 (Mr. Mulock) on M. for 2^d, 3300 (ii).
 Railways and Canals, Deptl. Rep. (presented) 180.
 Railway Passenger Tickets, Sale (B. 163) 1st, 6045; in Com., 6518 (ii).
 Returns, on inquiry (remarks) 4102 4818, (ii).
 Sault Ste. Marie Canal, Date of Completion (Ans.) 683 (i).
 Sheik's Island Dam, in Com. of Sup., 4153 (ii).
 — papers (remarks) 3534, 3602 (ii).
 — Mr. Rubidge's Rep. (remarks) 4312 (ii).
 Soulanges Canal, Contractors' Securities (Ans.) 3766 (ii).
 — Expropriation of Land (Ans.) 5233 (ii).
 South-eastern Ry., Sections abandoned by Co. (Ans.) 1117 (i).
 St. Catharines and Niagara Central Ry. Co.'s Subsidy, in Com. on Res., 6275 (ii).
 St. Clair and Erie Ship Canal Co.'s incorp. B. 21 (Mr. Tisdale) in Com., 2390 (i).
 St. Lawrence Canals, Enlargement, on prop. Res. (Mr. Denison) 2174 (i).
 Subsidies (Money) to Rys. (B. 169) prop. Res., 6254, 6357; M. for Com. on Res., 6267, 6380; in Com., 6385, 6414; 1st*, 6414 (ii).
 Subsidized SS. and Govt. Rys., Rates, Passengers, &c. (Ans.) 1118 (i).

SUPPLY :

- Administration of Justice* (Official Arbitrators) 3341 (ii).
Canals—Capital (Cornwall) 3521, 5113, 5133; (Galops) 3530; (Lachine) construction, 5497; (Lake St. Louis) 4160; (Murray) 4154; (Rapid Plat) 3530, 6457; (Sault Ste. Marie) 4159; (Soulanges) 3519; (St. Lawrence River, &c.) 4154; (Trent) 4155; (Welland) 4154. *Income*—(Beauharnois) 4162; (Carillon and Grenville) 4161; (Cornwall) 6458; (Culbute) 4162; (Lachine) 4160, 5447, 6458; (Rideau) 5450; (Ste. Anne's Lock) 4161; (St. Peter's) 4162; (Trent Valley) 5446, 6458; (Welland) 4160, 5450, 6458. *Miscellaneous*, 6459 (ii).
Civil Government (Interior) 3227 (i).
Collection of Revenues—Canals (Lachine) 5451; (Rideau, Sweetman's Claim) 6464; (Salaries, &c.) 4164; (Welland) 5452. *Excise* (Extra Duty) 4756. *Post Office* (Mail Service) 5480. *Railways* (I.C.R.) 5143; (Accident at Levis) 6462; (Martin's Claim) 6462; (P. E. I.) 5153; (C.P.R., construction) 5431; (Bedford Branch) 5066; conc., 5113. *Railways and Canals* (Miscellaneous) 4163 (ii).

Haggart, Hon. J. G.—Con.

SUPPLY—Con.

Railways—Capital: C.P.R., 3503. I.C.R., 3504; (accommodation at Feron, 5064; (Annapolis and Digby Ry.) 5432; (Cape Breton and New Glasgow) 6354; (construction) 5431; (Dartmouth Branch) 3518; (Halifax, increased accommodation) 3505; (Indiantown Branch) 3517; (Original construction) 3508; (Rolling Stock) 3506; (St. Charles Branch) 3509; (Sydney Branch, extension) 3517. Litigation, &c., 3519 (ii).

Sweetman, T., Compensation for Damages (Ans.) 1221 (i).

Tay Canal, Receipts from Tolls, &c. (Ans.) 145 (i).

— on Amt. (Mr. Charlton) to Com. of Sup., 4110 (ii).

Trent Valley Canal, Expenditure, &c. (Ans.) 687.

— Commission, on M. for Rep., 1797 (i).

Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir Richard Cartwright) to M. for Com., 337 (i).

Wellington Street and G.T.R. Bridge, Claims (Ans.) 3091 (i).

Williamsburg Canal Superintendent, par. in *Morrisburg Herald* (Ans.) 285 (i).

Wood, A. F., Govt. Valuator, Ret. respecting (Ans.) 2342 (i).

Harwood, Mr. H. S., Vaudreuil.

Sabourin, Théophile, Appmt. as Fishery Overseer (M. for O.C.*) 1398 (i).

Soulanges Canal, Expropriation of Land (Ques.) 5233 (ii).

SUPPLY:

Canals—Capital (Soulanges, construction) 5432.

Haslam, Mr. A., Vancouver Island.

Cruelty to Animals prevention B. 4 (Mr. Coatsworth) in Com., 4525 (ii).

Lord's Day Observance B. 2 (Mr. Charlton) in Com., 3435; on Amt. (Mr. Mara) to recom., 4079; on Amt. (Mr. Bennett) to recom., 4087 (ii).

SUPPLY:

Indian Affairs (Man. and N.W.T.) 4861 (ii).

Timber Sales, on Indian Reserves, on Amt. (Sir John Thompson) 1432 (i).

Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir Richard Cartwright) to M. for Com., 497 (i).

In Com. (collars of cotton, &c.) 2561; (iron manufactures) 2721; (rice) 1723; (sawed boards, &c.) 2983; (sugar, &c.) 2409 (i).

Hazen, Mr. J. D., St. John City and County.

Atlantic S.S. Service, Fast, B. 161 (Mr. Foster) in Com. of Res., 5757 (ii).

Dom. Day Adjmt., (remarks) 5047 (ii).

Elgin and Havelock Ry. Co.'s incorp. (B. 40) 1st, 751 (i).

Ellis, Mr., Imprisonment, on Amt. (Mr. Davies, P.E.I.) to Com. on Ways and Means, 3704 (ii).

Logs, Export Duty, on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks) 4206 (ii).

Hazen, Mr. J. D.—Con.

Public Harbours B. 95 (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper) in Com., 2729 (i).

Ships' Safety Act Amt. B. 98 (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper) in Com., 4570 (ii).

Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir Richard Cartwright) to M. for Com., 454 (i).

In Com. (books) 1915; (coal oil, &c.) 2241, 2245; (wall paper) 1943 (i).

Henderson, Mr. D., Halton.

Guelph Junction Ry Co.'s (B. 63) 1st, 1113 (i).

Lord's Day Observance B. 2 (Mr. Charlton) in Com., 3433 (ii).

SUPPLY:

Public Works—Income: Roads and Bridges (Burlington Channel Bridge) 6509 (ii).

Ways and Means—The Tariff:

In Com. (degras) 3335 (ii); (yarns, woollen) 3059 (i).

Hughes, Mr. S., North Victoria.

Herbert, Major General, Language addressed to French Batt. (Ques.) 2733 (i).

Martini-Metford Rifles, Number purchased (Ques.) 368 (i).

Militia Manuals, Distribution of copies (Ques.) 368 (i).

N.W.T. Act Amt. B. 149 (Sir John Thompson) on M. for 3^d (Amt. to Amt.) 6089; neg. (Y. 2, N. 131) 6102 (ii).

Powell, Col., Suspension, on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks) 6161 (ii).

— on General Herbert's explanations (remarks) 5498 (ii).

SUPPLY:

Militia (Brigade Major Roy) 6247.

Trent Valley Canal Commission (M. for Rep.) 1796 (i).

Villiers, Lieut.-Col., Retirement (Ques.) 369 (i).

Ingram, Mr. A. B., East Elgin.

Disfranchisement of Provincial Officials, on M. to adjn. deb., 3162 (i).

Expenditure of the Dom., on Amt. (Mr. Charlton) to Com. of Sup., 6211 (ii).

Govt. Contractors and Labourers' Wages, on prop. Res. (Mr. Coatsworth) 3611 (ii).

Labour Statistics, Establishment of Bureau, on M. for Ret., 2191 (i).

Order, Ques. of (Sir Richard Cartwright) 1744 (i).

Subsidies (Money) to Rys. B. 169 (Mr. Haggart) in Com. on Res., 6269 (ii).

SUPPLY:

Legislation: House of Commons (Voters' Lists) 3497 (ii).

Quarantine (Cattle) 4390 (ii).

Ways and Means—The Tariff:

In Com. (articles for Govt. use) 2687; (collars of cotton) 2562, 1374, 1391; (cartridges) 2684; (logs and round timber) 284; (wheat) 1744 (i).

Innes, Mr. J., *South Wellington.*

Cattle Embargo by Great Britain, on M. for Ret., 1817 (i).

Chicago Exhibition, Can. Commissioners' Rep. (Ques.) 5530 (ii).

Ways and Means—The Tariff :

In Com. (sewing machines) 2396; (type, &c.) 2393.

Ives, Hon. W. B., *Sherbrooke.*

Brown, Gilpin, Appmt. in Mounted Police (Ans.) 2567 (i).

Cattle, Ocean Freight Rates, B. 8 (Mr. *Mulock*) on M. for 1°, 135 (i).

—— Transit through Canada, on Amt. (Mr. *Mulock*) to Com of Sup., 5329 (ii).

Cruelty to Animals prevention B. 4 (Mr. *Coatsworth*) in Com., 4531 (ii).

Electric Light Inspection B. 118 (Mr. *Wood, Brockville*) in Com., 5060 (ii).

Mounted Police Commissioner's Rep. (presented) 1327 (i).

—— Medals and Scrip (Ans.) 2040 (i).

N.W. Mounted Police Act Amt. (B. 121) 2° m., 4591; in Com. on Res., 4593; in Com. on B., 4647 (ii).

SUPPLY :

Civil Government (Interior) 3219; (Privy Council Office) 3200 (i), 5215 (ii).

Dominion Lands—Income (Board of Examiners) 5016; Mounted Police (Buildings, &c.) 4641; Clothing) 4635; (Forage) 4633; (Hospitals, &c.) 4636; (Pay of Force) 4629; (Renewals of Arms) 4636; (Scouts, &c.) 4636; (Subsistence) 4632 (ii).

Supreme Court Judges' Superannuation B. 89 (Sir *John Thompson*) in Com., 4961 (ii).

Ways and Means—The Tariff :

In Com. (mining machinery) 3076 (i); (nuts, &c., iron or steel) 3222 (ii); (stearine) 2215; (wool, &c.) 2668 (i).

Jeannotte, Mr. H., *L'Assomption.*

Bribery and Disfranchisement B. 6 (Mr. *Weldon*) in Com., 2568, 2586, 2875 (i), 3368 (ii).

Dillon, Jas. St. George, Relief B. 148 (Mr. *Sutherland*) on M. for 3°, 6290 (ii).

Judiciary of Quebec, on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks) 5835 (ii).

Letter Postage, Reduction of Rates, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Coatsworth*) 2199 (i).

Lord's Day Observance B. 2 (Mr. *Charlton*) in Com., 3407 (ii).

Subsidies (Money) to Rys. B. 169 (Mr. *Huggart*) in Com. on Res., 6395 (ii).

SUPPLY :

Mounted Police (Scouts, charges, &c.) 4638 (ii).

Tobacco (Can.) Reduction of Duty, on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks) 6428 (ii).

Joncas, Mr. L. Z., *Gaspé.*

Bribery and Disfranchisement B. 6 (Mr. *Weldon*) in Com., 2873 (i).

SUPPLY :

Lighthouse and Coast Service (Maintenance) 4715.

Kaulbach, Mr. C. E., *Lunenburg.*

Fish Exports, Cuba and Porto Rico (Ques.) 1397.

Fishing Licenses (Nfld.) Refund of Fees (Ques.) 1396 (i).

Geological Survey, Lunenburg County (Ques.) 1397 (i).

Maritime Provinces, Fisheries, on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks) 5406 (ii).

SUPPLY :

Mail Subsidies, &c. (St. John, &c., and W. Indies, &c.) 5454 (ii).

Public Works—Income : Harbours and Rivers (N.S.) 4457 (ii).

Ways and Means—The Tariff :

In Com. (cordage) 2658; (eggs) 2688; (sails) 2666; (saw-logs) 2969 (i).

Kenny, Mr. T. E., *Halifax.*

Atlantic SS. Service, Fast, B. 161 (Mr. *Foster*) in Com. on Res., 5749; on M. for 2°, 5952 (ii).

Dominion Atlantic Ry. Co.'s (B. 50) 1°, 841 (i).

—— Day, Adjmt. (remarks) 5046 (ii).

Exports to U.S., on M. for Ret., 1845 (i).

Halifax Drill Shed, in Com. of Sup., 4420 (ii).

Ships' Safety Act Amt. B. 98 (Sir *Charles Herbert Tupper*) in Com., 4573 (ii).

SUPPLY :

Public Works—Income : Buildings (N.S.) 4420.

Dredging (N.S. and P.E.I.) 4617; (Plant) 4597.

Fisheries (N.S., Salaries) 4743 (ii).

Tea and Coffee, Imports under New Tariff (Ques.) 521 (i).

Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to M. for Com., 1296 (i).

In Com. (cotton, gray, &c.) 2537; (sugar, &c.) 2408.

Lachapelle, Mr. S., *Hochelaga.*

Address in Answer to His Excellency's Speech (seconded) 23 (i).

Chicago Fair, School Awards (M. for Ret.) 3289.

Treaty with France Ratification B. 147 (Mr. *Foster*) on Amt. (Mr. *O'Brien*) to M. for 2°, 5629 (ii).

Landerkin, Mr. G., *South Grey.*

Barrel Standard, under Weights and Measures Act (Ques.) 2622 (i).

Behring Sea Seal Fisheries, Number and Value (Ques.) 696 (i).

Cape Breton Ry., sub-Contractors' Claims (Ques.) 2297 (i).

Carlsruhe Brewery, Govt. Revenue (Ques.) 2622.

Cattle Disease in County of Grey (remarks) 521.

—— Embargo by Great Britain, on M. for Ret., 1830 (i).

—— Trade. Rep. *re* Export (remarks) 2212 (i).

Coal Oil in Tanks, Places where admitted (Ques.) 284, 516, 517, 596 (i).

Cruelty to Animals prevention B. 4 (Mr. *Coatsworth*) in Com., 3655 (ii).

Deptl. Reps. (Ques.) 2042 (i).

Dom. Elections Act Amt. (remarks) 3302 (ii)

Dunn, Capt. Ed., Suspension (Ques.) 1564

Landerkin, Mr. G.—Con.

- Exports to U.S., on M. for Ret., 1865 (i).
 Georgetown Postmaster, Dismissal and Appmt. (Ques.) 3440, 3605 (ii).
 ——— Complaint against, (Ques.) 4478 (ii).
 ——— on M. for Com. of Sup. (Amt.) 4720; neg. (Y. 36, N. 88) 4732 (ii).
 Govt. Business, precedence on Wednesdays, on prop. Res. (Sir *John Thompson*) 3446 (ii).
 Imports from the U.S., Ret. (Ques.) 2298 (i).
 ——— Value, &c. (M. for Lists) 3300 (ii).
 Insurance Act Amt. B. 111 (Mr. *Foster*) in Com., 5881 (ii).
 ——— (Sir *John Thompson*) on 2^o of Amts., 6061.
 Legge, Joshua, Services (Ques.) 1790 (i).
 Letter Postage, Reduction of Rates, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Coatsworth*) 2201 (i).
 Liquor Traffic, Commissioners' Rep. (remarks) 9.
 Montreal P.O., Contract for Elevator (Ques.) 842.
 Neustadt Brewery, Govt. Revenue (Ques.) 2621.
 ——— and Carlsruhe Breweries, Revenue, &c. (Ques.) 2938 (i).
 N. W. Mounted Police Acts Amt. B. 121 (Mr. *Ives*) in Com., 4652 (ii).
 Owen Sound Postmaster, Vacancy (Ques.) 4643.
 Prohibition, Commissioners' Names and Expenditure (Ques.) 1031 (i).
 Public Accounts Com., 3rd Rep., on Amt. (Sir *Charles Hibbert Tupper*) 1967 (i).
 Returns Ordered by Hse. and not presented (M. for Ret. *) 1036 (i).
 ——— non-production (remarks) 3601 (ii).
 ——— (Inquiry) 4395, 6258 (ii).
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Man. and North-Western Ry. Co.'s B. 108 (Mr. Taylor) in Com., 4046 (ii).

N.W.T. Act. Amt.—Dual Language—(B. 10) 1°, 138 (i).

— Act Amt. B. 149 (Sir John Thompson) on M. for 3° (Amt.) 6080, 6148; neg. (Y. 21, N. 114) 6153 (ii).

Order (Ques. of) in Com. on B. 4, 4536 (ii).

Quebec West, Representation, Vacancy (remarks) 5969 (ii).

Return, Inquiry for, 4720 (ii).

St. Catharines and Niagara Central Ry. Co.'s Subsidy, in Com. on Res. (Mr. Haggart) 6272 (ii).

Senate and House of Commons B. (Sir John Thompson) in Com. on Res., 6029 (ii).

Subsidies (Money) to Rys. B. 169 (Mr. Haggart) in Com. on Res., 6268 (ii)

SUPPLY :

Canals—Capital (Cornwall) 3525 (ii).

Railways—Capital: I. C. R. (St. Charles Branch) 3514 (ii).

Miscellaneous (Liquor Traffic Commission) 5540 (ii).

McCarthy, Mr. D.—Con.

Treaty with France Ratification B. 147 (Mr. *Foster*) on Amt. (Mr. *Edgar*) to M. for 2°, 5666; in Com., 5695 (ii).

Turcotte, Mr., M. P., Rep. of Com. on Priv. and Elec. (remarks) 3871 (ii).

Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to M. for Com., 1151 (i).

McDonald, J. A., Victoria, N.S.

SUPPLY :

Fisheries (Legal expenses) 5028 (ii)

McDonald, Mr. W. W., East Assiniboia.

Freight Rates in N.W.T., on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks) 5370 (ii).

SUPPLY :

Dominion Lands: Income (Agents) 4936.

Govt. of the N. W. T. (Insane Patients, &c.) 4921.

Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to M. for Com., 1020 (i).

In Com. (eggs) 2688; (farm products) 1532; (India-rubber boots) 2126 (i); (sawed boards, &c.) 2986.

Wood Mountain and Qu'Appelle Ry. Co.'s (B. 20) 1°, 596 (i).

McDougald, Mr. J., Pictou.

Coal Imports *via* G. T. R. (Ques.) 2412 (i).

McDougall, Mr. H. F., Cape Breton.

Willie McGowan, Illegal Seizure (M. for Cor.) 1570 (i).

McGregor, Mr. W., North Essex.

C.P.R. Land Grant B. 159 (Mr. *Daly*) in Com., 6042 (ii).

Fisheries of Ont. (M. for O. C.'s., &c.*) 1579, 2075 (i).

Lake Erie and Detroit River Ry. Co., &c. (B. 82) 1°, 1219 (i).

Lobster Curing Licenses, in Com. on Res. (Sir *Charles Hibbert Tupper*) 5559 (ii).

St. Clair and Erie Ship Canal Co.'s incorp. B. 21 (Mr. *Tisdale*) on M. for Com., 2116 (i).

SUPPLY :

Arts, Agriculture, &c. (Experimental Farms) 5463.

Collection of Revenues (Customs) Miles Cowan, 5464.

Penitentiaries (Manitoba) 3360 (ii).

Quarantine (Cattle) 4338.

Treaty with France Ratification B. 147 (Mr. *Foster*) on Amt. (Mr. *O'Brien*) to M. for 2°, 5592 (ii).

Ways and Means—The Tariff :

In Com. : Res. 1 (Customs Acts Amts., definitions, &c.) 1390 (i).

McInerney, Mr. G. V., Kent, N.B.

Moncton and P. E. I. Ry. and Ferry Co.'s Act Amt. (B. 103) 1°, 2289 (i).

Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to M. for Com., 559 (i).

In Com. (iron tubing) 2519, 2526; (cordage) 2658 (i).

McKay, Mr. A., Hamilton.

Colonial Mutual Life Association incorp. (B. 114) 1°, 3077 (i).

Filman, Joshua, Relief (B. 109) 1°, 2937 (i).

St. Lawrence Canals, Enlargement, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Denison*) 2143 (i).

Tea and Coffee, Imports under New Tariff (remarks) 521 (i).

Welland Power and Supply Co.'s B. 49 (Mr. *McKay*) incorp. (B. 49) 1°, 841; in Com., 2725.

Ways and Means—The Tariff :

In Com. (lamp chimneys) 2102 (i); (nuts, &c., steel or iron) 3318 (ii).

McLean, Mr. J., King's, P.E.I.

Fisheries Act Amt. B. 145 (Sir *Charles Hibbert Tupper*) in Com., 5571 (ii)

Lobster Curing Licenses, in Com. on Res. (Sir *Charles Hibbert Tupper*) 5567 (ii).

Ways and Means—The Tariff :

In Com. (coal oil, &c.) 2244; (starch) 1774 (i).

McLennan, Mr. R. R., Glengarry.

Govt. Contractors and Labourers' Wages, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Coatsworth*) 3620 (ii).

— Liability for Labour on Public Works (B. 69) 1°, 1115 (i).

Reformatory for Dom., Establishment (Ques.) 6522 (ii).

Return Fare Tickets on Rys. (B. 70) 1°, 1116 (i).

Volunteers of 1837-38 (Ques.) 4192 (ii).

McLeod, Mr. E., St. John City, N.B.

Ellis, Mr., Imprisonment, on Amt. (Mr. *Davies*, *P.E.I.*) to Com. on *Ways and Means*, 3832 (ii).

McMillan, Mr. J., South Huron.

Address, The, on conc., 95 (i).

Cattle Embargo by Great Britain, on M. for Ret., 1822 (i).

— Ocean Freight Rates B. 8 (Mr. *Mulock*) on M. for 1°, 131 (i).

— Trade (remarks) 3175 (i).

— Transit through Canada, on Amt. (Mr. *Edgar*) to M. for Com. of Sup., 5361 (ii).

Cheese Inspection at Montreal (remarks) 2489 (i).

— Weighing, on M. for Com. on *Ways and Means* (remarks) 2497 (i).

Cruelty to Animals prevention B. 4 (Mr. *Coatsworth*) in Com., 3660, 4088 (ii).

Elgin and Woodstock Creameries, Ret. (Ques.) 2623 (i).

General Inspection Act Amt. B. 125 (Mr. *Wood*, *Brockville*) in Com., 3542 (ii).

Mail Contract, County of Huron (Ques.) 1566 (i).

Seaforth as an Outport of Entry (Ques.) 3766 (ii).

SUPPLY :

Arts, Agriculture, &c. (Columbian Exhibition) 5498.

(Dairy Commissioner) 4296; Experimental Farms, 4286, 5462.

Miscellaneous (Seed Grain) 5506.

Penitentiaries (Kingston) 5219.

McMillan, Mr. J.—Con.SUPPLY—*Con.*

Public Works: Income—Buildings (Experimental Farms) 5232.

Quarantine (Cattle) 4381.

Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) on M. for Com., 620 (i).

In Com. (axes, &c.) 2799; (drain tiles) 2094; (Indian corn) 1540; (iron, &c., bars) 2505; (iron tubes, not welded) 2998; (oatmeal) 1716; (rove) 2663; (seeds) 1776, 1390; (wheat) 1740, 1771; (wool) 2674 (i).

McMullen, Mr. J., North Wellington.

Agriculture, Deptl. Rep., presentation (remarks) 4102 (ii).

Atlantic S.S. Service, East (Mr. *Foster*) in Com. on Res., 5753, 5762; in Com., 5972; on 2° of Res., 5776; on M. for 2°, 5936 (ii).

Bancroft, Connolly & Co., Contract *re* Graving Dock, on Amt. (Mr. *Laurier*) to Com. of Sup., 6446 (ii).

Bounty on Pig Iron, in Com. on Res. (Mr. *Foster*) 6476 (ii).

Bowell, J. C., Services (Ques.) 947 (i).

Bribery and Disfranchisement B. 6 (Mr. *Weldon*) in Com., 3398 (ii).

Brown, Gilpin, Appmt. in Mounted Police (Ques.) 2566 (i).

Buildings in N. W. T., Ret. (Inquiry) 5370, 5531 (ii).

Butter Manufactured at Experimental Creameries (M. for Ret. *) 451 (i).

Campbellford sub-Collector of Customs (Ques.) 3090 (i).

C.P.R., Drawbacks on Iron and Steel Bridges B. 166 (Mr. *Haggart*) in Com. on Res., 6011; on Amt. (Mr. *Mulock*) 6373 (ii).

— Land Grants B. 159 (Mr. *Daly*) on M. for 2°, 6034 (ii).

Cattle, Ocean Freight Rates B. 8 (Mr. *Mulock*) on M. for 1°, 132 (i); 2° m., 4545 (ii).

— (Can.) Slaughtered in Great Britain (remarks) 2041 (i).

— Embargo by Great Britain (M. for Ret.) 1800 (i).

— Transit through Can., on M. for Ret., 4493 (ii).

— On Amt. (Mr. *Edgar*) to Com. of Sup., 5343 (ii).

Civil Service Superannuation B. 7 (remarks) 2341 (i).

Cockburn Island Wharf, &c., Total Cost (M. for Ret. *) 450 (i).

Corn, Rebate of Duty on Imports (Ques.) 841 (i).

County Court Judges, B. C., in Com. on Res. (Sir *John Thompson*) 3558, 3562 (ii).

Cruelty to Animals prevention B. 4 (Mr. *Coatsworth*) in Com., 3657 (ii).

Cullers' Office, Que., Number, &c. (Ques.) 1567.

Customs sub-Collector at Campbellford, Suspension (Ques.) 368 (i).

McMullen, Mr. J.—Con.

Dillon, James St. George, Relief B. 148 (Mr. *Sutherland*) 2° m., 5108 (ii).

Daggan, E., Superannuation (Ques.) 1711 (i).

Exports to U.S., on M. for Ret., 1853 (i).

Ferland, Pierre, Appmt. as Stave Culler (Ques.) 1711 (i).

Fitzroy-Galetta Mail Service (Ques.) 1398 (i).

Flour, Free Imports for Deep-Sea Fisheries (Ques.) 842 (i).

Furlow, Pierre, Appmt. as Stave Culler (Ques.) 1567 (i).

General Inspection Act Amt. B. 125 (Mr. *Wood, Brockville*) in Com., 3543 (ii).

Govt. Buildings in Man. and N.W.T., Total Cost (M. for Ret. *) 450 (i).

— Business, Adjmt., Queen's Birthday (remarks) 3168 (i).

— precedence on Wednesdays, on prop. Res. (Sir *John Thompson*) 3442 (i).

Govt. Property in London, Lease, &c. (Ques.) 3766 (ii).

Halifax Drill Shed, in Com. of Sup., 4424 (ii).

Indian Act Amt. B. 116 (Mr. *Daly*) in Com., 5552 (ii).

— Industrial Schools, N.W.T., Number, &c. (Ques.) 2567 (i).

Inland Revenue, Drawbacks, in Com. on Res. (Mr. *Wood, Brockville*) 5173 (ii).

Insurance Act Amt. B. 111 (Mr. *Foster*) in Com., 5882 (ii).

Lachine Canal Bridges, Expenditure, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to Com. of Sup., 6343.

Letter Box (Street) Contract, Montreal (Ques.) 1397 (i).

Lord's Day Observance B. 2 (Mr. *Charlton*) on M. for 2°, 2334 (i); in Com., 3416, 3642; on Amt. (Mr. *Mara*) to recom., 4078 (ii).

Man. and North-western Ry. Co.'s B. 108 (Mr. *Taylor*) in Com., 4049 (ii).

McNab & Gallagher, Purchase of Land (M. for O.C. *) 2425 (i).

McQueen, Fishery Overseer, Dismissal, on M. for Ret., 1990 (i).

N.W. Mounted Police Acts Amt. B. 121 (Mr. *Ives*) in Com., 4646 (ii).

N.W.T. Act Amt. B. 149 (Sir *John Thompson*) on Amt. (Mr. *McCarthy*) to M. for 3°, 6143 (ii).

Ottawa City Mail Service, Contract (Ques.) 3091

Park and Island Ry. Co.'s B. 68 (Mr. *Girouard, Jacques Cartier*) 5484 (ii).

Pontiac Pacific Junction Ry. Co.'s Subsidy, in Com. on Res. (Mr. *Haggart*) 6283 (ii).

Private Bills, on M. (Mr. *Tisdale*) to place on Order Paper (objection) 5520 (ii).

Privilege (Ques. of) Newspaper criticism of Speech, 2786 (i).

Public Buildings, Man. and N.W.T., Ret. (Ques.) 2297 (i); Ret. (inquiry) 5775, 6358 (ii).

Questions put by Members, on M. to adjn. Hse., 760 (i).

McMullen, Mr. J.—*Con.*

- Rebates on Manufactured Goods (M. for Ret. *) 2425 (i).
 Returns (inquiry) 5467 (ii).
 St. Catharines and Niagara Central Ry. Co.'s Subsidy, in Com. on Res. (Mr. *Huqart*) 6270.
 Senate and House of Commons Indemnity B. 164 (Mr. *Foster*) in Com., 6259 (ii).
 Soulanges Canal, Contractors' Securities (Ques.) 3766 (ii).
 Subsidies (Land) to Rys. B. 159 (Mr. *Daly*) in Com. on Res., 6072, 6377 (ii).
 — (Money) to Rys. B. 169 (Mr. *Huqart*) in Com. on Res., 6268; on M. for Com. on Res., 6384; in Com., 6386, 6419 (ii).
 Superannuation, Abolition, on M. for Com. of Sup., 4316; (Amt.) 4321; neg. (Y. 55, N. 91) 4370 (ii).
 — (Civil Service) Act Amt. (B. 17) 1^c, 367 (i).
 — Contributors to Fund, Inside and Outside Service (M. for Ret. *) 1036 (i).
 — Number of Contributors (Ques.) 753 (i).
 SUPPLY: in Com. (remarks) 3179 (i).
Administration of Justice (Exchequer Court) contingencies, 3345; (Judges' Travelling Expenses, N.W.T.) 3340; (Official Arbitrators) 3341; (Supreme Court) 3342; Library, 3345; Reports, 3344 (ii).
Agriculture (Year-book) 4126 (ii).
Arts, Agriculture, &c. (Columbian Exhibition) 5497 (ii).
Canals—Capital (Lachine) 4159; (Murray) 4154; (Sault Ste. Marie) 4159; (Trent) 4157; (Cornwall) 3521; (Soulanges) 3520. *Income*: (Cornwall) 6458; (Lachine) 5449; (Miscellaneous) 6458; (Trent Valley) 5446 (ii).
Charges of Management (Asst. Receiver, Halifax) 3183; (Bill Stamps, &c.) 3199; (Brokerage) 3199; (Inspector) 3180; (Printing Notes) 3199; (Savings Banks) 3193 (i).
Civil Government (Gov. Gen. Sec.'s Office) 3200, contingencies 3266; (Interior) 3201; (High Commissioner) contingencies, 3246 (i); (Marine and Fisheries) contingencies, 3274 (ii); (Printing and Stationery) 3200; (Privy Council) 3200 (i) 5215 (ii); (Public Works) 3235; (Trade and Commerce) 3238 (i).
Collection of Revenues: Canals (Salaries, &c., 4164. Customs (Board, &c.) 5087; (B.C.) 5077; (N.B.) 5067; (N.S.) 5067; (Provinces generally) 5080; (Que.) 5069. Post Office (Mail Service) 4167, 5480; (Vancouver, B.C.) 6464. Railways: I.C.R. (Accident at Lévis) 6462; (I.C.R.) 5151. Railways and Canals, (Miscellaneous) 4163; (Weights and Measures) 5476 (ii).
Dominion Police, 3347 (ii).
Legislation: House of Commons (Extra Clerks) 3492. Library (Messengers) 5228; (Salaries, &c.) 3499; (Printing, &c.) 3500; (Salaries) 3490; (Voters' Lists) 3494. Senate (Salaries, &c.) 3485 (ii).
Miscellaneous (Liquor Traffic Commission) 5539 (ii).
Mounted Police (Buildings, &c.) 4641; (Clothing) 4635; (Forage) 4633; (Hospitals, &c.) 4636; (Pay of Force) 4629; (Renewal of Arms) 4636; (Scouts, &c.) 4636 (ii).

McMullen, Mr. J.—*Con.*SUPPLY—*Con.*

- Penitentiaries* (B.C.) 3366; (Kingston) 5219, 5514; (Manitoba) 3357, 5229; (St. Vincent de Paul) 3347 (ii).
Pensions (Militiamen of 1885) 3502 (ii).
Public Works—Income: Buildings (N.S.) 4424; (N.W.T., Lieut.-Gov.'s residence) 6486; (Repairs, &c., Ottawa) 4443. Dredging (Vessels, repairs) 4607; (Ont. and Que.) 4620; (Plant) 4603. Harbours and Rivers (Ont.) 6506. Miscellaneous (Rosa, Jos.) 6512. Roads and Bridges (Burlington Channel Bridge) 6510 (ii).
Quarantine (Cattle) 4374, 4377; (Salaries, organized districts) 4373 (ii).
Railways—Capital: I. C. R., 3504; (Accommodation at Ferona) 5064; (Bedford Branch) 5065; (Cape Breton and New Glasgow) 6355; (Dartmouth Branch) 3519; (Indiantown Branch) 3517; (Rolling Stock) 3506; (St. Charles Branch) 3510; (Sydney Branch, Extension) 3518 (ii).
Superannuation (Mr. Wallace) 5488 (ii).
Trade and Commerce (Commercial Agencies) 5487.
 Tay Canal, on Amt. (Mr. *Charlton*) to Com. of Sup., 4118 (ii).
 Telephone accommodation in Corridor of Hse. (remarks) 3600 (ii).
 Timber Dues collected at Quebec (M. for Ret. *) 1036 (i).
 — Culled and Fees collected at Montreal (M. for Ret. *) 1036 (i).
 — Cullers, Montreal, Fees Collected, &c. (Ques.) 754 (i).
 Treaty with France Ratification B. 147 (Mr. *Foster*) in Com., 5701 (ii).
Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to M. for Com., 425 (i).
 In Com. (axes, &c.) 2799; (cane, &c.) 2826 (i); (cloth, not rubber, &c.) 3334; (coal) 3570 (ii); (coal oil, &c.) 2263; (coffins, &c.) 2399; (cordage) 2656; (cotton, gray, &c.) 2533, 2553; (cotton, printed) 2556; (earthenware) 2221; (elastic webbing) 2648 (i); (emery wheels) 3309 (ii); (farm products) 1507, 1522; (iron manufactures) 2716; (iron, &c., nuts) 2531; (iron, scrap) 2346; (iron tubings) 2530; (lamp chimneys) 2103; (live hogs) 1482 (i); (marble slabs, &c.) 3366; (molasses) 3327; (nuts, &c., iron or steel) 3322 (ii); (oats) 1563; (oatmeal) 1716; (opium) 1478; (rice, &c.) 1720 (i), 3575 (ii); (shovels, &c.) 2817; (slates, &c.) 2223 (i), 3307 (ii); (soap, &c.) 1500, 1507; (starch) 1773; (stearine) 2213; (stereotypes) 2826; (sugars, &c.) 2404 (i); (surgical dressings) 3332 (ii); (tallow, &c.) 1497; (tea and coffee) 2064, 1578, 1388; (velvets, &c.) 2646; (wall paper) 1934, 1944, 1749; (wire nails) 2510 (i); (window shades) 3330 (ii).
 Concurrence (agricultural implements) 4019; (Indian corn) 4015; (portable machines) 4024; (shovels, &c.) 4018 (ii).
 Wood, A. F., Govt. Valuator, Amount paid (M. for Ret. *) 453 (i).
 — Ret. respecting (Ques.) 2342, 2786 (i).

McNeill, Mr. A., North Bruce.

- Atlantic SS. Service, Fast, B. 161 (Mr. *Foster*) on M. for 2°, 5940; in Com., 5984 (ii).
 Cattle, Ocean Freight Rates B. 8 (Mr. *Mulock*) on M. for 2°, 4555 (ii).
 Civil Service Employees, Creed (Ques.) 1117 (i).
 Cruelty to Animals prevention B. 4 (Mr. *Coatsworth*) in Com., 3651, 4518, 4533, 4539 (ii).
 General Inspection Act Amt. B. 125 (Mr. *Wood, Brockville*) in Com., 3550 (ii).
 Govt. Contractors and Labourers' Wages, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Coatsworth*) 3619 (ii).
 Insurance Act Amt. B. 111 (Mr. *Foster*) in Com., 5882 (ii).
 Intercolonial Conference Preferential Trade (remarks) 5467 (ii).
 N. W. T. Act Amt. B. 149 (Sir *John Thompson*) on Amt. (Mr. *McCarthy*) to M. for 3°, 6136 (ii).
 Order, Ques. of (Mr. *Laurier*) Member's sincerity (remarks) 2167 (i).
 ——— (Ques. of) (personalities in deb.) 4989 (ii).

SUPPLY:

- Quarantine* (Cattle) 4376 (ii).
 Timber Sales on Indian Reserves, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Mills, Bothwell*) 1408 (i).
 Treaty with France Ratification B. 147 (Mr. *Foster*) in Com., 5703 (ii).
Ways and Means—The Tariff:
 In Com. (coal oil, &c.) 2257; (cotton, grey, &c.) 2540; (glass, &c.) 2108; (saw-logs) 2971: (wheat) 1768 (i).
 Wheat Exports, on M. to adjn. Hse. (remarks) 1784 (i).
 Witnesses, Examination on Oath, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to M. for Com. on Ways and Means, 1893 (i).

Mara, Mr. J. A., Yale.

- Cariboo Ry. Co.'s incorp. (B. 60) 1°, 1030 (i).
 County Court Judges, B.C., in Com. on Res. (Sir *John Thompson*) 3558 (ii).
 Dom. Notes Act Amt. B. 165 (Mr. *Foster*) in Com., 6260 (ii).
 Fortifications at Esquimalt, Chinese Labour (Ques.) 3603 (ii).
 Govt. Contractors and Labourers' Wages, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Coatsworth*) 3616 (ii).
 Irrigation in N. W. T., B. 134 (Mr. *Daly*) in Com., 4952; 5064 (ii).
 Lord's Day Observance B. 2 (Mr. *Charlton*) in Com., 3422, 4072; (Amt.) to recom., 4074; agreed to (Y. 60, N. 52) 4081; in Com., 4082.
 Machinery Admitted Duty Free (M. for Ret.*) 452 (i).
 New Westminster and Burrard Inlet Telephone Co.'s (B. 52) 1°, 841 (i).
 Settlers in N. W. T. from U.S., on M. for Ret., 2423 (i).
 Subsidies (Money) to Rys. B. 169 (Mr. *Haggart*) in Com. on Res., 6397 (ii).
 Superannuation, Abolition, on Amt. (Mr. *McMullen*) to Com. of Sup., 4347 (ii).

Mara, Mr. J. A.—Con.

SUPPLY:

- Fisheries* (Hatcheries) 5021; (Legal expenses) 5029.
Indian Affairs (B.C) 4880; Man. and N.W.T. Schools) 4857 (ii).
Ways and Means—The Tariff:
 In Com. (mining machinery) 3069; (mutton, &c.) 1488; (potatoes) 1505; (rice) 1729; (soaps, &c.) 1501 (i).

Martin, Mr. J., Winnipeg.

- Address, The, on conc., 113 (i).
 Atlantic SS. Service, Fast, in Com. on Res., 5746 (ii).
 Ballot Extension to N.W.T. (B. 7) 1°, 79; 2° m., 2338 (i); M. for Com. withdn., 4088 (ii).
 Bonuses to Rys. or SS. Co.'s *re* Settlers to Man., &c. (M. for Ret.*) 1036 (i).
 Chicago Exhibit, Can. Employees, &c. (M. for Ret.*) 449 (i).
 ——— Exhibition, Ret. (inquiry) 5531 (ii).
 Columbian Exhibition Ret. (inquiry) 5370 (ii).
 Criminal Code, 1892, B. 126 (Sir *John Thompson*) in Com., 5468; on M. for 3°, 5532 (ii).
 Deaf and Dumb, Man. and N.W.T., Education (Ques.) 3605 (ii).
 Dom. Gas and Electric Co.'s B. 77 (Mr. *Boyd*) in Com., 3077 (i).
 ——— Lands, Sales to Settlers, on Amt. (Mr. *Charlton*) to Com. of Sup., 3919 (ii).
 Electric Light Inspection B. 118 (Mr. *Wood, Brockville*) in Com., 5056 (ii).
 Experimental Farm, Brandon, Out buildings, (Ques.) 2870 (i).
 Freight Rates in N.W.T., on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks) 5379, 5396.
 Govt. Building in Victoria, B.C., Site, &c. (Ques.) 516 (i).
 ——— Contractors and Labourers' Wages, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Coatsworth*) 3632 (ii).
 Half-breed Lands in Man. (M. for Ret.) 1034, 1400 (i).
 Homesteads, Taken in Man., 1892-93 (M. for Ret.*) 449 (i).
 ——— Exemption Act (N.W.T.) Repeal B. 104 (Mr. *Daly*) on M. for 1°, 2290 (i).
 Immigration Agents' Work (M. for Ret.) 2414 (i).
 Interest Act. Amt. B. 129 (Mr. *Foster*) in Com., 4946 (ii).
 Land Grants, Man. University (Ques.) 3091 (i).
 ——— on M. for Com. of Sup., 3451 (ii).
 ——— to Militia B. 54 (Mr. *Daly*) in Com., 4892 (ii).
 Loans to Settlers in Man., on M. for List, 3101.
 Lord's Day Observance B. 2 (Mr. *Charlton*) on Amt. (Mr. *Bennett*) to recom., 4086 (ii).
 Man. and North-western Ry. Co.'s B. 108 (Mr. *Taylor*) on M. for 2°, 3088 (i); Com., 4040 (ii).
 Member's Son, Emplmt. by Govt. (Ques.) 2871.
 Member for Winnipeg, Ques. respecting (remarks) 1565 (i).
 National Park, Sale of Town Lots (Ques.) 2567 (i)

Martin, Mr. J.—Con.

N. W. Mounted Police Acts Amt. B. 121 (Mr. *Ives*) on M. for 2^o, 4592; in Com., 4664 (ii).

N.W.T. Act Amt. B. 5 (Mr. *Daly*) in Com., 2493, 2788 (i).

— Representation Act Amt. B. 5 (Mr. *Daly*) on M. for 1^o, 79 (i).

Penitentiaries, Prisoners Deceased (M. for Ret. *) 449 (i).

Revising Officers in Man., Appmt. (Ques.) 3605.

Settlers (U.S.) in N.W.T. (M. for Ret.) 2415

St. Andrew's Rapids (Man.) Improvements (M. for O.C., &c.) 1972 (i).

St. Clair and Erie Ship Canal Co.'s incorp. B. 21 (Mr. *Tisdale*) on M. for Com., 2117 (i).

St. Lawrence Canals, Enlargement, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Denison*) 2158 (i).

SUPPLY :

Collection of Revenues: Post Office (Mail Service) 4175; Excise (Preventive Service) 4760 (ii).

Dom. Lands—Income: (Agents) 4932; (Surveys) 5018.

Govt. of N. W. T. (Insane Patients) 4921: (Schools) 4921 (ii).

Immigration (Agents' Salaries) 4791; (Expenses) 4804 (ii).

Indian Affairs (Man. and N.W.T.) 4849; (Schools) 4872; (Supplies) 4849 (ii).

Legislation: House of Commons (Translators) 5223 (ii).

Public Works—Income: Dredging (Man.) 4622 (ii).

Tariff Commissioners, Ret. respecting (Que.) 1568, 2298 (i).

— Revision, Ministers' and Controllers' Trips, Cost, &c. (M. for Ret. *) 449 (i).

Timber Sales in Man. (M. for Ret. *) 2424 (i).

Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to M. for Com., 966 (i).

In Com.: Res. 1 (Customs Acts Amts., definitions, &c.) 1368, 1376, 1393. Res. 3 (apples) 1504; (axes, &c.) 2807, 2813; (barrels, petroleum) 2690; (farm products) 1524; (flax seeds) 2723 (i); (galvanized wire) 3591 (ii); (India-rubber boots, &c.) 2126; (iron manufactures) 2716; (lard, &c.) 1496; (live hogs) 1482; (mutton, &c.) 1487; (pine clapboards) 2889; (rice) 1739; (sawed boards, &c.) 2980; (soap) 1499; (wheat) 1739 (i).

Winnipeg Standard, Govt. Advertising (Ques.) 754, 841 (i).

Masson, Mr. J., North Grey.

Bribery and Disfranchisement B. 6 (Mr. *Weldon*) in Com., 3373 (ii).

Cruelty to Animals prevention B. 4 (Mr. *Coatsworth*) in Com., 3650 (ii).

Dillon, Jas. St. George, Relief, B. 148 (Mr. *Sutherland*) on M. for 2^o, 5523; on M. for Com., 5919; Amt., 5923; Agreed to (Y. 64, N. 61) 5925 (ii).

Duluth, Winnipeg and James Bay Ry. Co.'s incorp. (B. 37) 1^o*, 751 (i).

Lachine Canal Bridges, Expenditure, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to Com. of Sup., 6345 (ii).

Masson, Mr. J.—Con.

Lord's Day Observance B. 2 (Mr. *Charlton*) in Com., 3414, 3641 (ii).

Timber Sales on Indian Reserves, on Amt. (Sir *John Thompson*) 1417 (i).

Turcotte, Mr., M.P., 4th Rep. of Com. of Priv. and Elec., on conc., 5906 (ii).

Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to M. for Com., 1188 (i). In Com. (iron manufactures) 2709; (lard, &c.) 1493; (saw-logs, &c.) 2956 (i).

Metcalfe, Mr. J. H., Kingston.

Cruelty to Animals prevention B. 4 (Mr. *Coatsworth*) in Com., 4540 (ii).

Johnson, Orlando Geo., Relief (B. 136) 1^o*, 4038.

— M. to place 2^o on Order Paper, 4189 (ii).

Ways and Means—The Tariff, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to M. for Com., 999 (i).

Mignault, R. M. S., Yamaska.

Yamaska River Dam, Obstruction (Ques.) 4888.

Miller, Mr. A. C., Prince Edward.

Cruelty to Animals prevention B. 4 (Mr. *Coatsworth*) in Com., 3664 (ii).

Mills, Hon. D., Bothwell.

Address, The, on conc., 106 (i).

Atlantic S.S. Service, Fast, B. 161 (Mr. *Foster*) on M. for 2^o, 5936; in Com., 5975 (ii).

Behring Sea Regulations, Legislation (remarks) 154 (i).

Boundaries of Prov. of Que., on M. for Cor., 1570 (i).

Bounty on Pig Iron, in Com. on Res. (Mr. *Foster*) 6473 (ii).

Bribery and Disfranchisement B. 6 (Mr. *Weldon*) on M. for 2^o, 2338; in Com., 2573 (i), 3297, 3384 (ii).

C.P.R., Drawbacks on Iron and Steel Bridges B. 166 (Mr. *Haggart*) in Com. on Res., 6010; in Com. on B., 6266; on Amt. (Mr. *Mulock*) 6374.

— Land Grants B. 159 (Mr. *Daly*) on M. for 2^o, 6033; in Com., 6036 (ii).

Cruelty to Animals prevention B. 4 (Mr. *Coatsworth*) in Com., 3652, 4093 (ii).

Dom. Elections Act Amt. B. 128 (Sir *John Thompson*) in Com., 6479 (ii).

— Gas and Electric Co.'s B. 77 (Mr. *Boyd*) in Com., 3081 (i).

— Irrigation B. 134 (Mr. *Daly*) on M. for 1^o, 3670 (ii).

— Lands, Sales to Settlers, on Amt. (Mr. *Charlton*) to Com. of Sup., 3959 (ii).

— Lands B. 160 (Mr. *Daly*) in Com., 6065 (ii).

Edmonton Street Ry. Co.'s B. 23 (Mr. *Davis, Alberta*) in Com., 5484 (ii).

Electric Light Inspection B. 118 (Mr. *Wood, Brockville*) in Com., 5049 (ii).

Ellis, Mr., Imprisonment, on Amt. (Mr. *Davies, P.E.I.*) to Com. on Ways and Means, 3767 (ii).

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- Fishery Regulations, Lake Erie, on M. for Com. of Sup. (remarks) 4262 (ii).
- Franchise, Electoral, Act Amt. B. 132 (Sir John Thompson) on M. for 1^o, 4304; in Com., 6525 (ii).
- Game Preservation, N.W.T., B. 115 (Mr. Daly) in Com., 3538 (ii).
- General Inspection Act Amt. B. 125 (Mr. Wood, Brockville) in Com., 3552 (ii).
- Govt. Business, on M. (Mr. Foster) to Com. on Ways and Means (remarks) 3019 (i).
- precedence on Wednesdays, on prop. Res. (Sir John Thompson) 3448 (ii).
- Contractors and Labourers' Wages, on prop. Res. (Mr. Coatsworth) 3625 (ii).
- Governor General's Instructions (remarks) 10 (i).
- Grand Jurors (Ont.) Reduction in Number B. 24 (Mr. Edgar) on M. for 2^o, 2340 (i).
- Hudson Bay, Her Majesty's Sovereignty (M. for Cor.) 3276 (i).
- Propagation of Seals (prop. Res.) 3278 (ii).
- Indian Act Amt. B. 116 (Mr. Daly) in Com., 5541 (ii).
- Irrigation in N.W.T., B. 134 (Mr. Daly) in Com., 5063, 5096 (ii).
- Judiciary, N.B. (remarks) 9 (i).
- Lands in the Territories consolid. B. 162 (Mr. Daly) in Com., 6077 (ii).
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- Lieut.-Governor's Instructions, N.W.T. (remarks) 181 (i).
- Lobster Curing Licenses, in Com. on Res. (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper) 5558 (ii).
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- London, Industrial Statistics, Ret. (remarks) 5466 (ii).
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- Lord's Day Observance B. 2 (Mr. Charlton) on M. for 2^o, 2330 (i); in Com., 3640, 4072 (ii).
- Man. and North-western Ry. Co.'s B. 108 (Mr. Taylor) in Com., 4048 (ii).
- McCormick's Islands, Ownership (M. for Cor.) 1983 (i).
- McQueen, Fishery Overseer, Dismissal, on M. for Ret., 1989 (i).
- Member for Winnipeg, Ques. respecting (objection) 1565 (i).
- N.W.T. Act Amt. B. 5 (Mr. Daly) in Com., 2493.
- Act Amt. B. 149 (Sir John Thompson) in Com., 5167; on Amt. (Mr. McCarthy) to M. for 3^o, 6119 (ii).
- Order, Ques. of (Mr. Laurier) Member's sincerity (remarks) 2167 (i).
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- Ottawa Electric Light Co.'s B. 74 (Sir James Grant) in Com., 3061 (i).
- Petroleum Inspection Act Amt. B. 122 (Mr. Wood, Brockville) in Com., 5471 (ii).
- Pontiac Pacific Junction Ry. Co.'s Subsidy, in Com. on Res. (Mr. Haggart) 6283 (ii).
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- Railway Passenger Tickets, Sale, B. 163 (Mr. Haggart) on M. for 1^o, 6046; in Com., 6517 (ii).
- Returns, Imperfect (remarks) 4312 (ii).
- Sable Island Lighthouses, &c., Act Amt. B. 46 (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper) 2728 (i).
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- St. Catharines and Niagara Central Ry. Co.'s Subsidy, in Com. on Res. (Mr. Haggart) 6273.
- St. Clair and Erie Ship Canal Co.'s incorp. B. 21 (Mr. Tisdale) on M. for Com., 2115; in Com., 2379 (i).
- Subsidies (Land) to C.P.R., B. 159 (Mr. Daly) in Com., 6266 (ii).
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- B. 169 (Mr. Haggart) on Amt. (Mr. Laurier) to M. for 2^o of Res., 6468 (ii).
- B. 169 (Mr. Haggart) on M. for Com. on Res., 6380; in Com., 6387 (ii).
- Superannuation, Abolition, on Amt. (Mr. McMullen) to Com. of Sup., 4343 (ii).
- SUPPLY:**
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- Civil Government—Agriculture* (J. B. Jackson) 6235 (ii); (Gov. Gen. Sec.'s Office) contingencies, 3265; (Interior) 3203; (Privy Council Office) 3200 (i), 5216 (ii); (Public Works) 3236; (Trade and Commerce) 3238; (Sec. of State) contingencies, 3270 (i).
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- Militia* (Clothing, &c.) 5430; (Monuments) 6250.
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- Tariff Commission, Evidence taken by Sec. (M. for copy) 3295 (ii).**

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Teas, Adulteration, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Stairs*) 2431 (i).

Thousand Islands, Repts. as to Value (M. for copies*) 451 (i).

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—— on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to Com. of Sup., 4468 (ii).

Timber Licenses Granted since Jan., 1888, on M. for Stmt., 1981 (i).

—— Sales on Indian Reserves, prop. Res., 1405; on Amt. (Sir *John Thompson*) 1427 (i).

Treaty with France and High Commissioner (Ques.) 5531 (ii).

—— Ratification B. 147 (Mr. *Foster*) on Amt. (Mr. *O'Brien*) to M. for 2^o, 5607; in Com., 5703 (ii).

Vankoughnet, L., Removal from Civil Service (M. for Ret.) 1033 (i).

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Welland Power and Supply Canal Co.'s B. 49 (Mr. *McKay*) in Com., 3643 (i).

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—— Examination, on Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to M. for Com. on *Ways and Means*, 1889 (i).

Mills, Mr. J. B., *East Annapolis.*

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Bribery and Disfranchisement B. 6 (Mr. *Weldon*) in Com., 2923 (i), 3382 (ii).

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Monet, Mr. D., *Napierville.*

Lachine Canal, Cost of Widening (Ques.) 5774 (ii).

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Mallette, L. Z., Payments *re* Dufferin Terrace (Ques.) 5775 (ii).

Roy, Thos., Emplmt. by Govt. (Ques.) 3089 (i).

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—— Subsidy, Fast Service, on prop. Res. (Mr. *Foster*) 3450 (ii).

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—— Plant, &c., in Kingston Penitentiary (M. for Cor. *) 451 (i).

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C.P.R., Drawbacks B. 166 (Mr. *Haggart*) on M. for 2^o, 6359; (Amt.) 3 m. h., 6357; neg. (Y. 15, N. 100) 6376 (ii).

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 — Exports (remarks) 1568, 1787 (i).
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- McGreevy and Connolly, Ret. *re* Release, Delay in presentation (Ques.) 290 (i).
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O'Brien, Mr. W. E., Muskoka.

Business of the House, on M. to adju. (remarks) 2037 (i).

C.P.R., Drawbacks B. 166 (Mr. *Haggart*) on Amt. (Mr. *Mulock*), 6373 (ii).

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- REP.: presented (Mr. Wood, Brockville) 4300.
- ADULTERATED TEAS, IMPORTS: Ques. (Mr. Stairs) 2425 (i).
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- SEAL CATCH, NUMBER AND VALUE: Ques. (Mr. Laurier) 686 (i).
- BELLEVILLE HARBOUR: in Com. of Sup., 4472 (ii).
- Bell Telephone Co. of Can. B. No. 34** (Mr. White, Cardwell). 1st, 750; 2nd, 886; in Com. and 3rd, 1747. (57-58 Vic., c. 108).
- BILL (No. 1) Respecting the Administration of Oaths of Office.—(Sir John Thompson.) 1st, 2; *pro forma*.

- BILL (NO. 2)** To secure the better observance of the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday.—(Mr. *Charlton*.)
1^o, 79; 2^o m., 2298; 2^o, 2337; M. for Com., 3399; in Com., 3405, 3637; 3^o m., 4071; Amt. (Mr. *Mara*) to recom., 4074; agreed to (Y. 60, N. 52) 4081; 3^o, 4087.
- BILL (NO. 3)** To repeal the Electoral Franchise Act and to make certain provisions in place thereof.—(Mr. *Charlton*.)
1^o, 79.
- BILL (NO. 4)** To make further provisions as to the prevention of cruelty to animals and to amend the Criminal Code, 1892.—(Mr. *Coatsworth*.)
1^o, 79; 2^o and in Com., 3648, 4088, 4517.
- BILL (NO. 5)** Further to amend the North-west Territories Act.—(Mr. *Daly*.)
1^o, 79; 2^o, 2490; in Com., 2490, 2788; 3^o, 2943. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 15.)
- BILL (NO. 6)** To disfranchise voters who have taken bribes.—(Mr. *Weldon*.)
1^o, 79; 2^o and ref. to Sel. Com., 2337; in Com., 2568, 2598, 2873, 3297, 3368. 3390; 3^o, 3636. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 14.)
- BILL (NO. 7)** To extend the ballot to the North-west Territories.—(Mr. *Martin*.)
1^o, 79; 2^o, 2338; in Com., 2490; withdn., 4088.
- BILL (NO. 8)** Respecting Ocean freight rates on cattle.—(Mr. *Mulock*.)
1^o, 128; 2^o m. (Mr. *McMullen*) 4545; deb. adjd., 4557.
- BILL (NO. 9)** Further to amend the Acts respecting the Duties of Customs.—(Mr. *Charlton*.)
1^o, 137; Order for 2^o dschgd., 2339.
- BILL (NO. 10)** Further to amend the Acts respecting the North-west Territories.—(Mr. *McCarthy*.)
1^o, 138.
- BILL (NO. 11)** To amend the Canada Temperance Act.—(Mr. *Davies, P.E.I.*)
1^o, 154.
- BILL (NO. 12)** To amend the Electoral Franchise Act, by providing for a residential qualification for all voters.—(Mr. *Edgar*.)
1^o, 180.
- BILL (NO. 13)** To amend the Seamen's Act.—(Sir *Charles Hibbert Tupper*.)
1^o, 281; 2^o and in Com., 2726; 3^o, 2727. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 43.)
- BILL (NO. 14)** To amend the Railway Act.—(Mr. *Mulock*.)
1^o, 366; 2^o, in Com. and 3^o, 3299. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 53.)
- BILL (NO. 15)** To amend the Act respecting the Senate and House of Commons.—(Mr. *Mulock*.)
1^o, 366.
- BILL (NO. 16)** To amend the Criminal Code, 1892, for the purpose of more effectually preventing lotteries.—(Mr. *Charlton*.)
1^o, 366.
- BILL (NO. 17)** To amend the Civil Service Superannuation Act.—(Mr. *McMullen*.)
1^o, 367.
- BILL (NO. 18)** To amend the Criminal Code, 1892, for the purpose of making more effectual provision for the punishment of seduction and abduction.—(Mr. *Charlton*.)
1^o, 447.
- BILL (NO. 19)** To amend the Act respecting Weights and Measures.—(Mr. *Wilson*.)
1^o, 447.
- BILL (NO. 20)** Respecting the Wood Mountain and Qu'Appelle Railway Company.—(Mr. *McDonald, Assiniboia*.)
1^o, 596; 2^o, 721; in Com. and 3^o, 1396. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 96.)
- BILL (NO. 21)** To incorporate the St. Clair and Erie Ship Canal Company.—(Mr. *Tisdale*.)
1^o, 596; 2^o, 721; in Com., 2112, 2120, 2379; 3^o, 2391. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 104.)
- BILL (NO. 22)** Respecting the Winnipeg and Hudson Bay Railway Company, and to change the name thereof to the Winnipeg Great Northern Railway Company.—(Mr. *Ross, Lisgar*.)
1^o, 596; 2^o, 721; in Com. and 3^o, 2412. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 94.)
- BILL (NO. 23)** Respecting Ordinance No. 32 of 1893, of the North-west Territories empowering the Municipality of the Town of Edmonton to construct and operate a Tramway. (Title changed to incorporate the Edmonton Street Railway Company).—(Mr. *Davis, Alberta*.)
1^o, 596; 2^o, 721; in Com. and 3^o, 5484. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 71.)
- BILL (NO. 24)** To reduce from twelve to seven the number of Grand Jurors necessary to find a true bill in the Province of Ontario.—(Mr. *Edgar*.)
1^o, 596; 2^o, 2339; in Com., 4514; Remarks re transfer to Govt. Orders, 4576.
- BILL (NO. 25)** Respecting the Canada and Michigan Tunnel Company.—(Mr. *Montague*.)
1^o, 682; 2^o, 885; in Com. and 3^o, 1396. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 101.)
- BILL (NO. 26)** Respecting the Ottawa Gas Company.—(Sir *James Grant*.)
1^o, 682; 2^o, 885; in Com. and 3^o, 2120. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 112.)
- BILL (NO. 27)** Respecting the Dominion Burglary Guarantee Company, Limited.—(Mr. *Sproule*.)
1^o, 682; 2^o, 885; in Com. and 3^o, 3051. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 121.)
- BILL (NO. 28)** Respecting the Ontario Mutual Life Assurance Company.—(Mr. *Bowman*.)
1^o, 682; 2^o, 885; in Com. and 3^o, 2120. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 123.)
- BILL (NO. 29)** To again revive and further amend the Act to incorporate the Lindsay, Bobcaygeon and Pontypool Railway Company.—(Mr. *Fairbairn*.)
1^o, 682; 2^o, 885; in Com. and 3^o, 1396. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 78.)
- BILL (NO. 30)** Respecting the Atlantic and North-west Railway Company.—(Mr. *Baker*.)
1^o, 682; 2^o, 885; in Com. and 3^o, 1747; Sen. Amts. conc. in, 2725. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 62.)

- BILL (No. 31) Respecting the Consumers' Cordage Company.—(Mr. Rosamond.)**
1^o, 682; 2^o, 885; M. for Com., 3082; in Com. and 3^o, 3083. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 114.)
- BILL (No. 32) Respecting the Niagara Grand Island Bridge Company.—(Mr. Ingram.)**
1^o, 682; 2^o, 886; in Com. and 3^o, 2391. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 99.)
- BILL (No. 33) Respecting the River St. Clair Railway Bridge and Tunnel Company.—(Mr. Ingram.)**
1^o, 682; 2^o, 886; in Com. and 3^o, 2391. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 100.)
- BILL (No. 34) Respecting the Bell Telephone Company of Canada.—(Mr. White, Cardwell.)**
1^o, 750; 2^o, 886; in Com. and 3^o, 1747. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 108.)
- BILL (No. 35) To amend the Act to incorporate the Steam Boiler and Plate Glass Insurance Company of Canada.—(Mr. Davies, P.E.I.)**
1^o, 750; 2^o, 886; in Com. and 3^o, 1788. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 125.)
- BILL (No. 36) To incorporate the Canadian Railway Accident Insurance Company.—(Sir James Grant.)**
1^o, 750; 2^o, 886; in Com., 3083; 3^o, 3088. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 118.)
- BILL (No. 37) To incorporate the Duluth, Nepigon and James's Bay Railway Company.—(Mr. Masson.)**
1^o, 751; 2^o, 886; in Com. and 3^o, 1992. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 70.)
- BILL (No. 38) Respecting the Ontario Loan and Debenture Company.—(Mr. Moncrieff.)**
1^o, 751; 2^o, 886; in Com. and 3^o, 3088. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 116.)
- BILL (No. 39) Respecting the St. Lawrence and Adirondack Railway Company.—(Mr. Baker.)**
1^o, 751; 2^o, 886; in Com. and 3^o, 2411. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 93.)
- BILL (No. 40) To incorporate the Elgin and Havelock Railway Company.—(Mr. Hazen.)**
1^o, 751; 2^o, 886; in Com. and 3^o, 2411. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 72.)
- BILL (No. 41) To amend the Acts respecting the Clifton Suspension Bridge Company.—(Mr. Coatsworth.)**
1^o, 751; 2^o, 886; in Com. and 3^o, 2411. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 97.)
- BILL (No. 42) To incorporate the Canadian Railway Fire Insurance Company.—(Sir James Grant.)**
1^o, 751; 2^o, 886; in Com. and 3^o, 3088. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 119.)
- BILL (No. 43) To amend an Act respecting the Ladies of Sacred Heart of Jesus.—(Mr. LaRivière.)**
1^o, 751; 2^o, 886; in Com. and 3^o, 2391. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 128.)
- BILL (No. 44) Further to amend the tenth Chapter of the Consolidated Statutes for Lower Canada, respecting seditious and unlawful associations and oaths.—(Mr. White, Cardwell.)**
1^o, 751.
- BILL (No. 45) To amend the Harbour Masters Act—(from the Senate).—(Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.)**
1^o, 840; 2^o and in Com., 2727; 3^o, 2787. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 50.)
- BILL (No. 46) To amend the Act respecting Lighthouses, Buoys, and Beacons, and Sable Island—(from the Senate).—(Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.)**
1^o, 841; 2^o and in Com., 2727; 3^o, 2787. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 41.)
- BILL (No. 47) To revive and amend the Act to incorporate the Brandon and South-western Railway Company.—(Mr. Davin.)**
1^o, 841; 2^o, 1151; in Com. and 3^o, 2412. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 65.)
- BILL (No. 48) Respecting the Montreal and Ottawa Railway Company.—(Mr. Baker.)**
1^o, 841; 2^o, 1151; in Com. and 3^o, 2412. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 85.)
- BILL (No. 49) To incorporate the Welland Power and Supply Canal Company.—(Mr. McKay.)**
1^o, 841; 2^o, 1151; in Com., 2724, 3043; 3^o, 3051. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 102.)
- BILL (No. 50) To authorize the purchase of the Yarmouth and Annapolis Railway by the Windsor and Annapolis Railway Company (Limited), and to change the name of the latter Company to the Dominion Atlantic Railway Company.—(Mr. Kenny.)**
1^o, 841; 2^o, 1151; in Com. and 3^o, 2412. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 69.)
- BILL (No. 51) To incorporate the Northern Life Assurance Company of Canada.—(Mr. Mulock.)**
1^o, 841; 2^o, 1151; in Com. and 3^o, 3602. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 122.)
- BILL (No. 52) Respecting the New Westminster and Burrard Inlet Telephone Company (Limited).—(Mr. Mara.)**
1^o, 841; 2^o, 1151; withdn.
- BILL (No. 53) Respecting the Calgary Irrigation Company.—(Mr. Davis, Alberta.)**
1^o, 841; 2^o, 1151; in Com. and 3^o, 2724. Sen. Amts., 4855; conc. in, 4887. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 106.)
- BILL (No. 54) To make further provision respecting granting of land to members of the Militia Force on active service in the North-west.—(Mr. Daly.)**
1^o, 841; 2^o and in Com., 4892; 3^o, 4893. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 24.)
- BILL (No. 55) In amendment to the Electoral Franchise Act.—(Mr. Dickey.)**
1^o, 841.
- BILL (No. 56) To incorporate the Dominion Woman's Christian Temperance Union.—(Mr. Scriver.)**
1^o, 946; 2^o, 1151; in Com. and 3^o, 2120. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 127.)
- BILL (No. 57) To incorporate the Gleichen, Beaver Lake and Victoria Railway Company.—(Mr. Davis, Alberta.)**
1^o, 946; 2^o, 1151; M. (Mr. Tisdale) to place on Order Paper objected to, 5520; in Com. and 3^o, 5727. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 74.)

- BILL (No. 58) To incorporate the Lake Megantic Railway Company.—(Mr. Pope.)**
1^o, 1030; 2^o, 1151; in Com. and 3^o, 4027. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 77.)
- BILL (No. 59) Respecting the Montreal Island Belt Line Railway Company.—(Mr. Bergeron.)**
1^o, 1030; 2^o, 1151; in Com., 4027; recom., 5521; 3^o, 5523. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 83.)
- BILL (No. 60) To incorporate the Cariboo Railway Company.—(Mr. Mara.)**
1^o, 1030; 2^o, 1151; in Com. and 3^o, 3051. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 67.)
- BILL (No. 61) To amend the Railway Act by providing a maximum passenger rate.—(Mr. Maclean, York.)**
1^o, 1030;
- BILL (No. 62) Respecting the Richelieu and Ontario Navigation Company.—(Mr. Girouard, Jacques Cartier.)**
1^o, 1030; 2^o, 1151; in Com. and 3^o, 3602. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 105.)
- BILL (No. 63) Respecting the Guelph Junction Railway Company.—(Mr. Henderson.)**
1^o, 1113; 2^o, 1367; in Com. and 3^o, 2724. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 75.)
- BILL (No. 64) Respecting the Medicine Hat Railway and Coal Company.—(Mr. Ross, Lisgar.)**
1^o, 1113; 2^o, 1367; in Com. and 3^o, 2724. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 80.)
- BILL (No. 65) To confirm an agreement between the Ottawa City Passenger Railway Company and the Ottawa Electric Street Railway Company, and an agreement between the said Companies and the Corporation of the City of Ottawa, and to unite the said Companies under the name of the Ottawa Electric Railway Company.—(Mr. Robillard.)**
1^o, 1113; 2^o, 1368; in Com. and 3^o, 3051. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 86.)
- BILL (No. 66) To empower the Niagara Falls Suspension Bridge Company to issue debentures, and for other purposes.—(Mr. Lowell.)**
1^o, 1113; 2^o, 1368; in Com. and 3^o, 3273. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 98.)
- BILL (No. 67) To incorporate the Niagara Falls Electric Railway Bridge Company.—(Mr. Montague.)**
1^o, 1113; 2^o, 1368.
- BILL (No. 68) Respecting the Montreal Park and Island Railway Bridge Company.—(Mr. Girouard, Jacques Cartier.)**
1^o, 1113; 2^o, 1368; in Com., 5288, 5484; 3^o, 5485. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 84.)
- BILL (No. 69) Respecting the liability of the Government and public companies for labour used in the construction of public works.—(Mr. McLennan.)**
1^o, 1115.
- BILL (No. 70) Respecting the sale of railway return fare tickets.—(Mr. McLennan.)**
1^o, 1116.
- BILL (No. 71) To incorporate the New York, New England and Canada Company.—(Mr. Flint.)**
1^o, 1218; 2^o, 1368; in Com. and 3^o, 4887. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 113.)
- BILL (No. 72) To consolidate and amend certain Acts relating to the Ottawa and Gatineau Valley Railway Company, and to change the name of the Company to the Ottawa and Gatineau Railway Company.—(Mr. Bryson.)**
1^o, 1218; 2^o, 1368; in Com. and 3^o, 4664. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 87.)
- BILL (No. 73) Respecting the Atlantic and Lake Superior Railway Company.—(Mr. Bergin.)**
1^o, 1219; 2^o, 2597; in Com. and 3^o, 5485. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 63.)
- BILL (No. 74) To incorporate the Ottawa Electric Company.—(Sir James Grant.)**
1^o, 1219; 2^o, 1600; in Com. and 3^o, 3051. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 111.)
- BILL (No. 75) Respecting the Chaudière Electric Light and Power Company (Limited), and to change the name thereof to The Ottawa Electric Company.—(Sir James Grant.)**
1^o, 1219; 2^o, 1600; in Com. and 3^o, 3051. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 109.)
- BILL (No. 76) To amend the Act to incorporate the Canada Provident Association.—(Sir James Grant.)**
1^o, 1219; 2^o, 1747.
- BILL (No. 77) To incorporate the Dominion Gas and Electric Company.—(Mr. Boyd.)**
1^o, 1219; 2^o, 1368; in Com., 3077; 3^o, 3273. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 110.)
- BILL (No. 78) To incorporate the Métis, Matane and Gaspé Railway Company.—(Mr. Turcotte.)**
1^o, 1219; 2^o, 1368; in Com. and 3^o, 4027. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 81.)
- BILL (No. 79) Respecting the St. Catharines and Niagara Central Railway Company.—(Mr. Carpenter.)**
1^o, 1219; 2^o, 1600; in Com. and 3^o, 4855. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 92.)
- BILL (No. 80) To revive and amend the Act to incorporate the Rocky Mountain Railway and Coal Company.—(Mr. Davis, Alberta.)**
1^o, 1219; 2^o, 1747; in Com. and 3^o, 4027. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 91.)
- BILL (No. 81) Respecting the Erie and Huron Railway Company.—(Mr. Cockburn.)**
1^o, 1219; 2^o, 1368; in Com. and 3^o, 4027. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 73.)
- BILL (No. 82) Respecting the Lake Erie and Detroit River Railway Company and the London and Port Stanley Railway Company.—(Mr. McGregor.)**
1^o, 1219; 2^o, 1368; in Com. and 3^o, 5523. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 76.)
- BILL (No. 83) To incorporate the Ste. Emélie Railway Company.—(Mr. Pelletier.)**
1^o, 1219; 2^o, 1368.

- BILL (No. 84) To incorporate the Alliance of the Reformed Baptist Church of Canada, and the several Churches connected therewith.—(Mr. Colter.)
1°*, 1219; 2°*, 1747; in Com. and 3°*, 3051. (57-58 Vic., c. 126.)
- BILL (No. 85) To incorporate the Boynton Bicycle Electric Railway Company.—(Mr. Gillies.)
1°*, 1219; 2°*, 1748; in Com. and 3°*, 5485. (57-58 Vic., c. 64.)
- BILL (No. 86) In further amendment of the Northwest Territories Act.—(Mr. Davin.)
1°, 1396.
- BILL (No. 87) To facilitate the voting by Employees at elections of Members of the House of Commons.—(Mr. Rider.)
1°, 1564.
- BILL (No. 88) Further to amend the Acts respecting the Harbour of Pictou, in Nova Scotia—(from the Senate).—(Sir John Thompson.)
1°*, 1786; 2° and in Com., 2728; 3°*, 2943. (57-58 Vic., c. 49.)
- BILL (No. 89) Respecting the Speaker of the Senate—(from the Senate).—(Sir John Thompson.)
1°*, 1786; Order for 2° read, 2787; 2°* and in Com., 4943; 3°*, 4955. (57-58 Vic. c., 11.)
- BILL (No. 90) To provide for the examination of Witnesses on Oath by the Senate and House of Commons.—(Mr. Mulock.)
1°*, 1786; M. (Sir John Thompson) to transfer to Govt. Orders, 2075; 2°*, in Com. and 3°*, 2624. (57-58 Vic., c. 16.)
- BILL (No. 91) Further to amend the Act respecting the Adulteration of Food, Drugs, and Agricultural Fertilizers.—(Mr. Sproule.)
1°, 1786.
- BILL (No. 92) Respecting Detective Corporations and Mercantile Agencies.—(Mr. Sproule.)
1°, 1870.
- BILL (No. 93) To fix the salary of the Governor General.—(Mr. Mulock.)
1°, 1871.
- BILL (No. 94) To amend The Winding-up Act.—(Mr. Stairs.)
1°, 1967.
- BILL (No. 95) Respecting Harbours—(from the Senate).—(Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.)
1°*, 2130; 2° and in Com., 2728; 3°*, 2787. (57-58 Vic., c. 47.)
- BILL (No. 96) To incorporate the Trust Corporation of Canada—(from the Senate).—(Mr. Davis, Alberta.)
1°*, 2211; 2°*, 2328; in Com. and 3°*, 3602. (57-58 Vic., c. 115.)
- BILL (No. 97) Respecting the Seigniorship of Sault Saint Louis.—(Mr. Daly.)
1°, 2130; 2°*, in Com. and 3°*, 4893. (57-58 Vic., c. 25.)
- BILL (No. 98) Further to amend the Revised Statutes, Chapter seventy-seven, respecting the Safety of Ships—(from the Senate).—(Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.)
1°*, 2211; 2° and in Com., 4569; recom. and 3°*, 4643. (57-58 Vic., c. 44.)
- BILL (No. 99) Respecting the St. Lawrence Insurance Company.—(Mr. White, Cardwell.)
1°*, 2211; 2°*, 2412; in Com. and 3°*. 4855. (57-58 Vic., c. 124.)
- BILL (No. 100) To incorporate the French River Boom Company (Limited).—(Mr. Coatsworth.)
1°*, 2211; 2° 2412; in Com. and 3°*, 5523. (57-58 Vic., c. 107.)
- BILL (No. 101) To incorporate the Alberta Southern Railway Company.—(Mr. Davis, Alberta.)
1°*, 2211; 2°*, 2597; in Com. and 3°*, 4027. (57-58 Vic., c. 61.)
- BILL (No. 102) To incorporate the Wolseley and Fort Qu'Appelle Railway Company—(from the Senate).—(Mr. Davin.)
1°*, 2289; 2°*, 3089; in Com. and 3°*, 4027. (57-58 Vic., c. 95.)
- BILL (No. 103) To amend the Acts relating to the Moncton and Prince Edward Island Railway and Ferry Company—(from the Senate).—(Mr. McInerney.)
1°*, 2289; 2°*, 2412; in Com. and 3°*, 4027. (57-58 Vic., c. 82.)
- BILL (No. 104) To repeal the Homestead Exemption Act.—(Mr. Daly.)
1°, 2289; 2°, in Com: and 3°*, 4590. (57-58 Vic., c. 29.)
- BILL (No. 105) For the relief of Caroline Jane Downey—(from the Senate).—(Mr. Coatsworth.)
1°*, 2341; 2° agreed to (Y. 76, N. 31) 2597; 3°*, 3051. (57-58 Vic., c. 130.)
- BILL (No. 106) Further to amend the law relating to Holidays.—(Sir John Thompson.)
1°, 2410; 2°*, in Com. and 3°*, 4594. (57-58 Vic., c. 55.)
- BILL (No. 107) To again revive and further amend the Act to incorporate the Red Deer Valley Railway and Coal Company—(from the Senate).—(Mr. Davis, Alberta.)
1°*, 2783; 2°*, 3089; in Com. and 3°*, 4027. (57-58 Vic., c. 90.)
- BILL (No. 108) Respecting the Manitoba and Northwestern Railway Company of Canada—(from the Senate).—(Mr. Taylor.)
1°*, 2784; 2°*, 3088; in Com., 4040, 4664; 3°*, 4664. (57-58 Vic., c. 79.)
- BILL (No. 109) For the relief of Joshua Nicholas Filman—(from the Senate).—(Mr. McKay.)
1°*, 2937; 2°*, 3273; in Com. and 3°*, 4887. (57-58 Vic., c. 131.)
- BILL (No. 110) To amend and consolidate the Acts relating to the Harbour Commissioners of Montreal—(from the Senate).—(Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.)
1°*, 2725; 2° and in Com., 4643; 3°*, 4646. (57-58 Vic., c. 48.)

- BILL (No. 111) To amend the Insurance Act**—(*from the Senate*).—(Sir John Thompson.)
1^o, 2783; 2^o, 3005; in Com., 5172, 5851; M. for 2^o of Amts. rep. from Com., 6054; 3^o*, 6064. (57-58 Vic., c. 20.)
- BILL (No. 112) Respecting Arrest, Trial and Imprisonment of Youthful Offenders**.—(Sir John Thompson.)
1^o*, 2783; 2^o and in Com., 4940; 3^o*, 4941. (57-58 Vic., c. 58.)
- BILL (No. 113) To amend the Inspection of Ships Act**.—(Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.)
1^o*, 2783; 2^o and in Com., 3535; 3^o*, 3537. (57-58 Vic., c. 45.)
- BILL (No. 114) To incorporate the Colonial Mutual Life Association**.—(Mr. McKay.)
1^o*, 3077; 2^o*, 3273; in Com. and 3^o*, 4049. (57-58 Vic., c. 120.)
- BILL (No. 115) For the preservation of Game in the unorganized portions of the North-west Territories of Canada**.—(Mr. Daly.)
1^o*, 3003; 2^o and in Com., 3537; 3^o*, 3541. (57-58 Vic., c. 31.)
- BILL (No. 116) Further to amend The Indian Act**—(*from the Senate*).—(Mr. Daly.)
1^o*, 3003; 2^o and in Com., 5540; 3^o*, 5557. (57-58 Vic., c. 32.)
- BILL (No. 117) Respecting the Units of Electrical Measure**.—(Mr. Wood, Brockville.)
1^o, 3003; 2^o*, in Com. and 3^o*, 5047. (57-58 Vic., c. 38.)
- BILL (No. 118) Respecting the Inspection of Electric Light**.—(Mr. Wood, Brockville.)
1^o, 3004; 2^o and in Com., 5048; 3^o*, 5172. (57-58 Vic., c. 39.)
- BILL (No. 119) For the relief of William Samuel Piper**—(*from the Senate*).—(Mr. Northrup.)
1^o*, 3163; 2^o*, 3390; in Com. and 3^o on div., 4857. (57-58 Vic., c. 133.)
- BILL (No. 120) For the relief of Joseph Thompson**—(*from the Senate*).—(Mr. Northrup.)
1^o*, 3163; 2^o m., 3602; 2^o*, 4027; in Com. and 3^o on div., 4887. (57-58 Vic., c. 134.)
- BILL (No. 121) To amend and consolidate the Acts respecting the North-west Mounted Police Force**.—(Mr. Ives.)
1^o*, 3240; Res. prop., 3244; in Com., 4593; 2^o, of B., 4591; in Com., 4646, 4664; 3^o*, 4818. (57-58 Vic., c. 27.)
- BILL (No. 122) Further to amend the Petroleum Act**.—(Mr. Wood, Brockville.)
1^o*, 3240; 2^o*, in Com. and 3^o*, 5471. (57-58 Vic., c. 40.)
- BILL (No. 123) In restraint of Fraudulent Sale or Marking**.—(Mr. Wood, Brockville.)
1^o, 3240; 2^o*, in Com. and 3^o*, 5171. (57-58 Vic., c. 37.)
- BILL (No. 124) Further to amend the Cullers' Act**.—(Mr. Wood, Brockville.)
1^o, 3240; 2^o*, in Com. and 3^o*, 4949. (57-58 Vic., c. 52.)
- BILL (No. 125) Further to amend the General Inspection Act**.—(Mr. Wood, Brockville.)
1^o*, 3240; 2^o and in Com., 3541; 3^o*, 3557. (57-58 Vic., c. 36.)
- BILL (No. 126) To amend the Criminal Code, 1892**.—(Sir John Thompson.)
1^o, 3240; 2^o and in Com., 5174, 5468; recom., 5533; 3^o*, 5534; Sen. Amt., 6359. (57-58 Vic., c. 57.)
- BILL (No. 127) To amend the Consolidated Revenue and Audit Act**.—(Sir John Thompson.)
1^o, 3241; 2^o and in Com., 4941; 3^o*, 4943. (57-58 Vic., c. 19.)
- BILL (No. 128) Further to amend the Dominion Elections Act**.—(Sir John Thompson.)
1^o, 3301; 2^o and in Com., 6479; 3^o*, 6484. (57-58 Vic., c. 13.)
- BILL (No. 129) Further to amend the Revised Statute respecting Interest**.—(Sir John Thompson.)
1^o, 3301; 2^o and in Com., 4945; 3^o*, 4948. (57-58 Vic., c. 22.)
- BILL (No. 130) Further to amend the Act respecting Certificates to Masters and Mates of Ships**.—(Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.)
Res. prop., 2939; in Com., 4950; 1^o*, 3367; 2^o*, 4589; in Com. and 3^o*, 4894. (57-58 Vic., c. 42.)
- BILL (No. 131) To incorporate the Nova Scotia Steel Company**.—(Mr. Fraser.)
1^o*, 3668; 2^o*, 4027; in Com. and 3^o*, 4887. (57-58 Vic., c. 117.)
- BILL (No. 132) Respecting the Cobourg, Northumberland and Pacific Railway Company**.—(Mr. Guillet.)
1^o*, 3668; 2^o*, 4027; in Com. and 3^o*, 5485. (57-58 Vic., c. 68.)
- BILL (No. 133) Further to amend the Acts respecting the North-west Territories**.—(Mr. Daly.)
1^o, 3668; Order for 2^o dschg., 4890.
- BILL (No. 134) Respecting the utilization of the waters of the North-west Territories for irrigation and other purposes**.—(Mr. Daly.)
1^o, 3669; 2^o and in Com., 4949, 5063, 5096; 3^o*, 5154. (57-58 Vic., c. 30.)
- BILL (No. 135) To consolidate and amend the Acts respecting the Duties of Customs**.—(Mr. Foster.)
Res. prop., 247, 1322; in Com., 1327, 1473, 1714, 1898, 2076, 2212, 2342, 2504, 2645, 2692, 2793, 2945, 3022, 3052, 3305, 3570, 5848; conc., 3971, 4028, 6032; 1^o of B., 4038; 2^o, 6155; 3^o*, 6517. (57-58 Vic., c., 33.)
- BILL (No. 136) For the relief of Orlando George Richmond Johnson**—(*from the Senate*).—(Mr. Metcalfe.)
1^o*, 4038; M. to place 2^o on Order paper, 4189; 2^o*, 4476; in Com. and 3^o on div., 4887. (57-58 Vic., c. 132.)
- BILL (No. 137) Further to amend the Steamboat Inspection Act**.—(Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.)
1^o, 4039; Res. prop., 4101; in Com., 4568; 2^o of B., 4568; in Com. and 3^o*, 4894. (57-58 Vic., c. 46.)
- BILL (No. 138) To incorporate the Montreal, Ottawa and Huron Canal Company**.—(Mr. Macdonell.)
1^o*, 4101; 2^o*, 4233; in Com. and 3^o*, 5523. (57-58 Vic., c. 103.)

- BILL (No. 139)** To incorporate the Pontiac and Ottawa Railway Company.—(Mr. *Bryson*.)
1^o, 4101; 2^o, 4431; in Com. and 3^o, 5485. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 88.)
- BILL (No. 140)** To amend the law relating to Conspiracies and Combinations in restraint of trade—(from the Senate).—(Mr. *Sproule*.)
1^o, 4393.
- BILL (No. 141)** Respecting the Canada Southern Railway—(from the Senate).—(Mr. *Montague*.)
1^o, 4297; 2^o, 4431; in Com. and 3^o, 4855. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 66.)
- BILL (No. 142)** To amend the Act respecting the incorporation of Boards of Trade.—(Sir *John Thompson*.)
1^o, 4395; 2^o, in Com. and 3^o, 4948. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 23.)
- BILL (No. 143)** Respecting the Electoral Franchise.—(Sir *John Thompson*.)
1^o, 4300; 2^o and in Com., 6523; 3^o, 6531. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 12.)
- BILL (No. 144)** To amend an Act relating to the custody of juvenile offenders in the Province of New Brunswick—(from the Senate).—(Sir *John Thompson*.)
1^o, 4557; 2^o, in Com. and 3^o, 4893. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 59.)
- BILL (No. 145)** Further to amend the Fisheries Act.—(Sir *Charles Hibbert Tupper*.)
1^o, 4557; Res. prop. (Lobster Licensee) 4719; in Com., 5557; conc. in, 5557; 2^o of B. and in Com., 5567; 3^o, 5574. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 51.)
- BILL (No. 146)** Further to amend the Act respecting the Department of Railways and Canals.—(Mr. *Bergin*.)
1^o, 4566.
- BILL (No. 147)** Respecting a certain Treaty between Her Britannic Majesty and the President of the French Republic.—(Mr. *Foster*.)
1^o, 4643; 2^o m., 5576; Amt. (Mr. *O'Brien*) 5585; neg. (Y. 44, N. 128) 5685; Amt. to Amt. (Mr. *Edgar*) 5638; neg. (Y. 51, N. 119) 5684; Amt. (Mr. *Laurier*) 5686; neg. (Y. 56, N. 109) 5867; 2^o agreed to (Y. 120, N. 41) 5689; M. for Com., 5694; in Com., 5695; 3^o, 5776. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 2.)
- BILL (No. 148)** For the relief of James St. George Dillon—(from the Senate).—(Mr. *Sutherland*.)
1^o, 4887; 2^o m., 5064, 5108, 5485, 5523; 2^o on div., 5529; in Com. and rep. on div., 6048; 3^o m., 6290; Amt. (Sir *Hector Langevin*) 6 m. h., 6293; neg. (Y. 22, N. 67) 6295; 3^o on div., 6296. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 129.)
- BILL (No. 149)** Further to amend the Acts respecting the North-west Territories.—(Mr. *Daly*.)
1^o, 4890; 2^o and in Com., 5166; 3^o m., 6080; Amt. (Mr. *McCarthy*), 6080; Amt. to Amt. (Mr. *Hughes*) 6089; neg. (Y. 2, N. 131) 6102; Amt. neg. (Y. 21, N. 114), 6152; 3^o, 6153. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 17.)
- BILL (No. 150)** Respecting certain Subsidies granted to the Government of the Province of Quebec by chapter 8 of the Statutes of 1884.—(Mr. *Foster*.)
Res. prop., 4818; in Com., 4822; conc. in and 1^o of B., 4891; 2^o and in Com., 5097; 3^o, 5154. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 5.)
- BILL (No. 151)** Respecting The Common School Fund.—(Mr. *Foster*.)
Res. prop., 4719; in Com., 4822; conc. in and 1^o of B., 4892; 2^o and in Com., 5098; 3^o, 5154. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 3.)
- BILL (No. 152)** Respecting Insolvency—(from the Senate).—(Sir *John Thompson*.)
1^o, 4940.
- BILL (No. 153)** Respecting the Incorporation and Regulation of Joint Stock Companies—(from the Senate).—(Sir *John Thompson*.)
1^o, 4940.
- BILL (No. 154)** Further to amend the Acts respecting the Civil Service.—(Mr. *Costigan*.)
1^o, 5154; 2^o, in Com. and 3^o, 5533. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 18.)
- BILL (No. 155)** Further to amend the Act respecting the Judges of Provincial Courts.—(Sir *John Thompson*.)
Res. prop. (B.C.) 3441; in Com., 3557; conc., 5161; (Que.) 5046; in Com., 5095; conc. in, 5161; 1^o of B., 5166; 2^o, in Com. and 3^o, 5533. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 56.)
- BILL (No. 156)** Respecting Houses of Refuge for Females in Ontario—(from the Senate).—(Sir *John Thompson*.)
1^o, 5465; 2^o, in Com. and 3^o, 5533. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 60.)
- BILL (No. 157)** to again revive and further amend the Act to incorporate the Brockville and New York Bridge Company.—(Mr. *Taylor*.)
1^o, 5465; 2^o, 5485; M. (Mr. *Tisdale*) to place on Order Paper objected to, 5520; in Com. and 3^o, 5727. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 89.)
- BILL (No. 158)** Further to amend the Inland Revenue Act.—(Mr. *Wood, Brockville*.)
Res. prop., 4889, in Com., 5172; 1^o of B., 5472; 2^o, 6154; in Com. and 3^o, 6155. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 35.)
- BILL (No. 159)** Respecting the Land Subsidy to the Canadian Pacific Railway Co.—(Mr. *Daly*.)
1^o, 5691; 2^o, 6032; in Com., 6035; recom. and 3^o, 6266. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 7.)
- BILL (No. 160)** Respecting Dominion Lands.—(Mr. *Daly*.)
1^o, 5691; 2^o and in Com., 6065; 3^o, 6067. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 26.)
- BILL (No. 161)** Further to amend the Act respecting Ocean Steamship Subsidies.—(Mr. *Foster*.)
Res. prop., 3450; in Com., 5710; conc. in and 1^o of B., 5777; 2^o m., 5936; 2^o on div., 5967; in Com. 5970; 3^o, 6053. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 8.)

- BILL (No. 162)** To consolidate and amend the Acts respecting lands in the Territories—(*from the Senate*).
—(*Mr. Daly*.)
1^o, 5887; 2^o and in Com., 6077; 3^o, 6517. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 28.)
- BILL (No. 163)** To amend the Act respecting the sale of Railway Passenger Tickets.—(*Mr. Haggart*.)
1^o, 6045; 2^o and in Com., 6517.
- BILL (No. 164)** Further to amend the Act respecting the Senate and the House of Commons.—(*Mr. Foster*.)
Res. prop., 5935; in Com., 6029; conc. in and 1^o* of B., 6053; 2^o*, 6154; in Com., 6259; 3^o*, 6358. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 10.)
- BILL (No. 165)** To amend the Act respecting Dominion notes.—(*Mr. Foster*.)
Res. prop., 5465; in Com., 6029; conc. in and 1^o* of B., 6053; 2^o*, 6154; in Com., 6259; 3^o*, 6358. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 21.)
- BILL (No. 166)** To amend the Act to provide for the allowance of drawback on certain articles manufactured in Canada, for use in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway.—(*Mr. Haggart*.)
Res. prop., 5369, 5533; in Com., 5536, 6010; conc. in and 1^o* of B., 6065; 2^o m., 6359; Amt. (*Mr. Mulock*) 3 m. h., 6367; neg. (Y. 15, N. 100) 6376; 2^o, 6377; in Com., 6428; 3^o*, 6466. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 34.)
- BILL (No. 167)** Further to amend the Post Office Act—(*from the Senate*).—(*Sir Adolphe Caron*.)
1^o*, 6154; 2^o, in Com. and 3^o*, 6379. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 54.)
- BILL (No. 168)** To authorize the granting of Subsidies of Land to certain Railway Companies.—(*Mr. Daly*.)
Res. prop., 5935, 6253; in Com., 6067, 6377; 1^o* of B., 6154; 2^o*, 6266; in Com., 6358; recom. and 3^o*, 6413. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 6.)
- BILL (No. 169)** To authorize the granting of subsidies in aid of the construction of the lines of railway therein mentioned.—(*Mr. Haggart*.)
Res. prop., 6049, 6254, 6357; in Com., 6267, 6385, 6414; 1^o* of B., 6414; 2^o of Res. m. and Amt. (*Mr. Laurier*) 6466; neg. (Y. 20, N. 50) 6470; 2^o, 6472; 3^o*, 6523. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 4.)
- BILL (No. 170)** Respecting the payment of bounties on iron and steel manufactured from Canadian ore.—(*Mr. Haggart*.)
Res. prop., 6412; in Com., 6472; 1^o* of B., 6516; 2^o*, in Com. and 3^o*, 6523. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 9.)
- BILL (No. 171)** for granting to Her Majesty certain sums of money required for defraying certain expenses of the Public Service, for the financial years ending respectively the 30th June, 1894, and the 30th June, 1895, and for other purposes relating to the Public Service.
1^o*, 2^o* and 3^o*, 6523. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 1.)
- BILLS ASSENTED TO**, 6533 (ii).
- BILL STAMPS, ENGLISH**: in Com. of Sup., 3199 (i).
- BINDER TWINE, FREE ENTRY**: prop. Res. (*Mr. Mulock*) 146 (i).
- BINDER TWINE PLANT FOR KINGSTON PENITENTIARY**:
M. for Cor.* (*Mr. Mulock*) 451 (i).
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- BIRTH OF AN HEIR APPARENT**: Remarks (*Sir Richard Cartwright*) 5692 (ii).
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- BLACKBERRIES, &c.**: in Com. of Ways and Means, 1780.
- BLACKING, SHOE**: in Com. of Ways and Means, 2081.
- BLANCHARD, THEOTIME, ESQ., MEMBER FOR GLOUCESTER**: introduced, 3274 (ii).
- BLANKETS, &c., ONT. AND QUE., INDIANS**: in Com. of Sup., 4826 (ii).
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- BLUE-BOOKS, &c., DATES OF PUBLICATION SINCE 1887**:
M. for Ret.* (*Mr. Charlton*) 147 (i).
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— MEETINGS: Ques. (*Mr. Langelier*) 4196 (ii).
— Ques. (*Mr. Rider*) 3242 (i).
- BOARD OF EXAMINERS, DOM. LANDS, SURVEYORS**: in Com. of Sup., 5014 (ii).
- Boards of Trade Act Amt. B. No. 142** (*Sir John Thompson*). 1^o*, 4395; 2^o*, in Com. and 3^o*, 4948. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 23.)
- BONUSES TO RYS. AND COMPANIES FOR SETTLERS**:
M. for Ret.* (*Mr. Mulock*) 1036 (i.)
- BOOKS, &c.**: in Com. of Ways and Means, 1903, 2995 (i).
- BOSTON AND NOVA SCOTIA COAL AND RY. CO.'S SUBSIDY**: prop. Res. (*Mr. Haggart*) 6255 (ii).
- BOUNDARIES OF QUEBEC**: M. for Cor., &c. (*Sir Hector Langevin*) 1569 (i).
- BOUNDARY, ALASKA AND B.C.**: M. for Cor., &c.* (*Sir Hector Langevin*) 450 (i).
- BOURINOT, C., COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS AND JOURNALIST**: Ques. (*Mr. Fraser*) 2131 (i).
- Bounties**. See "IRON."
- BOUNTIES TO FISHERMEN, NON-DISTRIBUTION**: Ques. (*Mr. Fraser*) 949 (i).
- BOUNTY, &c., ON CAN. BUILT SHIPS**: M. for O.C.'s* (*Mr. Amyot*) 1399 (i).
— ON FISH EXPORTS TO CUBA, &c.: Ques. (*Mr. Kaulbach*) 1397 (i).
— ON FRENCH BUILT SHIPS: Ques. (*Sir Richard Cartwright*) 1219 (i).
— ON PIG IRON, AMOUNT PAID: M. for Stmt.* (*Mr. Edgar*) 451 (i).
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— TO FISHERMEN, PROSECUTION FOR FRAUD: Ques. (*Mr. Bowers*) 3092 (i).
- BOWELL, J. C., AMOUNT PAID FOR SERVICES**: Ques. (*Mr. Macdonald, Huron*) 947 (i).
- BOYNTON BICYCLE ELECTRIC RY. CO.'S PET.**: M. (*Mr. Gillies*) to ref. to Standing Orders Com., 1113 (i).
- Boynton Bicycle Ry. Co.'s incorp. B. No. 85** (*Mr. Gillies*). 1^o*, 1219; 2^o*, 1748; in Com. and 3^o*, 5485. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 64.)
- BRACEBRIDGE AND BAYSVILLE RY. CO.'S SUBSIDY**: prop. Res. (*Sir John Thompson*) 5935; in Com., 6267 (ii).

- BRAE HARBOUR PIER, REPAIRS:** Ques. (Mr. *Yeo*) 1970 (i).
- Brandon and South-western Ry. Co.'s Act Amt. B. No. 47** (Mr. *Davin*). 1st, 841; 2nd, 1151; in Com. and 3rd, 2412. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 65.)
- BRANDON AND SOUTH-WESTERN RY. CO.'S LAND SUBSIDY:** prop. Res. (Sir *John Thompson*) 5935 (ii).
- BRANDON EXPERIMENTAL FARM BUILDINGS:** Ques. (Mr. *Martin*) 2870 (i).
- BRANTFORD, WATERLOO AND LAKE ERIE RY. CO.'S SUBSIDY:** prop. Res. (Sir *John Thompson*) 6050; in Com., 6268 (ii).
- BRASS AND COPPER NAILS:** in Com. of Ways and Means, 2512 (i).
- BREADSTUFFS, &c.:** in Com. of Ways and Means, 1561 (i).
- BREAKWATERS AND PIERS, P.E.I., GENERAL REPAIRS, &c.:** in Com. of Sup., 4461 (ii).
- BREAKWATERS IN GUYSBORO' COUNTY:** Ques. (Mr. *Fraser*) 157, 282 (i).
- Bribery and Disfranchisement B. No. 6** (Mr. *Weldon*). 1st, 79; 2nd and ref. to Sel. Com., 2337; in Com., 2568, 2598, 2873, 3297, 3368, 3390; 3rd, 3636. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 14.)
- BRIDGE OVER OTTAWA RIVER:** Ques. (Mr. *Devlin*) 2413 (i).
- BRITISH COLUMBIA:**
- ALASKA AND B. C. BOUNDARY: M. for Cor., &c. (Sir *Hector Langevin*) 450 (i).
- BEHRING SEA, BRITISH SEALERS, RES. B.C. LEGISLATURE: Ques. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) 2134 (i).
- FISHING REGULATIONS: Remarks (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) 150, 181 (i).
- ON ADJMT.: Remarks (Mr. *McDougall*) 681 (i).
- SEAL CATCH, NUMBER AND VALUE: Ques. (Mr. *Laurier*) 686 (i).
- CHINESE LABOUR ON FORTIFICATIONS: Ques. (Mr. *Prior*) 281 (i), 3603 (ii).
- CUSTOMS: in Com. of Sup., 5077 (ii).
- ELK AND KOOTENAY RIVER RY. SUBSIDY: prop. Res. (Mr. *Haggart*) 6256; in Com., 6395 (ii).
- FISHERIES: in Com. of Sup., 4745 (ii).
- GOVT. BUILDINGS (NEW) VICTORIA: Ques. (Mr. *Martin*) 516 (i).
- IMPORTS (FREE) MINING MACHINERY: M. for Ret. (Mr. *Mara*) 452 (i).
- NAKUSP AND SLOCAN RY. CO.'S SUBSIDY: prop. Res. (Mr. *Haggart*) 6356; in Com., 6405 (ii).
- PENITENTIARY: in Com. of Sup., 3366 (ii).
- CHANGES *re* MANAGEMENT: M. for Ret.* (Mr. *Mulock*) 471 (i).
- SEALERS' CLAIMS: M. for Ret. (Mr. *Laurier*) 1577 (i).
- SEAL FISHERMEN, B.C. CLAIMS: M. for Ret. (Mr. *Laurier*) 1577 (i).
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- BRITISH GUM:** in Com. of Ways and Means, 2089 (i).
- BROAD COVE AND ORANGEDALE RY.:** Ques. (Mr. *Fraser*) 1710 (i).
- BROAD COVE MARSH PIER, DISMISSAL OF INSPECTOR:** M. for Ret.* (Mr. *Davies, P.E.I.*) 4479 (i).
- REPAIRS: Ques. (Mr. *Davies, P.E.I.*) 2413 (i).
- Brockville and New York Bridge Co.'s B. No. 157** (Mr. *Taylor*). 1st, 5465; 2nd, 5485; M. (Mr. *Tisdale*) to place on Order paper objected to, 5520; in Com. and 3rd, 5727. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 89.)
- BROCKVILLE, WESTPORT AND SAULT STE. MARIE RY. CO.'S SUBSIDY:** prop. Res. (Sir *John Thompson*) 6049; in Com., 6269 (ii).
- BROOKE, G. H. A., REVISING OFFICER FOR RICHMOND, APPMT.:** Ques. (Mr. *Rinfret*) 2733 (i).
- BROWN, GILPIN, APPMT. IN MOUNTED POLICE:** Ques. (Mr. *McMullen*) 2566 (i).
- BRUSH, A., AND CATTLE INSPECTION:** M. for Cor.* (Mr. *Mulock*) 2424 (i).
- BUCKTHORN FENCING OF IRON OR STEEL:** in Com. of Ways and Means, 2396 (i).
- BUCKWHEAT, &c.:** in Com. of Ways and Means, 1505 (i).
- BUFFALO BREEDING RANCH:** Ques. (Mr. *Davin*) 2039.
- BUREAU OF LABOUR STATISTICS, ESTABLISHMENT:** M. for Ret. (Mr. *Lépine*) 2186 (i).
- Burglary Guarantee.** See "DOMINION."
- BURLINGTON CANAL, SCOW SERVICE:** Ques. (Mr. *Bain, Wentworth*) 949 (i).
- BURLINGTON CHANNEL SWING BRIDGE:** in Com. of Sup., 6509 (ii).
- BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE:** M. (Sir *John Thompson*) 2212 (i).
- ON ADJMT.: Remarks (Mr. *Mulock*) 2929 (i).
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- BUTTONS:** in Com. of Ways and Means, 2682 (i).
- BUILDINGS (GOVT.) MAN. AND N.W.T.:** M. for Ret.* (Mr. *McMullen*) 450 (i).
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- Calgary Irrigation Co.'s B. No. 53** (Mr. *Davis, Alberta*). 1st, 841; 2nd, 1151; in Com. and 3rd, 2724; Sen. Amts., 4855; conc. in, 4887. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 106.)
- CALGARY POST OFFICE, &c.:** in Com. of Sup., 4439.
- SETTLERS FROM U. S., NUMBER, &c.: M. for Ret. (Mr. *Martin*) 2415 (i).
- CAMPBELLFORD, SUB-COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS:** Ques. (Mr. *McMullen*) 368, 3090 (i).
- CAMPBELL, CHAS., PREVENTIVE OFFICER:** Ques. (Mr. *Davies, P.E.I.*) 2133 (i).
- CAMPBELL, J. J., TRANSFER:** in Com. of Sup., 6232.
- CAMPBELL, SAMUEL, DISMISSAL:** Ques. (Mr. *Davies, P.E.I.*) 288 (i).
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- CAN. ARCHIVES:** presented (Sir *John Thompson*) 4101 (i).
- CAN. AND AUSTRALIAN CABLE:** M. for Cor., &c.* (Sir *Hector Langevin*) 450 (i).
- CAN. AGENCY AT CHICAGO:** Ques. (Mr. *Girouard, Jacques Cartier*) 5368 (ii).
- CAN. BUILT SHIPS, DRAWBACKS OR BOUNTY:** M. for O.C.'s* (Mr. *Amyot*) 1399 (i).
- CAN. EASTERN RY. CO.'S SUBSIDY:** prop. Res. (Mr. *Haggart*) 6256 (ii).

- Can. and Michigan Tunnel Co.'s B. No. 25** (Mr. *Montague*). 1^o, 682; 2^o, 885; in Com. and 3^o, 1396. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 101.)
- CAN. MUTUAL AID ASSOCIATION, REGISTRATION:** M. for Cor., &c.* (Mr. *Sproule*) 1991 (i).
- Can. Provident Association incorp. Act Amt. B. No. 76** (Sir *James Grant*). 1^o, 1219; 2^o, 1747.
- Can. Ry. Accident Ins. Co.'s incorp. B. No. 36** (Sir *James Grant*). 1^o, 750, 2^o, 886; in Com., 3083; 3^o, 3088. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 118.)
- Can. Ry. Fire Ins. Co.'s incorp. B. No. 42** (Sir *James Grant*). 1^o, 751; 2^o, 886; in Com. and 3^o, 3088. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 119.)
- Can. Southern Ry. Co.'s B. No. 141** (Mr. *Montague*). 1^o, 4297; 2^o, 4431; in Com. and 3^o, 4655. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 66.)
- Can. Temp. Act Amt. B. No. 11** (Mr. *Davies, P.E.I.*) 1^o, 154.
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- C.P.R. Co.'s LAND SUBSIDY:** prop. Res. (Mr. *Daly*) 5935 (ii).
- NORTH SHORE SECTION: Ques. (Mr. *Fremont*) 948 (i).
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- CAN. TOBACCO:** Remarks (Mr. *Jeannotte*) to M. for Com. of Sup., 6428 (ii).
- CANALS:**
- CHAMBLY CANAL, SWING BRIDGE NEAR STE. THERESE ISLAND:** M. for Ret.* (Mr. *Bechard*) 1991 (i).
- CORNWALL CANAL, SHEIK'S ISLAND DAM:** Ques. (Mr. *Charlton*) 155 (i).
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- DAVIS & SONS CONTRACT: M. for copy, &c.* (Mr. *Charlton*) 449, 452 (i).
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- DAVIS BROS. SECURITY FOR CONTRACT: Ques. (Mr. *Lister*) 3604 (ii).
- EMPLOYEES, WAGES DUE:** Remarks (Mr. *Bergeron*) to Com. of Sup., 5273 (ii).
- INSPECTOR, NEW APPMT.:** Ques. (Mr. *McCarthy*) 4718 (ii).
- LACHINE CANAL, CONTRACT FOR WIDENING:** Ques. (Mr. *Monet*) 5774 (ii).
- WELLINGTON ST., &c., BRIDGES: Ques. (Mr. *Mulock*) 3091 (i).
- ST. LAWRENCE RIVER AND CANALS, DEEPENING:** prop. Res. (Mr. *Denison*) 2137 (i).
- SAULT STE. MARIE CANAL, LEMAY'S DEATH:** Ques. (Mr. *Rinfret*) 2871 (i).
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- SOULANGES CANAL, CONTRACTS:** M. for Cor.* (Mr. *Charlton*) 449 (i).
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- TENDERS AND CONTRACTS: M. for Cor., &c. (Mr. *Tarte*) 2783 (i).
- TAY CANAL, RECEIPTS FROM TOLLS, &c.:** Ques. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) 145 (i).
- TRENT VALLEY CANAL, COMMISSIONERS' REP.:** M. for copy (Mr. *Huohes*) 1796 (i).
- EXPEND. : Ques. (Mr. *Mulock*) 687 (i).
- WILLIAMSBURG CANALS, SUPERINTENDENT:** Ques. (Mr. *Landerkin*) 285 (i).
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- CANE, REED OR RATTAN:** in Com. of Ways and Means, 2826 (i).
- CANOE COVE (P.E.I.) BREAKWATER, CONSTRUCTION:** (Mr. *Davies, P.E.I.*) 685 (i).
- CAPE BRETON MAIL SERVICE:** Ques. (Mr. *Fraser*) 844.
- OXFORD AND NEW GLASGOW RY. : in Com. of Sup., 6354 (ii).
- CAPE BRETON RY. EXTENSION Co.'s SUBSIDY:** prop. Res. (Mr. *Haggart*) 6256 (ii).
- SUB-CONTRACTORS' CLAIM: Ques. (Mr. *Davies, P.E.I.*) 2297 (i).
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- CAPE CANSO, SURVEYS:** Ques. (Mr. *Fraser*) 1795 (i).
- CAP DE LA MADELINE, ST. PILES RY. SUBSIDY:** prop. Res. (Mr. *Haggart*) 6256 (ii).
- CAPTAINS AND MATES, CERTIFICATED:** M. for Cor., &c.* (Mr. *Davies, P.E.I.*) 451 (i).
- CARAQUET RY. AND POKEMOUCHE RY. SUBSIDY:** prop. Res. (Mr. *Haggart*) 6357; in Com., 6414 (ii).
- CARAQUET RY., RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE:** Ques. (Mr. *Mulock*) 2566 (i).
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- Cariboo Ry. Co.'s incorp. B. No. 60** (Mr. *Mara*). 1^o, 1030; 2^o, 1151; in Com. and 3^o, 3051. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 67.)
- CARILLON AND GRENVILLE CANAL:** in Com. of Sup., 4161 (ii).
- CARLSRUHE BREWERY, INLAND REVENUE:** Ques. (Mr. *Landerkin*) 2622, 2938 (i).
- CARLYLE, C. C., SERVICES re IMMIGRATION FROM Nfld.:** Ques. (Mr. *Davies, P.E.I.*) 753 (i).
- CARPETS INGRAIN:** in Com. of Ways and Means, 3065 (i); conc., 4028 (ii).
- CASCUMPEQUE HARBOUR, P.E.I., BLASTING, &c.:** Ques. (Mr. *Perry*) 2733 (i).
- CATTLE (CAN.) EXPORTS via U.S.:** M. for Cor., &c.* (Mr. *Mulock*) 451 (i).
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- EMBARGO IN GREAT BRITAIN: Ques. (Mr. *Fairbairn*) 448 (i).
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 — **EXAMINATION AFTER SLAUGHTER: Ques. (Mr. Smith, Ont.) 2040 (i).**
 — **TRADE WITH GREAT BRITAIN: Remarks (Mr. Mulock) to Com. of Sup., 3244 (i), 4895 (ii).**
 — **EXPORTED TO UNITED KINGDOM, VALUE: Ques. (Mr. Mulock) 1221, 1787, 2212 (i).**
 — **EXPORTS, MIN. OF AGRICULTURE'S, REP. : Remarks (Mr. Mulock) 1568 (i).**
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- CHAMBLY CANAL, SWING BRIDGE NEAR STE. THÉRÈSE ISLAND: M. for Ret.* (Mr. Bechard) 1991 (i).**
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- Chaudière Electric Light and Power Co.'s B. No. 75 (Sir James Grant). 1^o, 1219; 2^o, 1600; in Com. and 3^o, 3051. (57-58 Vic., c. 109.)**
- CHAUDIÈRE FALLS WATER PRIVILEGES: Ques. (Mr. Casey) 2622 (i).**
- CHEVALIER, FISHING OVERSEER, DISMISSAL: M. for Ret.* (Mr. Béchard) 1991 (i).**
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- CHIGNECTO MARINE RY., SUMS PAID ON ACCOUNT: Ques. (Mr. Rider) 754 (i).**
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ALBERTA SOUTHERN RY. CO.
 ATLANTIC AND LAKE SUPERIOR RY. CO.
 ATLANTIC AND NORTH-WEST RY. CO.
 BELL TELEPHONE CO.
 BOYNTON BICYCLE ELECTRIC RY. CO.
 BRANDON AND SOUTH-WESTERN RY. CO.
 BROCKVILLE AND NEW YORK BRIDGE CO.
 CALGARY IRRIGATION CO.
 CANADA AND MICHIGAN TUNNEL CO.
 CANADIAN RAILWAY ACCIDENT INS. CO.
 CANADIAN RAILWAY FIRE INS. CO.
 CARIBOO RY. CO.
 CHAUDIÈRE ELECTRIC LIGHT AND POWER CO.
 CLIFTON SUSPENSION BRIDGE CO.
 COBOURG, NORTHUMBERLAND AND PAC. RY. CO.
 CONSUMERS CORDAGE CO.
 DOMINION BURGLARY GUARANTEE CO.
 DOMINION GAS AND ELECTRIC CO.
 DULUTH, NEPIGON AND JAMES'S BAY RY. CO.
 ELGIN AND HAVELOCK RY. CO.
 ERIE AND HURON RY. CO.
 FRENCH RIVER BOOM CO.
 GLEICHEN, BEAVER LAKE AND VICTORIA RY. CO.
 GUELPH JUNCTION RY. CO.
 JOINT STOCK COMPANIES.
 LAKE ERIE AND DETROIT RIVER RY. CO.
 LAKE MEGANTIC RY. CO.
 LINDSAY, BOBCAYGEON AND PONTYPOOL RY. CO.
 MANITOBA AND NORTH-WESTERN RY. CO.
 MEDICINE HAT RY. AND COAL CO.
 MÉTIS, MATANE AND GASPÉ RY. CO.
 MONCTON AND P. E. I. RY. AND TUNNEL CO.
 MONTREAL AND OTTAWA RY. CO.
 MONTREAL ISLAND BELT LINE RY. CO.
 MONTREAL, OTTAWA AND HURON CANAL CO.
 MONTREAL PARK AND ISLAND RY. CO.
 NEW YORK, NEW ENGLAND AND CANADA RY. CO.
 NIAGARA FALLS ELECTRIC RY. BRIDGE CO.
 NIAGARA GRAND ISLAND BRIDGE CO.
 NIAGARA FALLS SUSPENSION BRIDGE CO.
 NORTHERN LIFE ASSURANCE CO. OF CANADA.
 NORTH-WESTERN AND BURRARD INLET TEL. CO.
 NOVA SCOTIA STEEL CO.
 ONTARIO LIFE ASSURANCE CO.
 ONTARIO LOAN AND DEBENTURE CO.
 OTTAWA AND GATINEAU RY. CO.
 OTTAWA ELECTRIC CO.
 OTTAWA GAS CO.
 PONTIAC AND OTTAWA RY. CO.
 RED DEER VALLEY RAILWAY AND COAL CO.
 RICHELIEU AND ONTARIO NAVIGATION CO.
 RIVER ST. CLAIR RAILWAY BRIDGE CO.
 ROCKY MOUNTAIN RY. AND COAL CO.
 ST. CATHARINES AND NIAGARA CENTRAL RY. CO.
 ST. CLAIR AND ERIE SHIP CANAL CO.
 ST. EMILIE RY. CO.
 ST. LAWRENCE AND ADIRONDACK RY. CO.
 ST. LAWRENCE INS. CO.

COMPANIES—*Con.*

STEAM BOILER AND PLATE GLASS CO.

WELLAND POWER AND SUPPLY CO.

WINNIPEG AND HUDSON BAY RY. CO.

WOLSELEY AND FORT QU'APPELLE RY. CO.

WOOD MOUNTAIN AND QU'APPELLE RY. CO.

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- TREATY WITH FRANCE, RATIFICATION B. No. 147:** M. for 2^o (Mr. *Foster*) 5576; Amt. (Mr. *O'Brien*) 5585; neg. (Y. 44, N. 128) 5686; Amt. to Amt. (Mr. *Edgar*) 5638; neg. (Y. 51, N. 119) 5685; Amt. (Mr. *Laurier*) neg. (Y. 56, N. 100) 5687; agreed to (Y. 120, N. 41) 5689 (ii).
- TURCOTTE, ARTHUR J., M.P.:** Charges against (Mr. *Bruneau*) Contracts for Quebec Citadel Supplies, 2931; Amt. (Sir *John Thompson*) 2934; agreed to (Y. 103, N. 69) 2936 (i).
- 4th Rep. of Com. on Priv. and Elec.: conc. (Mr. *Girouard, Jacques Cartier*) 5687; Amt. (Mr. *Edgar*) 5904; neg. (Y. 54, N. 84) 5932; Rep. agreed to (Y. 82, N. 53) 5933 (ii).
- Divorce (Dillon, Jas. St. Geo.) B. No. 148** (Mr. *Sutherland*). 1^o*, 4887; 2^o m., 5064, 5108, 5485, 5523; 2^o on div., 5529; in Com. and rep. on div., 6048; 3^o m., 6290; Amt. (Sir *Hector Langevin*) 6 m. h., 6293; neg. (Y. 22, N. 67) 6295; 3^o on div., 6296. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 129.)
- (Downey, Caroline Jane) B. No. 105 (Mr. *Coatsworth*). 1^o, 2341; 2^o agreed to (Y. 76, N. 31) 2597; 3^o*, 3051. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 130.)
- (Filman, Joshua Nicholas) B. No. 109 (Mr. *McKay*). 1^o*, 2937; 2^o*, 3273; in Com. and 3^o*, 4887. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 131.)
- (Johnson, Orlando Geo. Richmond) B. No. 136 (Mr. *Metcalfe*). 1^o*, 4038; M. to place 2^o on Order paper, 4189; 2^o*, 4476; in Com. and 3^o on div., 4887. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 132.)
- (Piper, William Samuel) B. No. 119 (Mr. *Northrup*). 1^o*, 3161; 2^o*, 3390; in Com. and 3^o on div., 4887. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 133.)
- Divorce (Thompson, Joseph) B. No. 120** (Mr. *Northrup*). 1^o*, 3163; 2^o m., 3602; 2^o*, 4027; in Com. and 3^o on div., 4887. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 134.)
- DOM. AND P. O. SAVINGS BANKS DEPOSITORS:** M. for Pet.* (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) 1991 (i).
- Dom. Atlantic Ry. Co.'s B. No. 50** (Mr. *Kenny*). 1^o*, 841; 2^o*, 1151; in Com. and 3^o*, 2412. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 69.)
- Dom. Burglary Guarantee Co.'s B. No. 27** (Mr. *Sproule*). 1^o*, 682; 2^o*, 885; in Com. and 3^o*, 3051. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 121.)
- DOM. DAY, ADJMT.:** M. (Sir *John Thompson*) 5093 (ii).
— Remarks (Mr. *Kenny*) 5046 (ii).
- Dom. Elections Act Amt. B. No. 128** (Sir *John Thompson*). 1^o, 3301; 2^o* and in Com. 6479; 3^o*, 6484. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 13.)
- DOM. ELECTIONS ACT AMENDMENT:** Remarks (Mr. *Lauderkin*) 3302 (ii).
- Dom. Gas and Electric Co.'s incorp. B. No. 77** (Mr. *Boyd*). 1^o*, 1219; 2^o*, 1368; in Com., 3077; 3^o*, 3273. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 110.)
- DOM. LANDS, &C.:** in Com. of Sup., 4929, 5013 (ii).
- DOM. LANDS:** Amt. (Mr. *Charlton*) to M. for Com. of Sup. 3593, 3873; neg. (Y. 47, N. 100) 3970 (ii).
Deb. (Mr. *Daly*) 3873; (Mr. *Martin*) 3919; (Mr. *Davin*) 3935; (Mr. *Mills, Bothwell*) 3959.
- Dom. Lands B. No. 160** (Mr. *Daly*). 1^o, 5691; 2^o* and in Com., 6065; 3^o*, 6067. (57-58 *Vic.* c. 26.)
- Dom. Notes Act Amt. B. 165** (Mr. *Foster*). Res. prop., 5465; in Com., 6029; conc. in and 1^o* of B., 6053; 2^o*, 6154; in Com., 6259; 3^o*, 6358. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 21.)
- DOM. POLICE:** in Com. of Sup., 3347, 6242 (ii).
— REP.: presented (Sir *John Thompson*) 127 (i).
- DOM. PUBLIC BUILDINGS, RENEWALS, &C.:** in Com. of Sup. 4432 (ii).
- DOM. STOCK, NON-PAYMENT OF INTEREST:** Ques. (Mr. *McCarthy*) 5775 (ii).
- Dom. Woman's Christian Temp. Union incorp. B. No. 56** (Mr. *Scriven*). 1^o*, 946; 2^o*, 1151; in Com. and 3^o*, 2120. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 127.)
- DORCHESTER (N.B.) PENITENTIARY:** in Com. of Sup. 3349 (ii).
- Downey, Caroline J.** See "DIVORCE."
- DRAIN TILES:** in Com. of Ways and Means, 2094 (i).
- Drawbacks.** See "C.P.R."
- DRAWBACKS TO SHIPBUILDERS 1865 TO 1879:** Ques. (Mr. *Amyot*) 2293 (i).
- DREDGING CONTRACT AT MIMINEGASH (P.E.I.) BREAK-WATER:** Ques. (Mr. *Perry*) 284 (i).
— in Com. of Sup., 4594 (ii).
- IN SPANISH RIVER: Ques. (Mr. *Derlin*) 2939.
- DREDGE "PRINCE EDWARD":** Ques. (Mr. *Perry*) 3341.
- DRILL HALL, MONTREAL, PAVING:** Ques. (Mr. *Lépine*) 1398 (i).
— TORONTO: in Com. of Sup., 4437 (ii).
- QUEBEC, MODERN GUNS: Ques. (Mr. *Laurier*) 1793 (i).
- Drugs.** See "ADULTERATION OF FOOD."

- "DRUID," GOVT. STEAMER, REPAIRS, &c.: Ques. (Mr. *Choquette*) 2131 (i).
- DRUMMOND COUNTY RY. CO.'S SUBSIDY: prop. Res. (Mr. *Haggart*) 6254; in Com., 6388 (ii).
- Dual Language. See "N.W.T."
- DUFFERIN TERRACE REPAIRS, COST: Ques. (Mr. *Monet*) 5775 (ii).
- DUGGAN, E., SUPERANNUATION: Ques. (Mr. *McMullen*) 1711 (i).
- Duluth, Nepigon and James' Bay Ry. Co.'s incorp. B. No. 37 (Mr. *Masson*). 1*, 751; 2*, 886; in Com. and 3*, 1992. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 70.)
- DUNHAM, H., AND CUSTOMS SUB-COLLECTORSHIP: Ques. (Mr. *McMullen*) 3090 (i).
- DUNN, CAPT. E., SUSPENSION: Ques. (Mr. *Landerkin*) 1564 (i).
- Duties. See "CUSTOMS," "CUSTOMS ACTS," &c.
- DUVAR ROAD FLAG STATION, P.E.I. RY.: Ques. (Mr. *Yeo*) 2038 (i).
- DYER'S BAY WHARF: in Com. of Sup. 4472 (ii).
- EARTHENWARE: in Com. of Ways and Means, 2093, 2220 (i).
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- EASTERN EXTENSION RY., CHARGES AGAINST TICKET AGENT: M. for Cor. (Mr. *Cameron*) 2424 (i).
- EASTERN HARBOUR (C.B.) LIGHTHOUSE: Ques. (Mr. *Davies, P.E.I.*) 2412 (i).
- Edmonton Street Ry. Co.'s B. No. 23 (Mr. *Davis, Alberta*). 1, 596; 2*, 721; in Com. and 3*, 5484. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 71.)
- EGGS: in Com. of Ways and Means, 3572; conc., 4016, 4033 (ii).
- Electoral. See "DOM.," "FRANCHISE," &c.
- ELECTORAL LISTS, LAPRAIRIE-NAPIERVILLE: Ques. (Mr. *Monet*) 2937 (i).
- ELECTRIC LIGHT CO.'S, LEGISLATION RESPECTING: Ques. (Mr. *Cockburn*) 1116 (i).
- Electric Light Inspection B. No. 118 (Mr. *Wood, Brockville*). 1°, 3004; 2* and in Com., 5048; 3*, 5172. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 39.)
- ELECTRIC METERS, LEGISLATION *re* INSPECTION: Ques. (Mr. *Maclean, York*) 1117 (i).
- Electrical Measurement B. No. 117 (Mr. *Wood, Brockville*). 1°, 3003; 2*, in Com. and 3*, 5047. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 38.)
- ELEVATORS, MONTREAL P. O., CONTRACTS: Ques. (Mr. *Landerkin*) 842 (i).
- Elgin and Havelock Ry. Co.'s incorp. B. No. 40 (Mr. *Hazen*). 1*, 751; 2*, 886; in Com. and 3*, 2411. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 72.)
- ELGIN AND WOODSTOCK EXPERIMENTAL CREAMERIES, &c.: M. for Ret. (Mr. *McMullen*) 451 (i).
- ELK AND KOOTENAY RIVER RY. SUBSIDY: prop. Res. (Mr. *Haggart*) 6256; in Com., 6395 (ii).
- ELLIS, JOHN V., SENTENCE BY SUPREME COURT, N.B.: M. for Pet. (Mr. *Davies, P.E.I.*) 452 (i).
- IMPRISONMENT: Remarks (Mr. *Davies, P.E.I.*) to Com. of Sup., 3450 (ii).
- ELLIS, JOHN V., on M. for Com. of Ways and Means: Amt. (Mr. *Davies, P.E.I.*) 3670; neg. (Y. 66, N. 110) 3864 (ii).
- Deb. (Mr. *Hazen*) 3704; (Mr. *Fraser*) 3732; (Mr. *Baird*) 3740; (Mr. *Weldon*) 3751; (Mr. *Gillmor*) 3763; (Mr. *Mills, Bothwell*) 3767; (Sir *John Thompson*) 3790; (Mr. *Casey*) 3816; (Mr. *McLeod*) 3832; (Mr. *Davin*) 3837; (Mr. *Laurier*) 3847; (Mr. *McCarthy*) 3856.
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- Employees. See "VOTING."
- ENAMELLED IRON OR STEEL-WARE: in Com. of Ways and Means, 2513 (i).
- ENGINEERS, DRAUGHTSMEN, &c., SALARIES: in Com. of Sup., 4445, 6459 (ii).
- Erie and Huron Ry. Co.'s B. No. 81 (Mr. *Cockburn*). 1*, 1219; 2*, 1368; in Com. and 3*, 4027. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 73.)
- ESQUIMALT, CHINESE LABOUR ON FORTIFICATIONS: Ques. (Mr. *Prior*) 281 (i), 3603 (ii).
- ESTIMATES, THE (1894-5): presented (Mr. *Foster*) 144 (i).
- SUPPL. (1893-4): presented (Sir *John Thompson*) 4642 (ii).
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- SUPPL. (1894-5): presented (Mr. *Foster*) 5850.
- EXCHANGE BANK, INDIVIDUAL CLAIMS: Ques. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) 2624 (i).
- SUMS DUE GOVT.: Ques. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) 368, 682 (i).
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- EXHIBIT AT CHICAGO, EMPLOYEES, &c.: M. for Ret.* (Mr. *Martin*) 449 (i).
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- EMPLOYEES: Ques. (Mr. *Delisle*) 3440 (ii).
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- REP.: presented (Mr. *Foster*) 1714 (i).
- EXPORT DUTY ON LOGS: Remarks (Mr. *Bennett*) to Com. of Sup., 4198 (ii).
- CAN. CATTLE VIA U.S.: M. for Cor. &c.* (Mr. *Mulock*) 451 (i).
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- GREAT NORTHERN RY. CO.'S SUBSIDY: prop. Res. (Mr. *Haggart*) 6255, 6257; in Com., 6410 (ii).
- HICKEY, CHAS. E., SUPT. WILLIAMSBURG CANAL: Ques. (Mr. *Somerville*) 2135 (i).
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- HICKEY, GEO., EMPLOYT. ON CANALS: Ques. (Mr. *McCarthy*) 5044 (ii).
- HILTON GOVT. DOCK, COST, &C.: Ques. (Mr. *Lister*) 1788, 1969, 2620, 3090 (i).
- HURON COUNTY MAIL CONTRACT: Ques. (Mr. *McMillan*) 1566 (i).
- ISLANDS IN ST. LAWRENCE RIVER, SALE: Ques. (Mr. *Landerkin*) 1791 (i).
- KEMPTVILLE POSTMASTER, CHARGES AGAINST: Ques. (Mr. *Lister*) 3872 (ii).
- KENT FISHERY OVERSEER: Ques. (Mr. *Campbell*) 367 (i).
- KINGSTON PENITENTIARY. See general heading.
- LAZIER, LIEUT.-COL., RESIGNATION, &C.: Ques. (Mr. *Mulock*) 752 (i).
- LEGGE, J., SERVICES AS LIGHTHOUSE INSPECTOR: Ques. (Mr. *Landerkin*) 1790 (i).
- LINDSAY, BOBCAYGEON AND PONTYPOOL RY. CO.'S SUBSIDY: prop. Res. (Mr. *Haggart*) 6257 (ii).
- LONDON, PROPERTY LEASE, &C., OF PROPERTY BY GOVT.: Ques. (Mr. *Lister*) 3766 (ii).
- LUNDY'S LANE, COMMEMORATION: Ques. (Mr. *Lowell*) 4307 (ii).
- MCCORMICK'S ISLAND, OWNERSHIP: M. for Cor. (Mr. *Mills, Bothwell*) 1983 (i).
- MCQUEEN, FISHERY OVERSEER, DISMISSAL: M. for Ret. (Mr. *Campbell*) 1984 (i).
- MANITOULIN AND NORTH SHORE RY. CO.'S SUBSIDY: prop. Res. (Mr. *Haggart*) 6254 (ii).
- MILITARY COLLEGE, GRADUATES, &C.: M. for Ret.* (Mr. *Mulock*) 366 (i).
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- RET. RESPECTING: Ques. (Mr. *Edgar*, 952 (i).
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- MISSISSAUGA INDIANS. CREDITON TRUST FUND: Ques. (Mr. *Paterson, Brant*) 597 (i).
- MORTON, WM., CUSTOMS COLLECTOR, SUSPENSION, &C.: Ques. (Mr. *McMullen*) 368 (i).
- NEWCASTLE AND DOUGLASTOWN RY. SUBSIDY: prop. Res. (Sir *John Thompson*) 6052; in Com., 6286.
- NEUSTADT BREWERY. INLAND REVENUE: Ques. (Mr. *Landerkin*) 2621, 2938 (ii).
- NIAGARA FALLS AND FORT ERIE, EXPORTS AND IMPORTS: Ques. (Mr. *Featherston*) 5829 (ii).
- NIAGARA RIVER, POLLUTION BY GARBAGE: Ques. (Mr. *Lowell*) 4307 (ii).
- NORTH HASTINGS MAIL SERVICE, CONTRACT: Ques. (Mr. *Macdonald, Huron*) 3092 (i).
- OAKVILLE PIER AND LIGHTHOUSE, REBUILDING: Ques. (Mr. *Gibson*) 2622 (i).
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- ONT. FISHERY REGULATIONS: Ques. (Mr. *Lister*) 843.
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- OTTAWA CITY MAIL SERVICE CONTRACT: Ques. (Mr. *McMullen*) 3091 (i).
- EXPERIMENTAL FARM EMPLOYEES: Ques. (Mr. *Beausoleil*) 4478 (ii).
- OWEN SOUND POSTMASTERSHIP, VACANCY: Ques. (Mr. *Grieve*) 519 (i).
- PARRY SOUND COLONIZATION RY. CO.'S SUBSIDY: prop. Res. (Mr. *Haggart*) 6254; in Com., 6389.
- POINT PELEE, TIMBER: Ques. (Mr. *Allan*) 4052 (ii).
- PORT ALBERT HARBOUR, CONTRACT FOR REPAIRS: Ques. (Mr. *McMillan*) 682 (i).
- ST. CATHARINES AND NIAGARA CENTRAL RY. CO.'S SUBSIDY: prop. Res. (Sir *John Thompson*) 6050; in Com., 6270 (ii).
- ST. LAWRENCE RIVER ISLANDS, SALE: Ques. (Mr. *Landerkin*) 1791 (i).
- ST. JOSEPH'S ISLAND, GOVT. DOCK, COST: Ques. (Mr. *Lister*) 1788 (i).
- ST. THOMAS P.O., BOX RENTS: Ques. (Mr. *Casey*) 4477 (ii).
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- SANFORD, SENATOR, VISIT TO WASHINGTON: Ques. (Mr. *Landerkin*) 286, 288 (i).
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- SEAFORTH, AN OUTPORT OF ENTRY: Ques. (Mr. *McMillan*) 3766 (ii).
- SEINE FISHING LICENSES, LAKE ONT., &C.: Ques. (Mr. *Lister*) 950 (i).
- SHEIK'S ISLAND DAM. See "Cornwall Canal."
- SHIELDS, HAGGART & CO., RENTS ON LIMITS: Ques. (Mr. *Lister*) 1969 (i).
- SIX NATION INDIANS' FUNDS: M. for Ret.* (Mr. *Paterson, Brant*) 1991 (i).
- INDIANS, INDIVIDUAL INDEBTEDNESS: M. for Ret.* (Mr. *Paterson, Brant*) 1399 (i).
- STRATFORD PUBLIC BUILDINGS, FIRE: Ques. (Mr. *Grieve*) 2039 (i).
- STRATHROY AND WESTERN COUNTIES RY. CO.'S SUBSIDY: prop. Res. (Mr. *Haggart*) 6254; in Com., 6389 (ii).
- SWEETMAN, THOMAS, COMPENSATION FOR DAMAGES: Ques. (Mr. *Dawson*) 1221 (i).
- TAY CANAL, RECEIPTS FROM TOLLS, &C.: Ques. (Sir *Richard Carterright*, 145 (i).

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- THOUSAND ISLANDS, VALUE AND SALES: M. for Reprs., &c.* (Mr. Mills, Bothwell) 451 (i).
 — — Supt. Genl.'s Rep.: M. for copies* (Mr. Mills, Bothwell) 451 (i).
 TILSONBURG, LAKE ERIE AND PACIFIC RY. CO.'S SUBSIDY: prop. Res. (Sir John Thompson) 6049; in Com., 6268 (ii).
 TIMBER LIMITS, SHELL RIVER, RENTS: Ques. (Mr. Lister) 1969 (i).
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 TRENT VALLEY CANAL, COMMISSIONERS' REP.: M. for Rep. (Mr. Hughes) 1796 (i).
 — — EXPEND.: Ques. (Mr. Mulock) 687 (i).
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 WOOD, A. E., GOVT. VALUATOR, SUMS PAID: M. for Ret.* (Mr. McMullen) 453 (i).
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- ONT. AND QUEBEC, DREDGING: in Com. of Sup., 4619 (ii).
 — — INDIANS: in Com. of Sup., 4826, 6514 (ii).
 — — FISHERIES, DEPTL. ORDERS: M. for copies (Mr. McGregor) 1579 (i).
 — — in Com. of Sup., 4737 (ii).
 — — FISHERY REGULATIONS: Ques. (Mr. Lister) 843.
 — — LEGISLATURE, APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS BY DOM. GOVT.: M. for Ret.* (Mr. Macdonald, Huron) 453 (i).
 — — PAYMENTS BY DOM. GOVT. TO MEMBERS: M. for Ret.* (Mr. Macdonald, Huron) 452 (i).
- Ont. Loan and Debenture Co.'s B. No. 38 (Mr. Moncrieff). 1^o*, 751; 2^o*, 886; in Com. and 3^o*, 3088. (57-58 Vic., c. 116.)
 — — Mutual Life Assurance Co.'s B. No. 28 (Mr. Bowman). 1^o*, 682; 2^o*, 885; in Com. and 3^o*, 2120. (57-58 Vic., c. 123.)
- OPIUM (CRUDE): coné., 4013 (ii).
 — — in Com. of Ways and Means, 1476 (i).
- ORANGES AND LEMONS: in Com. of Ways and Means, 1781 (i).

ORDER, PRIVILEGE AND PROCEDURE:

ORDER:

- DISMISSAL OF CAPT. KENNEY: Action of Investigating Commissioners impugned; Member called to order by Mr. Chairman, who ruled that referring to dismissal would be justified, but discussing questions previous to that is out of Order, 4701 (ii).
 IMPUTING MOTIVES: Mr. Davin called the Deputy Speaker's attention to the fact that a Member had made a false statement. Mr. Deputy Speaker ruled that said member had no right to use such language, 541 (i).
 INTERRUPTIONS OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE: Member warned, that in reading letter referring to proceedings in the House is out of Order (Mr. Speaker) 1222 (i).
 IRRELEVANCY OF DEB.: Member's remarks checked by Mr. Speaker for indulging in personalities, 2164.

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- IRRELEVANCY OF DEB.: Mr. Davin took exception to discussion as being unseemly; Sir John Thompson protested against new attack being made upon members, 4989 (ii).
 LATITUDE OF DEB.: Members called to order by Mr. Deputy Speaker for using personalities in Deb., 4340.
 LATITUDE OF DEB.: Member requested to confine himself to subject-matter before the House (Mr. Speaker) 1866 (i).
 MEMBERS READING SPEECHES: Objection taken by Mr. Derlin to the Member for York reading his speech, 860 (i).
 MEMBERS' VERACITY impugned by Controller of Customs restatement as to price of flour; denial having been made by said Member and retraction not being made, Sir Richard Cartwright raised a point of Order: statement being repeated, the Deputy Speaker was asked for his ruling, and decided as the statement was made outside the House, the House had nothing to do with it, 1744; exception taken to the ruling by Mr. Laurier.
 MR. CHARLTON'S SPEECH AT JARVIS, ONT.: Quotation read in Budget Deb. by Mr. Sproule: Rep. read again and correctness doubted, 846 (i).
 OBSTRUCTING BUSINESS: Member's remarks challenged and out of Order if such charges are made (Mr. Speaker) 3173 (i).
 SINCERITY OF MEMBER QUESTIONED: Objection taken by Mr. Laurier and ruling of Mr. Speaker asked: Ruled that Member had no right to charge insincerity against Members, 2166; authorities quoted in support of ruling, 2185 (i).
 SUPERANNUATION: On Res. for Com.: Mr. Charlton took exception to Mr. Deputy Speaker's calling Member to Order for indulging in personalities, 4341.
 UNPARLIAMENTARY EXPRESSIONS IN DEB.: on Res. re Superannuation, Mr. Laurier objected to language used towards a Member and called for Mr. Deputy Speaker's ruling, 4341; Member requested to withdraw language; withdrawn, 4342 (ii).
- PRIVILEGE:
- FISHERMEN'S SUPPLIES: Paragraph in Halifax *Herald* criticising Mr. McMullen's speech in Com. of Ways and Means, explanation, 2786 (i).
 INQUIRIES FOR RETURNS: Attention of the House called to the inconvenience of entering into discussions upon the Orders of the Day (Mr. Speaker) 4102.
 MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION: Editorial in *L'Electeur* criticising the actions of certain French Members: denial by Mr. Fréchette, 2410 (i).
 MR. MULOCK AND FRENCH-SPEAKING MEMBERS: Paragraph in Ottawa *Citizen* and other papers alleging that he had insulted them, repudiated, 2943 (i).
 MR. TARTE AND MR. MCGREEVY: Paragraph in *L'Événement* re Mr. Justice Bossé and cheque, contradicted by Mr. Tarte, 5994 (ii).
 PERSONAL EXPLANATION: In Tariff Deb., figures used in speech by Mr. Edgar criticised and stated to be wrong by the Controller of Customs. In making explanation the Member was reminded by Mr. Speaker that it was out of Order to make a speech, 1031 (i).
 QUESTIONS PUT BY MEMBERS: Remarks (Mr. Charlton) before Orders of the Day checked by Mr. Speaker. Adjournment of House moved and remarks continued, 756 (i).

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RICHIEU ELECTION: Correction of misstatement *re* A. E. D. Morgan, late Conservative candidate, made in House by Mr. *Laurier*, 6522 (ii).

SPEECH OF POSTMASTER GENERAL: Mr. *Edgar* and the Northern Railway, objection taken to report and repudiated by Mr. *Edgar*, 5472 (ii).

TERCOTTE, MR., M.P., AND CONTRACTS FOR QUEBEC CITADEL: Impeached by Mr. *Bruneau*: Statement read, 2784; on M. to ref. to Privileges and Elections Com., objection was taken by Sir *John Thompson*, and the statement was allowed to stand over as a Notice of Motion, 2785 (i).

VOTE OF CENSURE ON A JOURNAL: Mr. *Speaker*, in a certain debate, had occasion to call a Member to Order, and for so doing his conduct was commented upon in the *Ottawa Free Press* in an article insulting and derogatory to the dignity of the House. Sir *John Thompson* moved a resolution censuring said journal, 1958 (i).

PROCEDURE:

CRUELTY TO ANIMALS BILL: In Com. of Whole: Competency of Com. to decide in a clause that it is illegal to shoot pigeons, and in a subsequent clause that the previous one shall not apply, questioned by Mr. *McCarthy*, 4536 (ii).

PRIVATE BILLS, DELAY IN PROCEDURE: M. (Mr. *Tisdale*) to place Bills on Order paper objected to by Mr. *McMullen*, 5520; objection sustained (Mr. *Speaker*) 5521 (ii).

REPRESENTATION OF QUEBEC WEST: Manner of issuing Writ on death of Member, questioned by Messrs. *Laurier* and *McCarthy*, 5469; Mr. *Speake's* explanation, 6046 (ii).

[See "SPEAKER, MR."]

ORDNANCE LANDS: in Com. of Sup., 4777 (ii).

ORANGEDALE AND BROAD COVE RY.: Ques. (Mr. *Fraser*) 1710 (i).

ORDINANCES (N.W.T.) PETITION FROM R. C. CLERGY: M. for copy (Mr. *Devlin*) 2414 (i).

OROMCTO RESERVE, PURCHASE, N. B. INDIANS: in Com. of Sup., 5460 (ii).

Ottawa and Gatineau Ry. Co.'s B. No. 72 (Mr. *Bryson*). 1^o, 1218; 2^o, 1368; in Com. and 3^o, 4664. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 87.)

OTTAWA AND GATINEAU VALLEY RY. CO.'S SUBSIDY: prop. Res. (Mr. *Haggart*) 6255 (ii).

— CITY MAIL SERVICE CONTRACT: Ques. (Mr. *McMullen*) 3091 (i).

— VACANCY BY ACCEPTANCE OF OFFICE: notification (Mr. *Speaker*) 1.

Ottawa City Passenger and Electric Street Ry. Co.'s B. No. 65 (Mr. *Robillard*). 1^o, 1113; 2^o, 1368; in Com. and 3^o, 3051. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 86.)

— COUNTY MAIL SERVICE: Ques. (Mr. *Devlin*) 2132, 2414 (i).

— DEPTL. BUILDINGS, &c.: in Com. of Sup., 4439 (ii).

Ottawa Electric Co.'s incorp. B. No. 74 (Sir *James Grant*). 1^o, 1219; 2^o, 1600; in Com. and 3^o, 3052. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 111.)

OTTAWA EXPERIMENTAL FARM, EMPLOYEES: Ques. (Mr. *Beausoleil*) 4478 (ii).

Ottawa Gas Co.'s B. No. 26 (Sir *James Grant*). 1^o, 682; 2^o, 885; in Com. and 3^o, 2120. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 112.)

OTTAWA INTERPROVINCIAL BRIDGE: Ques. (Mr. *Devlin*) 2413 (i).

— RIVER STEAMBOAT CHANNEL: in Com. of Sup., 4471 (ii).

O'TOOLE, P., CUSTOMS COLLECTOR AND TRADES: Ques. (Mr. *Forbes*) 3275 (ii).

OWEN SOUND POSTMASTERSHIP, VACANCY: Ques. (Mr. *Grieve*) 519 (i).

— Remarks (Mr. *Landerkin*) 4643 (ii).

OWEN SOUND WHARF: in Com. of Sup., 4472 (ii).

OYSTERS: in Com. of Ways and Means, 2685 (i).

PAIRS ON DIVISIONS: 1327, 1434, 1709 (i), 3865, 3971, 4122, 4371, 4417, 4733, 5013, 5161, 5214, 5307, 5685, 5687, 5933, 5934, 6153, 6212, 6295, 6353, 6376, 6456, 6471 (ii).

PAINTS AND COLOURS: in Com. of Ways and Means, 2091 (i).

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PALMER, ENGINEER, CLAIMS FOR SERVICES: Ques. (Mr. *Perry*) 283 (i).

PALMER, EX-JUDGE: Remarks (Mr. *Davies*, P.E.I.) 181 (i).

PAPER HANGINGS: in Com. of Ways and Means, 1928.

PARIS GREEN: in Com. of Ways and Means, 2092 (i).

PARLIAMENTARY DOCUMENTS, DISTRIBUTION: in Com. of Sup., 4886 (ii).

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PARAFFINE WAX: in Com. of Ways and Means, 2089.

PARRY SOUND COLONIZATION RY. CO.'S SUBSIDY: prop. Res. (Mr. *Haggart*) 6254; in Com., 6389 (ii).

PASSAMAQUODDY BAY, BOUNDARY: in Com. of Sup., 5042 (ii).

Passenger Rates. See "RAILWAYS."

"PATENT RECORD": in Com. of Sup., 4125, 5461 (ii).

PAY OF FORCE, MOUNTED POLICE: in Com. of Sup., 4629 (ii).

PEACHES: in Com. of Ways and Means, 1782 (i).

PELLETIER, EUGENE, EMPLOYT. BY DEPT. OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. *Delisle*) 447 (i).

— AT EXPERIMENTAL FARM: Ques. (Mr. *Delisle*) 3440 (ii).

— JULES, EMPLOYT. BY P.O.D.: Ques. (Mr. *Delisle*) 516 (i).

— ODILON, EMPLOYT. BY DEPT. OF MARINE AND FISHERIES: Ques. (Mr. *Delisle*) 447, 515 (i).

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— MILITIA, PERMANENT CORPS: prop. Res. (Mr. *Prior*) 3093 (i).

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— STAFF, VANCOUVER, B.C.: in Com. of Sup., 6464 (ii).

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— POSTMASTER GENERAL'S SPEECH *re* ELECTION EXPENDITURES: Remarks (Mr. *Mulock*) 5472 (ii).

PETROLEUM BORING AT ATHABASCA : in Com. of Sup., 6514 (ii).

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PHILLIPSBURG JUNCTION RY. AND QUARRY CO.'S SUBSIDY : prop. Res. (Sir *John Thompson*) 6051; in Com., 6279 (ii).

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PICKET'S PIER REPAIRS : M. for Ret. (Mr. *Borden*) 2754 (i).

Pictou Harbour Acts Amt B. No. 88 (Sir *John Thompson*). 1st, 1786; 2nd and in Com., 2728; 3rd, 2943. (57-58 *Vic., c. 49.*)

PICTOU POST OFFICE : in Com. of Sup., 4431, 4438 (ii).

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POINT PELEE, TIMBER : Ques. (Mr. *Allan*) 4052 (ii).

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— SUBSIDY : prop. Res. (Mr. *Haggart*) 6255 (ii).

— PACIFIC JUNCTION RY. CO.'S SUBSIDY : prop. Res. (Sir *John Thompson*) 6051; in Com., 6282, 6286 (ii).

— Remarks (Mr. *Bryson*) to Com. of Sup., 5416.

PONTIFICAL ZOUAVES, GENERAL HERBERT'S ADDRESS : Ques. (Mr. *Hughes*) 2733 (i).

"POOR MAN'S COW." See "Dairying."

PORT ALBERT HARBOUR, CONTRACT FOR REPAIRS : Ques. (Mr. *McMillan*) 682 (i).

— PIERS, &c. : in Com. of Sup., 4472, 4471 (ii).

PORT HAWKESBURY AND CHETICAMP RY. CO.'S SUBSIDY : prop. Res. (Mr. *Haggart*) 6256; in Com., 6395 (ii).

PORT MAITLAND : in Com. of Sup., 5232, 5458 (ii).

PORT MULGRAVE AND CANSO STEAM FERRY : M. for Cor.* (Mr. *Cameron*) 2424 (i).

PORT ROWAN WHARF : in Com. of Sup., 4471 (ii).

Post Office Act Amt. B. No. 167 (Sir *Adolphe Caron*). 1st, 6154; 2nd, in Com. and 3rd, 6379. (57-58 *Vic., c. 54.*)

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BEAUHARNOIS, RESIDENCE OF POSTMASTER : Ques. (Mr. *Brown*) 950 (i).

CAPE BRETON MAIL SERVICE : Ques. (Mr. *Fraser*) 844 (i).

CLUFF, W. H., EMPLOYMT. IN OTTAWA P.O. : Ques. (Mr. *Campbell*) 1398 (i).

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FITZROY-GALETTA MAIL SERVICE, CONTRACT, &c. : Ques. (Mr. *McMullen*) 1398 (i).

GEORGETOWN POSTMASTER, DISMISSAL : Ques. (Mr. *Landerkin*) 3440, 3605, 4478 (ii).

GRAHAM, JOHN, SPECIAL EXAMINATION, P.O.D. : Ques. (Mr. *Edgar*) 1566 (i).

HULL (P.Q.) POSTMASTER'S NAME : Ques. (Mr. *Langelier*) 1222 (i).

HURON COUNTY MAIL CONTRACT : Ques. (Mr. *McMillan*) 1566 (i).

IN COM. OF SUP., 4167, 6464 (ii).

INVERNESS COUNTY (N.S.) MAIL SERVICE : Ques. (Mr. *Fraser*) 597 (i).

KEMPTVILLE POSTMASTER, CHARGES AGAINST : Ques. (Mr. *Lister*) 3872 (ii).

LETTER POSTAGE, REDUCTION : Ques. (Mr. *Grieve*) 520 (i).

— prop. Res. (Mr. *Coatsworth*) 2193 (i).

LOISELLE, B., DISMISSAL AS POSTMASTER : Ques. (Mr. *Brodeur*) 518 (i).

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MAIL SERVICE IN N.S., CANSO, &c. : Ques. (Mr. *Fraser*) 519 (i).

— NORTH WAKEFIELD : Ques. (Mr. *Devlin*) 2870.

— P.E.I. : Ques. (Mr. *Davies, P.E.I.*) 1712 (i).

— OTTAWA CITY, CONTRACT : Ques. (Mr. *McMullen*) 3092 (i).

— OTTAWA COUNTY : Ques. (Mr. *Devlin*) 2132, 2414 (i).

— OTTAWA COUNTY (Mr. *Devlin*) 2132, 2414 (i).

MONTREAL P.O., CONTRACT FOR ELEVATORS : Ques. (Mr. *Landerkin*) 75, 842 (i).

— INSPECTORSHIP : Ques. (Mr. *Brodeur*) 517 (i).

— STREET LETTER BOX CONTRACT : Ques. (Mr. *McMullen*) 1397 (i).

MONTMAGNY POSTMASTER : Ques. (Mr. *Delisle*) 687.

NORTH HASTINGS MAIL SERVICE, CONTRACT : Ques. (Mr. *Macdonald, Huron*) 3092 (i).

OTTAWA CITY MAIL SERVICE CONTRACT : Ques. (Mr. *McMullen*) 3091 (i).

OWEN SOUND POSTMASTERSHIP, VACANCY : Ques. (Mr. *Grieve*) 519 (i).

— Remarks (Mr. *Landerkin*) 4643 (ii).

PELLETIER, JULES, EMPLOYMENT BY P.O.D. : Ques. (Mr. *Delisle*) 516 (i).

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POSTAGE ON LETTERS, REDUCTION : Ques. (Mr. *Grieve*) 520 (i).

P.E.I. MAIL SERVICE : Remarks (Mr. *Davies, P.E.I.*) 1712 (i).

REGISTERED LETTERS, REDUCTION OF FEE : Ques. (Mr. *Grieve*) 520 (i).

RIPON, &c., AND PAPINEAUVILLE MAIL SERVICE : Ques. (Mr. *Devlin*) 2414 (i).

ROCHELLEAU, POSTMASTER, COMPLAINTS AGAINST BY E. TREMBLAY : M. for copies* (Mr. *Fréchet*) 1991 (i).

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 ——— PROPERTY LEASED: Ques. (Mr. Choquette) 597 (i).
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- (Acids, &c.) 1949; (Albumenized paper) 1898; (Apples) 1604; (Apples, dried) 1780; (Articles for use of Govt.) 2687; (Axes, &c.) 2794; (Bananas) 2689; (Barbed wire) 2394; (Barrels, containing petroleum) 2090; (Beeswax) 1498; (Blackberries, &c.) 1780; (Blacking, shoe) 2091; (Books, &c.) 1908; (Books, &c., prohibited) 2995; (Brass and copper nails) 2512; (Breadstuffs, &c.) 1561; (British gum) 2089; (Buckthorn fencing of iron or steel) 2396; (Buckwheat, &c.) 1505; (Buttons of hoof) 2682; (Buttons, pearl) 2682; (Cane, reed or rattan) 2826; (Carboys and demijohns) 2995; (Carpets, three-ply) 3066; (Carpets, two-ply) 3065; (Celluloid) 2821; (Cement, Portland, &c.) 2121; (Champagne and wines) 1473; (Chrome steel) 2514; (Clapboards, pine) 2989; (Clothing for women and children) 3066 (i); (Coal, bituminous) 3570 (ii); (Coal oil) 2223; (Cocoa paste) 3068; (Cocoa paste, chocolate) 1784; (Codfish) 2685; (Coffee, green) 1783, 2076; (Coffins and caskets) 2399; (Copper wire) 2514; (Copyright works, British) 1927; (Cordage) 2652; (Corset clasps, &c.) 2398; (Corset eyelets) 2723; (Cotton, bleached) 2554; (Cotton clothing, &c.) 2828; (Cotton, dyed or coloured) 2555; (Cotton manufactures) 2828; (Cotton sewing thread) 2649;

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(Cotton twine and cordage) 2661; (Cotton, unbleached) 2533; (Cotton warps) 2532; (Cotton, xylonite, &c., collars) 2558; (Damask) 2666; (Diamonds) 2687; (Drain tiles) 2094; (Earthenware) 2093; (Earthenware jugs, &c.) 2220 (i); (Eggs) 3572 (ii); (Emery wheels) 2516; (Enamelled iron or steel wire) 2513; (Farm and freight wagons) 2399; (Fertilizers) 2683; (Firewood, handle bolts, &c.) 2945; (Fish, fresh and dried) 2686; (Fish-plates, railway) 2508; (Fish, pickled or salted) 2685; (Flax) 2688; (Flax seed) 2722 (i); (Frames, clasps, &c.) 5848 (ii); (Fruits, &c.) 2218 (i); (Glass bulbs) 5848 (ii); (Grapes) 1781; (Grindstones) 2125; (Glue and mucilage) 1502; (Goods, unenumerated) 2684; (Guns, &c., cartridges) 2684; (Herrings, pickled) 2684; (Hides and skins) 2689 (i); (Horse clothing) 5848 (ii); (Hubs and wheels, &c.) 2989; (Indian corn) 1540, 2690; (India-rubber boots and shoes) 2125; (India-rubber clothing) 2129; (Insulators, &c.) 2095; (Iron forgings) 2505; (Iron nuts, wrought, &c.) 2531; (Iron or steel angles) 2505; (Iron or steel bars) 2504; (Iron or steel beams) 2692 (i); (Iron or steel hoops) 3571 (ii); (Iron or steel, manufactured) 2694; (Iron or steel tubing) 2516; (Iron, pig) 2376, 2391; (Iron pipes, wrought) 2530; (Iron, steel wrought and scrap) 2342; (Iron, structural work) 2507; (Iron tubes, rolled not welded) 2997; (Laces, &c.) 2648; (Lamp chimneys) 2095 (i); (Lamp springs) 5848 (ii); (Lard and cottolene) 1493; (Lead bars, &c.) 2397, 2513; (Lead pipe) 2512; (Leather) 3022; (Linseed oil) 2090; (Live hogs) 1481; (Logs, round, &c.) 2830 (i); (Logwood, ground, &c.) 5849 (ii); (Lumber and timber planks, &c.) 2996; (Mackerel) 2684; (Malt, excise) 3002 (i); (Maple sugar) 5848 (ii); (Maps and charts) 1927; (Medicinal preparations) 1949; (Milk, condensed) 1502; (Mining machinery) 3069; (Musical instruments) 2403; (Mutton and lamb) 1487; (Newspapers, &c.) 2722; (Nitro-glycerine) 3026; (Nuts, shelled) 1784; (Oatmeal) 1715; (Oats) 1563; (Olive oil) 2090; (Opium, crude) 1476; (Oranges and lemons) 1781; (Oysters) 2685; (Paintings, &c.) 1928; (Paints and colours) 2091; (Paper hangings) 1928; (Paris green) 2002; (Paraffine wax) 2089; (Peaches) 1782; (Petroleum, crude) 2287; (Photographic dry plates) 2683; (Pianofortes, &c.) 2403; (Plaster of Paris) 2222; (Potatoes) 1504; (Powder for blasting, &c.) 3025; (Powder for cannon, &c.) 3026; (Proof and proof spirits) 1328; (Putty) 2993; (Railway cars, sleighs, &c.) 2402; (Rice and sago flour) 1738; (Rice, cleaned) 1733, 3575; (Rice, uncleaned) 1716; (Rolled iron or steel angles) 2820; (Rove) 2662; (Plumbago) 3024; (Salmon, pickled) 2685; (Salt, in bags, &c.) 3026; (Sails) 2686; (Salt) 2999; (Saw-log) 2945; (Seeds, &c.) 1776; (Sewing machines) 2396; (Sheet metals) 1330; (Shingles) 3026; (Shirts) 3064; (Shoe buttons) 2723; (Shovels, spades, &c.) 2817; (Slate pencils) 2223; (Slates, roofing, &c.) 2223, 3068; (Soap, &c.) 1498; (Spectacles) 2120; (Starch, &c.) 1773; (Staves of woods) 2989; (Stearine) 1497, 2212; (Steel rails) 3069; (Stereotypes, &c.) 2821; (Sugar above 16 Dutch standard) 2403; (Syrups) 2406; (Tacks, shoe and cut) 2511; (Tanned paper) 1948; (Tea) 2076 (i); (Tea, adulterated) 5850 (ii); (Tea and green coffee) 3000; (Timber, or timber manufactured) 3025; (Trees, forest) 2724; (Trees, fruit) 1776; (Twine of hemp) 2664;

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TARIFF—*Con.*IN COM.—*Continued.*

(Types, printing) 2393; (Varnishes, &c.) 2092; (Vaseline, &c.) 2091; (Velvets) 2645; (Watch cases) 2515; (Wheat) 1739; (Window glass, &c.) 2120; (Window shades) 3064 (i), 3330 (ii); (Wire cloth) 2514 (i); (Wire, galvanized iron) 3580 (ii); (Wire nails) 2508; (Wood, unmanufactured) 2989; (Wood pulp) 2515; (Wool) 2667; (Wool clothing) 3063; (Wool fabrics) 3058; (Wool manufactures) 3022, 3052; (Yarns, woollen) 3059 (i).

Resolutions read the first time, 3971, 4034, 4037, 6032 (ii).

CONCURRENCE, 3971, 4034, 6063:

(Acetic acid, glacial, &c.) 4017; (Admiralty charts) 4030; (Agricultural implements) 4019; (Animals and their products) 4016; (Barley) 4014; (Carpets, ingrain) 4028; (Corn, Indian) 4015; (Eggs) 4016, 4033; (Fire-bricks) 4030; (Flour, rye) 4014; (Iron, steel or brass manufactures) 4030; (Lard, cottolene, &c.) 4014; (Medicinal preparations, &c.) 4017; (Opium, crude) 4013; (Plate glass, not coloured) 4018; (Salmon, &c.) 4028; (Shovels, &c.) 4018; (Steel rails) 4031; (Surgical dressings) 4028; (Tea and coffee, green) 4032; (Tomatoes, fresh) 4016; (Travellers' baggage) 4029; (Wire, iron or steel) 4033 (ii).

[See "Customs Consolid. Acts."]

Weights and Measures Act Amt. B. No. 19 (Mr. Wilson). 1^o, 447 (i).

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES AND GAS, REF.: presented (Mr. Wood, Brockville) 5465 (ii).

— in Com. of Sup., 4770 (ii).

— INSPECTOR, N.W.T.: Ques. (Mr. Martin) 2871.

WELLAND CANAL: in Com. of Sup., 4154, 4160, 5450, 6458 (ii).

— REFUND TO CAPT. MANSON: in Com. of Sup., 5452 (ii).

Welland Power and Supply Canal Co.'s incorp. B. No. 49 (Mr. McKay). 1^o, 841; 2^o, 1151; in Com., 2724, 3043; 3^o, 3061. (57-58 Vic., c. 102.)

WELLINGTON STREET AND G. T. R. BRIDGES: Ques. (Mr. Mulock) 3091 (i).

WEST HASTINGS, RESIGNATION OF MR. CORBY: 4811 (ii).

— RET. OF MEMBER: Notification (Mr. Speaker) 5368 (ii).

— WRIT ISSUED FOR NEW ELECTION: (Mr. Speaker) 4887 (ii).

WESTON (N. B.) P.O., ESTABLISHMENT: Ques. (Mr. Colter) 520 (i).

WESTPOINT PIER, P.E.I., REBUILDING: Ques. (Mr. Perry) 2734 (i).

WEST RIDEAU LAKE, FLOODING OF LANDS: Ques. (Mr. Dawson) 1220 (i).

WEST SHEFFORD POST OFFICE, CLOSING: Ques. (Mr. Sanborn) 2732 (i).

WHEAT: in Com. of Ways and Means, 1739 (i).

WHITELY, W. H., FISHERY WARDEN ON LABRADOR COAST: Ques. (Mr. Laverigne) 5691 (ii).

WINDOW GLASS, &c.: in Com. of Ways and Means, 2120 (i).

- WINDOW SHADES : in Com. of Ways and Means, 3064.
- WILLIAMSBURG CANAL, STAFF : in Com. of Sup., 5453.
- SUPERINTENDENT : Ques. (Mr. *Landerkin*) 285.
- Ques. (Mr. *Somerville*) 2135 (i).
- WILLIAMS HEAD QUARANTINE, IN WHARF : in Com. of Sup., 5458 (ii).
- "WILLIE MCGOWAN," SEIZURE BY RUSSIANS : M. for Cor. (Mr. *McDougall*, *Cape Breton*) 1570 (i).
- Winnipeg Great Northern Ry. Co.'s B. No. 22 (Mr. *Ross*, *Lisgar*). 1^o, 596 ; 2^o, 721 ; in Com. and 3^o, 2412. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 94.)
- WINNIPEG, MEMBER FOR : Objection (Mr. *Mills*, *Bothwell*) to Ques., 1565 (i).
- WINNIPEG "STANDARD" GOVT. ADVERTISING : Ques. (Mr. *Martin*) 754, 841 (i).
- WINNIPEG, VACANCY BY RESIGNATION : Notification (Mr. *Speaker*)
- WINTER SERVICE, P. E. I. AND MAINLAND : M. for Ret. (Mr. *Perry*) 4495 (ii).
- WIRE CLOTH : in Com. of Ways and Means, 2514 (i).
- WIRE, GALVANIZED IRON : in Com. of Ways and Means, 3580 (ii).
- WIRE, IRON OR STEEL : conc., 4033 (ii).
- WIRE NAILS : in Com. of Ways and Means, 2508 (i).
- WITNESSES ON OATH, EXAMINATION : Amt. (Sir *Richard Cartwright*) to Com. of Ways and Means, 1079 ; withdn., 1856 (i).
- Witnesses on Oath (Examination) B. No. 90 (Mr. *Mulock*). 1^o, 1786 ; M. (Sir *John Thompson*) to transfer to Govt. Orders, 2075 ; 2^o and in Com. and 3^o, 2624. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 16.)
- Wolseley and Fort Qu'Appelle Ry. Co.'s incorp. B. No. 102 (Mr. *Davin*). 1^o, 2289 ; 2^o, 3089 ; in Com. and 3^o, 4027. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 95.)
- WOMEN'S PROTECTIVE SOCIETY : in Com. of Sup., 4801 (ii).
- WOOD, A. F., GOVERNMENT VALUATOR, SUMS PAID : M. for Ret.* (Mr. *McMullen*) 453 (i).
- WOOD ISLANDS BREAKWATERS, REPAIRS, &c. : in Com. of Sup., 4465 (ii).
- Wood Mountain and Qu'Appelle Ry. Co.'s B. No. 20 (Mr. *McDonald*, *Assiniboia*). 1^o, 596 ; 2^o, 721 ; in Com. and 3^o, 1396. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 96.)
- WOOD PULP : in Com. of Ways and Means, 2515 (i).
- WOODSTOCK AND CENTREVILLE RY. CO.'S SUBSIDY : prop. Res. (Sir *John Thompson*) 6052 (ii).
- WOODSTOCK AND ELGIN EXPERIMENTAL CREAMERIES : M. for Ret.* (Mr. *McMullen*) 451 (i).
- WOODSTOCK (N.B.) PREVENTIVE OFFICER : Ques. (Mr. *Davies*, *P. E. I.*) 2133 (i).
- WOOD, UNMANUFACTURED : in Com. of Ways and Means, 2989 (i).
- WOOL CLOTHING : in Com. of Ways and Means, 3063.
- FABRICS : in Com. of Ways and Means, 3058.
- in Com. of Ways and Means, 2667 (i).
- MANUFACTURES : in Com. of Ways and Means, 3028, 3052 (i).
- WRIGHT, J. B., M. D., V. S., COR. *re* CATTLE INSPECTION : M. for Cor. (Mr. *Mulock*) 2424 (i).
- WRITS OF ELECTION : Remarks (Mr. *Speaker*) 6046.
- YAMACHICHE WHARF, AMOUNT PAID FOR CONSTRUCTION : Ques. (Mr. *Legris*) 946 (i).
- DAMAGE AND REPAIRS : Ques. (Mr. *Legris*) 3765 (ii).
- YAMASKA RIVER DAM, COST OF CONSTRUCTION : M. for Stmt. (Mr. *Laurier*) 1575 (i).
- OBSTRUCTION TO NAVIGATION : Ques. (Mr. *Mignault*) 4888 (ii).
- Yarmouth and Annapolis Ry. See "DOMINION."
- YARMOUTH BREAKWATER, DREDGING : in Com. of Sup., 4448 (ii).
- YARNS, WOOLLEN : in Com. of Ways and Means, 3059 (i).
- YEAR-BOOK AND STATISTICAL RECORD : in Com. of Sup., 4126, 5462 (ii).
- DELAY IN PUBLICATION : Ques. (Mr. *Cockburn*) 289 (i).
- YORK, B. L., INCREASE IN SALARY : in Com. of Sup., 6233 (ii).
- Youthful Offenders (Arrest, Trial, &c.) B. No. 112 (Sir *John Thompson*). 1^o, 2783 ; 2^o and in Com., 4940 ; 3^o, 4941. (57-58 *Vic.*, c. 53.)
- See "JUVENILE."